

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

BY

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INTRODUCTION

In *Thinktankland*, policymakers are convinced about the need and value of research to guide their policy decisions and frequently consult with experts about different issues to assure they choose the best among potential policy options. Therefore there are open, institutionalized and public mechanisms for citizens and civil society organizations that produce or possess research and evidence to participate in policymaking processes and engage in a fruitful dialogue with policymakers about pros and cons of policy decisions within a wide and diverse agenda of social, political and economical issues. Policymakers count with a given set of resources (time, money, knowledge, networks, technology, etc.) to tap into whenever a social problem emerges to ensure that they will be able to identify and apply the right solution, backed with the consensus of all affected groups, after extensive debate and analysis have been carried out.

Even though policy research institutions (PRIs) in *Thinktankland* have clear cut opportunities to set forth their proposals, and that they are often sought by decisionmakers to provide them with policy advice, this scenario is not that perfect for them. They still need to convince policymakers, donors and media that they have produced and disseminated research that could yield or has yielded a positive impact in policy. Thus they need to sharpen their internal capacities and focus their efforts on refining tools to enhance the quality and relevance of their research in order to come up with policy proposals that concretely address the problems faced by policymakers. PRIs also have the challenges of devising internal incentives to foster more interaction between their researchers and policymakers, as well as improving the way they disseminate research results through creative, convincing and attractive tools, and by addressing diverse audiences. With so many areas for improvement, are they really in Thinktankland?

In fact, PRIs in developing countries would probably still believe so. This comparative study of PRIs in Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe/CIS and Latin America reveals the deep complexity of detecting what these organizations concretely need to do to enhance their policy impact. Faced by contexts characterized by economic, political and social instability, high rotation of policymakers, lack of institutionalized mechanisms for the interaction between civil society and the State, corruption, low demand for research and scarce governmental capacity, they are also challenged by several internal constrains that demand their attention and energy. The need to constantly secure funding to sustain areas of work, the tension of working with the State without losing independence, and the challenge of outliving changing and unstable environments without losing focus and expertise, are some of the issues on their managers' minds when trying to figure out how to improve the organization's capacity to influence on public policies.

Through a comparative analysis of 18 case studies on PRIs that have demonstrated a certain degree of influence in policymaking, we have attempted to detect which factors prove more important in the difficult, chaotic and long process of bridging the gap between research and policy.

The paper is organized as follows: In Section 1 we present the background of the study: we explain the methodology applied, and we present the analytical framework used to study PRIs, including the endogenous and exogenous variables that affect the influence of PRIs on policy. In Section 2 we present the results of our comparative study divided into two sections: endogenous and exogenous variables. Finally, Section 3 concludes and presents recommendations for action.

We also include the following annexes: 1) Appendix I where we describe in more detail the methodology, present the questionnaires used for the survey and the guidelines of the interviews used for the assembly of the case studies, and provide some definitions of the basic concepts used in this paper (p. 44); 2) Appendix II where we present a detailed explanation of the analytical framework applied to compare the case studies (p. 67); 3) Appendix III which presents general information of PRIs from Latin America, Asia and Africa that was obtained through a survey¹ (p. 71); 4) Appendix IV that includes the eighteen complete case studies (p. 78);

¹ Eastern Europe/CIS was added in the third stage of the project; therefore the survey does not include PRIs from this region.

and 5) Appendix V which contains an extensive description of several endogenous and exogenous variables that, though not among the most mentioned on the case studies, have affected either negatively or positively some PRIs' capacity to influence policy (p. 284).

SECTION 1: BACKGROUND

I. METHODOLOGY

This study was part of the Global Development Network (GDN) studies on Bridging Research and Policy. The aim of the project was to conduct an international study to detect which are the main factors that help policy research institutions (PRIs) influence policymaking through the use of research.

The goal was to first identify successful institutes and then to study their organizational performance in detail in order to illustrate their strengths and weaknesses in achieving impact on policy through the use of evidence and research. Finally, the study sought to understand why some institutes are better able to influence policy in a wide range of policy sectors and in diverse regions, consequently identifying the key factors that aid PRIs to do so.

The project was divided into two phases. The first phase focused on building a database of PRIs in Asia, Africa and Latin America that carry out policy research. CIPPEC worked with two partners: KIPPRA in Kenya and IIDS in Nepal that developed the work in Africa and Asia, respectively. The aim was to gather general information on the PRIs' missions, statements and objectives, institutional profile, research programs, type of involvement in policy influence, networks, and communications / dissemination, among other factors. As a result, CIPPEC built a PRI database (available at www.researchandpolicy.org), broad enough to identify some trends and features of this type of organizations both across and within regions (For findings of this first phase, please see Appendix III, page 71).

The second phase of the project involved the production of 18 case studies through the selection of a set of PRIs which had influenced policy or had a wide public recognition in their respective countries and which could be considered as successful institutes. These were subjected to an in-depth study on how they conduct research and interact with policymakers. The goal was to find out which series of factors facilitate and / or hinder their policy impact through research production and dissemination.

As a result of some data triangulation, we selected 18 organizations that became the case studies of this research:

1) In Latin America:

- Latin American Economic Research Foundation (FIEL) of Argentina (p.152),
- Group for the Analysis of Development (GRADE) of Perú (p. 166),
- Center of Public Studies (CEP) of Chile (p. 92),
- Foundation for Higher Education and Development (Fedesarrollo) of Colombia (p. 136),
- Center for Legal and Social Studies (CELS) of Argentina (p. 78).

2) In Africa:

- Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRF) of Tanzania,
- Center for Policy Analysis (CEPA) of Ghana,
- Namibia Policy Research Unit (NEPRU) of Namibia,
- Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA) of Kenya²,
- Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) of Ghana (p. 277).

²These first four case studies were conducted by KIPPRA and –due to budget restrictions- did not follow the same methodology of all others: except the case on the own institute, they were produced without face to face interviews nor visiting the organization. These case studies are not as complete and rich as the rest; therefore, they were only partially used in the comparative analysis efforts.

3) In Asia:

- Institute of Social Sciences (ISS) of India (p. 211),
- Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) of Pakistan (p. 271),
- Center for Policy Dialogue (CPD) of Bangladesh (p. 123).

4) In Eastern Europe/CIS:

- International Center for Policy Studies (ICPS) of Ukraine (p. 181),
- Centre for Policy Providus of Latvia (p. 259),
- Institute for Privatization and Management (IPM) of Belarus (p. 196),
- Institute of Urban Economics (IUE) of Russia (p. 244),
- Centre for Economic Research (CER) of Uzbekistan (p. 105).

The complete 18 case studies can be found in Appendix IV, page 78. For a more detailed description of the methodology and its limitations and for basic definitions please refer to Appendix I, page 44):

Short stories of policy impact

GRADE and the quality of education in Perú: influencing policy content

“Since 1987, GRADE’s researchers had been doing research on educational issues. Specifically, in 1998 they started working as an external advisor unit to the Ministry of Education of Peru. They decided to create a local team composed of national and international advisors and experts.

The task was to help prepare a section on the new Law of Education. Data presented by GRADE convinced the Congressmen that one of the keys to the new Law should be the quality of education and equality of educational opportunities. The Law emphasizes that in order to improve the quality of educational results it was important to strive towards equality of opportunities for all children. The consultant (from GRADE) suggested that a new institute be created to evaluate several aspects related to this, which would recommend policies based on the data. As a result, the new proposal of Law included an article to create the National Institute for Evaluation and Accreditation.

The influence exerted by GRADE on this field is the outcome of a whole corpus of research which achieved a legislation change. The research final report included specific proposals of reform that became part of the New Law of Education. In July 2003, the Law was passed under the name of *Ley General de Educación (Ley 28044)*, and included measures for the establishment and distribution of responsibilities for the proposed Institute of Evaluation, Accreditation and Certification.”

(Complete case study is available in Appendix IV, page 166)

SDPI and its impact on a new Act for patenting and property rights in Pakistan

“SDPI initiated advocacy on problems concerning patenting and property rights under the TRIPs agreement of WTO. SDPI gave policy advice on Article 27.3(b) of the Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs), recommending the drafting of a new Act. Literature on TRIPs and IPR was provided to the Secretary, Agriculture, regarding the Basmati Rice Patent issue, which he especially appreciated in a letter to SDPI. Numerous meetings were held with the Ministry of Agriculture to discuss these issues in detail. The Ministry, subsequent to receiving SDPI’s input, decided not to follow the Union for Protection of Plant Varieties lobby (which includes 37 developed countries to protect the interests of their plant breeders) and instead requested SDPI’s input into the new draft Act with a focus on farmers’ rights. As a result, the position adopted by the Government of Pakistan on the issues of property rights and patenting was exactly what SDPI had advocated for. SDPI has even brought together a range of local civil society partners as well as partners from Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, UK, and Philippines to compare and evaluate the drafts of regional

PBR Acts. A workshop organized by SDPI for this purpose concluded with a joint press conference where the participants unanimously declared “no patents on life forms”.

(Complete case study is available in Appendix IV, page 271)

ISSER and its enlightenment on HIV/AIDS policy agenda

“Working through the Social Dimensions of HIV/AIDS Infection Project in the 1990s, ISSER pioneered work on HIV/AIDS in Ghana after the first official AIDS case was recorded in Ghana in 1986. Researchers at ISSER have conducted a number of researches into the socio-behavioural aspects of the disease in the country. The initial task of the project was to examine the feasibility of researching into sexuality in an African setting. At that time, there was the urgent need to understand the sexual behaviour of Africans including Ghanaians as there was very little literature about it. The finding of the research was that it was possible to research into sexual networking in Ghana and get reliable results. This was followed by a broader study out of which a broad picture of the attitudes, behaviour and practices of Ghanaians that could predispose them to contracting the disease emerged. Out of this study specific issues related to HIV/AIDS were researched into further. Some of the studies undertaken included the following: *The control of Ghanaian women over their sexuality; The coping strategies of households with people with AIDS; Out-of-school/street youth and HIV/AIDS; Itinerant women traders and HIV/AIDS; Long distance truck drivers and HIV/AIDS; Migration and HIV/AIDS; Management of AIDS by Health Workers; Resistance/Under reaction to sexual behavioural change in the era of HIV/AIDS.*

Results from most of these studies have been published in international journals, and findings from these studies informed the preparation of a Strategic Plan and a Policy Document for HIV/AIDS in Ghana in the year 2000. Most of these researches were externally funded and some researchers were and are still called upon to play advisory and other roles relating to HIV/AIDS by government Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) and other organisations. The Ghana HIV/AIDS Strategic Framework (2001-2005), which is informed by the GPRS, also, had input from research at ISSER. This plan was formulated in recognition of the developmental relevance of the disease, and it provided for a multi sectoral and multi disciplinary response, providing broad guidelines for sector MDAs, district assemblies, the private sector, and the civil society at large to develop specific HIV/AIDS plans and activities as may be determined by their specific needs.”

(Complete case study is available in Appendix IV, page 277).

II. PROPOSED MODEL

We have developed a comprehensive and flexible analytical framework, adaptable to the reality of developing countries, rather than use a predefined theoretical model to guide us in the research. Thus the proposed analytical-methodological tool should enable us to identify what PRIs need to focus on - and possibly modify - within the organization and also in the policymaking process in order to improve their effectiveness in promoting the use of their research in public policies.

We consider PRIs as one of the different civil society groups and organizations that try to influence policymaking. Their distinctive feature is that they try to do so using the research that they produce. The model proposes that their probabilities of being successful or failing in influencing policies depend on a combination of endogenous and exogenous variables. In each case study we sought to detect which of these variables had a stronger impact in the capacity of the institution to affect policy, both from the own PRI and external stakeholders' perspectives. The comparative analysis enabled the detection of those variables that are more frequently present and have a more significant weight in the way the selected PRIs influence public policies.

The variables under study were constructed using the three-dimensional framework devised by ODI and GDN in the paper "Bridging Research and Policy"³, but reorganized within a two-fold and detailed map of internal and external factors that interplay in the bridge between research and policy. We propose to observe two types of variables: 1) endogenous variables, which are those main internal characteristics that reflect the identity, management, goals and activities of the organization, and are under the direct control of the PRI; and 2) exogenous variables, meaning those external factors which PRIs cannot directly control but that can either hinder or facilitate their possibilities to impact policy. It is however important to highlight that these factors are not always entirely exogenous; on the contrary, they can be affected by how the PRI interprets and affects its external environment, by, for example, promoting a law to allow access to public information that will facilitate the future work. These contextual characteristics establish limits to the objectives that think tanks try to achieve and also assign differential probabilities for them to achieve their goals.

Even though it may be arguable in some cases whether a variable is under direct control of the organization or not (i.e. funding), these ideal types will enable us to more clearly distinguish organizational features on which PRIs can have a direct impact in order to increase their capacities to influence policy from external contexts that they need to very clearly understand in order to set up realistic goals of policy impact, but which cannot immediately be altered by PRIs' operations.

To sum up, as can be seen below, we consider PRIs as strategic actors that play a game within specific political and institutional boundaries. This means that their chances to succeed on their policy goals are conditioned by their contexts. Also, these actors have specific characteristics that are under the PRI control. Thus the institute is able to make decisions on these organizational factors; and these decisions usually have a considerable impact on how the PRI is perceived by relevant stakeholders, including its own staff.

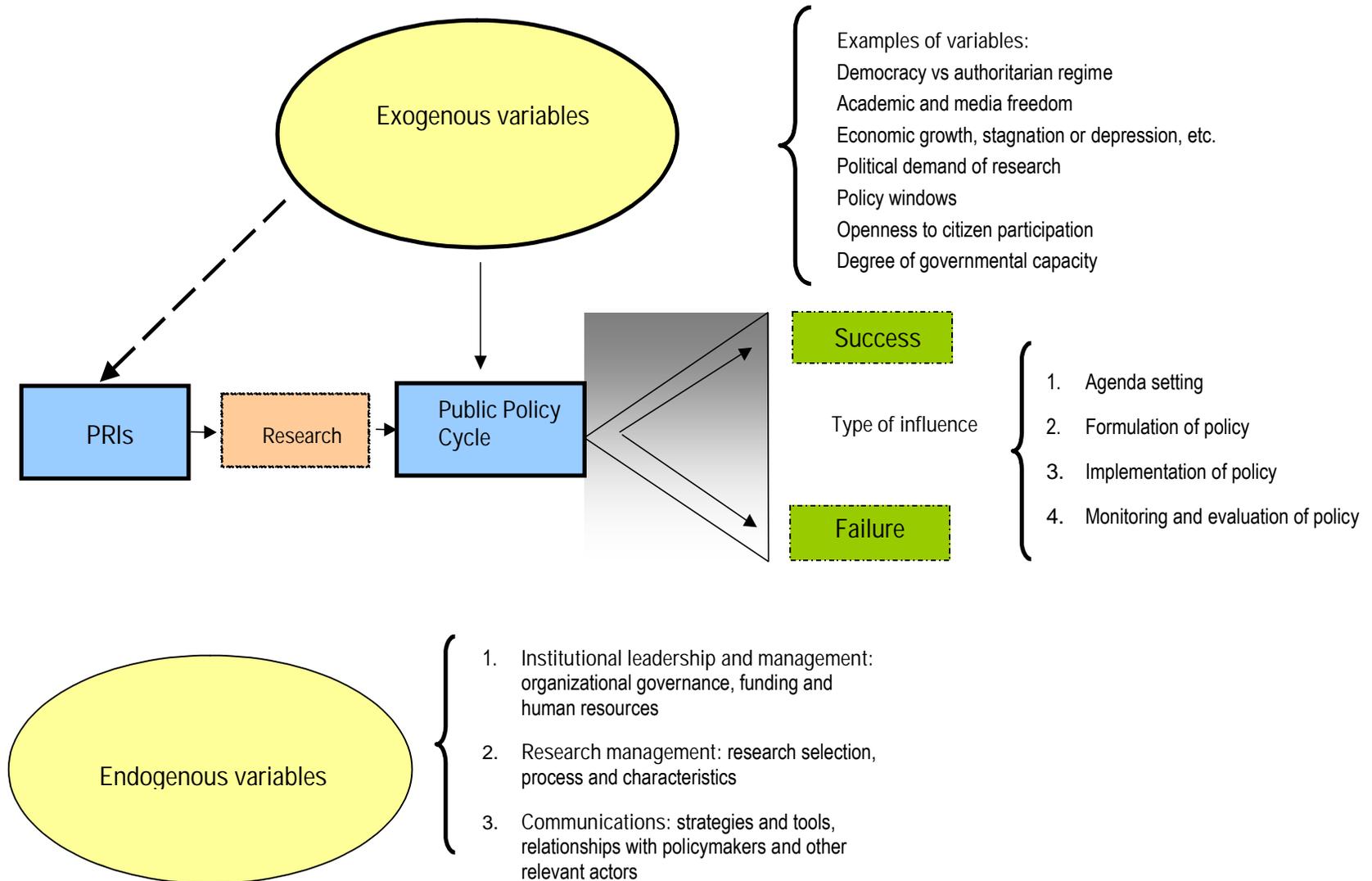
Below we present a diagram of the proposed model, where PRIs are considered the main actors due to the main research goal. They are at the core of the model and all relations established among the other variables

³ This framework is explained at Crewe, E. and Young, J. *Bridging Research and Policy: Context, Evidence and Links*. ODI Working Paper No. 173, 2002, Overseas Development Institute, London, UK. It is composed by the three following categories:

- 1) Context: Politics and Institutions. *The political, institutional, cultural and structural dimensions within which policy-makers work greatly influence the process through which researchers can contribute to policy.*
- 2) Research Characteristics: Relevance, Credibility and Communication. *Factors related to a body of research that influence whether or not it is adopted by policymakers.*
- 3) Links Between Researchers and Policymakers. *The nature of the relationship between researchers and policymakers shapes how much influence they have over each other.*

are around them. Furthermore, endogenous factors are those within the control of the PRIs/institutes while exogenous factors are external to them. For a detailed clarification of each of the selected variables that were analyzed in the case studies, please see Appendix II, page 67.

Diagram 1: The analytical framework



SECTION 2: RESULTS OF THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PRIS

III. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PRIS

In *Thinktankland*, PRIs can establish and monitor the achievement of clear and defined goals regarding policy impact through the use of objective research results. Those that develop the most effective dissemination strategies - by finding the most innovative and adequate channels - are able to build solid connections with policymakers, and thus better frame their proposals as solutions to problems that emerge. As this bridge between the research and policymaking worlds becomes stronger - through a careful design and implementation of a step-by-step strategy and its consequent plan-, PRIs can clearly track how the evidence they generate nurtures better public policies.

In contrast, the performed case studies on PRIs in developing countries reveal that they function more as jugglers than strategists and planners. Operating within a complex and constantly changing environment, they are forced to constantly assess and reassess where and how to invest their resources (expertise and knowledge, reputation, time, funds, senior researchers) in order to detect the most appropriate entry points in a chaotic and unpredictable policymaking process. Furthermore, these resources are all hard to get and retain; hence the pressure to find the adequate balance so as to play the game without losing any of them - and all this within a policy environment frequently characterized by non transparent and close processes.

Since most frequently the use of research and evidence is not an institutionalized practice, ensuring that they produce high quality research and communicating it more effectively - based on an understanding of policymakers' needs and wants - does not suffice. They are challenged to constantly find other mechanisms to grab policymakers' attention and awareness to be considered when windows of opportunity open up: from public opinion pressure, to participatory research projects and debates that convene powerful stakeholders, or strategic alliances with networks that include public officials.

A comparative analysis of endogenous and exogenous variables in the 18 case studies allowed us to detect those that appeared more frequently as explaining factors that either facilitated or hindered the potential of successful policy impact for the PRIs.

We present below a synthetic table that indicates which variables appeared in each case study either as an obstacle or as an advantage when assessing the PRI's capacity to influence policy (the existence of that variable was indicated as an advantage by the PRI and is represented with a +; the lack of it has been assessed by the PRI as an obstacle and is thus signaled with a -). Next, we analyze the variables - both endogenous and exogenous - that appeared as the most mentioned in the analyzed case studies to enable a deeper understanding of how they operate. We also describe specific mechanisms used by these PRIs to ensure they keep an eye on these variables in order to align their resources and overcome external barriers or take advantages of opportunities when these emerge.

Summarized comparative information of PRIs endogenous and exogenous variables

ENDOGENOUS FACTORS		ASIA	LATIN AMERICA	AFRICA	E&C EUROPE	TOTAL
1. Institutional management		24	23	26	35	115
Organizational governance	Origins	3 +	3 +	2 +	4 +	12
	Strategic board	3 +	2 +	4 +	2 +	11
	Leadership	2 (1+ and 1-)	1 +	1 +	4 +	8
	Organizational structure				1 +	1
	Networks & alliances	3+	2 +	4 +	2 +	11
Funding	Diversified	2+	1 +	3 +	5 +	11
	Secured	2 (1+ and 1-)	3 +		4 +	9
	Institutional/discretionary funds	3 -	3 +	1 +	3 +	10
Human resources	Participation in government agencies, commissions, etc.	1 +	1 +	3 +	3 +	8
	Staff with govt/policy experience	2 +	3 +	2 +	2 +	9
	Permanence of staff/ well remunerated	1 -		3 +	2 (1 + and 1 -)	6
	Highly qualified researchers	1 +	3 +	4 +	1 +	9
	Staff with technical know how	1 +	1 +	1 +	2 +	5
	Multidisciplinary staff	1 -		1 +		2
	High motivation of staff	2 +			1 +	3
2. Research management		11	24	12	22	69
Selection	Policy relevance	2 +	3 +	4 +	3 +	12
	Continuity of research lines	1 +	5 +		3 +	9
	Anticipation of key issues		2 +			2
Process	Quality procedures	1 +	3 +	3 +	3 +	10
	Participatory approach	1 +	1 +	3 +	3 +	8
	Participation of external experts		2 +		2 +	4

	Comprehensive approach/diverse research areas	2 (1+ and 1 -)	1 -	2 +	2 +	7
Research characteristics	Operational outputs	1 -	3 +		2 +	6
	Originality	1 +	2 +		1 +	4
	Focused	1 +			1 +	2
	Research as a tool	1 +	1 +		1 +	3
	Political feasibility		1 +		1 +	2
3. Communications		18	37	33	27	115
Institutional communications	Reputation & credibility	3 +	5 +	2 +	4 +	14
	Alignment of organizational & personal communications		3 +			3
	Strong media relationships/press coverage	1 +	3 +	4 +	3 +	11
	Diversity of tools	2 +	1 +	3 +	3 +	9
Research communications	Periodical or serialized publications/conferences	2 +	4 +	1 +	2 +	9
	Promotion and participation in debates	2 +	4 +	5 +	3 +	14
	Persistent advocacy/timing	1 +	5 +	4 +	1 +	11
Relationships with policymakers	Alignment with public discourse/debates	1 +	3 +	2 +	1 +	7
	Strong links with policymakers	1 +	1 +	4 +	6 +	12
	Monitoring of government priorities	1 +	2 +	3 +	2 +	8
	Adaptability to policymakers needs (non-technical, feasible)	2 +	2 +	2 +	1 +	7
Relationships with other stakeholders	Public opinion pressure	2 +	2 +		1 +	5
	Relationship with private sector		2 +	3 +		5

EXOGENOUS FACTORS	ASIA	LATIN AMERICA	AFRICA	E&C EUROPE	TOTAL
1. Demand of research	2	7	15	10	34
Demand/interest from government	2 +	3 +	5 +	6 (5 + and 1 -)	16
Private sector demand		2 +	3 +		5
Demands from multilateral/international organizations		1 +	4 (3 + and 1 -)	2 +	7
Institutionalized use of research/evidence in policy decisions		1 +	3 +	2 +	6
2. Openness of policy process	2	3	5	5	15
Existence of government entry points	2 +	3 +	4 (3 + and 1 -)	4 (2 + and 2 -)	13
Strong civil society			1 -	1 +	2
3. Window of opportunity	5	11	9	9	34
Link to macro level/international policies	3 +	1 +	2 +	3 +	9
Political changes	1 -	2 +	3 +	2 +	8
Political, economic and/or social crisis		4 +	2 +	2 +	8
Change in government	1 +	4 +	2 +	2 +	9
4. Lack of governmental capacity			2	2	4
5. Others	1	3	4	4	12
Centralization of decisionmaking processes	1 +	1 +			2
Competing influences in the policymaking process			2 +		2
Partisan politics within public sector			1 -	1 -	2
Reach a more diversified audience with adequate channels			1 -		1
Lack of competition		2 +		3 +	5

A) PRIs' ENDOGENOUS VARIABLES COMPARISON

It is important to stress that even if we understand PRIs as strategic political actors, due to their role in the policy process, their ability to engage in policymaking efforts depends greatly on their organizational capacities. PRIs have certain organizational characteristics which give them a greater or a lesser ability to influence policy. Differences related to origins and founders, the way they conceive and conduct research, and their available resources (human and financial), among others, affect their organizational capacities and therefore, their possibilities of engaging in policy influence.

However, there are no clear cut endogenous variables that always explain the chances of success or failure of the PRIs. Not only do they operate in diverse topical areas and need to adapt to dynamic political contexts, but they were also created at different points in time and with diverse goals and focuses. Even more, they are evolving creatures meaning that those who have been in the policy market for a longer period of time have redefined their organizational structure, research areas, and communications strategies. This makes it difficult to categorize each PRIs within definite types of organizations.

What can be stated by reading across all the eighteen studies is that successful PRIs managers and leaders have an implicit understanding on how to balance the very diverse and complex aspects of leading an institute towards being socially appreciated or at least respected as an actor with some valuable contribution to the existing public policies. Reaching this dynamic equilibrium implies very delicate skills that enable them to find the right mix of policy goals, people, and resources to stay relevant in one or more policy spheres within changing and unpredictable environments, mostly because of unstable government agendas and short-term donor support. In synthesis, successful PRIs are an output of a very frequently unconscious alignment between personal and organizational strengths with public/social opportunities or threats.

Detection and control of those endogenous variables that are crucial at different stages of the organization and for different policymaking periods is often performed without a strategic and clear institutional design and planning. However, we think we can contribute to a deeper understanding of how a PRI can enhance its capacity to impact policy, by analyzing these variables, and how successful institutes have understood and seized their implications to reach their policy objectives.

1) INSTITUTIONAL LEADERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT

1.1 Organizational governance

1.1.1 Origins: the leverage of founders

The origins and founders have played an important role in creating the needed legitimacy for several PRIs within the policymaking processes, as well as to enable them to build know how and specialize on specific topics, and to build an organizational infrastructure to back up and strengthen their influence processes.

There are several ways in which founders and / or donors have paved the way for PRIs to become relevant and recognized in the policy field:

- A. Expression of an explicit need to promote systematic and independent research and policy analysis

The origins of several PRIs are based on founders' convictions that the country lacked research institutions / think tanks capable of conducting high-standard research to shape domestic policies.

In Eastern Europe, for example, OSI (Open Society Institute)⁴ fostered the creation of several centers in different countries to provide new democratic governments with independent policy analysis and advice. This is the case of the Centre for Public Policy Providus - founded in December 2002 - which continued policy work that had originally begun in 1992 by the Soros Foundation - Latvia. This foundation sought to promote open and integrated society ideas in the recently-independent Latvia; especially by strengthening civil society and the rule of law. In fact, at that time there was practically no research tradition in public policy; after decades of authoritarianism, which characterized the communist system there was a lack of open political discussions and decisionmaking processes. Consequently, there were very few research centers, and the existing ones had small structures that belonged to the local universities, and did not conduct policy analysis. Therefore, the ideas and experience brought by the Soros Foundation in Latvia played a crucial role in the development of a research tradition in the country, and the overall promotion of policy debates and policy decisions based on evidence and analysis.

Some PRIs were created by the own government's conviction of the need to count with a center to generate research and evidence: in Belarus, the initial active role of the Ministry of Privatization in the Board of Directors allowed IPM to achieve a high degree of recognition as an advanced educational institution. In the same lines, ICPS was established in Ukraine in 1994, three years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the declaration of Ukrainian independence. During this period, the young Ukrainian State was in need of institutions that promoted the principles of democracy and civil society participation. The Ukrainian government played a significant role in the organization of this center, with the purpose of providing the government and society with analysis and evaluations of main policy issues. Although it did not provide funds, the State stimulated its establishment and created favorable conditions for its further development.

Also, the National Conservation Strategy (NCS) – a highly acclaimed official document that placed Pakistan's socio-economic development within the context of a national environmental plan-, and the Pakistan Environment Program (PEP) within it were directly responsible for the establishment of SDPI. In fact, the NCS, which was approved by the Federal Cabinet in March 1992, had outlined the need for an independent non-profit organisation to serve as a source of expertise for policy analysis and development, policy intervention, and policy and programme advisory services in support of NCS implementation.

Finally, KIPPRA was the first public think tank to be established in Kenya. A senior government officer in the Ministry of Planning and National Development, then Director of Planning, Dr. Kang'ethe Gitu, expressed the need to build sustainable policy analysis capability for the country. The argument was that KIPPRA would provide the government with technical assistance to articulate policy issues and enhance the policy process in order to reach development objectives. In consequence, KIPPRA was founded in 1997 with endorsement of the former President, who also supported the idea.

It is worth noting that in most of the cases founders held or had held government positions, which has probably worked as a mechanism to bridge the produced research with the policymaking world, based on their knowledge, expertise and perceptions of the type of evidence which could help policymakers in their decisions.

Also, the origins and founders of an institution are clearly linked to the question about whose needs and interests it responds to. Perceptions about the organization vary whether it is perceived as pursuing genuine public interests or defending private ones. These impressions affect the receptivity of the PRI's ideas by policymakers and other social stakeholders. Origins and the associations that different stakeholders make between the institution and its founders can positive or negatively affect the development and positioning of the organization. In fact, one of the reasons for creating Providus as an independent policy research institute was the degree of controversy associated with the name of George Soros (originator and main donor of the

⁴ *The Open Society Institute (OSI), a private operating and grantmaking foundation, aims to shape public policy to promote democratic governance, human rights, and economic, legal, and social reform. Soros foundations are autonomous institutions established in particular countries or regions to initiate and support open society activities.*

network of Soros foundations). Some public perceptions reflected that Soros had formerly earned profit via dubious large-scale financial affairs. Thus, there was an assumption that by working from an independent centre, Providus founders could more effectively influence the Latvian policymaking process.

B. Transfer of knowledge and know how

In some cases, founders provided PRIs with relevant non-monetary support, i. e by teaching skills in specific research and policy areas, how to implement State reforms, or sometimes how to access and interpret policymakers' needs. The case of IUE-Russia is very illustrative in this sense: the Urban Institute (USA) functioned as an incubator for this institute, by transferring organizational and managerial knowledge, and expertise through step-by-step mentoring. This strong early influence lead IUE to effectively adopt many of the Western think tank features that explain its further success, such as its governing structure (i.e., early inclusion of the Board of Trustees); comprehensive quality control; well-developed overhead mechanisms, which allowed for institutional development; and international standards for reporting project activities, financial management, etc. Not only did IUE receive moral, organizational, and financial support from the Urban Institute (USA) but they have also built a strategic partnership over the years.

Similarly, in its beginnings (1970-1975), Fedesarrollo-Colombia received the financial support the Ford Foundation, as well as its technical assistance which provided a network of contacts with similar organizations worldwide. Likewise, they obtained advisory services from Brookings Institution with a view to adopt a long-term institutional development strategy. Most of the recommendations made by Brookings were put into practice, whereas the bonds with both organizations facilitated institutional build-up and prompted early recognition from a sector of the international academic community.

C. Access to decision makers and powerful groups

Founders very frequently bring their own contacts to the organization thus helping build and enrich a portfolio of policymakers and other relevant stakeholders (businessmen in the cases of CEP-Chile, FIEL-Argentina, ESRF-Tanzania, among others). CELS-Argentina founders, for example, were lawyers and professionals from other fields who had suffered the loss of their children to the repressive action of the dictatorship. Four out of seven CELS' founders were lawyers, who had previously collaborated in other human right organizations. In fact, some of them had worked in the collective habeas corpus recourses presented to find out about the whereabouts of disappeared persons. Emilio Mignone, president of CELS during the initial years, had access to foreign government officials and international organizations, with which he had worked before. CELS became then part of legal international networks, which provided the organization with contacts abroad to support its work towards the creation of an international solidarity network.

1.1.2 The potential of strategic boards

The PRIs under study have mentioned the importance of their boards for the institution strategic planning and orientation. When boards are composed by prestigious persons, who are socially recognized, especially former policymakers known by their peer politicians, they open up and solidify avenues of influence for the institute, endorsing their actions with a certain degree of credibility. This is the case of ESRF whose Board of Trustees is composed by members drawn from the government of Tanzania, the Central Bank of Tanzania, universities, the private sector, and the international community. All these are key stakeholders in the policymaking process and they have facilitated the institute to penetrate it.

Another institution where the board plays a fundamental role in maintaining its independence and identity is CELS-Argentina. One of the main activities of the board is to evaluate the projects and funds offered by different organizations. In addition, the board guarded for the center's identity throughout the transition process triggered by specific laws which hindered the organization's main objectives, and has supervised the ongoing generational renewal process.

Financial involvement of board members appears to be a stronger factor in Latin America. In the cases of FIEL-Argentina and CEP-Chile, businessmen that compose their boards provide them with institutional funds that allow these institutes to conduct long term research, focus on specific topics and wait until the window of opportunity shows up. Businessmen also contribute to set the general guidelines of the institution, their priorities and, in some cases, ask for specific studies. In FIEL-Argentina and CEP-Chile's boards, the biggest economic groups of their respective countries are present. Fedesarrollo-Colombia also has a Board comprised by representatives of the private sector with business criteria, although in this case, there are also members from the academic world.

In some cases the board also proves useful in the detection and selection of priority areas for research and other activities. The board of SDPI, which is comprised of not only academics but also senior government officials, has proved instrumental in enabling the organization to pinpoint salient research priorities.

1.1.3 Working with others: partnerships and alliances to increase reach and impact

Participation at national and international networks is one of the most efficient ways to seek for wider participation and support. Networks serve as multipliers for the institutes' key messages. Many case studies have mentioned specific networks as especially relevant for strengthening both institutional and research communications.

GRADE's participation in the Educational Forum of Perú paved the way for its participation in the formulation of a new educational policy. The Educational Forum consolidated as a pluralistic space where referents whose qualified opinion was much respected could voice proposals regarding educational policies. Researchers, public officials and professionals engaged in personal contact. Although this platform was created for a different purpose, it became a key space for contact among actors. A number of GRADE researchers participated in this NGO, and so did he who was later appointed Executive Director to the National Council of Education, the Congresswoman who furthered the reform to the Law of Education, the person who coordinated the Congress commission that drafted the law under GRADE's guidelines, etc. They all 'spoke the same language', so they met and called upon each other to work together at the precise moment when there was an opening for external actors in the Ministry.

Similarly, one of the critical factors that contributed to Providus' success in disseminating its ideas for changing the system of political party financing in Latvia was its networking strategy which included cooperation with the Latvian branch of Transparency International, Delna and the State Anti-Corruption Bureau. All these partners contributed to credibility of the research and propositions.

It is important to highlight that alliances that strengthen the organization's capacity to influence policymaking are thoroughly devised and developed. For instance, in matters of strategic alliances and partnerships, CELS-Argentina decision to work together with other civil society organizations on a specific project is closely related to its assessment of the possibility of augmenting its policy influence capabilities in that field. The protection of its public image helps CELS determine the organizations with which cooperation is possible.

1.2 Funding

Securement of funds to conduct projects and programmes has a tight link not only to organizational sustainability but also an impact on the degree of independence to select research topics, the duration and scope of policy influence processes, the motivation and retention of researchers, etc. When selecting research topics, most PRIs seek to combine the institute's interest with researchers' preferences and available funding.

The advantage of counting with institutional funding - as opposed to project-based support - is that it allows long term strategic planning and thematic continuity, as well as the possibility to quickly respond to juncture opportunities when windows of opportunity arise.

Funding is also obviously linked to organizational survival and the development of expertise: PRIs that have managed to survive for more than twenty years have accumulated a rich experience that has contributed to

their organizational learning. Their strength and consolidation as important institutes is related to their capacity of adapting to external and internal changes, which in many cases is tied to an effective leadership (board and executive management). For example, CELS-Argentina was able to redefine its mission and main programs when legislation changed and threatened the achievement of their goals, largely because of the commitment of Ford Foundation to support an intensive evaluation and reorientation process.

1.2.1 Diversification of funds

Diverse sources of funding contribute to the effectiveness of the PRI to impact policy because it allows sustainability (and thus continuity of the lines of research and expertise, and adaptability to the changing environment) and also communicates independence (this attribute is key to build the reputation of the PRI).

Having diverse sources of funding is a crucial factor to claim independence from private interest groups or foreign aid influence. CEPA-Ghana explained that diversification of funds has enabled them to have a high degree of independence on its activities and scope of research themes.

In the case of CEP-Chile, even though mainly financed by businessmen, the institute makes a strong effort to convey that since these businessmen belong to various areas of the economy, they are not attached to their specific interests. CEP is supported by a set of companies representing several economic sectors and that enables it to have a long-term orientation and flexibility to define its research agenda.

1.2.2 Institutional versus project-related funds

Institutional funding poses many advantages: it allows the PRI to undertake projects that are either unplanned or not supported by any of the grants, thus increasing the possibilities of taking advantage of political junctures and windows of opportunity that do not appear so frequently. It also enables the PRI to sustain permanent work areas and activities; hence it can become widely recognized and sought in these areas by policymakers. This type of funding can also be used to strengthen communications and advocacy efforts by hiring experts that are especially committed to reaching key stakeholders and sustaining periodic publications awaited by policymakers and other actors; it permits long term strategic planning and the anticipation of key public issues that will emerge as publicly recognized problems in need of solutions. This is vital for attaining impact, since policy processes in some areas are very long.

In fact, some PRIs perceive the lack of stable institutional funding as a factor that hinders their capacity to ensure long term impact. For example, erratic funding has placed undue pressure on SDPI-Pakistan to sustain their work by permanently needing to secure new projects. They are therefore trying to build an endowment to conduct unfettered research. On one hand, relying on its researchers to seek for funding to conduct their projects has been a wise coping strategy, as it has enabled SDPI to directly contribute to and in turn influence the work of several other stakeholders which demand the research expertise of SDPI. On the other hand, this financial compulsion to constantly seek project funding may detract from SDPI's ability to keep track of the fleeting windows of opportunity to impact policy.

Fedesarrollo also has short-term funding, which makes the research agenda less stable compared to other PRIs that have long-term funding. Therefore, the institute has less leeway to set the research agenda and it tends to work in more specific topics according to the demand of precise projects. The same challenge is faced by GRADE-Perú and ISS-India.

In contrast, CEP's funding comes mainly from the important enterprises in Chile included in its board, which enables it to finance its own research. Furthermore, its research agenda is decided together with the businessmen of the board. This kind of long-term funding reduces the type of temporary or thematic constraints, external to the institution and related with founders' own agendas or deadlines, which are so common for think tanks. Also, the fact that CEP has its own budget allows it to be exempt from the logic of project financing. Having its 'own' funding gives CEP the advantage of managing its research agenda more freely than other research centers that are constrained by the schedule and content requirement of external founders, like multilateral development banks, embassies and foundations.

Similarly, FIEL-Argentina finances its own research when there is something of special interest to its members. For instance, in 2003 they turned forty years old and decided to finance four conferences and two books. They invited important people in order to be able to debate into the subjects they regard as the most important for the current economic agenda.

The availability of institutional funds allowed CELS to get engaged in promoting reforms in the Supreme Court in the midst of the intense political crisis that began in 2001 in Argentina, which posed severe questionings of the credibility of the Justice in the country. Despite that this was not a work area familiar to CELS, the organization undertook the project and financed it with discretionary institutional funds while leaving unaffected its identity by making a clear link between the initiative and CELS' overall work.

However, this type of funding, as the following viewpoint of Fedesarrollo reflects, does not always imply that the way it is invested will ensure policy relevance or impact. The possibility of independently choosing the research agenda can also become a risk: researchers might end up doing non creative or non policy relevant research. The fact of being financed by projects influences Fedesarrollo's organizational structure and its research activity. In general, the institute has short-term funding, which makes the research agenda less stable compared to other think tanks that have long-term funding. Therefore, the institute has less leeway to set the research agenda and it tends to work in more specific topics according to the demand of precise projects. Fedesarrollo seeks to combine the institute's interest, researchers' preferences and available funding. However, Fedesarrollo's directors believe that this organizational characteristic helps them to continue to be creative. They explicitly do not hire researchers on a long-term basis. They believe that project funding logic contributes to create incentives for researchers to find new projects and to be motivated in their job.

Alternative mechanisms to generate discretionary funds

The ICPS-Ukraine has a combination of long and short-term contracts, being that most commercial assignments last for several months, while projects for international institutions can be long-term and can consist of several phases. Due to the revenues that it is able to procure, combined with an institutional grant provided by OSI, ICPS is not confronted with instability, time limitations, or the impossibility of pursuing research topics according to its interests. Additionally, the ICPS's significant budget and its consequent financial confidence allow the organization to design long-term strategies and priorities.

See complete case study on ICPS in Appendix IV, page 181.

In the same lines, IUE-Russia has built mechanisms into contracts with their clients that allow them to generate some overhead money for institutional development. This makes the institution's reserve or fund, from where, after careful consideration, money goes to financing various institutional needs, including research presenting potential interest for IUE future activities. In the same vein, Providus-Latvia complements funding deriving from core research projects with the revenues generated by consultancy projects commissioned by governmental and non-governmental institutions. Although it is largely financially dependent on its projects and consultancies, which are typically short-term financing sources, Providus currently also has a safety cushion, the Soros Foundation grant, which supports the medium-term activities of the institution. Last, Providus - differently from other think tanks and NGOs in Latvia that mainly focus on a single policy issue - covers a wider range of thematic areas. Thus it is able to apply to more project competitions and also ensures competitive advantage in interdisciplinary projects.

See complete case study on IUE in Appendix IV, page 244.

2) RESEARCH MANAGEMENT

Research was examined based on the characteristics of the research itself and how PRIs select, conduct and use research for different reasons and with diverse goals, not only according to policy stages, but also based on the way they evolve internally (changes in profiles of researchers, changes in funding priorities, etc.). As stated above, we define research as 'any systematic effort to increase the stock of knowledge'.

Efforts that these PRIs make to generate and increase knowledge are usually aligned with specific goals they establish for themselves - either short, mid or long-term objectives - based on a continuous assessment of where the political opportunities lay. The ability to seize these opportunities is however constrained by the availability of funds or human resources to intensively participate in the processes, the organizational capacity to strengthen research with communications and outreach activities, and individual researchers' interests and contacts.

Research quality is an essential pre-requisite for PRIs to succeed in influencing policy. All institutes try to set quality control mechanisms of their research products, such as in-house discussions, experts' opinions, peer reviews and feedback from seminars and workshops. Likewise, research continuity is also an essential requisite. PRIs have developed a research body throughout the time, specializing in certain topics and taking the chance that these themes will be relevant in the immediate or mediate future.

2.1 Selection of research topics

The selection of which areas and themes to research is a key stage in the whole process of influencing public policies. Therefore, it is important to understand why and how successful PRIs place some topics in their research agendas, and leave others out, and to which degree this has an influence in the possibilities of having an impact. The selection of research topics is linked mainly to the organizational structure resulting from the type of financing. As mentioned above, the availability of discretionary funds allows larger margins to independently select the research agenda, to investigate topics that will become relevant in a mid or long term, and to sustain some lines of research.

Usually, the process of selection is considered a strategic activity within the organization; it implies very frequently the involvement of boards and other governing bodies and leadership. Usually research topics are selected based on a mix of three important criteria: funding opportunities, decisions and guidance of the board, and individual expertise and interest of researchers.

Building links to the political agenda

Besides the three above mentioned criteria that guide research topics selection, there is a fourth context-related factor that also plays an important role in the process: political demand of research, which is sometimes reflected in the availability of funding for this purpose (i.e. international organisms promoting specific policy reforms and providing government with financial support to conduct them; hence, the information PRIs are asked for is already needed by policymakers). Boards that are more tightly connected with the policymaking arena are better at detecting which type of research will be more relevant to political agendas as well as useful for policymakers.

In fact, a crucial factor across regions is the relevance of the research projects that are conducted to the political agenda; the differences are on the content of the definition of what is relevant in each country and region, depending on the specific domestic realities, the perspective of donors, government, researchers and stakeholders. A key factor of the influence of research on policy seems to be the capacity of PRIs to set a strategic topic agenda, by interpreting which topics are relevant in their contexts throughout time and by starting to develop research lines in that direction early on.

Some PRIs have found that there is a certain level of correspondence between topics that are requested by funders and those under political debate or scrutiny. IPM-Belarus' experience shows that these 'requested' topics usually reflect current political and economic affairs. On the other hand, the organization has initiated

projects simply because the institute feels that a given Belarusian economic issue demands immediate attention. However, those PRIs that are mostly funded on a project basis have almost no flexibility to reorient resources in order to seize this type of opportunities.

At KIPPRA-Kenya research activities are decided both in a proactive manner and as a response to current policy issues. The organization selects a research theme each year; specific research topics that are clearly linked with this theme are subsequently selected at divisional level. To define this research theme, KIPPRA considers various factors including the issues raised in government development policy documents, current issues of concern in both the private and public sectors, and the topical issues at the global level.

In Latvia, Providus' success in positioning itself and in developing its reputation can be attributed in part to its ability to adapt to the socio-political environment of a transition economy. Providus is actively taking advantage of opportunities to comment on legislative projects and draft policy papers, and to participate as external experts in government commissions. At the same time, political and legislative issues correspond to the educational background and specialization of the researchers.

Two interesting devices to ensure alignment with political and policy agendas are employed by ESRF-Tanzania: 1) involvement of government officers in its research forums and invitations to government representatives to informal interactions; and 2) the establishment of a specific office with a research coordinator, through which interactions with the government are coordinated. This enables the institute to capture signals of the relevant policy issues in which the government requires more enlightenment.

2.2 Research process

Perceived quality

Research quality is an essential condition for PRIs to be considered as legitimate participants in the policy arena. Therefore, all institutes try to set quality control mechanisms of their research products, such as in-house discussions, experts' opinions, peer reviews and feedback from seminars and workshops.

The lack of visible mechanisms to convey this quality may hamper the organization's recognition among policymakers and other relevant stakeholders. For example, the issue of research quality delivered by the IPM-Belarus is an interesting point to consider. On one hand, it is a fact that it employs modern research techniques, and counts with people with extensive experience involved into research activities. Yet on the other hand, one might claim that the quality of research could be questioned due to the lack of highly qualified personnel (proved by the absence of internationally recognized PhDs) and limited number of papers published in reputed academic journals.

The importance of conveying quality of work can lead some PRIs to adopt more than traditional approaches to assess quality. It is the case of Providus-Latvia, which to ensure the quality of its work frequently orders reviews of published research papers, which is not a general practice in Latvia, but is recognised as a way to improve the quality of analysis.

3) COMMUNICATIONS

3.1 Institutional communications: reputation paves the way for policy impact

Ongoing communications efforts conducted by successful PRIs have helped them enhance their potential to influence policymakers, as well as impact policy agenda and decisions.

Success of PRIs in influencing policymaking processes is tightly linked with their capacity to focus and align their communications activities and efforts with a clearly defined mission and specific objectives related to the use of research in policymaking. Most of the analyzed case studies explicitly state that their purpose is to contribute to public policy debate and/or decision-making.

First, these organizations have been able to clearly communicate their mission and goals in order to manage both internal and external constituencies' expectations about their role, interests and activities. This has helped them achieve a publicly recognized positioning as centers that intend to become a voice in public policy discussions and decisions.

Second, they have implicitly understood communications as a transversal function embedded in their specific objectives and daily activities thus enlarging their potential to more effectively convince other actors of the legitimacy of their research, ideas, and interests. This feature is however less present in the case of Latin American PRIs.

Most of the cases in the three regions show that reputation of the institution, as well as credibility of its experts and research is crucial to ease communications paths towards diverse stakeholders such as policymakers, media, other academics, and businessmen. A solid image leads to public recognition as a legitimate speaker within certain public issues, which in turn generates a positive dynamic and receptivity to their research and work.

Effective PRIs make conscious efforts to build and maintain a solid reputation based on diverse attributes. It has usually been a long and gradual process: it took ICPS-Ukraine several years to prove to the policymaking community the necessity of its research and analysis procedures. To promote awareness of this need and foster its credibility and authority, the institution took an active part in public debates, evaluated government economic and social policies, and provided regular forecasts and discussions.

PRIs deploy a variety of explicit signals to build and strengthen other actors' perceptions around their reputation by intentionally communicating those organizational features that convey trustworthiness, neutrality, independence, non-partisanship and quality.

For example, a regular practice in this sense is to implement some visible actions that generate a sense of pluralism and non-partisanship, i.e. by convening prestigious experts from diverse backgrounds to participate in research projects, publications or open debates. Fedesarrollo-Colombia, CEP-Chile and FIEL-Argentina are aware of the fact that expectations about their objectivity and independence may be eroded by the fact that they are mostly or largely financed by private companies. Similarly, even if it was initially strongly related with businessmen from the right political wing, CEP became a high-level and pluralistic academic center. This was possible because businessmen and academics who founded the center encouraged the existence of an illustrated debate, inviting thinkers representing different ideological perspectives to the center.

Other institutions such as CELS face a similar challenge knowing that they also tend to be identified with a clear ideological seal. Hence, they make an effort to explicit their seriousness and rigour through the production of research as well as a genuine commitment to contribute to the public debate by bringing in diverse voices and positions in their publications and spaces for discussion.

Another effective mechanism to convey plurality is the composition of the board: ICPS-Ukraine has a Supervisory Board where each major national power/interest is represented. However, this does not imply that the ICPS is apolitical; on the contrary, it takes an active role in forming public policy in Ukraine, by regularly providing analyses and forecasts of the situation in the country, assisting the government with policy issues, and developing means of dialogue between officials and mass media.

Neutrality is another common perception that helps PRIs interact with other actors in the game. In Africa, participatory approaches have proven a very effective strategy to generate the perception that this type of institutions function as a meeting point for different sectors acting by facilitating dialogue, and that they seek objectivity throughout their work.

3.2 Research communications: the value of overcoming the dissemination paradigm

In terms of tools of communication, books and research papers / reports are popular among successful cases for research dissemination. The latter are cited by the 12 organizations⁵ as relevant tools. They are also prominently displayed in the organizations' web sites: the "Publications" link reflects the importance of showing a fruitful and constant generation of research; the production of books appears to strengthen their positioning in the policy research institutes' arena.

An interesting finding that differentiates successful cases is that they present a significantly higher percentage (91.6% compared with 34.1% as an average of the three regions) in the use of newsletters which have become points of reference for policy discussions thus allowing these institutions to reach a wider public in a systematic way.

Tools range from private and personal communications to more public and mass ones. Private communications includes face-to-face individual or small and mid-sized group interactions. More than 75% of the surveyed PRIs in the three regions as well as the successful case studies conduct personal meetings with policymakers. Events usually reach a wider public but still represent a larger control of the target audiences. This tool is the highest ranked among all other methods of dissemination: more than 80% of the surveyed PRIs participate as speakers in public events and organize targeted events. This is consistent with what successful PRIs have revealed through their constant organization of seminars, conferences, etc. These spaces allow PRIs to engage in more interactive ways of communication: debates, feedback on what has been presented and personal conversations during coffee breaks can help them better understand how the advocacy efforts could be refined to increase receptivity and consensus.

Finally, among mass channels of dissemination, media becomes a natural actor to address as it can eventually become a collaborator to increase possibilities that research informs the policy agenda and potential reforms. Following are some interesting strategies that reflect a thought-out relationship with media and journalists to turn them into strategic partners. These go beyond traditional approaches which only focus on the success of obtaining media coverage:

- CEPA-Ghana was one of the key players in supporting the establishment of the Institute of Financial and Economic Journalists, established to offer tuition to journalists who wish to sharpen their skills at reporting on economic matters.
- FIEL-Argentina delivers twice a year a free training course called "Economy for Journalists", with the support of ADEPA (Argentine Association of the Journalist Entities) and some other private sponsors.
- CDP-Bangladesh undertakes itself in depth case studies, including 'investigative journalism', in order to generate first hand information on the state of governance in particular sectors of the economy, bring the results of such investigation to public notice and subject these to public scrutiny and accountability.

Media becomes an essential tool to raise awareness of certain topics, especially in closed regimes, such as the Belarusian one. Policy-related events conducted by the IPM usually receive extensive media coverage, and this grabs policymakers' attention. Although Belarusian officials don't immediately incorporate these issues into the agenda, such research-based debates do affect (albeit minimally) politicians' perspectives of some of the nation's problems, and could eventually appear on the top of state officials' agendas later.

3.3 Communications with policymakers

Another key aspect of communication is the extent and means of contact with policymakers. ISS-India considers the relationship with policymakers — both past and present — to be one of the most effective

⁵ This includes the 12 case studies initially performed for the comparative analysis.

channels of communication. Excellent connections with influential ministers and bureaucrats in diverse states and the national government allow ISS to communicate the research findings to decision makers.

The degree of institutionalization of information flows between PRIs and policymakers varies among the selected cases. Many institutes have developed diverse institutionalized mechanisms to ensure a close relationship with government which imply the importance given to constantly reaching out policymakers such as the following:

- Incorporation of policymakers into research projects or researchers into government projects. There are instances where NEPRU-Namibia researchers lead government teams and where both NEPRU researchers and government officials work on particular projects from inception to completion. On another hand, CER-Uzbekistan regards involvement of government officials as country experts in research and discussions with government agencies not only as a facilitator of receptivity to the recommendations they make, but also as a source of information on the constraints and limitations faced by authorities.

- Provision of policymakers with opportunities to extend their visibility: inviting policymakers to take part in events such as seminars, workshops, and debates has proven a very effective mechanism to develop and strengthen relationships. Many successful cases are institutes that have been able to attract policymakers by convening relevant stakeholders to regular public discussions such as “Debates” from Fedesarrollo-Colombia, CER-Uzbekistan “Discussions of Reports”, and CPD’s “Dialogues” in Bangladesh. ISSER-Ghana holds weekly in-house seminars as part of its internal outreach to educate and debate on various developmental issues related to the economy. Invitations to participate are extended to development practitioners, NGOs, the World Bank, and policymakers from diverse government agencies so that they become valuable platforms for intellectual discourse.

- Personal meetings with policymakers who influence other groups: CEP-Chile utilizes this type of interactions to present facts and findings to those that they perceive as having a vested interest in pushing the agenda forward and who are recognized leaders in that concrete topic. These leaders influence in turn their own groups of contacts.

- Development of specific communications tools such as policy briefs or synthesized documents with a use of non-technical language: this format facilitates the presentation of research results and conclusions to policymakers.

- The allocation of the responsibility to coordinate links with policymakers to a specific unit: ESRF-Tanzania has an office of research coordination through which interaction with the government is managed.

- Detection of entry points at governmental structures: with an implicit knowledge of the relevance of policymakers’ perceptions on the role of research, some institutions have forged strong relationships with those agencies more receptive to research. CEPA-Ghana, for instance, has developed a clear understanding of the government organization structure and has been able to take advantage of points of entry for their research ideas into policymaking processes.

- Inclusion of former public officials as research staff: this is a common practice that ensures access to new policymakers with whom current staff used to work. Fedesarrollo-Colombia’s ‘revolving door’, for example, places the organization in between the academic and political worlds; since several researchers leave to play a role in government for a period of time it becomes much easier for them to disseminate proposals among special policymaking groups.

- Seizing rotations of policymakers: changes in governmental positions represent new opportunities of influence for PRIs. When a new person is appointed to a key position in the Ukrainian government (mostly from target ministries such as the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of Finance etc.), ICPS sends out a presentation about how ICPS could help in policy development. Even though only one out of every ten of these

contacts becomes a real project, these efforts have enabled the organization to establish good relations with the majority of Ukrainian government officials.

Too close to government?

“One specific feature of the CER which distinguishes it from many other policy research think tanks in transition countries is its close relations with the government. It can be even said that the most efficient channel of CER’s influence on policy decisions has to do not with the dissemination activities (...) but with personal communications hidden from the public eye. This point is often raised by international donors experiencing problems with estimating specific policy effect of the projects they finance. It is usually very difficult for an outsider to judge which particular policy proposals put forward by the CER and to what extent they were taken into account when particular decisions were taken by the GoU. As has been noted above, many policy papers produced by the CER are kept secret; the same applies to analytical materials and draft legislation prepared for the government. Moreover, as far as special projects and studies contracted by the GoU itself are concerned, the problem of ‘implicit censorship’ in policy advice (...) is likely to appear.”

See complete case study on CER in Appendix IV, page 105.

B) PRIS' EXOGENOUS VARIABLES COMPARISON:

Based on the analysis of the endogenous variables, we know that PRIs which have an influence on policy have certain organizational characteristics which enable them to engage in the policy process more easily. However, even if a set of these characteristics are a necessary condition, they are not sufficient. Indeed, without understanding the contextual factors, particularly the immediate political institutional contexts in which PRIs operate, it is very difficult to understand how they can effectively align their institutional capacities and resources with external policy opportunities.

In most successful policy stories, research has had a strong impact on the agenda-setting phase. Expanding policy capacities and horizons appeared as the strengths of many successful PRIs. For example, the development of new talent has proven an effective strategy in Eastern Europe/CIS due to the need of knowledge and expertise among new policymakers. ICPS- Ukraine has been offering since 2000 technical assistance to Ukrainian governmental bodies. The organization has trained specialists inside the government to be able to develop government policy alternatives using policy analysis, strategic planning, coordination, and management of policy development and implementation processes. As a result, many public servants were provided with the required skills to conduct transparent and structured policy analysis. One of the aspects highlighted by participants was that, differently from other projects of technical assistance that supply complete policy recommendations, the experts of ICPS delivered training and consultations to government representatives so that they could conduct their own policy analysis.

Incorporation of certain specific recommendations posed by PRIs in existing regulations or the drafting of new legislation is a less frequent type of impact that usually takes more time and also presents challenges regarding attribution. In those cases, what indeed changes among PRIs is their degree of participation in the formulation of those laws. For instance, GRADE-Perú had a direct impact on a section on the new Law of Education. Data presented by GRADE convinced the Congressmen that one of the keys to the new Law should be the quality of education and equality of educational opportunities. The Law emphasized that in order to improve the quality of educational results it was important to strive towards equality of opportunities for all children. GRADE had suggested that a new institute be created to evaluate several aspects related to this, which would recommend policies based on the data. As a result of their influence, the new proposal of Law included an article to create the National Institute for Evaluation and Accreditation.

Based on its advocacy on problems concerning patenting and property rights under the TRIPs agreement of WTO, SDPI-Pakistan gave policy advice on Article 27.3(b) of the Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs), recommending the drafting of a new Act. The Ministry of Agriculture, subsequent to receiving SDPI's input, decided not to follow the Union for Protection of Plant Varieties lobby (which includes 37 developed countries to protect the interests of their plant breeders) and instead requested SDPI's input into the new draft Act with a focus on farmers' rights.

Also, the follow-up and monitoring of laws vary. For instance, CEP-Chile ensured that the content of laws reflected their original points, while other PRIs did not supervise that the 'pureness' of the original proposal was kept in the details of the laws they made an impact on.

Clearly, PRIs are not involved in the potential enforcement of legislation, thus it is necessary to establish some differences between the analysis of the influence of ideas on 'politics' and the analysis of the impact that these policies have had on social, political and economic realities. In fact, between the ideas promoted by the PRI and the ones finally adopted by a government or legislative body and their effective implementation, we find the following factors:

- i. The specific 'architecture' that the State apparatus has in that topic area (health, education, etc.) and the existing openness to external agents in these implementation areas;

- ii. The filter and potential distortion of existing ideas when they are processed through traditional administrative bureaucracy.

As was explained above, after the mediation and the potential distortion of ideas that the state structures and bureaucratic cultures have undergone, there is a new phase of analysis that is not considered in this paper: the real impact of adopted policies in terms of the effective modification of socioeconomic, cultural, and political indicators.

Finally, another type of impact that is considered as a success by some PRIs and as an unavoidable but not desired outcome by other PRIs is the recruitment of researchers for government positions. For example, as a consequence of the study that CEPA-Ghana conducted on how to regain macroeconomic stability some researchers were appointed as members of the government's Economic Management Team, and two senior researchers were appointed to serve on the Board of the Central Bank of Ghana.

Similarly, the Minister of Economy of Argentina in 1989 (Minister Rapanelli) appointed two chief economists from FIEL-Argentina (one of them was the Executive Director) who advised on the Law for State Reform and were in charge of writing some specific decrees (deregulation of oil and foreign investment).

1. EXISTENCE OF POLITICAL DEMAND OF RESEARCH

Demand-driven research is an exogenous factor that facilitates PRIs' influence. When this happens, research impact speeds up because certain issues related to research -such as topic relevance, importance, solutions to specific problems, among others- precede its beginning and thus avoid the imbalance between expectations and definitions of those who "ask for" research and the ones who "offer" it. In these cases, possibilities of influencing increase because many of the identified key research features that help PRIs to engage in policy advocacy are externally predefined. This exogenous factor works efficiently as an external organizer of certain internal procedures such as the selection of research topics, the type of public problems to focus on, deadlines and feasibility of research, and researchers' profiles.

In these lines, ESRF-Tanzania highlights its ability to respond to external opportunities by carrying out timely research projects, which are demand driven. ESRF observes that supply-driven research is not as effective in influencing policy, because it requires the buy-in of all the diverse stakeholders, including grassroots organizations, and thus harmonizing different ideological opinions.

Another successful story is how IPM-Belarus research findings were incorporated into policy within a project that was ordered and financed by the Central Bank of Russia. This project explored the issue of the Single Economic Space between Belarus and Russia and the economic impact on both countries. This work was both issue and demand driven, given that the topic was very urgent at the time the project was performed. Also the fact that the Central Bank of Russia turned to the IPM ensured receptivity of results.

Demand of research emerges not only from policymakers but also from international agents such as credit organizations, and other local actors, i.e. business groups. For instance, the case of GRADE-Perú shows how a specific request coming from the World Bank, in an issue included in the incipient debate at the time of the so-called second generation reforms -the need to measure education quality- boosted specific research activities by the PRIs' researchers. It also succeeded in defeating the political reluctance of the Peruvian Ministry of Education officials who, at the beginning, disagreed with the idea of adding a unit of quality measurement.

Similarly, requirements from the European Union promote the development of new studies and research. Strategic orientation of Ukraine and its cooperation with the European Union required the implementation of international standards of governance, which helped ICPS become influential in the policymaking realm. To become an adequate partner Ukraine urgently needed to implement administrative reforms, including the introduction of democratic public governance principles. The lack of public pressure to implement public governance principles resulted in a problematic scarcity of information and understanding about what exactly

should be done. There was neither understanding of efficient democratic governance, nor techniques to implement transformations. After realizing that only the implementation of transparent public procedures and international standards of governance could link Ukraine to the European Union, Ukrainian authorities began to take ICPS recommendations into consideration. Supported by international organizations, the ICPS began to offer technical assistance to government specialists in 2000, with the objective of developing the capacity to design public policies.

It is interesting to state that the distinction between demand and supply-driven research, at least in Latin America, is not always strictly applicable. Those PRIs which have endogenous funding for research were strategically intelligent in building a research agenda which proved to be based on a thorough understanding of the most important problems of their domestic realities, since their research projects made an impact on policy in the medium/long term. In this sense, some PRIs have effectively foreseen the type of research and evidence that could be demanded in the future due to potential crises or certain public problems. However, it is necessary to point out that some of these institutes (like CEP-Chile and FIEL-Argentina) have representatives of the most important economic groups of their countries on their Boards, who usually have some kind of influence in the selection of topics, by pushing forward some issues in the agenda.

In the case of CEPA-Ghana, the role of the private sector in provision of services, wealth and employment creation is gaining prominence in many countries with liberalization being increasingly promoted. For the private sector to operate efficiently there is request to improve the overall environment of doing business that encompasses factors such as availability of credit, low cost of capital, efficient physical infrastructure and good governance, among others. The prevailing macroeconomic conditions in Ghana at the time that CEPA was established were constraining the growth of the private sector: its demands for an enabling environment became the agenda of policymakers and helped shape CEPA's research agenda as well.

Businessmen can become key actors in policymaking and then, their interests are the ones of a key sector in the local political game. In this sense, the definition of research problems in an "internal" way is in fact a "transfer" of "external" interests to the inside of the organization in order to bolster them with technical support. In this respect, most effective PRIs have the advantage of counting with some inside stakeholders (donors, board members, external consultants, former government officials, etc.) who function as strategic deciphers of context opportunities and who advise them on the selection of priority topics.

An explicit demand of research also depends on the expectations and perceptions of policymakers and other actors around the value of research in general within the policymaking process. The social use and legitimacy attributed to research within the policymaking process represents a key factor in general receptivity of ideas and proposals.

The concept of public space implies two essential ideas: on one hand, it refers to a public sphere characterized by freedom of expression, communication and discussion, a sphere that becomes a mediating instance between civil society and State. In this sense, we can regard it as a mechanism that allows a visible interaction between citizenship and the political and administrative power. On the other hand the public space is also a stage for "public appearance" in which actors and actions, as well as events and social problems become visible (Queré, 1992).

The first notion is linked to the extent to which policymakers consider that public debate and flow of information that validates their decisions is needed to advance reforms and achieve social consensus. In Latin America and Asia, policymakers' perceptions on the role of research are key to assess impact of PRIs on policies. In some cases, institutes worked with policymaking agencies which are used to incorporating research findings or commanding special studies to back up reforms and present new policy proposals to peers, other decision making bodies and the public opinion in general. For example, governmental structure in Chile is receptive to research -some bureaucrats even have intellectual interests and publish articles through CEP, creating a climate of discussion and permanent dialogue among bureaucrats and academics.

In Kenya, the NARC government elected in 2002 was perceived by KIPPRA as being highly supportive of research and welcoming objective policy advice. Government is open to stakeholders in the policymaking process and is engaging them in various forums.

Nevertheless, in most of the cases PRIs have to make strong efforts to convince policymakers on the utility, relevance and need of more systematic knowledge to inform decision-making. This is coupled with the importance to also convince them on their institutional reputation as well as the credibility of their researchers, which belong to the endogenous factors analyzed above.

Effective mechanisms to detect and take advantage of external opportunities

- Sometimes there are specific stages in the policymaking process where actors are more prone to demand and use research; this generates clear windows of opportunity to experts in specific public issues. This is the case of Namibia, where policymakers attach great value to research during their policy formulation process which includes a stage of Situational Analysis that gives research institutes an opportunity to influence policy by providing the background information for a particular problem. Similarly, the policy formulation process in Tanzania takes on board researchers/academicians among other stakeholders' views. This significantly increases the chances of research materializing into policies.

- There are also certain public agencies where the culture of using research to guide policymaking is already embedded. In Colombia governmental institutions such as the Planning Department or the Ministry of Economy are more used to utilize research and evidence to design or reform policies. Research is frequently used to validate politics and in a very pragmatic way: data and studies are quoted by policymakers to make their case, especially in the adoption of very complex policies. The National Planning Commission (NPC) in Namibia and the Monetary Policy Committee of the Bank of Ghana are also well established entry points.

- In some cases, intervention of external actors such as IFIs who perceive research findings as a valuable and necessary input to design reforms produces visible changes in others' expectations on the role of research. Cases like GRADE-Peru and ICPS-Ukraine demonstrate how technical assistance can be more frequently demanded in the phase of policy formulation. See complete case study on GRADE in Appendix IV, page 166 and on ICPS, page 181.

- Seizing crises and public problems have also proved to become effective strategies to further communicate research results and proposals due to the increased pressure of public opinion on government to find some concrete solutions. Successful PRIs have been able to deploy a variety of communications strategies when public discussions ignited in order to achieve recognition as legitimate voices with credible solutions, before problems faded away. Kingdon (Kingdon, 1995: 95) highlights how a real crisis becomes the sort of thing government decision makers cannot ignore. When conditions deteriorate a specific issue achieves enough visibility to become an active agenda item.⁶ In the case of CEPA's macroeconomic stability study, there was more openness in the decision-making process on this issue compared to others because the government needed answers to the challenges facing the economy. The loss of macro stability with annual inflation of over 70% in 1995 and first half of 1996 was an open challenge to government policymakers. An answer was needed to calm down the anxieties of the general public and restore relations with IFIs.

A similar setting was perceived as an opportunity to sound out ideas and proposals by KIPPRA. While the poor performance of the Kenyan economy was being discussed and many groups attributed it to poor implementation of policies that were not backed by well-researched ideas, a clear opportunity

⁶ Kingdon, John. *Agendas, alternatives and public policies*. HarperCollins College Publishers, New York, 1995, 2nd edition, page 95.

came up in the American Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). The KIPPRA study based on extensive consultations with policymakers and key stakeholders in the cotton industry was used as relevant and timely input based on the publicly recognized need to revive the textile industry.

IUE-Russia was also effective in coming up with specific proposals to face an urgent demand from highest officials of the Russian government who needed to address the shortage of housing for retired military officers in early October 1997. Based on this need, the First Deputy Prime Minister Boris Nemtsov –who had previously worked with IUE in testing a consumer subsidy scheme for retired officers- called upon IUE expertise to draft a program within two weeks. IUE was able to deliver the program on time; and by the end of that month President Yeltsin had endorsed the concept, which was followed by the issuance of the formal government resolution and subsequent program implementation. See complete case study on IUE in Appendix IV, page 244.

Finally, impact of research on policymaking also took place when PRIs were able to overcome barriers and closeness of policymaking agencies in the use and dissemination of information that is relevant for decision making. Such is the case of FIEL: one of its first communications successes was to install in the public agenda the need by government to use statistics and the importance of enhancing quality of available data. This improved disclosure of information and contributed to the formation of a new and more open culture in certain government groups.

2. OPENESS TO CIVIL SOCIETY PARTICIPATION

Even though civil society engagement in public policy is an increasing trend in international policymaking processes as well as in local spaces in developing countries, the lack of openness in certain countries or policy sectors can significantly hamper PRIs' potential to influence through research and evidence.

This is clearly the case of Belarus where authorities are extremely suspicious of civil society organizations and think tanks, especially if they are financed with foreign resources. This has led to a decrease in the number of NGOs in Belarus. Based on the belief that this type of organizations act in order to destabilize political situations and to promote changes that will lead to a revolution, both economic and political instruments are used to strengthen the power of government and suppress any thoughts that do not correspond to officially declared ones. Thus, although it avoids all partisan activities and politics, the IPM claims to be under constant state control pressure since its research findings and policy recommendations frequently do not reflect the official political and economic lines defended by the President. In this way the Belarusian political context is the main factor that hinders policy related operations of the institution and significantly limits its influence; in such conditions it is extremely difficult to assess whether any PRI can have a say in the policymaking process at all. Within this environment, influence might be limited to raising public awareness of certain issues; i.e. by delivering the results of independent economic analysis such as IPM does.

On the contrary, the legislation in Latvia explicitly establishes procedures and mechanisms to regulate how each individual and institution can influence policy decision making. Among these, the most important are the procedures of the parliament. Such an enabling environment does not suffice: experts working at Providus have also developed a deep understanding of the legal processes involved in influencing policy process, based on the importance of being acquainted with the nuances of the system, i.e. when, how and in which form to submit a proposal for it to be reviewed, which requires in depth knowledge of the local law.

Openess to civil society participation is directly connected to the status of freedom of expression. In Belarus, what is publicly expressed by certain government officials and the press in general does not always reflect what is thought and discussed privately. In agencies like the Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Finance, and National Bank, etc. one can find a new generation of economists who are middle rank analysts graduated from universities when soviet propaganda and the communist economic regime had already collapsed. By that time market-oriented economics courses were delivered, including the promotion of market reforms. Even though

these analysts may agree on the necessity of reforms and structural changes while having private discussions, they have to publicly endorse the official general line of economic development.

Similarly, private newspapers and journals must censor publication of information that contradicts the government's policy lines to avoid receiving a notification from the Ministry of Justice indicating that some registration or any other rules have been violated. Fear is based on the fact that if violations are registered frequently, the newspaper/magazine will be suppressed. Thus, most journalists carefully choose which materials are politically harmless so that they can be published without threats.

A paradoxical case: more freedom for research in a restricted context

There is not always a linear relationship between general openness to participation for outside stakeholders and the chances to impact policy. The paradox of GRADE-Perú lies in the fact that an authoritarian, self-contained regime made way for researchers and specialists to join the apparatus of the state. If one is to understand the linkage between research and politics, one should bear in mind that methodology applied to analysis is not to be taken as a unique, universal recommendation imbued with political content. This kind of methodology should reach a balance between the identification of intervening factors and the contextual specificity typical of these factors. This case puzzles us insofar as it shows more freedom for research in a restricted, not very democratic context tainted with marked corruption. It also illustrates the actors' increasing importance when the institutions lack clear rules. Reality is complex, and an accurate intervention on it will result in content variations in terms of the diversity of social resources, political and institutional characteristics and the way in which the actors interact, with different features in different countries and regions.

See complete case study on GRADE in Appendix IV, page 166.

3. WINDOWS OF OPPORTUNITY

Even if all the key endogenous requirements for a PRI to make an impact on policy are present, it can be stated that, in most cases, these factors are necessary, but not sufficient. Specific impact stories demonstrate how a policy window has provided a clear channel for the research to influence a specific policy or establish a new issue in the political agenda.

In Argentina, FIEL made an impact on the Law of Economic Emergency and State Reform in 1989, after a serious inflationary crisis in the country; in Chile a corruption case in the highest spheres of the political power facilitated the influence of CEP-Chile on the Law of State Reform; in Russia the shortage of housing for retired military officials in 1997 required the urgent development of a program which was demanded to IUE based on its previous experiences and expertise; and in Ghana the political pressures associated with the electoral cycle and the eventual change in government in 2001 fostered a high level of optimism with respect to potential impact of policy recommendations and proposals aimed at attaining macroeconomic stability.

Also, the degree to which structural, political and economic variables set the feasibility limits of the goals pursued by PRIs is clearly visible in the Argentine case when in 1980, for instance, it was impossible for FIEL-Argentina to impose the need of public expenditure in a country organized around the role of the State. However, with the 1989 hyperinflation crisis, there was a change in the contingent variables because of a domestic economic shock which was beyond the action of the policy research institute and that also affected the country's economic and social resources. This produced a change in the contextual variables which consequently opened a window of opportunity for FIEL to make an impact on policy. Without these factors, influence of those same ideas, promoted by those same actors, may not have had that influence. In CEP-Chile's case, the same scheme can be applied so as to understand those factors which turn a window of opportunity into a key factor in the speed-up of the policy influence process. Research conducted by CEP had been "at a standstill" until the eruption of an important corruption scandal which affected the whole Chilean

political system (i.e. the macro political and economic contextual variables) and opened up the possibility of CEP's influence on policy.

Windows of opportunity may be the result of political, economic or social crises. They can also emerge from a special interest of a group of policymakers or governmental agency who are engaged in global or regional debates on certain topics. For example, the Special Advisor to the President of the United Republic of Tanzania on globalisation issues was particularly instrumental in promoting the policy proposals posed by ESRF. In fact, by that time, the President of the Tanzania was the co-chair of the World Commission on Social Dimensions of Globalisation.

WTO negotiations and the need by the government of Bangladesh to take a policy stance in crucial areas such as market access, GATS, agriculture and environment offered CPD several points of entry to set forth their proposals and ideas. Lack of adequate capacity within the government- the next exogenous factor that we will analyze- induced policymakers to seek CPD's support. The organization had in-house capacity and expertise to undertake research and come up with policy recommendations for the Ministry of Commerce and Bangladeshi negotiators. The organization also participated in several governmental committees as well as became a member in the delegations to the various ministerial meetings of the WTO.

Constitutional mandates and new laws and regulations, as well as the creation of government instances to implement these, also represent a window of opportunity for PRIs' impact which can fulfill a role in ensuring that all these are well implemented. For instance, ISS found promising opportunities to promote local governance issues in India based on a new Constitutional mandate: Panchayati Raj institutions were first given constitutional recognition through the 73rd Amendment in 1992 and raised hopes for them to become a stable feature of the Indian polity. By 1999, through the democratic process, over 3.3 million elected leaders held positions at different levels of the Panchayati Raj administration covering 227,678 village Panchayats, 5906 Panchayat Samitis and 474 Zilla Parishads. However, since the Panchayati Raj is constitutionally still kept under the complete control of the States under the Constitution, their diverse views and preferences on the role assigned to it hinder ISS's ability to pursue its policy proposals. At the same time, the recently founded Ministry of *Panchayati Raj* increases the organization's ability to promote its proposals at the national level, instead of solely focusing at the local one.

SECTION 3: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSIONS

The capacity of PRIs' to engage in policymaking efforts depends largely on some specific features of their organizational and institutional structure. Some features (origins, leadership, research process, human and financial resources, networks, among others) shape their organizational capacities and, as a result, their possibilities to have an impact on policy. Even though we have detected a series of variables that tend to appear or are mentioned more frequently by PRIs when trying to explain their general influence capacity or a specific case of policy impact, it is important to re-emphasize that there is not a set of clear-cut or dominant endogenous variables through which we can predict the potential of policy influence. Moreover, some dominant variables may affect a PRI in a different way depending on the region they work, their field of research or characteristics of the policymaking processes.

However, based on the main findings of the comparative analysis we can still highlight some features that are crucial to understand how these institutes have managed to exert influence on policies.

Where do you come from?

The first basic element shared by most of the PRIs that we have examined is how the way these organizations have been set up can affect their capacity to influence policies in diverse ways. In fact, ORIGINS (who founded them and why) have both internal and external consequences. Internally, founders can provide these organizations with the needed financial and human resources, as well as expertise, knowledge and specific know how to help them design an institutional path to survive and grow in quite volatile environments that characterize developing countries. Externally, the backing of individuals and/or governmental and non governmental organizations with legitimacy or weight in the public realm plays a key role in their reputation: their founders can help PRIs position themselves as credible and solid institutions that attempt to enhance public policies, by providing independent policy analysis and advice.

Hence, in some cases they built up a tradition of joint work with institutions regardless of the particular individuals that might be momentarily holding executive positions (this is the case with Fedesarrollo with the Planning Department of the Colombian Government, or FIEL with the Argentine Business Council). Moreover, thanks to their vast experience in the field of research oriented to public policies, these PRIs succeeded in reaching an important position in the political debate and in earning a reputation as serious, meticulous institutions that contribute substantive information when it comes to decision making.

How are you led?

A second key element -linked with the origins and playing a similar function in those PRIs that have been alive for a long time- lies in their BOARDS' weight and in the strategic role these play in the planning and orientation of the institutions. The BOARDS are not merely formal instances included in the regulatory statutes; they are composed of key members, renowned in and representative of their respective countries. Likewise, members carry out a key leading role towards the inside of the institutes while they act as a bridge towards the outside: they open up and solidify avenues of influence for the institute, endorsing their actions with a certain degree of their own credibility or easing their access to policymakers or groups with economic and political weight. The board can also enhance the detection and selection of priority areas for research and other activities, by

helping the institutions better decipher future policy needs and promoting the institutionalization of the use of research in policymaking in general.

How do you sustain your work?

We cannot but underscore a third key factor about PRIs; namely, the importance of having solid and diversified FUNDING SOURCES, even better if with larger flexibility of application of those funds, to achieve political influence. It is visible that PRIs' financial resources constitute a crucial aspect of their organizational capacity and of their possibilities to engage in policy advocacy since sustained funding is linked to survival and the development of expertise. Securement of funds to conduct projects and programmes has a tight link not only to organizational sustainability but also an impact on the degree of independency to select topics, the duration and scope of influence processes, motivation and retention of researchers, etc.

Institutional funding presents several advantages: 1) it allows long term strategic planning and anticipation of future crucial topics; 2) it enables thematic continuity; 3) it allows to take advantage of junctural opportunities when windows of opportunity arise even though they do not belong to a planned project; 4) the institution can develop and sustain expertise on certain topics throughout time and ensure participation in long term policy processes; 5) it can be allocated to launch communications and advocacy efforts and sustaining periodic publications expected by policymakers and other relevant actors

Diversified funding contributes to the effectiveness of the PRI to impact policy because it allows sustainability (and consequent continuous lines of research and expertise, and the capacity to adapt to volatile settings) and also helps to convey that the organization is independent and does not respond to one or two relevant stakeholders (this attribute is key to build the reputation of the PRI).

What distinguishes your research?

Another basic prerequisite for the very existence of PRIs is the QUALITY OF THEIR RESEARCH. This proves essential for PRIs to achieve an influence on politics. All of the institutes seek to establish quality control mechanisms for their research outcomes.

Several factors taken together succeed in generating quality and credibility for research outcomes. The first to be considered is the POLICY RELEVANCE of the research. Differences appear in relation to what is defined as significant for every country and region, in accordance with specific domestic realities, the prospect of donors, government, researchers and stakeholders; but in every single case the issues researched are significant and relevant to the specific context of every policy research institute. A second factor is CONTINUITY AND FOCUS IN RESEARCH over time. The PRIs we examined developed a corpus of research throughout time, specializing in particular areas and feeling confident of their long or short term significance. Perceiving research as an unending process enlarges the potential that research produced and proposals based on this research incorporate policy-related aspects such as relevance, feasibility, etc.

Effective PRIs are capable of devising a STRATEGIC RESEARCH AGENDA in which they manage to anticipate the issues that would gain importance with the passing of time. Thus they tackle an early development of prospective lines of research addressing the issue at stake.

How do you communicate?

Also, all the successful cases demonstrate that COMMUNICATIONS become an effective device to link research and policy. In fact, the analyzed PRIs clearly generate -either intentionally or unintentionally- positive

perceptions and expectations among the different stakeholders with which they interact. These positive perceptions are key for PRIs to foster social and political consensus both about the worth of their mission and the value of their concrete proposals.

INSTITUTIONAL COMMUNICATIONS across activities and projects are crucial, since it allows the institutes to more effectively convince other actors about the credibility of their research, ideas, and proposals. Many of these institutes also have an IMPLICIT OR EXPLICIT INVESTMENT in specialized human resources, management's time and/or financial resources to strengthen communications activities. This allows them to build and sustain a solid REPUTATION of the institution itself, as well as its experts and research. Reputation is in general associated with organizational features that convey trustworthiness, neutrality, independence, non-partisanship and quality.

Moreover, PRIs use a DIVERSE MIX OF COMMUNICATIONS tools and channels to support dissemination of research: 1) PRIVATE COMMUNICATIONS (face-to-face individual or small and mid-sized group interactions) to sound out some ideas or to gain supporters or promoters of their proposals; 2) SEMI-PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS such as events to foster interchange and multidirectional flow of information and; 3) PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS through access to journalists and media to influence public opinion and establish certain topics in the public agenda or become recognized sources of information when those issues are being discussed. Also, institutionalization of SPECIFIC REGULAR PUBLICATIONS, as points of reference for policy discussions, opens up spaces for interaction with relevant stakeholders.

Within management of communications, successful PRIs have ensured a CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH POLICYMAKERS to increase their influence in policymaking. In most of the cases, their capacity to reach policymakers with research results and proposals is tightly linked to the ability to gain consensus on the institute's goals, activities and proposals among other key stakeholders that influence the policymaking processes.

In fact, PRIs built up lasting NETWORKS and exchange relations not only with significant social and political actors but also with key institutions. Participation at national and international networks is one of the most effective mechanisms to ensure wider reach and support. Networks and alliances serve as multipliers for the institutes' key messages.

How does your context facilitate or hinder your goals?

All these key factors increase PRIs' organizational capacities of engaging in policy advocacy. These are key requisites for improving the effectiveness of PRIs, which is dependent on the way they are managed and the way they adjust to change. However, PRIs operate within specific economic, political and institutional boundaries. Thus exogenous factors should be carefully analyzed. These institutions are clearly constrained by their contexts. The success of PRIs is strongly related to its capacity to adapt itself to the context and to understand the political logic of its country so as to learn where its real possibilities of influence lie.

A key factor in policy impact of successful PRIs is the OPENING OF A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY for impact. Whenever there is an economic, social or political crisis, a change in government, or any other factor beyond the control of these organizations, the need arises for a concrete solution to an urgent problem and the possibilities for a PRI to exert its influence through research is opened. However, at this point it is essential to emphasize that even in the face of the evidence that proves that all institutes profited from the opening of windows of opportunity, those that managed to influence decision making had long been doing research on that particular subject: they were not improvising on the spur of the moment. The factors mentioned above, such as continuity and quality of research, among others, are necessary yet not always sufficient requirements for impact. The PRI needs to very quickly propose concrete solutions to problems that arise in the agenda.

In most of the cases, the influence exerted is mainly on AGENDA SETTING. This is the kind of impact that PRIs usually achieve. In some cases, imposing certain issues on the official agenda is translated into a legislation change, but it does not always work in this way.

Another of the key factors that increases the possibilities for the research produced by PRIs to make an impact is when research is DEMAND AND POLICY DRIVEN. When this happens, impact speeds up because certain issues related to research -such as topic relevance, importance, solutions to specific problems, among others- precede the beginning of it and thus avoid the imbalance between expectations and definitions of those who "ask for" research and the ones who "offer" it. In these cases, possibilities of influence increase because many of the research features identified as key for an institute to increase its organizational capability of being engaged in politics, are externally predefined. This exogenous factor works efficiently as an external organizer of internal procedures (selection of research topic, problem to be solved, deadlines, feasibility, researchers' profiles, etc.). Within this category key actors are both policy-makers who ask for research and international credit organizations or other local policymaking actors.

Even though important, the alignment of both organizational and personal interests in constantly reaching diverse relevant publics does not suffice. It needs to be complemented with a public recognition of the utility, relevance and need of more systematic knowledge to inform decision-making. In this sense, when public expectations are not consistent with what the policy research institute and its researchers are trying to convey regarding the value and opportunity of research, the first step that has proven effective is to use communications to build new perceptions around the use of research and the role of this type of institutes. This factor is key to overcome barriers among policymaking communities in the use and dissemination of information that is relevant for decision making.

Based on a clear understanding of the context in which they operate, successful PRIs have been effective in detecting external opportunities posed by perceptions and expectations of specific groups and have taken advantage of these.

Furthermore, the influence of PRIs increases when the specific political and institutional contexts with which they interact are (whether historically or juncturally) more OPEN TO PARTICIPATION OF AGENTS OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT, or when there is a RECOGNITION AMONG POLICYMAKERS OF LACK OF CAPACITY/KNOWLEDGE/SOCIAL CONSENSUS to design or implement certain policy reform.

GOOD IDEAS ARE NOT ENOUGH TO OBTAIN GOOD POLICIES. Ideas matter. However, their impact on politics not only depends on their quality. Ideas are shaped within PRIs, but these need to make sure ideas are within the hearing range of decision-makers. That is why it is so important to understand the medium where ideas are shaped: the political institutions of each country.

RECOMMENDATIONS

How could a PRI leader use these findings to enhance the organizational capacity to influence policy through research?

On the basis of the above conclusions, we present a series of operational recommendations for directors and managers of PRIs interested in bridging these lessons into their organizations and work to improve the link between research and policy.

1. Since the detected most relevant factors do not affect all PRIs in the same vein nor are they necessarily related, one useful starting point would be to conduct an organizational and contextual assessment (SWOT Analysis) to detect which of the described variables work as a strength or a weakness within the organization, or as a threat or opportunity within the context.
2. A second step would consist of reviewing current organizational policies and practices (for example: fundraising methods, board members' appointment process, methods for selecting research, etc.) that affect or could be affected by detected SWOTs.
3. Lessons and experiences from other PRIs in this study can shed light into how to make and implement a set of decisions in order to enhance organizational capacity for policy influence. Current these policies and practices should be compared with how other PRIs have effectively built on or developed certain strengths and opportunities, or diminished or eliminated specific weaknesses and threats.

As a result of this exercise, the organization could develop a complete assessment to guide the design and execution of actions to be taken. This assessment could be performed by using a similar table to the one presented below in which examples of two variables are provided (each PRI should select those variables that are most significant for the organization):

	Why is it important?	Strength	Weakness	Current policy/ practice	Other practices
Institutional management					
Strategic board	Active and strategic boards play a crucial role as bridgers to external threats and opportunities. Boards should not be mere formalities in the regulatory rules of	Current board members play a significant role in raising the needed funds to conduct a long term research agenda	All current board members are researchers or CSO leaders, no strong knowledge of policy agenda	Formal appointing process to name board members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Board members with current or past governmental experience that provide larger access to policymakers

	governing bodies, but real and key entities for the institutes' success.				
Institutional funding	It allows long term strategic planning; thematic continuity; take advantage of junctural opportunities; sustain expertise on certain topics and ensure participation in long term policy processes.		There are no discretionary funds available for the organization; the budget is based on specific project-support funds		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Built mechanisms into contracts with their clients that allow them to generate some overhead money. ▪ Revenues generated by consultancy projects commissioned by international governmental and non-governmental institutions

This table could be completed with those exogenous variables that are most important for the organization and its region of work. Similarly, threats and opportunities could be added and related to the analyzed contextual or exogenous factors.

4. Finally, areas of intervention should be prioritized in order to develop and implement a capacity building plan based on available resources and that aims at increasing the organization's short and mid term capacity to influence policy. By accurately decoding the context where they intend to intervene, as well as clearly detecting those organizational capacities that are necessary to achieve their goals, a PRI manager can build a comprehensive platform to then select specific organizational policies, practices and activities that can be implemented to increase the organization's policy influence through research.

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APPENDIX I: METHODOLOGY, RESEARCH TOOLS AND BASIC DEFINITIONS

A. METHODOLOGY:

Selection of case studies

The selection of case studies was based on broader criteria than the ones used in the Directory, by relaxing certain restrictive categories which were only useful for the purpose of making the survey. Besides, for the selection of case studies, several sources of information were consulted:

1. The information collected for the PRIs Directory was gathered and supplemented with newspaper articles, books about the topic, with reference to relevant PRIs in developing countries.
2. A consultation to a group of top leaders in the four regions (academicians, politicians, members of NGOs) as well as experts in research and policy issues, and officials of international organizations known by CIPPEC, and/or EERC⁷.

Due to limited time and financial resources, as well as distance barriers and the heterogeneous nature of this type of organizations in the diverse regions, the consultation to external experts was performed by email. They were required to name 5 PRIs in their region that from their standpoints met the following criteria:

1. High reputation and public recognition of its leadership and work.
2. Its research had influenced public agenda and/or specific policy change.
3. It was independent from government.

Based on these leaders' recommendations the third criteria is not to be very applicable in certain regions like Asia and Eastern Europe/CIS where there are several institutions founded by governments to specifically provide them with policy advice. Therefore, we decided to include those as well in order to assess how this type of relationship affects the strategies and tools that make them different from PRIs that are independent from government.

In a third phase of the project that started in October 2005, GDN required the addition of two non economic PRIs (one in Africa and one in Latin America) and the incorporation of Eastern Europe/CIS as a fourth region. The first two were selected by EERC and CIPPEC based on direct interaction with the PRIs to ensure they met the above mentioned criteria. The PRIs in Eastern Europe/CIS were selected by external consultation.

The following table summarizes the consultation process:

Region	Consulted experts	Experts that answered
Latin America	90	18
Asia	19	8
Africa	N/A	N/A (to be provided by KIPPRA)
Eastern Europe/CIS	11	8

In the case of Africa, the consultation was conducted by KIPPRA.

The consultation results allowed us to detect a set of most frequently mentioned PRIs. We compared these results with:

- a) Previously gathered information of PRIs during the first phase of the project.

⁷ The Economics Education and Research Consortium (EERC), GDN's regional partner operating in the Commonwealth of Independent States, acted as a supervising institution throughout the research project.

- b) A review of their media coverage as well as these PRIs' publications and documents.
- c) Existing studies on policy research institutes and main publications on the subject.

The disadvantages of this methodology for selection are that experts may have only mentioned those PRIs that are most well known in the regions, which becomes a bias against those PRIs that may be very effective but probably far away from traditional spaces frequented by scholars and practitioner elites. Also, there was a more intensive consultation in Latin America than in other regions due to CIPPEC's location that allowed us to have much more direct contact with leaders in this region.

Also, we anticipated the difficulties to be faced by those consulted to ensure that the mentioned organizations were effectively "successful" (based on the problems posed by defining influence and establishing attribution which are described with more detail in Some definitions, page 9). Aiming at overcoming this obstacle, we decided to require researchers that would conduct the case studies to require the selected institutions to illustrate their performance with a specific piece of research or evidence (individual or a whole body of research) that had yielded some impact on policymaking and which they could demonstrate through external indicators (media articles, government publications, interviews with policymakers, etc.)

Objectives of case studies

The objectives of the production of case studies on the selected PRIs were:

- To identify which endogenous factors (those within the control of the PRIs) play a key role in the effectiveness of these institutions in influencing policymaking through research.
- To detect exogenous factors (those that are external and beyond their control) that either hinder or facilitate their possibilities to have the proposed impact on public policies.
- To further research and expand the variables that would allow us to assess the influence of context, evidence and links in the effectiveness of the use of research in policy changes.

Activities

Activities to achieve these goals included:

a) *Data collection about selected organizations*

The required information was gathered in order to produce each case study according to a clearly specified template (see Appendix III, page 71)

To gather this information, researchers applied the following methodologies:

- a) Personal interviews with a key actor of the institute (Executive Director, Director/s of Research Areas), with the Communications officer (or person in charge of publications, events, etc.), and with a project coordinator. Interviews focused on the organization's research and influencing on policymaking processes. Interviewees were asked to answer a series of questions based on variables used to detect how context, research characteristics, and links affect their concrete experiences of the use of research in the policymaking process.⁸

Researchers contrasted the results of these interviews with the information from secondary data analysis and web research from official government sources. This was based on the understanding that bias was likely to appear in the interviewees' reports, due to organizational interests and the inaccuracy of recalling past events. Other sources of information included:

- b) Review of documentary material from the selected PRIs: organizational design, research papers and information about projects with a proven impact on policy.

⁸ Questionnaire guidelines for these interviews were provided to contracted researchers, see Appendix III, page 71.

- c) Examination of communications materials: papers, press coverage, events, participation in networks, etc.
- d) External interview with a peer organization or a policymaker who has worked with the organization on a specific project.

B) Production of case studies

Researchers systematized the information about the case on a study template which contains a complete description of the organization's institutional and political context, as well as its operational processes: how it identifies, undertakes and controls quality of research topics, communicates results of the research (resources committed to communications as well as tools, audiences and approaches) and seeks to influence policymakers; as well as an assessment of its policy short-term and long-term impact.

C) Revision of case studies

Researchers were required to revise case studies based on feedback provided by CIPPEC and by the GDN Review Committee.

B. DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES: QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEWS

Here we present the research methodology and data collection techniques we have used in each stage of the study.

1) PRIs Directory.

Data collection for the Directory (available at www.researchandpolicy.org) was carried out from February to April 2004. We have called an external Advisory Council⁹ composed by experts in the field and together with them we have established criteria to determine which type of organizations had to be included. Once that we defined the selection criteria, we used two data collection methods: a) we have done an intensive internet search for existing directories of PRIs and have identified policy research centers in each region and; b) we have consulted relevant regional actors (PRIs' directors, scholars and officials from international organizations) asking them to mention PRIs, in order to include them in the Directory.

We have also built a database of PRIs in each region. A self-administered questionnaire made by CIPPEC was sent to all of them by e-mail. The questionnaire focused on the following aspects: 1) institutional and foundational information (contact information, origins of the organization and its founders), 2) information on the structure (human resources, annual budget and sources of financing, areas of work, target population, area of influence), 3) organizations with which they work (networks or alliances) and; 4) projects, strategies and accomplishments of each organization.

The questionnaire was sent to 461 PRIs (350 from Latin America, 44 from Africa and 67 from Asia). Finally, 195 PRIs in Latin America and the Caribbean, 23 in Africa and 31 in Asia answered the questionnaire. Therefore, the total number of surveyed PRIs was 249. Data collection was as exhaustive as possible within the budgetary and temporary boundaries of the Directory. Nevertheless, we cannot consider the final output as a representative sample of PRIs in developing countries.

⁹ The Advisory Council was composed by Dr. Carlos H. Acuña (University of San Andrés), Dr. Catalina Smulovitz (University Torcuato Di Tella), Dr. Roberto Martínez Nogueira (President of CEO and University of Buenos Aires) and Dr. Luis Alberto Quevedo (FLACSO).

Internal Structure

Current authorities (Board, president and other authorities)

Title	Last Name	First Name

Staff

	First and Last Name	Research Area/Project
Executive Director	_____	_____
	_____	_____
	_____	_____
Chief Researchers	_____	_____
	_____	_____
	_____	_____
	_____	_____
	_____	_____
Staff		
Number of short-term staff	_____	
Number of long-term staff	_____	Women (%) _____ Men (%) _____
Total	_____	

Funding

Average budget last 3 years (dollars) (Approximately)

Sources of Funding (Budget 2003)

<input type="checkbox"/> Individuals	% _____	<input type="checkbox"/> International credit organizations	% _____
<input type="checkbox"/> Business	% _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Other International organizations (UN, Embassies, etc.)	% _____
<input type="checkbox"/> Government (any level)	% _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Sale of products/services (Courses/Publications)	% _____
<input type="checkbox"/> National philanthropic organizations	% _____	Other (specify):	% _____
<input type="checkbox"/> International philanthropic organizations	% _____	_____	

Activities

- Research
- Public Policy Implementation
- Technical assistance to the government
- Consulting
- Public interest issue propagation
- Advocacy
- Technical Training
- Other (specify) _____

Areas of Research

- State Reform
- Justice
- Human Rights
- Economics
- Health
- Education
- Labor
- Poverty
- Science and technology
- Environment
- Gender
- Culture
- Other (indicate) _____

Do you intend to influence the policy process?

Yes No

→ In what stage of the policy process?

- Identification and definition of problems
- Establishing alternatives for action
- Decision making
- Implementation
- Monitoring, controlling and evaluating

Projects, strategy and accomplishments

State the three main projects on which the organization has worked in the last 3 years (including name, objective, to whom it was directed, date of realization, coordinator)

Research Findings

Most relevant publications

Title of publication	Author	Date	Publishing house
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

Dissemination of Research

Publications	Frequency (weekly, annual, etc.)	Online	Printed
<input type="checkbox"/> Books	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Journals	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Working/research papers	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Reports	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Bulletins	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Newsletters	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Directories	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other methods of dissemination			
<input type="checkbox"/> Speaking at public events	_____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Organizing targeted events	_____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Personal meetings with policymakers	_____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Distribution of papers in networks	_____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Press releases / Reports	_____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Mailing lists	_____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Trainings	_____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	_____		

Who is/are in charge of communications at your organization?

Other communication strategies

Does the organization have regular contact with the media?

- Yes → How?
- Opinion columns in newspapers Frequency _____
 - Research findings publication in newspapers Frequency _____
 - Consulted in specific issues by newspapers Frequency _____
 - Interviews in radio and television Frequency _____
 - Other (Specify) _____ Frequency _____
- No _____

<i>Cooperation & Affiliation</i>			
<i>Advisory Board (external to the organization)</i>			
<i>Is the organization a part of/ allied with.....?</i>			
Networks	<input checked="" type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/> Yes	Specify	<div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div>
Federations	<input checked="" type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/> Yes	Specify	<div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div>
Forum	<input checked="" type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/> Yes	Specify	<div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div>
A specific organization	<input checked="" type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/> Yes	Specify	<div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div>
<i>Comments</i>			
<i>Information given by</i>			
First Name		Last Name	
Date			

PROPOSED STRUCTURE FOR CASE STUDIES

1. ABSTRACT: ORIGINS, LEGAL STATUS, YEAR OF FOUNDATION, FOUNDERS, KEY ORGANIZATIONAL MILESTONES, KEY INSTANCES OF IMPACT IN POLICYMAKING.

2. THINK TANK ANALYSIS: ENDOGENOUS FACTORS (INSTITUTIONAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL VARIABLES). THESE FEATURES HELP OR NOT THINK TANKS TO ENGAGE IN POLICY INFLUENCE. THESE VARIABLES ARE UNDER THINK TANK'S CONTROL: THEIR ABILITY TO ENGAGE IN POLICYMAKING EFFORTS DEPENDS GREATLY ON THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITIES. DIFFERENCES RELATED TO AGE, TYPE OF RESEARCH THEY CONDUCT, RESOURCES (HUMAN AND FINANCIAL), AND ESTABLISHED NETWORKS, AMONG OTHERS, AFFECT THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITIES AND THEREFORE, THEIR POSSIBILITIES OF ENGAGING IN POLICY INFLUENCE.

NAME OF THINK TANK	
1. FOUNDERS	
COMPOSITION	% LOCAL PRIVATE / % LOCAL PUBLIC / % INTERNATIONAL – DONORS AND IFI'S-STAKEHOLDERS
ROLE AND DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT	MEMBERSHIP IN GOVERNING BODY, STRATEGIC OVERSIGHT, HELP IN FUNDRAISING
2. GOVERNING BODY:	
COMPOSITION	% BUSINESSMEN; % ACADEMICS (LOCAL / INTERNATIONAL); % POLITICIANS
GOVERNMENT POSITIONS HELD BY GB MEMBERS	LIST OF POSITIONS AND THEIR RELATIVE RANKING/WEIGHT – TOP LEVEL, MIDDLE LEVEL, ETC.-
ROLE AND DEGREE OF CONTROL	STRATEGIC OVERSIGHT VS. OPERATIONAL OVERSIGHT (THROUGH EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE), ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT VS. RUBBER STAMPING DECISIONS RECOMMENDED BY THE EXECUTIVE
3. BUDGET	
EXPENDITURES	% RESEARCH, % GENERAL ADMIN
SOURCES OF FUNDING	% LOCAL GOV-T; % LOCAL BUSINESS; % INTERNATIONAL SOURCES, % DONORS, % PHILANTROPY
4. RESEARCH	
SELECTION OF RESEARCH TOPICS	LIST OF RESEARCH TOPICS AND HOW SELECTED: RESPONSE TO INTERNATIONAL / DOMESTIC FUNDING OPPORTUNITY, CONSULTING CONTRACT – GOVERNMENT / PRIVATE SECTOR; DECISION BY BOARD OR ACADEMIC COMMITTEE; INDIVIDUAL CHOICE; OTHER
RESEARCH PROCESS	INTERNAL REVIEW PROCEDURES AND HOW RIGOROUSLY

	APPLIED: ALWAYS, SOMETIMES, RARELY.
RESEARCH CHARACTERISTICS	ACADEMIC / APPLIED; ADDRESSING LOCAL / INTERNATIONAL ISSUES
RESEARCH QUALITY	% PAPERS PUBLISHED IN REFEREED JOURNALS, SELF-PERCEPTION AND REPUTATION, PEER CONTROL
5. STAFF	
COMPOSITION	NUMBER, BACKGROUND
PERMANENCE AND TURNOVER	% FULL TIME; % PART-TIME; STAFF TURNOVER IS HIGH OR / MEDIUM/ LOW
6. RESEARCHERS	
EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND	% PH.D., % MA. RELATION WITH INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES (TEACHING).
POLICYMAKING EXPERIENCE	% HELD GOVERNMENT POSITIONS, % CONSULTED GOVERNMENT ETC.
7. MANAGEMENT	
ORGANIZATIONAL MODEL	CENTRALIZED (LEADERSHIP PROVIDES STRATEGIC VISION AND MANAGES EVERYDAY ACTIVITIES) / DECENTRALIZED (ORGANIZATION IS A LOOSE COLLECTION OF PROJECTS);
CONTRACTS	TO WHAT EXTENT CONTRACTS LINK REMUNERATION TO PERFORMANCE (ANNUAL REVIEWS? JOB SECURITY?) AND PROVIDE INCENTIVES FOR HIGH QUALITY RESEARCH, FUNDRAISING, AND COMMUNICATION (PUBLICATIONS, PARTICIPATION IN POLICY DEBATE)
8. OUTREACH AND COMMUNICATION	
WHO IS IN CHARGE, IS THERE A STRATEGY	TOP MANAGEMENT / SPECIALIZED DEPARTMENT / INDIVIDUAL RESEARCHERS; % TIME TOP MANAGEMENT SPENDS ON POLICY OUTREACH; IS THERE A CLEAR OUTREACH STRATEGY; ROLE OF AND STRATEGIES TO ACHIEVE CREDIBILITY AND REPUTATION
PUBLICATIONS	WORKING PAPER SERIES; POLICY BRIEFS; SPECIAL REPORTS, BOOKS; OTHERS. HOW GOOD ARE ALL THESE (NEED TO TRIANGULATE)
TOOLS	WEB-SITE AND OTHER NEW MEDIA; PUBLIC POLICY SEMINARS (PROFILE OF POLICYMAKERS ATTENDING); PRESS RELEASES (HOW OFTEN); PUBLICATIONS IN MASS MEDIA (NATIONAL OR LOCAL LEVEL); TYPE OF INTERACTION WITH JOURNALISTS AND OPINION LEADERS
RELATIONSHIPS WITH AUDIENCES	POLICYMAKERS: FLOW OF INFORMATION, DEGREE AND TYPE OF INTERACTION; PERSONAL MEETINGS AND SPECIFIC DISSEMINATION TOOLS OTHER IMPORTANT AUDIENCES: DONORS? BUSINESSMEN?

		NGOs?
PARTICIPATION NETWORKS	IN	MEMBERSHIP IN NETWORKS AND ADVOCACY COALITIONS; EXAMPLES OF RESEARCH UPTAKE BY INTERMEDIARY ORGANIZATIONS IN LAST 3 YEARS (CONTACT RELEVANT INTERMEDIARIES TO CONFIRM)

3. THINK TANK CONTEXT: EXOGENOUS FACTORS (POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC VARIABLES). WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN THE COUNTRY. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT. EXISTENCE OR NOT OF A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY. AVAILABILITY OF SPACES FOR RESEARCH-POLICY DIALOGUE. DEMAND OF RESEARCH FROM GOVERNMENT (SUDDEN NEED OF RESEARCH PRODUCTS FROM SOME SPECIFIC GOVERNMENTAL AREA). THESE VARIABLES ARE NOT UNDER THINK TANK'S CONTROL, BUT INSTITUTES SHOULD DEVELOP SKILLS TO FIGURE OUT HOW TO FULLFILL THEIR OBJECTIVES WITHIN THESE EXTERNAL BOUNDARIES.
4. THINK TANK OUTPUT: RESEARCH-BASED POLICY IMPACT. HISTORY OF THE POLICY PROJECT. DIFFERENT STAGES OF THE PROJECT. INSTANCES OF THE ORGANIZATION'S ATTEMPTS TO HAVE AN IMPACT ON POLICY. DEGREE OF IMPACT (SELF-ASSESSMENT AND OUTSIDERS' VIEW) – MUST TRIANGULATE. WHY MORE OR LESS SUCCESSFUL?
5. CONCLUSIONS:
Critical endogenous and exogenous factors that facilitated or inhibited think tank's influence on policy.

1. INTERVIEW GUIDELINES- EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

INSTITUTION FEATURES

- Creation of the policy research institute/objectives.
- Results. Successful policy.
- Selection process of research topics.
- Relation with government.
- Institutional changes over time.
- Funding.

QUESTIONS:

- What is the mission of xxx?
- Does xxx explicitly intend to influence policymaking? How important is research for the institution? Do you consider that knowledge production is important by itself or is it intended to solve specific problems?
What were the changes in the institutional structure of xxx over time? How does the governing system/body work?
- How were XXX research areas defined at the beginning? How do you select research topics in xxx? Does the institution formally or informally promote researchers' efforts to have an impact on policy?
- What do you take into account/value most in the selection of researchers?
- Do you consider that holding a position in the government is a success of the ideas? If researchers from xxx worked directly for the government... How do you assess their performance?
- Does xxx fund its own research? Where does the research funding come from? Are you organized by projects or by research areas?
- Could you please select and tell us about a successful topic/research area? Can you explain us the reasons why it was successful?

Please select a successful research project (one paper or a whole body of research) How would you define that successful case?

- 1) Agenda setting (it set a particular topic in the agenda or shaped the debate at the moment).
- 2) It had influence on those who had influence. (Businessmen, etc.)

Or:

- 3) It achieved a policy change.

Or:

- 4) Researchers from xxx held government positions.

- Regarding this specific successful case, does the institute aim to work with local or national government levels?

Who disseminated the results of the research?

What types of messages were more effective and which failed in delivering the results of the research?

RESOURCES

- Negotiation capacity. (Possibility to influence policymaking process by using its political and economic resources).
- Capacity of figuring out the problem. (Capacity of getting the highest quantity and quality of significant information during the whole policymaking process).

QUESTIONS:

- What factors helped xxx have a better position in the debate of ideas?
- Is it always an objective to establish a relation with the government? Does it depend on the governing party?
- When do you get in touch with politicians/other relevant actors? Does it happen at the beginning or at the end of a research project? Can you identify a specific institutional channel for the relationship with the government?
- What are the main risks that could stop xxx's proposals from being materialized into policies? Does it change according to the moment? (For example, with a change of government administration or according to the topic areas).
- Did you ever rule out/reject a reform plan/idea produced by the institute because you realized that it wouldn't be possible to implement it because of the political game? (Give an example for that case).

POLITICAL-INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

- Political and institutional context of policy formulation.
- Decisive moments of the policy process.
- Informal and formal rules: first order, second order, third order (these levels are defined in the matrix of indicators).

QUESTIONS:

- In case that you selected a research project that had an 'agenda setting' type of influence... Did the successful research project chosen have an impact on the formal government agenda? How?
- In case that you selected a research project that had a direct impact on 'policy change'... Were some of the proposals made by xxx implemented? Which? What were the differences, if there were any, among the proposals and their implementation?
- According to you, is research an important input for government's policies?
- What was the status of the debate on the subject when the chosen research project had impact on policy? (Was it controversial or not? What versions were circulating? Were there competing sources of information? (Government, academia, international agencies, NGOs, etc.). How did you access to information on the diverse positions and their representatives?
- Who were the key actors in that subject? (In terms of political relevance, real or potential capacity to influence policymaking, capacity of influencing the debate, their relationship with media, etc.).
- Was any particular politician interested in promoting the ideas/proposals produced by xxx?
- Was there a law or a legal reform that favored the impact of the research done on the topic?
- How would you describe the policy game in that area? Are/were there formal/ informal mechanisms of participation for individuals who are not part of the government?
- In your opinion, is there/was there more openness in the decision-making process on this issue compared with others? Did the government need to provide an answer to a particular challenge? Was there an urgent and specific problem to solve?
- When promoting your proposals, what types of opportunities and challenges did you find?

NETWORKS

- Who are your strategic allies? Those that are so essential, without whom xxx wouldn't have been able to influence policymaking in general, and the chosen area in particular.
- What are the key elements of the alliance built between xxx and each actor? (Exchange of resources, common goals, dependence, etc.)
- Which research institutes/PRI/academics are/were you related to in order to defend an idea? Which ones do you oppose?

COMMUNICATION

- How are decisions made within your organization on the content and timing of what is communicated?
- Who is/are the spokesman/men of the organization? (Direct or indirect, i.e. an opinion leader who drives ideas from within the org) Why do you believe they are heard?
- Which communications media and tools are most frequently used?
- Do you specially design communications initiatives or products targeted to policymakers? Which? Do you address other audiences? (Businessmen, NGOs, academics, etc.)
- What is your relationship with press like? Whom do you call when you want to disseminate something? Which media consult you on certain topics? (Frequency, changes, etc.)

2. INTERVIEW GUIDELINES - RESEARCHER OF THE POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

RESEARCH TOPIC CHOSEN AS SUCCESSFUL

- Quantity.
- Quality.
 - Relevance (timely, topical, operational, contextual feasibility, participation)
 - Credibility (of the research and its team).
- Sources of funding. External requirements.
- Contestation (several sources of information competing).

QUESTIONS:

- How was the research topic chosen in xxx? (Did it relate with the 'issues of the moment'? Did it relate with the previous line of research on the same topic area that the institute has/had been working on?
- ¿How did you come up with the idea of doing this particular research? (It was proposed initially by the research institute; the topic was defined by the funding agency, etc.)
- Who commissioned and funded the research?
- Who conducted the research? Who participated in the research?
- What are or were the features of the research team? (Did external researchers, politicians, donors, etc. participate in any or all the stages of the research process? Why were they included in the research process?).
- ¿For how long did you investigate that topic? (Did you make a book, a paper or a whole body of research?)
- What contributions did the research process make to the existing knowledge at that time? What new elements did it bring? Which previous findings/theory did you take into account?
- In your opinion, which factors contributed to give relevance/credibility to the research? How did they contribute?
- Did you apply any particular strategy in order to guarantee a rigorous/quality research? Which one? (Peer review, triangulation, piloting approaches, etc.)
- How much importance did you attach to the feasibility of implementing the ideas?
- Who are/were xxx's national and international 'peer interlocutors' while the research was carried out? (Related to: the chances of having influence, the relationship with policymakers or media, and their academic or political career).
- Were the research results targeted at a specific public? Who? (Specific policymakers, congressmen, academics, a particular social group, etc.)
- Are there within the organization researchers who tend to be the institutional spokesmen?
- Which tools and channels did you choose for dissemination? (Did these vary according to the target audience, did some have larger reach or impact, etc.)
- Did you translate or synthesize the research results into specific concepts and ideas that could be easily understood by policymakers? (Detect whether they elaborated specific communications materials for policymakers, if dissemination was focused in what to say rather than in how to express it in order to reach more consensus).
- What were the channels of influence for the ideas?

MICRO POLICY CONTEXT

- Political and institutional context of policy formulation.
- Decisive moments of the policy process.
- Informal and formal rules: first order, second order, third order (these levels are defined in the matrix of indicators).

- How would you describe the debate on the subject? (Were there different, similar or competing proposals, consensual agreements and resistances? Which proposals and presented by whom were more accepted in that debate?)
- What actors do you think are or were relevant in the debate on the subject? (in terms of political importance, their real or potential capacity to influence policymaking or the debate in this area, their credibility as 'experts', their impact on the media or their capacity to reach other social actors, etc.)
- How can you go from setting a topic in the agenda to actually implementing ideas? (Which are the crucial factors? How important do you consider institutions that absorb/assimilate public policies?)
- Where xxx's ideas implemented? What sort of barriers did you find? What differences are there, if any, between the ideas and their implementation?
Was there any interest of a particular governmental section or group of policymakers in having this research performed? Which sector/group?
- Why do you believe that the decision makers used your work/research for policymaking?

NETWORKS

- Links with actors and stakeholders with real or potential capacity to have influence in the topic.
 - With whom did you interact to disseminate your proposal? Was dissemination specifically targeted to some audiences? (Politicians, interest groups, businessmen, mass media, etc.)
 - What kind of links did you establish with them? (Are they formal or informal?)
How did these connections favor or hinder the impact on policy?

3. INTERVIEW GUIDELINES- INTERVIEW WITH POLICYMAKER

INSTITUTION'S FEATURES

- Achievements of xxx. Areas of success.
- Relations between xxx and the government
- Institutional changes over time.

QUESTIONS:

- How do you assess the research produced by xxx?
In your opinion, what kind of impact did xxx's ideas have on policy?
- What factors contributed to/facilitated the implementation of xxx's ideas? *The research features, a window of opportunity in the political-economic context, the importance of certain relations among xxx and key actors (businessmen, media, policymakers, etc.), a combination of all of these factors?*
- In your opinion, how did xxx achieve a strategic position? *What factors contributed to the influence of its ideas/proposals in public policies?*

POLITICAL-INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

- Micro-policy context
- Decisive moments in the policy process
- Formal and informal rules. First order, second order, third order.

QUESTIONS:

- What is, in general, the value attached to research for policy formulation? *Do you consider it useful? Is research an important input for decision-making? Do you consider xxx's research useful and relevant for those objectives?*
- Do you believe that xxx was able to affect and shape the policy debate in the chosen topic area?
- Were there any ideas of xxx implemented? Which? *What were the differences, if there were any, between the proposals and their implementation?*
- How would you describe the policy game in that area? *What types of formal/ informal mechanisms for participation are there for external actors of the government?*
- In your opinion, is there/was there more openness in the decision-making process on this issue (these issues) compared to others? *Did the government need to provide an answer to a particular problem? Was there an urgent and specific matter to be solved?*
- What types of opportunities and challenges for promoting xxx's proposals were at the government?

NETWORKS

- What was your link with xxx or with xxx's researchers as a civil servant/policymaker?
- How was the relation established? *(You had worked together, someone recommended them, someone looked for them, they introduced themselves, etc.)*
- Which were the channels of influence for xxx's ideas?

COMMUNICATION

- How did xxx contact you in order to present its proposals? *(A direct contact concerning this topic, an informal chat during an event or meeting, etc.)*
- Do you consider that xxx's ideas and proposals were communicated successfully/effectively to you?
- Did you agree with xxx's ideas? *(Whether yes or no) Why?*

- Do you believe that xxx was well received in the political sphere in general? (Whether yes or no)
Why?

4. INTERVIEW GUIDELINES - INTERVIEW WITH EXTERNAL INFORMANT

GENERAL FEATURES

- Institutional features. Trajectory and political role.
 - Institutional links with relevant actors (policymakers, businessmen, academics, media, PRIs, etc.)
 - Research features.
 - His/her view on the impact that xxx has/has had on the policymaking process.
 - Reasons why xxx is a successful case.
-
- Would you consider xxx a successful policy research institute? Why? Do you think that it produces serious and meaningful research? Assess its changes over time.
 - Which ideas proposed by xxx do you think that had influence on policies? Why do you think that they achieved that?
 - What are the strengths and weaknesses of xxx? (Relations with businessmen, government, historical context, etc.)

RESEARCH

- How do you assess xxx's researchers?
- How would you describe the research produced by xxx? (Specific features).
- What kind of impact did (the research selected as successful) had on policy?
- If it was agenda setting or enlightenmentDo you think that xxx was able to shape the policy debate on the topic?
- If it was implementation.... Do you think that XXXX's ideas were crucial on that policy change?
- What factors contributed to/facilitated the success of xxx's ideas? (Research features, a window of opportunity in the political-economic context, the importance of certain relations among xxx and key actors (businessmen, media, policymakers, etc.) or a combination of all of these factors).

PLEASE GIVE A PERSONAL EVALUATION ON THE POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

C. SOME DEFINITIONS

As there are several different definitions of “policy research institutes” or “think tanks”, “public policy”, “research” and “influence”, in this section we present the notions we use in this paper.

First, it is important to define what is understood as a PRI. These organizations are also frequently named as think tanks. However, since this term has no direct translation in some languages and it is often also identified with a very specific and more rigid type of organization, mostly based on the model of US think tanks, we have preferred to use the term PRI.

Policy research institutes are defined in this study as non profit organizations that aim at influencing public policies through the production and communication of research and evidence, and which are formally autonomous from governments, political parties, and business groups.

We have chosen a broad definition of these organizations sharing Stone’s (Stone 1996: 17) conviction that PRI (in her case, think tank) “will always be a slippery term. This may well be a positive feature. An acceptance of the absence of firm boundaries between think-tanks and other organizations allows sensitivity to new or evolving kinds of think-tank. Continual tinkering with organizational style is to be welcomed for the potential benefits.”

Independence means in this paper that PRIs are not formally a branch or department of a governmental or business organization. However, even though these organizations are legally independent, it is important to highlight that their main sources of funding may come from governments or businesses, in the forms of contracts or donations. This frequently poses some doubts about their real degree of independence. In fact, donor engagement may lead stakeholders to question the PRIs’ genuine commitment to public goals instead of private interests.

To gain public recognition and respond to public doubts about their independence and objectivity, these institutes focus on expressing their commitment to maintain their ‘academic’ or research freedom, i.e. by ensuring quality of their research. They claim to influence policy through intellectual argument, analysis and research evidence rather than through lobbying and advocacy based on certain beliefs or values.

While commonly displaying a high level of social scientific expertise and/or familiarity with governmental structures and processes, there is considerable diversity in style and output of PRIs. Taking into account these different purposes, we can state that PRIs are an organizational expression of the blending of ideas, politics and policy *outside* formal political arenas (Stone, 1996). This means that these institutes are neither state bureaucracy, legislative, executive, judicial authorities nor political party actors, although, in practice, they become political actors. They are “bridging organizations”, since they bridge research and policy.

Public Policies are defined as a group of objectives, decisions and actions made by political actors in order to solve public problems. In this sense, we understand that a political actor would be linked to the policymaking process when its work aims to intervene in some stage of the public policy cycle defined below. Hence, public policies are those that affect the public or are visible to the public. That is why this definition is not restricted to the government but includes other organizations, such as international, bilateral agencies and non governmental organizations as well.

Research is defined as *‘any systematic effort to increase the stock of knowledge’* (GDN, 2004). It includes any systematic process of critical research and evaluation, theory building, data collection, analysis and codification related to development policy and practice. We have restricted the notion of research as a codified, scholarly and professional mode of knowledge production.

Research and policy defy neat separation: Researchers and policymakers and practitioners are not discrete groups; one individual can easily be in all three categories in different contexts or over a period of time.

However they can be conceptually distinguished by their goals and methods. While research produces knowledge, policy aims at continuity or change of a practice (Crewe and Young, 2002).

In this sense, the linear model is the most widely-held view of the way in which policy is made. It outlines policymaking as a problem-solving process which is rational, balanced, objective and analytical. In the model, decisions are made in a series of sequential phases, starting with the identification of a problem or issue, and ending with a set of activities to solve or deal with. This stages heuristic has been the most influential framework for understanding the policy process, which has been usually divided into the following phases (Sabatier, 1999: 6):

- 1) *Agenda setting*: it consists in recognizing and defining the nature of the issue to be dealt with and identifying possible courses of action to deal with the issue;
- 2) *Policy formulation and legitimation*: it consists in weighting up the advantages and disadvantages of each of these alternatives and choosing the option which offers the best solution;
- 3) *Implementation phase*: it consists in implementing the policy and possibly evaluating the outcomes;
- 4) *Evaluation*: the impact and outcomes of the chosen policy are evaluated and changes may be applied according to the results.

This model assumes that policymakers approach the issues rationally, going through each logical stage of the process, and carefully considering all relevant information. It actually develops a one-dimensional view of the utilization of research.

Actually, the policymaking process is very different from that outlined in the linear model. Policymaking must be understood as a political process as much as an analytical or problem-solving one. 'The policymaking process is by no means the rational activity that is often referred to in much of the standard literature. Indeed, the metaphors that have guided policy research over recent years suggest that it is actually rather messy, with outcomes occurring as a result of complicated political, social and institutional processes which are best described as "evolutionary" (Juma and Clarke 1995 in Sutton, 1999: 32).

Influence is also a problematic term, and the literature on these organizations has widely discussed about the different criteria and indicators to assess their real degree of impact. Even though PRIs constantly claim to exert influence on policy, it is difficult to measure influence. Many observers are dubious of PRIs having a considerable policy impact (Dror, 1980; Stone, 1996; Krastev, 2000; Abelson, 2002). The prevalence of such skepticism is due to the fact that PRIs are 'hidden participants' in policy (Kingdon, 1995), whereas decision making in the formal arenas by political parties, legislatures and executives is a more transparent process. While PRIs do not have a clear, consistent or legally designated route to policy influence, they are policy entrepreneurs in policy who have informal but haphazard access and opportunities for agenda-setting.

According to Stone (Stone, 1996: 109), "a reason for the different perceptions of think-tank effectiveness lies in varying conceptions of influence. A narrow interpretation posits that only direct impact –affecting the course of legislation or persuading decision-makers of a particular course of action–warrants the description of influence. Accordingly, the notion that think-tanks wield political influence is easily criticized."

However, numerous PRIs do not limit their goals to direct policy change, but also aim at improving the quality of public debate, or changing dominating paradigms. Some policy changes even require this type of influence to be sustainable. Thus we have defined INFLUENCE in a broad way that may include the diverse types of impact presented by Court and Pollard (Court and Pollard, 2005: 6), including:

- Influencing agenda setting, which includes establishing an issue in the public and/or political agendas and stimulating public debate as well as influencing the frame used to analyze this issue and make decisions (enlightenment).
- Influencing the formulation of policy, by presenting evidence and proposals based on research results. This not only includes fostering the creation of a new policy and influencing its contents but also convincing policymakers about specific changes on existing policies.
- Influencing the implementation of policy, by presenting evidence that is critical to improving the effectiveness of the regulation, program or practice.
- Influencing the monitoring and evaluation of policy, to ensure that the policy is well implemented and to assess its results in order to propose required refinements.

Even though some PRIs consider recruitment of an individual or team that belonged to the PRI from the government because of the influence of the ideas they have developed, there is discussion among PRIs about the value of this type of influence because it may damage the non partisanship image that it wants to convey; in fact, some PRIs have explicit policies that forbid a staff member to remain at the organization while carrying a government position.

Even if we are encompassing all these possible effects of PRI's impact, we acknowledge that there is still a problem with attribution. Rarely is there a one-to-one correspondence between a book or a study and a particular policy change or public opinion climate. There are numerous intervening forces that mediate and alter the impact of research that come between any cause and effect relationship that may exist between policy institutes and government decision-making. Hence, influence is difficult to measure. Proof of it is elusive and, at best, anecdotal. Indicators, such as media citations or appearances of staff before Congress and parliamentary committees merely signify that PRIs have attracted the attention of politicians and the media. It does not prove either that the thinking or perceptions of the public or politicians have been affected or that some policy initiative or reform has resulted from these exposures.

According to Abelson (Abelson, 2002: 15), indicators such as media quotations or appearances in legislative committees are useful to evaluate their visibility, but allow very scarce understanding on their specific impact on a given policy or policymaker: "to acquire better insight into the relevance of think tanks, one must go beyond simple data sets." Hence developing case studies is a useful approach in order to highlight some of the many functions PRIs perform in the policymaking process. A comparative analysis of these then enables to draw some conclusions about the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of these organizations in developing these functions.

APPENDIX II: CONTENTS OF THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: THE VARIABLES.

In this paper, we aim to think in what ways PRIs have contributed to the policy process, but we must recognize the difficulties in assessing the degree to which they actually affect policy. It is difficult to establish a direct causal link between the activities of PRIs and policy outcomes. Attribution is a very complex, and sometimes even contested, task. There are too many variables interfering to be able to talk about a direct casual link. What is actually present is influence.

One way to mitigate the problem of quantifying influence was by looking not only at the *degree* of external influence that could be verified by external referents and documents, but also, based on an institutional approach, at the *role* that PRIs see themselves playing, the contributions they make to the policy process and how, or if, these contributions are used and valued by others, especially policymakers.

ENDOGENOUS VARIABLES

One way of analyzing PRIs is by looking at their institutional and organizational structures and how these affect the organizations' capacity to produce high quality research and engage in policy advocacy. The main points that come across are similarities and differences related to internal governance, structure and procedures, availability of resources (human and financial resources), personal connections and relationships, etc. Nevertheless, not everything depends on actors' capacities to influence the policy process. In fact, evidence coming from the four analyzed regions shows the importance of political and institutional contexts, which will be covered in detail in the section Exogenous variables.

Even though to have a concrete policy impact, PRIs rely on windows of opportunity that are opened in the political, economic or social contexts, their effectiveness also depends on the way they are managed and they adjust to the continuous internal and external changes. This section presents the variables we have analyzed in order to identify key internal management factors of policy institutes (especially their funding, staff, research and communication policies) that could have visible consequences in the way they try to influence policy.

We have divided these endogenous variables into three main streams: 1) institutional management; 2) research management; and 3) communication strategies. In each stream we thought that we should look into a subset of variables that will be described below.

1) Institutional leadership and management

The way PRIs' founders and leaders define and redefine its purpose and manage the resources accordingly to achieve the established goals may have a direct link to their effectiveness in achieving long term influence in policies. How decisions are made and what decisions are made on what is sought with the creation and maintenance of the institute, who and how main goals are established, and which internal policies, procedures and resources will enable an effective coordination for policy impact are all key questions for PRIs and they might have an effect in their capacity for policy impact.

We will analyze three important aspects of institutional management:

1.1 Organizational governance: importance of its origins and founders, organizational structure, management profile, role and degree of involvement of boards, leadership, strategies for alliances and networks.

1.2 Funding: securement of funds to conduct projects and programmes may have a tight link not only to organizational sustainability but also an impact on the degree of independence to select topics, the duration and scope of influence processes, motivation and retention of researchers, etc.

1.3 Human resources: profiles and backgrounds of researchers and other members such as communications specialists, staff with governmental experience and/or contacts, policies to attract and retain researchers interested in influencing policymakers, etc. may also be relevant to detect whether they are linked to the organization's effectiveness in influencing policies.

2) Research management

Research was examined based on the characteristics of the research itself and how PRIs select, conduct and use research for different reasons and with diverse goals, not only according to policy stages, but also based on the way they evolve internally (changes in profiles of researchers, changes in funding, etc.). As stated above, we define research as '*any systematic effort to increase the stock of knowledge*'. PRIs tend to produce three main types of research:

1. Research geared to problem-solving/consulting: this type of research is basically directed to assisting policymakers in dealing with policy challenges, it also includes statistical data and indexes that help enhance decision making, and the design of public policy processes and procedures.

2. Research and evidence to back up critique and advocacy efforts: this research can take the form of monitoring or evaluation, as well as diagnosis of certain public problems with recommendations on how to solve them.

3. Fundamental research: this type of research is usually performed in PRIs that apply a long term approach to the analysis of public policies, and can deeply research certain topics that they anticipate will need a structural solution in the future.

We have analyzed how PRIs manage research by looking at the following aspects:

2.1 Selection of research topics: how research is organized within the policy research institute, how they identify "top" issues with policy relevance, the role of researchers' interests and decisions on research topics selection. Also, we tried to detect if there is any continuity of research areas and goals, how sources of funding affect these, etc.

2.2 Research process: how research is conducted and evaluated is also a decision made by the organization; this includes research team features, contracting external experts or specialists, methodologies employed such as participation of key external actors, quality control.

2.3 Research characteristics: what type of research the PRI specializes in (if there is a focus), credibility, operational outputs, political feasibility, etc.

3) Communication

Finally, it is important to highlight that literature on the bridge between research and policy acknowledges that communications plays a pivotal role. However, most of the literature presents communications as a synonym to dissemination, providing specific guidelines to help researchers ensure that their ideas and findings reach policymakers. Communications in this study is conceived as a two way flow of signals produced and received by the organization, either intentionally and unintentionally. Signals produced by the organization generate perceptions and expectations among the different groups with which the organization usually interacts.

We have selected a series of variables that have allowed us to detect a set of signals produced by the organization to affect perceptions and expectations of diverse stakeholders in order to reach consensus about its goals. These should be combined with the analysis of general perceptions that policymakers possess on the role of research in policymaking (see exogenous variables), as well as their expectations on the role of PRIs and their members in policymaking processes, which either hinder or facilitate the reception of messages.

Hence we will detect how communications helps to bridge research and policies by analyzing the following variables:

- 3.1 Strategies and tools for institutional communications: the way the organization is perceived may influence its potential to reach other stakeholders with research outputs and proposals. We will analyze the role played by institutional reputation and credibility as overall umbrellas that frame other specific signals that the PRI produces around research and proposals.
- 3.2 Strategies and tools for research dissemination: we will detect signals specifically focused on research and analyze whether they are public or private, content-centered or politics-centered; how media in general reflect research findings; which are those most frequently used public communications tools; and degree of accessibility both in terms of availability and legibility of research products.
- 3.3 Relationships with policymakers: given the importance of this group in the bridge between research and policy we will explore the most usual information flows, including usual intermediaries, type of interactions and segmentation in the messages according to policymaker's profile.
- 3.4 Relationships with other relevant actors: since other stakeholders are included in the analysis of policymaking games, we will investigate which individuals, groups and organizations (such as donors, business leaders, networks, etc.) these PRIs address throughout their activities, for which purposes and through which specific signals.

EXOGENOUS VARIABLES

Exogenous variables include all external factors that are beyond the direct control of the PRIs, and that affect their operating environment, either positively or negatively, in diverse levels and degrees. As stated by Court and Young (2003) findings from the literature and the comparison of 50 case studies on research and policy clearly signal that the political context is very important – often the most important issue – in affecting the degree to which research affects policy.

However, as Court (Court with Cotterrell, 2005: 2) states, “while there is a substantial literature on the impact of politics and institutions on research uptake in OECD countries (eg Weiss, 1977; Lindquist, 1988), there is much less regarding the impact of political and institutional factors on uptake in developing countries. This is a serious gap: political and institutional contexts in the developing world differ greatly from the OECD and display a massive diversity. This makes it especially difficult to draw valid generalizations and lessons from existing experience and theory.”

The complexity and variety of contexts, along with the main focus of the project on making an institutional analysis of PRIs, have led us to synthesize context-related issues into these two types of variables:

- A) STRUCTURAL, MACRO-POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC VARIABLES, which set the "hard" limits to the objective that PRIs may aspire to achieve. These contextual limits are the result of the social, economic and political reality of countries where think tanks act. Thus, these variables set the feasible limits to the goals that think tanks can pursue. An example is a federal system vs unitary system.

Among the macro-economic and political variables and the influence of PRIs, we find an intervening crucial factor: institutions. Hence, institutions do matter. They are the rules and incentives that drastically influence the possibilities of success of the institutes under study. To discern which are the realistic possibilities of exerting some influence on their specific political-institutional contexts could be one of the most important capacities that PRIs should develop to become successful institutes.

- B) POLITICAL-INSTITUTIONAL VARIABLES, which, within the above mentioned macro feasibility limits determine the possibility of having a greater or a lesser influence on policy, depending on the domestic political processes that led to the construction of the government agenda (representing

certain preferences over others). That is, this set of variables assigns differential probabilities for think tanks to achieve their goals within the limits of what is feasible.

The following were considered among key variables that might have a direct impact in how PRIs influence policies:

- 1) Existence of political demand of research. If research is demand-driven, the success probability will probably grow, even in countries with less democratic political systems. Related to this point, perceptions and expectations around research in general and its value within policymaking influences receptiveness of the research results dissemination. This variable includes indicators such as the importance and credibility given to research and the PRIs by policymakers as well as culture of use of evidence and the prevailing climate of rationality (whether policymaking processes tend to be based on evidence instead of ideology, values or rhetoric).
- 2) Openness to citizen participation: there is an increasing trend in developing countries to open up policy processes to civil society participation; in several cases this has been fostered by IFIs (the World Bank's Participatory Poverty Reduction Strategies are an example) and global policy processes (Convention of Rights of Children, the Rio Summit, and Doha Rounds, for example). In some countries, there are even some institutionalized channels and processes, and some specific sectors of the government are more open to external actors' participation than others. It is important though that participation might be valued only in the discourse but not become a. On the other side, policymakers question civil society organizations for their degree of representativeness, legitimacy and accountability.
- 3) Windows of opportunity for PRIs to make an impact on policies. For example, a policy window can be the result of an economic, political or social crisis which speeds up the impact of the research on policy. Kingdon states that similar to the alignment of planets that don't stay for long, there are windows that open in policy systems. "These policy windows, the opportunities for action on given initiatives, present and open for only short periods. If the participants cannot or do not take advantage of these opportunities, they must bide their time until the next opportunity comes along." (Kingdon, 1995: 166) The author explains that a window can open due to a change in the political stream (i.e. a shift in the political composition of the Congress or in the national mood), or also because a new problem grabs the attention of policymakers and those who are near them.

Undoubtedly, these policy windows are crucial for PRIs; they must be ready and prepared to take advantage of them.

Along the same lines, Kuruvilla explains that policy environments may contain habitual and relatively unproblematic events and interactions, but when the flow of events is interrupted or challenged for any variety of reasons, a problematic situation arises. The author adds that these problematic situations are directly linked with 'matters of public concern' in which several actors in society potentially have a stake and which therefore require policy activity (Kuruvilla, 2005).

- 4) Degree of governmental capacity: in developing countries, local, subnational or national governments often lack the expertise, knowledge, qualified staff, and/or financial resources to analyze, formulate and implement certain public policies. When this need is recognized by policymakers and they express a concern for increasing State capacity, they sometimes turn to civil society organizations (universities, grassroots organizations, business chambers, intermediate non governmental organizations, and think tanks) for assistance through various ways: consultations, strategic advice, participation in committees, provision of research and evidence, contracts to deliver specific goods or services, etc. All these instances could provide PRIs with opportunities to better understand governmental needs and align their research findings and evidence-based proposal with them.

APPENDIX III: GENERAL INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM THE SURVEY IN LATIN AMERICA, ASIA AND AFRICA¹⁰

This section provides general information of PRIs from Latin America, Asia and Africa¹¹. The following data are based on the policy research survey carried out for the building up of PRIs Directory, which was the final output of the first part on this project and is available at www.researchandpolicy.org.

Criteria used to select institutes were defined together with an external Advisory Council¹² composed by academics who are experts in the field. They helped us to define what a policy research institute or policy research institute is, and also to define general criteria to identify and select the organizations to be included in the Directory.

To build up the Directory, the criteria aimed to be restrictive enough in order to set limits to the vast universe of research centers based on the limited resources available to conduct this first phase of the project. At the same time, we tried to be flexible enough to adapt the study to the heterogeneous and complex realities of three very different regions, trying not to leave out relevant institutes.

Finally, PRIs included in the directory meet the following criteria:

1. ORGANIZATIONAL AUTONOMY

It is a constituent feature of PRIs. They must be relatively “discrete” actors. In order to assemble the cases for the directory, we included policy research institutes that have a formal legal status as an entity outside the public sector and independent from corporate and other interests. Autonomy can be determined from their status as a non-profit organization. Besides, organizational autonomy means that each PRI has the final decision about the ways to manage their organization and that they do not depend on another organization that contains them. One limitation of criterion that we must acknowledge is that it required us to rule out the study centers of Universities, to keep consistency, since they are not organizationally independent, as well as the foundations that are part of companies. Then, if we were to eliminate the University study centers because they lack independence from the university structure, we would be forced to regard the “University” as the independent organization itself. And, in that case, we would have to rule them out on other criteria basis because the main purpose of a PRI must be to do research oriented to inform / influence the policy process and, in the case of universities, the main purpose is teaching. Finally, to look at the organizational feature allowed us to decide, when we were not sure, whether some research centers were PRIs or not. We could look at the more comprehensive organizational structure in which the center was contained and decide by using this criterion.

2. CONTINUITY OVER TIME

In order to assemble the directory we included PRIs with at least one year-lifetime (created before January 2003) because the objective of the directory was to take a “picture” of current reality. However, it is worth saying that the endurance of an institution would not necessarily guarantee success. Furthermore, it depends

¹⁰ All the information presented in tables and figures excludes missing cases, but Table #7, includes them because it was relevant to do so.

¹¹ Each region includes the following countries: 1) Latin America: Argentina, Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela; 2) Asia: Bangladesh, India, Israel, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Thailand, United Arab Emirates and Uzbekistan and; 3) Africa: Botswana, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda.

¹² The Academic Advisory Board was composed of: Dr. Carlos H. Acuña (University of San Andrés), Dr. Catalina Smulovitz (University Torcuato Di Tella), Dr. Roberto Martínez Nogueira (President CEO and University of Buenos Aires) and Dr. Luis Alberto Quevedo (FLACSO).

on the characteristics of the policies that are to be influenced. This is so because there are policies that are “discrete” in their realization (for example, in cases when the passing of a certain law is needed, and the policy research institute is born with the only purpose of influencing it). A case like this one can be defined as a “disposable policy research institute”. Its purpose is the passing of the law. These PRIs are born with this objective and then they die. So, dying is equivalent to succeeding. What is important is that their dissolution is not caused by contingencies of context, but because it was among its objectives to disappear at a specific moment. In this case, we may establish a difference between short-term and long-term PRIs.

3. PUBLIC PURPOSE AND POLICY FOCUS

Policy focus: desire to inform the policy process. Research is not disinterested. They seek some involvement with governments. Their strong policy focus differentiates them from university research, which is often more academic, theoretical and less amenable to general consumption.

Public purpose: public spirit or, at least, the rhetoric of contributing to public debate and educating the community.

4. EXPERTISE AND PROFESSIONALISM

Staff: existence of professional individuals, defined as experts in the field who hold professional degrees.

5. RESEARCH

PRIs must do research oriented to public policy. This is a crucial feature. They have to show some commitment to knowledge production. Specifically, in order to assemble the directory, we observed if they do research and then disseminate the results through books, papers, newsletters, etc.

6. DIVERSIFICATION OF INCOME (INDEPENDENCE)

To assess a minimal level of independence and public purpose, it was decided that PRIs included would need to demonstrate funding multiplicity (more than two sources of income).

Methodology

For the identification of research centers we used existing directories (such as NIRA’s Think Tank Directory), media articles and books about PRIs. Simultaneously, we used internet (search engines and institution web pages) in order to find and select institutions and the organizations linked to them. Key informants from the three regions were also contacted to ask them about policy research institutes they were familiar with and/or any other relevant information.

This search mechanism was selected due to the rapid and feasible result of realization within budgetary possibilities. We are conscious that this mechanism presents obvious biases by excluding organizations that are not on the internet or available only locally or regionally. However, we consider that this effort is a sufficiently valuable and important contribution so that its methodological biases do not detract from its relevance and pertinence.

To gather the information, a self-administered¹³ questionnaire, designed by CIPPEC and applied in all regions, was sent by e-mail. This questionnaire focused on covering institutional and foundational information (contact information, origins of the organization and its founders), information on the structure (human resources, annual budget and sources of financing, areas of work, target population, area of influence), organizations with which they work (networks or alliances), and the project, strategies and accomplishments of each organization.

Data collection was carried out by CIPPEC (Argentina) in Latin America, KIPPRA (Kenya) in Africa, and IIDS (Nepal) in Asia, from February to April, 2004. The questionnaire was sent to 461 PRIs (350 from Latin

¹³ See Annex III.

America, 44 from Africa and 67 from Asia). Finally, 195 PRIs in Latin America and the Caribbean, 23 in Africa and 31 in Asia answered the questionnaire. After excluding two incomplete responses, the total number of surveyed PRIs was 247.

It is important to note that the policy research institute Directory is neither a census nor a probabilistic sample. Therefore, it is not statistically representative of all PRIs in the three regions. Nevertheless, data collection was as exhaustive as possible within the budgetary, temporary and geographic boundaries of the Directory.

IV.I RESULTS OBTAINED THROUGH THE SURVEY

Specifically, the information obtained through the survey shows certain general tendencies of PRIs across the three regions and certain institutional and organizational characteristics which are specific of some of them.

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF PRIS BY REGION¹⁴

Region	Frequency	Percentage
Latin America & the Caribbean	193	78%
Asia	31	12.5%
Africa	23	9.5%
Total	247	100%

The database is composed of 247 PRIs or policy research institutes selected from 43 countries: 78% of PRIs are from Latin America, 12.5% from Asia and 9.5% from Africa.

As regards general tendencies, the first piece of information from the analysis is that frequency of policy research institute creation appears to have increased between the 1960s and the 1990s. Their growth was especially noticeable during the 1990s in all regions. Nevertheless, in Africa, the number of PRIs established during the 1990s was larger than in Latin America and Asia. However, this information must be understood by taking into account that the information obtained is only based on the existing PRIs until 2003, so we cannot assure that in other decades there was not a similar expansion of PRIs that do not exist today.

In relation to the budget structure of PRIs of the three regions studied, we can observe that there is, in parallel, about 40% of PRIs which have a budget between US\$100,000 and US\$500,000 and also 17.8% of institutions which have a budget of about US\$1,000,000. This shows that PRIs across regions tend to have intermediate and large budgets, according to the scale presented (from USD 0 to USD 1,000,000). If divided by regions, we can notice that in Latin America 22.5%, in Asia 44.4% and in Africa 57.9% of PRIs have more than US\$750,000.

TABLE 2: ANNUAL AVERAGE BUDGET (LAST 3 YEARS)

		Region			
USD		Latin America & the Caribbean	Asia	Africa	All regions
	0-25,000	9.8%	11.1%	0%	9.1%
	25,000 - 50,000	4.6%	3.7%	0%	4.1%
	50,000 - 100,000	9.8%	7.4%	5.3%	9.1%
	100,000 - 250,000	23.1%	14.8%	10.5%	21%
	250,000 - 500,000	20.8%	11.1%	15.8%	19.2%

¹⁴ All the information presented in tables and figures excludes missing cases.

500,000 - 750,000	9.2%	7.4%	10.5%	9.1%
750,000 - 1,000,000	9.2%	14.8%	15.8%	10.5%
More than \$1,000,000	13.3%	29.6%	42.1%	17.8%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Looking at funding structures we may find that, in Latin America, around 44% of the PRIs in the region have a budget between USD 100,000 and USD 500,000 and, at the same time, 13.3% of PRIs have more than 1,000,000. This tendency is similar to the one shown above for the three regions. In the case of Africa, it is to be noted that 42% of PRIs have a budget higher than USD 1,000,000. Furthermore, 57.9% of the PRIs fall within USD 750,000 and USD 1,000,000 budget categories. It is worth mentioning that there are few cases of PRIs with a budget below than USD 100,000. Finally, as shown above, in Asia policy research institute distribution among categories is more disperse.¹¹

Finally, most of the PRIs do not depend on only one source of funding. They have a diversified budget that includes several sources of funding. Moreover, “international organizations” are the main source of funding in all regions. Another important funding strategy of PRIs is their own generated income, such as sales of products and services.

TABLE 3: AREAS OF RESEARCH
(MULTIPLE RESPONSE ANSWER)

Areas of research	Percentage of cases
Economics	68.4%
State reform	65.6%
Education	63.6%
Poverty	61.1%
Environment	49%
Labor	44.5%
Gender	42.5%
Health	40.5%
Human rights	37.2%
Justice	31.6%
Culture	30.4%
Other	27.9%
Science & technology	22.7%

Regarding research topics, economics is the most important area of research (68.4%) as well as state reform (65.6%), education (63.6%) and poverty (61.1%) in all regions.

TABLE 4: NUMBER OF RESEARCH AREAS

Number of research areas	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1-3	23.1%	23.1%
4-6	38.1%	61.1%
7-9	28.3%	89.5%

¹¹ It is important to acknowledge that larges institutes with significant budgets are proaly easier to detect than smaller ones. This might signify that there may be more PRIs in the regions with lower budgets.

10-12	10.5%	100%
Total	100%	

As we can see, most PRIs have several areas of research. In fact, almost 40% of all PRIs carry out studies that comprise between 4 and 6 research areas. These could be probably linked to the fact that by diversifying areas of work, PRIs may have more potential to attract diverse funders who are interested in supporting different topics. A gap for further research is to investigate why and how PRIs open or close research areas, as well as advantages and disadvantages of diversification vs specialization.

TABLE 5: STAFF

		Region			
Number of employees		Latin America & the Caribbean	Asia	Africa	All regions
	1-5	10.8%	6.7%	0%	9.2%
	6-10	23.8%	13.3%	21.7%	22.3%
	11-15	11.9%	6.7%	8.7%	10.9%
	16-20	14.1%	10%	8.7%	13%
	21-25	7.6%	6.7%	17.4%	8.4%
	26-30	4.3%	3.3%	4.3%	4.2%
	31-35	8.1%	0%	8.7%	7.1%
	36-40	1.6%	3.3%	4.3%	2.1%
	41-45	3.2%	0%	8.7%	3.4%
	46-50	2.2%	13.3%	4.3%	3.8%
	More than 50	12.4%	36.7%	13%	15.5%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

If we look at the staff composition of PRIs in all regions, table number 8 shows that most PRIs employ between 6 and 20 persons (45%). Also, 15.5% of them employ more than 46 persons.

TABLE 6: PUBLICATIONS (MULTIPLE RESPONSE ANSWER)¹²

		Region			
Publications		Latin America & the Caribbean	Asia	Africa	All regions
	Books	75,6%	71,0%	78,3%	75,2%
	Journals	38,4%	35,5%	26,1%	36,7%
	Working/Research papers	69,2%	80,6%	91,3%	73%
	Reports	60,5%	87,1%	91,3%	67,3%
	Bulletins	49,4%	25,8%	43,5%	45,6%
	Newsletters	28,5%	51,6%	52,2%	34,1%
	Directories	2%	10%	4%	3,5%

¹² In the communication section, there are a total of 226 cases surveyed: 172 from Latin America, 31 from Asia and 23 from Africa. Not all countries of the Directory are represented in these tables and charts because some surveys were different and the results couldn't fit the variables.

Other	15,1%	25,8%	17,4%	16,8%
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Common regional patterns signal that the type of publications most frequently used by PRIs as methods of dissemination are both books and research papers. This is also clearly consistent with the prevalence given to them in most of the institutions' web sites.

Besides these tools, Asian and African PRIs have pointed out reports among the most common methods for dissemination: 87,1% and 91,3% respectively produce them. This is not the case in Latin America, where the percentage is significant but not as high, (60.5%).

TABLE 7: OTHER METHODS OF DISSEMINATION (MULTIPLE RESPONSE ANSWER)

		Region			
Other methods		Latin America & the Caribbean	Asia	Africa	All regions
	Speaking at public events	79,1%	80,6%	87,0%	80,1%
	Organizing targeted events	80,2%	80,6%	91,3%	81,4%
	Personal meetings with policymakers	73,8%	71,0%	91,3%	75,2%
	Distribution of papers in networks	58,1%	45,2%	65,2%	57,1%
	Press releases/Reports	54,1%	64,5%	69,6%	57,1%
	Mailing lists	48,8%	48,4%	82,6%	52,2%
	Trainings	59%	52%	74%	59,3%
	Other	16,3%	22,6%	0,0%	15,5%

Table 7 shows that events are the most popular methods of dissemination that complement publications, reaching overall even a higher percentage than the latter. Events respond to a double strategy: on one hand, PRIs' researchers participate in those organized by others as speakers; they take advantage of other existing public spheres to voice their ideas. On the other hand, they proactively create their own opportunities to spread findings and proposals, by organizing their events there are able to decide what is being discussed, as well as who become protagonists and audience of what is being said, i.e. the type of speakers, the profile of participants, etc.

More than 75% of PRIs also conduct personal meetings with policymakers. In the case of Africa it is even on the top of most used communications tools. This data show that private spaces and person-to-person interactions are also relevant in the linkage between research and policy.

Africa also shows a slightly higher percentage in trainings and mailing lists options. Distribution of papers in networks is less common in Asia. It is also worth highlighting that press releases and reports, although applied in more than half of the cases, seem not to be perceived among the most used methods for dissemination.

TABLE 8: TYPE OF CONTACT WITH THE MEDIA (MULTIPLE RESPONSER ANSWER)

		Region			
		Latin America & the Caribbean	Asia	Africa	All regions
Type of contact	Opinion columns in newspapers	61,80%	55,60%	91,30%	60,70%
	Research findings publication in newspapers	50,30%	85,20%	65,20%	58,70%
	Consulted in specific issues by newspapers	73,20%	70,40%	69,60%	72,80%
	Interviews in radio and TV	88,50%	88,90%	82,60%	86,90%
	Other	17,80%	18,50%	73,90%	18,90%

Contact with media is not limited to sending out informational products to journalists. In fact, PRIs are also sought by media as sources of information: interviews in radio and TV (86.9%) as well as consultations by print media (72.8%) are among the most common types of contacts throughout the regions.

In the case of Africa, PRIs have a significantly high percentage of other type of contact with the media (73.9%) which might include informal contacts with journalists and opinion leaders and/or specific spaces provided by media to include their information such as opinion columns (91.3%). Finally, Asia stands out in their use of research findings publication (85.2%).

APPENDIX IV: CASE STUDIES

CENTER OF LEGAL AND SOCIAL STUDIES [CELS]: ARGENTINA'S CASE STUDY

By

Juan Labaqui and Vanesa Weyrauch

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ABSTRACT

CELS was founded during the military dictatorship, in 1979. Its founders were lawyers and professionals from other fields who had suffered the loss of their children to the repressive action of the dictatorship. Their aim was to give public account, through research and documented evidence, of the repressive mechanism and methodology mounted by military dictatorship to conduct the “dirty war” against subversion. In addition, CELS aimed to pursue individual legal actions regarding the victims of repression and disappeared persons, to mobilize the public opinion, and to create a network of international solidarity.

In this vein, CELS' uniqueness relates to its origin. Since its initial years, it has been a politicized and ideologically charged think tank committed to the defense and respect of human rights and the rule of law. This places CELS in a paradoxical situation with respect to the State, for it denounces the State for human rights violations, while simultaneously aims to influence the policymaking process and decision taking in order to strengthen the states capacities to defend human rights and uphold the rule of law.

CELS recognition as a successful think tank is a result of different actions and achievements. First, the particular approach CELS had towards the military regime and the analysis of the ongoing repression. Second, the contributions made to both the investigation of human rights violations and the prosecution of the Military Juntas during the first years of democracy. Finally, accomplishing an organizational transition triggered by the pardon laws issued in the mid eighties to alleviate military unrest.

At present, CELS' mission and objectives focus on influencing public policy regarding fundamental rights, uncovering human rights violations, and strengthening the rule of law. CELS four programs reflect its areas of interest: Memory and Fight against Impunity for State Terrorism; Institutional Violence and Public Safety; Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; and Democratic Justice. In addition to these, CELS has other three work areas –Litigation and Legal Assistance, Documentation, and Communications.

Also differing from other think tanks, CELS research objective is not to generate and convey knowledge, but to develop instruments to enhance influence capacity. CELS combines this with constant and open communication, which ensures credibility and identity, while also allowing reaching diverse stakeholders. Communication is a crucial component of CELS' mission, both at the institutional and program levels.

CELS' governing body is the Associates' Assembly, formed by approximately 70 associates who elect the Board of Directors. The board's President, Vice-President, and Secretariat, together with the Executive Director, form the Executive Committee. Project specific and discretionary funds finance the organization's work and activities, being the latter a key success factor to benefit from political windows of opportunity.

These and other resources, such as strategic alliances and partnerships, explain CELS' influence on policy and its capacity to accurately assess and exploit the political context. An example of this was the case of CELS influence on the reform of the Supreme Court appointment procedures. In this case, along with other five organizations, CELS found a way out of the Supreme Court's institutional crisis, which shortly after became keystone of the institutional strengthening process within the Senate.

1. CELS ENDOGENOUS CHARACTERISTICS THAT FACILITATED INFLUENCE

CELS's most important organizational and institutional features are summarized in this table and explained below:

CELS	
1. Legal status	Civil Association
2. Year of foundation	1979
3. Founders	Relatives of victims of the Military Repressive apparatus / Lawyers + Human Rights activists
4. Governing body:	One main body: Associates' Assembly. Defines the composition of the Board of Directors. CELS also has Local and International Councils.
a. Businessmen	No
b. Academics	Yes
c. Politicians	No
d. Lawyers	Yes
d. Other	Yes: Human Rights activists, journalists, and intellectuals
5. Government positions	No
6. Budget	300,000 – 400,000 USD. 90% from abroad, 10% local.
7. Funding	Local funds are project-specific. The remaining funds are 60% discretionary and 40%, project-specific.
8. Sources of funding	International benefactors, organizations, cooperation agencies and contested domestic government grants
9. Research topics' selection	Researchers/Board
10. Research organization	Research programs
11. Research's features	Research conceived as an instrument to influence public policy; Relevance of the topic and appropriateness for CELS' identity Participation of policy makers and decisionmakers Incidence on policy, uncovering human rights violations
12. Researchers' background	Lawyers and Graduates. Almost 20% have postgraduate studies.
13. Staff profile	Increasingly diversified, although 40-50% of staff are lawyers.
14. Areas of research	Human rights, Democratic System, and Rule of Law.
15. Research topics	Human rights violations, fundamental rights, leading case litigation, institutional violence, and topic related to state terrorism

16. Staff number	45 staffers or employees
17. Hiring contracts	Long-term
18. Who is in charge of communications	Communication's area, Executive Director, Deputy Director and Program Directors are spokespersons
19. Regular contact with the media	Yes

ORIGINS / YEAR OF FOUNDATION / FOUNDERS

After the 1955 Military coup against President Juan Perón, Argentina was subject to a succession of weak civilian governments and military dictatorships. The proscription of peronism, the disappointing, brief, and exclusionary democratic experiences of the 1960s and the authoritarian regime in power between 1966 and 1973 sowed the seeds for political violence. During his third presidency (1973-1976), Perón encouraged the activities of right-wing paramilitary groups supported by different ministries and by the Armed Forces to fight against alleged subversive groups. Perón died shortly after assuming office, leaving the presidency to his wife and paving the way for a gradual increase of the Armed Forces' influence and repressive action against these groups. On March 24th 1976, amidst an economic crisis and a climate of political violence, the military finally overthrew the government and installed a military dictatorship.

The military government embarked on the so-called "Proceso de Reorganización Nacional" and marked a significant departure from the previous administrations' economic policies. It also deployed an anti-subversive policy consisting of covert "death squads" formed by the military and security forces. These death squads perpetrated the "disappearance" of persons (allegedly left-wing activists). Guerrilla members, suspected left wing activists, grass-roots union leaders, and even priests inspired by liberation priests became the main targets of their operations. The disappeared were illegally detained and placed in clandestine prisons where they were tortured and eventually murdered. The disappeared did not pass through the official detention system, but rather remained imprisoned in clandestine detention centers until their death.¹³

CELS was founded in 1979 during the military dictatorship. Its founders were lawyers and professionals from other fields who had suffered the loss of their children to the repressive action of the dictatorship. Four out of seven CELS' founders were lawyers, who had previously collaborated in other human right organizations. In fact, some of them had worked in the collective habeas corpus recourses presented to find out about the whereabouts of disappeared persons. Emilio Mignone, who presided over CELS during the initial years, had access to foreign government officials and international organizations with which he had worked before.

Despite its affinities with other human rights organizations, CELS developed a unique approach to the defense of human rights and the power abuses perpetrated by the military dictatorship. Their aim was to give public account, through research and documented evidence, of the repressive mechanism and methodology mounted by military dictatorship to conduct the "dirty war" against subversion. It also aimed to initiate and pursue individual legal actions regarding the victims of repression and disappeared persons. Finally, CELS aimed to mobilize public opinion and to create a network of international solidarity. In order to stress its definition as a "center of studies," in 1985 CELS took the legal form of a civil association for the defense of fundamental rights.

¹³ The CONADEP—the official commission investigating these cases—released a final report on September 1984 documenting over 9,000 cases of disappeared persons. The Madres de Plaza de Mayo claim this number is much higher, around 30,000. According to the calculations of Argentina's chief repressive apparatus, the 601 Intelligence Battalion, the disappeared persons between 1975 and mid-1978 were 22,000.

Hence, CELS' activities centered on providing legal aid to the relatives of the victims of military repression, especially the disappeared, and documenting the acts of terrorism committed by the state. These activities actually were closely related. Once a person disappeared, no official agency –police, courts, military quarters or executive bureaus- would give information regarding his/her legal status or confirm his/her arrest. The government would deny any participation and dismiss the existence of clandestine imprisonment centers. Thus, filing habeas corpus recourses and pursuing legal action individually –initiating a judicial file on the person's case- was the only way to leave official record of his/her disappearance. Moreover, these records were evidence that could eventually be used in pursue of legal actions once democracy was restored.

Regarding international networking, CELS' activities were manifold: 1) it collaborated with the IAHRIC during its visit in 1980, as it did with other human rights international organizations, providing documents and testimonies; 2) it fostered a network with different international organizations, and 3) it maintained regular contact with foreign embassies. In 1981, CELS presented its research on the military dictatorship's clandestine organization, its goals, methodology, and operational procedures at a Colloquium in Paris, France.¹⁴

The military government collapsed after the defeat suffered at the Islas Malvinas War with Great Britain, forcing a transition to democracy. In December of 1983 the *Unión Cívica Radical* (UCR) candidate, Raúl Alfonsín, took office and created a commission to investigate the cases of the citizens disappeared during the military dictatorship: the *Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas* (CONADEP). In 1984, the Military Juntas were tried, and in 1985, all of its members convicted and imprisoned. During this period, CELS aided CONADEP and collaborated with the prosecution in the trial of the Military Juntas, later sponsoring and filing approximately 700 legal actions against members of the armed forces, security forces officers, and civilians involved in human rights violations.

By late 1986, the avalanche of lawsuits against military officers of different ranks increased military unrest. The president responded by the passing of the first of the two so called "leyes del perdón" (pardon laws): the *Punto Final Act*, which set February 24th 1987 as the final deadline for filing suits against military officers for human right crimes committed during the dictatorship. The second law, the "Obediencia Debida" Act, was passed a few months later –after a military uprising. It established that no military officer could be tried for crimes committed following orders from the chain of command.

These bills impeded the pursuit of legal action in the realm of crimes committed under the military dictatorship, CELS' core activity since the restoration of democracy. The actions taken to face this challenge were twofold. On one hand, CELS denounced these bills –and other acts of impunity such as the official pardons granted to the military juntas by President Carlos Menem- and continued reviewing past crimes through the "Memory and Fight against the Impunity for State Terrorism Program" and the Documentation Area. Subsequently, CELS initiated a transition that entailed a redefinition of its mission, activities and agenda on public policy incidence.

GOVERNING BODY / GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

CELS' governing body is the Associates' Assembly, formed by approximately 70 associates. The assembly elects the Board of Directors, whose President, Vice-President and Secretariat, together with the Executive Director, form the Executive Committee. Additionally, CELS counts with two consulting councils, a national and an international one. CELS' founders, human rights activists, academicians, journalists and intellectuals compose the board of directors. The board plays a fundamental role in maintaining the independence and identity of the organization. In order to do so, one of its main activities is to evaluate the projects and funds

¹⁴ *The release of this paper resulted in the arrest of CELS' president and two other staffers, the inspection of their office, and the sequestering of CELS' documents. This action provoked the gathering of over 400 people in front of the Judicial Palace requesting their release, which took place a few days afterwards. It is worth noting that this was the first spontaneous mobilization against an act of repression since the inauguration of the dictatorship.*

offered to CELS by different organizations. In addition, the board maintained the center's identity throughout the transition process triggered by the pardon laws, and has supervised the ongoing process of generational renewal.

The Executive Committee meets every 30 to 45 days to assess the country's political general situation. In addition to these meetings, the Executive Director and senior staff may hold informal talks with some members of the board on a daily basis.

CELS' governing structure also has national and international consulting councils. These councils have no specifically defined roles, but they facilitate contact with other organizations and strategic allies. In this vein, the importance of the international council is quite significant, given the amount of work carried out by CELS together with international human rights organizations and international courts.

CELS has two unwritten rules based on its policy to relate with the State and maintain an independent position. First, no financial aid or support is accepted from Argentine Government Agencies.¹⁵ The second affects the composition of the board: no official of any governmental branch can be part of the organization's board of directors or hold a directing position at CELS.¹⁶ In compliance with this rule, CELS has lost a number of directors and senior staff to the government in the past few years. However, they do not regret this rule or consider relaxing its content since it ensures the organization's independence. CELS senior staff emphasize they do not intend to assess the government or implement policy themselves, but instead aim to influence public policy through monitoring activities, research, debate, and litigation. Thereby, CELS assures its independence in all of its statements and projects, despite their political or ideological charge. Thorough research in accordance with proper standards also contributes.

FUNDING / INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

During the initial years, CELS had scarce resources, though it promptly received support and funds from organizations such as The Bar Association of the City of New York and the Ford Foundation to finance their activities and projects. At present CELS' work and activities are financed mainly through discretionary funds provided by different benefactors and, secondarily, through project-specific grants. Discretionary funds allow CELS to undertake projects that are either unplanned or not supported by any of the grants. This has proved to be a significant feature in terms of influencing public policy since it increases the possibilities of taking advantage of political junctures or windows of opportunity as well as sustain certain lines of work.

After the setback posed by the pardon laws, and throughout the transition process, CELS was able to rely on its financing organizations, which are, in fact, considered strategic allies. During this period, the Ford Foundation expressed their commitment to accompany CELS through the redefinition of its mission and goals and to maintain the support of its work.

At present CELS' mission and objectives comprise influencing public policy regarding fundamental rights, uncovering human rights violations, and strengthening of the rule of law. CELS' core programs are the following: Memory and Fight against Impunity for State Terrorism Program, Institutional Violence and Public Safety Program, Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Program, and the Democratic Justice Program. Each one has a staff of between five and seven members, including the director, researchers and consultants. CELS also relies on especial external consultants and collaborators for some specific projects or topics. In addition to these four programs, CELS works in three areas: Litigation and Legal Assistance, Documentation, and

¹⁵ To date, CELS has had two projects financed by state funds (one still active), but these were either obtained through public contest or consist of State matching funds of projects sponsored by international financial institutions.

¹⁶ CELS staffers can simultaneously be part of the organization and hold a position in the public administration as long as there is no incompatibility. However, they no longer can be part of any activity involving CELS' public positioning or representation.

Communications. Additionally, CELS has two ongoing projects, which are conducted by external work teams: the Citizenship Education and Mental Health Assistance projects.

It is worth mentioning that CELS has, in addition to the Executive Director, a Deputy Executive Director who participates in the elaboration of the work plan and other activities regarding CELS' public position and communication of its projects.

The diverse issues covered by CELS' current agenda are a result of the transition process: the first project unrelated to the military repression during the dictatorship that was undertaken regarded institutional violence and police abuses. Projects in the realm of social and economic rights followed. More recently, CELS developed a new program regarding the judicial administration. Notwithstanding these new programs, CELS continues to pursue policy incidence through legal actions. In this vein, CELS undertook leading cases and filed them before international courts. Furthermore, the recent nullification of the amnesty laws reopened the possibility of litigating against those responsible for human right violations during the military dictatorship.

SELECTION OF RESEACH TOPICS / RESEARCHER' BACKGROUD / RESEACHERS FEATURES

CELS' research objective is not the generation of knowledge *per se*, but using it as an instrument to enhance its capacity in terms of public policy influence. In this sense, research grounds the organization's proposals on policy changes, evaluation, and monitoring. This does not mean, however, that research is less important or taken less seriously than other activities such as judicial litigation.

Research topics are selected in accordance to the aforementioned assessment of political juncture and the country's general situation as assessed by CELS Executive Committee. Notwithstanding, selection is not limited to the Executive Committee. In fact, research topics may be selected by the board, the Executive Director or by the different Programs staff. This selection process takes into consideration CELS' interest on influencing policy changes in the specific area and its feasibility.

CELS' Executive Director and the complete staff, without the participation of the board, elaborate the work plan for each year, based on a document presented before the Board of Directors by the Executive Director.¹⁷ Its evaluation relies also on CELS staff. Consistent with CELS' core programs, the strategic plan establishes the priorities for the year and identifies possible areas and cases of interest for the organization. Throughout the year, these priorities are subject to modification, bearing in mind specific political junctures.

Given this conception of research as a tool of influence, research projects are considered open processes. Therefore, at the beginning of each project, CELS identifies the relevant policy makers involved in the specific policy area and presents them an outline of the project's objectives and goals. Later on, the results of the research are provided to them in order to evaluate and validate them prior to their release.

The widening of CELS' research agenda and the creation of new programs between the last years of the 80s and the first half of the 90s comprised the diversification of the staff. Until then, as CELS main activity consisted of providing legal aid and sponsoring legal cases, most of the staff were lawyers. However, during the transition process, CELS incorporated sociologists, anthropologists, and other social scientists. This widening of the scope and diversification of the staff was, consequently, accompanied by a generational renewal of the directors and staff.

Today, research and project work proceedings and routines, as well as other mentioned above, are the result of CELS' experience and its need to maintain certain standards amid the transition and staff renewal faced by the organization.

¹⁷ However, this does not exclude the possibility of the board orienting or assisting the different groups' work.

IDEOLOGY

CELS origin is directly related to the repressive methodology undertaken by Argentina's last military dictatorship; and although the founders and original members did not define a political or ideological stance for CELS other than its opposition to the dictatorship and its methodology, this defined their political and ideological position.

It is worth noting that, in the realm of economic crisis and political violence, the 1976 coup was received with partial relief by the Catholic Church, the business community, most of the press, the opposition parties, and certain sectors of civil society. These actors expected the dictatorship to put an end to the political violence and the action of subversive groups acting in Argentina by that time. On the other hand, the military government tried desperately to keep society in the dark when it came to the "dirty war", denying participation in the operations of the "death squads" and the existence of clandestine detention centers. Those opposing the military regime, or questioning its goals regarding the eradication of subversive groups, were but a minority. The government, with the help of the press, publicly accused those who expressed their opposition to the regime of being part of subversive and communist groups themselves.

Hence, CELS' position has been, since its beginning, politicized and ideologically charged –in fact, many of CELS' founders were affiliated to different political parties. CELS position is usually associated with many other political actors and organizations who share a similar view and denounce the crimes perpetrated during the dictatorship. However, CELS defines itself as a pluralistic non-governmental organization with no political partisan position, committed to the defense and respect of human rights and the rule of law.

In order to maintain and assure its ideological and political independence CELS' work is based on research and documented evidence, thereby ensuring that any public stance taken on a given issue is backed by a thorough investigation and debate within the organization, thus excluding the possibility of entering into a mere ideological debate or compromising CELS' voice by making a political statement.

NETWORK

Most of CELS founders collaborated at the time with other organizations within the Human Rights movement. In fact, CELS was considered by the other organizations as its "legal division". In addition, CELS was then part of international legal networks, which provided the organization of contacts abroad to support its work towards the creation of an international solidarity network.

However, after the laws were enacted, and once the transition began, CELS' strategic alliances started to diversify, including intermediate organizations –such as the Anglican and Catholic Church or indigenous groups-, universities, and other research organizations. CELS is also part, since its origins, of many international networks dedicated to human rights issues. Among these are the International Commission of Jurists of Geneva, International Federation for Human Rights and the International League for Human Rights of New York. CELS has also worked together with Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

In matters of strategic alliances and partnerships, CELS' decisions take into consideration both identity and public positioning as well as the capacity to influence policy. Thus, the decisions to work with other organizations on specific projects are closely related to the possibility of augmenting its policy influence capabilities. Though it does not outweigh CELS' regard of public image, which determines the organizations with which cooperation is possible.

COMMUNICATIONS

Constant and open communications play a key role in ensuring CELS' credibility and identity, and reaching diverse stakeholders throughout the organization's activities and projects. There is an internal awareness of the importance of communications as a crucial component of what CELS does and seeks to achieve, both at the institutional and program levels. CELS considers communications as crucial to the political game: as a social organization embedded in a certain social and political context they must be able to communicate effective, timely messages to the appropriate audiences.

a. Perceptions and expectations influencing communications

The legitimacy of CELS regarding its participation in public debate and decision-making bears the seal of its original work within the human rights movement, especially linked with the fight against state terrorism. The principles that guide and guided its initial efforts -to foster and protect human rights and to strengthen the democratic system and the rule of law in Argentina- received public recognition and acceptance among several social groups. Social consensus surrounding and supporting their activities to stop serious and systematic human rights violations was strategically managed by the institution, which converted it into a solid platform to reposition itself with new areas of work when their primary goals were hindered by the laws of *Obediencia Debida* and *Punto Final*.

This platform of legitimacy based on some universal values is strengthened by technical legitimacy. From its inception, CELS decided to provide its work with a clear methodological approach: the use of legal tools (mainly litigation) and the permanent generation and systematization of data and information, using research and evidence to back up its claims and proposals. In fact, CELS possesses one of the best archives of documentation and information related to human rights in Argentina.

Two other institutional decisions has a significant impact in how CELS' work is perceived by policymakers, NGOs and academics, and citizens in general: a commitment a high level of interaction with public officials of the different State powers as well as with other civil society organizations through a strategic partnership policy.

It is clear for CELS' senior staff that in order to fully exploit the reputation and credibility forged during the early years, the organization's stance regarding the State needs to be both independent and transparent. Indeed, CELS considers the State is, on the one hand, the organization responsible for human rights violations, but also the one capable of defending and enforcing them –and the organization accountable for it-. Therefore, their work and demands aim directly to policy makers who take part of the same State they denounce.

Its complex relationships with State actors -which reflect a natural and dynamic tension between collaboration and control- have enabled the institution to both work in alliance with other NGOs and movements that only monitor the performance of the State (positioning themselves as anti-State) and with government as a source of consultation for public servants while discussing or implementing public policies. Policymakers understand that the fact that they might be working with CELS to design or refine a specific reform does not impede the institution from publishing an article in the media claiming that a certain state agency is not fulfilling a set of requirements posed by a regulation in another area. By conveying these messages simultaneously, the institution ensures the perception as an independent organization, which monitors and collaborates with governmental officials at the same time, and thus may bring both costs and benefits to the table.

In addition, compared with human rights organizations in Argentina, CELS set itself apart by clearly deciding and publicly demonstrating that their role is centered on carrying out technical and research activities, by gathering and systematizing information to support the defense of human rights. Therefore, the organization focuses on generating and sustaining credibility by using evidence and grounds to inform its positions and recommendations. CELS combines claims and reports with proposals to influence public policies.

Finally, the extension of its agenda did not affect the capacity to focus and specialize in certain specific areas. Because CELS only speaks on and participates in those topics for which they have generated knowledge and expertise, it has become a legitimate stakeholder in those areas. However, its public recognition is more strongly linked to their original work in the areas “Memory and Fight against Impunity for State Terrorism and “Institutional violence and Public Safety Program”.

b. Policies, practices and tools

CELS believes that a coordinated and strategic management of communications, including prioritization of issues and activities, allows the institution to better seize windows of opportunities and enhance impact of programs. In consequence, in 2005 it has decided to contract a Director of Communications to provide everyday communications with even more strategic direction and planning.

Communications is conceived as a transversal structure that provides assessment and support to strategies devised by both program areas and CELS’ executive team (spokespersons include specialists like program directors and generalists like Executive Director and Deputy Director). It help researchers and practitioners define expectations, objectives, target audiences, etc. Joint activities are discussed in weekly meetings with program directors. If there is no consensus, the final decision depends on executive management.

Even though CELS works with a segmented and very diverse target audience, communications staff have a clear knowledge about whom to reach and how, varying from public officials at the national and provincial Judicial Power to civil society and community based organizations, citizenship and mass media. Yet, the organization has not developed specific tools for each audience and plans to do so in the near future, as well as assessing each tool’s effectiveness in order to further refine communications to reach those who are most crucial for organizational goals.

Overall, language and tools are devised to reach policymakers. Research is used to sustain policy analysis and recommendations in order to convince decision makers, instead of targeted to other academics or specialists.

CELS is in constant communications with media. For example, a daily average of 6 radio shows contact the institution to request information. They always accompany their press releases or information with a personal call to graphic journalists to ensure they receive and understand the value of what is being disseminated. Radio and TV are perceived as more difficult environments to transmit certain messages, especially with complex issues or when violations to human rights are not easy to convey in a tangible manner. Last, when media coverage responds to a political juncture, the impact is more visible and direct.

CELS has some periodical publications. It annually publishes the Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Argentina, it also produces the series “Research and Analysis” where researchers analyze certain public problems and field experiences of the organization. However, these are viewed as successful when the decision to release them was clearly aligned with a very critical policy moment, or when there was a high public demand for solutions or proposals. This is clearly reflected in the case of “Una Corte para la Democracia.” The document was widely disseminated in 2002 but it was not until 2003, when the president Kirchner and the Minister of Justice decided to use it as the main source of inspiration to modify the process to appoint judges for the Supreme Court, that the document began to be more frequently quoted in media and used by policymakers in other political spaces like the Senate.

2. ANALYZING CELS’ IMPACT ON POLICY

BACKGROUND CONTEXT

In 1999, Fernando De la Rúa assumed as president leading a coalition formed by the UCR and Frepaso, a new center-left party. The coalition suffered a crisis in the year 2000 because of a corruption scandal involving top government officials. The lack of capacity to revert the economic recession and the president's weak character finally drove the government into political isolation. Soon this transformed into a crisis that extended to all political parties and political institutions. Following a sustained run on the banking system, in December 2001 the government set limits on cash withdrawals from bank accounts, prompting the mobilization of disgruntled middle class sectors. The lack of political support and peronism's refusal to join the government coalition brought about De la Rúa's resignation.

Throughout these months, social turmoil and riots expressed the demand of renewal of the political class. In fact, President De la Rúa's resignation was closely related to this critical situation, but transcended the presidential office, aiming to all politicians holding office, including congressmen, senators, governors, and Supreme Court justices.¹⁸ The limits on withdrawals and cash operations imposed by the De la Rúa administration, and the subsequent devaluation, freezing of bank accounts and asymmetrical *pesoization* decreed by the Duhalde administration provoked an avalanche of legal actions against these measures, the so called *amparos*.

In the midst of this crisis, Congress initiated an impeachment process against each Supreme Courts justice. In what represented a response to this threat, the judges of the "automatic majority" ruled the unconstitutionality of the measure freezing bank accounts, thus paving the way for new *amparos*, putting at stake the entire financial system. Shortly after, Congress –following presidential orders- dismissed the accusation against the Supreme Court, realizing that the latter held the key to prevent –or unleash- a financial and economic collapse, for some judges were ruling in favour of the *amparos* presented by depositors.

At the same time, opposition parties proposed either the compulsory early retirement of all Supreme Court judges, or their removal by a legislative assembly. In other words, the critical relationship of both society and political parties with the Supreme Court laid the basis for an emotional debate about how to solve this matter.

CRITICAL FACTORS FACILITATING CELS' INFLUENCE

In this realm, a group of NGO senior staffers arrived in early 2002 to the conclusion that the legitimacy crisis suffered by the Supreme Court transcended its composition and in fact lay in its rules, proceedings, and practices. CELS' and ADC's ¹⁹ executive directors Victor Abramovich and Roberto Saba, respectively, were among them. The idea of a project along these lines soon extended to other NGO's coinciding with this vision: *Poder Ciudadano* –a civil and political rights advocacy group-, *Fundación Ambiente y Recursos Naturales* (FARN) –founded and led by a constitutionalist lawyer- *Instituto de Estudios Comparados en Ciencias Penales y Sociales* (INECIP) –the only organization that had experience working directly in the justice reform area- and *Unión de Usuarios y Consumidores* (USC) –a consumers association. These six organizations formed the group behind the policy proposal that later received the name of "*Una Corte para la Democracia*" –A Supreme Court for Democracy.

The project aimed to change the focus of the debate from a critique of the discredited Supreme Court magistrates to an assessment of the practices of the Judiciary and specifically of the Supreme Court. Thus, it expressed the need for a change that could prevent a similar crisis in the future. This goal was decisive to

¹⁸ It is worth noting that the Supreme Court's discredit originated during the Menem administration, when the President increased the number of judges from 5 to 9, in order to pack the Court with cronies who would steadily support his policies and become what would be known as the "automatic majority".

¹⁹ "Asociación por los Derechos Civiles" –Association for Civil Rights-

define the limits of the group of organizations which would be part of the project and sponsor the proposal. Traditionally, debates regarding judicial reform had been limited to a series of organizations and associations representing different positions within the judicial corporation. In contrast, the debate fostered by CELS and the other organizations was a more plural and inclusive one.

CELS was not, in fact, familiar with this area, nor had it previously taken part of group projects with such different organizations. The situation of the other organizations in terms of previous experience in this field—with the exception of INECIP— was very similar. However, the focus of the whole project converted this apparent weakness into a strength. Therefore, they publicly presented themselves as a group of users of the judicial service to defend diverse rights whose work depends on the way in which judiciary operated. In CELS' view, the judiciary is crucial for the defence and enforcement of fundamental rights and liberties. In this way, the project opened the debate on judicial reform and set the ground for a substantial change of rules, transcending the issue of the judges' removal—so acclaimed by the general public opinion.

Yet, the project itself represented considerable risks for the organization. CELS' participation was criticized by many organizations within the human rights movement and, at the same time, implied a standpoint opposed to the demands society was actively expressing. In a way, this project tested many of CELS' key success factors. In the first place, the ability to correctly assess the situation of the country and the political juncture; secondly, its capacity to maintain the organization's identity while shifting the focus of its work; finally, its networking and adequacy in choosing partners and allies. Additionally, it should be noted that CELS financed this project with institutional funds. In this realm, even though CELS did not have until then a program or project regarding this specific policy area, its skills and assets made the project feasible.

Table 1 – Identified problems, proposals and competent agencies

Identified Problem	Proposed measure	Responsible agency
1) Exaggerated volume of cases of Supreme Court intervention.	Restricting the Supreme Courts' jurisdiction	Congress and Supreme Court
2) Supreme Court proceedings' lack of publicity	Public hearings and enforcement of the new restricted jurisdiction mentioned in 1.	Congress and Supreme Court
3) Obstacles in citizenry participation in the search of justice; restriction to parties considered by the Court	Implementation of the <i>amicus curiae</i>	Congress and Supreme Court
4) Judicial Branch's work lacked transparency, especially the Supreme Court	All magistrates should be subject to basic transparency and accountability standards.	Congress and Supreme Court
5) Lack of accountability and control of the administration of the Judicial branch	The administration of the Judicial branch should be subject to the Administrative Investigation Attorney's Office.	Congress, Supreme Court and the Magistrate's Council
6) Magistrates tax exemption	Magistrates should be subject to the income tax	Supreme Court
7) Lack of transparency in proceedings regarding the appointment of Judges, particularly Supreme Court ones.	Public hearings with citizen participation. Reception of opinions from civil society organizations.	Senate and Executive Office
8) Lack of transparency in	Establishing clear rules and	Congress and

The six organizations released the project's first document by the end of January 2002 –in all three documents were released through the entire project. This first document was released through the press in order to reach civil society, in line with the project's goal and strategy to approach and reorient the ongoing debate. The released document was clear and concise: it identified and explained eight main problems which affected the work of the Supreme Court, proposing the measures required to overcome them. More importantly, it clearly established the governmental agency that should be responsible and competent for the support and monitoring of the proposed changes. The problems and the proposals contained in the document, concisely presented in Table 1, were considered a means to regain legitimacy. These proposals followed international standards and, particularly, mirrored the US Supreme Court, which has historically been a model of the Argentinean Supreme Court structure, functioning and jurisprudence.

Throughout the year 2002 the six organizations engaged in exhaustive communications which included the presentation and explanation the document's proposals before the media, congressmen, civil associations, NGOs, and even the popular assemblies which had emerged at different public squares during the December 2001 and January 2002 turmoil. Simultaneously, the organizations devoted further support for finding new allies to sponsor the proposals. In this sense, in addition to the group's objective of reaching civil society and launching the debate under different terms, the document sought to produce specific policy changes regarding the Supreme Court's rules and proceedings.

During this period, the resignation of one of its judges left a vacant seat at the Supreme Court. President Duhalde nominated Juan Carlos Maqueda, who despite having impeccable legal credentials, had a clear party affiliation and was at that time the Provisional President of the Senate. In this regard, CELS and the other organizations expressed their concerns about Maqueda's appointment and denounced the continuity of the practices which had characterized the 90s.

The April 2003 presidential elections and the inauguration of the Kirchner administration in May 2003 would present the organizations with a window of opportunity for policy change. Nestor Kirchner had been the governor of Santa Cruz for the previous 12 years. During that period, he had maintained a conflictive relationship with the provincial judiciary and, like former president Menem, had allegedly increased the number of judges in the provincial Supreme Court in order to appoint cronies. At the same time, the fact that Kirchner had been elected with only 22% of the votes –due to Menem's decision to step down from the presidential run-off- raised concerns about his legitimacy. In order to overcome this shortcoming Kirchner opted to gain the support of civil society by marking a break with the practices of the previous decade and a discredited political class. In addition, the prevailing climate of distrust towards political parties and governmental institutions had placed the NGOs as a legitimate actor, making them an attractive partner for the Kirchner administration's goal of breaking with the past.

The combination of these factors made the proposal highly appealing both for the President and the Minister of Justice. On one hand, Kirchner, shortly after taking office, made clear that –unlike his predecessors- he would not engage into a political bargain with the Supreme Court, or tolerate the tribunal's corporative behaviour. Simultaneously, the Minister of Justice Gustavo Béliz approached Horacio Verbitsky –CELS' president of the board of directors- and Daniel Sabsay –president of FARN- to express his intention to undertake the proposals under the Executive office's competence. This led to a meeting between all six organizations and Minister Béliz, whose pledge to undertake the proposals was the meeting's main outcome.

Despite the doubts and resistances that the limitations to the President's power entailed by the proposal raised within the President's close circle, Minister Béliz maintained his support for the initiative – which he intended to

be the basis of his term at the Ministry of Justice. Finally, on June 20, 2003, the President issued executive decree 222/03 establishing the proceedings to appoint candidates to the Supreme Court. This decree restrained the president's Constitutional powers regarding the appointment of judges. Hence, this measure presented a self-restraint of the president's authority. This unprecedented decision had a significant impact, and set a point of no return in terms of transparency and self-restraint in regards to the Executive Branch's influence over the Judiciary. In August 2003 the President issued a second decree extending the same basic procedures to the appointment of lower court judges.

Unbeknownst to CELS and the other organizations, following the issue of the decrees, the Senate reformed its own by-laws governing the judicial appointment procedures. This unexpected decision took place only six months after the same body had left these proceedings untouched, at an overall reform of the Senate's regulations. In a similar fashion, by late 2003, after the removal of Supreme Court President Julio Nazareno –a member of the so called “automatic majority” with whom Kirchner had publicly confronted on many occasions- CELS accessed a series of audiences and started working together to accomplish some of the reforms proposed in the document. In this vein, the executive decree and its communication to the public coincided with the message intended by the document in terms of shifting the debate's focus. The result of this change was a significant pressure on decision makers, who started to signal the citizenry of their intention to be part of the president's initiative.

Many of the proposals contained in the document were effectively implemented. Not only those under the President's competence, but also those under the responsibility of the Senate and the Supreme Court as well: four out of the nine Judges who compose the Supreme Court have been appointed in accordance to the rules proposed by the document; two judges were removed through impeachment processes with modified rules; the Supreme Court has implemented the Amicus Curiae recourse and has made public many of its proceedings, thereby gaining transparency and accountability.

Through this project, CELS showed its ability to use and apply resources and skills in policy areas unrelated to human rights, but fundamental to its activities and work. In this sense, “A Court for Democracy” did not affect CELS' identity, and in fact was the basis of the new Democratic Justice Program.

This case of policy change is described as one that respected the organizations' proposal almost to the last detail, taking less than a year and a half to do so. Many critical factors came together to make this policy change possible. Among them were the following: 1) CELS –and the other organizations- assessed the ongoing social debate about the Supreme Court and came up with a proposal that was able to redefine the debate through a solutions-oriented discourse, even though it opposed the initial demands of the majority. 2) The sponsoring group of organizations managed to coherently define themselves as a legitimate actor to take part in the debate on Judicial Administration reform, though just one of the six organizations had previously taken part of it. 3) Despite being an unfamiliar area for CELS, the organization undertook the project and financed it with discretionary institutional funds while leaving its identity intact by clearly linking the initiative with CELS' overall work. 4) The proposal took into consideration the characteristics of the reigning political and social climate and translated them to an innovative document which linked every problem identified to a proposal and a responsible and competent governmental agency. Furthermore, the document, its proposals, and authors were quoted in the press in a clear way. 5) The issue was not dropped by any of the organizations, which help to keep the debate alive, and was effectively re-launched when the presidential succession opened a window of opportunity due to the president's need to reinvent himself, differentiate from previous administrations, and put an end to his troublesome relation with the Supreme Court.

THIS CASE STUDY IS BASED ON THE FOLLOWING IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS:

People from CELS:

- Victor Abramovich. Executive Director of CELS
- Andrea Pochak. Deputy Director of CELS and Director of the Democratic Justice Program.
- Verónica Torras. Communications Director of CELS.
- Patricia Tapattá de Valdez. CELS Board of Directors Secretariat.
- Carlos Acuña. Member of Board, Academic Director of Fundación Pent, and Professor at Universidad de San Andrés.

Policymakers related with the chosen policy:

- Gustavo Béliz. Former National Minister of Justice, Security and Human Rights.
- Abel Fleitas Ortiz de Rozas. Director of the National Government's Anti-corruption Office, former Secretary of Justice.

External Informant:

- Roberto Saba. Executive Director of Asociación por los Derechos Civiles (ADC).

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CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS PÚBLICOS [CEP]:

CHILE'S CASE STUDY.

By

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ABSTRACT

CEP [Centro de Estudios Públicos] was founded in 1980 by businessmen and academicians when democracy was recovered. Since its very beginning, CEP had a clear strategy of influencing policy because it was meant to become a channel between the private sector and the government.

Its governing body includes the most important companies and holdings of Chile. Despite the fact that there is a solid relationship between CEP and local economic groups, the center is well known as an independent, serious and pluralistic institution that values the ideological diversity of its researchers. Furthermore, since its commencement, CEP has channeled the discussion of the most important national issues. Along with its research results, it has published a very important refereed journal (Estudios Públicos) and has also translated foreign publications into Spanish in order to circulate them in Chile. By making publications available to the community and bringing them close to the national debate, CEP has also played a relevant role as an educational institution. In fact, on its beginnings CEP had a formative objective. CEP is also an editing house for publications in philosophy, poetry and narrative. It also publishes a social science journal with broader issues than public policies.

CEP has an important budget averaging between USD 750.000 and USD 1.000.000 each year, much higher than most Latin-American think tanks. Its funding comes mainly from the important enterprises included in its Board, thus CEP finances its own research. Furthermore, its research agenda is decided together with the businessmen of the Board. This kind of long-term funding reduces the type of temporary or thematic constraints, external to the institution and related with founders' own agendas or deadlines, which are so common for think tanks. Finally, researchers are mainly economists and they do applied economic research.

Another important characteristic is that CEP's systematic and persistent communications through the dissemination of rigorous products to diverse audiences contributes to the credibility, unique positioning and thus acceptance of the institute's proposals when the window for reform is open. This is combined with the institution's capacity to sound out the environment and stakeholders' willingness to further listen to and understand their proposals, to present their proposals as clear solutions to a publicly recognized problem and their ability to convey messages with a mix of contents and speakers that enlarge political viability throughout the elaboration and implementation of policies.

* This case study is part of the CS 2 component of the Phase II of Global Development Network's Bridging Research and Policy project, carried out by the Center for the Implementation of Public Policies promoting Equity and Growth (CIPPEC), which consists of a comparative analysis of policy research institutes in Latin America, Asia and Africa. We would like to thank the interviewees that have collaborated with the elaboration of this case study, as well as the helpful research assistance of Julieta Rezával.

The influence of the institution can be illustrated with a specific case: in December 1997, CEP started a research project on State Reform issues. Specifically, CEP addressed the problem by pointing out that political financing was closely related to the appointment of senior officials to public office. CEP's researchers suggested the creation of a civil service for senior officials of the central state, as well as the modification of the way in which political parties were financed in Chile.

The influence exerted by CEP on this field is the outcome of a specific piece of research which achieved a legislation change. The research final report included specific proposals of reform that became a Law (Law 19,882 on New Deal and Public Administration) that was passed in June, 2003.

The contextual factor that facilitated this linkage cannot be disregarded. In fact, this case study shows that sometimes it takes a long time to achieve a policy change (7 years) and that the change could be closely related to the existence of exogenous factors that triggered what could, otherwise, continue stagnant. It is to be noted that this research project coincided with the opening of an important window of opportunity, due to several political corruption scandals, which were published by the press. Even the opposition was affected by the massive wave of discredit. In the light of this scandal, the opposition party leader (right-winged), which was looking for an already existing solution to end with this situation, actively promoted the approval of CEP's State Reform project above the other topics that were awaiting discussion in the official agenda. The public agenda (driven by society) was imposed over the official one and it altered the government's priorities. The political crisis episode triggered the reform process.

1. CEP: ENDOGENOUS CHARACTERISTICS THAT FACILITATED INFLUENCE

CEP's most important organizational and institutional features are summarized in this table and explained below:

CEP	
1. Legal status	Non profit organization
2. Year of foundation	1980
3. Founders	Business + Academia
4. Governing body:	3 bodies
a. Businessmen	Yes
b. Academics	Yes
c. Politicians	Yes
5. Government positions	Yes
6. Budget	USD 750.000 – USD 1.000.000
7. Funding	Institutional / projects
8. Sources of funding	Mainly businessmen
9. Research topics' selection	Researchers/ Board
10. Research organization	Research areas
11. Research's features	Operational output Original approach Relevance Stakeholders' participation Quality control Influence over time
12. Researchers' background	PhDs
13. Staff profile	Mainly economists

14. Areas of research	Applied economics
15. Research topics	First and Second-generation-reform -related topics
16. Staff number	6 persons
17. Hiring contracts	Long-term
18. Who is in charge of communications	N/A
19. Regular contact with the media	Yes

ORIGINS / YEAR OF FOUNDATION / FOUNDERS

CEP was founded in 1980 with the intention of developing a technical and intellectual support for a market based economic system. CEP's founders thought it was necessary to have a liberal economy because they considered it a key element for the country and region's development and because they were doubtful about the direction that Chilean economic development was taking. They were also convinced that democracy was the only political system that could be compatible with a market-oriented economic system.

CEP founders came from the business and academic world. Furthermore, some of them held or were holding very high profile government positions when they founded the institution.

CEP is a non profit, private foundation, interested in doing academic studies oriented to public policy issues. It is well known as a serious academic institution. From the beginning, it has channeled the discussion of the most important national issues. Along with its research results, it has published a very important refereed journal (Estudios Públicos) and also foreign publications translated into Spanish in order to circulate them in Chile. By making publications available to the community and bringing them close to the national debate, CEP has also played a relevant role as an educational institution. In fact, on its beginning CEP had a quite formative objective. Afterwards, it focused more on public policies.

During the dictatorship, CEP became one of the few spaces where academic debates were allowed. Even if it was initially strongly related with businessmen from the right political wing, CEP became a high-level and pluralistic academic center. Businessmen and academics who founded the center encouraged the existence of an illustrated debate, inviting thinkers from different ideological perspectives to the center.

GOVERNING BODY / GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

CEP's governing body is composed of a Board of Directors, an Executive Board and an Advisory board. An important feature of the Board of Directors is that it is formed by representative members of important local business groups. The Board of Directors is composed by the president of the institution, the vice-president, secretary and advisers. The Executive Board also includes the president, vice-president and the executive director. Finally, the Advisory Board is composed by an honorary president and advisers.

At CEP, the Executive Director and the Academic Director conduct research and are also in charge of the center's management. The Board of Directors' approval is only needed when huge research projects have to be decided on, since they require an important part of the budget. In general, the Board does not get involved in the institution's daily activities.

Regarding CEP's contact with the government, researchers have held several positions in the government over time. These positions were discontinuous, but there is a clear tendency: at least six researchers or members of CEP's Board worked for the government in different periods of time. Specifically, three of them were Ministers of Economy and two of them were Ministers of Treasury during Pinochet's government.

FUNDING / INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

An important feature of CEP is that its funding comes mainly from important enterprises included in its Board. At the same time, it has a larger budget than the general average in the region (most Latin-American think tanks' annual budget is between USD 100.000 and USD 500.000). CEP's annual budget is around USD 1.000.000.

CEP was created and sustained during its first years (especially along the economic crisis that took place in the years 82-'83) with almost the exclusive financial support of Eliodoro Matte (an important businessman, currently president and financial supporter of CEP). Nowadays, around 75% of the funding comes from enterprises located in the country, 10% from individuals, 10% from international philanthropic organizations and 5% from sales of products and services. This kind of funding strategy largely shapes the organizational structure and the research activity.

Businessmen supporting CEP also belong to various areas of the economy and this has benefited CEP's researchers because they are not attached to the interests of businessmen from the same areas that are usually quite homogeneous. CEP is supported by a set of companies representing several economic sectors and that allows it to have a long-term orientation and a lot of flexibility in defining its research agenda.

Also, the fact that CEP has its own budget allows it to be exempt from the logic of project financing. Having its "own" funding gives CEP the advantage of managing its research agenda more freely than other research centers that are constrained by the schedule and content requirement of external founders, like Multilateral Development Banks, Embassies and Foundations.

At the same time, CEP has a 'light' permanent organizational structure: there are only around ten 'in house' senior researchers, but they are permanently inviting people from different fields to participate in several activities, projects or debates. This enables them to be flexible enough when needed and have the best specialized researchers for specific project requirements. Finally, CEP has an accountant, but they try not to spend resources on the management area, as they have high overhead expenditures and they prefer to maximize research. This explains their reluctance to cover positions which are not in the research area.

SELECTION OF RESEARCH TOPICS / RESEARCHERS' BACKGROUND / RESEARCHER FEATURES

Think tanks like CEP have a comparatively long-term funding because it mainly comes from enterprises that integrate the Board. Therefore, once the Board gives its approval, researchers have autonomy to set the research agenda. They are not subjected to temporary or thematic constraints external to the institution. They can choose to do research on topics that they are interested in or that they consider potentially important for the future of the country, but that are not in the public agenda. The advantage of having this kind of financial independence can be seen in CEP's atypical publications, such as reading books for children, poetry or philosophy. At the same time, this kind of funding is more stable and it enables researchers' continuity at the institution. CEP has a stable staff, specialized in applied economic issues and it hires temporary consultants to cover specific needs.

Consequently, selection of research topics is mainly done by the staff. Usually, the topics are defined on the basis of long-term criteria, trying to answer the following questions: what problems do we have in Chile? Where should we go as a country? What do we need in order to achieve the desired goal?

Research studies conducted by the institution focus on the following areas: state reform, justice, economics, health, education, labor, poverty, environment and culture. Usually, CEP does not do research into political juncture. They try to develop their own research agenda, based on what they believe are the most important topics for Chilean development. They try to have some independency from the immediate context, but they do not do abstract research like universities.

CEP is well-positioned in Chile's debate due to the fact that they strive to do a serious job, consistent in time and with the clear/genuine objective of contributing to the general debate.

This equilibrium is obtained by carrying out studies explicitly oriented to influence public policies. They address problems from a global perspective. Regarding this intermediate position, Harald Beyer, Academic Director of the institution, has said: *'We are not interested in doing research located on the border of knowledge'*. CEP's publications have enough information to develop a Law project, but they are not the Law itself.

CEP's researchers think, write, discuss and publish with the objective of bringing their ideas close to the group of people who are consulted by politicians when it comes to design law projects. Their interlocutors are not the politicians, but the 'experts' around them; that is also why they are not interested in doing lobbying activities: *'We try to produce good ideas, in a way that they can defend themselves'*, says Harald Beyer.

CEP main researchers believe and use the metaphor of a pyramid of ideas when they refer to the results of a process of public policy formulation. They think that ideas come out from a close dialogue among a small group of technicians, technocrats and academicians located at the top, they are shaped and then percolate down to the bottom in the process of obtaining consensus. After that "process", when ideas are taken up by policy makers, CEP proposes a policy change (usually a legislation change).

The sequence starts with the identification of a particular issue by researchers, the discussion in several seminars with other people and, after that, the project formulation. Then, they try to spread it to the technical assistants of relevant politicians who hold positions in the government. The projects that they elaborate are 'ready to be used' because they have the specific feature of bringing solutions that can become practical and feasible alternatives of action for politicians.

Despite the fact that there is a strong relationship between CEP and local economic groups, CEP is well known as an independent, serious and pluralistic institution that values the ideological diversity of their researchers.

Nevertheless, CEP aims to do research into public policy issues and they do not try to implement policies. They believe that "good ideas do matter" and that to develop them is a crucial stage of the policy process. If they are lucky and they have the possibility of monitoring the research-based policy they have developed, they do so. However, if they have done their best effort in the circulation phase and the project is not picked up and acted upon by policymakers, CEP does not insist on it.

IDEOLOGY

In order to preserve its ideological 'independence', CEP only studies issues of public relevance, but they are proud of not being driven by the pressure or interest of their associates and try to avoid carrying out consulting studies paid privately. The center selects the research topics based on public interest issues with an open mind on the possible research outcomes. In addition, CEP carries out an annual national survey on public opinion that is highly regarded by the ruling class.

Furthermore, CEP's researchers do not have a political partisan position as a group. This enables them, on the one hand, to preserve their "position" of independence, but on the other hand, this feature has made them lose capacity for project managing and implementation. Also, they do not give an opinion as an institution because they think this detracts from their credibility. They believe that it would be irresponsible to do this, as in that way people might hide behind CEP's image. They believe that what makes an institution credible is precisely the existence of a group of people who give their opinions, take on responsibility for them and have empirical evidence to support it.

NETWORKS

CEP intends to coordinate the debate and serve as a neutral place where people can also develop networks. The institute is interested in promoting the plurality of ideas. That is why they usually invite academicians, policy-makers, businessmen and people from different ideological perspectives to exchange ideas about different issues.

They are specifically interested in establishing relationships with members of universities, academicians and thinkers. Usually, when they finish a research project, CEP's researchers meet with experts to discuss research results and present these findings in public seminars.

Moreover, CEP has neither an institutional strategy to move towards government nor establishes regular contact with policymakers to promote its ideas. Usually, it meets with technical assistants of politicians for specific projects. However, Lagos' administration has a closer relationship with CEP than did previous administrations. Sometimes, even President Lagos uses the institution as a mediator between the government and businessmen for meetings and debates on national economic policy.

COMMUNICATIONS

It is important to stress that CEP's tools, practices and policies also enhance the impact of their research on the policymaking processes and its communication strategies influence the reception of ideas and research results by policymakers and other targeted audiences.

a. Perceptions and expectations influencing communications

Credibility in the institution is crucial to facilitate communications with diverse target audiences such as other academicians, policymakers, media, and businessmen. To strengthen its prestige and acceptance of their proposals among different stakeholders, CEP acknowledges the need to add political support to their technical capacity. Since there is a wide diversity of opinions in the areas they operate, political support is sought by bringing in experts from different regions or areas; and making these groups interact within larger groups of academicians and politicians in order to achieve synergy and a wider support.

Researchers at CEP believe that their credibility also derives from the perception that even though they are mostly financed by private companies and that they are clearly associated with an ideological seal, they make an evident effort to work seriously and contribute to the public debate. For example, in a column at the newspaper *Capital* on December 30th, 2002, a researcher of the Instituto de Estudios Políticos (Universidad Andrés Bello) highlighted the serious effort performed by the institution to compile information on how this issue had been tackled in different countries even when he criticized aspects of CEP's proposal for political financing.

Indeed, CEP's communication tools reflect this intention to increase the quality of public debate: their publication *Estudios Públicos* is very interdisciplinary and collects a vast array of opinions and issues which build the perception of their willingness to contribute to the country's discussions.

Moreover, the reputation of the institution is intentionally preserved by the internal policy to encourage researchers to take a personal stance when trying to influence public policies but by clearly conveying their positions as individual opinions, not as institutional ones. In fact, this practice helps staff build personal reputation in their areas of expertise, which in turn increases their possibilities of being heard when there is a window for policy change.

Credibility of the institution is not enough to open up avenues for research dissemination. CEP works within a policy environment where research and knowledge are naturally disseminated following the pyramidal model described above. The institution aligns communications of their ideas and proposals with this model in order to ease and speed up the flow of knowledge. It is expected that ideas will ripen as they go through different interactions and spaces: dissemination transforms them into concrete projects and proposals.

Governmental structure in Chile is receptive to research. Some bureaucrats even have intellectual interests and publish articles through CEP, creating a climate of discussions and permanent dialogue among bureaucrats and academicians. The fact that day-to-day urgencies and problems do not allow governments to invest a lot of time in researching and generating long-term proposals, positions think tanks like CEP to address this lack of ideas and information to guide decision-making.

b. Policies, practices and tools

CEP has no ongoing communication with the government nor is it systematically consulted by policymakers, unless there is a specific topic which initiates dialogue between them. In most of the cases, the interaction is based on CEP's need to collect or provide information; they prefer to conduct every activity independently and to convene a diverse audience to discuss issues.

Whenever there are some specific proposals that they need to disseminate among the policymaking community, they have personal meetings or lunches with politicians (more frequently technical staff rather than Congressmen). In these interactions, CEP aims at presenting facts and findings to those that they perceive as having a vested interest in pushing the agenda forward and who are recognized leaders in that concrete topic. These leaders in turn influence their own groups.

However, even if they show interest in the proposals, the probability of these being implemented is very low if the issue is not perceived as publicly relevant. This makes press relations an important tool in their communications mix. CEP has a strong access to journalists and main newspapers: their researchers are respected and consulted as experts on certain topics. They publish opinion columns on a weekly basis which generate a wave of calls and consultations from different media. This helps them create a climate of discussion around certain issues that are related to the current political and economic scenario. Even if they do not have an intentional and thought-out strategy to reach the media, they recognize that their current access to it has been earned over time.

Finally, CEP applies a variety of communication tools so that its proposals and ideas reach the public opinion, including publications such as books and newsletters, as well as seminars, meetings and interviews with experts, universities and other research centers. They elaborate periodic publications which are effectively disseminated among universities, media, policymaking institutions, businesses, etc. For example, since 1987 CEP has published more than 40 public opinion surveys which have become a seal of their institution and have allowed them to increase their public exposure.

To sum up, systematic and persistent communications through the dissemination of rigorous products to diverse audiences contributes to the credibility, unique positioning and thus acceptance of CEP's proposals when the window for reform is open. This is combined with the institution's capacity to sound out the environment and stakeholders' willingness to further listen to and understand their proposals, to present their proposals as clear solutions to a publicly recognized problem and their ability to convey messages with a mix of contents and speakers that enlarge political viability throughout the elaboration and implementation of policies.

2. ANALYZING CEP'S IMPACT ON POLICY

Think tanks can be considered as strategic actors due to their increasing role in the policy process. Their capacity to engage in policy-making efforts depends to a great extent on the features of their organizational structure. Some of CEP's features described above (age, type of research, human and financial resources, networks, among others) shape its organizational capacities and, as a result, its possibilities to have an impact on policies.

It is true that the effectiveness of think tanks is dependent on the way they are managed and the way they adjust to change. However, think tanks play their "game" within specific economic, political and institutional boundaries. Even if they have specific characteristics which enable them to positioning as well know, rigorous and serious institutions, they are also constraint by their contexts. That is why without understanding contextual boundaries and opportunities, we cannot understand how they manage to influence policies.

In fact, national macro economical and political variables set 'hard' boundaries to the objectives that think tanks can try to achieve, while political-institutional variables assign differential possibilities for think tanks to impact on policies, over what is feasible. Macro political or economic crisis are unpredictable and they usually create window opportunities to think tanks. In fact, the first variables are related with political regimes, economic systems, crisis, among other features and the second ones, with the logic of the political and institutional rules of their specific institutional context, in which think tanks are trying to exert influence such as, for example, one specific Ministry.

One way to illustrate CEP's capacities is analyzing a specific case of policy influence in Chile during the nineties. Several research projects undertaken by CEP exerted influence on public policies, such as the State Reform project and the studies on environmental issues. CEP has used the same strategy for doing both research projects: they created a commission of experts comprised by important people from different sectors, such as academicians and politicians to undertake studies on the subject and elaborate a reform proposal. They were both successful projects that ended up influencing the sanction of a Law by the National Congress.

On the one hand, CEP is also an important voice in the Chilean's educational debate, thanks to a vast number of studies and publications and to the recurrent opinions on the field they give to the press. On the other hand, CEP also carries out studies on electoral results and public opinion that contribute to form a certain consensus on political issues and show the voting trends of the population. These studies have become an important input for the ruling class.

However, for this case study, we have chosen to analyze CEP's proposal of creation of a civil service for senior officials of the central state, as well as the modification of the way in which political parties were financed in Chile. This exercise will also allow us to identify contextual factors that facilitate or hinder CEP's influence. In fact, CEP's performance in Chile can be very much illustrated with this specific case of research-based successful policy.

BACKGROUND CONTEXT

The Chilean case shares some common historical features with other Latin American countries, but has some one specific peculiarity that is important to highlight: the existence of more stable institutions than in most Latin American countries. Laws are respected and policy changes cannot be effective without having a legislation impact. This feature makes Chile a very unique case, since in almost all Latin-American countries laws exist, but may never be enforced. However, Chile respects its institutions and its laws. There is less volatility in its political system. The reasons are not clear, but something that can be said is that Chile had no history of military coups until 1973. Furthermore, even with the military coup and the subsequent bleak dictatorship, its transition to democracy was different from other countries in the region. In view of the continuity of some constitutional and institutional rules, the process of transition to democracy has strengthened Chilean political institutions. Despite the fact that the existence of a severe dictatorship could be interpreted as a lack of

democratic stability and strength, some Chilean institutional arrangements were not jeopardized by that circumstance. Moreover, the transition to democracy followed a more constitutional pattern than in other countries of the region. It was not a completely “new beginning”. What happened in Chile was that they moved from a dictatorship into a democracy in a constitutional way and through the preexistent institutional channels.

On September 11, 1973, General Augusto Pinochet staged a military coup against Allende, who led a deep transformation of Chilean social and economic structures, but without destroying the existing legal and institutional political framework. Among other things, Pinochet dissolved the National Congress and interrupted the enforcement of the 1925 Constitution. Left-wing political parties, which were the most important opposition to the regime, were proscribed and strongly repressed while right-wing political parties ended existing as formal parties, but continued being closed to the decision-making spheres. The center Christian Democratic Party initially gave its support to the dictatorship, but after the overwhelming evidence of human rights’ violations they came close to the opposition parties and became the most important public expression against the dictatorship.

In 1980, because of the lack of legitimacy of the regime, a debate started within the Chilean authoritarian coalition. Two basic positions emerged. One group, called the “hard liners”, looked for the continuity of the authoritarian regime. The other, named the “soft liners”, demanded the definition of a constitutional frame including some democratic components, since the legitimacy of the “neoliberal” economic strategy needed the return of democracy as a precondition.

With this purpose, they called for a plebiscite in order to approve a new constitutional reform that included, on the one hand, the legalization of the authoritarian regime and, on the other hand, the transfer of power over to civilians as well as the recovery of a limited democratic regime (with a reduced political arena and the tutelary power or the Armed Forces).

The new Chilean national Constitution was approved on October 21, 1980. In 1981, Pinochet started a new eight-year tenure, but this time as a legitimate president of the country.

During the 80s, Chile went through a transition path which created the necessary mechanisms for the implementation of a democratic regime. Specifically, in 1983 several demonstrations forced the regime to an opening of the system that favored the public entry of the opposition. The period between 1983 and 1988 was a “learning phase”, where political actors tried different solutions to clear their differences and establish a coalition of parties. Finally, they were able to mollify their conflicts and created the “Concertation of parties in favor of NO”. This was a coalition of parties made of all the political groups that opposed Pinochet.

On August 30, 1988, the government called a plebiscite. The proposal was that Pinochet should continue his presidency until 1997. However, 55% of the citizens voted against the proposal. One of the explanations for the success of the “Concertation of parties in favor of NO” was the enormous effort they made to promote their position and to influence public opinion.

For the elections in 1989, the “Concertation” was made up by 17 political parties and they supported Patricio Aylwin as presidential candidate, who was the head of the “Christian Democratic” political party. On the other side of the political spectrum, what happened was that right-wing political parties (Renovación Nacional²⁰ and Unión Demócrata²¹ Independiente) merged and created a new political party, called “Alianza por Chile”, whose candidate for the election was Hernán Büchi, an independent individual who had been Minister of Finance during Pinochet’s regime.

20National Renovation is a party established in 1998 where two right wing groups converged. The democratic or liberal right wing group (the “soft liners”) and the conservative group (“the hard liners”). However, the party is nowadays near the liberal right position.

21 Independent Democratic Union (UDI) is a party established in 1980 founded in 1980. In which the most conservative right-wing members gather. They are linked with the Church. Nevertheless, they became strongly popular during Joaquín Lavín’s candidacy for presidency in 2000. Nowadays, it has become the main Chilean political referent, together with Concertation party.

With the return of democracy, the political party system had a new characteristic that is still in force: the tendency of establishing agreements, alliances and coalitions when needed.

In December 1989, Patricio Aylwin won the elections and the first administration of the “Concertation” party started. This first governmental period (1990-1994) had two important goals: to enhance democratic institutions and to subordinate military to civilian power. Nevertheless, one of the most important features of the transition from authoritarianism to democracy in Chile was the persistence of “authoritarian enclaves” within the Senate.

In 1993, President Eduardo Frei won the national elections. He was the second president who came from the “Concertation” parties. His presidential period (1994-2000) mainly continued the policies started by Aylwin but had an important priority as well: to reform the 1980 Constitution so as to make the Senate more democratic and exclude the senators from the dictatorship period. Nevertheless, Frei did not obtain the majority needed for the reform. In consequence, general Pinochet obtained a place in the Senate as a life senator despite his non democratic performance as a chief commander of the army during 15 years.

In 2000, the third “Concertation” coalition of parties’ period started. Ricardo Lagos won the election. Although the “Concertation” was in power for almost ten years, the last election was more complicated and less successful than the others. Furthermore, several political scandals related to corruption and bribery cases started to jeopardize their legitimacy, contributing to their weakening.

Nevertheless, the “Concertation” party has been the official one since 1989. This feature of the political party system as well as the constitutional transition from authoritarianism to democracy may explain the fact that institutions seem to be less unstable than in most Latin American countries and less dependant on the political game. Furthermore, the fact that the same party has been in power since 1989 gives continuity to bureaucratic structures and enables the maintenance of long-term agreements amongst key actors. This circumstance also helped maintain some broad institutional arrangements, since there is no need to build a “new legitimacy”, changing the political appointees and launching new policies, for example, each time a new governmental period started, as is the case in most two-party political systems where political parties change frequently.

Furthermore, the unusual way in which transition to democracy was carried out in Chile demonstrated the existence of a shared interest from the different fractions of the political arena in respecting constitutional means even in such a drastic situation. Despite the fact that coexistence of democratic rules and authoritarian enclaves could be interpreted as an indicator of lack of democracy, it is important to stress the beneficial consequences it has had for the current institutional design.

Policy outcomes take time to provide reliable evidence of their results, and since policies are processed through institutions, institutional stability does matter. Of course, institutions are closely related to the existing political regime, but in the Chilean case there seems to be a tacit agreement upon the importance given to the necessity of continuity of some institutional rules in order to obtain long- term policies.

Currently, we observe a combination between a presidential government and a weakened Congress in Chile. Hence, the Congress does not have independent advisors and the policy research institutes, like Center of Public Studies (CEP), tend to establish links directly with the governmental level rather than with congressmen because the former tend to be more technocratic and, consequently, more likely to be influenced by research.

CRITICAL FACTORS FACILITATING CEP’S INFLUENCE

A Commission comprised of 25 important experts, called upon by CEP and coordinated by Salvador Valdés Prieto, suggested the creation of a civil service for senior officials of the central state, as well as the modification of the way in which political parties were financed in Chile. The project final report included specific proposals of reform, and after a year of stagnation, a window opportunity made the bill become a law.

Leaders of the "Alianza por Chile" party (as mentioned above, opposed to "Concertación" party) and President Lagos promoted the initiative. This made Law 19.882 on New Deal and Public Administration to be passed on June, 2003.

The main purpose of the law is to reduce political quota in senior official positions of the State, from about 3,500 to 1,900 positions. During 2004 political quota positions must disappear in 48 public services. This new law takes most of the proposals of CEP's Commission of State Reform in the section about Senior Public Administration.

Let's examine critical factors that have influenced this linkage:

In this case study it is clearly seen how long it took to achieve the legislation change (7 years). Also, the particular features of this research-based successful policy case are the following: 1) CEP obtained external financing (not very usual in this think tank), which gave them a wide range of economic maneuvers, 2) it looked for legitimacy of its research products by creating a Commission of experts comprising referents of several sectors and political positions and research was commissioned to experts in each topic (from Chile and abroad), 3) it dealt with a complex subject matter and proposed an original solution, 4) it based its arguments on the fact that Chile's society was already aware of the importance of this topic, and finally 5) it coincided with the opening of an important window opportunity, due to several political corruption scandals, which triggered the government's interest and necessity to take up what CEP was developing.

As regards the first point, this story begins in December 1997, with the financial support of Tinker Foundation from New York. CEP co-financed and designed the research project and called Salvador Valdés to coordinate a Commission in charge of outlining the analysis topics, conducting some research and detecting when to ask third parties to do their own research to be able to create a State reform proposal. The Commission was composed of important public figures, businessmen and academicians of several tendencies. The way the Commission worked during those years was assessing current practices, hiring experts from abroad to evaluate the experience in several countries (Germany, United States, Spain, United Kingdom, among others), and concrete policy proposals were submitted.

The aim was mainly to generate proposals on which the 25 members agreed. If that was the case, the feasibility of the proposal to be taken and accepted by the government was high. They also aimed to analyze in detail the international experience to adapt it to Chile's reality. As this information was not organized, the Commission asked for several studies in Spain, Germany, United Kingdom, United States, etc, in order to have the material needed to create its own proposal. The members of the Commission made an important research effort prior to the preparation of the reform proposals which guaranteed the quality and accuracy of the project. Also, they adapted the results of the research to Chile's reality.

They argued that the more autonomy the elected authorities had, the more public property would be created; that it was necessary to include permanent financing to political parties to supplement the contribution of their activists (which was not present in the law); that there was a need for creating a mechanism - this was included in the new law - through which the donor could make his contribution in such a way that it became part of a "blocked or reserved fund", and thus the candidate would not be able to know who effectively donated the money. This procedure would prevent the donor from asking for something in return for his donation. The proposals conducted by the Commission were backed by all its members except for the issue of the limit to the expenditure for campaigns, in which two members disagreed.

Another important element of this case study is the original way in which CEP addressed the problem. During the study, it was made clear that political financing was closely related to the appointment of senior officials to public services. There were 3,500 public positions of high responsibility, whose appointments were historically negotiated by the president and by the leaders of the political parties. This explained an endemic problem of the Chilean political system: the political quota of senior officials.

The original point was that they linked the problem of civil service with the issue of political financing, two topics that usually are analyzed separately. The classical literature considers, on the one hand, the problems of clientelism, diversion of national income to political parties, existence of activists or sector leaders paid with positions or contracts, etc., and, on the other hand, the issue of financing political parties (not only campaigns). CEP expressed that both topics are, in fact, two sides of the same coin. The Commission claimed that clientelism can be used to finance political campaigns. This evidence was an important finding.

This original approach has also demonstrated their communications capacity to increase possibilities of reaching consensus and thinking in advance about how their proposals were going to resound among different stakeholders. This was clearly reflected by their decision to weight out the original concentration in political financing as key to State reform (which was being perceived mainly as a pro-concertation approach) with a focus on formal processes to appoint high-level public officials, which they estimated would appeal right-winged positions.

The Commission's report proposed that the most important state positions were leaked to guarantee their competencies, by creating a new work regime specific for senior officials, called "civil service", which would limit the distribution of public positions according to political party-balanced programs. An Autonomous Council was proposed to appoint short lists of three candidates according to merit. From this previous selection, the President would appoint whoever he thought was the most suitable person. However, part of these positions could be appointed by the President himself. The Commission suggested around 500. Of course, they understood that it is convenient for a new President to reach office with a team he trusts completely.

It is necessary to stress the fact that the issue of political financing has already been discussed in Chilean society. Campaign financing has been considered a problem to be solved for a long time. The issue began to be discussed in the 1950s and 1960s. In fact, in 1964 the first big financial scandal came up when it was discovered that the CIA had financed a presidential campaign. From then on, almost all Chilean elections were marked by suspicion and, finally, during the 1990s there were certain attempts at reform, especially in issues related to expenditure prohibition. For instance, there is a regulation of 1987, passed by Pinochet, which establishes that no money must be spent on television in order to run an election campaign. Only the free time granted by the TV channels can be used.

The same happens with clientelism. It is also an old problem in Chile. However, the immediate antecedent of the project described here was an unsuccessful plan of administrative modernization of the State carried out in the 1990s. In fact, this reform failed due to the fact that, in order to raise salaries of government staff to make them equal to the salaries of the private market, the Ministry of Public Works sought the enactment of a Bill on Critical Functions. This Bill was not passed, basically because it was unconstitutional and therefore, it was rejected by a group of Senators. However, this fact set a precedent and made the government think about the need for a change. By that time, CEP' was starting to do research into State reform project.

The last key element - and perhaps the most important one - of this case study is the existence of a window opportunity which triggered the policy change. The sequence of the research project was the following: once the research was conducted, CEP delivered the final report on September, 2001. They sent it to all executive authorities: president, political parties, Senators, Representatives, etc. They called a press conference and staged several events in order to show the results obtained. They encountered moderate reactions. Some people considered the proposal interesting and new, but nothing in particular happened. A year passed without any impact of the project.

Moreover, because of a problem with the publishing house, the same book was published twice (in December 2000 and 2002). Besides this unexpected "delay" of the publications, there was a key change in the context showing the particular dynamics of this case study. This "second publication" coincided with the wave of denunciations of serious corruption cases published by the press on October that year. What started as a small corruption case in Rancagua city, ended up affecting the former Minister of Public Works, and the clue led almost to President Lagos. The problem reported was mainly related to political campaign financing by

private companies so that the State would grant them concessions and tenders. The government appointed a judge to investigate the denunciations. Finally, several people were convicted, among them, a state secretary.

With the importance given to the corruption episode by the press, CEP's ideas began to take a larger space within the public sphere. CEP applied an effective communications strategy by attaching their proposal as a clear solution to a problem that worried out policymakers, pressured by public opinion. The institute clearly understood that timing to get their message heard and received was finally on their side. They immediately seized the opportunity to proactively bend the problem to their proposal, emphasizing the importance of looking at longer term solutions to corruption practices which policymakers recognized as an unavoidable problem to give response to. They focused media coverage not only in newspapers but also TV interviews. During November and December, for instance, CEP appeared 30 times in the main newspapers.²²

As a consequence, the issue was acquiring great importance. The whole country was talking about it. The society rejected politicians completely. Even the opposition was affected by this massive wave of discredit. In the light of this scandal, the opposition party leader (right-winged) had been invited to CEP to talk about the finally published second book of the Commission. He realized there that the solution was included in that project, and decided to promote actively the State Reform above the other topics that were awaiting discussion in the official agenda. The public agenda (driven by the society) was imposed over the official one and it altered the government's priorities. This happened by the end of November. In mid-January, the leader of the "Alianza por Chile" party talked to President Lagos to promote CEP's two projects: the one on political financing and the one on State reform. He argued that both projects were ready, that there were no others, and also that they had been analyzed by the 25 outstanding members of the Commission. President Lagos agreed, and a special Commission²³ to discuss the topic was created. Salvador Valdés was part of it.

Politicians negotiated the text and modified it due to the fact that CEP had not prepared Bills but recommended practices. Both issues were discussed for the State Reform.

In January, Representatives and Senators had agreed not to discuss the Law because it had been pre-approved by the presidents of the political parties. They agreed on passing the Law before the end of May. And, actually, on May 21st, one of Chile's national days, the Law was voted and passed. At least, half of the ideas submitted by CEP were included in the Law and the main idea of intertwining both issues was included completely. However, it is important to stress that Salvador Valdés made a great effort by personally calling Senators when he found a mistake in the regulation of the Law or when he considered it important to make certain points of the project clearer. Salvador Valdés personally interacted throughout the whole process with key stakeholders. He demonstrated the needed skills to couple CEP's ideas to discourse at the policy and politics streams. Public communications tools were combined with personal communications abilities.

Currently, CEP is working on a "Donor's Handbook", for donors to understand how to use the new legal system of donations. In June, they organized a seminar for 300 businessmen to explain to them the steps to follow.

In short, this research project became a policy due to several factors: 1) the idea and design of the research were technically "solid"; 2) the issues were addressed with audacity; 3) political feasibility of the project was high because of the previous agreement of the 25 members of the Commission; 4) CEP was patient and insisted in achieving the publication: in fact it was published twice; 5) it persisted in explaining to all those who wanted to hear that the solution to the unexpected crisis in Rancagua was already found; and finally, 6) the members of the Commission were fortunate to be the only ones who had a solution in the middle of a crisis.

²² *La Tercera, El Diario, Estrategia, Qué pasa, Capital, El Mercurio, La Nación, La Segunda, and Diario Financiero, among others.*

²³ *The Commission was named "Bates", after Luis Bates, who was the president of that Commission and until then had been president of Transparency International, which set a serious tone on the debate.*

But what would have happened without that crisis? Probably nothing. As nothing had happened the previous year. Obviously, there is also merit for the two main political parties, both the official and the opposition parties, in giving "that" solution to the crisis. They decided to handle the political crisis in this way and they knew how to make it an opportunity to move forward and put this reform into practice. This shows certain "institutional sanity", a noteworthy example.

THIS CASE STUDY WAS ELABORATED ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING IN- DEPTH INTERVIEWS:

People from CEP:

- Harald Beyer. Academic Director of CEP.
- Salvador Valdes Prieto. Current researcher at CEP. He was the Coordinator of the State Reform Commission implemented by CEP.

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CENTER FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH (CER):

UZBEKISTANI CASE STUDY

BY

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ABSTRACT

The CER was founded in 1999 with a mission to conduct research on Uzbekistani economy, supply information and analytic materials and develop policy recommendations for the national government and its agencies based on this research as well as on the study of international experience. Legally, the CER operates under the Office of the State Advisor to the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan on social and economic policy. *De facto*, however, it is a joint facility of the GoU and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), which is managed according to the UNDP National execution policies and procedures. The CER receives funding from the state budget, but at the same time it is entitled to attract funds of international organizations, public and scientific foundations, private business, and other sponsors to finance its activities.

The CER enjoys an extremely favorable situation in terms of the access to both financial and human resources. This is partly a result of the strong government support for the center since its very inception. To a significant degree it is also a result of specific practices adopted by the CER, which appeared extremely successful in the Uzbekistani environment. In particular, a unique model of project management was developed. For each research project, a specific research team is formed which includes specialists of other academic institutions, experts from public and private sectors, government officials, and lawyers. As for involvement of government officials, it is in fact the principal know-how of the CER which distinguishes it from the 'standard' team-building model of independent think tanks. Such a participatory framework where government experts and officials can directly contribute to policy advice via consultations and sharing their perspectives helps the organization to produce more targeted recommendations. The latter have high chances to be implemented by government agencies because the position of the respective government officials has already been taken into account. This practice contributes also to raising skills and knowledge of civil servants involved in the consultations.

Close contacts with the GoU allow the activities of the CER to receive a 'seal of approvement' by the government, which enables it to engage in different policy-related fields and cooperate with different official agencies at national as well as local level. However, these contacts are as a rule hidden from the public eye, and it is usually very difficult for an outsider to judge what were the particular policy proposals put forward by the CER and to what extent they were taken into account when particular decisions were taken by the GoU. Relations with the government can also be seen as a building bloc of the 'implicit censorship mechanism' affecting the choice of research topics as well as the nature of recommendations for policy makers.

On the other hand, the present model of the CER-GoU cooperation creates extremely favorable conditions for successful generation and implementation of policy advice. Access to confidential information, mutual trust and direct impact on key decision makers via personal contacts can be cited among the most important comparative advantages of the CER on the policy research market of Uzbekistan. The position of the CER is

such as it seems to present the GoU with the most economically efficient policy advice 'picked up' from the set of politically feasible ones.

Another key to the CER's success on the market for policy research and advice in Uzbekistan is its extremely fruitful cooperation with the leading international agencies that finance economic research in transition countries. The UNDP remains the principal partner of the CER. Other partners include the World Bank, USAID, TACIS, Asian Development Bank, Japanese International Cooperation Agency, and the Open Society Institute. The long record of productive cooperation with the UNDP and other international donors makes the CER the principal gateway for any foreign agency interested in economic research projects on Uzbekistani economy.

Despite the fact that the CER was established with the primary focus on macroeconomic analysis and forecasting, its sphere of competence has enlarged dramatically to cover a wide range of subject fields from monetary and fiscal policy to administrative reform, poverty reduction, and gender equality. Such a diversification of research priorities is unique for the Uzbekistani market for policy research and advice, being the important competitive advantage over other policy research centers that specialize on much narrower range of issues and thus have less opportunities to attract financial support.

The central principle of the CER's activities is that research is not a priority in itself but only an 'intermediate product' to produce high-quality policy advice. This does not mean, however, that the CER pays little attention to the academic quality of its research. On the contrary, high-quality research is considered as a natural prerequisite for adequate policy advice. The principal determinant of the research approach and technique in each case is the nature of the problem under consideration and, most importantly, specific priorities of agencies and organizations financing the project. A number of project evaluation missions conducted since the CER's creation point unequivocally to the high relevance of the CER's research to partners' priorities.

For a long time, the CER acted as 'only game in town' in the sphere of policy research in Uzbekistan, building strong research capacities as well as reputation in professional community at home and abroad. The position of CER as the first claimant to government contracts and donor support is likely to be preserved in a medium-term perspective. In this sense, development of competing research centers can be beneficial to the CER itself, as it would be able to specialize on strategic policy issues and leave (and even subcontract) less important technical issues to other research centers.

CER	
Composition	The Government of the Republic of Uzbekistan (GoU) with significant support from the UNDP (project UZB/97/008 'Center for Economic and Social Studies')
Role and degree of involvement	Strategic positions in the Steering Committee allow both the GoU and the UNDP to affect key strategic decisions
Legal status	Budget organization under the Office of the State Advisor to the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan on social and economic policy
Role and degree of control	The Steering Committee is delegated with rights to strategic decision making concerning activities of the CER and its organizational development.
Composition	Members of the Steering Committee represent major partners and donors of the CER, including the GoU and the UNDP.
Government positions held by the GB members	The head of the Steering Committee is the First deputy Chief economic advisor to the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

Organizational model	The CER is managed according to the UNDP National execution policies and procedures.
Contracts	Fixed contracts with key researchers; temporary contracts with members of research teams formed to work on specific research projects.
Budget	In 2000-2003, up to one third of funds was provided by the state budget, the rest came from participation in research projects financed by international donors. Thanks to the privileged position of the CER on the Uzbekistani market for policy research, these projects are quite substantial in terms of funding. E.g., the project 'Support to Uzbekistan's Welfare Improvement Strategy' scheduled to 2005-2007 is supported with \$250,000 by the UNDP, the World Bank, ADB, and TACIS.
Research staff	12 research coordinators (9 male, 3 female), 4 research fellows/associates (male). 'ICT for Development' component has its own staff whose activities are only indirectly related to research. It includes component coordinator, IT coordinator, two content coordinators, two content specialists (4 male, 3 female)
Organization	7 research units specializing in specific fields of policy research. Temporary research teams are built and managed by research coordinators to implement specific projects within each unit's sphere of competence. In addition to research units, three distinct programs ('ICT for Development', Knowledge-Based Economy Component, Statistical Project Initiative) have their own project/component coordinators.
Focus	The central principle of the CER is that research is not a priority in itself but only an 'intermediate product' to produce high-quality policy advice. As a result, the CER is generally not interested in research projects of purely academic nature that do not bring direct effect in terms of policy recommendation.
Selection of research topics	Research topics are defined by the Steering Committee given current priorities of the GoU and strategic research plans of the major partners.
Quality control	Research quality is assessed by experts of international donor institutions financing specific projects, as well as by consumers of particular research products (publications and policy advice).
Who is in charge?	Director of the CER; project coordinators have contact with officials of the respective government agencies; Public relations/fundraising department.
Key policy audience	The Government of the Republic of Uzbekistan; regional authorities; professional community.
Key mechanisms	Direct contacts with government officials (as a rule, hidden from the public eye); publications; Web activities (www.cer.uz) and a number of Web sites and portals supported by the CER.
Publications	The Economic Review magazine; the Digest of Foreign Press; Policy papers; Human Development Reports for Uzbekistan; thematic papers on development issues under the aegis of the UNDP.

Participation in The principal networking project is Central Asian Gateway networks (<http://www.cagateway.org>). The CER is one of the key initiators of this project, which aims to promote networking between research centers in Central Asian countries and fostering economic integration in the region.

1. CER: ENDOGENOUS CHARACTERISTICS THAT FACILITATED INFLUENCE

ORIGINS, MISSION, AND LEGAL STATUS

The CER was founded by the decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan #R-982 (April 7, 1999) with a mission to conduct research on Uzbekistani economy, supply information and analytic materials and develop policy recommendations for the national government and its agencies based on this research as well as on the study of international experience. It is also in charge of the design and implementation of capacity building programs in the sphere of economic analysis for civil servants, and raises public awareness on economic reforms in the country. Establishment of the CER was the result of the successful cooperation between the government of the Republic of Uzbekistan (GoU) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) which started as early as in 1994 with the UNDP UZB/93/007 technical assistance project entitled 'Macroeconomic Policy Analysis and Training'. Both the Uzbekistani authorities and UNDP representatives expressed a high opinion of this project and especially its contribution to the quality of policy advice and capacity building activities in the country. As a means to extend the cooperation in both time and scope, the follow-up project UZB/97/008 'Center for Economic and Social Studies' was launched in January 1997. In lines with this project, the CER was organized as a *de facto* joint facility of the GoU and the UNDP.

Legally, the CER operates under the Office of the State Advisor to the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan on social and economic policy. This gives the CER a set of unique advantages *vis a vis* other policy research centers organized by government ministries, local authorities as well as academic and educational institutions. First, the CER and its Director enjoy high position in the official hierarchy, which is of crucial importance in the existing political setting in Uzbekistan (e.g., according to the Presidential Decree, the Director of the CER is entitled to the same package of social guarantees as the Chief Consultant to the Office of the President). This provides the CER with a preferential position in terms of contacts with government officials as well as access to confident official information and statistics that are not available to other policy research groups/think tanks.

Second, close relationships with government agencies enable the CER to develop a participatory framework where government experts and officials can directly contribute to policy advice via consultations and sharing their perspectives on issues under consideration. This helps the organization to produce more targeted recommendations for government agencies that have high chances to be implemented because the position of the respective government officials has already been taken into account. Moreover, this practice contributes to raising skills and knowledge of civil servants involved in the consultations. Third, activities of the CER receive a 'seal of approval' by the government, which enables it to engage in different policy-related fields and cooperate with different official agencies at national as well as local level even in 'politically sensitive' areas like income inequality, poverty reduction, and cooperation with the civil society.

The dark side of the CER-GoU relations is that they are as a rule hidden from the public eye. This raises serious questions concerning impartiality of CER's policy advice. Close relations with the government can be seen as a principal building bloc of the 'implicit censorship mechanism' affecting the choice of research topics as well as the nature of recommendations for policy makers. E.g., some problems which are of the foremost importance for the development of national economy (in particular, those related with cotton planting and trade in raw cotton) are sometimes referred to as a 'political taboo' for the CER (see section 5.2 for details).

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Organizational structure of the CER is quite simple, but well-conceived and functional. Executive responsibilities are vested on the Director, who coordinates activities of four major departments. *Research department* produces policy research and advice that are crucial to the CER's activity. It is organized as a set of research units (Monetary policy unit, Fiscal policy unit, Social policy unit, Real sector unit, Macroeconomic modeling unit, Governance unit, and Foreign trade policy unit) specializing on particular fields of research; each of these units has one (sometimes two) research coordinators. Three distinct programs – i.e., Information and Communication for Development ('ICT for Development'), Knowledge-Based Economy Component, and Statistical Project Initiative also have their own research/component coordinators.

Editorial department is responsible for publication of two periodicals that play the primary role in presenting government officials, experts, and the general public with the CER's vision of developments in Uzbekistani economy (*Economic Review* magazine) and general trends in the world economy (*Digest of Foreign Press*). The Research and Editorial departments are central within the CER, producing and disseminating results of policy research.

Activities of the *Institutional development department* are directed toward the enhancement the CER's organizational facilities. Head of this department administers also operational (finance, personnel, chancellery) units that ensure everyday functioning of the CER. *Public relations/fundraising department* bears responsibility for contacts with the target policy audiences as well as with international donors. The information center and the Translation Unit are also subordinated to the Head of the Public relations/fundraising department. It should be noted that, given the special relations of the CER with the GoU and a number of foreign partners, Public relations/fundraising department serves as a rather technical division, while the principal decisions and actions are taken by the Director and the Steering Committee.

According to the Presidential decree, the Steering Committee is delegated with rights to strategic decision making concerning activities of the CER and its organizational development. Its members represent major partners and donors of the CER. The head of the Steering Committee is the First deputy Chief economic advisor to the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan. This is one more channel for the CER to communicate the GoU directly (via personal contacts with the leading government officials), which contributes strongly to effectiveness of its impact on decision making.

2. RESOURCE POTENTIAL OF THE ORGANIZATION

The CER enjoys an extremely favorable situation in terms of the access to both financial and human resources. This is partly a result of the strong government support for the center since its very inception. To a significant degree it is also a result of specific practices adopted by the CER (i.e., inviting outsider experts to participate in research teams and involving government officials in policy research) that appeared extremely successful in the Uzbekistani environment.

FUNDING STRATEGY AND THE SOURCES OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES

According to the Uzbekistani legislation, the CER is an organization financed by the GoU. It is, however, entitled to attract funds of international organizations, public and scientific foundations, private business, and other sponsors to finance its activities. The Presidential decree exempted it from all kinds of taxes and mandatory payments to the budget and off-budget funds (except for payments to the Social Insurance Fund) as well as the VAT and customs duties on all imported equipment and other articles to be used in the course of its activities.

The principal external partner contributing to the CER's financial resources was (and still is) the UNDP. High quality of research output of the CER approved by the UNDP experts contributed to rapid reputation-building, inviting other international agencies to cooperate with the CER on issues of economic and social reforms in Uzbekistan. One additional outstanding consequence of the cooperation with the UNDP is that the CER is managed according to the UNDP National execution policies and procedures; it was the first policy research institution in Uzbekistan to adopt modern bookkeeping standards used by Western think tanks. This made the CER an even more attractive partner for foreign donors, as the transparent financial procedures allow them to trace easily the ways their money are used.

Sustainable budget funding and an impressive list of projects financed by international donors (see section 3.4 for details) allowed the CER to build strong financial position. During the period when the UNDP project UZB/97/008 was implemented, the state budget contributed up to one third of the CER's funds (17.6 per cent in 2000, 31.2 per cent in 2003). As the expiration of the UNDP project (March 2004) approached, the CER had attempted to persuade its principal donors to create the Endowment Fund to support CER's activities and finance its organizational development. This idea has, however, failed due to the general reluctance of donors to engage in direct institutional support instead of financing specific projects in the fields of their principal interest. Neither any consortium of donors sharing operational costs of the CER (as distinct from the costs related to particular projects) nor any independent body to coordinate fundraising activities was established. As of now, CER's funding depends crucially on (1) money from the state budget and (2) projects financed by leading international economic organizations and foundations. Fundraising activities are managed by the CER's Steering Committee, which bears responsibility for selecting/approving projects to be implemented. Thanks to the privileged position of the CER on the Uzbekistani market for policy research (see section 4.2), these projects are quite substantial in terms of funding. E.g., the budget of the recent UNDP project on Family assets mobilization amounted to \$85,000, while the project 'Support to Uzbekistan's Welfare Improvement Strategy' scheduled to 2005-2007 is supported with \$250,000 by the UNDP, the World Bank, ADB, and TACIS. Thus, although the CER is constantly facing the challenge of finding project support to finance its future activities, its financial situation is much more favorable compared to the majority of research centers in Uzbekistan and Central Asia that are forced to use each and every opportunity to get research grants (even more than modest in terms of finance) to keep their heads above water.

STAFF COMPOSITION AND PERSONNEL POLICY

Human resources of the CER are rather limited given the scope of its research activities. According to the Presidential decree, the maximum number of the research personnel should not exceed seventeen persons. Research positions are filled with national specialists trained both in Uzbekistan and abroad. Young university graduates of leading universities are invited to the research associate positions. The CER promotes professional progress of its employees, providing them with opportunities to take part in educational programs and international conferences. Nevertheless, the CER is not able to conduct all its numerous projects and research activities relying on its own staff only.

As a reaction to these circumstances, a unique model of project management was developed. Each research unit within the CER has its own research coordinator(s) responsible for formation of specific *research teams* for each project. These teams include specialists of other academic institutions, experts from public and private sectors, government officials and even lawyers (if the project under consideration is related to the development of new legal norms). The practice of contracting 'outsider experts' appeared to be very successful. Preferential legal treatment and availability of external funding allows the CER to pay much higher remuneration than that available to civil servants and specialists in most Uzbekistani academic institutes. This rewards the CER with the access to the best human resources of the country. Contracting 'outsider experts' is sometimes criticized on the ground that it diverts efforts of these specialists from activities of their own institutions, making the latter unable to compete with the CER. Though such claims can be justified in the short

run, in the long run the opposite effect can be expected, as the contracted specialists can make use of knowledge and skills accumulated due to participation in CER projects when initiating and implementing research projects at their principal working places.

As for involvement of government officials, it is in fact the principal know-how of the CER which distinguishes it from the 'standard' team-building model of independent think tanks. This practice, however, proved to be extremely effective in terms of both efficiency of policy advice and civil service capacity building (see section 1.1). At the same time, participation of government officials in formulating policy recommendations could affect negatively the chances that policy advice will touch 'politically sensitive' questions or show criticism in respect of decisions taken at the top of the government hierarchy.

3. SURVEY OF CER ACTIVITIES

RESEARCH PRIORITIES AND QUALITY OF POLICY RESEARCH OUTPUT

Despite the fact that the CER was established with the primary focus on macroeconomic analysis and forecasting, its sphere of competence has enlarged dramatically to cover a wide range of subject fields from monetary and fiscal policy to administrative reform, poverty reduction, and gender equality. Such a diversification of research priorities is unique for the Uzbekistani market for policy research and advice, being both the result of the CER's position of the 'only game in town' and the important competitive advantage over other policy research centers in Uzbekistan that specialize on much narrower range of issues and thus have less opportunities to attract financial support.

Historically, the first research product which brought the CER high international reputation was the National Human Development Report produced annually under the auspices of the UNDP. Each issue is devoted to a special problem crucial for people's well-being. The choice of these problems is closely related to the general focus of CER's research priorities. For example, work on the National Human Development Report 2005 devoted to Decentralization and Human Development rests on the results of the ongoing project 'Administrative Reform and Decentralization – Increasing Financial and Institutional Capacities of Community Organizations' conducted by the Governance Unit of the CER's Research Department. This project aims at promoting development of financially self-sufficient and institutionally sustainable community organizations able to participate in solving problems of social and economic development and improving the living standards of local population. At the same time, analytical conclusions made in the Report are to have direct value for the policy project 'Support to Uzbekistan's Welfare Improvement Strategy Process' launched in January, 2006. This project should result in the comprehensive national Welfare Improvement Strategy addressing both sectoral and regional aspects of economic development to raise the welfare of population through achievement of more rapid and sustainable economic growth. Such a coordination of different projects allows the CER to merge research and policy advice activities successfully, contributing to the improvement of national economic policies.

This strategy is in fact rooted in the principle central to CER's activities according to which research is not a priority in itself but only an 'intermediate product' to produce high-quality policy advice. As a result, the CER is generally not interested in research projects of purely academic nature that do not bring direct effect in terms of policy recommendation. This does not mean, however, that it pays little attention to the academic quality of its research. On the contrary, high-quality research is considered as a natural prerequisite for adequate policy advice. Many research papers of the CER (especially those referring to macroeconomic issues) rest on quite developed theoretical models and advanced econometric tools. Other research materials are more descriptive in their nature. The principal determinant of the research approach and technique in each case is the nature of the problem under consideration and, most importantly, specific priorities of agencies and organizations financing the project. A number of project evaluation missions conducted since the CER's creation point

unequivocally to the *high relevance of the CER's research to partners' priorities*. As the partners of the CER include the leading international economic organizations and foundations (see section 3.4), this fact is quite characteristic of the quality of research output produced by the CER.

In recent years, the CER expanded the scope of its research. The most important growth locus is 'Information and Communication Technologies for Development'. Though the research component in the proper sense of the word is not central to the 'ICT for Development' program, it is nevertheless quite pronounced and has direct implications for the general research priorities of the CER. In particular, 'Uzbekistan – Passage towards the Knowledge-Based Economy' study have clear mutual feedbacks with studies in economic growth and human development, while the project 'Implementation of E-Government and Public Administration Reform in Uzbekistan: Interrelations and Interference' goes hand in hand with the project of the Governance unit on effective decentralization of administrative functions. This is one more example of 'synergetic' links between projects conducted by different units of the CER.

The number of research products presented to wider international audience has also increased in recent years. In addition to the Human Development Report, three other papers on development issues were published. 'Linking Macroeconomic Policy to Poverty Reduction' presents the results of an extensive study supported by the UNDP, which focused on the issue of coordination between the effective poverty reduction strategy and the key measures to secure macroeconomic stability, economic growth, and social development. The 'Family Assets Mobilization' paper is a kind of follow up to the abovementioned paper, focusing on issues of evaluating household assets of the poor and mobilizing them as starting capital for small businesses as well as investment in human capital to increase chances to get a job and raise future income. Finally, the 'Report on the Status of Women in Uzbekistan' published by the Regional Program in Support to Gender in Development of RBEC/UNDP explores the key problems of gender equality as well as the role of women in Uzbekistani economy and society. These three high-quality research publications contribute immensely to positioning the CER in international research community, making it one of the most recognized centers specializing on development problems in Central Asia.

CAPACITY BUILDING ACTIVITIES

Providing assistance in capacity building of civil servants working for government economic agencies and specialists in policy research is one of the central elements of the CER's mission. Activities to reach this goal are fourfold. First, extensive training program for civil servants was implemented in 1999-2002 with the support by the International Development Fund/World Bank grant TF0227251. During three years, civil servants from the economic ministries (including Finance Ministry, Ministry of Economy and Statistics, Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations), the Central Bank, regional governments and other economic and advisory agencies were trained in basics of macroeconomics and foreign trade theory, with case studies and implications for transition economies. The program appeared extremely cost-effective: Only \$59 per participant was spent instead of \$207; accordingly, the number of trainees was raised from 200 to 650. Evaluation mission for the project showed that the results of trainings were unambiguously positive; a number of trainees confessed that they had been promoted after their participation in the program.

This project was the only significant experience of the CER with formal trainings, however. On the contrary, the second direction of capacity building – i.e., involvement of 'outsider experts' and civil servants in the research projects conducted by the CER – exercises constant impact on the national market for policy research and advice. Increased knowledge of 'outsider experts' allows them to initiate their own policy research projects, while participation of government officials in research projects raise their understanding of economic reality and economic policy priorities, as well as informs them on the role of economic research in assisting policy, thus contributing to the demand for high quality policy research in Uzbekistan.

Third, the CER contributed decisively to the reform of the entire system of financing applied economic research in Uzbekistan (see section 4.2). Finally, organization practices and modalities of the CER serve as a point of reference to other research centers which emerged in the beginning of 2000s (e.g., Center for Political Studies, Center for Antitrust Policy, Computerization and IT Development Center, etc.). Regional governments also showed interest in establishing their own analytical centers (e.g., the newly appointed Head of the General Department of Economy of the city of Tashkent organized Department's Expert group to support decision-making process on economic legislation and regulation). In a sense, the 'success story' of the CER encouraged potential entrants to the policy research and advice market to 'start their own business', often adopting some operational principles of the CER.

DISSEMINATION AND PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

The principal communications tool is the *Economic Review* magazine which is published since 1998. This monthly magazine presents surveys of the Uzbekistani and international economy and markets, papers and articles based on CER research, economic statistics and interviews with national economists, businessmen, and policy makers. The *Economic Review* is the leading economic periodical in Uzbekistan, and as such it serves as a *sine qua non* source of economic information for professional community. Its subscribers include key decision makers in the GoU. Overviews of the key articles are available on the Web site of the magazine (<http://www.review.uz>). Quality of publications is highly praised by both national and foreign audience (including foreign investors and representatives of donor agencies).

The *Digest of Foreign Press* is another important periodical produced to inform readers on key developments in the world economy. It identifies and scrutinizes trends in the world economy and well as in its specific segments and presents readers with an overview of different views on them found in foreign publications. This service is quite important to Uzbekistani professional community, as not all Uzbekistani experts and decision makers are fluent in foreign languages.

The more sophisticated tool to make results of CER research accessible to specialists and the general public is the *Policy papers* series. Since its establishment, the CER prepared more than 120 policy papers. The peak of publishing activity was reached in 1998 (28 papers). After that, the number of policy papers declined constantly (only six were published in 2004, and just four in 2005). This trend is clearly related with the shift in the nature and output requirements of the projects implemented. E.g., only one TACIS project 'Consultative Assistance in Economic Policy' resulted in six policy papers in 1999-2000, while in recent years project output is published in the form of 'more solid' reports like 'Linking Macroeconomic Policy to Poverty Reduction', 'Family Assets Mobilization', and 'Report on the Status of Women in Uzbekistan'.

The principal problems touched upon in policy papers are macroeconomic modeling and forecasting; financial markets; taxation system, government expenditure and the budget; development of small and medium enterprises; foreign trade and the balance of payments; development of specific industries (textiles, agriculture, services sector). Summaries and/or full versions of the majority of policy papers are available on-line in Russian and English languages at the CER's Web site. Some of them, however, are marked 'For official use only', reflecting special requirements on the use of confidential information provided and/or demanded by the GoU.

Online activities of the CER also play a remarkable part in contributing to policy making and national capacity building. Besides its principal Web site supported both in Russian and English languages (<http://www.cer.uz>), the CER supports a number of e-resources that serve to inform specialists and the general public on CER activities and projects. Central among them are two Development Gateway Web portals – the Uzbekistan Development Gateway (<http://www.gateway.uz>, in English, and <http://www.darvoza.uz>, in Russian) and the Central Asian Gateway (<http://www.cagateway.org>, both in English and Russian). Both projects were initiated by the UNDP and the CER to promote knowledge-sharing and information exchange for sustainable social and

economic development in Uzbekistan and Central Asian countries. The former project is targeted on information resources concerning with development of Uzbekistani economy and its principal sectors; the latter concentrates on prospects of networking between research centers in Central Asian countries and fostering economic integration in the region. Collections of Internet resources presented at the abovementioned portals are comprehensive, well-organized, and user-friendly. Information networking functions of these portals are rather important: for example, leading specialists from other Central Asian countries confess that the Central Asian Gateway is helpful for finding analytical materials even on economies of their own countries.

Four specialized Web sites supported by the CER are devoted to special programs implemented with the CER's participation: *Microfinance in Uzbekistan* (www.microfinance.uz), *Gender Equality in Uzbekistan* (<http://www.gendergateway.uz>), *Art&Craft of Uzbekistan* (<http://www.artandcraft.uz>), and *National Tenders Platform of Uzbekistan* which collects and daily updates tender notices from the State agencies, international organizations and private companies and also provides access to tender notices in 165 countries worldwide (<http://www.dgmarket.uz>). Implementation of these Web projects not only strengthens positions of the CER in national as well as Central Asian community of development think tanks but also allows it to establish closer relations with international donor agencies involved in these projects, thus contributing to its strong financial position in the future.

In 2006, the CER started in cooperation with the UNDP the statistical Web resource 'Uzbekistan in Figures' (<http://www.statistics.uz>, in English, Russian, and Uzbek), which provides free on-line access to statistics of Uzbekistan. Data are to be updated regularly to supply interested organizations and individuals with information on developments in Uzbekistani economy and society collected by national authorities as well as international organizations. In addition to the key economic indicators, on-line database contains information relevant to education, health, gender, and environmental issues. English version of this Web site is especially important, as foreign investors and international agencies have been for a long time complaining on the absence of the reliable English-language source of information on the Uzbekistani economy.

CER staff regularly takes part in conferences and workshops in Uzbekistan and abroad, presenting colleagues from other research institutions with the results of their work. The CER itself organizes conferences and round tables devoted to issues of economic development in Uzbekistan and regional economic integration in Central Asia (generally, they are related to current projects implemented by the CER rather than being periodical). Last but not least, regular press releases inform the public on the most remarkable events initiated and/or implemented by the CER.

NETWORKING AND COOPERATION

One of the keys to the CER's success on the market for policy research and advice in Uzbekistan is its extremely fruitful cooperation with the leading international agencies that finance economic research in transition countries. The UNDP remains the principal partner of the CER since its inception. In addition to the basic project UZB/97/008 'Center for Economic and Social Studies', the UNPD financed more than a dozen of other projects implemented by the CER, including such projects as 'Support to Reform Process in Uzbekistan', Central Asian Gateway, 'Knowledge Based Economy', 'Linking Macroeconomic Policy to Poverty Reduction', 'Land Reform', 'Employment Strategy for Uzbekistan', and 'Involving New Factors for MSE Development in Uzbekistan: Supporting Small- and Medium-Enterprise Networks'.

The list of projects supported by international agencies other than the UNDP is at least as impressive. Among the most important of them are Uzbekistan Development Gateway (initiated by the CER and the World Bank InfoDEV Program as a component of the global Project on Global Development Gateway), Technical assistance project on economic modeling and indicative planning (Japanese International Cooperation Agency), 'Medium-Term Strategy for Improving the Living Standards of the People of Uzbekistan' (Asian Development Bank), Institutional Partnership Building Project to establish cooperation and effective

partnerships with think tanks and research centers in Uzbekistan, Central Asia, other transition economies and developed countries (USAID), Training Program in Economic Policy Analysis (The World Bank), TACIS project on Consultative Assistance in Economic Policy, 'Professionals for a New Economic Education System' (Open Society Institute).

Many projects directly required networking with peer institutions based in foreign countries. This was the case, for example, of the TACIS sponsored projects (in particular, 'Consultative Assistance in Economic Policy' was implemented in cooperation with the London Business School) and the Central Asian Gateway (in the framework of this project, cooperation with media agencies is also intensive). In Uzbekistan, the CER itself acts as a catalyst of research and civil society networking. Given the recent political developments, this role can be especially important in promoting the dialogue between the GoU and NGOs on issues of economic policy. Projects concerning with the development of small and medium business (e.g., 'Involving New Factors for SME Development in Uzbekistan: Supporting SME Networks' financed by the UNDP) have also an important byproduct of making the 'voice' of business entities in this sector heard by the GoU.

4. POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENT OF CER ACTIVITIES

POLITICAL FRAMEWORK OF POLICY RESEARCH AND THINK TANK ACTIVITIES IN UZBEKISTAN

Since gaining independence after the breakdown of the Soviet Union, Uzbekistan went a long way in the development of market economy institutions and practices. Important steps were made in achieving macroeconomic stabilization, liberalization of foreign trade, and development of private enterprise. However, the government still exercises continuous control over the economy, being rather skeptical to proposals which can lead to reduction of its sovereignty over economic policy. Moreover, constant threat of importation of Islamic extremism and political instability from neighboring countries (in particular, from Tajikistan, which suffered from the civil war during the 1990s) makes the GoU very cautious about the role of non-governmental institutions in formulating policy advice. Both circumstances put rather serious political constraints on the operation of independent policy research think tanks in Uzbekistan.

Andijan riot of May 2005 made the situation even more pressing. Densely populated Ferghana valley where Andijan is situated has been a trouble-making area since the late Soviet period due to high degree of social tension caused by deficit of arable land, high unemployment, ethnic diversity of population, and proliferation of radical Islamism. In this setting, Uzbekistani authorities consider any destabilization of Ferghana valley as an utmost threat to national and regional security. Dubious position taken by a number of countries and international NGOs after the Andijan riot invited increased suspicion concerning projects and initiatives of organizations and agencies financed from abroad. This makes development prospects of independent think tanks relying, among other sources of finance, on foreign grants much less favorable.

Given all these political circumstances, the CER is likely to keep its outstanding position at the Uzbekistani market for policy research/policy advice. Its close relations with the GoU warrants general trust to its policy recommendations, while the long record of productive cooperation with the UNDP and other international donors makes it the principal gateway for any foreign agency interested in economic research projects on Uzbekistani economy.

UZBEKISTANI MARKET FOR POLICY RESEARCH AND ADVICE

Market for policy research and advice is still underdeveloped in Uzbekistan. Factors responsible for this situation can be found on both demand and supply side. As for demand for policy research and advice, the

principal actor is the central government. Regional and city authorities rely on in-house research, being not entitled to outsource research due to legal constraints imposed by budget legislation. In recent years, the business community started to show interest in applied economic research. However, projects financed by large businesses are still exceptional and not related to policy research. Such projects focus on particular aspects of business activities like estimation of market potential, assessment of personnel requirements and regional risks rather than recommendations to improve the existing legislation and regulatory framework. Foreign investors and donor agencies show sustained interest in Uzbekistani economy, but, given the political problems analyzed in section 4.1 and high uncertainty concerning the quality of potential research output (see below in this section) their choice of potential contractors is rather limited, the CER being the most prominent of them.

The principal problems on the supply side have to do with the deficit of specialists trained in advanced methods of policy research and limited abilities of Uzbekistani-based research institutions to compete for these specialists with potential foreign employers. As in most post-Soviet countries, policy research based on modern economic analysis was nonexistent in Uzbekistan in the beginning of 1990s. Limited labor mobility also presents problems for building successful research teams. One specific feature of Uzbekistani labor market, including labor market for research staff, is that Uzbekistani society is still structured by local communities (*makhalla*). It is usually quite difficult for a person with established social relations to move from one location to another, as this would be associated with the loss of his/her 'social capital' and costly efforts to re-establish a system of neighborhood relations in a new *makhalla*. This factor is less important for young people but people of elder age cohorts, especially people with children, are very sensitive to it. This explains why many regional specialists are stick to their employers even given the fact that they are underpaid and have to engage in multiple employment.

The principal sources of policy-research human capital are thus (1) specialists receiving their MA and PhD degrees abroad, (2) students of first-class Uzbekistani institutions of economic education (e.g., Westminster International University in Tashkent, which is a joint venture of the GoU and the University of Westminster, the UK), and (3) re-trained specialists of older generations, mostly in Tashkent, where they are able to engage in policy-oriented research without having to move from one city to another. These specialists, however, have preferential job opportunities abroad and with foreign-based companies and institutions in Uzbekistan. Accordingly, Uzbekistani research institutions have to engage in fierce competition for scarce human capital specializing in policy research. Natural winners are institutions like the CER or Westminster International University in Tashkent that are *de facto* or *de jure* joint facilities with foreign entities. This enables them to pay higher wages and contract fees as well as present candidates with brighter professional mobility prospects.

This constellation of demand and supply conditions allowed the CER to occupy the position close to that of 'the only game in town' on Uzbekistani market for policy research and advice. In fact, it is the first claimant for every substantial project on economic policy initiated by either the GoU or any international donor organization. This provides the CER with clear advantages in getting access to financial resources but also puts heavy work load on its personnel, as the number of simultaneously conducted projects is as a rule quite substantial.

In recent years, market for policy research and advice in Uzbekistan started to develop more rapidly, not least due to effects of activities conducted by the CER itself. First, the CER initiated the special program entitled 'Rational Modality for Management and Financing of Independent Research Institutions', which aims to develop institutional capabilities in policy research in Uzbekistan. The principal result of this program was the reform of budget funding of research launched by the Presidential decree 'On Improving the Scientific Research Activity' (February 2002). This reform, which incorporates the key ideas presented in the respective CER policy paper, made the State Committee on Science and Technology responsible for competitive allocation of research funding among research divisions of state agencies as well as academic and educational institutions and think tanks.

Second, contractual relations of specialists from different research and educational institutions with the CER allow the former to increase their skills in policy research. As a result, potential competitors of the CER raise their research capabilities and chances to get contracts and research grants.

However, the position of the CER as the first claimant to government contracts and donor support is likely to be preserved in a medium-term perspective, as the competing research centers specialize for the most part on more narrowly defined problems of economic policy. In this sense, development of competing research centers can be beneficial to the CER itself, as it would be able to specialize on strategic policy issues and leave (and even subcontract) less important technical issues to other research centers. This 'core-periphery' model of think-tank activities would allow the CER to make better use of the human capital of its employees.

POLICY IMPACT OF CER ACTIVITIES: DIRECTIONS AND EFFICIENCY

KEY POLICY AUDIENCE

The key policy audience of the CER consists of the top GoU officials and civil servants within government ministries and agencies responsible for economic policy. This is hardly surprising given the legal status of the think tank and its close relations with the GoU officials. In recent years, the CER seemed to intensify its cooperation with regional governments in Uzbekistan. In particular, the Regional Development Strategy project is designed to reach local governments and contribute to increased effectiveness of their policy decisions. However, capabilities of the CER staff to conduct a number of projects simultaneously are not to be exaggerated, and regional authorities are too constrained in their financial resources to compete for CER's policy advice with the central government. Thus, cooperation with regional governments can not be viewed as its first-rank priority.

The influence of the civil society on decision making process in Uzbekistan (at least in the sphere of economic policy) is still rather limited. Consequently, policy makers within the GoU are considered as the principal consumers of the CER's research output. This does not mean, however, that the CER devotes no effort to informing professional community and the general public about results of its research. First, it is interested in creating general consensus within the professional community concerning the quality of its policy advice and its reputation as a leading policy research institute in the country. Second, public advocacy of CER's policy proposals represents a channel of indirect influence on government officials. Last but not least, dissemination activities are considered by international donors as part and parcel of every research project; consequently, addressing the general public is the indispensable element of successful project management by the CER.

COMMUNICATION STRATEGY TO REACH POLICY MAKERS

One specific feature of the CER which distinguishes it from many other policy research think tanks in transition countries is its close relations with the government. It can be even said that the most efficient channel of CER's influence on policy decisions has to do not with the dissemination activities outlined in section 3.3 but with personal communications hidden from the public eye. This point is often raised by international donors experiencing problems with estimating specific policy effect of the projects they finance. It is usually very difficult for an outsider to judge what were the particular policy proposals put forward by the CER and to what extent they were taken into account when particular decisions were taken by the GoU. As has been noted above, many policy papers produced by the CER are kept secret; the same applies to analytical materials and draft legislation prepared for the government. Moreover, as far as special projects and studies contracted by the GoU itself are concerned, the problem of 'implicit censorship' in policy advice (see section 1.1) is likely to appear.

The CER's officials usually acknowledge concerns of international donors and experts about the present model of the CER-GoU cooperation but confess that it has no viable alternative up to the date. In fact, one can not deny that this model creates extremely favorable conditions for successful generation and implementation of policy advice in Uzbekistan. First, confident relations is the natural prerequisite for the access to the data and other information materials marked 'For official use only', as secrecy requirements are a kind of external constraint put on all policy research in Uzbekistan. Second, the atmosphere of mutual trust is crucial for effective transformation of policy advice into policy actions. Third, the position of the CER is such as it seems to present the GoU with the most economically efficient policy advice 'picked up' from the set of politically feasible ones. Given the political environment in the country (see section 4.1), this strategy appears to be much more promising than the option of ignoring political realities, which is likely to provoke marginalization of any think tank irrespective of the quality of its research output. Finally, opinions expressed by the government officials can be interpreted in the sense that the degree of the 'implicit censorship' should not be exaggerated. Government officials declare their responsiveness to CER's policy advice, especially in fields where they feel their basic knowledge in economics and regulatory experience of developed and developing countries is not sufficient to address the problem under consideration. CER policy advice can thus be seen as a source of new ideas (sometimes critical and reform-provoking) rather than as a politically induced legitimization of the *status quo*.

SUCCESSFUL POLICY IMPACT: WHAT MADE IT POSSIBLE?

As has been shown in the previous section, assessing success of CER's policy advice is a challenging task. Probably the most spectacular effect of CER activities on policy can be found in the sphere of antitrust regulation. It can be said that the entire system of antitrust regulation in Uzbekistan is built on the basis of recommendations worked out by the CER. It played the primary part in granting the independent status to the State Committee on Demonopolization and Promotion of Competition in 2000 (previously it functioned under the Finance Ministry, with all the respective limitations of its agenda and authority), as well as in working out its statutory documents. The principal contribution was made with the policy research paper #1999/10 'Structural Policy and Competitive Environment Development in Non-Strategic Sectors'. This policy paper, among many others, is marked 'For official use only', and thus it is impossible to trace impact of its proposals on specific provisions of the Committee's charter and operating principles directly. There is no doubt, however, that this impact was decisive.

Committee officials cooperate closely with the CER specialists on regulatory issues. Though these contacts are usually hidden from the public eye, it is said that specialists of the CER participated in drafting the key guideline documents and manuals of the Committee (e.g., those related to definition of geographical boundaries of commodity markets, criteria of monopolistic position, and identification of unfair competitive practices). Study of competitive environment development and working out recommendations to the GoU on improvement of antitrust policy is considered as one of the central responsibilities of the Real sector unit of the CER's Research department, which works in close cooperation with the officials of the State Committee on Demonopolization.

In 2003, the CER published one more policy paper on antitrust issues entitled 'Main Direction and Mechanisms Supporting Development of Competitive Environment and Antitrust Policy' (#2003/06). The paper investigated critically the established practices of antitrust regulation and put forward a number of recommendations concerning improvement of Committee's activities. These related in particular to strengthening institutional framework of antitrust policy and shifting the focus from price monitoring and control to measures supporting development of competitive environment (removing entry barriers, identification of unfair practices and abuse of monopolistic position, etc.). An extensive list of amendments to the legislation was attached to the policy paper. Though, as usually, direct impact of these proposals on government decisions is difficult to trace, regulatory rules and practices developed in the direction described in the paper. Most importantly, the new

State Committee on Demonopolization and Promotion of Competition and Entrepreneurship was established in June 2005 on the basis of the Committee on Demonopolization and Promotion of Competition, Committee on Insolvency (formerly under the Ministry of Economy) and the Department for Development of Small and Private Entrepreneurship (formerly under the State Committee for State Property and Promotion of Entrepreneurship). Functions and resources of the new State Committee are now much more adequate for implementing proactive policies to create a competitive environment for private business.

It seems that the success of antitrust policy proposals depended exactly on those advantages of close relations with the GoU described in the section 5.2. Opportunities to use 'confident' data, mutual trust in contacts with government officials, joint work on transforming policy advice into policy action were crucial to affect decisions at the highest political level (i.e., Presidential decrees) as well as operational principles of the everyday 'technical' work of the State Committee on Demonopolization. All this confirms that the present model of the CER-GoU relations is part and parcel of the successful policy advice.

CONCLUSIONS

The CER occupies a unique position on the policy research market of Uzbekistan. Its principal comparative advantages can be summarized as follows:

- Close partnership relations with the GoU assure access to confidential information, mutual trust and direct impact on key decision makers via personal contacts.
- Research fields covered by the CER are very diverse, ranging from macroeconomic analysis and forecasting to administrative reform, poverty reduction, and gender equality. This provides it with opportunities to influence government policy in all principal directions, as well as to claim for financial support from leading international donors.
- The long record of productive cooperation with the UNDP and other international donors makes the CER the principal gateway for every foreign agency interested in economic research projects on Uzbekistani economy.
- Financial position of the CER is rather strong due to the support from the state budget and research grants. This allows it to attract the leading specialists as staff members as well as members of temporary research teams formed to implement particular projects.
- The CER developed a unique know how to involve government officials in research teams working on policy projects. This helps produce more targeted recommendations for government agencies that have high chances to be implemented because the position of the respective government officials has already been taken into account.

For a long time, the CER acted as 'only game in town' in the sphere of policy research in Uzbekistan, building strong research capacities as well as reputation in professional community at home and abroad. As a result, there are good chances that its competitive advantages will be sustained in the observable future.

Though the position of the CER *vis a vis* the GoU does not correspond to that of the 'standard' policy research think tank and sometimes invites criticism concerning its subordination to the government, it seems that the CER is doing the best job given the present policy making environment in Uzbekistan. The strategy of creating mutual trust and responsiveness to government preferences appears to be much more promising than the option of ignoring existing political constraints, which is likely to provoke marginalization of any think tank in Uzbekistan irrespective of the quality of its research output. As for the increased competition with the newly established research centers that often try to adopt the leading operative principles of the CER, it can be even

beneficial for the CER as the latter would be able to concentrate on strategic policy issues and even subcontract some research activities. This 'core-periphery' model of cooperation with other think tanks would allow the CER to specialize in the sphere of its principal comparative advantage and make better use of the human capital of its employees.

THIS CASE STUDY IS BASED ON THE FOLLOWING SOURCES OF INFORMATION:

Phone interviews with CER staff members.

Personal contacts with the following persons in Uzbekistan:

Representatives of peer institutions:

- Abdujabar Abduvakhitov, Rector, Westminster International University in Tashkent
- Malashkina Galina, Head of the Science Department, Tashkent State Economic University
- Mila H. Eshonova, Executive Director, The International Business School Kelajak Ilimi

Representatives of donor organizations:

- Nozir Ibragimov, Program Officer, Eurasia Foundation – Tashkent Office

Policy makers:

- Tuichiev Zafar, Head of the General Department of Economy, Tashkent City Administration (Khokim'yat)
- TURAEV Akhmadjon, Head of the Central Department of Economy, Samarkand Regional Administration (Khokim'yat)

Personal contacts with representatives of peer institutions from other Central Asian countries:

- Roman Mogilevsky, Executive Director, Center for Economic and Social Research - Kyrgyzstan

Internet sites:

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- www.undp.org
- www.gov.uz
- www.antimon.uz
- <http://www.gateway.uz>
- <http://www.cagateway.org>
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CENTRE FOR POLICY DIALOGUE (CPD):
BANGLADESH'S CASE STUDY

By
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ABSTRACT

A group of eminent private citizenry representing erstwhile policymakers, academicians, development researchers, NGO community and businesspersons initiated the journey of CPD as a civil society think-tank in 1993 to serve as a platform for generating awareness among the people in general, and the policy-makers in particular, about the need for a transparent and accountable system of democratic governance and polity. The task was challenging in the context of nascent democratic society, conspicuous by its ideologically conflicting political groupings, system and norms. However CPD under the patronage of its high profile founding fathers continued its primal task of holding participatory dialogues through engaging a variety of relevant actors associated with country's development process.

During the last 12 years or so, CPD has been able to organize more than three hundred local/sub-national, national, regional/sub-regional and international dialogue sessions. A number of both endogenous and exogenous factors contributed toward achieving such feat. Endogenous factors include existence of a group of dedicated staff imbued with NGO-like zeal under the patronage of their Trustee members, selection of welfare-oriented topical dialogue issues reflecting the current felt-needs, and the nature of dialogue process designed to stimulate open and transparent stakeholder interaction. On the other hand, the exogenous factors have been the credibility and confidence of the stakeholders including the policymakers in respect of CPD's objectivity and neutrality and extensive support and informed coverage of the dialogue issues by the print and electronic media, which were instrumental in sustaining the prestigious image of CPD in the eye of the people. The strength and quality of CPD's dialogues is so entwined with the institution's research agenda that ensures sustenance of the dialogue process with research-based informed inputs and at the same time, the areas and critical issues prioritized through the dialogue process are fed into the upcoming research agenda.

CPD also faces some challenges. First, in respect to its research agenda it has to deal with the increasing need to count with a more multidisciplinary team of professionals in order to satisfy the emerging multi-sectoral demands of the expectant and demanding stakeholders, and the urge to expand the range of issues under study from socio-economics to divergent topics such as energy crisis, good governance, electoral reforms and so on that affect the people and the society as a whole. There is also the challenge of ensuring core and discretionary funding, which would be particularly valuable to enable CPD to respond to crisis issues that need immediate and prompt attention.

* A freelance Socio-Economic Consultant from Bangladesh. Email: ghani@verulamassociates.org Mr. Ghani wishes to thank the CPD researchers and other professionals for their cooperation and assistance in carrying out the Case Study. He also wishes to express his gratitude to Ms. Vanesa Weyrauch of CIPPEC for her endless patience in providing valuable comments and suggestions in fine-tuning the Study to its present shape.

The profile of CPD's research portfolio is increasingly assuming importance in the context of the country and the region's socio-economic transformation against a globalized economy. The unique feature of the institution's research activities is its demand-driven nature, be it a national, regional or international issue, but not to be viewed as an end in itself; rather as a policy tool and as an input to the on-going policy discourses that concerns the interest of the stakeholders. Its across-the-sector research agenda includes a number of areas such as preparation of annual Independent Review of Bangladesh's Development (IRBD), trade policy, agriculture and rural development, environment and ecosystem, investment promotion and enterprise development, South Asian regional cooperation, governance and policy reforms, population and sustainable development. Here again, CPD's internal strength is manifested through its set of dedicated researchers, whose professional excellence transcends even beyond the national boundaries. Acceptance of CPD's research outputs home and abroad, an exogenous factor in itself, can be gauged from the extent of its cooperation and collaboration with regional and international research organizations. CPD has been trying, through its research-based dialogue process, to sensitize the policymakers about the rationale of policy reforms and reforms are often enacted based on their inputs and recommendations. However it would be rather difficult to isolate and locate the contribution of CPD in the process, but the manner and frequency with which the policymakers associate the institution and its professionals can be a pointer to the fact that the stakeholders including the policymakers are paying heed to it.

1. INSTITUTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CPD:

Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD) - Bangladesh	
1. Founders	
Composition	CPD was founded by Professor Rehman Sobhan, former Director General of a leading research institute and former member of the President's Advisory Council, with support from leading civil society institutions in Bangladesh. He is the current Chairman of the centre. CPD was established by a Trust Deed in 1993. The number of founding Trustees was 10. Four (4) of them were heads of leading Bangladeshi NGOs, 3 were academics/professionals and 2 were retired civil servants.
Role and degree of involvement	The Board of Trustee (BOT) through consultation prepared the objective functions of CPD and its activities which were included in a Deed of Trust. Till today the Centre is guided by that document. A review committee, formed in 1997, evaluated CPD's performance till then. They expressed satisfaction over CPD's performance and gave suggestions to improve further. The number of the BOT members at present is 12. The BOT has an Executive Committee (EC) of 3 members. The BOT provides overall strategic guideline to CPD activities. However, they do not intervene in day to day activities of CPD. The founding Trustees did help in mobilizing the initial seed money of CPD, but at present the role of BOT is more strategic.
2. Governing body	
Composition	CPD Board is composed by 2 business leaders, 4 prominent NGO leaders, 4 academicians/professionals, and 2 top level former government officials. Chairman and Executive Director of CPD are the Chairman and the Member Secretary of the Board respectively.
Government positions held by GB members	2 BOT members were Advisors (equivalent to Minister) to the Caretaker Government, 1 was Finance Minister and 1 was Division Chief of the Bangladesh Planning Commission (equivalent to Additional Secretary). Many of them are chairs of various government consultative committees.
Role and degree of involvement	At the beginning of each year BOT members meet to review CPD's performance of the

control	previous year and the research, dialogue and publication plan for that year. Taking account of BOT's comments and suggestions CPD's activity plan for that year is finalized. For decisions on important issues, the CPD ED takes advice from respective BOT members or calls a special meeting of the BOT. There is also an Executive Committee (EC), set up by the Board. CPD Executive Director is responsible for implementing the decisions of EC and the Board.
3. Budget	
Expenditures	61% research, 7% dialogue, 5% publication, 21% general administration costs (which include staff salaries, rent, utility and maintenance services etc.) and 6% capacity building and training.
Sources of funding	There is no core funding. CPD only receives fund for programs. 78% of funds come from sponsoring agencies, 8% from private sector, 4% from sales of publication and 10% comes from overhead, bank interests and institutional levy. CPD, however, is working to raise an endowment fund for its core activities.
4. Research	
Selection of research topics	Research topics are selected on the basis of whether the issues are of critical national importance, and have policy relevance. Distinctive feature of CPD is that it keeps its research portfolio demand driven. Often times research themes also emerge from CPD's dialogue process. CPD, as a principle, do not tailor its research agenda according to funding opportunities. Sometimes CPD goes for contracts with international agencies such as UNDP, ESCAP etc when CPD's research interests coincide with their proposed theme. The research plan is placed before the BOT at the beginning of the year for their comments, suggestions and approval. The list is then finalized by incorporating BOT's suggestions.
Research process	Prime objective of CPD's research is to provide research-based informed inputs to its dialogue process. The research projects are carried out by CPD's own staff with specific expertise, but when such internal staff is not available, the services from renowned experts from outside are also procured.
Research characteristics	CPD research is applied in nature; it addresses important & critical developmental issues of the country with policy angles (example, macro economic review of Bangladesh, Trade Policy). Issues which deal with regional cooperation and implications of globalization that impact on Bangladesh economy are also researched at CPD (example, research on SAFTA, WTO).
Research quality	All research papers prepared by junior level researchers are reviewed by senior researchers from within the centre. Research papers prepared at CPD generally undergo peer review. When CPD conducts a study where there is absence of in-house expertise, or in-house relevant experts are busy with other assignments, CPD gets the papers reviewed by other relevant professionals from outside. In such cases also the drafts are peer-reviewed.
5. Staff	
Composition	Currently there are 50 staff members in all including support staff. There are 35 researchers and other professionals who have at least one Masters degree. Many of the research and dialogue staffs have other professional degrees from abroad including Ph.Ds and Masters. At any point in time 10-12 part-time resource persons from outside are involved with various CPD research programs.
Permanence and turnover	Turnover among the staff in core position is relatively low, however, at entry level staff turnover, understandably, is rather high.
6. Researchers	
Educational	Among the CPD researchers 22% have Ph.D in Economics and the rest of them have MA in

background	Economics, Public Administration, International Relations, Statistics and Business Administration. Some of them have acquired double Masters. The CPD chairman has spent long years as teacher in Dhaka University. Executive Director is a member of the Academic Council of BRAC university. Research Director is also a Professor of Accounting in Dhaka University.
Polycymaking experience	20% CPD staff members have held government positions prior to joining CPD. Senior CPD staff (15% of professional staff) are members of various committees set up by the Bangladesh government. They are consulted on a regular basis by the policy makers.
7. Management	
Organizational model	Chairman and the Executive Director provide strategic vision. Everyday CPD activities are managed through a Management Implementation Committee (MIC) comprised of senior management staff of CPD. MIC members meet once a week to discuss and decide on all issues related to day to day affairs of the centre. Besides, there are also program based teams responsible for implementation of those programs.
Contracts	Very few CPD research projects are contracted outside. But if need arises, CPD takes a lot of effort to find the most suitable person to do research on a specific topic. They are chosen both from within and outside the country. Remuneration depends on his/her research experience in the line and the required time expected from the researcher. CPD also invites experts from abroad to conduct sessions in the WTO workshop every year.
8. Outreach and communication	
Who in charge? Is there a strategy?	There is a specialized division called Dialogue and Communication which is primarily responsible for outreach and communication. The division works under the direct supervision of the Executive Director. 30% time of top CPD management is spent on policy outreach. CPD research findings are disseminated to policy makers through a specially designed dialogue program. CPD dialogue is one of the very few platforms in Bangladesh where civil society organizations and political parties, often with diverse views, meet and discuss key issues of developmental concern and interest.
Publications	CPD publishes books, occasional papers, monographs, dialogue reports and quarterly newsletter for dissemination of research findings. Policy Briefs on specialized topics/issues are prepared for the policy makers as and when CPD receives requests or need for such brief arises.
Tools	Ministers, former and current, members of Parliamentary Standing Committees on the particular subject among others stakeholders attend CPD dialogues. Press releases are published on burning issues. CPD works very closely with both print and electronic media and CPD events are extensively given coverage. CPD maintains a very elaborate and active website. Except books, all other CPD publications can be downloaded free of charge from the website.
Relationship audiences	with CPD maintains good professional relationship with major stakeholders who include government officials, parliamentarians, civil society activists, development partners, representatives from business and chambers, representatives of grassroots organizations, academics, and members of the media. CPD carries out joint programs with some of the stakeholder groups.
Participation networks	in One of CPD's core strengths is to network with other civil society organizations. The Centre has so far hosted dialogues and research in collaboration with Oxfam international, ICRIER, RIS, NCAER in India, SDPI in Pakistan, UNESCAP-ARTNET, Global Development Network (GDN), IIS in Sri Lanka, ICTSD, OECD, UNCTAD, UNDESA, UNESCAP, ILO, IRRI, ADB, World Bank. CPD also maintains network membership with South Asia Network of Economic Research Institute (SANEI), EU-LDC Network. CPD is a partner institute of the World

ORIGIN/YEAR OF FOUNDING/FOUNDERS

In the aftermath of almost a decade-long autocratic rule, the advent of the 90s saw ushering of a nascent democratic system of governance in Bangladesh. Concurrent to such a welcome development, the people in general, and the civil society in particular, became aspirant for a more transparent and accountable polity and governance. The need for a neutral but acceptable think-tank was increasingly being felt by the country's people for addressing the concerned issues. In such a backdrop, the Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD) was established in 1993 as a civil society think-tank under the patronage of 10 renowned personalities such as retired policymakers, university professors and academics, businessmen, development researchers, and representatives of nationally and internationally known NGOs.

CPD was founded by the well-acclaimed economist Prof. Rehman Sobhan, former Director General of Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) and former member, President's Advisory Council. He is also the current chairperson of the Centre. Among the twelve founding Board of Trustee (BOT) members, there were two former advisors to the Caretaker Government of Bangladesh, namely Late Barrister Syed Ishtiaq Ahmed and Late Fakruddin Ahmed, who was also a former Foreign Secretary to the government of Bangladesh. The other BOT members among others include Prof. Muhammad Yunus, the founder of Grameen Bank; Mr. F. H. Abed, the founder of internationally acclaimed NGO, the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC); Mr. M. Syeduzzaman, former secretary and Minister of Finance, GoB; Ms. Khushi Kabir, a renowned NGO personality. Prof. Deboprio Bhattacharya, the Executive Director of CPD is also a member of BOT and its Member Secretary.

CPD is mandated by its Deed of Trust "to service the growing demand of the emerging civil society of Bangladesh for a more demand-driven and accountable development process by stimulating informed debate, generating knowledge and influencing policy-makers through a multi-stakeholder participatory process", to quote its Vision Statement.

In light of its Vision Statement, CPD focuses on frontier issues which are critical to the current development issues and which are expected to shape and influence the country's development prospect in the mid-term. Holding policy dialogue has been its primal responsibility as its very nomenclature may suggest, and in the process, CPD strives to bridge the gap between empirical research and policy advocacy through multi-stakeholder consultations by means of a sustained effort in public policy analysis.

The civic activism of the Centre is operationalized through a set of activities that includes *knowledge generation* through research and analysis as well as establishment of a data and information base; *policy appreciation* through dialogues, networking, information dissemination and mobilizing support of the civil society for concrete policy agenda; *policy influencing* at national, regional and international levels by involving policy-makers in the dialogue process and by contributing to preparation of global policy documents and national briefs; and *capacity building* by way of organizing policy appreciation workshops for policy-makers and other important stakeholder groups.

GOVERNING BODY

The Board of Trustee (BOT) members have been governing the activities of CPD. The current Trustee members are 12 in number, including 10 founding members. The BOT in its current structure includes 2 business leaders, 4 prominent NGO leaders, 4 academicians/professionals, and 2 top level former government officials. The BOT has an Executive Committee (EC) of three members consisting of the Chairperson and the

Executive Director of the Trustee Board and another nominated BOT member. This EC is responsible for overseeing the day-to-day activities of CPD.

The BOT during the initial years prepared a set of objective functions and activities for CPD through consultation which was included in a Deed of Trust. This Deed of Trust till to-day continues to guide the activities of the Centre. In 1997, a high profile Review Committee evaluated CPD's performance positively but came out with a set of suggestions towards strengthening and improving its performance further. Operational directions included broadening the research agenda with policy implications and strengthening of the research capability in terms of human resources.

The BOT provides overall strategic guideline of CPD activities. At the beginning of each year, BOT members meet to review the Centre's performance during the previous year and at the same time, the planned researches, dialogues and publication activities of the current year. In light of the comments and suggestions of the BOT members, the activity plan is finalized. For decisions on important issues requiring immediate actions, the Executive Director seeks advice from the relevant BOT members or calls for special BOT meetings. He is in fact responsible for implementing the decisions of the EC and the Board.

The Chairperson and the Executive Director of CPD provide strategic vision and the day-to-day activities are managed through a Management Implementation Committee (MIC) comprising of the senior staff. MIC members meet once a week to discuss and decide on the on-going issues and affairs. Besides, there are program-based teams responsible for smooth implementation of the related programs.

FUNDING/INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

CPD started its journey with funds originating from contributions from its BOT members. The funds also came from DGIS, the Netherlands. However, there is no core funding source for CPD as such, and it only receives fund against specific programs. Over the years, such program supports were received from a number of sponsoring organizations, including the Ford Foundation; Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA); the Like Minded Group (LMG) of development partners namely Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden; IDRC-Canada; DFID-UK; and the European Union. The resources have also been generated from a number of commissioned studies of multilateral development organizations such as UNDP, UNEP, UNCTAD, UNESCAP, ILO, FAO and NSI-Canada.

As of now, 78% of CPD's total expenditures have come from the sponsoring agencies, 8% from private sector, 4% from sale of publications and 10% from overhead, bank interest and institutional levy.

Absence of steady and assured funding support to back up its activities has remained as a challenge for CPD. Most of the dialogues that CPD organizes are of sudden crisis nature, when it wishes to respond to such events in the interest of the community. Meeting up such crisis situations requires a reservoir of fund at hand. However this is not the case with CPD and that often keeps it preoccupied in the search of funds. The Centre is always in search of new programs to ensure that the funding pipeline is not dried up. In respect to program funding, the funding challenge is not so acute. For instance, in the IRBD program, the steady funding is assured by the so-called "Like-minded Group" comprising of the European and other countries. Studies on trade issues are being funded by Canadian International Development Agency. However, such program funding is in no way helpful in meeting up the funding requirements to conduct the various dialogues on critical issues that CPD wishes to organize in the immediate interest of the people. The challenge thus persists over time. However, CPD is currently in a process of generating an Endowment Fund to back up its core activities. It is also putting up a matching internal contribution to beef up the Fund.

RESEARCH AND RESEARCHERS

Holding policy dialogues being the major focus of CPD, the research activities of the Centre have evolved over the years to service two complementary demands: to sustain CPD's dialogue with research-based informed inputs and to undertake research in key areas and on critical issues that have been prioritized through the dialogue process. In view of this, the Centre's Research Division has been entrusted to implement its research agenda and activities in close collaboration with the Dialogue and Communication Division.

CPD's research topics are selected on the basis of whether the issues are of critical national importance and have policy relevance. A distinctive feature of CPD is that it keeps its research portfolio demand driven. The research themes sometimes emerge from the dialogue process. Unlike many other research organizations, CPD does not tailor its research agenda according to funding opportunities. Even when the Centre enters into a contract with international agencies such as UNDP, ESCAP etc, it ensures that its research interests coincide with their proposed theme. In the ultimate analysis, the BOT approves the research plan.

At the institution level, all research papers prepared by junior researchers are reviewed by their senior colleagues. Research papers prepared by CPD are generally sent for peer review. In the absence of an in-house expertise or when the relevant experts are otherwise busy with other assignments, CPD gets the papers reviewed by other professionals from outside having the particular expertise. In such cases too, the drafts are peer-reviewed. Such an approach ensures quality of research outputs.

The research and other associated activities of CPD are being carried out by a total of 35 highly dedicated and qualified professionals. The Research Division is headed by an erstwhile university professor from the premier university of the country who has extensive research experience to his credit. He is assisted by his colleagues, 22% of whom have Ph. D in Economics and the rest having at least Masters Degree in Economics, Public Administration, International Relations, Statistics and Business Administration. As for the policy-making experiences, 20% of its staff have held government positions prior to joining the institution. As an appreciation of their expertise and professional excellence, Government of Bangladesh has co-opted a number of them as members of various consultative committees and they are consulted on a regular basis by the policy-makers. The CPD Chairperson himself was an Economics professor in Dhaka University with extensive research background, and is also a member of the Academic Council of BRAC University.

The challenge that CPD faces in respect to implementing its high profile research agenda is related to adequacy of multidisciplinary professional manpower. In fact, the Centre has been repeatedly approached by various professional groups as well as quarters to organize dialogue sessions for their respective areas of interests which are of diverse nature, demanding a variety of expertise. Such requests could not always be entertained, firstly because CPD believes in meaningful discussions and to be meaningful, the Centre requires appropriate human resources and time to first research on the issues. CPD's manpower is not multi-disciplinary so as to be able to take care of *all* kinds of issues. As such, it is selective in taking up the dialogue issues, principally concentrating on economic and social issues. However, non-compliance with such outside requests often creates misunderstanding. However in order to face the challenge, the Centre sometimes resorts to out-sourcing of appropriate professionals from other reputed institutions or organizations, but ensures that the standard expected from CPD involvement is maintained. Even then the challenge remains: absence of high multi-disciplinary professionals in CPD set-up has been putting roadblocks towards addressing quite a few critical issues.

DIALOGUE AND COMMUNICATION

As indicated earlier, the dialogue program lies at the core of CPD's whole range of activities. However with a view to move away from the prevailing tradition of rhetorical exchanges, the Centre designs the dialogue format in such a way as to stimulate a constructive engagement and informed exchange of views. Such dialogue exercises are not intended to be mere academic deliberations; rather these are designed to come up with specific recommendations essentially reflecting the stakeholders' view. The strategy involved here is to

provide the relevant discussants, normally well informed professionals of repute and national standing, with a concept note on the concerned dialogue issue so that they can prepare themselves for the dialogue. The attending media people are also provided with such concept notes beforehand so as to enable them to cover and report on the issue in an objective and informed manner. Once the recommendations are made, these are placed before both the current and prospective policy-makers of the country as inputs to the policy making process.

Subsequent to holding of dialogues, CPD publishes Dialogue Reports, Dialogue Monographs for distribution among the dialogue participants, press and other concerned people. The research findings are also communicated and disseminated through publications of Research Monographs, Quarterly Bulletins, Occasional Papers and Books. Other methods of disseminations include speaking at public places through dialogues, organizing targeted events through national policy briefs programs, press briefs and distribution of books and journals through mailing list. CPD's professionals often contribute articles and papers on current issues to the national press with a view to reaching the general public. The CPD professionals are often consulted by the newspapers on specific issues and they are invited to participate in national radio and television programs. CPD's website (<http://www.cpd-bangladesh.org>) has enabled the institute to substantially enhance its networking capacity as well as to expand its outreach and expedite dissemination of its dialogue and research outputs. Full texts of the Dialogue Reports and brief summaries of the Occasional Papers are regularly posted in the CPD website.

Over the years, CPD continued to explore new avenues for wider dissemination of its outputs. Apart from initiating publication of its works in Bangla – the state language of the country --, CPD has been participating in Ekushey Book Fair since 2001 where publications are displayed, disseminated and sold to the general public. CPD publications are displayed at all dialogue venues.

By February 2006, CPD organized as many as 332 local/sub-national, national, regional/sub-regional and international dialogue sessions on issues of current interest and concerns spanning over national issues such as annual budgets, general election, etc. to regional issues like Free trade among SAARC countries, SAFTA, etc. to international issues like WTO.

The challenge that CPD often faces in its dialogue process is that of sustaining neutral stance in an otherwise extremely divisive political culture, so characteristic of Bangladesh. The non-partisan approach -- the hallmark of CPD and which has afforded it to earn admiration and confidence of the people -- has often been misunderstood by the self-conceived aggrieved party. CPD talks about economic and other issues and their often reflect diverse views, including differences and consensus. The opposing political schools of thought or even the members of the civil society more often than not fail to appreciate such an approach. As a way out from this challenge, CPD invites the representatives from the opposing groups or interests on equal footing to participate in the dialogue and express their viewpoints in a transparent manner. Such an approach validates CPD's non-partisan stance in the eyes of the public.

YOUTH LEADERSHIP PROGRAM

Another activity of CPD is running of the Youth Leadership Program, which has been initiated in recent years with a view to promoting vision and policy awareness amongst the youth towards inculcating democratic values and leadership qualities, and promoting civic responsibilities among the young professionals through internships, research support, dialogue participation and civic activism. The program is being supported by the *Better World Fund* of the United Nations Foundation. To-date, as many as 107 interns have completed their internship under this program.

NETWORKS, PARTNERSHIPS AND ALLIANCES

CPD looks upon its capacity to fruitfully network with various organizations and institutions within the civil society as one of its core strengths. As of now, the Centre has initiated and hosted a number of dialogues and research programs in collaboration with organizations such as Oxfam International, ICTSD, The Commonwealth Foundation, OECD, UNCTAD, UNDESA, UNESCAP, WTO, ILO, IRRI, ADB and the World Bank. CPD is a partner institute of the World Economic Forum (WEF) i.e. the *Davos Forum* since 2001 and has been conducting the survey in Bangladesh for the “Global Competitiveness Report” as one of the partner institute of World Economic Forum. It also maintains network membership with the South Asia Network of Economic Research Institutes (SANEI) and the EU-LDC Network. As a member of the Global Development Network (GDN), CPD is currently hosting the South Asia Centre for Policy Studies (SACEPS) which is mandated to promote and stimulate regional cooperation in such key areas as trade, investment, energy, transport and communication and also other areas of common interest. SACEPS is registered as a project of CPD which has seven partner organizations from Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Nepal and Sri Lanka. The SACEPS Board, consisting of 25 eminent persons of the SAARC regions, provides the organization overall guidance and direction.

2. ANALYSIS OF THE ENDOGENOUS AND EXOGENOUS FACTORS INFLUENCING CPD ACTIVITIES

Since its inception, CPD’s main focus has been to aware and empower the policymakers as well as other stakeholders on the issues of critical public and national interests through holding of interactive dialogues amongst them. On this front, the performance of the Centre has been impressive. It has over the years grown to be a centre of excellence in respect to conscientising the people in general, and the policymakers as well as the would-be-policymakers in particular. Through its excellent but non-partisan communication strategy, it could earn respect and confidence of the people belonging to different and often divergent shades of opinion. The unique feature of CPD’s dialogue process has been that the dialogues are so designed as to come up with specific recommendations in terms of both redefining the policies as also for ensuring their effective implementation. These recommendations are then placed before current and prospective policymakers of the country as inputs to the policymaking process.

One contributing factor behind such enviable achievement, as evident from discussions with CPD researchers and communication officials*, can be traced from the highly respected national stature and social standing of its founding fathers. They were/are the national figures in their respective fields and as such, CPD could catch the imagination and confidence of the people and the civil society from the very beginning of its journey.

CPD could also sustain such confidence and trust through its pragmatic non-partisan and neutral dialogue strategy. On vital national issues, it could engage all irrespective of their political shades and colors in constructive dialogue sitting side by side and deliberating in a transparent manner in front of the professional experts and the media people. Such a course of action could ensure political consensus among the policymakers and would-be policymakers, a practice hitherto unknown to the society. Treating issues in a purely professional manner clearly in terms of their merits and demerits, and maintaining a neutral stance has been the unique feature of CPD and this has established its credentials as a trustworthy think-tank.

CPD was also able to position itself by addressing issues which are very relevant to day-to-day life of the stakeholders, by combining corporate efficiency, NGO passion and think-tank professionalism. The institution’s ability to bring together people with conflicting positions on an issue, its capacity to bring in high level policymakers, and ability to put forward concrete and down-the-earth recommendations contributed towards its capacity to influence the policy discourse in the country. In its research and dialogue/advocacy activities, CPD always strived to be constructive and endeavored to put forward pragmatic suggestions to address certain

* CPD officials interviewed are: Prof. Mustafizur Rahman, Research Director; Ms. Anisatul Fatema Yousuf, Head, Dialogue and Communication and Dr. Uttam Kumar Deb, Senior Research Fellow.

issues. The policymakers found it helpful since in many instances they themselves were in search of ideas, doables, and policies. At a lower level, CPD sometimes responded positively to government officials' requests for data, information and analysis. By doing so, CPD has been able to remain relevant and also influence policymaking. A blending of multi-stakeholder dialogue and research has been the distinctive feature of CPD's activities and that has made it different from many other institutions working in similar areas which concentrate either on fundamental research or grassroots activities.

Sustained print and electronic support has been another factor which also contributed toward consolidating its foothold among the common people in general and the members of the civil society in particular. The pragmatic approach adopted by CPD in the first place in respect to informing and educating the media about its research findings and resultant dialogue issues also facilitated the process of dissemination of substantive information to the public. This has also enhanced the prestige and acceptance of the Centre among the public opinion.

In a rather underdeveloped and transitional political culture, the views and policy prescriptions of a civil society think-tank is not always appreciated by the political power holding the reigns of the country. This is also true of CPD. However, the objectivity and pragmatism associated with CPD's research and dialogue process as well as national standing and excellence of the persons associated with its activities have proven to be a compelling factor for the incumbent policymakers to listen to its voice and seek its advice and suggestions both formally and informally. CPD's current standing among the policymakers can be gauged from the fact that in many occasions involving country's economic and other interests in respect to regional and global issues, the institution's representation in the government delegation is ensured.

In short, it can be said that the factors contributing to CPD's success lie both within and outside the institution. Within CPD, the most important factors have been sincere, participatory and high quality work of its staff, led by an Executive Director, who is also an economic professor of the country's premier university. Close cooperation between research and dialogue has contributed to foster outreach and also improved feedback in a mutually rewarding manner. High respect accorded to the founding chairman, Prof. Rehman Sobhan, and other past as well as current Trustee members has also contributed to CPD's prestige and success. At the same time, the outside factors include the stockholder's confidence and acceptance of the institution as a non-partisan entity, extensive media support and the support of the donors as well of the country's development partners, who have a good deal of leverage on the country's development alternatives.

Over the years, CPD has involved itself with a number of issues and concerns that affect the life and livelihood of the common people. The span of its success stories is rather wide. However, as a leading and actively engaged think-tank in the context of a developing society which is in its democratic transition phase, it has its limitations. In its overarching desire to see an ideal polity, CPD carried out a number of studies and put forward many recommendations in the area of good governance, particularly in respect to administrative reform, electoral financing, decentralization, addressing corruption etc. However, little progress has been made in these areas. Policy change in respect to these critical issues pre-supposes a change of mind-sets of the political parties vying for political power, but in spite of their verbal commitment to bring about the required change, very little progress could be achieved. CPD could do little but to stand on the sideline as a helpless onlooker. CPD was also interested to have a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) for the country from a more equity perspective. However, pressure from development partners and unwillingness of the policymakers to go for a radical solution to some of the problems have led to policy recommendations in the PRSP which are perhaps not fully adequate to address the problems of growing inequality in the country.

3. CPD'S RESEARCH BASED POLICY IMPACT

While it is rather a difficult exercise to isolate and locate specific contribution of CPD toward government policy change or formulation, it would be worthwhile to look at the institution's involvement in the process and

deliberations associated with such changes. CPD to its credit has always been invited to participate in various consultative committees set up by the government of Bangladesh. CPD's contribution to trade policy in the context of WTO negotiations carried out by Bangladesh is a good example to cite. CPD has been assisting in articulating the government policy stance in a number of areas such as market access, GATS, agriculture and environment. The reasons behind such involvement are several: firstly lack of adequate capacity within the government induced policymakers seek CPD's support; secondly CPD had in-house capacity to undertake research and put forward policy recommendations for the Ministry of Commerce and Bangladeshi negotiators in the WTO; and thirdly CPD was also part of various committees set up by the government to advise on WTO issues and was also invited to be members of government delegations to the various ministerial meeting of the WTO.

As for the impact of CPD's research-based advocacy related to the WTO issue, the opinion of Mr. Amir Khasru Chowdhury, the erstwhile Commerce Minister of the Government of Bangladesh, is worthy of mention. Mr. Khasru, who was in charge of the ministry for about 3 years since 2001, was emphatic in his admission about CPD's contribution toward formulation of the government's approach and strategy for WTO negotiation in those early years. He was candid enough to admit about dearth of any expertise in his ministry at that time and added that it was CPD who among only a few others filled such a vacuum. "*Opinion of CPD on WTO matters was very important for us in the ministry*", the minister quipped, adding "*we kept on consulting with them and such interactions really helped us, the policymakers. We established a WTO Cell in the ministry and CPD was constantly pressing for such a step*". Commenting metaphorically on CPD, the ex-Minister likened its initiation of the dialogue activities as "*the breadth of fresh air that provided a momentum to put public perspective in front of the stakeholders including the policymakers*".

Among the examples of CPD providing inputs to government's policy reforms, another example may be cited from the agriculture and rural development sector. Although about 70% of Bangladesh's 14+ million populations are directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture for their livelihoods, the agricultural sector is plagued with very low productivity and there is also the lingering problem of equity. The vast rural population – about 70% of the total population – is mainly associated with agricultural pursuits but poverty is endemic in the country's rural areas. In view of such situation, International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), Bangladesh Agricultural Research Council (BARC), Local Government Engineering Department (LGED) and the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) jointly carried out a poverty mapping study in 425 upazilas (sub-districts) out of 464 upazilas of the country. The study was followed by a CPD-organized dialogue in 2004 titled "Mapping Poverty for Rural Bangladesh: Implications for Pro-poor Development". The dialogue was organized as part of CPD's ongoing agricultural policy research and advocacy activities with IRRI under the Poverty Elimination through Rice Research Assistance (PETRRA) project, which was attended by among others the Minister in charge of Agriculture and the Agriculture Minister of the past government.

The dialogue came up with a number of recommendations on agricultural policy reforms in respect to strengthening the social safety nets, redistribution of the *khas* land (government-owned land) among the poor, encouraging children from the poor families through special incentives, rural infrastructure development, expansion of rural electrification, initiation of surface water development projects, and so on. Although it can not be vouched-said that the CPD dialogue was instrumental in subsequent policy adoption, many of the policy prescriptions, such as subsistence allowance for the elderly people, distribution of government-owned land among the landless as well as housing projects for them, construction of rural road-network and other development centers, further expansion of rural electrification, and small-scale water projects, found their way into the subsequent government plans and budgets. What was equally important was that the extensive research and the subsequent dialogue resulted in pin-pointing and conscientising the social scientists as well as the policy-makers about the lingering problems afflicting the rural economy.

4. CONCLUSION

Over the past eleven years, the Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD) – notwithstanding its need to embrace a more multidisciplinary team to and paucity of institutional funds -- has emerged as a leading civil society think-tank and has been able to establish its credibility as one of the very few platforms where civil society organizations, stakeholder groups and political parties, often with diverse views and perspectives, are agreeable to sit around a dialogue table and conduct an informed discussion about key issues of developmental concern and interest. The high stature and reputation as well as the social standing of its founding fathers have been instrumental in earning the esteem and confidence of the people in CPD activities. The highly motivated and devoted staff under the overarching leadership of their Chairperson and the Executive Director could sustain such societal confidence through their objectivity and neutral stance in the dialogue and research process and in doing so, have been able to turn the institution into a premier and highly respected think-tank in the country. Even in respect to regional and international issues that affect Bangladesh, it has been collaborating with other regional think-tanks and multinational development organizations and such collaborations are a pointer to regional and international recognition of CPD's policy research expertise and excellence.

THIS CASE STUDY WAS ELABORATED ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING IN- DEPTH INTERVIEWS:

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- _____A number of newspaper articles on CPD's dialogues.

Apart from consulting the above-mentioned documents/reports, semi-structured interviews (SSI) were also conducted with the following persons:

- Professor Mustafizur Rahman, Research Director, CPD
- Ms. Anisatul Fatema Yousuf, Head (Dialogue and Communication), CPD
- Dr. Uttam Kumar Deb, Senior Research Fellow, CPD
- (A policymaker) Mr. Amir Khasru Chowdhury, the erstwhile Commerce Minister, Government of Bangladesh

FUNDACIÓN PARA LA EDUCACIÓN SUPERIOR Y EL DESARROLLO [FEDESARROLLO]:

COLOMBIA'S CASE STUDY

BY

MIGUEL BRAUN, MARIANA CHUDNOVSKY, CONSTANZA DI NUCCI, NICOLÁS DUCOTÉ AND VANESA WEYRAUCH*

JULY, 2004.

ABSTRACT

Fedesarrollo [Fundación para la Educación Superior y el Desarrollo] was established in 1970 by a group of high-ranking government officials, prestigious scholars and businessmen. Its continuity over time indicates its capacity to adapt to different economic and political contexts. As an institution, Fedesarrollo is half-way between the academic field, the business world and the political arena. Their research, mostly oriented towards economic issues, stands out for its rigorous, hard-working characteristics and for its international standards.

Fedesarrollo is a leading voice in Colombia's economic debate and its researchers have worked for Colombian governments since its creation. They have very close links with government, especially with the Department of Planning. Fedesarrollo has an important budget, since having an average of between USD 750.000 and USD 1.000.000 each year is much more than most Latin-American budgets. Moreover, Fedesarrollo's funding is obtained mainly through projects, which impacts on its organizational structure and the way research topics are selected. However, despite the constraint that this organizational structure implies, Fedesarrollo's authorities believe that this is an excellent method since researchers have incentives for obtaining their own funding, writing and their own research proposals among other beneficial outcomes.

Part of the institution's success in influencing policymaking processes is related to its capacity to convey ideas and proposals to non experts in an understandable way without becoming either trivial or losing accuracy, along with a regular commitment and discipline to disseminate their ongoing research. It also functions as an antenna to detect what policymakers are more prone to hear based on current policy agendas. These factors have enabled Fedesarrollo to gain an audience of opinion leaders and decision makers at the public, business and academic sectors, as well as the media. Finally, the fact that final decisions on what and how to communicate in the publications, debates and press conferences are made by the Executive Director implicitly reflects the importance given to communications by the institution.

The influence of the institution can be illustrated with a specific case: Fedesarrollo began doing research into the labor market problems and started to promote a new strategy to fight unemployment based on three main pillars: an in-depth reform to education, the implementation of a social safety net that would help the most

* This case study is part of the CS 2 component of the Phase II of Global Development Network's Bridging Research and Policy project, carried out by the Center for the Implementation of Public Policies promoting Equity and Growth (CIPPEC), which consists of a comparative analysis of policy research institutes in Latin America, Asia and Africa. We would like to thank the interviewees that have collaborated with the elaboration of this case study, as well as the helpful research assistance of Julieta Rezával.

vulnerable strata of population unemployed and, a reform of the labor code. They developed an innovative approach to solve the problem that was incorporated in the labor reform Law.

Fedesarrollo's successful promotion of this policy was based on several critical factors: 1) the reform was spaced out over a decade; 2) the social security and health reforms of 1990 and 1993 were thought to be insufficient; 3) during the Pastrana administration there were frustrated attempts at reform that failed because they were unable to reach beyond the veto point placed by trade unions, workers, and Congress; 4) Fedesarrollo's researchers were in too good a standing with government technocrats to insist on the subject and , 5) an important window opportunity opened owing to the socioeconomic crisis and to the change of government. Uribe, the new President, started his period of office by promoting a number of reforms, the labor reform among them, to make a point about his power of decision.

The influence exerted by Fedesarrollo is not the outcome of a specific piece of research, but of a whole corpus of research. They did research during almost one decade into the causes of unemployment in Colombia until achieving success. They followed closely the previous reform efforts (with Pastrana) as well as the reforms achieved and they have informed and criticized the prevailing points of view, giving solid arguments and contents for what later were the core ideas of Bill 789, approved by the Congress in 2002. The institute had influence on a legislation change. However, it was a gradual policy change.

Furthermore, in the mid-90s, the labor issue became uppermost in the agenda, with larger awareness and debate arising about the need to carry out a new reform. Thus there were initiatives pointing at endowing the labor market with increased flexibility, which reopened the debate on the best way to approach the problem. Thus, Fedesarrollo became an essential referent and found its place into the debate because of the weight of its own ideas.

1. ON FEDESARROLLO: ENDOGENOUS CHARACTERISTICS THAT FACILITATED ITS INFLUENCE

Fedesarrollo's most important organizational and institutional features are summarized in this table and explained below:

FEDESARROLLO	
1. Legal status	Non profit organization
2. Year of foundation	1970
3. Founders	Business + Academia +
4. Governing Body:	Government
a. Businessmen	1 body
b. Academicians	Yes
c. Politicians	Yes
	N/A
5. Government positions	
6. Budget	Yes
7. Funding	USD 750.000 - USD1.000.000
8. Sources of Funding	By projects International organizations
9. Research topics selection	Government
10. Research organization	
11. Research features	Researchers / funders Research projects Operational output Relevance Quality control

12. Researchers' background	Influence over time
13. Staff profile	PhDs
14. Areas of research	Mainly economists
15. Research topics	Applied economics
16. Staff Number	Second-generation- reform-related topics
17. Hiring contracts	40 persons
18. Who is in charge of communications	Short / Long-term Executive Director
19. Regular contact with the media	Yes

Origins / year of foundation / founders

Fedesarrollo was established in 1970. Its continuity over time in such an unstable country as Colombia indicates its great capacity of adapting to different economic and political contexts.

Fedesarrollo is a non-profit organization. It was established as an independent research center with the purpose of informing the formulation, analysis, evaluation and political debate in Colombia. From the very beginning, it was bent on influencing public policies. Over thirty-years of existence, it consolidated its position as a leading research and public opinion center.

The institution was established by a group of high-ranking government officials, prestigious scholars and businessmen whose main motivation lay in three factors closely linked to Colombian reality. In the first place, they were concerned about the Pastrana-Borrero administration (1970-1974), which seemed far from focusing on the intensification required by the incipient technical rationality brought into State management by former President Carlos Restrepo. In the second place, which was a consequence of the same factor, they felt it was necessary to develop independent technical knowledge (so far unheard of in the country) for the production of systematic, reliable economic information to sustain policy-making aimed at development and guidance for the private sector, where decision-making had to adhere to a coherent national project. In the third place, since the university as an institution remained passive in this respect, it was imperative to train leaders and technicians with a sound knowledge of the country's economy so that they could act as a hinge to establish closer bonds among the university, government leaders and the private sector.

By the time Fedesarrollo was founded, research into social sciences was not very much developed in Colombia. When it existed, it was only the result of individual professors' interest and not the result of institutional development by universities. Hence, when Fedesarrollo was created, it was the only institution devoted to examine and evaluate public policies with both a rigorous and an academic approach. Because of this, it became the only interlocutor of the government on public policy evaluation. Over time, the research tradition built by the institution has spread to other institutions, research centers, universities and consulting agencies and it has contributed to the development of the Colombian academic community and to the public policies debate.

It is important to point out a few decisive aspects for the Institution's take-off in 1970. In its beginnings (1970-1975), Fedesarrollo received donations from the Ford Foundation, as well as technical assistance which provided a network of contacts with similar organizations world wide. Likewise, they obtained advisory services from Brookings Institution with a view to adopt a long-term institutional development strategy. Most of the recommendations made by Brookings were put into practice, whereas the bonds with both organizations facilitated institutional build-up and prompted early recognition from a sector of the international academic community.

GOVERNING BODY / POSITIONS HELD IN GOVERNMENT

Regarding their governing body, Fedesarrollo is under the rule of a pluralistic Board of Directors. The board controls the institution's accomplishment of its objectives, creates new positions, appoints new members and endorses general programs and the annual budget. In a more general aspect, it surveys decisions made by the Executive Director, who is responsible for the Foundation's academic orientation, administrative performance and its external image. Fedesarrollo's governing body is composed by representatives of the business sector and the academia.

As an institution, Fedesarrollo is half-way between the academic field, the business world and the political arena. Its bonds with other environments are decisive both for its academic performance and for the influence it exerts on public opinion and public policies. All along, it became a "school for leaders" in the private and public sector. The "revolving door" factor -an expression used by its members and by external actors- illustrates the historical coming-and-going linkage existing between Fedesarrollo's researchers and the government, particularly in such areas as economics and planning. This is confirmed by the fact that, ever since it was established, the institution has trained teams of technicians appointed to leading positions in public office, where they have been responsible for the country's economic decisions over various Colombian administrations.

Fedesarrollo's researchers have worked for Colombian governments since its creation. From the seventies to the present, eight out of the nine Executive Directors and five of its associate researchers held high-rank government positions, mainly in economic areas of the Government (Ministry of Treasury, Department of Planning, International Trade, Bank of the Republic, among others) and also in sector policies' ministries (Agriculture, Energy and Mines, Labor, Transport).

FUNDING / INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

Another key characteristic, with great impact on Fedesarrollo's organization, is that its funding is obtained mainly through projects, which impacts on its organizational structure and in the way research topics are selected. However, as mentioned above, in its beginnings Fedesarrollo had an important institutional endowment which was crucial to help the institute to become an important referent in Colombian economic debate and in local policy-making.

The institute has currently a considerable budget, which is larger than the general trend of the region. Fedesarrollo has an average annual budget between USD 750.000 and USD 1.000.000, while most Latin American think tanks have a budget between USD 100.000 and USD 500.000. Clearly, think tanks that have influence on Latin American policy-making have larger budgets than almost all of the institutes in the region.

Fedesarrollo tries to adopt a clear funding strategy as a medium to preserve its independence. For example, it does not do consulting activities, because -as stated in the by-laws, it must ensure the dissemination and availability of research findings to the public. The institution intends to build up a diversified funding structure shared out in thirds (private and public Colombian resources and international funding). Furthermore, accomplishing this principle is not always possible due to the scarcity of resources and the strong competence among public and private funding. Currently, Fedesarrollo is supported by Colombian enterprises (10%), Colombian government (25%), national philanthropic organizations (15%), international philanthropic organizations (15%), international credit organizations (25%) and 10% comes from selling its products and services. As mentioned above, funding mainly comes from different projects. This feature influences Fedesarrollo's organizational structure and its research activity. In general, the institute has short-term funding, which makes the research agenda less stable compared to other think tanks that have long-term funding. Therefore, the institute has less leeway to set the research agenda and it tends to work in more specific topics according to the demand of precise projects. Fedesarrollo seeks to combine the institute's interest, researchers' preferences and available funding. However, Fedesarrollo's directors believe that this organizational characteristic helps them to continue to be creative. They explicitly do not hire researchers on a

long-term basis. They believe that project funding logic contributes to create incentives for researchers to find new projects and to be motivated in their job.

At the same time, since Fedesarrollo depends almost exclusively on external funding for projects, all researchers must seek funding for their work. Specifically, they become 'managers' of their own job and they are subject to a very intensive work cycle: they have to make research proposals, obtain funding, carry out their projects and make presentations to the institution and donors. Staying at the institution depends on their capacity to get resources. Hence, before their research project is due, they need to start all the cycle again. One of the consequences of this practice is the recurrent rotation of members. Some researchers choose to leave the institution when they obtain jobs in the private or public sector with more stability and/or better salaries. Some interviewees assess that this institutional feature has brought negative results for Fedesarrollo's academic consolidation and its capacity of developing long-term research whereas others deem it an advantage, on the grounds that it fosters discipline and productivity while enabling the institution to avoid being engulfed by bureaucracy.

Finally, Fedesarrollo's organizational structure is quite simple. Besides its Board of Directors, they have the general secretary and researchers. Additionally, the foundation has an editor for each journal, '*Coyuntura Económica*' and '*Coyuntura Social*', a library director, a publishing director and the director of '*Encuesta de Opinión Empresarial*'. There are currently 40 staff members in the foundation.

SELECTION OF RESEARCH TOPICS / RESEARCHERS' BACKGROUND / RESEARCH FEATURES

Fedesarrollo's research is mostly oriented towards economic issues, and stands out for its rigorous, serious and relevant research as well as for its international standards. It has always focused on short-term macroeconomics. The institution is very well-known in Colombia's debate and because of the quality of its research it has earned a place as a privileged referent.

Regarding the way Fedesarrollo selects research topics, the institution is constrained by the thematic agenda of funders since this is the way they obtain their funding. In some way, this is a limitation, but it is also an advantage since it enables Fedesarrollo to decide their priorities regarding research.

In fact, their research agenda is flexible and depends on several aspects: on the one hand, the Board of Directors together with the Executive Director sets the intention to work on specific subjects, but takes into account the preferences and strengths of the most experienced researchers. On the other hand, it depends on the demands of donor organizations which tend to ask for applied research with specific outputs. Furthermore, strong links with domestic enterprises and government allows Fedesarrollo to focus on demand-driven topics, identify critical problems for the country, develop innovative methodologies and ensure the relevance and applicability of their research results. For example, Fedesarrollo's researchers have developed modern quantitative tools for measurement and evaluation thanks to which they have been able to intensify their knowledge of the Colombian economic structure and functioning. Thus, the institution led and pioneered the use of their techniques inside the country.

Despite these boundaries, the selection of research topics depends also on Colombia's background context in different periods of time. During its first decade of existence, Fedesarrollo focused on macroeconomic studies, specifically saving and investment, international trade and some sector studies. In the early 80s, studies on economic development and industry became important. In the second part of the decade, as the situation changed for the country, Fedesarrollo became concerned with public policies towards the coffee industry and

social policies. From 1989, they started publishing '*Coyuntura Social*'²⁴, which led to research initiatives on policies on public education, health economics and the judiciary system.

Although the institution did not establish a formal mechanism to recruit chief researchers, in practice, it takes into account researchers' knowledge as well as their academic and professional background. Chief researchers also suggest engagement of junior researchers and assistants on the basis of shared interests, previous performance and research potential. Fedesarrollo is a veritable launching platform for young researchers who are interested in learning the "craft", in working with renowned experts and in accessing graduate studies in foreign universities. After having worked for other institutions or completed graduate studies abroad, researchers usually return to the foundation. To senior researchers it is the place where they can carry out their research, keep updated and write their newspaper articles. Throughout the years, Fedesarrollo has recruited and trained well-known, reputed researchers, and this enables the institution to attract projects and obtain funding.

Researchers relate with the institution in three different ways: they either become regular researchers, associate researchers or consultants. Most of those working for Fedesarrollo are engaged through temporary contracts, whose duration is limited to the expected duration of the research project involved. Although these contracts are generally renewed, permanence in the team is not guaranteed. When Fedesarrollo needs to increase the research team or add specific technical profiles for certain projects, they call external researchers as consultants. Through these mechanisms, the institution is flexible to the demands of specific projects and ensures the quality of the research outputs.

Apart from researchers' rigorous recruitment, the institution undertakes research quality controls. The Executive Director conducts regular meetings, in which several researchers present their projects for discussion and examination. Besides, external academics or experts from other research centers or from public administration are invited to discuss with them in order to both control and improve their research products. Various studies carried out by Fedesarrollo, particularly those financed by international donors or networks, are submitted for the assessment of foreign researchers.

IDEOLOGY

From the very beginning, Fedesarrollo's regulatory statutes have had very important constants, namely, independence from the government, independence from the very group of businessmen that supported its creation, and independence from donors and party politics.

As an institution, Fedesarrollo does not stand for a specific political partisan position. When its members get involved with electoral campaigns or assist political leaders, they do so on individual basis. The institution establishes that when the Executive Director wants to participate actively in politics –as Mauricio Cardenas did-, he or she has to resign but can stay as an associate researcher. At the same time, the institution values plurality of ideas; in fact, it includes different points of view and promotes the debate on public policies through various journals and publications.

NETWORKS

Fedesarrollo developed strong links with multilateral agencies, foreign donor organizations and academic networks (such as the Political Economy Group of LACEA). These became important interlocutors and funding sources, thus contributing to Fedesarrollo's international prestige and visibility. At the domestic level, the

²⁴ A duplication of their already successful publication *Coyuntura Económica*, but dealing with social issues.

institution works in alliance with the National Association of Financial Institutions-ANIF. Together, they organize forums and seminars to which they invite international experts, civil society groups, unions, policymakers and different stakeholders in order to disseminate research results and create a quality debate on public policies. Nonetheless, Fedesarrollo is criticized for its poor regular institutional linkage to Colombian universities.

Furthermore, a specific activity carried out by the foundation is participating in the various missions developed in Colombia over the last 40 years. The above data lead to think that Fedesarrollo's influence on public life is not only due to its distinctive institutional features but also to contextual features. As mentioned above, Colombian economic institutions, historically influenced by international evaluations, are relatively stable, prudent and have succeeded in guaranteeing macroeconomic stability and financial equilibrium, including accounts related to the foreign sector. At the same time, the domestic sphere has raised a technocratic sector playing a key role as a pressure group to force the adoption of moderate economic policies. The local conditions thus created favor Fedesarrollo's status thanks to their "natural empathy" with the government's technocracy. In actual fact, the institution works by way of "checks and balances" regarding the management of Colombian economy.

COMMUNICATIONS

It is important to highlight that Fedesarrollo's tools, practices and policies also enhance the impact of their research on policymaking processes and its communication strategies influence the reception of ideas and research results by policymakers and other target audiences.

a. Perceptions and expectations influencing communications

Throughout more than three decades of intensive dissemination of its ideas, Fedesarrollo has been able to gain a good and wide reputation as a center that provides useful information and sound analysis to inform public policies. This credibility has opened up diverse communications channels since their experts are frequently consulted by media, policymakers and other researchers.

However, sometimes their proposals are quickly rejected for ideological grounds by those who regard them as "neoliberals" who brought around flexibilization, deregulation and the opening of markets. To reach these groups, the institution makes an effort to strengthen its positioning as a pluralistic research center: for example, they include in their periodic publications academic works of researchers from diverse trends, and even of those who oppose to their proposals.

This positioning as an autonomous center has also been achieved by becoming the first institution to evaluate the government's economic policies in an organized and scientific manner, with self-generated numbers and measurements. Receptivity of their ideas is stronger in the economics arena where they are largely regarded as high qualified experts who bring solid economic expertise into the public debate. This prestige is also strengthened by their presence in the international research community, which facilitates new communications opportunities such as participating in seminars, being consulted for projects, etc.

Fedesarrollo's leaders acknowledge the power and relevance of their reputation, which raises interest in their proposals and respect for the institution as a relevant source of information and ideas among stakeholders involved in the formulation of public policies. This is particularly visible in those policymaking institutions such as the Department of Planning or the Ministry of Economy that are more used to utilizing research evidence to design or reform policies. Research is frequently used to validate politics and in a very pragmatic way: data and studies are quoted by policymakers to make their case, especially in the adoption of very complex policies. The intensity and contraposition of interest groups require a "neutral" tool; technical studies are

sometimes perceived as such “mediators”. Again this tends to happen more in the economics field rather than in the social arenas such as healthcare and education.

b. Policies, practices and tools

Fedesarrollo has successfully softened-up processes for several reforms by creating communications avenues for research to permeate policymakers’ minds and the public opinion as well. Accumulation of opinion columns at media, participation and organization of national and international events and networks, alliances with relevant institutions such as the Asociación Nacional de Instituciones Financieras (ANIF), meetings with policymakers, as well as brief papers and articles in its regular publications allow the organization to influence public agenda and to be well positioned to influence when the policy window finally opens. Constant dissemination of research results generates awareness of the problem and its potential solutions among policymakers as well as on public opinion that exerts then pressure on government to make changes.

Evidence of the advantages of making certain reform slowly permeates policymakers’ minds and political viability starts to mature. Individual researchers are undoubtedly personal ambassadors of these ideas. Due to the revolving door, which places the organization in between the academic and politics worlds, it becomes much easier for them to disseminate their own proposals among special policymaking groups.

Notwithstanding, Fedesarrollo understands the advantages of deploying and systematizing a variety of channels to support the effect of revolving door and extend their reach to other target audiences. Their capacity to address a relatively wide public with research results is proven by the public recognition of two key printed publications: *Coyuntura Económica* and *Coyuntura Social*. First issued in 1971, the former has become a point of reference for economic policy discussions in Colombia, and a mechanism to monitor and evaluate economic decisions, with a balance between more academic articles and policy-gearred ones. The genesis of this publication is interesting to assess the reasons for its success. Worried about the level of public debate around macroeconomic policies derived from the lack of clear information, and the deficient academic preparation of those who covered these issues at media, they decided to create a publication that would increase access and quality to relevant data and analysis. *Coyuntura Económica* aimed at eliminating monopoly of information by bureaucrats, fighting against mystification of economic policy and giving back to community knowledge that was being kept as a privilege of small groups. This publication combined with their researchers’ presence in public functions played a key role in building a culture where clear and transparent information as well as monitoring of public decisions are expected practices among the economic policymaking community. Institutionalization of these practices laid the foundation for their subsequent initiatives to disseminate research.

Coyuntura Social was created in 1989, in association with Instituto Ser de Investigación, with similar goals. Even though it’s relevant for debates on social issues such as healthcare and education, its public impact has been less visible, and it is frequently related to those social issues that are more quantitative. Fedesarrollo’s consolidation as a leading center in these areas has still a long way to go. This is part of the discussions that some members of the institution are currently having in order to refine their dissemination methods and invest resources in those that prove more successful. They are also thinking about how to package information in a systematic way that is more attractive and useful to policymakers.

Fedesarrollo has strengthened the value of these publications with a communications tool that favors interchange and multidirectional flow of information: since 1985 they organize four times a year a forum called Debate (on *Coyuntura Económica* or *Coyuntura Social*), to which they invite representatives of diverse ideologies and positions to discuss topics selected by the Executive Director based on both what is being studied within the institution and what is being discussed by policymakers. Debates enlarged the institution’s capacity to convene different audiences since they are highly regarded as spaces of relevant discussions by policymakers, other academics, media, businessmen, and those groups affected by what is being discussed.

Last but not least, access to journalists and media is key to influence public opinion. Over time, Fedesarrollo has become a frequent source of information for journalists, who consult researchers about a variety of topics. The organization has built strong relationships with newspapers such as El Tiempo, El Portafolio, La República and the TV news Caracol. Fedesarrollo's researchers present information in a clear way since they understand the importance of not overloading journalists with unnecessary information, and instead provide them with data that will help them enhance coverage of public agenda issues.

ANALYZING FEDESARROLLO'S INFLUENCE ON POLICY

Think tanks can be regarded as strategic actors due to their increasing role in the policy process. Their capacity to engage in policy-making efforts depends largely on the features of their organizational structure. Some of Fedesarrollo's features described above (age, type of research, human and financial resources, networks, among others) shape its organizational capacities and, as a result, its possibilities to have an impact on policies.

It is true that the effectiveness of think tanks is dependent on the way they are managed and the way they adjust to change. However, think tanks play their "game" within specific economic, political and institutional boundaries. Even if they have specific characteristics which enable them to earn a positioning as well known, rigorous and serious institutions, they are also constrained by their contexts. That is why, without understanding contextual boundaries and opportunities, we cannot understand how they manage to influence policies.

In fact, national macro economical and political variables set 'hard' boundaries to the objectives that think tanks may try to achieve, while political-institutional variables assign differential possibilities for think tanks to make an impact on policies, over what is feasible. Macro political or economic crisis are unpredictable and they usually create window opportunities for think tanks. In fact, the former variables are related to political regimes, economic systems, crises, among other features and the latter, to the logic of the political and institutional rules of their specific institutional context, in which think tanks are trying to exert their influence such as, for example, one specific Ministry.

In Latin America, since the nineties, think tanks creation has increased by 86% as compared to the existing ones. One possible explanation for this is the State's increasing weakness to elaborate and implement policies. Structural economic reforms carried out during the nineties in Latin America contributed to reduce not only the size but also the role of the State. This reduction process was performed in parallel to the decentralization of its functions. The previous size reduction opened up new spaces for think tanks or other political actors that used to be under the State's influence and the latter decentralization increased the contact points between them and the government.

One way to illustrate Fedesarrollo's capacities of influencing policy is by analyzing a specific case of policy impact in Colombia during the nineties. Several research projects undertaken by the foundation have influenced public policies, such as, for example, policymakers' utilization of quantitative tools for economic analysis developed by the foundation. Fedesarrollo's researchers developed a computerized general equilibrium model to analyze the complex ramifications of economic policy in Colombia. Fedesarrollo's model has analyzed the effects of trade reforms on labor markets and income distribution. Because this research was done while economic reforms were being applied, it allowed policy makers to adopt complementary measures to minimize negative effects.

Also, Fedesarrollo's active participation in the various missions developed in Colombia has influenced important policy decisions and several reforms carried out by national governments. In fact, the most recent among these missions, called *Misión de Ingreso Público* [Public Revenue Mission] and funded by *Banco de la República* and IADB, was developed by Fedesarrollo and foreign international consultants. It drew a report

establishing the principles that were to be used in designing the tax system reform submitted to Congress by the Uribe administration in September 2002.

For this case study, we have chosen to examine the labor reform studies developed by Fedesarrollo since they have had a significant influence. Fedesarrollo has been successful in changing some contents of the Law after doing research into the causes of the previous reform attempts failures. This exercise will also allow us to identify contextual factors that facilitate or hinder Fedesarrollo's performance in Colombia.

BACKGROUND CONTEXT

During the nineties, Colombia -just like other Latin-American countries- was immersed in an in-depth process of structural reform that contributed to reduce not only the size but also the role of the State. This reduction process was done in parallel to the decentralization of its functions. The previous opened up new spaces for think tanks or other political actors that used to be under the State's influence and the latter increased the channels of contact between them and the government.

On the outward, the process shared common elements with others occurring in the region -trade reforms and opening to direct foreign investment- but there have also been differential aspects, particularly as regards the fact that foreign indebtedness was actively handled and maintained. Other factors involved were moderate labor reforms and a more ambitious reform of the social security system.

In the said context, the 90s' reforms on productivity yielded a moderate economic growth under more unstable conditions than in the past. Throughout the process of change, there has been increased weakening of those sectors that were exposed to competition from abroad, while the labor market has deteriorated. Improvement of the labor market resulted in the lay-off of unskilled labor that has not been actually brought into balance by creating employment for those with better schooling backgrounds. This suggests that the technical change originated in the early nineties has been directed to more labor-intensive projects based on skilled workers, while at the same time saving on labor that did not reach the desired levels of schooling. The changes undergone by the labor market have negatively affected urban income distribution and, viewing the country as a whole, have had a stronger impact than the favorable effects brought about in rural areas by exactly the same changes.

The process started towards the end of the Barco administration and gained drive during the Gaviria administration (1990-1994). In slightly different ways, the Samper administration (1994-1998) intensified the reform, which was carried on by Pastrana (1998-2002) and Uribe (2002-) to the present day.

A historical element to bear in mind within the Colombian context lies in the fact that many economic institutions in the country -ranging from *Banco de la República* and agencies dependent on the Ministry of Finance to the importance enjoyed by planning (*Dirección Nacional de Planeación*)- have been under the influence of international recommendations and evaluations, particularly from the United States of America which, all things considered, have been quite prudent, even orthodox, in terms of economic policy.

Likewise, it is a long-standing tradition for Colombia to receive foreign "missions" that have helped to shape up such institutions as are specially related to the economic apparatus of the State.

Broadly speaking, such missions tended to stand out for two reasons. The former had to do with politics: in Colombia, external influence was aimed to solve some domestic political conflict. Whenever liberals and conservatives failed to reach an agreement, they solved the problem externally by means of the indirect power represented by institutional, governmental, or personal influences. The latter reason involved an elite educated in America rather than in Europe. In fact, these "missions" proved useful insofar as they validated the technical aspects of the reform, thus avoiding improvisations that might result from lack of previous academic reports on the matters at stake. The most recent among these missions, called *Misión de Ingreso Público* [Public

Revenue Mission] and funded by *Banco de la República* and IADB, was developed under technical advice provided jointly by Fedesarrollo and foreign international consultants. It drew a report establishing the principles that were to be used in designing the tax system reform submitted to Congress by the Uribe administration in September 2002.

This makes Colombia different from the rest of the region. Colombia's public accounts have always been extremely neat. There is a heavy historical burden resulting from the nets that, with the passing of time, have been interwoven with the World Bank and the IDB regarding the establishment of economic institutions. For over 40 years, there was never a recession. That is to say, it enjoys firm macroeconomic stability, behaves most prudently when it comes to designing public policies, and its institutions are anchored within orthodox frameworks.

The reforms of the nineties were similar to those carried out in the rest of Latin America (the "checklist" was more or less the same for the whole of the region), though the zeal with which the policies involved were embraced and applied was not the same.

Rather than a labor reform, the Colombian case shows gradual successive attempts at reform. When the latest reform was carried out, the country had been going through a continuous process of revision of its labor legislation for nearly thirty years.

Now then, the unexpected course taken by economic development in Colombia inevitably called for the need to tackle the problem posed by labor legislation. On the one hand, those 30 years witnessed a series of phenomena in the labor market: the growth of informal labor, non-abidance of legal norms, etc. Little by little, this kind of behavior structured a *de facto* labor reform. On the other hand, this transformation was accompanied by the loss of power by the local trade unions. They were still powerful in the 60s and 70s but, with the passing of time, they gradually lost power and operative capacity.

Another factor that arose towards the late 80s and gathered strength in the 90s was Colombian economy's loss of energy. An economy that had enjoyed sustained growth fell into a depression in the late 90s: the only one depression the country experienced over the last 50 years. Consequently, economic slowdown affected the conditions that were to rule the labor reform. With the advent of the economic crisis, the unemployment rate began to increase, and thus a debate arose about the need to design policies leading to the creation of employment rather than to the defense of interests concerning an increasingly dwindling group of wage-earners, engaged by contract and protected by all social services granted by the law.

There were three concrete reforms of some significance: in 1990 and '93 (concerning social security) respectively, both of which can be taken and analyzed together, and the one implemented by the present administration in 2002, which intensifies pending aspects of the previous two and on which Fedesarrollo exercised a remarkable influence.

The entire reformist effort took more than a decade: from 1990 until 2002. Of course, a successful reform has to surpass a set of "deals" along the streamline of design, consensus building within civil society, submission to Congress and parliamentary debate, before it gets approved. This case study shows: 1) the story of two failed attempts for producing these "deals" within the government, along with labor unions and private sector firm considerations, before the labor 2002 reform was finally enacted and; 2) the key factors influencing the final approval of the Law.

ON FEDESARROLLO: CRITICALS FACTORS THAT FACILITATED INFLUENCE

Ever since it was created, the foundation has concerned itself with employment issues, viewed initially from an economic standpoint. It was only around the mid-80s that Executive Director José Antonio Ocampo (1984-1986) installed a working concern about labor issues from an approach that involved social policies. In 1986 a

first nationwide research study was carried out under Ocampo, who coordinated the Chenery Mission (1985-1986) in the country. The Chenery Employment Mission's basic task was to make an integral survey of the problems affecting the country's workers, then to submit policy proposals for solutions in the areas researched.

Finally, during the nineties, the institution became even more involved with labor issues as Colombian society gained awareness of the need to carry out reforms in the area, bringing the debate into the limelight. Between 1996 and 1998, Fedesarrollo's Executive Director for the period led research studies into the behavior of the labor market. Following the resulting diagnosis, he insisted on the need to carry out reforms tending to implement mechanisms leading to flexibility.

However, the policy production process follows a clear chain of events, contingent on every country's institutional arrangements. Since this case study deals with a modification in the labor code in Colombia, it deals with a legislation change. Hence, this change should pass through Congress. However, the richest part of this case study, and the one we are going to examine, is the interaction and negotiation that took place before the project was presented to Congress as well as the role played by Fedesarrollo. Hence, it is necessary to cover two reform waves, the first one comprising the end of 1980s-1991 and the second one between 1998-2002. During the second wave, there were two governments in Colombia. And this is a crucial feature to take into account.

Fedesarrollo followed closely the previous reform efforts (with Pastrana) as well as the reforms achieved and they have informed and criticized the prevailing points of view, giving solid arguments and contents for what later were the core ideas of Bill 789, approved by the Congress in 2002.

Fedesarrollo's successful promotion of this policy was based on several critical factors: 1) the reform was spaced out over a decade; 2) the social security and health reforms of 1990 and 1993 were thought to be insufficient; 3) during the Pastrana administration there were frustrated attempts at reform that failed because they were unable to reach beyond the veto point placed by trade unions, workers, and Congress; 4) Fedesarrollo's researchers were in too good a standing with government technocrats to insist on the subject and , 5) an important window opportunity opened owing to the socioeconomic crisis and to the change of government. Uribe, the new President, started his period of office by promoting a number of reforms, the labor reform among them, to make a point about his power of decision.

For a reform project to succeed, it is necessary to close all "deals" along the streamline of institutional decision-making. The failure of just one of them can destroy the whole approval process. The first two reforms were unsuccessful. Labor reforms in Colombia began to be undertaken seriously in 1990. Until then, policies related to the labor market (pre-reform policies) were, as it was the case in much of Latin America, based on the protection and stability of employment. Some restrictions were believed to negatively influence several key labor market outcomes such as employment creation, formality and labor productivity. The labor system in place was not compatible with the simultaneous processes of internationalization and technological progress, which constituted the main goals that Gaviria's government had it mind when entering office in 1990.

Moreover, a crucial turning point, among others, was that strict firing and hiring regulations were very effective in protecting the employment level and stability for formal workers, and even more of those unionized, while negatively affecting other labor market groups (mainly informal and some non-unionized salaried workers). Although the reform simultaneously introduced various legislative changes, the one major policy change that decreased dismissal costs was the reduction of severance payments. In terms of hiring regulations, the two most important changes were the extension of fixed-term contracts and the introduction of the so-called

“salario integral²⁵”. These changes were aimed at reducing dismissal costs for formal firms, giving them more alternatives hiring and allowing higher turnover in the formal sector.

The available evidence on the impact of the labor reform indicates that indeed the changes introduced had a positive, though limited, impact. Specifically, Cárdenas, from Fedesarrollo, found that the labor reform did have a positive impact on labor demand, but only through its effect on relative prices. That is, Fedesarrollo argued that the reform helped in augmenting labor demand because of reduction of non-wage costs, but that it did not affect the dynamics of adjustment of employment to the economic cycle.

Thus, in the first half of the 1990s there seemed to be positive evidence on the reforms’ results. Of course, the labor unions did not agree with this line of reasoning. However, after 1995 three major events brought back the subject of labor market regulations to the forefront of the policy-making agenda. First, the social security and health reform of 1993 (Ley 100 de 1993, fully implemented by 1996), significantly increased payroll contributions. Second, as mentioned above an unprecedented recession affected economic activity between 1996 and 1999. This event brought back the debate surrounding labor market policies, regulations and institutions due to the fact that it was apparent that the Colombian labor market did not have enough flexibility to adjust in a somewhat less painful fashion to economic downturns.

So, by 1998 it was clear that one of the main challenges that the new government would have to confront was unemployment. Fedesarrollo was doing research into the causes of unemployment since the 80s.

As from the mid-90s, the labor issue became uppermost in the agenda, with larger awareness and debate arising about the need to carry out a new reform. Fedesarrollo already had prepared a solid, technically sustainable proposal for reform, thanks to which they managed to find their place in Colombian’s economic debate and they became an essential referent because of the weight and seriousness of the research they carried out.

The first attempt to pass a reform such as the one promoted by Fedesarrollo, was made in 1999 during the first year of the Pastrana government. This attempt failed and no bill was even sent to Congress due to other more pressing concerns on the part of the government. The second one, which built on the first trial, was carried out in 2001 and was more successful in the sense that a reform bill was presented to Congress, although it was defeated there. This second attempt, however, was instrumental in two respects for the final success of the new government (headed by Uribe) to pass a new labor legislation at the end of 2002. First, it contained most of the policy changes deemed as important and most of the topics were adequately covered. Thus, it allowed the new government to act quickly and take advantage of its high popularity and political support to get the reform approved. Second, during the discussions and negotiation surrounding the Pastrana reform proposal, researchers from Fedesarrollo had been able to build support for it. This fact accelerated the discussion of the new bill through Congress.

This reform proposal was seeking to complement and go beyond the policy changes introduced in 1990, basically by deepening the reforms related to hiring and firing regulations and by attacking the problems of lack of wage flexibility and an excessive level of non wage costs.

The two reforms presented have been approved during the first year of two administrations that threatened Congress with general impeachment: the Gaviria and Uribe ones. The Pastrana administration fought for it, but did not succeed. Moreover, the strongest opponents of the reform efforts were two groups: the first one, composed by formal sector workers, especially those unionized and working in medium and large firms, for whom this type of reform represented a direct threat to income and employment stability. They had been

²⁵The ‘salario integral’ is a type of contract that allowed formal workers who earned more than ten times the minimum wage to opt out of severance payments, indemnities for unjust dismissals, benefits (except paid vacations), social security contributions and payroll taxes in exchange for a higher salary (Kugler, 2004).

successful in delaying the passing of reforms by using strikes and other political manifestations. The second group is by far the strongest one: it is composed by various subgroups that fiercely defend the existence of parafiscal taxes²⁶ (workers union's of the public and private agencies that administer these contributions and provide the services funded with them, blue collar workers who directly benefit from the services funded with parafiscal taxes, etc.).

So, the 2002 labor reform had actually a specific genesis: the researchers who masterminded it were from Fedesarrollo. They started thinking of this reform as a result of a group of papers that had been produced in the middle of 1998 within an agenda of research led by James Heckman and Pagés, and financed by the IADB.

As a matter of fact, it was only expected that, having participated in these issues, Fedesarrollo should play an important role in the reform process. This was partly due to the fact that the same people who had worked for them held high positions in the various administrations of the period. Eight out of the nine Executive Directors were appointed to key government posts since Fedesarrollo's creation. Regarding the policy analyzed here, three researchers were key actors leading to the success of the 2002 reforms. José Antonio Ocampo -a former Executive Director- was Minister of Finance between 1997 and 1998 when Ernesto Samper Pizano was President. Mauricio Cárdenas -present Executive Director- was Director of the National Planning Department [Departamento Nacional de Planeación] (1998-2000) during the Pastrana administration. Lastly, in the Uribe administration, Juan Luis Lodoño, who was associate researcher at the institution (1980-1989) was Minister of Social Protection (a combination between labor and health) between 2002 and his demise in 2003. It was he who actively encouraged the labor reform passed in 2002.

As has already been said, ideas included in reform projects that failed to be implemented during the Pastrana administration materialized only when Uribe took office. In 1998 Pastrana was elected President of Colombia, and Mauricio Cárdenas left his position at Fedesarrollo to become Director of National Planning in the Pastrana administration. Later on, Alejandro Gaviria also joined this administration, after having held a position at the IDB, and bringing along his vast experience as a researcher in the labor market. Both he and Cárdenas believed that it was necessary to carry out a labor reform following the lines pinpointed in the proposals Fedesarrollo had impelled.

In 2002, Cárdenas, who was already Director of National Planning, coordinated a discussion board to which the various political sectors were invited so that they could all reach an agreement regarding the bases that should underlie a future labor reform. But the trade unions, whose representatives also attended the meetings, did not accept the government's proposals or, by extension, those supported by Fedesarrollo.

Besides, different viewpoints coexisted even among members of the government, and those projects as reached Congress either made no headway or were shelved. The main reasons that prevented labor reform to make progress during Pastrana's tenure were chiefly political. The reform effort was made at the wrong moment. The government had been in power for too long for Pastrana to keep the full support he would have enjoyed at the beginning of his tenure.

At the 2002 general elections, Alvaro Uribe was elected President and Juan Luis Londoño was appointed Minister of Social Protection. Profiting from Congress support, the new President decided to further a number of reforms, including the labor reform, which was finally passed in December of that same year.

Labor Reform Act 789 gave shape to regulations designed to support employment and to widen the scope of social protection; it also modified items in a code named *Código Sustantivo del Trabajo*.

²⁶ Labor costs increased throughout the 1990s and employers were discontent for being the sole financiers of a host of social policies through the "parafiscal" taxes.

However, the labor reform that was finally passed was much lighter than the original proposal had anticipated. Processes related to political play managed to dilute the government's proposal as well as Fedesarrollo's project. Both were more ambitious. Even under such constraints, the success achieved by Fedesarrollo's ideas is not to be underestimated.

Moreover, the said success was due to a series of factors which entered into positive synergy among them, facilitating the legal materialization, at least in essence, of ideas that had originated in their midst. Having maintained an unyielding line of research into the issue, added to their rigorous methodology, helped them to become a key actor in the specialized debate about how to improve the labor reform. They closely followed the problem from the very beginning while promoting and spreading their ideas on the subject to the relevant stakeholders who had an interest in reform.

From the communications standpoint, the organization was also very effective in fighting to frame the discussion by attaching their proposal of labor flexibilization to unemployment as a public problem that was increasingly worrying society: "Reform will benefit all those who have no work", they claimed, "so it will benefit overall society". Through this thematic nurturing across messages, both government and public opinion, along with the press, began to accept the need to create policies to favor generation of employment rather than limit the debate around reform to discussions between smaller groups of interest. This implied a process of maturity of ideas among the policymaking community influenced by public opinion which heavily relies on what they read and hear in media. Thus, access of Fedesarrollo to directors of newspapers, editors, and journalists was a clear key success factor in communicating their ideas to these audiences: directly to public opinion and indirectly to policymakers, especially legislators.

One crucial element that contributed to their influence resided in the fact that the very same persons who developed the research programs were the ones who then held key positions of office with a view to impact. We can definitely state that Fedesarrollo's ideas were taken by those of their researchers who held public office. However, this is not vital to the issue herein discussed; it should, in fact, be regarded as no more than a particular characteristic of the think tank involved. On the other hand, the "revolving door" factor does make a difference, since it is this key feature of the think tank that allows understanding how the influence was exerted on the case in question.

Finally, at a certain point, contextual factors accelerated the reform process. Additional key factors that account for the way in which Fedesarrollo influenced the modification of the Labor Reform Act were, among others, the economic crisis, the change of government, and the turn in the course of the specialized debate regarding the best possible approach to the problems posed by unemployment.

THIS CASE STUDY WAS ELABORATED ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING IN- DEPTH INTERVIEWS:

People from Fedesarrollo:

- Mauricio Cárdenas. Executive Director of Fedesarrollo.
- Felipe Barrera. Subdirector of Social Area at Fedesarrollo.
- Mauricio Reina. Associate researcher of Fedesarrollo.
- Adriana Kugler. Researcher on Labor Economics, Public Finance and Development. She worked as an external researcher for Fedesarrollo to do research in labor reform issues.

Policy-makers related with the chosen policy:

- Hernando Yepes. Former Minister of Labor (Pastrana Administration).

- Jaime Ruiz. Former Director of the National Planning Department. (Pastrana Administration)
- Jairo Nuñez. Researcher, author of several papers on labor reform issues. Former Director of the Social Development Unit dependent on the National Planning Department (Pastrana Administration). Former Viceminister of Social Protection (Uribe Administration).

External informants:

- Juan Gabriel Tokatlián. Argentinean specialist in political analysis of Colombia.
- Alvaro Reyes. Consultant in labor issues focused on Colombia.

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FUNDACIÓN DE INVESTIGACIONES ECONÓMICAS LATINOAMERICANAS [FIEL]:

ARGENTINA'S CASE STUDY.

By

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JULY, 2004.

ABSTRACT

FIEL [Fundación de Investigaciones Económicas Latinoamericanas] was established by a group of institutions from the private sector in 1963. Its objective was to fill a gap of knowledge that would prove useful to the private sector. The Foundation was an influential institution from the very beginning, for it was generated amid the most important Argentinean business sectors.

A key factor that can explain FIEL's influence is has been in existence for forty-years, which means a lot in a country such as Argentina, where unstable economic and political contexts usually affect the survival of this kind of institutions. From its very beginning, FIEL had a clear strategy of influencing policy because it was created with the objective of being a channel between the private sector and the government. When FIEL was created there were only a few think tanks, which were more oriented to academic research.

FIEL has an important budget, since an average of USD 1.000.000 each year is much more than what Argentinean think tanks usually have. Its funding comes mainly from the important enterprises included in its Board and FIEL is used to financing its own research. Furthermore, its research agenda is decided together with the businessmen of the Board. This kind of long-term funding reduces the type of temporary or thematic constrains, external to the institution and related with founders' own agendas or deadlines that are so common for think tanks. FIEL's researchers are economists and they conduct applied economic research.

Another important characteristic is that FIEL has a strong positioning as a center that generates serious information to inform policymaking in certain areas, along with a network of leading businessmen and associations that bridge their ideas to policymakers in specific spaces. Access to the media has also contributed to a wider dissemination of the organization's ideas and research results to public opinion, specially fostered by researchers who are more prone to visibility and becoming a voice in the public arena.

The influence of the institution can be illustrated with a specific case: in 1986, FIEL published a book entitled *El Fracaso del Estatismo*, in which a systematic proposal for the reform of the Argentinean public sector was included. After the book was published, FIEL continued to work along the same lines, a fact which is translated into almost twenty years of continuous promotion of the same line of thought.

The influence exerted by FIEL on this field is not the outcome of a specific piece of research, but of a whole corpus of research which had an impact at two different levels: 1) it originated a process of enlightenment over time, since this line of research pursued by FIEL shaped the debate during a whole decade; and 2) it had a more concrete impact on Argentinean legislation; namely, on the Acts of State Reform and of Economic Emergency passed in 1989.

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FIEL reached the conclusion that the Argentinean economic system, heavily leaning on the State, ended up in failure. According to them, a new market-oriented model and a redefinition of the State's role were needed. In the period under study (80s), they made a point of focusing on the issue of public expenditure, and devoted their wholehearted attention to it. The foundation was a key factor in preparing the state-centered Argentinean society, so that this same society could accept the new discourse prevailing in every country.

The contextual factor that facilitated this linkage cannot be overlooked. The late 80s witnessed the intensification of a long process in which the loss of fiscal autonomy and the weakening of operative capacity brought about a hyperinflationary outburst. Thus Argentina's economy was badly shaken between May and August 1989, ending up in the collapse of public finance, among other things. No doubt this meant a favorable opening for an opportunity to accept such ideas as FIEL had been promoting from the opposition. The hyperinflationary crisis facilitated president Menem's coming into office and aided FIEL's ideas to make their impact.

Argentina's reforms included liberalization of trade, an adjustment of the public deficit, the reform of the State, decentralization, privatization of state-run companies, liberalization of the financial system and of the capital account, among others. Those ideas were in the core of FIEL's book.

1. ENDOGENOUS CHARACTERISTICS THAT FACILITATED INFLUENCE

FIEL's most important organizational and institutional features are summarized in this table and explained below:

FIEL	
1. Legal status	Non profit organization
2. Year of foundation	1963
3. Founders	Businessmen +private sector
4. Governing Body:	3 bodies
a. Businessmen	Yes
b. Academicians	Yes
c. Politicians	No
5. Government positions	Yes
6. Budget	USD +1.000.000
7. Funding	Institutional
8. Sources of Funding	Mainly businessmen
9. Research topics selection	Researchers / Board
10. Research organization	Research areas
11. Research features	Operational output
	Relevance
	Quality control

12. Researchers' background	Influence over time
13. Staff profile	PhDs
14. Areas of research	Mainly economists
15. Research topics	Applied economics
16. Staff Number	First-generation-reform-related topics
17. Hiring contracts	14 persons
18. Who is in charge of communications	Long-term
19. Regular contact with the media	Executive Director
	Yes

ORIGIN / YEAR OF FOUNDATION / FOUNDERS

FIEL was one of the first think tanks created in Argentina. Since the very beginning it had a clear strategy of influencing policy because it was a channel between the private sector and the government. FIEL has been in existence for forty years and, as mentioned above, this can be a key factor when explaining FIEL's influence since it shows an important organizational capacity of accommodating to economic and political crisis over all those years.

FIEL is a private, independent, non-partisan and non-profit institution devoted mainly to economic research in Argentina and Latin America. It was established by a group of institutions from the private sector: at the time, the Argentinean Chamber of Commerce created the Argentinean Chamber of Commerce Foundation, and in 1964, with ample support from the Argentinean Rural Association [Sociedad Rural Argentina], the Buenos Aires Stock Exchange [Bolsa de Comercio de Buenos Aires] and the Argentinean Industrial Union (UIA) [Unión Industrial Argentina], the Foundation changed its name to FIEL.

FIEL's objective was to fill a gap of knowledge that would prove useful to the private sector. Its endeavors were addressed to rigorous, non-partisan or politically oriented applied research in economics in order to provide the private sector with relevant information that might avail it with technical arguments based on evidence so that the sector was prepared to exert its influence on decision-making and on the design of public policies.

GOVERNING BODY / GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

FIEL has kept its governing body ever since it was founded forty years ago. The board is divided into the Board of Directors, the Advisory Board and the Academic Board. The Board of Directors is in charge of the general direction of the institution and it is assisted in the definition of annual work programs by an Advisory Board that gives advice on medium and long-term research programs. The Board of Directors and the Advisory Board are composed by the most representative members of the different sectors of the economic activity in the country. These two Boards select, together with FIEL's staff, the research topics and they approve the annual work plan. Currently, the institution has one president and three vice-presidents.

Regarding their contact with the government, FIEL has a very close relationship with political power. From the late sixties until 2001, at least fourteen chief economists or members of FIEL's Board have held several high-ranking positions in the Argentinean government, specifically in economic policy areas (Treasury Department, Ministry of Finance, among others). These positions were discontinuous over time, but there is a clear

tendency of holding governmental positions. Specifically, two members held government positions during Onganía's administration (late 60s), nine during the last military dictatorship (1976-1982), two chief economists were advisers to the Minister of Economy in 1989 and, during 2001, the government appointed three economists from FIEL; one became the Minister of Economy while the other two also had important posts in the same ministry.

FUNDING / INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

An important feature of FIEL is that its funding comes mainly from important enterprises included in its Board. At the same time, it has a larger budget than the general trend of the region (most Latin-American think tanks' annual budget is between USD 100.000 and USD 500.000). Its average budget for the past three years has been around USD 1.000.000. Enterprises of their Board that receive the Foundation's services, participate in FIEL activities, and give advice to the governing body regarding the creation and definition of the research planning program and its diffusion. The governing body includes the most important companies and holdings in Argentina. Currently, FIEL receives economic support from about 150 private firms, donations from individuals and generates some income through sales of products and services.

FIEL's studies are generated through specific demands, or by the initiative of the Academic Board with the agreement of the Board of Directors. Monthly meetings are held with the former, while all three bodies meet every three months to discuss issues of the moment and to develop guidelines. Having kept this consistent governing structure has contributed to the institution's stability, regardless of individual members, rotation, and political parties' interests.

FIEL finances its own research when there is something of special interest to its members. For instance, last year they turned forty years old and decided to finance four conferences and two books. They invited important people in order to be able to debate into the subjects they regard as the most important for the current economic agenda.

It is important to stress that FIEL's type of funding influences directly the way that research activities are organized and research topics are selected. Long-term funding, coming from enterprises from the Board, reduces the kind of temporary or thematic constraints that are external to the institution and related with funders' own agendas or deadlines. Therefore, researchers have some degree of autonomy to set the institute's research agenda. They can choose to do research on topics that they are interested in or that they consider potentially important for the future, but that are not in the public agenda yet, as will be illustrated with the State Reform research carried out by FIEL. In this case, selecting this issue as a priority for research also illustrates a typical liberal businessmen concern. Such a big issue related to public expenditure needs long-term funding or an institutional endowment.

Finally, FIEL has maintained the same organizational structure since its initial stages. Its by-laws have worked as a constraint for any of the directors to change the original conception of the institution. FIEL has a "light" organizational structure. They try to explicitly keep the administrative area in the hands of the chief economists and as a marginal area of the institution. They say that it is dangerous to become an organization whose only objective is to look for "sponsors".

SELECTION OF RESEARCH TOPICS / RESEARCHERS' BACKGROUND / RESEARCH FEATURES

Research topics are selected around one big issue which organizes the whole research which will be conducted during the year. This annual project is then submitted to businessmen who integrate the Board, for approval and subsequent financing. The annual research plan includes all researchers and work structure for the whole year. FIEL does not conduct research in a compartmentalized way. The whole team works on the chosen topic and the research work of the whole foundation is organized around it.

FIEL does applied economics research and its researchers are only economists. They have not yet set out to make up interdisciplinary teams seriously. This could be explained by the fact that their main interlocutors are leading economic groups in Argentina. It is important to note that research policy influence as a result of certain actors' relations (in this case FIEL) with economic groups has been a key feature of policymaking in Argentina, at least until the nineties.

FIEL does not conduct theoretical research. It takes on a perspective of working together with the private sector in order to achieve a projection towards public policies. The institution usually does research into national issues. Sometimes, it carries out studies on international topics to contextualize the domestic subjects under study. They currently focus on the following areas of research: state reform, economics, education, labor, poverty and environmental topics. FIEL's economists say that they are interested in influencing public policies by doing research mainly through the identification and definition of problems, establishing alternatives for action and monitoring, controlling and evaluating.

FIEL's field of activity involves research accomplishment, diffusion of such studies in the form of conferences, seminars and publications; analysis of economic development in conferences and meetings held with companies and with the press; support to research and academic training, including the granting of scholarships for graduate studies in Argentinean universities; and special courses focusing on various interests.

Since the nineties, researchers have been recruited on the basis of their academic skills. In fact, in that decade, FIEL improved a lot on the technical level. They moved from having visible media economists to hiring academicians who could conduct serious and rigorous applied research oriented to public policy. In fact, during the 90s, they engaged seven young economists who had recently obtained their PhD's, and who are currently the core of the team.

FIEL's staff is comprised by fourteen people under short-term and long-term contractual relation. The technical staff includes chief economists, associated economists, senior economists, economists, junior economists, visiting researchers, research assistants and statistic assistants. Currently, there are five Chief Economists, who are in charge of conducting FIEL's studies.

In the past years, the foundation has established different departments for the study of specific economic subjects: 1) the Department of the Economy of Education, created at the beginning of the nineties, settled down as the culmination of numerous studies developed by FIEL for almost two decades and; 2) the Department of Regulatory Studies, created in 1998, with the objective of analyzing subjects related to the regulation of public utilities and the defense of the competition of national and international cases.

NETWORKS

FIEL is currently part of several international networks. The most relevant are: the Latin American University Regulation Network (LAURIN), Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung from Munich, Germany (IFO) and International Center for Economic Development (CINDE).

FIEL was an influential institution from the very beginning, for it was generated amid business sectors that prevailed with administrations prior to the period studied herein (1966-1983) when it came to adopting measures. An exception to this can be found in the second Peronist administration. Until the 80s, most of FIEL's directors were outstanding business leaders. Thus, during that first stage, the involvement of these "prominent" people with several administrations (Onganía's dictatorship) was directly related to the fact that they were publicly acknowledged as chief economists rather than to their holding high positions in FIEL. With the passing of time, FIEL laid emphasis on a technical profile devoted to research. At present, the high quality training of its economists, its academic freedom and scientific rigor prevail over any other interests and influences.

However, different decades placed FIEL in different positions. In the early 90s, FIEL's chief economists were influential people followed by the media. This did not detract from the research done, but the researchers' profile was different. In other words, the influence exerted by the research project that we will examine in section 2 was not due to an institutional strategy seeking contact with the government, but to the fact that the business leaders behind it belonged to the establishment, had close ties with the government and with influential political sectors, and thus enjoyed technical and scientific support and had a say in concrete proposals to change public policies from an economic standpoint.

Through its research work, it has influenced, and still does, actors that also exert their own influence. Neither advocacy nor contact with policy makers can be said to be part of its explicit objectives. Its relation with political parties has been rare. Its strategy regarding influence on politics is indirect, as it is mediated by economic power. FIEL supplies the private sector with reliable, rigorous information, and thus influences public policy and decision making.

COMMUNICATION

It is important to stress that FIEL's tools, practices and policies also enhance the impact of their research on policymaking processes and its communication strategies influence the reception of ideas and research results by policymakers and other target audiences.

a. Perceptions and expectations influencing communications

FIEL first gained credibility within the business sector which is intrinsically related to its origins: as explained above, it was created by leading companies and business associations. Therefore, they were a receptive audience, eager to listen to and discuss FIEL's research results and proposals. The fact these organizations and leaders were already influential in diverse settings also smoothed the diffusion of the institution's ideas. By convening a group of qualified researchers who persistently produced systematic and rigorous research, FIEL could quickly gain a reputation and brand name in this sector.

However to extend this credibility to other groups such as academicians, policymakers, media and international organisms, the institution makes efforts to demonstrate its non political -non partisan nature: they have thus limited their consulting work with government and political parties, emphasizing instead their positioning as a center that elaborates useful, applicable and scientifically generated information in certain key policy areas and through a systematic and professional standpoint, independent from the government at turn. With the elaboration of theoretically-based measurements, especially with its publication "Economic Indicators", they were able to nurture a public perception of a place where experts were constantly and rigorously observing the development of the economy.

Nevertheless, it was not easy for them to permeate policymakers with their ideas since most of these did not demand nor valued the use of research. One of the institution's first communications successes was then to install in the public agenda the need by government to use statistics and the importance of enhancing quality of available data. This improved disclosure of information and contributed to the formation of a new culture in certain government groups.

However, in Argentina most frequently policymakers are not prone to neither receive research results nor seek for evidence to use in policy discussions. There are no institutional communications channels that policy research institutes can use to present their ideas and become a voice in public debates. FIEL has no regular contact with policymakers: they have no institutional strategy to reach them. Instead, they commit themselves to continue a research direction as well as publish books, papers, articles and sometimes participate at events and networks to present and discuss their ideas. Personal meetings with policymakers do take place when they have research results which they believe could be of interest to them. As a consequence of this constant

engagement and expertise in certain issues, they have been occasionally consulted by policymakers for very specific purposes.

b. Policies, practices and tools

Besides the monthly review “Economic Indicators”, which was first published in 1966 and has been extensively used by business, FIEL also elaborates systematic and periodic products such as the largest series ever produced by the private sector: the index of industrial production. This product allowed the organization to strengthen relationships with this sector as well as become a source of information at the international level: magazines such as “The Economist” tackle into this information when covering economic issues in Argentina.

However one of the most effective communications strategies to disseminate research results is the intermediation of private companies and business associations that support FIEL and are interested in bridging this information towards government. Although the process of dissemination depends on the initiative of each researcher there is an institutional network of supporters that -acting as brokers- facilitate channels for them. Presentations in associations such as ADEBA and IDEA, along with annual industry conventions are clear spaces to spread proposals, including among policymakers who attend these events. This opportunity enables FIEL to have an impact on public debate by framing some discussions through the evidence they present and by gradually installing new ideas and concepts to guide discussions.

FIEL also acknowledges how media affect the public opinion agenda and the importance of contacting journalists in order to extend the reach of their work. Contact with media is decentralized: chief economists are used to sending information and addressing media; they position themselves as relevant sources of information in their fields of specialization. Though the organization does not have a press officer nor an institutional strategy to ensure media coverage, they stress out the importance of reaching journalists and have selected one of their chief economists, Juan Luis Bour, as the responsible for institutional communications. They have issued more than 770 institutional press releases which are posted on the web site. Their contact with media is rather reactive: although they welcome and respond to journalists calls, they do not call them to push for the publication of information.

In order to build more solid relationships with journalists and increase the quality of public debate around economic issues, since 1998 the institute delivers twice a year the free training course “Economy for Journalists”, with the support of ADEPA (Argentine Association of the Journalist Entities) and some other private sponsors. More than 200 journalists from diverse parts of the country have participated in this course regarded by FIEL as an opportunity to disseminate working papers, as well as their proposals and positions on certain topics.

Outreach activities vary according to the profile of researchers. Two profiles of researchers emerged throughout the interviews: those who are more “mediatic”, visible and who tend to interact more frequently with media and policymakers based on a continuous assessment of the political and economic situation; and those who are more technically-oriented, mainly focused on research and long-term issues. The former are more related to FIEL’s origins in the sense that they were already prominent public figures before becoming members of the organization. Based on their knowledge on a specific topic and a clear public goal, they displayed diverse communications strategies more focused on politics. Visibility, media exposure and becoming a relevant voice in the debate were valued as means to further mobilize ideas.

Differently, technical staff is more content-centered: they seek to achieve high quality standards in the work they produce and with the purpose of making this information available for public discussion in general. Their efforts focus on the importance of evidence and international benchmarking as an endorsement. They highlight the weight of empirical evidence which they believe positions them over time as providers of relevant information for the public debate.

These two profiles reflect an implicit dilemma: one of the interviewed researchers recognized that even if they are mainly focused on doing an exclusively technical and academic work, the political restrictions and viability

are unconsciously present in their minds. For example, in their proposal to give retired people shares in the privatized companies they were intentionally seeking for potential partners who would be willing to change the status quo.

2. ANALYZING FIEL RESEARCH CENTER'S INFLUENCE ON POLICY

Think tanks can be regarded as strategic actors due to their increasing role in the policy process. Their capacity to engage in policy-making efforts depends largely on the features of their organizational structure. Some of FIEL's features described above (age, type of research, human and financial resources, networks, among others) shape its organizational capacities and, as a result, its possibilities to have an impact on policies.

It is true that the effectiveness of think tanks is dependent on the way they are managed and the way they adjust to change. However, think tanks play their "game" within specific economic, political and institutional boundaries. Even if they have specific characteristics which enable them to earn a positioning as well known, rigorous and serious institutions, they are also constrained by their contexts. That is why, without understanding contextual boundaries and opportunities, we cannot understand how they manage to influence policies.

In fact, national macro economical and political variables set 'hard' boundaries to the objectives that think tanks may try to achieve, while political-institutional variables assign differential possibilities for think tanks to make an impact on policies, over what is feasible. Macro political or economic crisis are unpredictable and they usually create window opportunities for think tanks. In fact, the former variables are related to political regimes, economic systems, crises, among other features and the latter, to the logic of the political and institutional rules of their specific institutional context, in which think tanks are trying to exert their influence such as, for example, one specific Ministry.

In Latin America, since the nineties, think tanks creation has increased by 86% as compared to the existing ones. One possible explanation for this is the State's increasing weakness to elaborate and implement policies. Structural economic reforms carried out during the nineties in Latin America contributed to reduce not only the size but also the role of the State. This reduction process was performed in parallel to the decentralization of its functions. The previous size reduction opened up new spaces for think tanks or other political actors that used to be under the State's influence and the latter decentralization increased the contact points between them and the government.

One way to illustrate FIEL's capacities of influencing policy is by analyzing a specific case of policy impact in Argentina during the nineties. FIEL's permanent research activities include the development of sector information, since they analyze the evolution of a selected group of thirty-two sectors of economic activity, updated by semesters. These studies carried out by FIEL are very successful, since they offer original, relevant and organized data to the private sector. Businessmen wait for FIEL's releases of these studies because this information helps them to decide about important issues. Other FIEL's successful activities are research and analysis of the real economy, public policy and international economy.

However, during the nineties, FIEL started doing research into social issues, such as education and health, but they were not very successful. Their standpoint is the same as the one they uphold on macroeconomic issues: less State interventions and more market freedom. Nevertheless, social problems are more complex and during the nineties they have been examined in a more focalized way. Perhaps, that is why FIEL was not that so successful in those areas of research.

For this case study, we have chosen to analyze the rationalization of public expenditure proposal carried out by FIEL, because it has strongly influenced economic structural reforms carried out in Argentina during the nineties. This exercise will also allow us to identify contextual factors that facilitate or hinder FIEL's influence.

In fact, FIEL's performance in Argentina can be very much illustrated with this specific case of research-based successful policy.

BACKGROUND CONTEXT

The nineties witnessed profound reforms in Argentina. At the beginning of the decade, President Carlos Saúl Menem's administration implemented a number of economic changes fostered by international credit agencies after recommendations issued by the so-called *Washington Consensus*. Reforms included liberalization of trade, an adjustment of public deficit, the reformation of the State, decentralization, privatization of state-run companies, liberalization of the financial system and of the capital account, among others. However, domestic articulation of these ideas had been carried out by FIEL in the early 80s. On the grounds of academic logic, FIEL succeeded in institutionalizing ideas which, in previous years, had earned support from concrete individuals or politicians only.

Thus we are led to posit four issues regarding the crucial role played by FIEL's ideas in Argentina: 1) the intertemporality of the impact made by research ideas; 2) the need to understand their influence in a loose way, since their main impact was mainly related to agenda-setting purposes; 3) to distinguish among research, applied research, and oriented research to exert an influence on politics; and, 4) to recognize the influence of impact policy on concrete policies (implementation) in order to study the impact of research outcomes.

In the 50s and 60s, Latin America, particularly Argentina, conceived of the State as a promoter of structural changes. The State's chief responsibility was to accelerate industrialization, to modernize and to foster city development. It should be noted that between the mid-fifties and the first few years of the military dictatorship starting in 1976, the industrialization process went through a second stage during which import substitution (ISI) was encouraged.

In later decades, after the 70s and 80s²⁷, the whole world experienced a change in outlook. For the first time ever, the State was viewed as a problem, as a hindrance to development. In Latin America, this was due to the following facts: 1) ISI's loss of drive; 2) a foreign debt crisis owing to Mexican default in 1982; 3) repeated failures in the economic policies implemented with the purpose of giving rise to sustained growth while avoiding inflation; 4) changes in the intellectual thought of the times, and 5) international economic conditions.

In the context described above, the research carried out by FIEL filled up a void in the field of knowledge and originated a new common sense in Argentina. In 1983, Argentinean society was returning to democracy with a heritage of a state-centered institutional matrix; hence, all ideas related to rationalization of public expenditure were a novelty. Although this was the time when international consensus arose as to which economic measures should be adopted, local articulation of these notions differed in every national context. In the Argentinean case, FIEL's role proves central to the understanding of the ensuing reforms.

In the second half of the 20th century, the most outstanding feature of Argentina's political process was related to recurrent military takeovers/dictatorships interrupted by brief intervals of civilian rule, and by even shorter periods of democratic civilian regimes. As a result, there was a gradual weakening in the capacity to manage public-and-state affairs, while social problems kept increasing.

Towards the late 80s, the international context witnessed the crystallization of a third wave of ideas regarding the role of the State. Regardless of whether or not this was agreed upon, it was thought that the State played a crucial role in structural change. Even when the change is defined as "austerity plan" (adjustment), this does not mean that the State should be dismantled, but that it should be rebuilt, aiming at a more lasting, effective institutionalization (second generation reforms). Ideas promoted by FIEL concerning the need to rationalize

²⁷ During the military dictatorship in Argentina (1976-1982), there was a first, early drive of components such as decentralization of social services and the trade and finance liberalization that would be included into the package of measures that were to be implemented in the rest of the world some ten years later. The same phenomenon occurred in Chile.

public expenditure made a significant impact on the implementation of the so-called "first generation reforms" or "market reforms" in Argentina. Economists in FIEL Foundation believed that the State should be extremely small, that it should be downsized, and that it should restrict its functions to protecting people, people's rights and property and to seeing that private contracts voluntarily entered into by the parties were fulfilled.

AN AGENDA SETTING CASE STUDY

In 1986, FIEL published a book entitled *El Fracaso del Estatismo*, in which a systematic proposal for the reform of the Argentinean public sector was included. After the book was published, FIEL continued to work along the same lines, a fact which is translated into almost twenty years of continuous promotion of the same line of thought.

The influence exerted by FIEL on this field is not the outcome of a specific piece of research, but of a whole corpus of research which made an impact at two different levels: 1) it originated a process of enlightenment over time, since this line of research pursued by FIEL shaped the debate on a whole decade; and 2) it made a more concrete impact on Argentinean legislation; namely, on the Acts of State Reform and of Economic Emergency passed in 1989. Both were key points to pave the way for later structural reforms implemented in Argentina and promoted by FIEL.

Regarding enlightenment of knowledge over time, in the early 80s FIEL produced a diagnosis in which it was stated that the increase in public expenditure and the State's intervention in the economy had been a negative constant to Argentina over the last few decades²⁸. Their assessment held that this resulted from an attempt to reach the growth and well-being goals desired by Argentinean society through State-centered tools, since the market alone did not seem to be the most suitable mechanism to reach such goals as the production of goods. Among other reasons, this was due to increasing regulation of private business. According to FIEL, utilization of these means also contributed to an increase in the State's administrative structure.

The said diagnosis was chiefly based on the fact that overall public investment yielded low levels of productivity resulting from repeatedly proved inefficiency in the planning and execution of public works. In those days, FIEL reached the conclusion that the Argentinean economic system, heavily leaning on the State, ended up in failure. According to them, a new model was needed.

Regarding the State Reform and Economic Emergency Acts passed by Congress in 1989, FIEL's senior economists claim that their research served as a launching platform for the passing of a law that might give way to and provide a framework for a thorough reform program.

The Economic Reform Act #23697 aimed to deal with the State's financing crisis by fostering both immediate and temporary measures to reduce public expenditure as expressed in subsidy plans. Hence, it ruled that subsidies and grants should be suspended, and so should public administration expenditure and sales of real estate. It additionally established the autonomy of the Central Bank in order to preserve the value of currency and to prevent whatever direct or indirect financing of the national government or of provincial governments. Other measures attempted to modify more permanent conditions of the market, addressing equal status for

²⁸ So as to illustrate their hypothesis in 1986, FIEL selected, among others, the following indicators: the per capita GDP had decreased by 5.5% as compared to the one 30 years before; 2) the number of inhabitants experiencing employment problems had reached its highest level over the previous 11 years; 3) at the time, Argentina's annual inflation rates had kept at three digits for 12 consecutive years; 4) in 1985, GDI was equivalent to what it had been 35 years before; 5) over 30% of the population aged 14 or less dropped out from elementary school, the quality of teaching at university level was decaying, low-income inhabitants had no access to adequate health care, and the State social security system was totally bankrupt, and thus unable to fulfill its legal obligations; and 6) the demand for telephones could not be met (more than a million telephone lines), international telephone communications were not easily accessible, railroads and motor roads were in an extremely poor state of repair, bad maintenance affected the capacity of generating adequate electric power, and natural gas was not exploited to its full capacity owing to excessive venting.

productive capital, whether domestic or foreign, and suppressing preferential treatment for goods manufactured by national industry (the so-called "buy national products").

At the same time, the State Reform Act was the beginning of the end of another bulwark of the pre-existent development pattern, since it devised the norms whose framework was to regulate the privatization of a large number of state-run companies, such as the telephone companies, commercial airlines, railways, iron and steel complexes, motor roads and several petrochemical enterprises. This Act became the pillar of the privatization policy.

The State Reform Act turned privatization into one of the central policies within the economic reform while it laid the rules for the implementation of the privatization program. Regarding FIEL influence, one important indicator of influence was that by that time, the Minister of Economy (Minister Rapanelli) appointed two chief economists from FIEL (one of them was the executive Director) who advised on the Law and were in charge of writing some specific decrees (deregulation of oil and foreign investment).

Still, it is to be noted that, in terms of enlightenment and influence on the decision to pass the 1989 Acts, the impact fell on the government's agenda. We are not discussing here the efficacy of the economic measures adopted in Argentina during the 90s. We are making a point of the impact made by FIEL's ideas on the political decision to implement the reforms. Whether or not these reforms succeeded in achieving the purpose that originated them is to be studied elsewhere.

Moreover, the research under study exerted an influence on politics rather than on concrete policies. The likely impact made on the government agenda by a corpus of research like the one we are analyzing does not immediately result in the actual implementation of the measures suggested by the researchers. The impact on politics/governance and actual implementation of suggested measures is mediated by the state institutions through which ideas are processed. Therefore, an assessment of success in terms of impact on policies involves other intervening variables that will vary in accordance with the specific public administration subsector through which policies need to be "processed", its political and institutional logic, the possibility of establishing long-term agreements among the actors for the purpose of reaching the desired outcome, etc.

Besides, the reforms have had heterogeneous effects. Their impact on growth seems to have been positive though temporary, but the way in which they affected labor and distributive aspects have been different, depending on the areas involved and on the particular circumstances for each case. Efficacy has been dramatically dependent on the quality of public institutions. FIEL's success consisted in imposing the need to reform the State. In this sense, it clearly exercised an early, dramatic influence.

FEATURES OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

One of FIEL's characteristics, perhaps that which has enabled it to occupy a strategic place in the current debate of ideas is the uninterrupted line of research. FIEL led the economic debate towards a specific goal for quite a long time.

When FIEL's proposal for reform was under construction, its interlocutors were not Argentinean traditional political parties but institutions representative of the various economic and social actors. Among these were FIEL's sponsoring institutions, like the Argentinean Chamber of Commerce [Cámara Argentina de Comercio], Rural Society of Argentina [Sociedad Rural Argentina], Argentinean Industrial Union [UIA], etc. In the 80s, all of these institutions focused on the discussion about the role of the state as a central issue, which was reflected in the attention it was then given by both the media and public opinion.

FIEL was taking the initiative and starting its research work addressed to corporate actors. Before the "Failure of state ownership", FIEL evaluated the lack of statistics and other information from which to start a serious discussion on the role of the State. It thus carried out research into the evolution of public expenditure. In this way, FIEL bridged a gap of knowledge and earned strong consensus from its sponsoring companies, which amply agreed that this kind of information was essential.

In the 80s, they made a point of focusing on the issue of public expenditure, and devoted their wholehearted attention to it. However, this project entailed a more open intention of exerting an influence on political matters, unlike others that are research-and-diagnostic oriented and do not involve political proposals. What made the difference between the project in question and other applied research carried out before and after was that the consultants who joined the research team were public officials and researchers with proven experience in public office. In addition, the project was funded by the Board of Business Companies and the resulting book was published by the Argentinean Business Council. This makes a difference in terms of strategy, and also accounts for its larger impact.

FIEL undertook to divulge the 1982 research on public expenditure in milieus such as the traditional meetings held by the Banking Associations, IDEA (Institute for the Business Development in Argentina) [Instituto para el Desarrollo Empresarial de la Argentina], etc. Manuel Solanet -FIEL's academic secretary- presented the research in political and academic forums throughout the country. The researchers had discovered that the public deficit had been historically higher than the one recorded in official statistics, and FIEL saw to it that the key actors learnt about the results yielded by the research. This early research also gave rise to a later study that was published in a book entitled "*El Fracaso del Estatismo*", discussed in this paper. Besides making a diagnosis, the book proposed a clear course of action: it advised that the State reduce its intervention in business activity, basically in sectors such as infrastructure and public services, loosening on its role as a regulator of economic activity. Instead, the authors proposed regulatory mechanisms to privilege competitiveness rather than intervention.

In addition, FIEL's key success factor in its communications strategy in this case was to produce a major change in public opinion, which was finally spearheaded by the economic crisis. Through the presentation of evidence of how public services and expenditure were working in other parts of the world, public awareness on the need for reform grew. In fact, the book "*El fracaso del estatismo*" was even among the best sellers for a period of time. This contributed to the maturity of the need for change, further fostered by business sectors who were spreading out the word and by journalists who began to write articles and notes. The need for reform was clearly linked to the direct experience of citizens who had to wait for months to get a telephone line or had to frequently face public transportation strikes. However, FIEL's participants in this project acknowledge that their communications initiatives were secondary to the undeniable facts that were part of citizenship daily life.

ON FIEL: EXOGENOUS FACTORS THAT FACILITATED INFLUENCE

In terms of agenda setting, FIEL's influence is remarkable if we look in retrospect at the reforms implemented in the 90s. On the one hand, most of the market reforms were carried out almost ten years after FIEL had started its research, a fact that proves that a long time may pass before research can make an effective impact on politics. On the other hand, these ideas were not implemented by the same people who had developed them but by a different team of technicians coming from another think tank: Fundación Mediterránea, whose members, led by economist Domingo Cavallo, were responsible for the National Ministry of Economics for a long time (1991-1996)..

This sequence sheds some light on the complex process involved in the part played by the influence research may exert on politics. Had it not been for FIEL's paving the way, perhaps the reforms of the 90s would never have occurred. FIEL was a key factor in preparing the state-centered Argentinean society, so that this same society could accept the new discourse prevailing in every country.

The contextual factor that facilitated this linkage cannot be overlooked. The late 80s witnessed the intensification of a long process in which the loss of fiscal autonomy and the weakening of operative capacity brought about a hyperinflationary outburst. Thus Argentina's economy was badly shaken between May and August 1989, ending up in the collapse of public finance. The hyperinflation crisis meant a favorable opening for an opportunity to accept such ideas as FIEL had been promoting from the opposition.

Early in 1989 the situation was indeed critical: the fiscal situation had seriously worsened; government indebtedness kept increasing at unfavorable rates and terms, international reserves had reached the bottom, and the coming elections did not contribute to make people feel optimistic. All of this unleashed a general flight away from domestic currency, seeking protection with the American dollar, whose rate of exchange went up 25 times in only six months. Moreover, the State mechanism had entered a vicious circle involving inflation and lack of fiscal equilibrium. And deficient telephone, transport, and power services, etc. generated "public consensus" that a change was needed. The hyperinflationary crisis facilitated Menem's coming into office and aided FIEL's ideas to make their impact. At the same time, both factors triggered the reform process.

The advent of Carlos Menem (1989-1999) was translated into an unprecedented process of change in government policies. The implementation and consolidation of structural market reforms and the build-up of a completely new coalition installed the belief that Argentina was entering a new era. After a populist campaign, Menem startled his followers when he declared that his economic policies would draw from recommendations issued by the international economic community, those that FIEL had articulated and promoted locally for nearly a decade.

FIEL AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS IDEAS

It is FIEL's belief that its research studies were a source of inspiration for reforms carried out in Argentina, although in FIEL's own assessment such reforms were far from successful because they were not implemented in the way FIEL had suggested.

FIEL thinks that the passage from the proposal to the execution stage was crucial and difficult and that, in this sense, the foundation's role was too brief and occasional. In 2001, when Lopez Murphy (FIEL's chief economist) was President De La Rúa's minister of Economy, a number of FIEL researchers joined the ministry staff. However, this fleeting moment (two weeks) is not regarded by FIEL as a significant event or as a factor that may have contributed to enter government agenda issues or policy implementation.

It remains a paradox that the Menem administration implemented FIEL's ideas without FIEL's participation. In this particular case study, the ideas are unquestionably successful, but do not depend on any institutional strategy through which the Foundation may have contacted the government. In fact, no linkage institutional strategy was engineered during the 90s. Basically, there was contact when the government consulted FIEL about isolated issues, or when FIEL won and executed tender bids. The Menem administration repeatedly called upon FIEL, but it turned down all proposals from the government.

Through a successful agenda-setting case, this case study illustrates the complexity of the linkage between research and policies. It also shows how a crisis like the one experienced by Argentina in 1989 can become a significant opportunity for a change of model. FIEL had been developing its line of thought for nearly ten years when it achieved its first impact on Argentinean legislation. It cannot be denied that the characteristics of the foundation and the quality of its research facilitated acceptance of its proposals when it became evident that "the house was on fire". However, there remained the seeming lack of "competent" solutions, the fact that a Peronist president with a populist following who needed to align with the international trend of thought drastically shifted towards neo-liberalism, and the urgency to solve the crisis with concrete ideas that were both feasible and handy. All of these originated a favorable context for the impact of FIEL's ideas.

Lastly, this case also shows that the weight of the ideas involved neither implied nor impelled the need for these ideas to be obligatorily implemented by those that developed them in earlier times. The role of political play is crucial, and the Argentinean case is a clear proof of this fact. Here lays a key clue to comprehend the complex linkage between elaboration and implementation of ideas.

THIS CASE STUDY WAS ELABORATED ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING IN- DEPTH INTERVIEWS:

FIEL Personnel:

- Fernando Navajas. Director of FIEL.
- Manuel Alberto Solanet. Academic Adviser of FIEL.
- Juan Luis Bour. Chief Economist of FIEL. Responsible for institutional communications.
- Enrique Szewach. Visiting researcher at FIEL.

External Informant:

- Roberto Martinez Nogueira. Phd in Business administration. President of the CEO Group. Specialist in issues related with organizational changes and analysis.

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GRUPO DE ANÁLISIS PARA EL DESARROLLO [GRADE]:

PERU'S CASE STUDY.

By

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JULY, 2004.

ABSTRACT

GRADE [Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo] was established in 1980 when Peru was regaining its democratic regime. Its founders were experienced in public office, a fact which enabled them to have a better understanding of the logic ruling the behavior of policy makers, their main interlocutors. Their purpose was to create a research center that could influence policies by providing decision-makers with the right tools.

GRADE is a leading voice in Peru's debate thanks to its serious, high-quality research and to the continuity of the institution over time. Even if GRADE was created with the objective of influencing policies, as time went by, it acquired a more academic profile. This does not mean that they have lost interest in having an influence on policies, but that the institution's own natural course made them define the academic quality of the production as a priority over the concrete impact on policies.

GRADE's organizational structure depends on funding per projects, mainly coming from international sources. However, they manage to have a larger budget than the general trend of the region. Their budget of more than USD 1.000.000 is much more than what Latin-American think tanks usually have. GRADE is a relatively big institute, but has a simple organizational structure at the same time. It has forty seven long-term researchers and they mainly do research on applied economics.

Another important characteristic is that the credibility of the organization and its members is combined with interpersonal and institutional networks. These are key factors in allowing GRADE to become a voice in policy discussions and reforms. GRADE has no direct communications strategy to influence policymakers. Instead of directly addressing politicians and public servants, the organization has been very intelligent in developing links with those persons and institutions that are listened by them. This proves special in its relationships with the international organisms, which work as brokers for institutions such as GRADE. Therefore, GRADE's good reputation in the international arena has allowed them to indirectly reach policymakers.

The influence of the institution can be illustrated with a specific case: since 1987, they have been doing research on educational issues. Specifically, in 1998 they started working as an external advisor unit to the Ministry of Education of Peru. They implemented their development by creating a local team composed of national and international advisors and experts.

The task was to help prepare a section on the new Law of Education. Data presented by GRADE convinced the Congressmen that one of the keys to the new Law should be the quality of education and equality of educational opportunities. The Law emphasizes that in order to improve the quality of educational results it was important to strive towards equality of opportunities for all children. The consultant suggested that a new institute be created to

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evaluate several aspects related to this, which would recommend policies based on the data. As a result, the new proposal of Law included an article to create the National Institute for Evaluation and Accreditation.

The influence exerted by GRADE on this field is the outcome of a whole corpus of research which achieved a legislation change. The research final report included specific proposals of reform that became part of the New Law of Education. In July 2003, the Law was passed under the name of *Ley General de Educación (Ley 28044)*, and included measures for the establishment and distribution of responsibilities for the proposed Institute of Evaluation, Accreditation and Certification.

Nevertheless, the contextual factor that facilitated this linkage cannot be disregarded. Fujimori's three tenures share a paradoxical aspect in that, despite the regime being narrow-minded and not very democratic, it succeeded in opening up channels for ideas stemming from outside the governmental structure. This authoritarian administration "democratized" access to decision-making as it made way for other voices to be listened to. The reason for this is that Fujimori was politically unknown, not a product of the Peruvian traditional party structure; therefore, he lacked a party machine of his own on which to draw for technicians to be appointed to key positions in public office. Thus there was an opening for external actors to participate in decision making and in assessing the formulation of public policies.

1. ENDOGENOUS CHARACTERISTICS THAT FACILITATED INFLUENCE

GRADE's most important organizational and institutional features are summarized in the table and explained below:

GRADE	
1. Legal status	Non profit organization
2. Year of foundation	1980
3. Founders	Academia + Government
4. Governing Body:	2 bodies
a. Businessmen	No
b. Academicians	Yes
c. Politicians	No
5. Government positions	Yes
6. Budget	USD +1.000.000
7. Funding	Projects
8. Sources of Funding	International organizations
9. Research topics selection	Researchers / funders
10. Research organization	Research areas + projects
11. Research features	Operational output Relevance Quality control Influence over time
12. Researchers' background	PhDs

13. Staff profile	Mainly economists
14. Areas of research	Applied economics
15. Research topics	Second-generation-reform-related topics
16. Staff Number	47 persons
17. Hiring contracts	Long-term
18. Who is in charge of communications	N/A
19. Regular contact with the media	Yes

ORIGIN / YEAR OF FOUNDATION/FOUNDERS

GRADE was established in 1980, when Peru regained its democratic regime. Its founders were experienced in public office, a fact which enabled them to have a better understanding of the logic ruling the behavior of policy makers, their chief interlocutors.

Their purpose was to create a research center that could influence politics by providing decision-makers with the right tools. They drafted a "foundational plan" with future projections, based on different prospective modules: population, health, education, mining, etc. The resulting tools were to enable decision-makers to observe likely developments and main indicators to be taken into account in each one of the areas. They designed a projection model, thus generating GRADE's first great task: a study of desired outcomes, which generated their agenda in terms of their direction as a group. They believed this would enable them to operate on reality, on such areas as they deemed crucial, without allowing contingent aspects to deviate their course. Thus GRADE acquired a strategic advantage from the very beginning.

However, as time went by, GRADE acquired a mostly academic profile. This does not mean that they have lost interest in having an influence on policies but that the institution's own natural course made them define the academic quality of their production as a priority over a concrete impact on policies. Also, the profile of researches influenced this change of direction, as none of them has special interests in carrying out lobby activities, writing articles for newspapers or participating in television programs. Within this framework, various strategies of spreading research have recently been proposed in order to counteract this tendency of researchers producing applied information only through traditional channels, but they were not too successful. GRADE's researchers wish their products to influence politics but that is not their immediate goal. They mainly intend to be a serious research center, respected for the quality of their products, and from there, they wish to have an influence on politics.

GOVERNING BODY / GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

GRADE is governed by an Assembly of Associates, in which most of the institution's senior researchers participate. The Assembly sets the research topics, defines development strategies and guarantees GRADE's independence. The Assembly also elects an Executive Committee, responsible for supervising institutional operations for two-year periods. Currently, it is composed by the Executive Director and the Research Director, who coordinate GRADE's projects and activities and are in charge of editorial and publication functions.

In GRADE, two founders, three main researchers and one of its Executive Director held government positions in several bodies of Peruvian governments (Department of Energy, Ministry of Communications, Ministry of Labor and Social Promotion, etc.). Other researchers from GRADE also worked for the government in parallel to their research activities at GRADE, as members of Committees or as consultants (National Education Council, Education Ministry, Ministry of Economics, etc.).

FUNDING / INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

The institution has managed to have a larger budget than the general trend of the region (most Latin American think tanks have an average annual budget between USD 100.000 and USD 500.000). Its average budget for the past three years has been around USD 1.000.000.

GRADE only has financing per project; therefore, research is supported based on researchers' productivity. In fact, the institution deals with the problem of looking for academic quality while it does not have institutional financing of any kind. However, GRADE has managed to be well recognized within the idea debate in Peru precisely because of the collective effort of its members to show the organization as a research center as much as possible, and not as a consulting company or a service provision center. This is especially valuable within the frame of the sudden fall of research financing in Peru in the last ten or fifteen years

Regarding its sources of funding, GRADE succeeded in maintaining a diversified structure. Only 10% of all resources funding research and other activities are provided by national sources, mostly consultant firms engaged by state agencies and directly financed by the public sector. The remaining 90% comes from international sources. Out of the 90%, 38% comes from multilateral organizations related to consultant firms and projects carried out jointly with various institutions in the public sector, as well as research projects. A similar percentage comes from international cooperation agencies, and the remaining 14% is provided by international foundations. Less than one-fourth of the expenditure takes care of administrative expenses, publications, communications and ancillary services to research (informational and bibliographic support) and to institutional investment.

Since GRADE's organizational structure depends on funds obtained through projects, in general, they have short-term funding, which makes the research agenda more unstable than other think tanks that have long-term funding. Therefore, researchers' activity is more dependent on external terms of reference, changes of research topics and time limitations to study in depth, issues that they are interested in. Since they cannot afford to study broad issues, they tend to specialize in more specific issues such as measuring the quality of education. In fact, GRADE had, at the beginning, a macroeconomic study area that the institute couldn't keep over time. This was due to the fact that it is almost impossible to sustain such an abstract type of research with little operational outputs without a long-term funding. For research activities, GRADE tries to combine the institute's interest, researchers' preferences and availability of funds. The other side of this 'dependence', is having 'independence' from interests of different corporative actors, such as businessmen. In practice, this kind of think tanks achieve an unstable equilibrium between these two extremes.

GRADE's organizational structure is relatively simple and complex, at the same time. There is an Executive Committee which runs the institution, currently comprised of three main researchers (Santiago Cueto, Javier Escobar and Manuel Glave). There is also an administrative manager and his assistant, who has another accounting and management team. Tasks are distributed among the three directors (Executive Committee) and all of them supervise GRADE's publications.

GRADE does not finance research of its own in any of its areas. The only money they set apart, besides the money for running the institution, is a sum for publications, which are not planned in the contracts (newsletters, work documents, and books).

In the last two years, directors have established an award to academic productivity. In a medium-term perspective, the aim is to make researchers have greater incentives to publish in journals outside the institution so as to, on the one hand, obtain a financial award and, on the other hand, improve the academic image and reputation of GRADE as an institution. The money for the award is taken from what is collected by all researchers for their projects, and two or three researchers are awarded at the two levels: academic productivity (important publications) and financial productivity (obtaining financing for their projects).

SELECTION OF RESEARCH TOPICS / RESEARCHERS' BACKGROUND / RESEARCH FEATURES

As regards the way in which research is organized, each main researcher has autonomy to carry out his own projects. They work like a "law firm", in which each one brings his own clients and proposals, gets his own contracts and gives GRADE a certain percentage, which is the overhead.

GRADE is constantly revising its research priorities so as to identify new needs experienced by those in charge of public policies, as well as areas where greater knowledge of social and economic processes has to be developed. In the past decade, GRADE's research agenda has become considerably broader owing to their identification of priority areas. They seek to reach a balance between continuity and consistency on the one hand, and adaptation and attention to conjuncture change modifying reality on the other hand. Needless to say, not an easy task.

They have tried to innovate in thematic areas to be closer to the topics emerging of the situation and to get financing, but this has not been easy. In fact, they have lost impact on some thematic areas where they initially were influential, such as macroeconomic issues. Currently, GRADE defines research areas, first based on the interests of their researchers, and then according to the planning of the executive committee regarding which areas should be strengthened within the institution.

In this way, once a broad "research field" was set out, the professional background of many of GRADE founders and of the people who joined them made economics dominate the approach. One special characteristic of GRADE is that does not actively pursue the great issues of the situation, although lately they have tried to devote more attention to that. For instance, it is rare that a GRADE researcher be on the media to comment on the latest innovation or the latest scandal. It is more common that GRADE researchers be on the media to comment on the studies they have been carrying out for a long time. Due to the institution's style and to the interests of researchers, they are more devoted to issues and research that might be relevant for a long time than to emerging urgent issues.

A few years ago, GRADE established a formal mechanism to recruit chief researchers. In accordance, they take into account academic background together with professional interest and commitment to research applied to the design and debate of public policies. The chief research team is mostly composed of PhDs who hold degrees from American and British universities.

The collective and institutional bet is that in order to become a GRADE main researcher, the person must have a certain high-quality profile. Most of the researchers have been young people who worked at GRADE and were trained in the institution. GRADE cannot call for tender to hire researchers as universities do, because they are not able to provide financial security. Those who join GRADE must look for their own resources for research, as the researchers of the institution are self-financed. Therefore, the attraction is basically to be part of the group, to have the necessary institutional platform to submit research callings in issues they are interested in and, eventually, to be part of the initiatives obtained by other colleagues.

GRADE's assistant researchers are recruited among the main national universities, usually during their last year as undergraduates. They usually start as assistants, and most of them continue to work for the institution as assistant researchers, while taking on more responsibility in specific projects. After some years, they are expected to pursue graduate studies abroad. Continuity is another salient GRADE's characteristic. Researchers stay in the institution, with relatively low rotation. There are few who leave never to come back. Besides, there are proactive policies that encourage a research "career" inside GRADE.

GRADE researchers work full time, but the institution values the ability to make alliances, for instance, in joint proposals with other research centers. In these cases, members have the flexibility to participate in activities outside the institution.

GRADE's academic research is rigorous and application-oriented. They are concerned with the quality of their work, and have established internal evaluation systems taken from academic logic: they foster exchange among their members through seminars, informal meetings, joint projects and revision processes among peers

so as to ascertain the quality of the academic work produced inside the institution. Project progress is discussed fortnightly at informal seminars, and books and work papers are published following strict revision by peers, chosen from GRADE members, from other Peruvian institutions, or from abroad. Studies carried out by institutional researchers are often sent to academic journals at home and abroad for the sake of suitable circulation.

IDEOLOGY

The members do not issue public political statements as a group: they are aware that they may have substantially different viewpoints and they do not want to involve everyone in their personal and political opinions. GRADE is a research center and they show their products. That is why the main goal is that these products be as good quality as possible. They work as a small university without lectures or students. All researchers are concerned with the group's image. The general structure of the institution is very flexible and each one can find room for developing the tasks he likes.

NETWORKS

It is also a tradition for GRADE researchers to try to combine research and academic work with public office. All member researchers participate in local and international academic activities and publish their findings in books, work papers and international journals. Most of them teach at universities located in Lima and in the interior of the country. In some cases, they absent themselves temporarily from GRADE to hold public office. Many of them also participate in boards, consultant committees, round tables and national councils dealing with issues related to their specific research fields. This enables them to apply the expertise and know-how acquired while engaged in research to real life national problems.

COMMUNICATION

It is important to stress that GRADE's tools, practices and policies also enhance the impact of their research on policymaking processes and its communication strategies influence the reception of ideas and research results by policymakers and other target audiences.

a. Perceptions and expectations influencing communications

The use and impact on policymakers of research conducted by GRADE has a clear relationship with the institution's reputation and the credibility of its research and technical capacity as well as its independence and quality and charisma of researchers. However use of research is not a frequent practice among Peruvian governments and bureaucrats –the government of Fujimori, as will be described below, proves an exception to the rule. This represents an obstacle to the opportunities of getting ideas and voices heard. Moreover, most public officials feel they do not need a conceptual or theoretical basis to guide their policy decisions. This factor hampers the natural flow of information from researchers to policymaking communities.

Perceptions around the link between research and policymaking influence the way researchers and policy makers interact. The value of technical support is more frequently perceived in the phase of policy formulation. At this point those who are recognized as credible specialists in the issue are addressed by those who will design the reform (Congressmen, Executive Power, Committees, etc.) and those who will fund it. Indeed, incorporation of specialists into the process has been driven in several cases by the international agencies such as the World Bank and IADB. This has indirectly benefited GRADE by uncovering new possibilities to set forth evidence in the table of discussions and thus influence decisions.

When looking into technical support, reputation plays a vital role. GRADE presents a track record of independency: the institution has been able to participate in different public debates with a non-partisan discourse, and highlighting research findings instead. Regarded as a serious and rigorous institution that produces quality research, along with its collective effort to keep the seal as an independent research center, GRADE becomes a natural voice to include within its areas of work. Moreover, the good reputation in the economic arena has paved the way into other spheres such as education and social policies.

b. Policies, practices and tools

GRADE has demonstrated good communication skills to permanently reinforce their positioning as researchers committed to knowledge generation and avoid being labeled with other political or private roles or functions. Besides this general positioning, it has fulfilled some information vacuums with more specific research; this enabled the organization to be clearly positioned in niches such as the quality or financing of education. Constant efforts in certain areas, clearly defined focus and sustained commitment along time seem to be stronger than intentional and carefully thought out strategies to influence policymaking.

GRADE has no direct communications strategy to influence policymakers. Instead of directly addressing politicians and public servants, the organization has been very intelligent in developing links with those persons and institutions that are heard by them. This proves special in its relationships with the international organisms, which work as brokers for institutions such as GRADE when they detect a lack of technical capacity within ministries to implement the advocated-for reforms. Therefore, GRADE's good reputation in the international arena has allowed them to indirectly reach policymakers.

Communications actions and tools centered on specific research results are decentralized in GRADE. This means that the reach, frequency and intensity of communications towards policy makers as well as other relevant groups depend on each researcher's personality. The need to directly influence policymaking does not respond to the organizational culture but to the researcher's own interests and efforts to invest time in disseminating findings and proposals.

Even if it has no intentionally crafted strategy, the organization has certain explicit and implicit policies that favor the diffusion of results so that they become part of public debates. There is an interesting combination between personal and organizational processes that facilitate interaction with policymakers and other relevant stakeholders: there are clear cases at GRADE of researchers who create and nurture their own interpersonal network both at the international and national levels of academicians, opinion leaders, even contacts at media. Founders at GRADE had already become aware of the advantages of becoming active in their own networks as a channel to detect those who were more capable of absorbing and disseminating their ideas.

GRADE also acknowledges the importance of media in the configuration of public debate. They occasionally participate at interviews in radio and television. To this purpose, they have learned to balance their need to work and speak about long-term issues with the media's demand of information on most recent happenings, thus making some efforts at finding the "journalistic angle" of what they want to convey.

The need to reach a larger audience has led to pay more attention to accessibility. GRADE's researchers state out that they need to work on adapting language as well as focus and frame of messages to the different audiences so that they are well understood. They have created special publications such as the bulletin "Análisis & Propuestas" where they publish summarized working papers to be distributed among their networks. Based on the same belief on the need to simplify academic discourses, they have elaborated together with the Ministry of Education a series of bulletins on the education evaluation results in order to reach a wide public.

Think tanks can be regarded as strategic actors due to their increasing role in the policy process. Their capacity to engage in policy-making efforts depends largely on the features of their organizational structure. Some of FIEL's features described above (age, type of research, human and financial resources, networks, among others) shape its organizational capacities and, as a result, its possibilities to have an impact on policies.

It is true that the effectiveness of think tanks is dependent on the way they are managed and the way they adjust to change. However, think tanks play their "game" within specific economic, political and institutional boundaries. Even if they have specific characteristics which enable them to earn a positioning as well known, rigorous and serious institutions, they are also constrained by their contexts. That is why, without understanding contextual boundaries and opportunities, we cannot understand how they manage to influence policies.

In fact, national macro economical and political variables set 'hard' boundaries to the objectives that think tanks may try to achieve, while political-institutional variables assign differential possibilities for think tanks to make an impact on policies, over what is feasible. Macro political or economic crisis are unpredictable and they usually create window opportunities for think tanks. In fact, the former variables are related to political regimes, economic systems, crises, among other features and the latter, to the logic of the political and institutional rules of their specific institutional context, in which think tanks are trying to exert their influence such as, for example, one specific Ministry.

One way to illustrate GRADE's capacities of engaging in policy advocacy is by analyzing a particular case of policy influence in Peru during the nineties. GRADE has exerted influence on several policies, such as the studies on measuring inflation system, where they showed that the official Consumer Price Indexes had biases and proposed the necessity of making changes in the inflation measuring system. In consequence, the Peruvian Statistical Agency called upon GRADE's researchers to carry out audit of the way the official CPI index was constructed and the conclusion of the audit report called for an immediate change of the elementary index formulae. In February 2002 the Peruvian Statistical Office introduced the proposed changes to the CPI index. The final success of this research project can be measured by the increased awareness of the Peruvian Statistical Office about the need to audit its methodological procedures, open them to public scrutiny and introduce timely modifications to ensure that main economic indicators were measured properly.

Another GRADE's successful study was the analysis of the social impact of the privatization and the regulation of the telecommunications industry. During 2001-2002, GRADE's studies on the privatization of the State owned telephone company concluded that even though there have been gains from privatization, there was still a need to rebalance tariffs further to avoid disruption of the benefits of privatization. GRADE analyzed the methodology used for estimations of the productivity factor (used to define the rate of adjustment of regulated prices) and identified several methodological problems on how it was estimated. It submitted a detailed report on its observations to the regulatory office. The results were a higher adjustment factor and, therefore, lower prices for consumers.

For this case study, we have chosen to analyze the measurement of educational quality proposal promoted by GRADE. Case study number 45, prepared by GRADE for GDN, examined the influence they have had working as an external advisory unit to the Ministry of Education of Peru to create a system of measuring education quality. By the time GRADE finished the elaboration of that case study, the Act had not yet been passed by the Peruvian National Congress. It was finally passed in July 2003 under the name of General Law of Education (Law 28044), and included measures for the establishment and distribution of responsibilities for the Institute of Evaluation Accreditation and Certification, promoted by GRADE. To examine a specific research-policy will also enable us to identify contextual factors that facilitate or hinder GRADE's influence.

BACKGROUND CONTEXT

Fujimori's three tenures share a paradoxical aspect in that, despite the regime being narrow-minded and not very democratic, it succeeded in opening up channels for ideas stemming from outside the governmental structure. This authoritarian administration "democratized" access to decision-making as it made way for other voices to be listened to. The reason for this is that Fujimori was a political unknown, not a product of the Peruvian traditional party structure; therefore, he lacked a party machine of his own on which to draw for technicians to be appointed to key positions in public office. Thus there was an opening for external actors to participate in decision-making and in assessing the formulation of public policies. Fujimori founded his own political party -Cambio 90 (C90)- in October 1989 as an independent civic movement. Finally, Alberto Fujimori defeated Mario Vargas Llosa in the general elections held in 1990. Neither contender had been involved in any traditional political party.

During the 90s, Peru, like many other Latin American countries, embarked on a cycle of important reforms, led by President Fujimori.

There is no doubt that Fujimori's victory was due to the strong popular support he earned through his campaigning discourse against liberal orthodoxy. However, immediately after his inauguration, he stood side by side with those who had been his opponents, and implemented an "adjustment" program aimed at putting a stop to hyperinflation and to regaining international trust so that Peru could be eligible for international credit. The social consequences deriving from the accelerated impoverishment of even larger sectors of the population -an outcome of the economic crisis that had been devastating the country since the previous decade- were worsened by the shock program implemented by Fujimori.

Moreover, the Government had launched a public campaign against political parties and democratic institutions, with Congress as its favorite target. Congressmen were accused of and attacked for their inefficiency, corrupted practices, and alleged obstacles that prevented Fujimori from restoring the economy and social order.

In this context, in April 1992 Fujimori staged an "autogolpe" [a coup organized by the government] and dissolved the National Congress, repealing a number of articles in the democratic Constitution of 1979. The President then established an "emergency government for national reconstruction" and seized full control of the state, on the grounds that Congress as well as the judiciary were hindering his efforts to fight terrorism and drug trafficking, besides delaying the implementation of much-needed liberal reforms.

The coup was welcomed by public opinion, but the international community immediately voiced its rejection. International agencies cancelled the credit flow and exerted strong pressure for democracy to be restored through an agreement to be reached by consensus between the President and the political parties. By way of an answer to these demands, Fujimori established a schedule to call for elections to a Constituent Assembly.

The President's popularity rose, ensuring him a comfortable majority in the Parliamentary elections, thanks to a crucial episode in which several prominent *Sendero Luminoso* rebel leaders were captured (September 1992). This implied the strategic defeat and neutralization of the guerrilla, which ceased to be a threat to the State. Besides, after such political success, added to the Constituent Assembly that was to legislate on a return to democracy, in 1993 the United States and other creditor countries agreed to issue new loans to Peru.

Legitimated by constitutional reform, Fujimori was re-elected to a second period of office during which he enforced privatization and liberalization policies on Peruvian enterprises. At the same time, popular discontent was increasing

In December 1999, Alberto Fujimori publicly announced that he would run for the Presidency in the coming general elections, scheduled for April 2000. He thus intended to consolidate economic reforms undertaken in

his two previous terms of office. Still, the Peruvian Constitution, under the 1993 reform, banned a third re-election. However, the Congress passed a law that enabled him to stand for a new re-election, claiming that a potential third tenure by Fujimori would in fact be his second according to the provisions of the reformed constitution. All appeals submitted by the opposition in order to prove the unconstitutionality of the decision were disregarded straight away, in open contradiction with the fact that Fujimori's popularity was steeply going downhill, notwithstanding the initial support he had earned over the first seven years of the previous decade, when he had succeeded in stabilizing the economy and checking the guerrilla.

The general elections were held in April 2000, and Alberto Fujimori inaugurated his third consecutive term of office. Still, his triumph was short-lived. After accusations of corrupted practices in which he was said to be personally involved²⁹, Fujimori announced that he would step down and call for new general elections. After the opposition gained full control of Congress in November 2000, Fujimori submitted his resignation, which was not accepted, with the Congress ousting him for being "morally unfit" for the Presidency. Valentín Paniagua, Secretary General of *Acción Popular*, became provisional President until new elections were held in 2001. On this occasion, Alejandro Toledo Manrique, a leader of the center-right group named "Perú Posible", won the elections in the second round.

CRITICAL FACTORS AFFECTING INFLUENCE

In the early nineties, international organizations issued a series of initiatives to implement reforms in various sectors. Along these lines, the World Bank designed a set of policies that included the establishment of an advisory unit, external to the Ministry of Education, in order to evaluate educational outcomes.

However, in Fujimori's days, the Ministry concerned believed that this should be done internally, and created the *Unidad de Medición de la Calidad Educativa* [Unit for the Measurement of Educational Quality (UMC)] within the state's administrative staff. The first evaluation was carried out in 1996, with such negative outcomes that the government banned their circulation.

As the World Bank firmly insisted that UMC should work independently from the Ministry, a compromise was reached: the UMC was to be kept inside the Ministry with the aid of external consultants. At the request of the World Bank, a tender bid was called in early 1998, and the winner was Santiago Cueto from GRADE.

GRADE's proximity to the UCM was the first precedent of the prohibition to circulate the outcomes yielded by the 1996 evaluation. As later quality evaluations kept showing negative outcomes, the Government issued a statement declaring Peruvian education to be immersed in a "state of emergency".

Eventually, when the outcomes were finally published, negative indicators became evident. Concrete figures confirmed what had so far been mere suspicion. As a consequence, it became imperative to implement a change of direction, shifting from extension (coverage) to performance (quality). Public opinion started experiencing a generalized feeling of unrest under the impression that Peru was "the worst country in the world in terms of educational performance"³⁰. This was specially fostered by mass media which played a key role in creating a pro-reform climate. The poor results of the first round of the Pisa evaluation led to a strong media campaign that distorted certain findings which in turn generated a sense of urgency around the need of

²⁹ *The media circulated a video in which Vladimiro Montesinos, Fujimori's much criticized personal assistant at the head of the Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional [National Intelligence Agency] was bribing a representative from the opposition through a payment of \$15,000. This sum secured the representative's inclusion in the ranks of Fujimori's coalition (Peru 2000) thus facilitating absolute Congressional majority for the group in power.*

³⁰ *The media quickly picked up this sense of "catastrophe" and rapidly circulated the news about the banning on the publication of 1996 outcomes. This led Peruvian public opinion to believe that Peru's educational system was disastrous though, strictly speaking, this was not what could be read from the figures. There even appeared a motto suggesting that Peru had fared much worse than Haiti in a study carried out by UNESCO. The actual fact is that Haiti had not been included in the said study.*

reform among civil society which was alarmed by media expressions such as "All African countries are ahead of us"-

At the time, decision-making in the field of education was open to the influence coming from research activities. It was necessary to implement high-tech educational policies that included quality measurements, and this required elaborate ideas as well as technical expertise.

GRADE's own level of performance generated the need for continuity. Thus GRADE's consultancy services were renewed and enlarged. It should be borne in mind that, at territorial level, decision-making ruled by centralism was uppermost in the nineties. Lima, the capital city of Peru, enjoyed much more power in the 90s than it had in the two previous decades. Its larger autonomy enabled GRADE to reach policy makers more easily, specifically those in the Ministry of Education.

Therefore, this was an opportunity window for ideas to find their way into the right channels rather than before an institutional link between research and politics. The ideas were transmitted by real people, namely, Santiago Cueto and Patricia Arregui (both of them GRADE's members).

Likewise, the Ministry of Education provided a highly qualified team of technicians who were committed to educational planning and quality efforts. Then it was the very Ministry that sought for articulation with GRADE, not only because the World Bank prompted engagement of individuals ("Dr. Cueto or Dr. Arregui") but because the Ministry's own working team was composed of experts who clearly saw which group could become their strategic allies.

On the other hand, that educational indicators were open to public debate was an unprecedented experience in the country. In this sense, the ban on the publication of the 1996 evaluation generated the opposite effect, as the transition after the Fujimori administration specially decided to circulate these results and subject them to discussion.

We can observe a convergence of factors that do not usually come together: First, the Ministry of Education allowed the implementation of an educational system that privileged quality over extension; second, the Ministry agreed to the creation of a lasting unit within its own field of power. Additionally, the Congress reconsidered the issue and passed a law legitimating and supporting the importance of these policies and of all actors involved. Thus, we find actors coinciding in the framework of an opportunity window inside a regime that had to carry out sector reforms of which it was not fully convinced and for which it lacked its own team of technicians.

In countries with poor institutional stability, actors take on higher relevance, for the success or failure of a given policy comes to depend on them. When there is no plan pointing to the desired path -in this case, how to cope with education- everything will depend on the motivations of the occasional actors in charge of carrying out the proposed reforms.

It is also to be noted that the General Law of Education was not furthered by the Ministry of Education, but by the Congress, since a congressman from the party in power encouraged the reform to the existing Act, already twenty years old by then. In order to draft the new Bill, an expert commission was established, with Santiago Cueto (GRADE) in charge of educational evaluation.

The previous Law of Education, together with a number of educational policies, pointed to wider extension. The new Act reversed this view, generating a system designed to enhance quality. Therefore, it was almost a "natural" solution that GRADE should be called upon.

After two years of joint efforts, the Act was passed in 2003. It is currently being regulated. Implementation of the *Sistema Nacional de Medición de Calidad* will be operated through an institute dealing with basic education and another dedicated to higher education.

We can see positive synergy among GRADE, the Ministry of Education, and Congress, all three working together thanks to the actors that happen to be now in charge of these institutions. What would have happened if these policies had been in other hands?

When it comes to understanding the way in which GRADE's ideas were translated into an Act, another two key factors should be considered: first, the role played by international organisms and, second, the little or no competition facing GRADE in the academic debate on this particular matter.

Regarding the first factor, we should highlight the role played by the World Bank, as long as it introduced GRADE to the government. Regarding the second factor, there were no other organizations that could seriously compete with GRADE on this issue, for GRADE was already installed as a referent thanks to the continuity of its line of research, its responsibility and its professionalism.

BRIDGING

In the early nineties, the Educational Forum gave rise to the creation of a NGO whose first aim was to attract actors from various disciplines, political affiliations and spheres (scholars, former public officials, professionals) into the debate on education.

The Educational Forum consolidated as a pluralistic space where referents whose qualified opinion was much respected could voice proposals regarding educational policies. Researchers, public officials and professionals engaged in personal contact. Although this platform was created for a different purpose, it became a key space for contact among actors. A number of GRADE researchers participated in this NGO, and so did he who was later appointed Executive Director to the National Council of Education, the Congresswoman who furthered the reform to the Law of Education, the person who later coordinated the Congress commission that drafted the law under GRADE's guidelines, etc.

It cannot be denied that this space bridged a gap. It was also some kind of a test. Many of the people who participated in it were then called upon to join the National Council of Education created in 2002. The purpose of this agency was to formulate a proposal to improve educational objectives, promote agreement between opinion and political proposals for the mid and long-term, express ideas about important educational issues, draft proposals for political and legislative political decisions, and systematically follow up the outcomes.

The National Council of Education is a heterogeneous, pluralistic and autonomous institution. It aims at opening lasting channels of information and exchange with the population at large, with leading groups and with representative organizations, privileging the creation of close bonds with regional agencies involved with the state and with the civil society.

The Council holds periodic meetings where the Ministry's policies and other mid and long-term conjunctural issues are actively discussed. Regarding the Education Act, Santiago Cueto attended several of the meetings to explain the significance of quality education and, on the whole, he achieved consensus. The Council's resolutions are not mandatory, but they have a "moral" weight. Up to now, its role has been to control and criticize if necessary.

GRADE has been collaborating with the National Council of Education since it was a project in the making. Nowadays, among its 25 members, we find the name Patricia Arregui.

A POLICY DRIVEN POLICY

One key element is the continuity of GRADE's research efforts into education. Since 1987, they have been drawing base diagnoses and evaluations of the sector. Studies were carried out about the impact of education variables on socioeconomic life, as well as on factors related to the development of a national system of education.

Regarding the policies under analysis here, Santiago Cueto implemented their development by creating a local team composed of national and international advisors, experts in testing, statistical analysis, sampling, logistics, mathematics, language, etc. The team comprised about 35 specialists designing expert advice for the

Ministry of Education. GRADE earned high credibility through this scheme. Although the researchers had long been elaborating on these matters, a fact which enabled them to offer a solid, coherent proposal when the opportunity window arised, the team of experts lent new legitimacy to the ongoing research, as it aroused the feeling of a new beginning led by the uppermost scholars in each field.

At present, that quality education matters is no longer questioned in Peru. However, this was not always the case. This case study shows the sequence through which a piece of research made an effective impact on politics. Let us go over the critical factors that have influenced the linkage.

This was a policy driven research project combined with some research project features that were crucial for its success. GRADE's researchers had long been doing research into the quality of education and the need for its measurement. This enabled them to obtain cogent outcomes to be used at a suitable time. Besides, the quality of the research was such that when Santiago Cueto set out to gather members for the commission of experts that acted as consultants to UCM, national and international specialists were already familiar with his expertise in the field and thus agreed to his request.

GRADE's research is serious and cogent, but in this case individual members also counted. UCM's Director at the Ministry of Education had already worked for GRADE and met Santiago Cueto and Patricia Arregui. On the other hand, during the meetings of the Educational Forum, GRADE's researchers had met the Congresswoman who furthered the reform of the Act and the current director of the National Council of Education.

They all "spoke the same language", so they met and called upon each other to work together at the precise moment when there was an opening for external actors in the Ministry.

Also, there were no disagreements regarding the quality of education in Lima, as GRADE is acknowledged as *the* specialist and does not compete with other research products that uphold opposite standpoints. Additionally, the various actors had reached consensus on the issue, thanks to the fact that GRADE knew how to circulate and explain their ideas to the right people in the right way. A factor that eased their work was that the media drew attention to bad outcomes of the evaluations ordered by the Government, and this really shocked public opinion, thus establishing the foundations for a Government- fostered reform.

It should also be noted that the Government absolutely needed to promote a reform policy on which it could take pride, for this would lend legitimacy and credibility to their renewed tenure. However, if the corpus of research that had been led by Santiago Cueto had not been readily available, perhaps the changes would have been rather diffuse.

In this sense, all the praise should go to GRADE's researchers for having had the foresight to document and do research into the issue before becoming consultants to UCM. This is what earned them first place in the tender bid, enabling them to work jointly with Ministry officials. In turn, this fact generated the necessary knowledge and work strategies that opened the opportunity window when the right time came. Personal communications also strengthened their capacity to seize the window: both Patricia Arregui and Santiago Cueto were able to make a good use of their interpersonal relationships with specialists and participation at networks in their areas. In this interaction, both researchers did not only rely on valuable content and technical knowledge but demonstrated a clear understanding of how to effectively convey their messages to policymakers. Their ability to sustain a technical and political positioning by consistently stressing out issues that were part of their personal agendas generated a climate of credibility around their ideas. Some stakeholders even highlighted their personal capacity to anticipate to potential critics and objections by preparing their answers according to the audience.

However, it is important to highlight that the issue did not rise overnight. There were years and years of research behind it, and a different political and institutional context would have yielded different outcomes. There is high rotation of public officials, mid/long-term formal rules have no real impact, and what can be generally observed is the difficulty to design lasting sustainable policies. However, this poor institutional

quality, added to a lack of a traditional party structure in power (Fujimori) made openings for external researchers. In other Latin American countries, where low levels of institutionalism are combined with party logic inside the administration, the high rotation of public officials is mainly due to “clientelistic” practices as well as to the vagaries of the so-called ‘parallel bureaucracy’ [programs funded from abroad supported by a national counterpart], which seldom leaves installed capacity in the staff. When such is the case, executive positions are held by politicians rather than by researchers, and this hinders mutual understanding.

Here the paradox lies in the fact that an authoritarian, self-contained regime made way for researchers and specialists to join the apparatus of the state. If one is to understand the linkage between research and politics, one should bear in mind that methodology applied to analysis is not to be taken as a unique, universal recommendation imbued with political content. This kind of methodology should reach a balance between the identification of intervening factors and the contextual specificity typical of these factors.

The case studied in this paper puzzles us insofar as it shows more freedom for research in a restricted, not very democratic context tainted with marked corruption. It also illustrates the actors’ increasing importance when the institutions lack clear rules. Reality is complex, and an accurate intervention on it will result in content variations in terms of the diversity of social resources, political and institutional characteristics and the web, in which the actors interact, with different features in different countries and regions.

THIS CASE STUDY WAS ELABORATED ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS:

People from GRADE:

- Santiago Cueto. Executive Director of GRADE.
- Manuel Glave. Member of the Executive Committee of GRADE and one of its principal researchers.
- Claudio Herzka. Co-founder of GRADE.
- Juana Kuramoto. Associate Researcher of GRADE.

Policymakers related with the chosen policy:

- José Martín Vegas. Executive Secretary of the Peruvian National Council of Education.
- José Rodríguez. Former Chief of the Educational Quality Measurement Unit dependent on the Education Ministry of Peru.
- Ela Martínez López. Civil Servant at the Education Ministry of Peru.

External informant:

- Eduardo Moron. Researcher on economic issues. Professor of Economics at Universidad del Pacífico, Peru.

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INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR POLICY STUDIES (ICPS):

UKRAINE'S CASE STUDY

By

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ABSTRACT

The International Center for Policy Studies (ICPS) was established in 1994 during the Ukrainian transition away from the soviet system, toward a more democratic regime and a market economy. The Ukrainian Government and the Open Society Institute (OSI) were the key founders of ICPS. Their purpose was to create an independent research center that would be able to provide the government and society with policy analysis and alternatives.

Over the past eleven years, the ICPS has earned a reputation for being an independent research organization that consistently provides profound and high-quality policy research and analysis of various economic and social issues. It is also known by applying modern techniques and carefully developed procedures throughout its research process. Also, the ICPS supplies the authorities and the public with reliable mainstream overviews and forecasts of the macro situation in Ukraine. Because it has employed and adhered to a rigid long-term strategy, the ICPS has earned confidence within the Ukrainian community, which allows it to recurrently get private orders and projects from international multilateral agencies. These commissions account for a large portion of ICPS revenues.

Since its establishment, the ICPS has directed its efforts toward the organization's mission: to introduce the concept of public policy and related procedures as a basis for effective democracy in the Ukraine and in other post-Soviet countries. The ICPS's main efforts are aimed at establishing procedures that will facilitate dynamic dialog between government representatives and the public in Ukraine. As a result, now the ICPS strictly concentrates their efforts on providing western-style concept of public policy: offering technical assistance to the government and to NGOs, providing independent policy analysis, and conducting macroeconomic research.

Today, the ICPS is a rather large organization with a complex structure and a substantial budget. Its budget of about USD 1 million is notably larger than that of most Ukrainian think tanks. Previously, the significant part of the ICPS budget was provided by the Open Society Institute; to achieve financial independence, the ICPS developed a strategy to gradually break away from the OSI grant. If realized, this strategy will allow the ICPS to be a fully self-financing organization by 2007. The ICPS has created its organizational structure, a special budget committee, and marketing and funding departments in order to provide finance and cost optimization.

³¹ This case study is the part of the CS2 component of the Phase II of Global Development Network's Bridging Research and Policy project carried out by the Center for the Implementation of Public Policies promoting Equity and Growth (CIPPEC), which consists of a comparative analysis of policy research institutes in Latin America, Asia, Africa and Central Europe/CIS. I would like to thank the interviewees for their collaboration and enthuthaism as well as Eric Livny and Vanesa Weyrauch for their essential comments.

The main problem that the ICPS suffers related to labor hiring. The ICPS regularly looking for qualified specialists able to provide high-quality and consistent policy analysis and convey their conclusions to the clients.

The ICPS has developed an aggressive and detailed communications strategy that allows it to be heard by the government, by governmental institutions, and by the mass media. The ICPS directly communicates with potential beneficiaries, authorities, and journalists, and also engages these parties in policy discussion. The institute's experts are frequently quoted in the media, and consult the government, NGOs, and public organizations. The ICPS has advanced its network by establishing strong links with local and foreign research institutions, as well as with donor organizations, all of which provide technical assistance, innovations, and experience.

The ICPS's policy influence, as far as its model activity, can be illustrated through a case study of one of its initiatives: since 2000, it has been offering technical assistance to Ukrainian governmental bodies, which are in the process of creating policy analysis groups within its ministries and administrations. Specifically, in 2000-2001 the first project of its kind was provided by the ICPS, and its success motivated other branches of the Ukrainian government to undertake similar assignments.

The objective of the project was to develop the government's capacity in public policy. The ICPS has trained specialists inside the government to be able to develop government policy alternatives using policy analysis, strategic planning, coordination, and management of policy development and implementation processes. As a result, many public servants obtained the skills necessary to conduct transparent and structured policy analysis. New document standards and decision-making procedures were also implemented.

The success of the ICPS's project was based on a combination of the several factors: 1) strategic orientation of Ukraine on policy standards of the European Union; 2) urgent need for administrative reforms, including the introduction of democratic public governance principles; 3) the lack of information and understanding among public servants on the public policy issues; 4) experience of the ICPS's in providing technical assistance; 5) support of international organizations. The project has initiated radical changes in the Ukrainian government's decision-making processes, which has increased its quality and transparency. Despite its positive results, the project was not followed by the necessary institutionalization in order to accelerate the formation of democratic governance. Consequently, this project, as well as other similar initiatives that the ICPS continues to provide, demonstrates only partial efficiency.

1. ICPC: ENDOGENOUS CHARACTERISTICS THAT FACILITATED INFLUENCE

The most important organizational and institutional features of ICPS are summarized in the following table and explained below:

ICPS	
1. Legal status	Non profit organization
2. Year of foundation	1994
3. Founders	Government + International NGO

4. Governing Body:	1 body (Supervisory Board)
a. Businessmen	Yes
b. Academicians	No
c. Politicians	Yes
5. Government positions	Yes
6. Budget	USD 1.000.000
7. Funding	Institutional grant (15%) + Projects (85%) International organizations (52%)
8. Sources of funding	Government (3%) Business (45%)
9. Research topic selection	Founders/Researchers (Founders determine the strategic areas and have power to ban unrelated projects)
10. Research organization	Research areas (economic and policy analysis departments)+ projects in technical assistance, economic policy, policy analysis on administration and local government reforms, healthcare, education, business
11. Research features	Topicality on Ukrainian needs Quality control (system of regular formal and informal meetings, team work, etc.) Standardization and technology Strictly applied character
12. Researchers' background	PhDs, Kandidat nauk degrees and Mas (7%, 7% and 52% of specialists, respectively)
13. Staff profile	Mainly economists
14. Areas of research	Applied policy and economics (technical assistance and policy analysis addressed to government and NGOs, economic research on policy and business influence)
15. Research topics	Second-generation-reform and public- policy-related topics
16. Staff number	46
17. Hiring contracts	Long/Short-term
18. Who is in charge of communication	Director / Marketing and Fundraising Department
19. Regular contact with the media	Yes

ORIGINS / YEAR OF FOUNDATION / FOUNDERS

The ICPS was established in 1994, only three years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and declaration of Ukrainian independence. During this period, the young Ukrainian state was in need of institutions that corresponded to the principles of democracy and civil society organization. Among other bodies created during these years, the ICPS as an independent research center was established with the purpose of providing the government and society with analyses and evaluations of main policy issues. Thus, the Ukrainian government played a crucial role in the organization of International Centre for Policy Studies. It was not official founder of the ICPS but stimulated its establishment with state support and creating the most favorable conditions for further development. The other key initiator was the Open Society Institute, which is a private foundation of George Soros. Because the newly-established research center received an institutional development grant from the Soros' foundation, as well as the confidence of government officials, the ICPS was able to have a significant advantage from the very beginning. Since its establishment, the ICPS has been conducting economic analysis and research in close cooperation with the Government, which includes the Cabinet of Ministers, the Premier's Office, the Presidential Administration, the Ministries, and other bodies. This work has been supported by the group of foreign experts financed by Soros. Simultaneously, the ICPS aimed to organize open dialog between government representatives, NGO's, and the media, with the purpose of creating opportunities for public participation in government decision-making processes.

Over the years, the ICPS has become an essential element of the Ukrainian transformation process. The ICPS has earned a positive reputation for providing valued outcome by proving that its judgments are impartial, analysis is intensive and accurate, and is based only on clear data and facts. In reality, however, the ICPS is not a pure research center due to its orientation toward producing policy recommendations and technical assistance for governmental institutions, international consulting organizations, and donors, instead of toward purely academic research.

Today, in 2005, the ICPS believes that it has achieved its mission to distribute the concepts and procedures of public policy in the Ukraine, to increase government and public awareness of the need to analyze policy alternatives, and to research the consequences of accepting or rejecting each public policy decision. The institution is now looking for new objectives to pursue which correspond with its strategic principles of independence and high-quality output.

GOVERNING BODY / GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

The ICPS is governed by a Supervisory Board that was created at the same time that the ICPS was founded. Originally, it had seven members, all of whom were high-level officials either in the Ukrainian government, or in governmental and non-governmental institutions. Overtime, the ICPS Supervisory Board has grown, and now consists of 22 members with diverse backgrounds, and incorporates businessmen, ambassadors, international experts, and academicians, in addition to representatives of the government and of NGO's. The majority of the board members hold the high positions in their area; moreover, the current President and Prime-Minister of Ukraine are on the Board. The Board holds meetings twice per year. During these meetings, the members of the Supervisory Board approve development strategy, evaluate how annual activities conform to long-term goals, review financial plans and reports, and as a result, provide recommendations concerning ICPS activity. Due to the high status of its board members, it is not feasible to convene board meetings more frequently. This led to the creation of the Executive Committee, which consists of several members of the Supervisory Board, and which works between the board meeting in order to make decisions about issues for which the Director is not responsible.

The Director is appointed by the Supervisory Board and is in charge of managing the ICPS. She is responsible for ensuring that research-topic selection is in accordance with the goals of the institutions declared activity 's research areas, for administrative performance, and for outside communications. As a general rule, the Director is knowledgeable both about conducting projects, and about managing the organization. The current

Director has a Ph.D., personal research interests, and experience in program development, which she attained while working for the World Bank.

Employees of the ICPS (Director, Deputies of Director, researchers) do not hold any governmental positions; they can only serve as experts or advisors for governmental programs or officers. Vice versa, the members of Supervisory Board act as authorities and consultants for the ICPS and are not considered to be the ICPS employees.

FUNDING / INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

Funding is a distinguishing feature of the ICPS. It is partially funded by a grant from the Open Society Institute. During the ICPS's early years, the grant provided a significant share of the organization's budget, which allowed the ICPS to focus primarily on conducting socially significant research, instead of having to divert its attention toward soliciting funding. Gradually, the grant's role has been diminishing, and sources other than the OSI grant, which once provided only 18% of the budget, now provide 82%.

The value of the ICPS budget is constantly growing. The ICPS currently has an extensive budget of about USD 1.000.000, which is significantly larger than other Ukrainian think tanks' budgets. Regarding sources of funding, the ICPS's strategy focuses on the steady reduction of its financial dependence on the OSI: the grant value have decreased from USD 500.000 in 1997 to USD 150.000 in 2005. As a result, the organization also has increased its proceeds from other donors, such as on technical assistance projects, from 9% to 37% of financing. Among the other donors are international organizations (USAID, CIDA, OECD, World Bank, etc.) that finance the research projects on regional policy, education, and human development. Additionally, local institutions (the Ministry of Economics and European Integration, the Ministry of Science and Education, the State Committee for Science and Intellectual Property, and others) and public organizations (Freedom House) provide funding to the institution. The ICPS performs commercial orders, which now provide 39% of the organization's revenues (they accounted for only 7% in 1994). The smallest portion of revenues comes from publication sales, which provides 6% of the organization's income.

Actually, the OSI does not control the directions of its grant spending and the ICPS uses these funds to cover its indirect expenses like payments for rent, public utilities, business machines, etc. Currently, the OSI grant is also spent on compensation of the costs of providing regular published overviews and forecasts. By 2007, the ICPS plans to increase revenues from published issues, which will permit them to have full financial independence from the OSI.

The ICPS is financed through long and short-term contracts, being that most commercial assignments last for several months, while projects for international institutions can be long-term and can consist of several phases. Due to the revenues that it is able to procure, combined with the institutional the OSI grant, the ICPS is not confronted with instability, time limitations, or the impossibility of pursuing research topics according to its interests. Additionally, the ICPS's significant budget and its consequent financial confidence allow the organization to design long-term strategies and priorities.

The organizational structure of the ICPS is rather complex. The highest governing body is the Supervisory Board (and, as a subset, the Executive Committee), which provides general control of the organization. The Director is responsible for running the institution on a day-to-day basis. She also supervises the Budget Committee, the Board of Deputy Directors, and the Center Board. In addition to these governing bodies, other ICPS employees are divided into two research departments and into administrative-technical service departments.

The ICPS has special structures that are responsible for fundraising: the Deputy Director of Fundraising, and the Fundraising and Marketing Department. Recently, they were added the responsibility of conducting all outside communications and renamed into the Deputy Director of Communication and the Programs Development Department respectively. Their main task is to find ways to combine financing with strategic interest areas. In order to achieve this objective, these players communicate with donors regarding the organization's possible research topics, create and develop common projects with partners, apply for grants and tenders, process commercial orders, and seek out other initiatives. The Budget Committee of the ICPS controls the proper planning and spending of the finances obtained. This specific and complex financial structure provides the ICPS with effective financial planning, and, as a result, with certain financial stability. Moreover, the existence of such a structure allows researchers to concentrate their effort primarily on providing high-quality outcome.

The ICPS specialists are also divided into departments according to the sphere of their interests; one group focuses on economic analysis (8 economists), while the other is dedicated to policy analysis (11 policy experts and lawyers). Each department has its own research topics, but researchers usually organize teams outside of their department in order to conduct the projects. Furthermore, for social projects, the ICPS contracts teams of specialists in specific social science fields. Thus, employees formally divided into departments, actually work in project groups of 8-10 persons that include external specialists as well as internal ones from different departments.

SELECTION OF RESEARCH TOPICS / RESEARCHERS' BACKGROUND / RESEARCH FEATURES

The ICPS was created in order to assist the Ukrainian government by presenting analysis of policy alternatives and implications. As a result, ICPS activity is primarily focused on economic policy and public-policy-procedures-related issues which has been a top priority since the organization's establishment.

Over time, the ICPS decided to take its projects in new directions based on the needs and situation within the Ukraine. While the ICPS initially focused on macroeconomic projects and conducted regular surveys on Ukrainian economic conditions, the organization is now more concerned with regional policy, local government issues, the development of the third sector, and European integration.

Despite this fact, the permanent project on quarterly predictions of macro situation in Ukraine remains the core of the ICPS activity. This project includes detailed and profound forecast of main trends of Ukrainian economy. The ICPS specialists spend about 30% of their working time on conducting the assignment; its results become the base for conclusions on other ICPS's projects. The "Quarterly predictions" project consolidates all the ICPS researchers in one large team: people responsible for certain part of the forecast then join and provide expert estimations of future situation in Ukraine, using also macro model developed several years ago.

Thematic areas of ICPS research are determined by its overarching mission to introduce the concept of public policy and relevant procedures as a means of realizing effective democracy in Ukraine and in other post-soviet countries. The mission's conformance to Ukraine's needs is verified by the Supervisory Board and adjusted in the case of discrepancy. Currently, the ICPS's activity is divided into three main departments: 1) technical assistance for developing public policy instruments in Ukraine, 2) initiatives to enhance the role of NGOs in policy-making, and 3) economic policy research. Today, top priority areas where the ICPS provides technical assistance, and public and economic policy research include public administration and local government reforms, healthcare and education, European and Euro Atlantic integration.

Technical assistance makes large share of the ICPS activity as the main mean of fulfilling its long-term strategy. It takes about 38% of all ICPS's projects. Here the main feature that distinguishes the ICPS from other Ukrainian think-tanks is its ability to provide the government and other institutions with new technologies

and world experience. The ICPS is still unique in Ukraine in its employment of specially-elaborated techniques of conducting its own analysis and planning processes within the Ukrainian context. In its efforts, the ICPS attempts to teach the international standards and procedures of public policy, rather than simply supply complete assessments and results. Precisely, when facing some policy problem need to be solved, the ICPS collects the international experience in this area, analyzes it on appropriateness to the Ukrainian situation, develops several most suitable variants of providing the procedures or policies and estimates the consequences of implementation of each variant.

The second direction of the ICPS activity is the logical addition to the previous one. While promoting the necessity of NGO's activity among public governors, the ICPS simultaneously does the same encouragement among representatives of NGO and other research centers, regularly cooperates with them for certain projects, and often provides them with technical assistance. Besides, the ICPS helps to establish and provide the technical assistance to research centers outside Ukraine (Moldova, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Uzbekistan and others countries of FSU). The share of such projects in ICPS's activity is 22%.

The economic policy research direction includes regular "Quarterly predictions" project and projects on evaluation and implication of different economic policies and acts (economic laws and decrees, procedures, etc.) as well as commercial projects. For example, the ICPS analyzes and estimates the consequences of privatization of some strategic object, derives the economic after-effects of pension reform or calculates the macro outcome of foreign investment of certain investment fund.

Nearly 40% of the ICPS projects involve economic policy analysis; the rest includes policy and political analysis. Political analysis, introduced recently, already makes up to 20% of all revenues.

Although the ICPS maintains these separate departments, the frontiers between the thematic agenda areas are actually rather flexible, and researchers tend to care more about the timeliness and necessity of the research being conducted than about departmental divisions. Such a strategy allows the ICPS to stay current on the problems and crucial needs of Ukrainian policy-making, and thus to provide the government and other influential institutions with relevant ideas, analyses and forecasts.

When recruiting chief researchers, the ICPS follows the usual research organization procedures, in which it takes into consideration a researcher's professional background, academic experience, and interests that could be favorably applied to ICPS activity. The ICPS is able to offer potential researchers the possibility for further professional development, the support of a seasoned research team, and access to the ICPS's data and communication resources. The department and project heads at the ICPS mostly have PhDs (2 experts) or Kandidat nauk degrees (2 experts) and extensive experience within the fields of analysis development and scientific research. Most of ICPS researchers have obtained their MA degrees from top universities, both in the Ukraine and abroad.

The ICPS has been able to hand-pick the majority of its research team. But the organization regularly faces the problem of recruitment of new researchers, due to absence of qualified labor. Over the course of several years, the ICPS trains young, talented individuals, thus training researchers who later become powerful idea-producers in Ukraine, and who often accept positions in the government, ministries, business, and sometimes in research organizations. Usually young Ukrainian researchers prefer to get valuable experience of research and analysis that provides them with fast-growing career in business or government, instead of doing academic research or obtaining PhDs.

At the same time, the success of these researchers means that they leave the ICPS, thus forcing the institution to look for new employees.

It is accepted within the ICPS that national universities fail to provide their policy-analysis students with the essential skills of economic modeling and analysis (this rule has one exception, which is western-oriented masters program established by EERC). Consequently, the ICPS tries to find the ways for solving its human resource problem. For today, development of the internship programs that enlist the services of students from abroad and “growing” the necessary staff inside the organization are considered to be the most effective means. Thus, the ICPS is always ready to hire talented and promising young individuals.

Besides, as a consequence of the lack of qualified labor, the ICPS uses different forms of contracts with researchers. The ICPS encourages personnel to make long-term commitments, since such a policy provides a degree of stability in the supply of specialists. The ICPS also utilizes short-term contracts, which are most commonly offered to high-quality researchers and advisors who realize specific projects, or who develop a new research direction for the ICPS.

Despite the facts mentioned and due to formed backbone of specialists, the ICPS has rather low annual turnover rate among researchers – about 5-7%.

Research quality is the one of the ICPS's top priorities. In order to maintain its reputation as an excellent research center, the ICPS created a system of quality control. First, the Director holds regular meetings, during which researchers discuss and evaluate their projects and new ideas. Project progress is monitored during informal meetings with supervisors and external experts. In addition, the ICPS considers team work to be an excellent means of delivering high-quality results, and it consequently encourages group projects inside the center, as well as with outside partners.

IDEOLOGY

Since its establishment, the ICPS has promoted itself as research center independent of the government, donors, political parties, and business structures. Independence is achieved as a result of the diversity of the organization's Supervisory Board; each major national power/interest is represented in this governing body. However, this does not imply that the ICPS is apolitical; on the contrary, it takes an active role in forming public policy in Ukraine. With this purpose, it regularly provides analyses and forecasts of the situation in Ukraine, assists the government with policy issues, and develops means of dialog between officials and the mass media. All public activities and analyses conducted by the ICPS share the common characteristic of being timely, self-determined, and based on facts instead of on pressures from external powers.

NETWORKS

The ICPS has strong and well-developed relationships with foreign donor organizations, international research institutions, and public organizations. Such links afford the ICPS access to funding opportunities, global innovations, and experience. Usually, the ICPS invites several experts from foreign institutions for consultations during its specific projects. Its international recognition also allows the ICPS to consistently be the first candidate considered when a need arises in Ukraine for economic and social research. The ICPS has strong links with research centers in countries of FSU that it supplied with technical assistance and common projects. At the local level, the ICPS has formulated widespread links with research, academic, and government institutions. This extensive web is ensured by the fact that the ICPS indirectly trains future employees of these other institutions, as well as by the fact that the ICPS offers essential technical assistance to those with whom it collaborates.

COMMUNICATIONS

The ICPS pays significant attention to issues of communication, and considers them to be a vital factor in becoming an influential think tank. The ICPS's Communication strategy is believed to contribute immensely to the institution's openness and approachability.

a. Perceptions and expectations influencing communication

It took the ICPS several years to prove the necessity of its research and analysis procedures. The ICPS has been taking an active part in public debates, evaluating government economic and social policies, and providing regular forecasts and discussions that brought ICPS credibility and authority. Due to its ability to dynamically position itself among public and governing bodies, the ICPS is now widely known as a research center that provides technical assistance, consultations and profound analysis for its clients. As a result of this reputation, ICPS experts are frequently noted in the media, quoted in publications, commissioned to conduct commercial research, and invited by government organizations and NGOs for consultations.

Comprehending the importance of ICPS's status, the organization's executives continue to try to strategically share their findings with each participant in the policy-making process. Besides the regular consultations to national government and non-government organizations, the ICPS also conducts projects with the collaboration of local public and governing institutions. The effectiveness of this time-consuming and effort-consuming process has brought the ICPS recognition from international multilateral and charity organizations.

b. Policies, practices and tools

Daily communication issues at the ICPS are supervised by the Deputy Director of Fundraising and Marketing, but the strategic aspects of communication are supervised by the Director herself. For instance, during her work at the ICPS the Director has conducted more than 150 press-conferences. She is also responsible for all communications with high-level authorities (e. g. Ministers of the Government).

As a part of its communication strategy, the ICPS has developed several principles that are used during all ICPS activities.

First, in order to realize its objective to provide public procedures, all research and analysis projects presuppose active participation of all interested parties. Everyone is invited to participate in the discussions on which project results are based. Each opinion is taken into consideration, including those of researchers, clients, donors, and journalists.

In accordance with this principle, the ICPS provides regular communication with the Ukrainian public through the mass media. To keep journalists informed, press-conferences are conducted upon the completion of each project. Additionally, news releases are sent to newspapers, journals, experts, participants, and other interested parties; full texts of projects are available on the ICPS web-site. Moreover, all ICPS specialists can easily be reached by journalists via e-mail or telephone in the case that they would need independent ICPS judgment on some issue.

The second important communication strategy is the institution's regular negotiating with government officials. When a new person is appointed to a key position in the Ukrainian government (mostly from target ministries such as the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of Finance etc.), s/he is delivered a presentation about how ICPS can help in policy development. Unfortunately, only one out of every ten of these contacts becomes a real project. Nevertheless, these efforts have allowed the ICPS to establish good relations with the majority of Ukrainian government officials. More than ten years of this strategy has helped to build the ICPS's extensive

and positive reputation among powerful institutions. Recently, as a result of the ICPS's obtained reputation, and due to the liberalization of the Ukrainian political regime (after the "Orange Revolution"), which created an increased need for policy development; government officials are increasingly suggesting mutual cooperation with the ICPS.

The ICPS also has several permanent publications that include monthly Ukrainian economic data (Economic Statistics), analyses and forecasts of development trends throughout all sectors of the Ukrainian economy (Quarterly Predictions), quarterly calculated consumer confidence index (Consumer Confidence), and monthly analyses of Ukrainian policy (Political Commentary). The ICPS tries to use as many means as possible when it distributes its publications; hard copies are available through subscription and in the ICPS office, and electronic versions can be accessed through ICPS web-site. Additionally, the ICPS presents current news and short-term predictions in its weekly Newsletter and on its web-site. The ICPS was the first organization in Ukraine to monitor key economic and political statistics on a regular basis. Moreover, the majority of the ICPS publications are still unique in the Ukrainian context.

2. ANALYZING ICPS'S INFLUENCE ON POLICY

Internationally, think tanks are considered to be an impetus for national development and for the improvement of policy processes. Their capacity to actively take part in policy-making depends on a wide range of factors that include not only the type of research being conducted and the availability of resources and other features described above, but also the effectiveness of a think tank's management and its ability to adapt to the current context, and to newly-arising needs.

A particular think tank's influence on policy-making heavily depends on the macro economical and political peculiarities of its country, such as the state of the national economy, the current political regime, the type of economic system, etc. According to its particular circumstances, think tanks are able to set objectives and find opportunities to achieve them.

The ICPS's ability to engage in policy-making can be illustrated by a number of successful projects in various spheres, many of which capitalized on the structures and circumstances of the Ukrainian economy. For example, beginning in 1999, ICPS has implemented the project "*The People's Voice*" in the several Ukrainian cities. This initiative has introduced public budget hearings and research into government services, and has promoted the transparency of these processes by incorporating media participation. The project also resulted in the creation of coalitions of community organizations, which worked in close cooperation with local governing institutions in order to address everyday urban problems. This project's success spurred the development of its second phase, which was launched in 2004, and which aimed to improve local government services.

Another example of a successful ICPS project is its analytical support for the privatization of the largest Ukrainian operator in the telecommunications industry. In order to attract potential investors, proper regulatory policy in the sector was necessary. However, the government did not have the capacities to formulate these norms. In order to achieve this objective, the ICPS provided qualitative policy formulations, involved all stakeholders in the process, and thereby enhanced the institutional capacity for the policy analysis and strategic planning of the State Committee on Communications and Computerization of Ukraine. As a result, several documents were developed, including the *National Telecommunications Regulation Policy* and the *Draft Law "On telecommunications"*, among others.

To conduct this study, I chose to examine the creation of policy-analysis groups in the Ukrainian government during 2000 and 2001. This project was a turning-point in ICPS activity, as its successful implementation led to the continuation and the expansion of ICPS technical-assistance projects inside the government. It shows a

typical type of the ICPS's activity establishing the main instruments of the ICPS's influence on policy-making. The following case study will allow us to identify the crucial factors of ICPS's authority.

2.1. BACKGROUND CONTEXT

Among the post-Soviet countries, the Ukrainian transition from socialistic to market economy was one of the most complex and painful. During its first ten years of independence, the Ukraine experienced huge problems and difficulties in both the economic and social spheres. According to official statistics, the GDP fell constantly, and between 1989 and 1999, it decreased by 54%. Many factors contributed to this economic decline; the socialistic economic system left negative residual effects that were only overcome after what was a long and "expensive" Ukrainian economic transformation. Government policy during transition period of 1991-1999 greatly increased the costs of this transition.

Furthermore, the collapse of the Soviet Union, followed by the democratic political revolution, brought Ukraine from a totalitarian system to a democratic society. In 1991, the Ukrainian nation had appeared with new opportunities to create multi-party systems and to provide democratic elections and a constitution. On the other hand, the diverse interests of the different groups of society were legitimized, which brought competing, and sometimes conflicting, strategies. Such significant changes required the development of new democratic institutions, structures, policies, and procedures. The newly-elected government had struggled to deal with unfamiliar democratic machinery; it was beset with the burden of forming a new political system out of politicians and institutions that had been brought up in the centralized command regime of the Communist party. It was natural that this technically unskilled "soviet" government appeared to be totally inadequate when faced with the challenges of economic transformation and building a democratic society.

The first efficient steps that were able to accelerate the transition process were taken after the first presidential elections in 1994. The Ukraine signed its first program of cooperation with the International Monetary Fund, which became the base for macro economic stabilization. As a result, prices were liberalized, exchange rates were stabilized, budget deficit and government credits were taken under control, and mass privatization started. However, the destructive influence of the Russian financial crisis in 1998 demonstrated the insufficiency of the Ukrainian governments' initial actions. Perfunctory stability of the situation in Ukraine was easily impaired by the Russian crisis since reasons for macro economic vulnerability placed more deeply in macroeconomic, structural and institutional spheres which remained unreformed. Fortunately, this economic crisis situation stimulated the careful application of new government economic policies, which resulted in the development of the private sector, a balanced budget, and the legalization of some parts of the shadow economy. Starting in 2000, Ukraine has demonstrated high economic growth, supported by a stable macroeconomic situation.

Nevertheless, the current Ukrainian economy is dominated by a small number of financial-industrial groups. They have obtained their power and equity during privatization processes that were not actually as open or transparent as hoped. These groups have large representation in the Parliament and in the Government. Despite the highly dynamic and competitive character of the groups' activities, their prosperity is ensured by close and strong links with governmental structures. In fact, they exploit the underdevelopment of Ukrainian regulation and the current shortcomings of the state system in order to fulfill their own interests.

During its period as an independent nation, Ukraine has launched a number of essential reforms. However, these reforms tended to be only partially effective. This tendency can easily be seen in the following administrative transformations.

The Ukrainian Constitution of 1996 emphasized the necessity of administrative reforms, but left several issues, such as functioning of executive bodies, unsettled. These unclarified moments had to be regulated by further

corresponding legislative acts. It was clear for the political elite that they needed to establish the rule of law and democratic principles in order to meet the expectations of the Ukrainian citizens and of the international community. In 1997 Ukraine and the World Bank signed the Memorandum of Understanding on a Public Administration Reform that provided the loan for financial and technical assistance to realize structural reforms in the Ukrainian public administration. Under this World Bank Program, the administrative reform two working groups were established in the middle of 1997; one of these groups intended to reform central governing bodies, while the other focused on local administration and civil services. In 1998 the two groups developed the Concept of Administrative Reform in Ukraine³², which remains the basic document for conducting public reformations in Ukraine. Despite the progressive nature of this initiative, concrete measures that were taken had an administrative character; the Government failed to become a political body, and strategies and policies continued to be replaced by temporary technical solutions.

During the presidential elections of 1999, administrative transformations were recognized to be the base for successful adoption of social and economic laws. After the elections, administrative reforms were linked to the political process; for example, ministers started to be appointed from the current parliamentary majority. The President signed three basic decrees that initiated the process of internal transformations of the government structure and of the policy-development process.

2.2 CRITICAL FACTORS FACILITATING ICPS'S INFLUENCE

Transformation processes in Ukraine were not initiated by internal consequences of national development, but rather by external factors, predominant amongst which was the disintegration of the Soviet Union and of the communist system. The absence of such internal forces in Ukraine suggests that, at the beginning of the transition period, no social movements had gained enough influence as to stimulate market transformations or to support the systematic implementation of democratic reforms.

Consequently, Ukraine did not have any democratic alternatives to the political power of the Communist party. This open political niche was rapidly filled by bureaucracy. Beginning with the declaration of Ukrainian independence, bureaucracy functioned not as an instrument of political power, but rather as the only political participant. As a result, democratic changes and political and social-system adjustments were limited, thus maintaining the old soviet structure, as well as the technologies of the soviet regime.

The bureaucratic government was strengthened and corrupted by the money, attention, and power that international financial assistance provided. As a result, the government became the most powerful player in the Ukrainian shadow economy, and it regularly exploited the regulatory function of privatization and deregulation. By refusing to introduce even the most basic regulatory market institutions, the centrally-controlled Ukrainian administrative system turned into a government-business coalition.

After almost ten years of independence, the Ukrainian government was still unable to deal with new political realities. The immature and uninformed political elite of Ukraine paid no attention to changes in the government institutions. The lack of public pressure to implement public governance principles resulted in a problematic scarcity of information and understanding about what exactly should be done. There was neither understanding of the efficient democratic governance, nor techniques to implement transformations. After realizing that only the implementation of transparent public procedures and international standards of

³² *The Concept provides the description of the main step steps and conditions for the reformation of the administrative system of Ukraine that should be done in order to create transparent democratic system of state governance. This document introduces such concepts as effective administration, public policy, division of responsibility of state and local governing bodies, etc.*

governance could link Ukraine to the European Union, Ukrainian authorities began to take ICPS recommendations into consideration.

Supported by international organizations, the ICPS began to offer technical assistance to government specialists in 2000, with the objective of developing the capacity to provide public policy. The project "*Creation of Policy Analysis Groups and Information Resource Centre in the Government of Ukraine*" was initiated by the International Renaissance Foundation, ICPS, and the Open Society Institute, and was implemented as part of the Cooperation Agreement with the Cabinet of Ministries of Ukraine.

Considerable time was spent solving organizational and coordination issues that arose due to the rather high-level number of project participants. Representatives of the Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of Finance, and the Presidential Administration of Ukraine took part in the project during September 2000 – June 2001.

Public servants are supposed to learn the international procedures to identify policy problems, develop alternatives, and analyze the consequences of each variant. These processes should be the base for political decision-making. In the Central European countries, the European Union required and ensured that such abilities were transferred. However, in Ukraine, such requirements were not demanded, which significantly slowed democratic transformations.

The "*Creation of Policy Analysis Groups and Information Resource Centre in the Government of Ukraine*" project had three main sections, which aimed to demonstrate the application opportunities of policy analysis, of strategic planning and management of policy development, and of implementation processes. A special feature of the project was the combination of analytical research, new training processes, and routine work of the government officials such as everyday responsibilities and control of people, meetings with mass media, etc.

Experts of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) provided technical support and consultations on global experiences and standards during the realization of this project.

The training of the civil servants was a primary objective of the project, and was carried out throughout the entirety of the project's implementation. Paul Brown (CIDA) developed the curriculum, which included courses such as Policy Analysis, Drafting Policy Papers, Managing Policy Relationships, etc. A significant portion of the literature and study materials were provided by the Centre for Administrative Reform Studies of the Ukrainian Academy of Public Administration.

Another section of the project aimed to develop Ukrainian officials' skills for composing policy papers. The representatives were divided in groups, each of which prepared a draft of an analytical document according to the international standards and procedures of public policy. Corresponding to the global practice of policy making, the process of document preparation included a discussion about the research, consultations with experts, and the development of a final version of the document in the form of "white papers" or "green papers". All documents were based on the realities of Ukraine, and were intended for further use in the work of the Cabinet of Ministries. Besides the creation of the essential strategic documents, this section of the project resulted in strengthening and improving the cooperation between different government branches at the stage of document preparation.

The development of document standards and decision-making procedures comprised a separate section of the project. The group that worked on this section was headed by Petro Krupko, the Deputy State Secretary of the Cabinet of Ministries of Ukraine. This section resulted in the creation of a rather significant document, *Main Principles of Revised Regulations of the Cabinet of Ministries of Ukraine*, which included the standards, memorandums, instructions, agendas, and drafts of documents used in routine operations of the Cabinet of

Ministries. Moreover, this section created principles for improving government decision-making processes, such as providing public discussions, or developing horizontal communications on the ministerial level.

Public servants have evaluated the skills and knowledge obtained during this project very highly. Specifically, they appreciated a distinguishing feature of the ICPS's project from other projects of technical assistance: instead of supplying complete policy recommendations, the experts provided training and consultations for government representatives so that they can develop the skills to conduct their own policy analysis.

Another important outcome of the project was the creation of the Informational Resource Centre of the Cabinet of Ministries of Ukraine, which should become the base for developing networks and cooperation between the analytic groups of different government bodies. The resource center also has the potential to provide technical assistance and to disseminate transition-experience data in the future.

The ICPS's project's success was based on the favorable combination of several key factors. First, the strategic orientation of Ukraine and its cooperation with the European Union required the implementation of international standards of governance. Thus, to become an adequate partner Ukraine urgently needed to implement administrative reforms, including the introduction of democratic public governance principles. Second, the government experienced a lack of information and understanding among public servants regarding public policy issues and required outside help. Third, to date, the ICPS has not had competitors in its mission to provide technical assistance. Finally, the candidature of the ICPS for this project was supported by influential international organizations.

The proven efficiency of the first project has caused the development and implementation of similar projects for the public servants of other ministries and government bodies.

This project has initiated radical changes in the Ukrainian government's decision-making process, and has increased the government's quality and precision. It implemented the transparent and Europe-oriented policy-making procedures that were innovative for the Ukrainian government. Based on the training received during participation in the project, the governors developed the skills of analyzing policy alternatives and producing policy papers according to international standards ("Green Books" and "White Books"). Besides, the first informational center was established inside a governmental institution to provide it with the research. Despite this project's significant positive impact, however, the initiative was not followed by the institutionalization of the governmental structure that was necessary in order to accelerate the formation of democratic governance. Consequently, this project, as well as other similar initiatives that the ICPS continues to provide, demonstrates only limited efficiency.

To summarize, the ICPS has obtained the success in providing its policy-making influence and high-quality economic analysis due to several favorable features. First, the government of Ukraine was among the initiators of the center's establishment that allowed the ICPS to be heard by state officials and public representatives. Second, the ICPS had institutional grant of the OSI to be financially independent and not to spend much efforts for fundraising during coming into being. Moreover, the ICPS's main efforts were directed to providing public-policy procedures and increasing the role of NGOs rather than pure economic research. As a result, researchers of the ICPS got experienced in applying the modern techniques and international experience to Ukrainian peculiarities. And last, but not the least, the aggressive communicative and development strategy provided by the management allowed the ICPS to be known by all potential consumers of its outcome.

THIS CASE STUDY WAS ELABORATED ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING INTERVIEWS:

People from ICPS:

- Vira Nanivska. Director
- Volodymyr Nikitin. Deputy Director, Development
- Yevgenia Akhtyrko. Senior Economist
- Yevgen Shulga. Communications Specialist
- Lisa Baran'. Marketing and Fundraising Specialist

Policymakers related to the chosen policy:

- Tymofii Motrenko. Former Deputy Government Secretary, Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers

Representative of donor organization:

- Roman Kobets'. Program Manager, International Renaissance Foundation

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By

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ABSTRACT

The Research Center (RC) was founded in December, 1999 as a branch of the Institute for Privatization and Management (IPM). As of today, the RC is a department of the Institution for Privatization and Management (a Belarus-Poland-USA joint venture) with no governmental interest in it.

At the time that the RC was established, systematic economic research was not conducted by non-governmental organizations in Belarus. The research institution came into existence in order to fill this gap by conducting high-quality research and becoming a reliable independent source of information on economic issues. As opposed to many other transition countries, Belarus had undergone only limited market reforms by the end of 1990s. The RC was to promote market reforms by generating relevant data and analysis.

Beginning in 1996, the Belarusian political climate started to deteriorate, with most independent research and advocacy centers being suppressed by the authorities, and consequently having to either stop operations or relocate to neighboring countries. The IPM RC was able to adjust to the Belarusian realities, and continued conducting independent economic analysis in a challenging political environment. Although it avoids any partisan activities and politics, the RC claims to be under constant state control pressure due to the fact that its research findings and policy recommendations periodically don't correspond with the official political and economic line, and it receives considerable support from foreign sources hostile to the Belarusian regime (e.g. the Soros Foundation).

The RC heavily depends on funding from international donors, institutions and other organizations. There is also money coming from local and regional sources; payments from Belarusian agencies for fee-based training provided by the RC's employees, and research projects financed by Russian non-governmental organizations. However, these sources of funding are extremely limited and account for a negligible part of the institution's budget; the RC has to address international donor community for funding. Financial challenges are further exacerbated by the fact that the Belarusian authorities attempt to prevent financial inflows from abroad. However, the RC has remained almost the only "player in the field" with the implication that it is a partner of choice for any foreign or international organization willing to carry out projects in Belarus.

Because it is completely independent from political parties, business associations, and other influential bodies, the RC has been able to achieve a high degree of credibility among the Belarusian public. At the same time, the RC is able to cooperate with governmental officials to the extent that it does, in spite of the challenging Belarusian environment, which is a reflection of the fact that the institution is perceived as a trustful and reliable partner. Experience shows that the RC has been able to promote its recommendations to policy makers through consultancies and by utilizing such communication tools as economic newspapers, roundtable meetings on particular issues, a quarterly economic journal (the only independent economic journal in Belarus), a series of policy papers, monthly and quarterly reviews of Belarusian economy, and other materials.

In so doing the RC attempts to increase public awareness about certain economic issues and to deliver the results of independent economic analysis. Since policy-related events conducted by the RC usually receive extensive media coverage, they attract policymakers' attention. Although RC-debated issues and policy recommendations may not have an immediate impact on policy, such research-based discussions do affect (albeit minimally) politicians' perspectives of some of the nation's problems, which offers hope that these issues will appear on the top of state officials' agendas later.

1. ENDOGENOUS FACTORS THAT FACILITATE IPM RC'S POLICY INFLUENCE

The most important institutional features of the Research Center of IPM are presented in the table below:

Institute for Privatization and Management (IPM), Research Center	
1. Legal aspects	
Year of foundation	1999, December.
Founders	Initially, the IPM was a joint venture between the Ministry of Managing State Property and Privatization, the Central European University Fund (USA), and the Center for Privatization (Poland). However, this ownership has changed significantly since the organization's creation; In 1998, a US-based International Association for the Support of Privatization (IASP) became a founder of IPM. As of 2002 the Ministry of Economy replaced the Ministry of Managing State Property and Privatization. In 2005, the Ministry of Economy and the Central European University Fund exited from the IPM founders. At present, the government has not stake in IPM
Legal status	A department of Belarus-Poland-US joint venture – the Institute for Privatization and Management, Ltd. Though being a part of the IPM the RC acts as an independent entity .
2. Governing body:	
Main body	Council of Representatives comprised of the Director of the IPM and the Director of CASE monitors the RC's operations.
Composition:	
academicians	Yes
politicians	No
businessmen	No
Government positions	None of the RC's employees ever held any positions in Government or other state agencies.
3. Management	
Organizational model	Leaders set the strategy and provide vision to bridge research and policy; researchers may gain some degree of managerial responsibilities within a certain project; administrative staff deals with day-to-day activities.
Who is in charge/reporting line	Executive Director of the Research Center.
4. Budget	
Size	N/A (rough estimation: \$300,000-500,000)
Fundraising	By projects and services provided on paid basis. The RC searches for financial resources itself and accepts partners' propositions.
Sources of funding	The institution highly depends on international donors' financing: international organizations (about 90%), local private organizations (about 10%).

5. Staff	
Number of employees	11 – permanent (9 researchers and 2 administrative staff); about 30 – external experts (short term) engaged upon need
Gender split (researchers)	44% - female, 56% - male.
Researchers' background (permanent staff)	PhDs (Candidate of Science): 4 – completed, 5– in progress There are only a few researchers with MAs from western universities; nobody has a PhD earned from western universities.
Hiring contracts	Long term contracts are applied to permanent staff.
Turnover	Rate of turnover is very low, most employees stay with the RC for several years.
Remuneration for researchers	The RC offers competitive salaries for its employees. Total remuneration depends on the number of projects researchers are involved in. As a result, they are encouraged to search for additional opportunities and attract partners for the RC.
6. Research	
Research topic selection	By order, by topicality and urgency. The institution appears to be quite flexible in terms of adjustment to changing context.
Areas of research	The scope of research includes economic development of financial markets and the banking system, the energy sector, ways to improve state taxation system, and the development of infrastructure. Recently, the issue of SMEs development regained its topicality.
Research process	Decentralized. Researchers have own areas of interests, thus specializing on particular aspects of economic development and are free to choose appropriate methodologies. The Executive Director oversees and takes an active part in the research process.
Research characteristics and quality	Primarily empirical analysis and information based on official statistics and data from independent surveys. Quite diverse in terms of thematic coverage. Employs modern research techniques but has not been able to publish papers in recognized international journals.
7. Communication	
Target officials	Middle level officials and analysts of state agencies.
Regular contacts with media	Strong relationships with the main private mass media (newspapers, journals, etc.) dealing with economic issues.
Tools	Web site (www.research.by), quarterly economic journal "ECOWEST", monthly economic reviews, articles in economic newspapers, round tables, conferences and other public events.
Relationships with audience	Middle rank bureaucrats invited to round tables and seminars. "Monthly Economic Review" is distributed to politicians, scholars, , NGO and business community representatives.
Participation in networks	CASE Foundation Research Network (Poland), William Davidson Institute Research Network (USA), Economic Policy Institute Networks (UNDP Regional Center, Bratislava)

ORIGINS/YEAR OF FOUNDATION/FOUNDERS

The Research Center (RC) of the Institute for Privatization and Management (IPM) was established in December 1999 as a department of the IPM. Although it is legally a part of the IPM, the RC acts as an independent entity in its research and policy-oriented activities. It has its own mission, agenda, director and

employees. Nevertheless, the RC is completely based on IPM premises, which makes it difficult to differentiate between the IPM and the RC at an institutional level.

The Institute for Privatization and Management was founded as a joint venture in December 1993. The founders were the Ministry of Managing State Property and Privatization (Belarus)³³, the Central European University Fund (USA), and the Center for Privatization (Poland). Therefore, initially IPM was a coalition of international governmental officials and scholars, though the role of the Ministry in setting research agenda was quite limited. The main purpose of the IPM was to provide assistance to the Ministry of Privatization in the organization of educational programs aimed at establishing qualification requirements for the government representatives in joint-stock companies, and in training crisis managers and qualified appraisers. In 1998, the International Association for the Support of Privatization (USA) became a funding organization of the IPM. It should be noticed that the initial role of the governmental body (the Ministry of Privatization) in the Board of Directors allowed the IPM to achieve a high degree of recognition as an advanced educational institution.

As of 2005, the Central European University Fund and the Ministry of Economy, which took over the Ministry of Privatization in 2002, stepped down from their roles as shareholders in the IPM. Currently the IPM is a joint venture (Ltd.) with the mission "to increase the national competitiveness of Belarus through educational support of the companies and general public".

At the time that the RC was established, economic research was not systematically conducted by independent organizations in Belarus. The IPM founders felt that the nation was in need of institutions/think tanks capable of conducting high-standard research and, most importantly, of shaping domestic policies through effective communication of research findings. Unfortunately, as opposed to other former soviet block countries, by the end of the nineties, market reforms had been only partially implemented in Belarus. The IPM RC was established in order to fill this gap by becoming a leading voice in the dialogue with the Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Economy, and other governmental bodies involved in the process of economic policy formation in the country.

GOVERNING BODY/ INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

As it was mentioned earlier the RC is one of the units of the IPM. Beside the RC there is a Business School and a Consulting Center (CC). Although each unit claims to be financially independent, each of them exploits the IPM's administrative resources and infrastructure. This might be considered as a way to sustain an independent research organization – the Research Center - by using positive image of the IPM itself.

There is a high degree of synergy between operations of each unit; researchers collaborate with the CC, employees of the RC and the CC develop courses and teach in the Business School. However, it should be stressed that target audiences of the RC and Business School/the CC are different. The former addresses officials, academicians and the scientific public, while the latter aimed at the business community.

The governing body of the RC is comprised of the Council of the Representatives, which is made up of the Director of the IPM (Belarus) and the Director of CASE (Poland). The main decisions regarding the Center's mission, objectives, projects, budget, and other specific issues are made by the Executive Director of the RC. This person acts as a leading voice in appointing new staff members, choosing areas of research, means of communication, etc. Being one of the first people involved in the field of economic research in Belarus, the current Executive Director of the RC is quite successful in running the institution in the challenging Belarusian environment. Not only is he able to successfully solicit funding for various projects, but he also maintains a degree of dialogue with Belarusian officials (particularly with mid-level bureaucrats). A significant part of the

³³ In 2002 the Ministry of Managing State Property and Privatization became a department of the Ministry of Economy. As a result, the later started being considered a founder of the IPM.

Executive Director's activities (about 50%) is administrative work, though he is also extensively involved in research.

It should be stressed that none of IPM RC's employees have ever held a position within the Government. Nevertheless, since the RC was established, it has created solid connections with governmental agencies of interest. However, all RC-governmental relationships occur at the institutional level, as opposed to a personal level. This means that the RC does not work with a particular person in a governmental body (i.e. Ministry or Department of a Ministry), but rather with the agency as a whole. This practice is rooted to the fact that Belarusian officials are often rotated from one position to another. As a result, attempt to influence policy setting process in the country is rather limited since there are no personal contacts in governmental bodies.

The organizational structure of the IPM RC is quite simple; there are 11 full-time employees working for the RC. Two of them deal with purely administrative matters and the rest participate in research and policy-related activities. The institution has developed significantly over the course of the last several years; when the RC was created there were only 4 employees working as researchers. This evolution indicates that there is a demand for high-standard economic research, and suggests that there may be a gradual movement towards more intensive promotion of market reforms in Belarus. Currently, depending on the complexity of a project and the number of projects being carried out at particular moment, the RC also recruits external experts who are recognized professionals in a given area of study.

The staff turnover is quite low which might indicate employees' loyalty to the RC and its activities. At the same time, there might be another reason why researchers stay with the institution – they simply do not see any other alternatives in Belarus. Indeed, the IPM RC is almost the only think tank in the country that carries out such type of activities, and, furthermore, provides relatively competitive remuneration for its employees.

Each researcher has his/her own area of research interests and focuses on particular economic issues which are under consideration of the RC. All researchers are equal in their rights and responsibilities. Depending on the necessity each researcher may be authorized to carry out certain managerial activities. This means that he/she not only has to perform research-related activities, but is also responsible for coordinating administrative and, especially, policy-related activities within a project. Given this organizational structure, each researcher becomes responsible for organizing round tables, press conferences, seminars, and other events aimed to disseminate research results and policy recommendations.

FUNDING

As opposed to many other countries where internal/local financial resources for research and policy-related activities become very important, the IPM RC's funding is mostly obtained from international sources. Some of the institution's finances are generated internally, in the form of payments from local agencies for fee-based services (mostly educational ones) provided by the RC. However, it is worth pointing out that the RC has purposefully not taken advantage of all of the internal funding opportunities that it has (executive MBA program and variety of trainings on fee basis).

There are several types of financial inflows coming to the RC in the following forms:

Grants from international organizations for specific research topics (either proposed by the Research Center or chosen by donors);

Payments from foreign organizations for requested research on particular issue,

Payments for trainings of/research for Belarusian business on particular economic topics;

It should be emphasized that the last source of funding is extremely limited and account for only a negligible portion of the RC's budget. To date, no local Belarusian donor organizations have shown a willingness to

finance research activities in Belarus. Because the RC heavily depends on donor funding for its projects, the think tank has to address the international donor community in order to obtain funding.

In general, remuneration rate for researchers' work depends on the number of projects in which they are involved, which means that researchers are interested in searching for additional opportunities. Researchers are also quite flexible to work with other institutions and organizations, provide consulting, and offer educational services as employees of the RC on paid basis.

SELECTION OF RESEARCH TOPICS/RESEARCHERS' BACKGROUND/RESEARCH FEATURES

IPM RC's research is completely oriented towards economic issues. In its attempt to ensure international standards of economic research, the RC utilizes the most advanced techniques of data analysis and modern econometric software. In fact, rigorous statistical methods (for instance, regressions) and softer methods of inquiry (surveys, focus-groups, etc.) are exploited.

The research is focused on micro and macroeconomic issues in Belarus. Topics selected to be studied have proven to be carefully chosen and relevant to current Belarusian situation. On one hand, a particular research topic might be elected based on a financial donor's request. However, experience shows that these "requested" topics usually correspond with current affairs. On the other hand, the RC has initiated projects simply because the institute feels that a given Belarusian economic issue demands immediate attention.

The fact that Belarus has not undergone most of the reforms that took place in other transition countries makes topical areas for studies quite wide. This permits the institution to claim that all research area selection depends on the Belarusian context. During the very beginning of its existence, the RC focused on microfinance, insurance and small-to-medium enterprises (SMEs) issues. When public discussion of these economic aspects of Belarusian development had reached a certain point – scholars agreed on the necessity of reforms, while governmental officials stalled the process of transformation of the areas under consideration - the main focus of the RC's activities was shifted towards macroeconomic issues. Thus, for example, when the problem of Single Economic Space between Belarus and Russia became an urgent problem the RC assumed an active role in evaluating the economic outcomes of the union. They also assumed responsibility for disseminating the principal research findings and policy recommendations. Later, as energy efficiency became a pertinent issue in Belarus, the RC started directing a significant amount of attention toward this research area; at the moment considerable work is being conducted in cooperation with the Ministry of Energy regarding the problems of energy sector transformation. It is worth mentioning that recently the issue of private sector development has regained its popularity among Belarusian officials (the President has stressed the importance of private small and medium companies in one of his speeches). Realizing this potential opportunity the RC anew included the topic of SMEs' development into the scope of its research interests and conducted a series of events related to the problems of private sector. This fact indicates certain level of flexibility of the RC while choosing research topics and adjusting to the context. In general, there is an impression that the RC attempts to relocate its resources so that to focus on issues that are on the top of Government's agenda. In so doing the RC seems to strive for enhancing its potential influence on policy-making process in Belarus and shaping economic policies directly.

Each researcher of the RC has undergone graduate studies, mostly in Economics, and has either completed, or is in the process of completing, a PhD from Belarusian universities. At the same time, it is rather difficult to assess overall researchers' qualification; only a few of them have western MAs, and there is nobody with western PhDs. One might claim that soviet type education is not suitable for modern high-standard economic research. However, all the researchers have been working for the RC for several years and have gained extensive experience of utilizing tools for research of high quality. Besides, in order to increase researchers' professional level the leaders of the RC encourage employees to participate in different types of conferences, trainings, seminars and summer schools.

The issue of research quality delivered by the RC is an interesting point to consider. From one side, it is a fact that modern research techniques are exploited, wide range of topics is studied, and people with extensive experience are involved into research activities. From another side, one might claim that the quality of research could be questioned due to the lack of highly qualified personnel (proved by the absence of internationally recognized PhDs) and limited number of papers published in the western journals.

IDEOLOGY

From the very beginning, the RC was to provide high-standard economic analysis and to become an independent source of economic information for the Belarusian and international public. At the time the RC was established, there was a hope that Belarus would introduce market reforms and structural transformation. Being completely independent from all political parties, business associations, and other governmental or non-governmental organizations, the RC was perceived as a leading voice pushing for economic transformation. In general, this originally-declared ideology continues to characterize the institution's objectives. However, since the establishment of the RC, the political situation in Belarus has changed dramatically, meaning that The RC has had to adjust to the context in which it operates. Information which does not coincide with the official line is automatically questioned, and the RC or the IPM itself, could be shut down at anytime. Due to presidential elections, which are to take place in 2006, state control has increased enormously. The IPM has hosted several inspections from state agencies this year and it expects more during the upcoming year.

Despite such tension, the RC continues its operations. It preserves the mission that it declared when it was established: to ensure high standards of economic research based on independent and unbiased information and to transmit research findings into policy in the country.

NETWORKS

IPM RC realizes the importance of research networks, and fully explores opportunities to be a part of them. This is done in affiliation and cooperation with international research organizations, independent analytical centers, and think tanks around the world. The Research Center is a member of the following research networks:

CASE Foundation Research Network (Warsaw, Poland),

William Davidson Institute Research network (Michigan, USA),

Economic Policy Institute Networks (UNDP Regional Office, Bratislava, Slovakia).

Another factor that indicates IPM RC's commitment to realizing high standards of economic research is its intensive cooperation with various international institutions and organizations. The RC is an active participant in more than 20 international research projects concerned with economic and social issues in Belarus. Among main partners of the RC are:

- CASE Foundation (Poland) and affiliated organizations in Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova and Georgia,
- the Institute for the Economy Transition (Russia),
- German Economic Team,
- Center for International Private Entrepreneurship, CIPE (Washington DC, USA)

- the World Bank,
- UNDP,
- European Bank for Reconstruction and Development,
- International Monetary Fund,
- International Finance Corporation.

It is worth mentioning the RC's close collaboration with various governmental agencies, such as the National Bank of Belarus, the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Energy, and the Ministry of Statistics and Analysis, amongst other central and local government bodies. Although the extent of such collaboration might be limited due to the specific Belarusian political situation, the fact that IPM RC is involved in joint projects with governmental bodies provides evidence that the RC is perceived as an important player in the process of policy agenda setting.

COMMUNICATIONS

The RC has been intensively disseminating its ideas throughout its years of existence. This has allowed the RC to gain a reputation as an independent institution that provides solid economic analysis and serves as a reliable source of information on economic issues. Possessing a high degree of credibility is a crucial factor for being able to use diversified conduits of information to communicate the results of its work. The RC is able to operate in the challenging Belarusian context (especially, given that most independent think tanks and agencies have stopped working in Belarus), which indicates that it possesses a certain degree of credibility, even from the officials' side. The fact that there have not yet been any attempts to suppress the RC's operations indicates that the research institution has been quite successful in adjusting to existing political contexts and in making mutually-beneficial compromises.

Given all of the constraints that the RC faces, the institution can be considered to be rather successful in communicating its research results and attempting to influence the policy-making process in the country. The number of products disseminated by the RC, and the quality of these projects indicates the magnitude of activities carried out by researchers and administrative staff.

Among the main communications tools of the RC are:

- Economic journal "ECOWEST" (published quarterly from 1999);
- Information-analytical quarterly bulletin "Economic Review: Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, Ukraine" (published from 2004);
- Information-analytical quarterly bulletin "Belarusian Economy: Trends, Analysis, Forecast" (published from 2001);
- Information-analytical bulletin "Belarusian Monthly Economic Review" (published from 2002);
- Belarus Infrastructure Monitoring (published from 2002);
- Monographs, working and discussion papers, policy papers.

All of the RC's publications can be viewed as effective tools to influence public opinion and policy makers' attitudes towards particular economic problems. Each publication aims to increase public and governmental awareness about a given issue, and to encourage policy makers to effectuate positive changes. Each product

has a designated and specific purpose – either to monitor the situation or to contemplate the dynamics (i.e. Belarus Infrastructure Monitoring), or to inform the public about existing reality (Belarus Monthly Economic Review).

Each policy paper written by the RC's researchers is followed by a series of round tables, press conferences, or by other forms of public discussions of the issue. The ultimate goal of this process is not to write a paper which delineates all of the problems related to a given issue, but rather to incite actual change; the RC strives to evoke action from policy makers. It is believed that the more an issue is discussed, the more likely it is to appear on the list of priorities for policy makers. The RC mostly cooperates with mid-level bureaucrats. This strategy is based on the fact that mid-level officials are those who prepare all the amendments and changes for high-level bureaucrats. Although the final decision might be delivered by a Minister or an official person of similar status, mid-level functionaries play an active role in all of the preparations and, basically, introduce ideas for major policy changes. It is obvious to the RC's employees that Belarusian officials use researchers' recommendations in their day-to-day operations, though it is not explicitly stated.

Pure statistical figures prove that the communication strategy of the RC has been quite intensive. Starting from 1998 the IPM RC organized about 80 conferences and seminars on the issues of Belarusian economic development. In recent years, the RC has striven to consult government agencies that are responsible for making policies within the RC's interest areas. In so doing, the institution intends to promote its research findings and shape public policies in the country. One of the main tools that the RC uses to communicate its research findings and to influence policy is the publication of policy papers.

Access to mass media and journalists is crucial to ensuring an efficient transition of research findings into implementable policy actions. The RC has solid relationships with the leading newspapers that deal with economic issues in Belarus (i.e. Belaruskyy Rynok, Natsionalnaya Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta). This allows the RC to promote its reform ideas in accessible language. One can hardly find regression coefficients or any other technical details in newspaper articles prepared by the IPM RC employees. All of the information is presented in a clear way so as to make it readable, though comprehensive.

2. ANALYZING IPM RESEARCH CENTER'S INFLUENCE ON POLICY

BACKGROUND CONTEXT

It should be kept in mind that current political regime in Belarus is rather different from that in the rest of countries in the region. Most specialists from the EU Commission³⁴ consider the political situation to be enormously challenging for any institution (both local and foreign) that does not support the official policy of the Government. Statistical figures indicate that during last 2-3 years most international programs (i.e. IREX, etc.) and local organizations associated with opposition (i.e. European Humanitarian University) were shut down in Belarus. The authorities are extremely suspicious of civil society organizations and think tanks, which has led to a decrease in the number of NGOs in Belarus. The situation is worsening in light of the upcoming presidential elections, which are to take place in 2006; both economic and political instruments are used to strengthen the power and suppress any thoughts not corresponding to officially declared ones. Trying to preserve constituency by all means possible, Belarusian authorities are implementing populist economic policies. Despite the fact that most well-known scholars and international organizations (i.e. Country Memorandum by the World Bank) insist that structural and economic reforms are necessary, Belarusian

³⁴ In October 2005 there was the EU Commission Resolution on Belarus. The document officially claimed Belarus to be a country with the lack of civil freedom, democracy.

authorities keep stressing the uniqueness of their nation's economic model and are reluctant to accept any direct changes.

Quite restrictive Belarusian political context has led to the situation when the RC remained almost the only "player in the field". Indeed, since most think tanks has been suppressed the institution literary faces no competition while applying for grants and other donor financed projects. Furthermore, if a foreign or international organization wants to carry out any projects in Belarus it addresses the IPM RC.

The fact that quite frequently Belarusian governmental officials are being rotated from one position to another characterizes the overall environment and hampers policy related activities. Every time a new person appears on the scene one has to adjust to changes that take place inevitably. At the same time, there is one peculiarity of all the Belarusian officials – they seem to be afraid of any reformative initiatives and fully support whatever is proposed by the President. Relatively high salaries of high and middle level bureaucrats serve as an anchor to ensure their backing of all ideas delivered from "the top".

In general, in most state agencies (like Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Finance, National Bank, etc.) middle rank analysts represent a new generation of economists, to some extent. Those are people who graduated universities when soviet propaganda and corresponding economic regime had already collapsed, while current political regime was not established yet. That time economics courses were market oriented and aimed at promotion of market reforms. Unfortunately, nowadays these economists/anaylists have to follow the general line of economic development. In private discussions they all do agree on the necessity of reforms and structural changes, but they do prefer to stay apart when it comes to real changes.

Belarusian authorities are highly suspicious of research institutions and think tanks, especially if they are financed with foreign resources. It is widely believed that independent think tanks act in order to destabilize political situations and to promote changes that will lead to a revolution. After the Orange Revolution in Ukraine – the neighboring country - authorities try, at all costs, to prevent donors' money inflows in Belarus. Many donor-funded institutions have been closed down due to their independence from state ideology. The fact that the RC still operates indicates its recognition as a trustworthy partner among officials. At the same time, the RC's employees say that they constantly feel pressured by the government, and that they are very aware of the possibility that the RC could be liquidated by authorities any time.

The freedom of press in Belarus is highly dependent upon the political regime in power. This means that even private newspapers and journals must either censor their publications or understand that, by publishing materials that contradict the official policy line, they are likely to face consequences. Experience shows that newspapers which publish articles that are not in accordance with the government usually receive a notification from the Ministry of Justice indicating that some registration or any other rules have been violated, and are told that in the case of repeated violations, their newspaper/magazine will be suppressed. For this reason, any private newspaper carefully chooses which materials are politically neutral and what can be published without threats. So far, all of the publications related to the RC have been dedicated to objective economic analysis and not to political issues.

The RC vows to stay away from politics and any partisan activities. Its operations are about economic analysis and not related to any cheating with data caused by political considerations. Research findings of the RC reflect the reality that exists in Belarus, and its activities are aimed at promoting reforms through dialogue with the public, various officials, and the Government. The explicit mission of the RC is to serve as a reliable source of unbiased information on economic issues in Belarus and to carry out field research. However, in some cases, findings and recommendations delivered by the RC do not meet the official line of economic policy set by the President of Belarus. For instance, there was a case in which Belarusian officials did not like the figures on the rate of unemployment in Belarus, which were mentioned in one of the research papers. Although the figures were objective and accurately reflected the current Belarusian situation, their publication caused certain tension between the RC and the Government.

Despite difficulties, the RC is able to survive in the current political environment. Given all of the constraints with which the institution must cope, the RC tries to cooperate with the Government and Ministries on particular economic issues of interest. So far, it has achieved this goal by conducting ordered research projects, trainings, and consultations. One of the RC's most important partners at the moment is the National Bank of Belarus. The main focus of joint work with the National Bank of Belarus is to effectuate training activities based on academic approaches to monetary policy analysis. Employees of the RC provide extensive training services to employees of the Bank.

CRITICAL FACTORS THAT FACILITATE/HINDER INFLUENCE

In the case of Belarus, it is extremely difficult to identify whether the research institution can influence the policy making process at all. Critical factors that might work for other countries have failed to work for Belarus. One of the few available channels of influence, and a tool that the RC regularly utilizes, is to increase public awareness about certain economic issues. Unfortunately, there are no explicit indicators of increases in public awareness. It is debatable to what extent the number of articles published on a particular topic raises awareness among the Belarusian public. At the same time, it can be argued that the more an issue is publicly discussed, the more likely it will appear in the Government agenda. In this respect, the RC does its best to promote issue-related public discussion.

GERMAN ECONOMIC TEAM IN BELARUS

The joint project of the German Economic Team and the IPM RC was launched in May 2003 with the support of the Ministry of Economy and Labor (Germany) under TRANSFORM program. The main objective of this project was to consult the Belarusian Government in the field of economic policy. As can be seen, this project aims to support governmental bodies in their reform attempts. In order to realize these objectives, the research team first prepared analytical papers on different issues that were considered highly-pertinent to Belarus, and later delivered recommendations to officials from the Council of Ministers, the National Bank, the Ministry of Economy, and other parties involved in the formation and implementation of economic policy. The main activities within the project are the following:

- Regular analysis of the economy of Belarus,
- Monitoring of the main sectors of the economy,
- Promotion of professional dialogue between Belarusian and German experts on thematic issues of Belarusian development.

Team experts made valiant efforts to convince Belarusian officials of the necessity of reforming the market. They brought foreign specialists to seminars, conferences, and round tables so they could provide explicit examples of other countries that had gone through similar stages in reformation process. The RC conducted thorough analysis of the Belarusian economy and provided detailed recommendations of how to improve the situation. The RC also monitored the dynamics and perspectives surrounding the development of particular sectors (i.e. "Belarus Infrastructure Monitoring" deals with the energy and transport sector). Although this project stimulated public discussion surrounding relevant economic development issues, it is difficult to judge to what extent the RC has actually been able to influence the policy agenda-setting process.

After each topic was investigated, the IMP RC prepared a policy paper, which they presented to public officials to whom the issues corresponded. Since the project began, there have been about 40 policy papers written (see annex 2), each of which explored an aspect of the Belarusian economy that was in desperate need of reform. This number indicates that the IPM RC researchers actively work on informing policy makers and the

public about the urgency of reforms and the directions for sustainable development. Although the Belarusian Government officially states that it is not going to follow market principals, the RC tries to deliver its recommendations based on the assumption that market reforms are being put into action.

CASE-IPM RC

The IPM-CASE partnership started at the end of 1999 with the joint project of monitoring of Belarusian economy and creation of the independent economic research center in Belarus. Its advisory activity is focused on monitoring the Belarusian economy and on providing substantive support for Belarusian economists through acting as an incubator for training cadres of young Belarusian economists. Though this does not directly influence policy making process in the country, it can be viewed as an indirect means of influence. Indeed, given the challenging environment of Belarus, the only viable means to effectuate long-term policy change is to train young economists who will become influential opinion leaders and policy makers when the political situation changes. Being well-educated and informed, these individuals will be eager to introduce market reforms and will be able to bridge research and policy when context allows.

Meetings about the Belarusian and the world economy are organized regularly. Since these events usually receive extensive media coverage, they attract policy makers' attention. Although Belarusian officials don't necessarily incorporate RC-debated issues into the agenda immediately, such research-based discussions do affect (albeit minimally) politicians' perspectives of some of the nation's problems, which offers hope that these issues will appear on the top of state officials' agendas later.

FORUM OF ECONOMISTS

Forum of Economists is one more attempt to initiate dialogue in Belarusian society about the necessity of market reforms. The Forum brings together well-known scholars and specialists (academics and businessmen) to discuss relevant economic questions. It is assumed, and hoped, that the Belarusian Government will eventually begin to take into consideration the ideas being expressed by outstanding people in a field. As with any policy decision in Belarus it is extremely hard to assess who or what was the cause; most decisions are delivered by the President regardless. However, it can be assumed that continual discussion of certain issues leads to their eventual appearance on policy makers' agendas. The RC makes an important contribution to this process by stimulating extensive public dialogue about matters pertinent to Belarusian development.

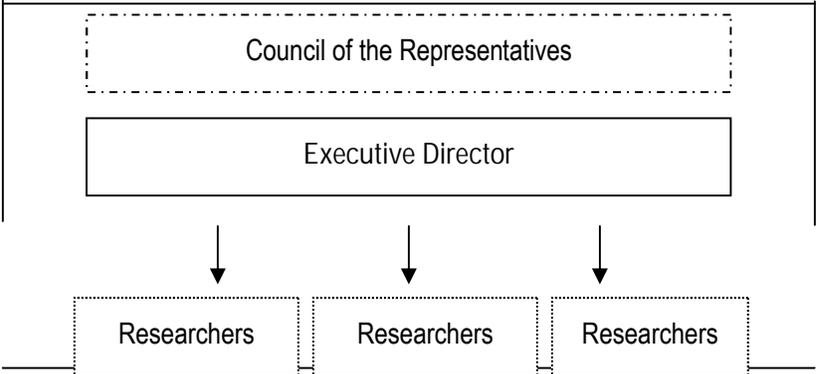
The institution's quarterly economic journal, "ECOWEST", is worth additional attention since it is the RC's oldest tool intended to stimulate public dialogue. It is the only independent quarterly economic journal in Belarus. The main goal of this mode of communication is to promote market reforms and democratization in Belarus through the development of independent economic research and free scientific discussion. It accepts and publishes diverse points of view and attitudes. This is reflected in the list of authors who are published in the magazine, many of which represent opposing political parties.

One example of RC research findings being incorporated into policy is a project that was ordered and financed by the Central Bank of Russia. This project explored the issue of the Single Economic Space between Belarus and Russia and its economic impact on both countries. This work was both issue and demand driven, considering that the topic was very urgent at the time that the project was realized. The fact that the Central Bank of Russia turned to the RC, the only independent economic research institution in Belarus, provides evidence of the RC's credibility.

In conclusion, when analyzing the role of the IPM RC, it is essential to take into consideration the political context in which it operates. As has been stated several times within this text, Belarus is notably different from

the rest of the transition and developing countries. Not only do authorities resist many market-oriented reforms, but they are also highly suspicious of independent pro-market research institutions and think tanks that advocate for policy changes that do not correspond with the official political line of the country. As a result of what can be considered the most prominent contextual factor in Belarus, the IPM RC has had to operate in an extremely challenging environment and under constant pressure from the Government. This fact obviously impedes the RC's potential to impact policy through its research findings and policy-related activities. Nevertheless, the RC has been able to find ways to promote its recommendations, build credibility and sustain its independence as a research institution. In addition, utilization of diversified communication tools (economic newspapers, round tables, trainings and consultancies, personal meetings with officials, etc) allowed the RC to be recognized as a reliable partner by scholars, middle level officials and other parties involved. However, one of the most crucial factors that stipulate the RC's ability to survive and continue its operations is the prudent management of the institution. Given all the constraints, the leaders of IPM and the RC itself have mastered the art of brinkmanship in finding the right mix of criticism and encouragement of the Belarusian government.

ANNEX 1. GRAPH: ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH CENTER AT THE INSTITUTE FOR PRIVATIZATION AND MANAGEMENT.



ANNEX 2. LIST OF POLICY PAPERS PREPARED AND PRESENTED BY IPM RESEARCH CENTER

Title of policy paper	Year
Belarus' entrance into WTO: the banking services dimension	2003
Proposals for further development of deposit insurance system in Belarus	2003
Should the voucher privatization scheme extended?	2003
Subsidizing agriculture in Belarus: declared objectives and actual outcomes	2003
Transforming "Factory Towns": lessons learnt and best practices from East Germany	2003
Recommendations for improving the effectiveness of mortgage banking in Belarus – the refinance side	2003
First-time sovereign bond issues: a conceptual framework	2003
Personal income tax reform in Belarus	2003

Shifting Belarus' agricultural policy towards measures envisaged by the Green Box	2003
Should branches of foreign banks be allowed to operate in Belarus	2004
Eurobonds conference: key findings	2004
Belarus as a gas transit country	2004
Gas seminar: key findings	2004
The main problems and ways of restructuring of key industries in "factory Towns" in Belarus	2004
Reform of the simplified tax code for small business in Belarus	2004
The insurance sector in Belarus: analysis and recommendations	2004
Taxation of agriculture in Belarus	2004
Actions to improve the access of agricultural enterprises to capital	2004
The relationship between monetary and fiscal authorities: a survey of the issues	2004
Proposals for further improvement of the system of presumptive income taxation of individual entrepreneurs in Belarus	2004
Proposals for the development of microfinance institutions in Belarus	2004
The implementation of contract savings schemes housing in Belarus – feature, recommendations, and examples	2004
The economic impact of Belarus' entrance into WTO – a quantitative assessment	2004
Ways of restructuring of the gas sector in Belarus	2004
Belarus' entrance into WTO: insurance sector liberalization	2004
Monetary and exchange rate policy in Belarus: analysis and recommendations	2004
Is Price regulation the proper way to achieve food self-reliance in Belarus?	2004
Guarantee funds for SME loans	2005
Presumptive taxation of agriculture: international experience and implications for Belarus	2005
Reforms in the Belarusian electricity sector: how to reduce costs and dependence on imported resources	2005
Creation of the system of contractual savings for housing in Belarus	2005
Practical aspects of establishing a Belarusian Guarantee Fund	2005
Value-Added Taxation within the custom union of Belarus and Russia: concept, practices and lessons	2005

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE IPM RC:

Interviews with the IPM RC personnel:

- Igor Pelipas, the Executive Director of the Research Center;
- Ivan Poltavets, visiting researchers of the RC;

Relevant policy maker:

Valery Fadeev, former Deputy of the Chairman of Council of Ministers of Belarus;

External expert:

Olga Godunova, Project Manager Deputy, Technical Assistance Projects at the IFC;

The IPM RC website (www.research.by);

The RC's working and policy papers, newsletters, analytical bulletins and other publications;

Bibliography:

Country Economic Memorandum, the World Bank, 2005.

Belarus: Country Report # 05/218, International Monetary Fund, 2005.

The Criminal Code of Belarus.

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES [ISS]:

INDIA'S CASE STUDY.

By

Milindo Chakrabarti and Animesh Sarkar*

APRIL 2006

ABSTRACT

The Institute of Social Sciences (ISS) was registered under the Societies Registration Act of India of 1860 on 28th August 1985. The first governing body of ISS met on the 1st of September 1985 under the chairmanship of Prof. D.T. Lakdawala, who was the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission during the tenure of the first non-Congress Union Government (1977-80) in India. A look at the list of the founding members of ISS reveals a high concentration of academics and social workers. In fulfilling its motto of "Integrating Research with Action", ISS has been consistently involved in shaping the Indian policy matrix vis-à-vis decentralized governance and promotion of local democracy.

A Governing Body consisting of 13 members governs ISS. The members represent diverse fields of interest ranging from academics (4) to social activism (4). A couple of retired government officials are also on the Governing Body. Most of the members also hold membership in Government Committees, Commissions, Task Forces, Advisory Groups, etc.

ISS has an annual average budget of around 1,000,000 US\$, considerably lower than those enjoyed by the leading research institutions of India playing important roles in influencing policies in other sectors. ISS has a large staff structure and five regional offices. It has a decentralized departmental leadership system.

In view of the paucity of own funds, ISS cannot much afford to identify the research issues purely on its own. Almost all of its studies are financed by different agencies — international agencies and government organizations. ISS is not self-sufficient in meeting its overhead costs out of its own resources. This is surely a handicap in institutionalizing ISS as an independent think tank as it finds difficult to initiate studies on its own on issues it considers relevant to influence the policy paradigm. On the other hand, the fact that it is commissioned by different agencies to carry out research on local governance speaks volume about its expertise and capabilities in handling the issues ISS indulges in.

The researchers manning ISS are mostly retired bureaucrats, pooling in the experience of policymaking they were engaged in while in service. A small group of young researchers are being groomed under the guidance of the senior fellows. Generally, the Director represents or speaks on behalf of the Institute in different platforms. However, where technical details are involved, quite often the researchers, specializing in the concerned topic or issue, represent the Institute.

* This case study is part of the CS 2 component of the Phase II of Global Development Network's Bridging Research and Policy project, carried out by the Center for the Implementation of Public Policies promoting Equity and Growth (CIPPEC), which consists of a comparative analysis of policy research institutes in Latin America, Asia and Africa. We would like to thank the interviewees who collaborated with the elaboration of this case study.

ISS has a close institutional linkage with international organisations. It also works in close harmony with an informal network of like-minded NGOs in India.

Since politics is central to multi-party democratic system in India, ISS consciously aims at influencing the political process. The relationship with the policymakers — both past and present — appears to be one of the most effective channels of communication. The excellent connection with influential ministers and serving bureaucrats in different states and the Union government that ISS has, helps in communicating the research findings to the powers that be. The monthly newsletter of ISS — Panchayati Raj Update — helps communicate the relevant issues and concerns with different stakeholders. This effort at informing public opinion in turn arms them in pressurizing the powers that be to adopt the desirable changes.

- ISS's submission to the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution in 2001 on decentralization was highly effective in shaping the recommendations of the Commission. It could also influence the National Advisory Committee and the Panchayati Raj³⁵ Ministries of different state governments to accept its suggestions on local governance. Its strategy in pushing through the agenda may be decomposed into three distinct but interrelated action points. These are:
- Keeping the issue alive through involving the civil society in dialogues and debates;
- Shaping the issue in proper perspective so as to be amenable to policy making through creating rapport with policymakers; and
- Enlightening the executors through providing them with an academic dimension of the issues involved. Its active participation in understanding the features responsible for success or otherwise of state-specific development projects helped create a considerably rich knowledge base in favour of strengthening local governance.

ISS's thus tried to understand the issue of local governance as a manifestation of societal disconnection over the broader patterns of socio-political, economic and cultural influence. Encouraged by the acceptance of its ideas by a larger section of those controlling the domestic political arena, ISS is now planning to spread the ideas across the globe. It is in the process of developing an international network towards 'empowering local governance' in several countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The idea is to share experiences from India with practitioners and policymakers from these countries and learning from their experiences as well.

In spite of all its efforts in inching towards the goals it created for itself, ISS is beset with a few weaknesses. It is felt that ISS is largely run by the Director and one is not sure if any attempts are on to develop a second line of leadership. Further, the thrust of ISS research has been on the political side of local governance. Very little research has been undertaken on the operational aspects like delivery of services to the local people through Panchayats. Diversifying their research activities within the field of local governance will require a much more knowledgeable research team, which again will need substantial funds to support.

1. ISS: ENDOGENOUS CHARACTERISTICS THAT FACILITATED INFLUENCE

ISS's most important organizational and institutional features are summarized in this table and explained below:

³⁵ Panchayati Raj Institutions refer to the units of local governance operating at sub-State levels. India is a federal country, comprising of 30 federal components called states. The states constitutionally enjoy autonomy in respect of certain financial and administrative decision. For administrative purposes the states have been divided into districts further broken down into blocks and villages. Panchayati Raj Institutions comprise of a three tier structure of governance operating at the levels of district, block and village.

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES	
1. Legal status	Non profit organization
2. Year of foundation	1985
3. Founders	Academics/ Social Workers (private sector)
4. Governing Body:	1 body
a. Businessmen	No
b. Academicians	Yes
c. Politicians	No
d. Social activists	Yes
e. Retired Govt. Officials	Yes
5. Government positions	Yes
6. Budget	USD +1.000.000
7. Funding	Project based
8. Sources of Funding	Multilateral & Bilateral International Organizations, Government 22.2% - Federal and Provincial Governments of India 66.78% - International 1.96% - Donors 9.06% - Others (like Bank Interest, Sale of Books, etc.)
9. Research topics selection	Mostly led by funding agencies
10. Research organization	Research areas
11. Research features	Operational output Relevance Quality control Influence over time
12. Researchers' background	PhDs (65%)/ Post Graduates (35%)
13. Staff profile	Mainly sociologists and political scientists
14. Areas of research	Socio-political systems, federalism
15. Research topics	Local Governance
16. Staff Number	110 persons (research staff)
17. Hiring contracts	Long-term (40%)/Short term Contract (60%)
18. Who is in charge of communications	Director
19. Regular contact with the media	Yes

1.1 ORIGIN/YEAR OF FOUNDATION/FOUNDERS

The Institute of Social Sciences (ISS) was registered under the Societies Registration Act of India of 1860 on 28th August 1985.

The first governing body of ISS met on the 1st of September 1985 under the chairmanship of Prof. D.T. Lakdawala, who was by then the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission during the tenure of the first non-Congress Union Government (1977-80) in India³⁶. A look at the list of the founding members of ISS reveals a high concentration of academics and social workers.

³⁶ Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission of India enjoys the status of a Cabinet Minister and is chosen by the Union Government.

A document prepared by ISS informs that it was founded “primarily seeking to build a community of concerned scholars and activists for ushering in a humane and just society”. Its stated objective is “to study contemporary social, political and economic issues and problems, in an inter-disciplinary perspective and to make available its findings and recommendations to government bodies, social scientists, policymakers, people’s and workers’ organizations, so as to widen their options for action. The evolution of an informed and action-oriented public opinion is the primary aim of the Institute”. The punch line it coined in celebration of its 20th anniversary this year reads “Integrating Research with Action”. To achieve its objectives ISS has identified the following thrust areas:

- Governance
- Local Democracy
- Urban Studies
- Women Studies
- Globalization
- Global Network of Local Governments, and
- Human rights.

However, the general focus of the research projects of ISS is decentralization and issues connected with the promotion of local democracy. Accordingly, issues like gender justice, empowerment of the marginalized people at the grassroots, human rights, etc. receive its attention, along with the major issues concerning institutionalization of local government, such as, decentralized planning, fiscal decentralization, local elections etc. Apart from these, ISS responds to any important event that has a bearing upon the functioning of the local government institutions in the country. There are many instances where it came up with case studies or special articles or even full-scale studies to respond to a topical issue.

1.2 GOVERNING BODY/ GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

A Governing Body consisting of 13 members governs ISS. The members represent diverse fields of interest ranging from academics (4) to social activism (4). A couple of retired government officials are also on the Governing Body. Most of its members are holding membership in Government Committees, Commissions, Task Forces, Advisory Groups, etc. It is the supreme policy making body of ISS. It approves the accounts and finance of the institute and helps in the overall growth and development of ISS.

The Director is all the more responsible for raising the required funds for the work of the institute and implementing projects and programmes as per the policy decisions of the ISS in consultation with the senior members of the Governing Body. The Governing Body collectively or its members individually never interfere in the day-to-day work, activities or programmes of the institute.

1.3 FUNDING/ INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

ISS works on an annual average budget of around 1,000,000 US\$. This does not compare well with many of the leading research institutions of India that play important roles in influencing policies in other sectors, like fiscal issues (NIPFP), international trade (ICRIER), domestic macro-economic issues (NCAER), and specific issues like food security and energy (IGIDR), who have access to larger financial resources. Funds come from Union Government Ministries, State Governments, International Foundations, UN Agencies, World Bank

Institute and Bilateral Agencies. Finance is organized and assigned according to specific projects. An analysis of the sources of funds reveals that about two-thirds of the funding is provided by international sources. Around 22% of the revenue accrues from taking up studies on behalf of the Union and State Governments. A little over 10% of the revenue is generated out of sale proceeds of publications, bank interests on the corpus fund and donations from well-wishers. Out of the total budgeted expenditure, around 15% are spent on establishment costs and the rest on research activities. Thus, ISS apparently is not self-sufficient in meeting even its overhead costs out of its own resources. This is surely a handicap in institutionalizing ISS as an independent think tank as it finds difficult to initiate studies on its own on issues it considers relevant to influence the policy paradigm. However, the fact that it is able to muster enough funds from outside in sustaining its organizational structure speaks volume about its capacity to influence the decision makers of the country and the international organizations alike.

The institutional structure of ISS has not changed much since its inception. The Governing Body is supreme. The Director is its Member Secretary. Now ISS has a large staff structure and five regional offices. The ISS Staff Council meets regularly and advises the Director in arriving at academic and day-to-day administrative decisions. ISS has a decentralized departmental leadership system. Organizationally, it is divided into 4 departments, namely,

- Research and Academic Department
- Publications Department
- Administrative Department, and
- Information Resource Centre.

Another important organizational characteristic of ISS is the spread of its regional centres across the country. It has regional centres located in the states of Kerala, Karnataka, West Bengal, Orissa and Tamil Nadu. The first three of them are considered the flag-bearers of 'decentralization' in India. The ISS Staff Council meets regularly and advises the Director in academic and administrative decisions. Annual staff retreat is another 'institution' for taking long-term decisions. A recent effort at developing an international forum for practitioners in local governance is also an attempt initiated by ISS that is worth mentioning.

1.4 SELECTION OF RESEARCH TOPICS/RESEARCHERS' BACKGROUND/ RESEARCH FEATURES

In view of the paucity of own funds, ISS cannot much afford to identify the research issues purely on its own, even though on a number of occasions it conceived projects and sought funds from government on its own terms. Almost all of its studies are financed by different agencies — international agencies and government organizations. However, it does not bid for any study on offer by the agencies, without considering its relevance vis-à-vis the mission of ISS. It accepts only those offers that are either directly or indirectly linked to the issue of local governance. The ultimate decision about which study to accept and what to decline rests with the Director.

The researchers manning ISS are mostly retired bureaucrats, pooling in the experience of policymaking they were engaged in while in service. A small group of young researchers are being groomed under the guidance of the senior fellows.

Right now, ISS has 140 employees on its roll. Of them 110 are engaged in research, the rest being involved in administrative activities. The researchers are mostly sociologists and political scientists by training, about 65% of them having Ph.D. degrees. 40% of the researchers are on long term contract, while others are engaged on short term contracts coterminous with the duration of the project they are involved in.

Sharp intellect, loyalty to the institute, capacity to articulate and good public relations are the characteristics most sought after while recruiting a researcher at ISS. The turn over among those on short term contract is high as ISS cannot afford to adequately compensate them in view of its financial constraints. Staff performance evaluation is carried out from time to time at different stages of research work for the successful completion of the project work. Remuneration is linked to performance, even though the nature of this interlinkage is yet to be institutionalized. No objective method has been developed to measure performance of the researchers.

All study findings of the ISS research team are presented in workshops for critical analysis of the findings by experts — both internal and external — in the concerned area. Publication record of the research in reputed peer-reviewed research journals is not that significant. Some have been published in Economic and Political Weekly. Most of the studies are published in the form of reports, and are later converted into priced publications. Of late, professional and internationally reputed publishers have been showing interest in publishing them.

1.5 IDEOLOGY

Since politics is central to multi-party democratic system in India, ISS consciously aims at influencing political process. It critically analyses the politics of the time examining it as to how it affects the lives of people at various levels. ISS tries to influence political leaders, by informing them on the ground realities, scientifically telling them about the pros and cons of a particular action or bill before the Parliament; writing/publishing articles in the newspaper, etc. ISS's publications / writings are sought after by political leaders who sometimes invite its senior faculty to address their fora. For instance, early this year, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) — the party that was leading the coalition government at the union level between 1999-2004 — invited the Director of the Institute to address their Chief Ministers' conclave in Delhi, where all top national leaders from BJP were present.

1.6 NETWORKS

ISS has a close institutional linkage with international organisations like National Endowment for Democracy and Community of Democracies (Washington), the Forum of Federations (Ottawa), and Democracy Development Programme (South Africa). It is in the process of setting up a Global Network on Local Governance. The objectives of the network is to create an informal forum for dissemination of values of local democracy and participative governance, documentation and exchange of experiences in local governance, support for local government advocacy, collection of study of success stories on local government system and widening the scope for people's participation in governance. A global conference of elected representatives of local governments from across the world is planned to be hosted by ISS at New Delhi during early 2006. It also has initiated study tours of elected representatives of local governments from one state to another within India. It also works in close harmony with an informal network of like-minded NGOs in India.

1.7 COMMUNICATION

Generally, the Director represents or speaks on behalf of the institute in different platforms. However, where technical details are involved, quite often the researchers, specializing in the concerned topic or issue, represent the Institute. 30 per cent of time spent by top management is on policy outreach. The ISS has a clear outreach strategy based on the institute's credibility and reputation. High quality research involving specialists in the field has always been the aim of ISS. The study findings are sent to major decision-making bodies in the country. Obtaining contracts from the powers that be in the government is not a primary

objective. But ISS is not averse to make use of such contracts whenever they are forthcoming. When political parties sympathetic to its focal areas are in power there is better reception of and recognition to the ideas cultivated by ISS.

ISS utilizes various tools, such as books, newspaper articles, organizing lectures, dissemination of main ideas of reports and seminars, workshops and conferences through print and electronic media, sitting on the expert committees formed by the government, consultations with the policymakers and opinion makers, public interest litigation cases and even production of films.

The relationship with the policymakers — both past and present — appears to be one of the most effective channels of communication. The past policymakers bring in the knowledge about the intricacies involved in policy making when they join ISS as faculty members on retirement. The excellent connection with influential ministers and serving bureaucrats in different states and the Union government that the Director and the faculty members have, helps in communicating the research findings to the powers that be. ISS utilizes the efficient communication channels it maintains with the political leadership at local, state and central levels to inform citizenship about the desirable changes in policy and in turn help implement the suggested policies. The monthly newsletter of ISS — Panchayati Raj Update — helps further communicate the relevant issues and concerns to different stakeholders. This effort at informing regular citizens in turn arms them in pressurizing the powers that be to adopt the desirable changes.

To date, ISS published 144 documents in addition to the monthly “Panchayati Raj Update” coming out regularly since 1994. Incidentally, 59 of them — more than half of the published titles — are attempts to delve deep into the issues related to local governance in tune with its first publication titled “Panchayati Raj in Karnataka Today: Its National Dimensions” published way back in 1986. Issues like Women’s Empowerment (15 titles), Urban Governance (13 titles) and Human Rights (10 titles) were prominently tackled in the later publications. That the publications are well accepted for their quality and coverage of the relevant issues among the academia, policymakers and members of the civil society is evident from the fact that the lion’s share of the sale proceeds are generated at the in-house sale counters run and managed by ISS. This may appear a little contradictory in view of the prevailing ideas that best-selling publications are expected to be sold and distributed widely in bookstores and other outlets. Most of ISS publications are produced and sold inhouse to make them affordable to the interested readers. Professional publishing houses have produced a couple of recent publications and they are being marketed through bookstores.

2. ANALYZING ISS’S INFLUENCE ON POLICY

2.1 BACKGROUND — CONTEXT

India, constitutionally speaking, is a federal republic. However, critics have often characterized India as quasi-federal, identifying a strong tendency among powers that be towards centralization in favour of a strong national (Union) government at the expense of weaker provincial (State) governments. The distribution of power under the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution of India, it is claimed, has given excess weight to the Union at the expense of the States (Chakrabarti, 1991, Mathew, 1995). The same model is replicated at the level of the States. Sub-state local governments exist on paper, even though the states are reluctant to devolve power to the local governments. The political parties, while in opposition, and social activists always resented this tendency towards excessive centralization and advocated for decentralization of power to the sub-state level and institutionalization of local governance. Governments formed by the Congress Party ruled the country uninterrupted for thirty years since independence. Most of the states were also under the control of Congress during this period. The states like Kerala and West Bengal emerged as exception to this rule with the Communists enjoying considerable mass support. The first non-Congress government in an Indian state

was established in Kerala way back in 1956. West Bengal followed suit in 1967. A non-Congress government was formed at the national level in 1977 led by Janata Dal consisting of almost all non-Congress political outfits that included the Gandhians, Socialists, the disgruntled Congress-men and even the rightists. Karnataka saw its first non-Congress government in 1983.

The history of developmental policy in post-independent India begins with a genuine concern for development of rural areas. The Community Development Programme was initiated in 1952³⁷ (please insert a footnote with a brief description of goals of this programme). Evaluation of the programme after a few years indicated the lack of people's participation as the greatest attribute towards its failure to deliver the desired results. Policies towards institutionalizing Panchayati Raj institutions (PRI) was recommended by the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee set up in 1957 to suggest ways to remove obstacles in implementing the programme. By 1959 all the states passed their Panchayat Acts and PRIs became visible all over the country by the mid-1960s. However, their decline also started very fast. In many states a tendency to postpone the elections to PRI indefinitely was noticeable. In some states, parallel bodies came to be set up at the district level, thus reducing the role of Panchayati Raj in development planning and implementation. It is argued that the State governments and state-level politicians felt threatened by the potentials of PRIs. They started suffering from a redundancy syndrome, even though the PRIs had no function other than facilitating implementation of development programmes. The second phase of revival of PRIs began in 1977 with the Janata Dal coming to power with the appointment of Ashok Mehta Committee which emphasized recognizing PRIs as democratic institutions and local units of self-governance (Mathew 1995). The experiences varied across states. Some states like Kerala, Karnataka and West Bengal took initiatives to strengthen PRIs. The rest did little to that effect. PRIs were first given constitutional recognition through 73rd Amendment to the Constitution in 1992 and raised hopes for PRIs becoming a stable feature of Indian polity. The 64th Amendment to that effect brought in 1989 could not be passed for want of necessary support from the Upper House of the Parliament then controlled by non-Congress political parties. As of 1999, through the democratic process, over 3.3 million elected leaders assumed positions at different levels of the Panchayati Raj administration covering 227,678 village Panchayats, 5906 Panchayat Samitis and 474 Zilla Parishads. The mandatory provision of 33% reservation for women and people belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes resulted in active participation of these groups. The women could place some priority issues like safe drinking water, girls' education and basic health services on the Panchayati Raj agenda (NIRD, 1999). The ground reality, though, is still not entirely favourable to the strengthening of PRIs. A lot of efforts are necessary to upstage 'vested interests that want to defeat the process of empowerment of people through local self-governance' (quoted from written submission by Dr. S. S. Meenakhsee Sundaram). However, the PRIs are constitutionally still kept under the complete control of the whims and fancies of the State governments. Empowerment of PRIs in the real sense of the term is a long drawn process that requires continuous and informed policy intervention.

³⁷ *The concept of community development in India was initiated well before independence. Even during the struggle for independence, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, considerable attention was given to rural upliftment and reconstruction. He emphasized on a nineteen point constructive programme for complete independence by truthful and non-violent means. He often warned the leaders that true independence could be enjoyed only when the rural economy was strengthened and poverty eradicated. The Government of India Act, 1935 under the British Rule, while confirming autonomy on the provinces, included rural development as an important programme to be initiated for the welfare of the people. After the independence of India in 1947, community development assumed high priority. In 1948, a pilot community development project was launched through the Etawah Project. Later in 1952, the Government of India launched 55 Community Development Projects, each covering about 300 villages or a population of 30,000. This programme was multi-dimensional but the major emphasis was placed on agricultural production, as the areas selected for launching the project were located in irrigated areas or where the rainfall was assured. In 1953, the National Extension Service Project was launched with similar objectives to cover larger areas, including the dry regions. This project of three-year duration, demarcated the blocks of 150-300 villages as manageable units for initiating community development programmes. The objectives and activities of the Project were modified from time to time and continued as a permanent multi-function extension agency in each block. These community development blocks were treated as normal administrative units for planning and development with regular budgetary allocations.*

By the end of the First Five Year Plan (1952-57), 1114 blocks covering 163,000 villages were in operation and by sixties, the community development programme covered the entire country. (Hegde 2000)

CRITICAL FACTORS AFFECTING INFLUENCE

Setting the policy agenda all by its own is a difficult proposition in the largest populous democracy of the world that India is. The vibrant, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural fabric of Indian democracy cannot afford to provide a larger than life profile to any individual or an organization who might be identified to have influenced the policy matrix single-handedly. The near institutionalization of coalitional politics not only at the regional but also at the national level over the last couple of decades is ample testimony to this spirit. ISS is also no exception to this rule. As already mentioned in earlier sections, ISS considers local governance as its focal issue and has been trying for the last 20 years to operationalize the “Panchayati Raj” institutions all over the country. So far it has achieved limited success in achieving its avowed objective. ISS believes that its role in this endeavour is to

- act as a catalytic agent
- keep the issue alive in the public domain, and
- extend the issue to hitherto uncharted regions.

Though the research produced by the ISS seems pertinent, they have not been able to influence the policymakers much to achieve all the desired goals. As some commentators belonging to the older generation argued, Indian policies are still to be backed by informed research and the knowledge generated thereby.

‘Panchayati Raj Update’ –the monthly newsletter published by the ISS- is one of their major achievements to the cause of local governance. Its wide circulation has generally kept the stakeholders well informed. Certainly this newsletter is one of the voices that helped in advancing the need to create a larger space for local governance. The painstaking efforts of the ISS in collecting the information on local governance from different States in the country are responsible for the communication of these data/ideas to the larger public.

The policymakers have not fully implemented ISS’s proposals so far. The political environment in the country is such that the partners in the ruling coalition have diverse views, particularly on strengthening the panchayats and ISS has not been able to influence significantly the thinking of all the political parties operating across the states today. The country has been governed by coalitions of parties ever since the enactment of the Constitution 73rd and 74th amendments and the implementation of these amendments across the States have also been varying very widely. The fact that Panchayati Raj is a subject assigned to the States under the Constitution and the diverse views different State governments have on Panchayats hinder ISS’s ability to pursue its proposals. The Ministry of Panchayati Raj which has come into existence for the first time in the country about a year ago, facilitates ISS’s ability to advance its proposals at the national level.

The issue of local governance was made more open to external inputs during the decision making process, especially at the time of the enactment of the Constitution amendments. The parliamentary committees constituted to examine these amendments had consulted a large number of public personalities involved in urban and rural governance so the government had to respond to some of the suggestions made by these experts.

Some of the policymakers believe that

- there is still a considerable lack of political will to strengthen the Panchayati Raj system in India that acts as a dampening factor for the activities of ISS.
- the bureaucrats in several States are either disinterested or positively opposed to decentralization. Working in such an environment is a difficult proposition.
- the general environment in the society with poor levels of literacy and rampant corruption may not be conducive for ISS to propagate the cause of PRIs.

However, the unrelenting effort by ISS towards the cause of decentralization is a source of encouragement to those who have faith in empowering people — the true hallmark of a democracy as ISS believes-. Its opportunities to influence future policy regime of India look brighter in view of the fact that

- the Constitutional mandate to the cause of local governance, which may compel every State to have an effective local governance system sooner or later. The ISS will hopefully have a role to play in different States at some point of time.
- diverse implementation strategies across the States is an opportunity for ISS to identify weak States and propagate its ideas in a concentrated fashion.
- the subject of decentralization has already received international attention and the ideas of ISS would therefore have application even beyond India.

2.2 AN AGENDA SETTING CASE STUDY

An important study undertaken by ISS is the “Consultation Paper on the Working of the Constitutional Provisions (Part IX) for Decentralization — Panchayats” submitted to the Advisory Panel on Decentralization to the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution in 2001. The National Democratic Alliance Government set up the Commission in February 2000 under the chairmanship of Justice M.N. Venkatachaliah, a retired judge of the Supreme Court of India. The terms of reference stated that the Commission shall examine, in the light of the experience of the past 50 years, as to how best the Constitution can respond to the changing needs of efficient, smooth and effective system of governance and socio-economic development of modern India within the framework of Parliamentary democracy, and to recommend changes, if any, that are required in the provisions of the Constitution without interfering with its basic structure or features. The Commission was required to complete its work and make recommendations within one year. The tenure of the Commission was extended from time to time up to 31st March 2002. (<http://lawmin.nic.in/ncrwc/ncrwcreport.htm>). The Commission submitted its report in two volumes to the Government on 31st March 2002. In respect of the status of Panchayats, the Commission recommended several amendments to the Constitution. As we shall observe in the following sections a good number of these recommendations were picked up from the submissions by ISS.

2.3 FEATURES OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Ever since its inception ISS have been pursuing its concerns for local governance. The relentless efforts of ISS in keeping the issue alive is showing its results today, although one is not sure enough if the arguments will soon be incorporated in the Constitution of the country. It should, however, be clear that the acceptance of these necessary changes by the highest-level policymakers in the country is not just a result of the study mentioned above. Others — researchers as well as politicians — played their roles in concretizing the need for changes in the political system of governance of the country. ISS’s strategy in pushing through the agenda may be decomposed into three distinct but interrelated action points. They are:

- Keeping the issue alive through involving the civil society in dialogues and debates;
- Shaping the issue in proper perspective so as to be amenable to policy making through creating rapport with policymakers; and
- Enlightening the executors through providing them with an academic dimension capturing the debates on people’s participation as are emerging in the theoretical literature on the issues involved. It also took up a number of studies to understand the features responsible for success or otherwise of

development projects implemented by different states from the perspective of people's empowerment. Such an endeavour helped create a considerably rich knowledge base towards strengthening local governance .

Stone (2001) identified 12 ways of conceiving research-policy dynamics. They may be clustered into three distinct groups, namely,

- Supply side components
- Demand side components and
- Supply-demand mismatch rooted in a wider social and political context.

ISS's approach towards bridging the research-policy gaps is comparable to the third category identified by Stone. It tried to understand the issue as a manifestation of societal disconnection over the broader patterns of socio-political, economic and cultural influence.

2.4. ON ISS: EXOGENOUS FACTORS THAT FACILITATED INFLUENCE

The economic crisis on the external front that threatened to cripple India in early 1991, created an opportunity for the multilateral institutions to muster a stronger foothold in influencing the domestic economic policies of the country. According to ISS perceptions the philosophy of effective governance and identification of 'participatory development' as a means to achieve the objectives of poverty alleviation consistently pursued by the 'Washington Consensus' paved the way for partial acceptance of the ideas proposed by the institution. However, those closely following the process of strengthening the PRIs are not very sure if the agenda of 'liberalization' promoted so religiously in the country will facilitate provision of adequate space for effective decentralization of political power in the hands of the people.

The abrupt spurt of demands for separate statehood often accompanied with bloody agitations in several parts of the country during the 1980s also influenced the thinking on devolution³⁸ as a tool to facilitate deconcentration. People from several regions demanded separation from the states they belonged to and argued for carving out newer states for them. They were visibly unhappy with regional imbalances within the states afflicting their livelihoods.

The emergence of the politics of "Positive Discrimination" during late 1980s and early 1990s in the name of "Mandalization" and the subsequent emergence of "pan-Hindu" politics to counter it also led some policymakers to think favourably about the necessity of creating strong institutions of local governance.

We shall now digress a little to provide the readers with some details about Mandalization and the consequent emergence of Pan-Hindu politics in India. Right from the onset of the Indian Republic, the Constitution provided a space for "Positive Discrimination" within the framework of ensuring a bundle of fundamental rights to citizens. Seeking to do away with the age-old caste system, the Constitution recognized the rights of the socially marginalized sections of the society to be given some added advantages in terms of reservations in government jobs and educational opportunities in state run institutions. Coupled with these privileges they were also accorded the right to elect Members of Parliament and Legislative Assemblies (at the level of the states) in proportion to their overall share in Indian population. Initially, these rights were meant to be given for a fixed period of time. However, keeping in mind that the gap between the socially privileged and the socially marginalized did not narrow down — rather enlarged appreciably according to some — the scope of

³⁸ Devolution refers to channelization of executive power from a higher tier governing units like Federal and Provincial government to local level governments.

reservations was enlarged not only in terms of the time frame of its applicability, but also in terms of its coverage of additional sections of society.

The traditional Hindu Indian society is socially stratified across caste lines, controlled by what is known as the Brahminical order. The Brahmins and those belonging to the upper castes enjoy all the social privileges. The long tradition of their elite positions in the social hierarchy also helped them capture the lion's share of the existing political and economic spaces. The rest within the Hindu order are considered located lower down the caste hierarchy and enjoy lesser social privileges. The lowest category of those castes are recognized constitutionally as Scheduled castes. Those who did not join the Hindu bandwagon and practiced animism were identified as scheduled tribes. Constitutional provisions exist to accord benefits of 'positive discrimination' to those belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes right from the emergence of the Indian Republic. Prior to independence, many belonging to the scheduled castes also embraced other religions that do not stratify the followers on caste lines like Islam and Christianity. They did not enjoy the constitutional provisions for 'positive discrimination' as they were not Hindus. Over the years it was also realized that benefits of 'positive discrimination' should be extended to a group of castes lying between the scheduled castes and the upper castes — referred to as other backward castes (OBC). Similarly, it was also felt that people traditionally from scheduled castes who later embraced other religion should also have access to the privileges given to those who remained within the Hindu-fold. Mandalization refers to the institutionalization of these reforms initiated during early 1990s. Such a political process was strongly resented by "upper caste" socio-political elites and led to the emergence of a rightist pan-Hindu political outfit which ultimately came to form the NDA government in 1998.

The role of the Constitution Commission against this background in outlining the required changes acquired considerable significance in shaping the future of India. The Commission invited consultation papers from expert groups to elicit their views on several sections of the Constitution. As ISS have been involved in arguing for a greater and proactive role to the PRIs for quite some time, it was requested by the Commission to submit a consultation paper on the possible changes in the Constitution vis-à-vis the role and functions of PRIs in Indian democracy.

Given its persistent efforts in advocating for a strong PRI, ISS collated its large repositories of experiences on the fundamental weaknesses of PRIs and submitted a document to the Commission entitled "Consultation Paper on the Working of the Constitutional Provisions (Part IX) for Decentralization — Panchayats".

To ensure that the powers to the PRI is not contingent on the whims and fancies of the State governments, ISS suggested that Panchayats should be categorically declared to be 'institutions of self-government' and assignment of exclusive functions to PRI in preparation and implementation of plans for economic development and social justice. It also argued in favour of extending considerable fiscal and administrative autonomy to the PRIs. (Chapter 2 (p. 4-7, specially paragraphs 2.5, 2.6 and 2.7).

Some of the proposals of ISS were linked to the issue of strengthening local governance. It suggested suitable amendments to Article 243K to ensure:

- superintendence, direction and control of the preparation of electoral rolls for, and the conduct of all elections to the Panchayats being vested in a State Election Commission consisting of a State Election Commissioner to be appointed by the Governor;
- power to the Election Commission to issue any directions or instructions to the State Election Commission for the discharge of its functions;
- submission of an annual report by the State Election Commission to the Election Commission and to the Governor, and if needs be, at any time, submission of special reports on any matter which is of such urgency or importance that it should not be deferred till the submission of its annual report. (Chapters 3 to 6.)

The Constitution Commission accepted most of these suggestions and recommended them as the road map for the constitutional future of the PRIs in India.

However, with the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) coming to power in 2004, the recommendations of the Commission have been sent to the cold storage and one does not know if any actions are forthcoming from the union government in respect of the recommendations made therein.

Incidentally, the list of recommendations of the National Advisory Council on decentralization sent to the Union Government run by the UPA on 19th April, 2005 in the form of action points contain a few suggestions which coincided with those suggested out of studies by ISS. Prominent among them are the suggestions that

- PRIs should be the principal agency (instead of collectors) for schemes such as MPLADS. {A study by ISS entitled MPLADS: Concept, Confusion, Contradictions, published in February 2005 also argued in the same vein}.
- The district tier of local governments should represent both rural and urban populations. Article 243D needs to be amended facilitating election of a single representative body at the district level for the population — rural or urban. Correspondingly, Article 243ZD (providing for the Committee for District Planning) becomes redundant. [Para: 5.8 to 5.21 of the Consultation Paper submitted to the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution, 2001]
- The Sixth Round Table of Ministers in-charge of Panchayati Raj held at Guwahati, during 27-28 November 2004, endorsed the suggestions from ISS on elections in PRIs for "joint acceptance by the Centre and the States". Similarly, the Fifth Round Table of Ministers in-charge of Panchayati Raj held at Srinagar during 28-29 October 2004 endorsed ISS's suggestions on functional devolution.

3. ISS AND IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS IDEAS

Research by ISS and its persistent advocacy in the field of decentralized governance has led to conceptual clarity and convictions among policymakers and practitioners about the need for continuous fine tuning of the PRIs as well as the implementing instruments. Yesterday's sceptics are turning converts in favour of PRIs today. Changed attitude of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) — the party that was the senior partner of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) which ran the national government during 1999-2004 — towards PRIs is a concrete example. Public Interest Litigations (PIL) too have been used by ISS to get the ideas implemented when policy decisions of a particular government ran counter to the pledges made in the Constitution of the country.

However, the process of implementation of ideas has not been a smooth sailing for ISS all through the years of its existence. It faced considerable ups and downs in its journey towards strengthening the cause of local governance in India. Two factors — political and organizational — were responsible for the swing in its importance.

The first few years since it was established, ISS received considerable moral support from the Government of Karnataka, which honoured its recommendations and went about institutionalizing PRIs with strong determination. The Congress-led National government during 1984-89 perhaps in its bid to coin a new agenda that includes every one irrespective of caste, class, creed and religion went for 64th Amendment to the Indian Constitution in 1989 to accord necessary recognition to PRIs. The effort failed. The next Congress-led government that came to power in 1991, brought about the 72nd and 73rd Amendments to seal a constitutional recognition of PRIs. State governments at West Bengal and Kerala also went ahead with the job of strengthening the PRIs. ISS could considerably influence the goings on with its inventory of knowledge base and research findings. However, the commitment of the Congress Party to the cause of local governance has always been suspect. The failure of the state governments led by Congress over the years in strengthening

the PRIs is often cited as evidence in support of such an allegation. The rightist NDA regime between 1999 and 2004 saw the ISS lying a bit low. It emerged influential one again with the NDA government in 2004. Increasing reports about misutilization of funds by elected Panchayat representatives in different parts of the country also some times dampened the spirit of ISS in propagating the arguments in favour of decentralization.

The organizational concerns were influenced by lack of resources — mostly financial — in the course of the growth and implementation of the ideas of ISS. It could not expand in desired directions. Many studies, considered essential, could not be initiated.

Encouraged by the acceptance of its ideas by a larger section of those controlling the domestic political arena, ISS is now planning to spread the ideas across the globe. It is in the process of developing an international network towards 'empowering local governance' in several countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The idea is to share experiences from India with practitioners and policymakers from these countries and learning from their experiences as well. As a first step, it initiated an exchange tour programme for representatives from local governments in Pakistan and India. Efforts are on to involve those from Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

4. CONCERNS FOR FUTURE

In spite of all its efforts in inching towards the goals it created for itself, ISS is beset with a few weaknesses. It is felt that ISS is largely run by the Director and one is not sure if any attempts are on to develop a second line of leadership. Further, the thrust of ISS research has been on the political side of local governance. Very little research has been undertaken on operational aspects such as delivery of services like primary education, primary health, drinking water and sanitation etc. to the local people through Panchayats. Diversifying their research activities within the field of local governance will require a much more knowledgeable research team, which again will need substantial funds to support.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Literature on Research-Policy interlinkage argues that the process of policymaking does not conform to any linear model (Sutton, 1999: P 32). Juma and Clark (1995) rightly underscore the basic characteristic of the process as they assert, "...the metaphors that have guided policy research over recent years suggest that it is actually rather messy, with outcomes occurring as a result of complicated political, social and institutional processes which are best described as evolutionary" (quoted in Sutton, 1999: P 32). The present case study on the efforts of ISS in influencing the policy matrix of India also corroborates the arguments. However, some factors illustrative of ISS's influence in shaping the policy dialogue in respect of local governance are easily identified. The endogenous factors may be collectively termed as the conscious efforts by ISS to keep the issue of local governance continuously alive over a time span of more than 20 years in the public domain through studies, public lectures, workshops and symposia and involving all the major stakeholders in the process. Going through the experiences of ISS, one may be tempted to argue that a successful policy-research linkage is considerably conditioned by the sharing of common political values by both the researchers and policymakers. The felt need for identifying operational models of "good governance" to facilitate the process of economic reforms all over the third world countries, coupled with socio-political unrest in different parts of the country with a demand for greater autonomy may be identified as the external factors that complemented the efforts of ISS.

THIS CASE STUDY WAS ELABORATED ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING IN- DEPTH INTERVIEWS:

People from ISS:

- Dr. George Mathew. Director of ISS.
- Mr. B.D. Ghosh. Senior Fellow of ISS. Responsible for Kolkata Regional centre
- Mr. K.K. Patnaik, Senior Fellow of ISS. Responsible for Bhubaneshwar Regional centre.
- Dr. A.N. Roy. Coordinator, International Studies of ISS.

External Informant:

- Dr. L.C. Jain, Former Member, Planning Commission, Government of India, Gandhian Activist.
- Dr. S.S. Meenakshee Sundaram, Ex-Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Rural Development.
- Ms. R. Sarin, Country Coordinator, The Hunger Project, New Delhi, India.
- Dr. S.P. Pal, Advisor (Evaluation), Planning Commission, Government of India.
- Prof. R. Khasnabis, Ph.D. in Economics, Department of Business Management, Calcutta University, Kolkata, India.

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INSTITUTE OF STATISTICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH (ISSER):

GHANA'S CASE STUDY

By

Ekow Osam Coleman

MAY 2006

ABSTRACT

The Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research is a research institution within the Faculty of Social Studies at the University of Ghana. Established by the University of Ghana in 1962, originally as the Institute of Statistics, to run teaching and research programmes in statistics, with emphasis on methodology, collection and analysis of official data, its scope was expanded to include fundamental and applied research in the applied social sciences. It was believed that such a scope would provide the basic data needed for effective development and modernization; a move that will be beneficial to the nation as a whole. It was against this background that the Institute was converted in 1969 into the Institute of Statistical Social and Economic Research.

ISSER has seen some recovery in the last ten years after nearly two decades of considerable difficulty in carrying out its mandate, in the absence of adequate resources. While it has seen a marginal increase in the number of researches undertaken, there is every indication that the institution is capable of much more, and that the demands on it from different stakeholders are increasing steadily.

Funding for ISSER's research activities and operations comes from both international and domestic sources. Funding from domestic sources is erratic and constitutes around 35% of total funding and is mainly grants from the government, which are public allocations channelled through the university. These grants go largely into the payment of salaries and wages, and are far less than required to maintain a good research programme. Funding from local businesses and philanthropy is virtually non-existent, as the businesses have no research tradition. Since ISSER has a semi-autonomous status within the University of Ghana, it is free to seek resources from anywhere and manage these on its own, without the direct supervision of university authorities. This has often been from international sources constituting around 65% of total funding. Amongst these are USAID, DFID, SISERA, IDRC, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, the World Bank, DANIDA, UNICEF and UNDP. Most of this funding is tagged to specific projects with built in mechanisms that allows the institute to generate some overhead funds for institutional development. These funds go into financing various institutional needs, including research of potential interest. A significant financial support from SISERA saw the institute's infrastructure being rebuilt in 2001 - 2004. Thus ISSER's financial sustainability over the years has depended on internationally diversified sources. However, this is tied to the institute and its researchers ability to generate research projects and consultancies.

All researchers of ISSER are under the employ of the Faculty of Social Studies of the university. The research fellows' aside the research consultancies and projects undertaken are required to teach three to six hours on the university's MA/MPhil Development studies programme, which was pioneered by the institute. It is also mandatory for senior research fellows to present at least 2 publications each year. In addition to their high level academic training, most researchers serve on various committees and hold senior level positions within the university. Notable among these was the appointment of a former director of the institute as the Vice-

chancellor of the University of Ghana. Through this, researchers have gained considerable experience in decision making, and a sense of belonging to the university. ISSER also partners with other university faculty members on several research projects and provides an enabling infrastructure for over 100 social scientists at the University of Ghana to carry out research. Though ISSER is an institute established by the university, its planned activities and projects, rests with a 12 member Management Committee, which is the main decision-making body. The Director of the institute is the chair of the committee has representations from the senior staff, including the deputy Director and the heads of divisions, and representatives from the Social Science Faculty and other units of the University. The Management Committee reports regularly to the Academic Board of the University.

ISSER's achievements over the years include: capacity building for social science research; attraction of researchers from other units of the University of Ghana and elsewhere for collaborative and/or independent research; high quality policy-relevant and development-oriented research; providing information to facilitate the socio-economic development of Ghana; encouraging regional research co-operation aimed at regional integration; promoting human resource development through specialist teaching programmes.

1. ENDOGENOUS CHARACTERISTICS FACILITATING INFLUENCE

A summary of relevant organizational and institutional features of ISSER is presented below:

ISSER	
1. Founders	
Composition	Established in 1962 by the University of Ghana and currently a semi-autonomous research institution within the Faculty of Social Studies.
Role and degree of involvement	Through the Academic Board of the University, the University of Ghana is able to have oversight of the institute. A Management Committee reports regularly to the Academic Board.
2. Governing Body	
Composition	To provide legitimacy, leadership and direction to the institute, governance at ISSER is provided for by the statutes of the University of Ghana. These statutes allow for a Management Committee, an Advisory Board, and a Finance Board.
Government positions held by GB members	The Advisory Board has representations from government MDAs such as the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MOFEP), Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA), Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), National Development Planning Commission (NDPC), Ghana Cocoa Board, and Bank of Ghana, among others.
Role and degree of control	As part of the Advisory Board they provide the link between ISSER and the policy and business worlds.
3. Funding	
Sources of funding	Mainly from internationally diversified sources constituting around 65% of total funding. Amongst these are USAID, DFID, SISERA, IDRC, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, The World Bank, DANIDA, UNICEF and UNDP. A significant financial support from SISERA saw the institute's infrastructure being rebuilt in 2001 - 2004. Funding from domestic sources is erratic and constitutes around 35% of total funding. These are mainly grants from the government, which are public allocations channelled through the university and go largely into the payment of salaries and wages. Funding from local businesses and philanthropy is virtually non-existent, as the businesses have no research tradition.
Systems/Financial	Presence of finance board ensures systems and procedures are in place to

viability	regularly plan financial needs, and monitor and report on the institute's financial status. Institute's accounts are audited yearly, first by the University's Internal Auditors and also by External Auditors. Financially viable in terms of ratio of its largest funding from one source to overall revenue, its current assets over current liabilities, growth in funds mobilized and the level of diversification in funding sources.
4. Research	
Selection of research topics	Selection of research topics encapsulated in the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) document, the main policy document guiding the development agenda of the Government of Ghana (GOG). Research topics are selected in response to funding opportunities but related to issues in GPRS.
Research process	All research proposals and publications are vetted or approved by a Publications committee that considers the relevance, methodology and approach, time frame, expertise of the individual or research team, and likelihood of achieving impact on development policy.
Research characteristics	A mix of academic/applied research with priorities geared towards issues with the highest pay-off for the poverty-reduction goals of the country. Research programme is flexible and responds to changing needs of the Ghanaian society and economy.
Research quality	An internal review mechanism also ensures that peers at the institute crosscheck whatever a researcher produces. For consultancy reports and publications in refereed journals, the structures of these organisations and refereed journals often dictate the quality of research produced.
5. Staff	
Composition	Currently employs 51 staff, 64% of whom are professionals and 36% are administrative personnel. 34 male, 17 female.
Permanence and turnover	Professional staff turnover is medium. Most senior researchers have been around for the past 10 years.
6. Researchers	
Educational background	All senior researchers hold PhD degrees, mostly from European and American universities. Junior researchers, particularly Principal Research Assistants (PRAs) hold MPhil degrees.
Policymaking experience	Some senior researchers have held governmental positions and have served on boards of government and private businesses. Currently, two of the senior researchers have taken up positions as Member of Parliament and Deputy Government Statistician. The director and deputy director serve on boards and committees of government institutions and private organisations.
7. Management	
Organizational model	Day-to-day operations run by the Director, a Deputy Director and an Administrative Secretary who assists the Director. Operations are decentralized so as to ensure participatory decision-making.
Contracts	Most research is conducted by individual researchers with ISSER providing the infrastructure. When researchers secure funding above US\$ 10,000, 15% goes to ISSER. Any funding below US\$10,000 10% goes to ISSER. Performance appraisals are conducted annually.
8. Outreach and communication	
Who is in charge?	Though there is a publications officer, individual researchers are responsible for presenting their results findings to the public.
Publications	Technical publications, discussion papers, workshop/conference proceedings, policy briefs, etc. Researchers publish in refereed academic journals, book

Tools	chapters, journal articles, edited volumes etc. Two flagship publications: the “State of the Ghanaian Economy Report” (SGER) and the “Ghana Human Development Report” (GHDR) are produced annually. Web-sites (www.issr.org), (www.egnghana.org), in-house weekly seminars, public workshops and conferences.
Relationships with audiences	Researchers regularly invited to make presentations and share their research results at local and international conferences and seminars. Policymakers invited to in-house seminars, distribution of policy briefings. Other audiences include donors (World Bank, USAID, DFID, DANIDA etc.) NGOs, government Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs)
Participation in networks	African Economic Research Consortium (AERC), Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), Poverty and Economic Policy (PEP) Research Network, Secretariat for Institutional Support for Economic Research in Africa (SISERA) etc.

1.1. ORIGINS/YEAR OF FOUNDATION/FOUNDERS

The Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) or “the institute” is a semi-autonomous research institution within the Faculty of Social Studies at the University of Ghana. Being semi-autonomous facilitates its ability to mobilize resources from outside the university. ISSER was established in 1962, with a mandate to undertake fundamental and applied research in the social sciences; and to establish the basic data needed for effective socio-economic development and modernization. The institute serves a varied local and international clientele, including the Government of Ghana (GOG) - Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs), the private sector, NGOs, bilateral and multilateral agencies and the development community at large. ISSER was established originally as the Institute of Statistics, to run teaching and research programmes in statistics, with emphasis on methodology, collection and analysis of official data. It was also mandated to advise faculty and other interested agencies on statistical design, analysis and computer programming. The need to expand the scope of the Institute to include fundamental and applied research in the applied social sciences became eminent. It was believed that such a scope would provide the basic data needed for effective development and modernization; a move that would be beneficial to the nation as a whole. It was against this background that the Institute was converted in 1969 into ISSER.

Aside engaging in research and advocacy, ISSER in 1997 pioneered an MA/MPhil Programme in Development Studies. The scope of the programme has been enhanced considerably since its inception and the institute aims to make it a self-financing programme, which will enhance the opportunities for making it more fieldwork oriented. ISSER also runs a number of short courses that go for 2-3 weeks at a time. These have been developed by researchers in the last few years to cater for the growing demand for skills in development practice, as well as a source of funding, though its contribution is insignificant.

The changing needs of Ghanaian society and the economy, particularly as the nation is confronted with the urgent need to change in the face of rapidly growing poverty conditions in several areas, has seen the institute adopt a new strategic focus. This strategic focus is well captured in ISSER’s strategic plan over the period 2004 - 2010. Its goal under this strategic plan is “*to maintain and improve upon its position as the leading producer of quality research in the social and economic policy areas in Ghana*”. The institute thus will pay attention to issues with the highest pay-off for the poverty-reduction goals of Ghana. The vision and mission of ISSER over the period is “*to be recognized in Ghana and internationally as one of the most authoritative and credible sources of information and knowledge for the preparation of development policy in Ghana, the rest of Africa and in other developing regions*”.

To achieve its mission, eight objectives have been identified with each having its own appropriate strategies. These objectives include: Improving Organisational Effectiveness; Deepening Research Quantity and Quality;

Strengthening Capacity; Strengthening Training Programmes; Expanding and Improving Publications; Enhancing Information Dissemination and Advocacy; Developing and Maintaining Infrastructure, Equipment and other Facilities; Developing Networks with other Academic and Research Institutes, Civil Society, Private Sector and Public Institutions.

The institute's strong desire to contribute meaningfully to institution-building and research in Ghana have paved the path for ISSER to be in the fore in research provision as well as teaching services in the areas of statistics, social and economic studies for over a decade. The new strategic focus of ISSER will also enhance its prospects to be a true center of excellence for research, training and advocacy.

1.2. GOVERNING BODY

To provide legitimacy, leadership and direction to the institute, governance at ISSER is provided for by the statutes of the University of Ghana. These statutes allow for a Management Committee, an Advisory Board, and a Finance Board, which are reflected in the institutes organogram. The Management Committee is the main decision-making body of ISSER and has 12 members, with the Director of the institute as the chair. The Committee has representations from the senior staff, including the deputy Director and the heads of divisions, and representatives from the Social Science Faculty and other units of the University. The Management Committee reports regularly to the Academic Board of the University.

The Advisory Board provides the link between ISSER and the policy and business worlds, and is chaired by the Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University. The board has representations from government MDAs such as the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MOFEP), Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA), Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), National Development Planning Commission (NDPC), Ghana Cocoa Board, Bank of Ghana among others. Business and industry associations such as Association of Ghanaian Industries (AGI), Ghana National Chamber of Commerce and Industry (GNCCI) also have representation on the board. Other think-tanks and institutions within and outside the University are also represented.

Another board provided for by the statutes of the University is the Finance Board. The board has representation from the Finance Office of the University, the University Finance Committee and the Registrars Office. Other members of this board include the Director, Deputy Director, Accountant and 4 senior members of the institute. The board oversees the organization's finances, which are managed by a Chief Accounting Assistant of the University.

The activities of these statutory boards provide an overall policy direction for ISSER and ensure that effective organizational planning takes place to achieve the mission and vision of the institute. These committees are mandated to meet a minimum of twice in a year and submit regular reports to the Academic Board of the University.

1.3. FUNDING

Funding for ISSER's research activities and operations comes from both international and domestic sources. Funding from domestic sources is erratic and constitutes around 35% of total funding. The funding is mainly grants from the government, which are public allocations channelled through the university. These grants go largely into the payment of salaries and wages, and are far less than required to maintain a good research programme. A review of budget estimates made by ISSER and actual amounts approved by the government over the years indicate that the approved budget as percent of estimates have consistently been below 50%. Funding from local businesses and philanthropy is virtually non-existent, as the businesses have no research tradition. ISSER also runs a number of short courses that go for 2-3 weeks at a time. Though these courses also serve as source of funding, they are insignificant in meeting the financing requirements of the institute.

Since ISSER has a semi-autonomous status within the University of Ghana, it is free to seek resources from anywhere and manage these on its own, without the direct supervision of university authorities. This has often been from international sources constituting around 65% of total funding. Bilateral and multilateral donors, and foreign foundations and institutions make up the most of these international sources. Amongst these are USAID, DFID, SISERA, IDRC, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, the World Bank, DANIDA, UNICEF and UNDP. Most of this funding is tagged to specific projects with built in mechanisms that allows the institute to generate some overhead funds for institutional development. These funds go into financing various institutional needs, including research of potential interest. A significant financial support from SISERA saw the institute's infrastructure being rebuilt in 2001 - 2004. Thus ISSER's financial sustainability over the years has depended on internationally diversified sources. However, this is tied to the institute's ability to generate research projects and consultancies.

An institutional self-assessment report of ISSER in May 2004 concluded that the organisation is financially viable. Its financial viability in the report was captured in terms of the ratio of its largest funding from one source to overall revenue, its current assets over current liabilities, growth in funds mobilized and the level of diversification in funding sources. According to the report, the ratio of the institutes' largest funds from a single source to its overall funds (excluding government grants) was 24.4%; meaning the Institute was not over-dependent on a single funding agency. The report also indicated that there has been a consistent growth in funds from 2001 to 2003. Total funds (in US\$ and excluding GOG grants) increased by 48.7% and 55.1% between 2001-2002 and 2002-2003 respectively. Although total funds increased steadily over the past three years, the number of funding institutions increased from 10 in 2001 to 18 in 2002 but declined to 15 in 2003. Thus it can be said that while a growing number of funding institutions is good, it may not necessarily reflect on the quality of funding or even on the trend in flow of funds to the institute. Obviously, the amount of funding per funding institution is crucial for ISSER's performance and long term growth. The ratio of current assets to current liabilities has been consistently above unity from 2001 to 2003. In 2004, total inflows from projects reached the \$ 1 million mark for the first time and it is projected that the institute will receive \$ 2 million in grants in 2005 in accordance with its strategic plan.

The presence of a finance board ensures that systems and procedures are in place to regularly meet financial needs, and monitor and report on the institute's financial status. The institute's accounts are audited yearly, first by the university's internal auditors and also by external auditors. About 5 years ago, through the initiative of a former director, an endowment trust was established. The main aim of the trust is to dedicate itself to mobilizing some of the critical resources needed by the institute to improve and upgrade its work and future programmes. The endowment trust as at 2005 had yielded around 150 million Ghanaian Cedis (\$US16,484)³⁹. The trust is by law a charitable organization and therefore donations to it are tax exempt.

1.4. MANAGEMENT/INTERNAL STRUCTURE/STAFF CHARACTERISTICS

The institute currently employs 51 staff, 64% of whom are professionals and 36% are administrative personnel. Out of this number 34 are male and 17 are female. Currently ISSER's categories of professional staff include: Full Professor, Associate Professors, Senior Research Fellows, Research Fellows, Chief Research Assistant, Principal Research Assistants and Senior Research Assistants.

ISSER's faculty is made up mostly of researchers' who have interests and qualifications in the institute's two main research areas, namely Economics and Social Development Research. All of the senior researchers hold PhD degrees mostly from European and American universities. Junior researchers, particularly the PRAs hold MPhil degrees. There is a high level of interaction and cooperation among researchers from the different divisions, which sees each of the divisions calling on their expertise to collaborate in undertaking complex

³⁹ US\$ 1 = 9,100 Ghanaian Cedis

projects and issues. The institute's researchers also collaborate and have partnerships with other researchers from different departments in the University of Ghana and other universities around the world such as Cornell University, Harvard School of Public Health, Yale University, University of Houston, University of Sussex,.

In the area of experience in policy making, a few of the senior researchers have held governmental positions and have served on boards of government and private businesses. Currently, two of the senior researchers are on leave of absence after taking up positions as Member of Parliament and Deputy Government Statistician. The director and deputy director also serve on boards and committees of government institutions and private organisations. All researchers, through their work are also involved in interacting and consulting with policymakers.

Like most research institutions in developing countries ISSER is constrained by human capacity problems and poor infrastructure. These include the relatively low salaries, which lead to researchers being disillusioned and poorly-motivated. This often makes it difficult to recruit young, good researchers. The institute's office space is also limited posing restrictions on how many researchers can be in place. Its library has seen no significant refurbishment for over two decades and is hardly adequate. Computing facilities, until recently, were very limited and had little capacity for the development of communications, for example internet and email facilities. This has however improved considerably.

To deal with the problem of retirements and departures the institute as part of its staff development effort engaged the services of Principal Research Assistants (PRAs), with MPhil degrees in Economics and other Social Sciences. These PRAs are employed on contract for 3 years after which they progress to pursue PhD programmes abroad. Funding for such programmes comes from the institute under its G-RAP programme and the PRAs through sourcing for fellowship offers and sponsorship. The staff capacity-building effort through the use of PRAs has yielded some positive developments as 3 of the PRAs gained admission into PhD programmes abroad in the 2004/2005 academic session. It is expected that in the coming year other PRAs will leave for further studies. ISSER plans to find 2-4 PhD places for PRAs in each year as part of the staff capacity-building effort.

The professional staff turnover at ISSER can be generally described as medium. However, this is lower at the level of senior researchers as most of them have been around for the past 10 years. At the junior level, this is high, due to the low salaries and inadequate infrastructure, which sees most junior researchers turning to consultancy practices and other businesses and institutions. Visibility for most researchers is built through publications, participation in workshops, conferences and in projects of significance to the country.

In structure, the organizational model of ISSER is centralized with the day-to-day operations run by the Director, a Deputy Director and an Administrative Secretary who assists the Director to run the Institute. ISSER operates through 2 main research divisions which are supported by two other divisions: 1) Statistics, Computing, Communications and Information, and 2) Human Resources. Each of the divisions is organized around a Head of Division, with each of the units under the research divisions led by a Lead Researcher. However, in carrying out its activities, operations are decentralized so as to ensure participatory decision-making. There is therefore an internal management team, internal publications committee, and welfare committee to ensure effective decision-making.

In spite of the constraints, ISSER still retains a core of high-calibre social science researchers and it enjoys a strong and effective professional leadership that is internationally respected.

1.5. RESEARCH FEATURES AND RESEARCHERS

To carry out its mandate, ISSER operates through two main research divisions, namely Economics and Social Development Research. In the earlier decade, these were running independently with no clear planning of a research agenda. To rationalise its research activities and to secure funding, the institute developed a 5-year

medium-term plan to capture its research priorities over the planned period. The first plan ended in 1998, with the second ending in 2003. The second plan (1999-2003) had research focused on “*The Micro Foundations of Development Policy Reforms*” and was grouped under 8 thematic areas⁴⁰. Currently its medium-term research priorities, which is part of a longer-term strategic plan (2004 -2010)⁴¹ is geared towards issues with the highest pay-off for the poverty-reduction goals of the country.

The selection of research topics and projects are to some extent, encapsulated in the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS), the main policy document guiding the development agenda of the GOG. ISSER therefore selects from the GPRS those areas that researchers see clear deficiencies in knowledge and understanding, and yet are crucial for the nation’s development to guide their work. The current areas of focus⁴² of research are organised under 3 and 4 units in the economics and social division respectively. The research programme is flexible and responds to changing needs of the Ghanaian society and economy. ISSER researchers in 2005 were involved in 22 research/consultancy projects and this is likely to go up in 2006. Due to time and staff constraints as well as the need to have a balance between academic/teaching requirements of the university and contracts and consultancies researchers are not able to take on enough projects.

Examples of the types of research done at ISSER illustrate the orientation of the institution in general. “*The Gender, Livelihoods and Land Tenure in Ghana project*” funded by IDRC examines the impacts of the introduction of new livelihoods arrangements on production systems, land tenure and gender relations in Ghana. The study on “*The Impact of Capital Flows and Macroeconomic Policy on the Agricultural Sector of Ghana*” investigated the impact of physical capital and macroeconomic policy on agricultural production by modelling a production function for total agricultural output and the proportion of agricultural output that is exported or consumed domestically. ISSER under the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), Ghana undertook studies into the socio-economic development in Ghana with a view to establishing Ghana’s performance in relation to national goals and aspirations. Finally, the “*Empowering Farming Communities in Northern Ghana with Strategic Innovations and Productive Resources in Dry land Farming*” project seeks to encourage the efficient capture and use of rainfall in non-irrigated farming in order to manage agricultural drought within the Volta basins of Northern Ghana.

Most research at the institute is conducted by individual researchers, with ISSER only providing an enabling environment and the infrastructure to ensure the successful undertaking of such research. Occasionally, ISSER as an institute also undertakes research projects. The institute always ensures that the principle of encouraging intellectual freedom is upheld, and as a result most of the research findings are not considered as the views or position of the institute, but rather that of the researcher. The research output of most researchers has been in the form of consultancy reports, conference/workshop papers and to a lesser extent technical publications, books and refereed journals.

The institute pays much attention to quality of its research and this has always been rigorously applied to ensure that the reputation earned over the years as one of the leading research institutions is maintained. All research proposals and publications are vetted or approved by a Publications committee made up of 5 persons and chaired by the Director of the institute. In its evaluation the committee considers the relevance, methodology and approach, time frame, expertise of the individual or research team, likelihood of achieving impact on development policy, amongst others, and makes a decision. An internal review mechanism also ensures that peers crosscheck whatever a researcher produces. For consultancy reports and publications in

⁴⁰ The 8 thematic areas are *Public expenditure and household behaviour, Finance for small-scale investment, Agricultural productivity and household incomes, Food and nutrition security, Human resource development, Social reforms and social security, Gender and life cycle issues, Governance, decentralisation and the politics of development policy reforms.*

⁴¹ The first of its kind to be developed by the institute

⁴² These include: *Economics Division: (a) Macroeconomic unit, (b) Household Economics unit and (c) Institutional Economics and Social Division (a) Rural Institutions unit, (b) Population and Health unit, (c) Gender, Livelihoods and Technology unit, and (d) Spatial Development and the Environment*

refereed journals, the structures of these organisations and refereed journals often dictate the quality of research produced.

Funding for some of these researches is usually received in response to call for papers from individual researchers or the institute and the development of individual or institutional research proposals which are presented to international organisations. However, in most cases research is undertaken as a result of the need by bilateral and multilateral organisations as well as other international research institutes. This often results in these organisations/institutions dictating the research agenda. When researchers secure funding above US\$ 10,000, 15% goes to ISSER. This is currently being reviewed to reach 25%. With any funding below US\$10,000 10% goes to ISSER. This policy is adopted so as to cater for the institutes overhead cost.

All researchers of ISSER are under the employ of the Faculty of Social Studies of the university. The research fellows' aside the research consultancies and projects undertaken are required to teach three to six hours on the university's MA/MPhil Development studies programme, which was pioneered by the institute. It is also mandatory for senior research fellows to present at least 2 publications each year. In addition to their high level academic training, most researchers serve on various committees and hold senior level positions within the university. Notable among these was the appointment of a former director of the institute as the Vice-chancellor of the University of Ghana. Through this, researchers have gained considerable experience in decision making, and a sense of belonging to the university. ISSER also partners with other university faculty members on several research projects and provides an enabling infrastructure for over 100 social scientists at the University of Ghana to carry out research.

1.6. COMMUNICATION TOOLS/DISSEMINATION OF RESULTS

Though the institute is committed to open and timely dissemination of research outcomes, it does not have a well-developed communication and outreach strategy in place. Structurally, issues relating to communication and information dissemination are organised under the Statistics, Computing, Communications and Information Division with sub-divisions which include web site development, publications and training in statistics. Clearly, the combination of these activities has led to the ineffective coordination of communication and information dissemination. In recognition of this shortcoming, the institute has recently appointed a publications officer for the first time. This officer has thus been tasked to draw up a communications and publications strategy targeted at various audiences.

The outcomes of ISSER's activities are published through diverse media such as a technical publication series, discussion papers, workshop/conference proceedings and policy briefs, which are available as local and international materials. The technical publication known as the ISSER Technical Publication Series is the highest quality publication done in ISSER and is reckoned on the same level as a refereed journal. The trend in the number of technical publications has not been encouraging. Usually, they are not seen to be highly rated for promotion, and there are delays in the publication chain. None was published in 2001, one in 2002 and none in 2003. In addition, ISSER researchers publish in refereed academic journals, book chapters, journal articles, edited volumes and are regularly invited to make presentations and share their research results at local and international conferences and seminars.

ISSER has two flagship publications: the "State of the Ghanaian Economy Report" (SGER) and the "Ghana Human Development Report" (HDR) which is produced annually. The SGER was initiated in 1992 to fill the gap in economic data. It is a widely quoted and cited publication and an essential reference tool for economic decision making in both the public and private sectors. The HDR which has been published since 1997 is a comprehensive document that looks at changes in human development in Ghana and it helps places human development issues at the forefront of the national political agenda.

The institute is also a major organizer of national and international conferences and workshops where researchers and policymakers from around the world are invited to speak on issues and present results of research relating to the theme of these conferences and workshops. For example, ISSER with assistance from the World Bank's country office, in early 2000 organised a "Millennium Seminar Series: Ghana in the 21st Century" with the goal of developing ideas that should go to shape the country's preparation for socio-economic transformation in the new century. 15 seminars took place weekly. The presentations from the seminars were published in a special Millennium Seminar Series, intended to be a guide for policymakers, as well as stimulating the thinking of Ghanaians. An average of 50 persons attended each seminar. More recently in 2005 ISSER, in collaboration with Cornell University, the Africa Region of the World Bank, DFID and USAID held a major international conference on "Shared Growth in Africa", which focused on how to balance sustainable dynamic growth with broad-based growth that reduces poverty. Many of these researchers were Africans, reflecting the conference's goals of enhancing research capacity in Africa and promoting evidence-based policy-making. Over 200 people including about 30 policymakers participated in the conference and 47 papers were presented.

The institute's website (www.isser.org) is also an important tool for disseminating information about ISSER, its activities and research products to policymakers, researchers, development professionals and other civil society organisations. Some of the institute's publications can be freely accessed on the website. Another important instrument for communication is the creation of an e-based discussion forum known as the Economy of Ghana Network (EGN) aimed at discussing issues relevant to the proper management of the economy of Ghana and to the country's socio-economic development (more information about the EGN is discussed under section 1.7).

ISSER also organises weekly in-house seminars as part of its internal outreach to educate and debate on various developmental issues facing the economy. A notable aspect of these in-house seminars is the invitation extended to other participants outside of the institute. These seminars provide valuable platforms for intellectual discourse between ISSER researchers and the diverse audience that are invited. The audience include development practitioners, NGOs, the World Bank, policymakers from government MDAs among others.

A healthy collaboration between ISSER and Merchant Bank Ghana Limited to bring the organisation's research results and expertise nearer to society has been ongoing for 6 years now. Until 2004 the focus of this collaboration had been on the organisation of the annual "ISSER-Merchant Bank Economic Lectures". 7 of these lectures have so far taken place and have attracted very capable and highly respected speakers including the current Governor of the Bank of Ghana. The two institutions in 2004 agreed to expand the focus of the collaboration further and for the first time, ISSER brought together economists to discuss the GOG's annual budget soon after it was presented to Parliament. A step further in 2005 was the introduction of a new seminar series dubbed the "ISSER-Merchant Bank Development Seminar Series" on the theme "The Role of the State, Public Policy and National Development". For each of these collaborations Merchant Bank provides the funding and ISSER bears the responsibility of developing the terms of reference for the speaker, organizing the lecture and ensuring its publication.

1.7. NETWORKS

The linking of individuals and institutions in a knowledge and experience sharing framework is one of the key features of ISSER's activities in influencing policy within and outside Ghana. ISSER's experience with such programmes shows that by taking advantage of such networks it is possible to overcome some obstacles and build the capacities of both institutions and researchers. The institute, together with most of its senior researchers collaborate and partner with several research and policy networks and centres around the world. These include the African Economic Research Consortium (AERC), Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and

Poverty (DRC, University of Sussex), Poverty and Economic Policy (PEP) Research Network, Global Development Network (GDN), Centre for Regulation and Competition (CRC, University of Manchester), Harvard School of Public Health, International Development Resource Centre (IDRC). Some of these networks and centres have links to other research centres and networks worldwide which further deepens ISSER's networks and partnerships.

The institute's participation and partnerships with regional and international research networks have involved the support for commonly agreed research projects; the dissemination of research findings and publications; the training of future potential researchers; and financial support for research projects. In addition, the level of interaction with some of these networks has been in the area of information and ideas exchange, as well as collaborating on initiatives and research programmes.

Other partner institutions of ISSER include Secretariat for Institutional Support for Economic Research in Africa (SISERA), Centre for World Food Studies (SOW-VU), Centre for Development Research (ZEF) and Comparative Research Programme on Poverty (CROP), Yale University, University of Houston and Cornell University. These networks help in providing a critical mass of support for the coordination of activities and the sharing of overhead costs. In addition, the research networks help to reduce professional isolation, encourage exchange of experiences and create peer pressure for enhancing quality.

The institute is currently the host of an African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF) sponsored network known as the Economy of Ghana Network (EGN) aimed at supporting policy with research. Membership of the EGN is open to residents and non-residents in Ghana who are committed to critical analysis of the economic situation as the basis for advocacy actions. Participants include researchers, heads of government, MDAs, university lecturers, policymakers, business persons, managers, development professionals, among others.

The network uses an interactive website (www.egnghana.org) to provide a platform for discussion among members and to disseminate research findings and discuss their policy relevance. It seeks to make easily accessible to a wider audience the findings of all research being carried out on the socio-economic development of Ghana from the different parts of the world. The network also seeks to engage all interested persons in policy debates, and provide additional materials to public agencies to assist in enriching national policy making. It seeks to protect its independence from known political interest groups and therefore does not align itself with such groups even as it discusses issues of political interest. The network will organize an annual conference on the Economy of Ghana and disseminate the proceedings widely. It is proposed to establish an academic journal to serve as the main outlet for research on socio-economic development in the country, while producing easily readable research policy briefs.

The EGN is at an advanced stage of development, and already has appointed a 6-member governing council, 10 subject matter specialists and a web-master. The institute sees the EGN as a strategy to further network and collaborate with government and policymakers.

2. EXOGENOUS FACTORS

The exogenous factors that have provided ISSER a window of opportunity, or conversely pose major challenges to its policy research impact in Ghana can be viewed from the historical, political, economic and socio-cultural context.

The need for universities to support policy with relevant and quality research in the 1960s saw the establishment of ISSER in 1962. This was at a time of growing disenchantment with the progress made on economic and social development following the attainment of independence in Ghana. The institute like many in Africa at that time was to be the focal point of all policy research that would stimulate national development thinking and provide policy advice. The expectations from ISSER in the early years of its existence saw government being keen to either directly support them or encourage donors to provide the necessary support.

However, the economic crises and mismanagement of the Ghanaian economy coupled with the oil crisis during the 1970s saw a change in government priorities. The major priority was survivability of the government amidst the growing discontent and restive population. Thus the promotion and funding of policy research took a back stage leaving the institute in a bad shape and under resourced. This changed in the middle of the 1980s and early 1990s as a result of the urgent need to undertake economic reforms, which required technical expertise and analytical capacities. The experience of having to rely on expatriates for research and analytical capacities at a great expense led to a renewed interest in developing local capacity to undertake these projects.

Ghana's successful transition from a one-party rule to multi-party democracy in the 1990s further expanded the space in which policy research institutes like ISSER operate. The role of research in the policy-making process has become increasingly important. The demand for greater accountability on the part of the government at all levels has led to a growing emphasis on evidence-based decision-making. Current trends reflect a greater reliance on research findings from institutes such as ISSER, and on its researchers who produce policy relevant research to reduce uncertainty, improve effectiveness and accountability and lend credibility to policy development and decision-making.

The engagement of bilateral and multilateral organisations, donor agencies, International Financial Institutions (IFIs), amongst others, in the developmental process of the country has led to these groups having a major impact on policy influence in Ghana. Their use of institutions like ISSER for policy research has seen the institute indirectly impact policy making in the country. Most of the policy researches from ISSER form the source of policy documents and reports on the Ghanaian economy from these international organisations and agencies, which often find their way to the doors of government. Like in many African countries, organisations, often serve as third-party "interventions" through which the government accepts research emanating from the institute. They also sometimes draw the attention of policymakers to the existence of good and credible research in the institute from time to time, thus allowing some of the research to enter into the policy debate.

In its relationship with government the institute and its researchers do not adopt a confrontational stance to advance their works, but rather a practice of advocacy and collaboration is often used. Thus they are able to maintain a balance between being anti-government or pro-government. The socio-cultural values and behaviours across the country and amongst stakeholders of the Ghanaian economy reflect a country where much attention is not paid to research. This has also posed a major challenge to ISSER, leading to the inability of the institute to develop a formidable and lasting relationship between it and the private sector and civil society. Research is hardly demand-driven as these groups show relatively little interest in research activity.

It should be noted that research by ISSER is usually one of many, often competing influences on the policymaking process. Public opinion, budget considerations, political exigencies, timing, etc. are all factors that ultimately may override the influence of the most relevant, credible policy research in deciding a particular course of action. The policy process itself is also not transparent, even policy researchers may not have an idea as to where a particular course of policy action has reached. The time-frame for the policy process is also often not long enough, leading to little time by the researchers to engage key policymakers in the policy research carried out. This is usually due to pressures from the IFIs and other donor agencies, and government's need for budgetary support and aid.

In spite of all the above discussions which seem to be outside the control of ISSER, the institute has indirectly had success in influencing policy. Policymakers in Ghana seem to respond better to research that emanates from institutions that have a reputation for quality, credibility, and objectivity. ISSER's ability to maintain an independent stance on issues seems to give the institute an "honest broker" image in an environment where interest groups bring their own research to bear on major policy questions. This independence stance has been maintained through the traits of its research which is devoid of pro-government or anti-government stance as well its sound, unbiased approaches and skilled researchers.

3. POLICY IMPACT

ISSER can be said to be significantly influencing policy-making in Ghana, however, in most cases such influence has been indirect, mainly through the MDAs, development partners and other policymakers utilising independent research from the institute to inform the design and review of policy. Evaluating the influence of ISSER's research on policy development is inherently difficult. An assessment of the approximate impact of their work can be done through indicators such as: an enhanced profile of an issue; evidence of usage or reference to research by policymakers; evidence that policy research is incorporated into policy formulation; or implementation of a policy based on policy research evidence.

The institutes' multidisciplinary research strategy, diversity of its specialist researchers, as well as its established credibility as a leading research institute, has led to the increase in the number of research projects and other grants it could attract over the years. It has also played a pioneering role in highlighting several issues of interest, which have in turn enhanced the profile of such issues and have been incorporated into policy formulation in Ghana and other parts of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). For example, the project *African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)* was developed as a response to a request of the Governing Council of the APRM-Ghana to undertake studies into socio-economic development in Ghana with a view to establishing Ghana's performance in relation to national goals and aspirations. The outcome of the exercise was required to be empirically verifiable by an international team using acceptable methodologies. ISSER carried out the task which involved field surveys of 20 districts in all 10 regions of Ghana and several focus group discussions throughout Ghana

Working through the Social Dimensions of HIV/AIDS Infection Project in the 1990s, the institute pioneered work on HIV/AIDS in Ghana after the first official AIDS case was recorded in Ghana in 1986. Researchers at ISSER have conducted a number of researches into the socio-behavioural aspects of the disease in the country. The initial task of the project was to examine the feasibility of researching into sexuality in an African setting. At that time, there was the urgent need to understand the sexual behaviour of Africans including Ghanaians as there was very little literature about it. The finding of the research was that it was possible to research into sexual networking in Ghana and get reliable results. This was followed by a broader study out of which a broad picture of the attitudes, behaviour and practices of Ghanaians that could predispose them to contracting the disease emerged. Out of this study specific issues related to HIV/AIDS were researched into further. Some of the studies undertaken included the following: *The control of Ghanaian women over their sexuality; The coping strategies of households with people with AIDS; Out-of-school/street youth and HIV/AIDS; Itinerant women traders and HIV/AIDS; Long distance truck drivers and HIV/AIDS; Migration and HIV/AIDS; Management of AIDS by Health Workers; Resistance/Under reaction to sexual behavioural change in the era of HIV/AIDS.*

Results from most of these studies have been published in international journals, and findings from these studies have informed the preparation of several research and policy documents on HIV/AIDS in Ghana. Most of these researches were externally funded and some researchers were and are still called upon to play advisory and other roles relating to HIV/AIDS by government MDAs and other organisations. The Ghana HIV/AIDS Strategic Framework (2001-2005), which is informed by the GPRS, also, had input from research at ISSER. This plan was formulated in recognition of the developmental relevance of the disease, and it provided for a multi sectoral and multi disciplinary response, providing broad guidelines for sector MDAs, district assemblies, the private sector, and the civil society at large to develop specific HIV/AIDS plans and activities as may be determined by their specific needs.

The institutes' findings from research into issues relating to HIV/AIDS have also often been mentioned and used by the Ministry of Health and the Ghana AIDS Commission in developing national policies and strategies to curb the disease. For example, the nation wide study in 2003 by ISSER researchers on the status of children orphaned by HIV/AIDS revealed that it had rendered 170,000 children orphans and 173,098 were identified to be vulnerable to the risk of being infected with the disease. The study sponsored by the UNDP

and the Ghana AIDS Commission was to assist the GOG to formulate a national policy on children affected by the epidemic and pave the way for the designing of programmes and their implementation based on reality and the actual concerns of the affected children.

ISSER since 1997 with funding from the UNDP has been producing the annual Ghana Human Development Report (GHDR). The GHDR is designed to provide in-depth analysis on a selected theme through the provision of information and data. It also offers policy options from global perspectives as well as country-specific statistics. Throughout the report, policy considerations are supported by facts and figures in selected welfare indicators, education, incidence of poverty, HIV/AIDS statistics, human safety and security, good governance, gender and empowerment as well as the use of computers and the internet in the country. The 2004 report had the theme, *"Breaking the HIV/AIDS Chain: A Human Development Challenge"*. The report discussed the general status of HIV/AIDS in Ghana, including a close examination of the pattern of the disease, how it is regarded in society, its impact on the well being of Ghanaians, and the way it is being managed by both the public and private sectors actors. The report had an update from the 2004 HIV Sentinel Survey in Ghana and reported that the HIV/AIDS scourge has not only been a public health challenge but also a major challenge to the socio-economic development of Ghana. It said that the nation had a median prevalence rate of 3.6% in 2003, which translates into 392,000 HIV/AIDS infected persons as at the end of same year. The prevalence rate of infection in the country is reported as 3.1% in 2004, down from 3.6 in 2003. The report further argued that attempts to accelerate development in Ghana to achieve the MDGs will amount to little unless the state and society at large take direct steps to curb the devastating spread of the disease. The launch of the HDR often brings together government officials, diplomatic corps, UN agencies, development partners, key stakeholders on the theme of the report, CSOs, NGOs, academia, youth networks, the media and private sector actors.

The policy impact of ISSERs researchers'⁴³ work on informal finance and microfinance in Ghana and SSA which began in 1988 is easy enough to track. The institute conducted by that time the first survey of rural and microfinance in Ghana. Research on issues such as rural and microfinance regulation, informal finance for private sector development in SSA, integrating formal and informal systems of financing, among others, is widely communicated and cited by development professionals, microfinance experts, consultants, government and researchers. In addition, these works have greatly enhanced the profile of informal and microfinance issues in Africa, and have influenced a new generation of African economists in this research area. Researchers work on the creation of microfinance networks and the development of best practices in delivery of microfinance services have also led to the establishment of the Ghana Microfinance Institutions Network (GHAMFIN). GHAMFIN is an informal network of institutions and individuals that operate within Ghana's micro finance industry. Today, this informal group has been formalised and registered as a company limited by guarantee.

There is also evidence that policy research on informal and microfinance by researchers at ISSER is incorporated into policy formulation at the governmental level. Under Ghana's GPRS, government has prioritized the provision of microfinance, small loans and related services as an important strategy for pursuing its poverty reduction strategy for job and wealth creation. The prioritization of microfinance by the government has largely been informed by research at ISSER. The GOG's commitment to the development of the building of an inclusive financial sector has also seen it establish a Microfinance and Small Loans Centre (MASLOC) early in 2004 as an apex body for the judicious administration, coordination and monitoring of micro credit and small loan schemes and the promotion of decentralized micro financial system in Ghana.

Research at ISSER has also helped in supporting the GOG efforts in developing a national microfinance policy document. Their works have served as reference tools to members from the finance committee of Parliament,

⁴³ Works by Professor Ernest Aryeetey on informal finance and microfinance in Africa which began in 1988. His other research focus has been on the economics of development with interest in institutions and their role in development, regional integration, economic reforms, financial systems in support of development and small enterprise development

MASLOC, the Microfinance Unit of the MOFEP, the Non-Bank Financial Institutions unit of the Bank of Ghana, Association of Rural Banks (ARB) Apex Bank, the UNDP, and private microfinance consultants. It has helped them in their task to gain information on national policy, institutional and regulatory frameworks as well as provided capacity building and coordination mechanisms to assist in formulating the Ghana Microfinance Policy (GHAMP).

Research by the institute, particularly by Professor Ernest Aryeetey, who is a non-executive director of Barclays Bank Ghana Limited on informal and microfinance sectors and the integration of formal and informal systems of financing have greatly influenced the banks' inroads in the sector in Ghana. The bank in January, 2006 launched the Barclays Micro banking aimed at connecting modern finance with one of Africa's most ancient forms of banking, the Susu Collectors, in an unconventional initiative extending microfinance to some of the least affluent in Ghana. The philosophy behind the Micro banking is that a truly financially inclusive society can only be achieved by supporting existing, indigenous financial institutions that already provide financial services, either loans or savings facilities to the un-banked. In order to make the system as secure as possible, the programme is being developed through the Ghana Cooperative Susu Collectors Association, the regulated representative body of the Susu Collectors in collaboration with GHAMFIN. If successful, the bank hopes to roll the model out to other African countries.

The research projects undertaken by ISSER are evidence of the extensive involvement of the institute in indirectly impacting policy in Ghana. Through these projects the institute not only promotes advocacy and awareness for support of the socio-economic development of the country, but also it is able to serve a wide range of actors – government, policymakers and implementers at all levels, the private sector, CSO's, NGO's and other development agents – as a source of credible and quality research, and accurate and reliable data.

4. CONCLUSION

ISSER has no doubt had considerably impact in influencing policy in Ghana since its establishment. After nearly two decades of considerable difficulty in carrying out its mandate in the late 1970s to early 1990s due to limited resources (human and financial), the institute saw some recovery in the mid 1990s.

The institutes' multidisciplinary research strategy and diversity of its specialist researchers, makes it an originator of ideas and positions it to play a pioneering role in highlighting issues of interest to the society. It has established itself with discernable policy influence on issues such as gender and livelihoods, land reforms, HIV/AIDS, agriculture economy, public health and population, financial sector developments, regulation and competition, macroeconomics and economic growth, among others. Despite the institute's semi-autonomous nature it has never been easy for it to finance its own research as its finances from government have been far less than required to maintain a good research programme.

An institutional self-assessment of the effectiveness of ISSER in 2004 showed that the institute's peers, service users and staff felt strongly positive about its services. It was also highlighted in this report that the institute's research output has been increasing. The indicators of efficiency in the report also revealed that ISSER ranked high in terms of timeliness in the delivery of service and relevance of its research, and cost per service was reasonable. Its stakeholders were also positive about ISSER's development over the coming years, innovativeness, competitiveness and the competence of its personnel.

In conclusion, for the institute to further enhance its impact, it requires addressing numerous audiences and drawing up a communications strategy to help identify and target these groups. An effective use of its website is also important as this will enable it make as much information on its current research and programmes available to policymakers, development professionals, researchers among others. The institute's researchers must also not only present their findings in peer-reviewed publications, but also convey their messages to a largely economically illiterate public via effective oral communication.

THIS CASE STUDY WAS ELABORATED ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING IN- DEPTH INTERVIEWS:

People from ISSER:

- Prof. Ernest Aryeetey, Director
- Prof. J.K. Anarfi, Deputy Director
- Prof. Clement Ahiadeke, Head, Social Division
- Dr. Dzodzi Tsikata, Senior Research Fellow
- Dr. Felix Asante, Senior Research Fellow
- Attuquaye Clottey, Principal Research Assistant
- Edna Kwami, Principal Research Assistant
- Ama Fenny, Principal Research Assistant
- George Koomson, Publications Officer
- Gladys Okyere-Boateng, Administrative Secretary

ISSER Website (www.isser.org)

Economy of Ghana Network Website (www.egnghana.org)

ISSER publications and communication materials

External interviews

- Dr. Siriboe, Chief Director, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
- The Director General, Ghana Aids Commission
- The Chief Director, Ministry of Health

Secondary sources

- National HIV/AIDS/STI Policy Document
- The Ghana Aids Commission Strategic Framework on HIV/AIDS report
- The 2004 and 2005 Budget Statement and Economic Policy of the Government of Ghana
- Newsroom.barclays.co.uk/content/detail
- www.ghanaims.gov.gh
- Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Document (2003-2005)
- The Ministry of Health/Ghana Health Service/ Health Sector HIV Strategic Plan (2002-2006)
- Draft Ghana Microfinance Policy Document (2005)
- Daily Graphic, Tuesday, July 20, 2004

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACBF	African Capacity Building Foundation
AERC	African Economic Research Consortium
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
AGI	Association of Ghanaian Industries
BOG	Bank of Ghana
CODESRIA	Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
CROP	Comparative Research Programme on Poverty

CRC	Centre on Regulation and Competition
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
EGN	Economy of Ghana Network
GHDR	Ghana Human Development Report
GNCCI	Ghana National Chamber of Commerce and Industry
GOG	Government of Ghana
GPRS	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
ISSER or “the institute”	Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
MDAs	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
MOFEP	Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MOFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PEP	Poverty and Economic Policy Research Network
PRAAs	Principal Research Assistants
SISERA	Secretariat for Institutional Support for Economic Research in Africa
SOW-VU	Centre for World Food Studies
SGER	State of the Ghanaian Economy Report
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
ZEF	Centre for Development Research

INSTITUTE FOR URBAN ECONOMICS (IUE)

RUSSIA'S CASE STUDY

By

Tatiana Kolosnitsyna

APRIL 2006

ABSTRACT

The Institute for Urban Economics was founded in 1995 in Moscow, Russia, by a group of Russian specialists in the fields of housing policy, housing finance, municipal and regional development with the goal to provide analysis and assistance to Russian cities and regions in their social and economic development.

Prior to this, they worked for several years as local consultants to the Urban Institute (USA) in the course of implementing a technical assistance program under a contract to the USAID. The program came as a result of an agreement between USAID and Russian Government in 1992, and was an important component of Russia's official housing reform.

This international initiative helped to form a team of experts who were eager to continue their work and apply accumulated experience in reforming the housing sector in Russia upon the completion of the program. As a result of this decision a local independent NGO, the Russian Institute for Urban Economics was initiated. In the early years UI (USA) fulfilled the role of an incubator for IUE, transferring organizational and managerial knowledge, and expertise through step-by-step mentoring. Due to this strong early influence, IUE incorporated and effectively adopted many of the Western think tank features that provided for its further success.

Policy development and implementation remain one of the main objectives and strengths of IUE due to accumulated experience and credibility with the policy makers over the past years. Their success is based on offering new conceptual approaches and practical solutions to federal and local authorities in urban economic development at the time, when there has been a consistently high demand for expertise in these areas.

Since its foundation IUE has significantly grown in terms of staff size (from 35 in 1996 to 110 in 2005) and its budget (increased three times since 1996). It is governed by the Council and the Management Board, with the Board of Trustees performing important advisory role. IUE organizational structure is heavily dependent on funding per project, with the bulk of sources coming from international donors, such as USAID, WB and others. The domestic funding, though does not contribute more than 10-15% to IUE annual budget, seems to be steadily growing. The overall number of grants and contracts has grown three times from 35 in 1996 to 107 in 2004.

To provide expertise in a broad range of topics researchers' are hired from diverse backgrounds with all IUE researchers involved in consulting with policy makers at different levels. Quality control and well-developed communication and outreach strategy make the strongest features of IUE work. Organization's leadership attaches much attention to reaching the public and to dissemination of research results through the conferences, seminars and educational activities.

Currently research in IUE is organized around five main areas: *Municipal Economic Development, Municipal Finance and Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations, Real Estate Reforms, Social Policy, and Urban Economy.*

The selection of research topics at IUE comes as a result of collegial decision coordinated by the Council and the Department Heads. IUE conducts applied research on urban development issues and its competitive edge over the years has been policy formulation and implementation. It applies its expertise both at home and abroad, mostly in CIS countries. During the ten years of its operation, there have been multiple instances when IUE attempted to impact policy, and in many cases it proved to be a success. Two specific cases are presented to illustrate the IUE influence on policymaking at federal and regional levels. One of these two is a project of national scope *Development of Affordable Housing Market in Russia*, with the other one introducing *The Strategic Development Plan for City Dzerzhinsky till 2020*. Finally, the contextual as well as internal organizational factors that could have played the role in facilitating IUE influence on policy are analyzed and presented in a conclusion.

1. IUE ENDOGENOUS CHARACTERISTICS FACILITATING INFLUENCE

IUE most important organizational and institutional features

Fund "Institute for Urban Economics" (IUE)	
1. Legal status	Non profit organization
2. Year of foundation	1995
3. Founders	Academia
4. Governing Body:	3 Bodies
a.businessmen	Yes
b.academics	Yes
c.politicians	Yes
5. Government positions	No
6. Budget	No
7. Funding	Confidential ⁴⁴
8. Sources of funding	By project
9. Research topics' selection	Mainly international organizations
10. Research organization	IUE Council / Directors of Research Departments
11. Research features	Research areas
	Operational output
	Original approach
	Relevance
	Addressing local and international issues

⁴⁴ IUE annual budget increased about 3 times from 1996 to 2004 (according to internal informants). It accounted at USD 2.400.000 in 2000 (Source: NIRA World Directory of Think Tanks, 2002).

12. Researchers' background	Quality control Influence over time
13. Staff profile	Kandidat Nauk / Candidate of Science ⁴⁵ , a few Masters' from Western universities
14. Areas of research	Diverse (with economists comprising the core) Applied socio-economic. 5 main areas: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) <i>Municipal Economic Development</i> (2) <i>Municipal Finance and Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations</i> (3) <i>Social Policy</i> (4) <i>Real Estate Reforms</i> (5) <i>Urban Economy</i>
15. Research topics	First and second generation reform related topics ^{46***}
16. Staff number	110 (permanent)
17. Hiring contracts	Long-term
18. Who is in charge of communication	External Relations Director
19. Regular contacts with media	Yes

ORIGINS / YEAR OF FOUNDATION / FOUNDERS

The Russian Fund "The Institute for Urban Economics" (further, the Fund or IUE) was founded on November 21, 1995 by a group of Russian specialists in the fields of housing policy, housing finance, municipal and regional development with the goal to provide analysis and assistance to Russian cities and regions in their social and economic development. Prior to this, they were hired, among other specialists, as local consultants by the Urban Institute (USA) in the course of implementing technical assistance program under the contract to

⁴⁵ Kandidat Nauk / Candidate of Science is a local degree quite reputable and widely accepted in Russia, it precedes local Doctor of Science. There is no direct parallel with western degrees classification. (Western degrees though welcomed by international NGOs and multinational corporations have not been officially recognized by the Russian law so far).

⁴⁶ Sample Research Topics within 5 main areas: Housing Allowance Program; Housing Sector Reform Concept; De-monopolization and Competition Development Program for Housing and Utility Services; State Housing Certificates Program; Housing Strategy in the Earthquake Zone, Armenia; Migration from the North Pilot Project; Economic Development Programs (for Russian cities); Land Use and Development (for Russian cities); Housing Mortgage Lending Development in Russian Federation; Unfunded Federal Mandates; Improved Local Governance and Economic Development: Transition to New Growth; From Benefits to Wages; Development Scenarios for Russian Municipalities in the 21st Century; Development of the First Mortgage Securities in CIS Countries; Local Budget Transparency through Introduction of Individual Social Accounts, Development of Affordable Housing Market in Russia, Millennium Development Goals and the Risk of the Growth of Slums (in five CIS countries), etc.

the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). The Housing Sector Reform Program (HSRP) came as a result of agreement between USAID and Russian government in 1992, and was an important component of Russia's official housing reform. During its implementation UI (USA) with their local consultants, who comprised the majority of the project staff (Struyk, 1997), assisted twenty-five Russian cities as they initiated competitive bidding for municipal housing maintenance contracts and over thirty Russian banks in training staff, and developing procedures to institute mortgage lending operations.

The aforementioned international initiative helped to form a team of experts who were eager to continue their work and apply accumulated experience in reforming the housing sector in Russia upon the completion of the program. As a result of this decision a local independent NGO, the Russian Institute for Urban Economics was initiated. Years from 1995 to 1998 became the period of institutional development and gradual function transfer from UI (USA), to IUE (Russia) under sub-contract agreement in the second phase of HSRP. In October 1998 the process of transfer was completed, with interchange of contract roles for the partners, that is, a new USAID contract was signed with IUE (Russia), whereas the American think tank became a subcontractor to IUE in a new project.

The UI's (USA) early input into IUE development was significant; it fulfilled, to certain extent, the role of an incubator for the Russian NGO while transferring organizational and managerial knowledge, and expertise through step-by-step mentoring during several years. Among the features, effectively incorporated by IUE, on the advice of the UI experts, have been the elements of governing structure (e.g., early inclusion of the Board of Trustees); comprehensive quality control, characteristic of Western think tanks; well-developed overheads mechanisms, which allowed for institutional development; adhering to international standards of reporting on project activities and spending; efficient personnel management (e.g., annual performance evaluation), elaborate communication and research results dissemination strategies, etc. Not only IUE had moral, organizational, and financial support from the Urban Institute (USA) from its start-up (Struyk, 1999) but they have built a strategic partnership over the years. Raymond Struyk, resident HSRP director from 1992 through 1998 and a senior fellow at the Urban Institute, has served as IUE trustee since its foundation, and these two think tanks partnered in quite a few projects financed by USAID since then.

Policy development and implementation remain one of the major objectives for IUE, and one of the areas of their competitive advantage, where they accumulated experience and credibility with the policy makers over the past years. Even that the majority of IUE founders initially had come from the academic sector, they have been able to successfully develop and subsequently capitalize on their expertise. Their success is based on offering new conceptual approaches and practical solutions to federal and local authorities in urban economic development, when there has been a consistently high demand for expertise in these areas. The IUE original objectives have not changed over the course of time, but new areas and topics were added, such as designing economic development strategies, urban land use, social services and others.

GOVERNING BODY / GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

Due to its early exposure to a Western think tank model and advisory role of American partners, IUE structure and objectives developed along the same lines. In terms of its organizational structure and governance IUE has proved noticeable stability over time. The institution is run by three governing bodies: a Council, a Management Board, and a Board of Trustees. The Council exercises strategic oversight and the power of control over the institution's development and all critical decisions. It is a collegial body composed of IUE senior management and lead researchers, currently comprised of nine persons. To operate IUE activities on a day-to-day basis the Council elects a President and a Management Board from among the Council's members for a three-year period. The IUE leader and founder Nadezhda Kosareva has remained its President since 1995, she also heads the Council and the Management Board, with the other founders holding top-level positions and being the Council and Management Board members.

Since its very beginning IUE also has a Board of Trustees comprised of the prominent, influential business and academic leaders who provide advice to the Council on development strategies and important issues along with directions of activity, and cooperation with other organizations. They also serve as useful professional contacts. Currently there are six trustees with four of them being with IUE in this capacity since the beginning. Two of trustees held high-rank federal government positions in the past and two are representatives of reputable international think tanks.

In addition to these official governing bodies embedded in IUE formal structure, the bio-monthly meetings of the Directors of research departments, lead researchers, communication officers and senior management present a space where many important issues concerning the institution's development are discussed and recommendations made.

Regarding the government affiliation, the majority of governing bodies' members have had academic backgrounds with a few who held high-rank government positions in the past (at both regional and federal levels). Among those, one of IUE founders and a Council member at present, held the position of the first Deputy Mayor in one of the regions (1992-94); three of trustees who stay with IUE since its establishment held important government positions such as the Governor of one of the regions (1995-96), subsequently the First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Federation (1997-99), the other one was the Minister of Economy of the Russian Federation (1991), and R. Struyk (Urban Institute, USA) who held in the past a position of an Assistant Minister for Research and Evaluation at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (1977-79). Among the Directors of Research Departments and lead researchers also can be named a few people who worked as policy makers in the past.

FUNDING

From its foundation till present the IUE funding has been predominantly of foreign origin, with the bulk of funds coming from multilateral and bilateral donors, and foreign foundations. Among those, USAID has always been an absolute leader, though the dynamics of its funding have a clear tendency to decrease steadily over the years. While in the early years it made for 90% of the IUE annual budget, now USAID contracts bring in around 50%, which reflects both the increase of IUE total budget over the years (three times from 1996 to 2004) and the fact that USAID funding makes up a smaller portion of the overall IUE funding. The domestic funding from all sources has not exceeded 10-15% of the average annual IUE budget till very recently, but the situation seems to be slowly changing with the projected increase up to 20% in 2006. The number of grants and contracts has grown from 35 in 1996 to 107 in 2004. One of the facts of its effective management has been adhering to international standards of financial reporting since the early years, with regular financial audits conducted by reputable international company (KPMG) to provide for transparency and build up the donors' confidence in IUE.

An important feature of IUE is that it has always had rather strong emphasis on contracts with the regional and municipal governments all across Russia, who make a solid clientele base for their consulting services (more than 200 municipalities used their services from 1995 to 2005), but this type of activities has not been bringing in much money to IUE budget because the IUE services are targeted at local administrations and social sector, which do not comprise the richest of all possible audiences. IUE attempts to diversify into consulting and commercial activities have been inhibited by the restrictive Russian laws that do not distinguish between the commercial and non-commercial sectors, charging the same heavy taxes on any extra income made by nonprofits. By far, the income from commercial activities never exceeded 25-30% of the IUE annual budget. The same unfavorable tax regime makes it difficult for Russian NGOs to develop stable connections with local businesses to attract donations on a regular basis since the latter do not enjoy any privileges or advantages associated with the charitable actions except using them for their advertising purposes.

Since its foundation IUE has been clearly dependent on financing per project, thus, it has never been easy for them to finance its own research. Still they do have mechanisms built into contracts with their clients that allow them to generate some overhead money for institutional development. This makes the institution's reserve or fund, from where, after careful consideration, money goes to financing various institutional needs, including research presenting potential interest for IUE future activities. The current structure of expenses comprises 47% on technical assistance to government, local authorities, and consulting services, 20% cover research, and 14 % go to administrative costs. PR activities (including IUE website maintenance, library services, media relations, participation in networks, etc.), publications and educational activities make 5%, 10%, and 4% of IUE budget respectively. IUE does not have an endowment, which affects its financial stability, making it rather dependent on clients' interests.

MANAGEMENT / INTERNAL STRUCTURE / STAFF CHARACTERISTICS

IUE currently employs 110 full time staff, 60% of whom are professionals and 40% - administrative personnel. IUE infrequently uses outsourcing and part-time contactors do not usually exceed 10% of full time employees at any given time. Relatively high percentage of non-research staff is justified by a high volume of administrative support needed to run grant programs and activities in the regions all over Russia, which involves much logistics.

To provide expertise in a broad range of topics researchers' are hired from diverse backgrounds, such as engineering, law, mathematics, sociology, psychology, management and geography, with the economists comprising 1/3 of all researchers or the majority of the professional staff. 22% of them hold advanced local degrees of Kandidat Nauk (Candidate of Science), and only a few hold advanced degrees from Western graduate schools. Regarding the policy making experience, not many of IUE researchers held governmental positions in the past but all researchers are involved in consulting with policy makers at different levels through their work on specific projects at IUE.

The professional staff turnover at IUE is medium; it is lower at the level of senior researchers and higher when it comes to the juniors. One of the reasons for this is said to be a rather low-competitive compensation, which washes out young researchers to businesses and other NGOs. Senior researchers' commitment to their work and IUE mission looks to outweigh this factor. There are some non-monetary incentives for researchers, such as the possibility to participate in conferences, workshops and trainings, based on the results of their annual performance evaluation and institutional needs. For younger researchers IUE offers a promotional 5 layer ladder (specialist, expert, leading expert, project leader/manager, sector leader). Also, young researchers find institutional encouragement and support in defending their thesis, building up their visibility through publications and participation in significant projects. IUE management recognizes the importance of public recognition events and holds them to show people they are appreciated, to create a special atmosphere that allows people to work effectively and build their enthusiasm, and commitment.

IUE organizational model is rather centralized, with leadership at the top (the Council and Management Board) and middle levels (Directors of Research Areas) providing strategic vision and management of day-to-day activities. One of the interesting features of IUE internal organization is that in spite of its organization by research areas or departments there is a high level of interaction and cooperation among the researchers from different areas. Due to the complex nature of the issues the researchers deal with, project leaders as a rule build their teams by inviting specialists from different departments.

RESEARCH FEATURES

While in 1995 IUE was initiated with specialization only in the housing sector since then two to three new topics have been added to IUE research agenda every year, expanding its research activities into adjacent areas traditionally associated with the issues of urban life. Currently research in IUE is organized around five large main areas, namely *Urban Economy*, *Municipal Economic Development*, *Municipal Finance and Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations*, *Real Estate Reforms*, and *Social Policy* with some of them having sub-sectors.

The selection of research topics at IUE comes as a result of collegial decision where all major players have a voice; it is a multi-layer process. The IUE Council with the Board of Trustees' advice and approval determines the choice of strategic directions and research topics. The further selection of issues and themes within each large area is determined by directors of research departments and lead researchers. Also, in accordance with IUE internal policy, the departments have freedom to allocate certain time and money to explore new topics that might present a potential interest in the future. But speaking of a freedom of choice it is always useful to keep in mind that dependence on project funding often puts the IUE researchers under constraints, dictating the research agenda and the deadlines.

IUE does not conduct academic research and this has never been set as a goal. Its competitive advantage lies in policy development and implementation. The analytical work undertaken by IUE professional staff usually does not exceed 25-30% of their time and has a clearly applied nature. It serves to problem identification in the first place, provides the basis for developing political and legal solutions to the identified issues and to disseminate results on pilot projects and analysis. The bulk of the researchers' time goes to public and private consulting on the basis of their findings. Project monitoring and evaluation, in which the research component plays an important role, is another area where IUE conducts analytical work. In spite of the fact that IUE analysis and activities have been predominantly focused on domestic urban life issues, the scope and similarity of the problems faced by other countries of the former Soviet block has allowed IUE to extend its reach since 1998 and offer their technical expertise, while working on the projects in Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaidzhan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Moldova, Ukraine, and some other countries in transition.

Quality of research has always been paid close attention and rigorously applied at IUE. The internal review procedures are developed in detail with regard to any type of materials intended for public exposure and are a must for every staff member. It is required of any major publication (analytical papers, books, articles, teaching materials, etc.) coming from the desk of IUE researchers, with the Heads of research departments and structural units set responsible for quality of all outgoing products of the unit. Only if the publication submitted went through the blind review procedure, the requirement of internal review does not apply. To great extent this has become a result of early exposure to international standards of quality control through partnership with an American think tank, and partly due to the involvement with the international donors imposing rather strict requirements on products they finance and that their name can be associated with. Since 1995, IUE has published 190 books with the total number of 210,000 printed copies, more than 2,000 articles prepared with IUE assistance were published in periodicals, including international peer reviewed journals.

COMMUNICATION TOOLS / DISSEMINATION OF RESULTS

Among the key factors that have built IUE credibility and reputation over time, affording them to effectively influence the policymaking process are named their experience in policy formulation, the expertise of its leading specialists in their respective areas (about 20 IUE experts have been involved directly with federal level projects recently), IUE comprehensive approach to urban development issues, relevance of their research and accurate problem identification, offering government officials evidence based research results and clear outcomes, as well as bringing research developments to practice. Rigorous quality control, reporting standards, and delivery on time are also listed among the IUE strengths. Knowing / being informed in detail

about municipal and regional affairs makes one of the IUE features that presents interest to federal government structures, and their connections with federal structures and high officials appeals to regional and municipal leaders.

A well-developed communication and outreach strategy makes one of the strongest features of IUE work. Organization's leadership attaches much attention to reaching the public exploiting various tools and strategies targeted at its various audiences. Structurally it is presented by Information Center and Library as one of IUE sub-divisions headed by the Director of External Relations responsible for communication. Overall there are 7 full time staff who are in charge for various aspects of IUE communication and outreach activities. Top management and department directors are actively involved in communication strategy development and outreach.

IUE has a comprehensive media program, and carefully works on the institutional image development. Among the various vehicles used by IUE are the website, paper and digital publications; press conferences, telephone conferences to communicate with the regions, press releases and work with individual reporters on published stories, short public service audio or video announcements, appearances on TV and radio talk shows, informational reference brochure for journalists, etc. IUE regularly publishes its annual reports, both in English and Russian languages, where it presents the key results of its work to public. The effectiveness of the communication tools and techniques varies depending on the targeted audience.

The IUE web site (www.urbaneeconomics.ru) has been open for visitors since 1996. It has both Russian and English versions, and is an important instrument to disseminate the information on IUE activities and analytical products to the research community, among federal and regional authorities, local governments, NGOs and community associations. IUE publications are available for on-line purchase at a fairly low price. Another important feature of the IUE website is free access to an international database for local governments, the service that has become available to its subscribers in 2002, after IUE joined the International Local Government Information Network (LOGIN, www.logincee.org), which serves transition countries in the East Europe. The number of IUE website visitors in 2005 is projected to reach the mark of 900,000 (a year).

The dissemination of the results of analytical research, findings and pilot projects through the conferences, seminars and educational activities has been another important area for IUE since its establishment. From 1995 to 2005 the IUE staff have taken part in more than 1,500 seminars, round tables and conferences, the total audience of which exceeded 100,000. The IUE library collection contains over 5,000 titles (including periodicals). IUE has developed various types of training programs and materials targeted at various audiences. In 2001 IUE in partnership with UI (USA) developed a unique Policy Fellows course to provide government officials and NGO representatives with the policy skills they need to improve public programs. Among other educational products developed by IUE there have been short-term special training courses and skills development programs, as well as distance learning courses. In 2004, a long-term collaboration between IUE and the State University Higher School of Economics in Moscow resulted in establishing the Urban Economy and Municipal Management Department as a base for promoting IUE educational initiatives among graduate and professional students. Overall, 31% of IUE researchers are involved in teaching various courses to professionals and students in the best nation schools.

NETWORKS

Partnership with research organization, business and public communities has been another important feature of IUE activities. Currently IUE is a member of several international networks, such as Global Reporting Initiative, European Foundation Center, European Network for Housing Research, International Center for Economic Growth, International Union for Housing Finance, Society for International Development, The Transition Policy Network, Local Government Information Network, and some others. Among Russian professional networks it partners with the Russian Forum of Donors, Association of Financiers of Russia, and a

few more. With some of these IUE interacts at the level of information and ideas exchange, with others it undertakes joint initiatives and research projects.

The examples of the latter include a joint project conducted by the international team of think tanks in 2003-2004: IUE along with the Metropolitan Research Institute (Hungary) and Urban Institute (USA) within the frame of the Think Tank Partnership Program. Another example of joint research uptake took place in 2003-2004 when IUE partnered with the Association of Russian Economic Think Tanks to study economic incentives behind the charity and non-commercial activities and conducted a comparative analysis of law practices associated with these types public activities in various countries.

2. EXOGENOUS FACTORS: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

Since its very creation and for ten years of its operation in Russia, IUE has proved to be a success in terms of influencing policy formulation and implementation at both federal and regional level. Many laws, regional and municipal acts, and reforms have become the result of IUE analytical work and consulting to federal and local authorities. To understand the reasons of this success it is useful to have a look at the political and economic situation in the country since the moment of IUE foundation in 1995 till now.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989-1991 a new democratic wave was gathering speed in Russia. Along with disintegration of the old political and economic system new ideas emerged and new people with diverse backgrounds entered the political arena. Coming B. Eltsin to power in 1991 marked the beginning of the period of profound political and economic reforms in such a vast country as Russia, the reforms that have been continued by Eltsin's successor, President Vladimir Putin, after he came to the office in 2000. Since then sweeping changes touched upon every single area and sector of political and economic life in the country, bringing it through the painful transformation process of political and market liberalization.

The political changes during late 1980s – early 1990s led to disintegration of the older institutes and the emergence of different political ideologies and institutions, when different perspectives on the most acute issues of political and economical development had become available to broader public and widely discussed in the nation. This was also about the time when the research institutes acquired more freedom to conduct their studies and report on their findings through various channels. The independent policy research was put on the agenda in response to the arising need in the community to advocate and monitor specific changes in the political economy and society. Economic liberalization made certain sectors look for evaluation and technical advice, and the move to a market economy created demand for macroeconomists' expertise (Struyk, 1999).

People who came to public offices in 1990s, though enthusiastic and full of ideas about bringing life to its better, lacked experience and expertise in bringing in systemic changes of such a complex nature. To fill in the existing experience and knowledge gap, decision makers, government officials and analysts called upon the Western expertise and practices to find adequate solutions to acute domestic problems. Technical assistance programs and loans offered by international agencies like USAID and World Bank have become, among others, a successful instrument of knowledge transfer in many sectors of Russian economy.

Back in early 1990s, when the reforms were initiated, the point of departure in the housing and communal sector was very typical of the old soviet ineffective administrative system with its highly centralized top-down model of governance, anti-market relations between producers and consumers, as well as the mechanisms of price setting instruments. It suffered from overly centralization across all the system, where up to 90% of the property in the housing sector was state owned, communal services monopolized, prices for services frozen and heavily subsidized by the state. All these factors contributed significantly to the distortion of motivation of economic agents involved in this sector, creating the so called 'outlay mechanisms' (Y. Gaydar, 1998).

Housing sector was one of the areas where the complexity of needed reforms required special technical expertise. The Shelter Cooperation Program (also known as the Housing Sector Reform Program) became a vehicle for reforming the housing sector in Russia from 1992 through 1998 after the agreement between the Russian Government and USAID was signed. UI (USA) subcontracted by USAID provided the expert advice and was the one to implement the technical assistance program on the territory of a few Russian cities and regions with the help of local consultants. The priorities for the program were set as to elaborate the legal and regulatory basis for transforming the housing sector to a market-based operation, and the formation of a system of housing finance to make long-term mortgage lending available to the public (Kosareva, 1997). This is where IUE originated, where its founders had gradually developed their expertise, technical, managerial, and policymaking, and what finally resulted in creating an independent policy research institute in 1995, highly active in the policy development process, and in many cases successful in bridging research with policymaking on important issues of urban life development.

To summarize, in case with IUE, the specifics of the political momentum, such as arising of a window of opportunity, availability of spaces for research-policy dialogue, demand of research from government, and the complexity of tasks that required technical expertise in policy formulation in the housing sector over long period of time, all these factors were in place to provide for the building of IUE capacity in specialized research areas and facilitate its influence on policy in respective areas.

3. POLICY IMPACT

INSTANCES OF IUE ATTEMPTS TO IMPACT POLICY

As it was said before, IUE has had a clearly pronounced goal of influencing policy in the housing sector since its very foundation and, subsequently, in other areas of urban life issues that were added to its agenda over the course of time. There have been multiple instances when IUE attempted to impact policy, and in many cases it proved to be a success at both federal and regional levels. Its experts have not only been frequently invited to deliver advice at high levels but also have worked in detail on concrete policy questions.

One of early instances illustrating the IUE success in reaching policy makers with their analytical results took place in early October 1997, when there aroused an urgent demand from highest officials of the Russian government to address the shortage of housing for retired military officers. Then First Deputy Prime Minister Boris Nemtsov called upon IUE expertise to draft a program within fifteen days. Mr. Nemtsov had worked with IUE previously in testing a consumer subsidy scheme for retired officers when he was the governor of Nizhni Novgorod oblast. The program was delivered on time and by the end of October 1997 then President Yeltsin had endorsed the concept, which was followed by the issuance of the formal government resolution and subsequent program implementation (R. Struyk, 1999).

From 1996 through 1999 IUE took part in quite a few policy developments, among those it assisted in drafting the following Federal laws: *On Associations of Homeowners*, *On State Registration of Real Estate Rights and Transactions* (both approved in 1997), *State Housing Certificates Program* (approved in 1998), *Housing Mortgage Lending Development* (approved in 2000). Along with its input in policy formulation at federal level, IUE continued its work on reforming the housing sector in Russian cities in close cooperation with regional and municipal authorities. In 1998, when fiscal crisis caused social and economic problems in Russia, IUE developed *Municipal Anti-Crisis Programs* for Russian cities. In the same year, it participated in the international task group to develop a new housing strategy in the earthquake zone for the Armenian government. In 1999 IUE took part in the World Bank mission to design a pilot project of *Migration from North*.

The established credibility of IUE as an independent policy research institute led to the growth of international contracts and partnerships in professional networks. Analysis of the impact of federal legislation on regional

and local budgets sponsored by the Ford Foundation (USA) and completed in 2000 can serve as a sample of work IUE has been contracted for by international donors. The surveys and research conducted in 15 Russian cities to assess the burden of unfounded federal mandates in Russian municipalities spurred subsequent legislative initiatives of the federal government that helped to reduce this burden. Since early 2000s the institution has become more involved with independent assessment of the political and economic situation in Russia, and initiated public discussions on the most important issues of the country's development. Along these lines, IUE developed the City Barometer, a database on the socio-economic status of municipalities, and prepared a series of independent reports on challenging issues, such as municipal finance and urban poverty. Since the end of 2002, IUE launched a Debate Club to conduct public discussions on important issues of urban life, where the policy makers, journalists and experts are invited on a quarterly basis. This initiative proved to be a successful talk platform, aimed at promoting a dialogue on alternative approaches to the solution of urban problems. In 2002-2003, IUE undertook an independent analysis of the progress of local self-governance reform and organized extensive public debates on the new revision of the Federal Law *On the General Principles of the Organization of Local Self-Governance in the Russian Federation*.

The above initiatives are a few samples to draw a picture of IUE extensive involvement with the policy impact both at federal and regional level. In the below section two specific policy projects are considered with more detail to provide the insights into the ways IUE influences the policy at both levels.

SPECIFIC POLICY PROJECTS

National project

In 2003 the federal government of the Russian Federation declared the beginning of a few initiatives, so called 'national projects' directed toward reforming certain sectors of Russian economy. Development of Affordable Housing Market (DAHM) in Russia has become one of these national projects. The task force to conduct the analysis of major issues and develop a package of bills and amendments needed to allow for the development of the affordable housing market in Russia was initiated on the basis of the Center for Strategic Research, a local think tank established under the auspices of federal government as a platform for expert discussions and analysis in the areas of strategic interest to government. The work of the group was supervised by I. Shuvalov, Assistant to President Vladimir Putin, with Nadezhda Kosareva, the President of IUE appointed as the chief of the expert task force for DAHM.

As part of the group work, on the basis of public opinion polls and surveys distributed to major banks and construction companies, the follow-up in depth analysis and modeling were conducted in the phase preceding the development of the legislature component. During 2003-2004 the task force held meetings on a weekly basis with about 300 experts overall who participated at different stages in analysis and expert discussions of various aspects of the project. The group has been engaged in close interaction with the office of the President, the State Duma (Russian Parliament), the Federation Council, relevant federal ministries and agencies, regional authorities and local governments, leading banks, construction companies, expert organizations, NGOs, and local associations (<http://www.csr.ru>).

Following a year and a half of intensive work, a package of federal laws associated with the development of affordable housing market was approved. The package included 26 Federal laws, among those the RF Housing Code, the RF Town Planning code, laws amending civil legislation, mortgage and mortgage securities legislation, tax and budget legislation, etc. The role of IUE has been of a lead organization with approximately 20 IUE specialists taken part over the course of work on the project. In September 2005, President Putin officially announced the Development of Affordable Housing Market in Russia a national priority program along with a few others being part of his political platform. N. Kosareva has been invited to informally advise an Assistant to President. The work on the program has moved to the phase of approvals by relevant ministries and agencies.

Sample Municipal Project

In 2003 -2004 IUE specialists have been invited by Mayor of city Dzerzhinskiy, Moscow oblast to provide an expert analysis and advice on municipal development of the locality. There was clearly a window of opportunity at play, with the new administrative team that entered the public office a few years before, when the city acquired an independent status (before it was part of another municipal unit with no separate governing structure). In the result, the newly chosen city authorities actively sought for a new identity and expert advice. They were open for new ideas and practices that would help them improve living conditions of the city population and the city image, to make it more attractive for investments and businesses. As a result of a year collaboration between IUE experts, municipal administration and with representatives of the local community, the *Strategic Development Plan for City Dzerzhinsky till 2020* was elaborated and now is being implemented. The plan was developed on the basis of analysis of available resources, strengths and weaknesses of the city economy as well as on its geographic location, history, traditions and self-perceptions. The following is the brief outline of how the research-policy bridging usually happens at the municipal level.

As it proved to be the case with Dzerzhinskiy, IUE events conducted in the regions, such as conferences and workshops, often make the zone of first contacts where IUE experts meet with regional authorities, representatives of NGOs, and community associations. It often happens that representatives of municipal and regional authorities and high level federal officials attend these events, which in itself present an excellent opportunity for peers to make connections and arrangements for the future, exchange opinions and experiences, negotiate, etc. On the other hand, these meetings create the so much needed space for research-policy dialogue in the regions, where IUE disseminates the results of its analytical work and offers experts' advice on various issues of municipal development. Catalogues of IUE services are widely distributed at such events to further disseminate their products to those who might be interested in them. . In case there is an interest to learn about some of their products with more depth, representatives from the region are invited to Moscow to meet with specialists, and if the interest persists, the team of IUE experts visits the locality to present its product to local administration and community. Since 1995, IUE specialists conducted more than 1500 seminars, workshops, round tables, and conferences, with more than 100 000 attendees. The information about the events is spread through various channels, such as the IUE web site, publications, brochures, and promotional materials. In the last few years, it acquired a more and more targeted character, with the announcements sent through municipal associations and IUE database developed for ten years of its operation.

CONCLUSION

IUE has attained remarkable achievements over the 10-year course of its work. There were more and less successful projects in its history, many innovative ideas and demonstration projects originated with IUE and were then disseminated nationwide, many of its efforts have had a profound national impact. Below are summarized the critical endogenous and exogenous factors that facilitated this think tank's influence on policy formulation and implementation as they are seen from inside and outside.

Among institutional and organizational variables that have helped IUE to successfully engage in policy influence can be named strong leadership and management. It is a well-run institution in many respects; in terms of financial and research management, its leaders have been able to capitalize on favorable start-up conditions and develop the institutional capacity. The policy development experience developed over time along with a gradual expanding into adjacent research areas added value to their expertise, affording them a comprehensive approach to urban problems solutions. This, along with rigorous quality control and accurate problem identification has earned them credibility with policymakers and donors. In addition, IUE management has been able to develop and keep the team of enthusiastic researchers.

IUE experts have learned to bring their research developments in practice and follow a clear effective formula in operating the most complex projects: issue identification and analysis is followed by development of the reform concept along with creating a legal base at the appropriate level of government, which results in implementation of demonstration projects, followed by monitoring and evaluation phase. Then follows dissemination of results of successful demonstration projects to other regional and economic entities through education programs and publications, and finally comes institutionalization of the reforms and/or mechanisms, introduction and replication of programs. Offering government officials evidence based research results, being in concert with the spirit of time adds to their strengths. Knowledge in detail about municipal and regional affairs, accumulated over the years turned them into useful partners to federal government structures; again, their connections with high federal officials make them even more attractive for regional authorities. A developed communication strategy and involvement with networks allow to further broaden their reach of various audiences.

Among exogenous factors facilitating IUE Influence on policy there are quite a few factors: favorable start-up with gradual transfer of organizational and managerial knowledge, and expertise from UI (USA) along with the long-term and repeated contracts from major donors (USAID, WB), which helped IUE to build institutional capacity, develop long-term agenda and strategy in the early years. There were clearly windows of opportunity associated with the political momentum, that is, coming to power of the reformist government with many new people appointed to public offices who opened the doors for experts' opinion. There was (and there still is) high demand for technical expertise in Russia in the beginning of reforms, no strong competitors and there were spaces available for research-policy dialogue (mass media, working groups, commissions, etc.). The fact that many Russian cities experience steady revitalization in the last 10-15 years has made the demand for IUE services stable. It has what to offer and its products present an interest to municipal governments.

THIS CASE STUDY WAS ELABORATED ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS:

People from IUE:

- *Anastassia Alexandrova. Director. Social Policy.*
- *Galina Golenkova. Financial Director. IUE Council Member.*
- *Nadezhda Kosareva. President. Co-founder. IUE Council Member. Management Board Member.*
- *Marina Liborakina. Executive Director. IUE Council Member. Management Board Member.*
- *Alexander Puzanov. General Director. Co-founder. IUE Council Member. Management Board Member.*
- *German Vetrov. Director. Municipal Economic Development.*
- *Natalya Yaitsova. Librarian.*
- *Yelena Yelagina. External Relations Director.*

External Informants:

- *Sergei Kruglik. Head of Department for Construction, Housing and Communal Facilities (Rosstroy of Russia), RF Ministry of Industry and Energy. Has been working with IUE in different capacities since 1996, currently supervises directly policy formulation commissioned by RF government*
- *Rafail Narinsky. Activity manager, Certified Technical Officer. USAID / Russia. Currently in charge for supervising USAID projects run at IUE.*
- *Natalya Samarina. Correspondent. Vedomosty (Russian Business Newspaper)*
- *Anvar Shamuzafarov. Acting Director. National Fund for Housing Reform. NGO. Former Chairperson, State Committee of the Russian Federation for Construction, Housing and Communal Sector (Gosstroy of Russia). Worked first with UI (USA) since 1991 and then with IUE from 1995 through*

2005 in various capacities, including direct supervision of IUE analytical work and policy formulation commissioned by RF government)

- Raymond Struyk. Senior Fellow. Urban Institute, USA. IUE Board of Trustees Member since 1996.

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- *Annual Report 1997*. The Institute for Urban Economics.
- *Аналитический доклад «проблемы налогового режима для благотворительности и негосударственных некоммерческих организаций и перспективы его изменения»*, И.Ю. Иванова, М.И. Либоракина, А.К. Толмасова. Association of Russian Economic Think Tanks.
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- Center for Strategic Research <http://www.csr.ru>
- Think Tank Partnership program www.ttp.info
- Urban Institute (USA) <http://www.urban.org>

PROVIDUS
LATVIA'S CASE STUDY

By
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ABSTRACT

Providus was established in December 2002 as an independent, non-partisan research center, associated with Soros Foundation Latvia, which was created ten years earlier and was one of the first think tanks after independence to propagate open society ideas and values in the country. The main research areas of Providus are criminal justice, education policy, corruption and political party financing. Besides conducting research, which ensures reputation of the think tank, Providus also provides consulting services to governmental institutions, international organizations and NGOs. Since its establishment, Providus research has consistently focused on the initially chosen topics, which are oriented towards policy and legal issues.

Although Providus is a young research center, it has already established a reputation and has an important role in promoting policy debate in the country. The think tank has succeeded in involving the general public in policy discussions via the information portal that it has developed, www.policy.lv. Providus has established its reputation as a result of carefully choosing research areas that are relevant and urgent, and that attract attention from international organizations, journalists and the general public. The institution's core research projects do not bring in revenue but do require constant investment. In order to ensure their continuation, Providus supports these core projects with the revenues generated by consultancy projects commissioned by governmental and non-governmental institutions.

The critical success factors for Providus, are the initial funding and the safety cushion provided by the Soros Foundation. Further the think tank's focus on a narrow number of research issues (each one being a long term project) and the strategic alliance with Transparency International allowed gaining visibility and added weight to the research. Largely it can be claimed that favorable external environment contributed to the success of Providus. Latvia is a small country, which facilitates linkages to policymakers who are willing to listen and attend meetings and discussions organized by the policy think tanks and other interest groups. Finally, the general pro-European orientation of the country undergoing transition and experiencing problems in the policy process, i.e. intrasparency and corruption, made Providus-promoted ideas popular.

Providus influence on policy can be seen in their research project on the aspects of political party financing in Latvia, where the institute capitalized on the pre-election window of opportunity to immensely gain in visibility. Providus managed to show how intransparent and corrupt is the current system of political party financing and proposed amendments to the current law, limiting the amount spent on election campaigns. The proposition was incorporated into the law on Political Party Financing and its effectiveness was tested during the municipal elections in 2005.

The factors that contributed to Providus success in propagating the ideas for changing the system of political party financing were: 1) Political context: parliament elections in 2002 indicated that excessive campaign financing significantly affected the results and also fostered concern of a large-scale state take-over amongst international organizations; 2) Reputation: Providus researchers had an established reputation for being

experts in policy analysis and their research was appreciated by the political parties that recognized the need to amend the law; 3) Seeking and incorporating feedback: Providus' research involved organizing policy debates in which politicians, journalists and the general public participated. The feedback gained was essential in developing quality propositions; 4) Networking: co-operation with the Latvian branch of Transparency International branch, Delna and the State Anti-Corruption Bureau contributed to credibility of the research and propositions.

It should be pointed out that the organization's research in the area of corruption and political party financing in Latvia continues to be an ongoing project. Although some of the propositions developed by Providus have been applied, there are still a number of unresolved issues concerning the election campaign advertising and intransparencies in the sources of financing of political parties, and others, which will require active involvement throughout the upcoming years. It will be possible to evaluate the effects of the research carried out by Providus and the accompanying of amendments in legislation after the parliament elections in 2006, which are likely to bring up new problems in the party financing schemes and new policy debates.

KEY FACTS ON PROVIDUS

Providus		
1. Founders		
Composition		93% local private, 7% international – donors.
Role and degree of involvement		All of the founders are active members, researchers and analysts. Established on the base of Soros Foundation Latvia.
2. Governing Body:		
Composition		95% academics (local / international); 5 % Soros Foundation Latvia
Government positions held by GB members		Positions in expert groups and advisory commissions in several ministries, Anti-Corruption bureau, parliament
Role and degree of control		Active involvement in the activities of the think tank
3. Budget		
Expenditures		95% research, 5% general administrative costs
Sources of funding		Soros Foundation grant, projects, consultancies
4. Research		
Selection of research topics		Selected by Providus members. 2 of the 3 core research lines inherited from Soros Foundation Latvia
Research process		Internal and external review, external consultations
Research characteristics		Academic and applied; addressing local issues in policymaking
Research quality		Relevance and quality of research, involvement of the

		general public
5. Staff		
	Composition	Mainly political scientists and legal experts
	Permanence and turnover	15 full time, additional researchers employed on a project basis
6. Researchers		
	Educational background	2 Ph.D., the rest Master's degree
	Policymaking experience	Most researchers are experts in particular policymaking aspects, they hold expert positions in commissions with ministries, offer consultation services to the government, local municipalities, international organisations, NGOs
7. Management		
	Organizational model	Decentralized, as the core staff members are the owners Commonly set strategic vision and common management of the centre's activities
	Contracts	Depending on the degree of involvement: fixed, on a project base, short-term agreements with experts
8. Outreach and communication		
	Who is in charge, is there a strategy	Explicit communication strategy, directly approaching the interest groups
	Publications	Regular publications on the portal www.policy.lv . Other publications and books for the purposes of universities and policy makers.
	Tools	Portal www.policy.lv ; interactions with media; organization of seminars and discussions with the participation of government representatives and media journalists. Participation in international conferences
	Relationships with audiences	Involvement in government commissions Communication with the NGOs and other policy think tanks in Latvia and abroad Communication via the internet portal
	Participation in networks	Policy Association for Open Society (PASOS)

ORIGINS OF THE THINK TANK

Although the Centre for Public Policy Providus was founded in December 2002 it continued policy work that was originally begun as early as 1992 by the Soros Foundation - Latvia. The Soros Foundation was

established with the aim to promote open society ideas the recently-independent Latvia; its main priorities were the establishment of an integrated society and the strengthening of civil society and the rule of law. It must be stressed that at the beginning of 1990s there was practically no research tradition in public policy, and the society, which was accustomed to the authoritarian way of political decision making that characterized the communist system, had never seen political debates or been involved in discussions. Consequently, very few research centers had been developed, and the only ones that existed were small structures under the local universities, which were not active in policy analysis. Therefore, in the socio-political context of the 1990s, the ideas and projects, supported by Soros Foundation Latvia, as well as the experience the institution brought, were invaluable for the development of a research tradition in the country, for initiating policy debates and for promoting policy decisions based on analysis. These principles were inherited by Providus and form part of the organisation's identity.

During the 1990s the Soros Foundation Latvia was involved in financing a number of major projects aimed at strengthening democracy in the country. However, after ten years of independence the country had reached a certain level of development; there was less need for donations to promote democracy. Also the local experts had acquired considerable experience in the field of policy analysis and consequently were able to start working independently, which was one of the main reasons for establishing a new think tank, Providus. Another reason for developing an independent policy research institute was the degree of controversy associated with the name of George Soros who is the originator of the network of Soros foundations and its main donor, as it was said that Soros had formerly earned profit via dubious large-scale financial affairs. It was believed that as an independent centre Providus could more effectively influence the Latvian policy-making process and improve the quality of policy decisions.

The originators of the centre were mainly researchers and analysts who had gained experience with Soros Foundation Latvia who were recognized in the society as experts in particular fields of political processes and civil society. Their opinions were valued both by politicians and journalists. Additionally, they had developed comprehensive understandings of the legal mechanisms used to influence Latvian policy processes, which facilitated their ability to put forward ideas and to establish bonds with government leaders and other policymakers. It must be stressed that the legislation in Latvia explicitly develops procedures and mechanisms to regulate how each individual and institution can influence policy decision making, among these the most important being the rules of procedures of the parliament. However in order to achieve policy impact, it is essential that one is acquainted with the nuances of the system, i.e. when, how and in which form to submit a proposal for it to be reviewed, which requires in depth knowledge of the local law. Experts working with Providus have a good understanding of the legal processes involved in influencing policy process, which is regarded as a significant advantage in the context of the political environment in Latvia.

When it was established, Providus received a grant from the Soros Foundation, which helped the think tank to carry on research as an independent centre. The amount of the grant was to be diminished each year to motivate the centre to work efficiently and to attract its own financing. It can be claimed that the financial resources granted, along with the research experience of Providus staff were among the critical factors that allowed the organisation to focus on academic research, and to continue analyses of policy decision-making that require considerable time and human resources but that do not automatically generate income. Although the centre has operated only for three years, it has already gained a reputation for the quality of its research quality, and ability to spot and to initiate debates on contemporary issues in the political and social arenas.

GOVERNING BODY

The governing body of Providus is comprised of 12 individuals, including all of its founders, and its core researchers and analysts. According to its legal status, e Providus is considered an association, which means that new researchers can also become full members of Providus and take part in decision-making. One of the governing body's votes is given to the Soros Foundation due to historical reasons. Generally, the decision

making in the think tank is more lateral than centralised since all of the core researchers are members of the board and make decisions together. The board reviews the institution's aims, sets an activity plan for the year, plans the budget and convenes once per week to discuss current issues. However, as the think tank is so small, there is no obvious need to strictly adhere to formal decision-making procedures; if there appears an urgent issue or question, it is possible to discuss it immediately using procedures appropriate for the situation.

Each member of the board is also partially responsible for the institution's performance and reputation. Although there is a member who is in charge of the public relations and some members whose names appear more often in the media, these individuals were not formally chosen as the spokespeople but rather because the research topics they cover attract more media attention. Generally the most prominent of the Providus members is the director, who has formerly been the Minister of State Reform, and has well-established contacts with many relevant politicians. Such connections have helped the institution to gain visibility. However, most other researchers also actively communicate with governmental structures, ministries and municipalities and regularly represent the interests of Providus.

Over time Providus researchers have successfully established close links with the parliament, the Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Education, as well as the State Anti-corruption Bureau. Because these government structures are directly involved in the policy decision-making processes concerning criminal justice, corruption, education, and State quality, they benefit from the research and analysis produced by Providus. Most of the core researchers are working as experts commissioned by the governmental structures named above. Nevertheless, in order to retain the reputation of an independent and impartial public policy centre, the members are neither directly involved in politics nor do they occupy positions in the government or ministries.

FUNDING/INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

The funding of Providus is obtained mainly through projects and consultancies, although there is still some financing available from the Soros Foundation Latvia grant. Although Providus is highly dependent on the funding obtained via projects, this does not interfere with the main academic research lines of Providus, which are specified in the institution's strategy. Rather it serves as a base to support the main research lines, which require considerable resources but do not lead to immediate revenues.

In some sense there is a strong link between the academic research and consultancy parts of Providus activities and the funding obtained. Academic research, which is the core function of Providus promotes the organisation's image and develops its reputation for being a think tank that works on contemporary policy issues and influences policy decision-making via quality analysis and public debate. Although these activities do not directly ensure access to financing, the image and reputation created serves to attract projects and consultancies of State institutions, which consequently generates resources to support the core research projects. This funding supports the existence of the portal www.policy.lv, which is one of the main tools through which Providus disseminates its research to the wider public and involves individuals, politicians, and academics in policy debates.

Although it is largely financially dependent on its projects and consultancies, which are typically short-term financing sources, Providus currently also has a safety cushion, the Soros Foundation grant, which supports the medium-term activities of the institution.. At the same time, currently there is little concern by the Providus members that there might not be enough projects to support the existence of Providus. As claimed by the current director of Providus, just the opposite can be observed judging from the quantity of project proposals: due to the country's recent entry into the EU, there is both demand from the governmental institutions and financing available to support research in policy areas aimed to decrease corruption, and to improve the quality of law and decision making in Latvia. Having been active for a long time relative to the age of the country and because it has developed a widely recognised reputation, Providus has many possibilities to become involved in these projects. Firstly, Providus has established links with governmental structures,

allowing access information about current projects, which is otherwise rather complicated to access. Secondly, Providus –in contrast with other think tanks and NGOs in Latvia that mainly focus on a single policy issue such as corruption or human rights- covers a wider range of policy issues. This enables the organisation to apply for more project competitions and also ensures competitive advantage in interdisciplinary projects.

Another strategy utilised by Providus, which ensures participation in projects commissioned by the governmental structures and access to funding, is cooperation with the potential competitors. In larger projects Providus tries to involve its competitors, i.e. the major specialised think tanks and NGOs that are covering respectively human rights, corruption and other issues. In a nation like Latvia, where the average think tank is small, this strategic amalgamation of resources is particularly successful; it can increase the think tanks chances of winning large project contracts, and can also lead to higher quality research.

Nevertheless, the existence of opportunities to get involved in interesting projects that could potentially generate income means that the members of Providus have to be active in applying to these and writing project applications. The core researchers are highly motivated to seek such opportunities, as these researchers can be regarded as owners of Providus and the funding obtained is directly related to the institution's existence, job offerings and salaries.

Providus is a very young think-tank and has not developed a specific recruitment policy for researchers. The research team has experienced few changes during the three years that it has been in existence. Nevertheless, it is clear that recruiting top-level researchers differs significantly from the process of recruiting junior auditors. The main reason is that the former are rarely unemployed or looking for job in practice. As a result, when Providus has a need for a new expert and identifies a person who appears to possess an advanced educational background and experience in policy research, the think tank actively seeks contact with this individual in order to offer him or her a long-term contract with the organization, or to offer participation as an expert in a particular project.

Another factor that contributes to the quality of research is the element of teamwork that prevails in the work process. Because Providus is a relatively small organization, it is particularly able to facilitate contact between its researchers and to capitalize on the advantages of extensive teamwork. In fact, it is rare that the Providus experts work totally distanced one from another. Additionally, Providus utilizes its almost weekly board meetings in order to discuss and share ideas on current research projects, thus ensuring quality control. If the internal resources of Providus are insufficient for ensuring the quality of a project, for example if there are no specialists within the think tank who would qualify for a specific policy issue, outside experts might be invited to join or there might be an agreement made with another think tank that specialises in the particular research topic. External experts' motivation is clearly the salary received, which is tied to project completion and quality of work. Finally, there are a few external experts from governmental institutions who work on a part time bases; participating as editors of particular sections of www.policy.lv.

As Providus is a small think tank, the organisational structure of the institution is very simple. Besides the governing board, which includes the core researchers, the editor of the portal www.policy.lv and the communications specialist, there is a small administrative body consisting of an accountant and a secretary. Hence, the administrative expenditures constitute only a small proportion of the centre's budget.

RESEARCH FEATURES

Providus research is mainly oriented towards political and legislative issues, which correspond to the educational background and specialisation of the researchers. The quality of the researchers' education and their professional experience of researchers ensures that the research produced by Providus is rigorous and addresses relevant issues.

Providus currently has three main lines of research: criminal process, education policy, and State quality and corruption. The last one is the most important and includes issues such as the financing of political parties and election process. The two other main research lines, criminal process and education policy, were inherited from Soros Foundation Latvia. These are large ongoing projects, in which the researchers have had considerable involvement and experience, and consequently are interested in continuing to specialise in these fields. To ensure the quality of its work, Providus frequently orders reviews of published research papers, which is not a general practice in Latvia but is recognised as a way to improve the quality of analyses.

Providus' decision to study, corruption and State quality, is a direct response to the country's socio-political context. For Latvia as a post-transition country there are still a large number of issues unresolved that require research and analysis. Many of these issues receive considerable attention from such organisations as the EU, the UNDP, World Bank and others. These organizations not only have an interest in the research being conducted by Providus, but also have the necessary financing to order research projects that could lead to improvement in the policy process in the country. The annual reports published by Transparency International repeatedly state that Latvia is one of the countries in Europe with the highest rate of corruption at all levels. Hence, not only is there currently considerable interest in analysing these issues, but there is also significant financing available to support such research and analysis.

On one hand, Providus might seem to be rather constrained because it has decided to focus on only four main research areas. However, being able to specialize and continue working in the fields in which they have experience is considered to be an advantage for the researchers. Additionally, because Providus is a small think tank, it is likely that it has insufficient capacity to take on other themes. Most importantly, because the core research areas chosen by Providus are highly relevant and important within Latvia's medium-term context, there is not currently a need to diversify and take up new fields of research.

IDEOLOGY

The Public Policy Centre Providus has stated in its organisation statutes that it is an independent, non-partisan institute. Its members are not involved in political parties, which ensures that the think tank can assume an independent position on the policy issues it discusses. In essence, Providus is also independent from its main donor, the Soros Foundation Latvia, which has just one vote in the governing board.

Besides providing an impartial view on political issues, the other key characteristics of Providus identity are its quality of work and its flexibility in its approach. Research quality is ensured via employment of the best researchers and experts and via specialisation in particular research areas. Flexibility implies that Providus experts do not take a particular stance on a particular issue before the research is finalised; they can change their propositions during debates with experts, policy makers and other stakeholders involved.

NETWORKS AND COMMUNICATIONS: TOOLS AND PRACTICES

Despite the fact that Providus is a young think tank, it has already ensured its reputation with the governmental organisations and NGOs its own country, and has also developed a degree of visibility abroad. Providus has been working on projects for the Ministries of Justice, Foreign Relations and Education, the State Anti-Corruption Bureau, UNDP and others. Its policy analyses and suggestions for policy implementation have been utilised by the policy makers to establish the grounds for qualitative laws and legal procedures. Providus is also a member of the network Policy Association for Open Societies, which insures international visibility.

One of the ways in which Providus forms networks is by directly approaching the key stakeholders. Providus frequently organises policy debates and seminars to which they invite policy makers, journalists and academicians. It might seem surprising but in most cases prominent individuals who are invited to take part in

discussions actually accept the invitation of Providus, which is usual for Latvia since it is a small country where each inhabitant is in some way related to the others. The key issue for success is to select a relevant research theme, which is done by carefully examining the laws and procedures that are on the agenda of the parliament. The next step is to prepare analysis and to present alternative solutions to the problem, which are greatly appreciated by the policy makers. The final step is to organise debates, involving both the general public and the policy and decision makers.

One more characteristic of the present day Latvia, which facilitates building of networks with the decision makers, is the awareness among certain groups of politicians there is a need to change some of the existing policies in order to promote democracy and diminish the level of corruption. These groups favourably accept policy analyses developed by independent think tanks and carefully review the suggestions they have proposed, as it allows them to substantiate the policy changes they are willing to put forward. Identification of a group that would support a change in the existing system is not a particularly complicated task, especially considering the size of Latvia. Nevertheless, approaching a group of pro-change politicians inevitably leads to worsening relations with the groups that are strongly against it, oftentimes the local oligarchs. This leads to strongly negative attitudes being expressed against Providus in some of the local newspapers, which are owned by the parties that are arguably not interested in the change process, one of these being Neatkarīga Rīgas Avīze (Independent Morning Newspaper), the second largest Latvian morning newspaper. Paradoxically, the negative attitudes expressed in the newspaper articles against Providus serve to generate even more visibility and reputation and can be regarded as beneficial.

It can be claimed that one of the most effective ways of forming networks and organising debates is through the portal www.policy.lv. This portal has two functions: first it serves as a library of the existing research and newspaper articles that cover themes related to the quality of democracy in Latvia. These are essential resources for providing background information for the general public that is vital to forming the opinions of the general public. Several articles that appear on the portal are republished in one of the largest local news portals, www.delfi.lv, which ensures further access to readers. Second, the portal is a medium through which individuals can express their ideas, debate and argue on political issues. Thus, the portal allows Providus not only to disseminate information but also to receive feedback on the articles and research papers that it publishes and to provoke debates among the general public and the policymakers. Judging from the comments made by visitors to the portal, the participants are well educated and interested in the policy process. They make analytical comments and remarks related to the issue discussed, this is notably different from the usual style of communication in the Internet portals.

In addition to direct communications with the policy makers and the portal, Providus strengthens its reputation by participating in international conferences, where they present their research papers and become acquainted with other think tanks. Providus recognises that, in the future, a potential line of work could include providing consultations to think tanks in the former Soviet Republics, where the level of democracy reached is still much lower than in the Baltic countries. Participation in the international conferences gives an opportunity to exchange ideas and develop closer links with other think tanks.

POLICY INFLUENCE OF PROVIDUS

One of Providus' most successful research endeavours was their coverage of issues surrounding political party financing in Latvia. Providus managed to convince the parties to make the system of political party financing more transparent, to ensure control of the sources of financing and expenditures, and to introduce a limit on the electoral campaign spending. In February 2004 the changes were incorporated in the law. There were a number of exogenous and endogenous factors that allowed Providus to actively involve itself in the policy process and to achieve tangible results.

Recent History of the Regulation on Party Financing in Latvia

Since 1992 when legal regulation of the activities of political parties was reinstated in Latvia, the basic rules of financing activities of these organisations were covered by the law "On Public Organisations and their Associations". The law equalled in status financing of political parties to the activities of public organisations. Although it also prohibited political parties from receiving state funding for political activities, the means available to enforce the restrictions were limited to collecting and publicizing information on the financing sources and actual spending submitted by the parties. Until 1995, there was no punishment envisaged for violating the law. Furthermore, the amendments made to the regulation were not very strict: the main form of punishment introduced was a warning in a written form to the party governing institution.

In August 1995 the Law on Financing Political Organisations was adopted, which limited all individual donations to 25 000 LVL (~48 000 USD) and clearly prohibited the use of third persons as intermediaries to finance political parties. However, a well-defined mechanism of control was still missing. During this time, the studies carried out by the World Bank in 2000 warned Latvia of its high probability to fall victim to a state take-over, and the public opinion polls showed that the general public regarded political parties to be the most corrupt sphere in the state. Responding to the pressure of the public opinion, amendments to the Law were adopted in 2002, which introduced a meaningful procedure to declare party financing, limited the amount of individual donations to 10 000 LVL per annum and changed the institution of control. As a result, the law established the State Anti-Corruption Bureau, and set administrative liability for violations.

Analysis of the 2002 parliament election campaign showed that there was a certain correlation between the amount of money spent and the election results. Previously, the regulation system of political party financing was based on the principle that each citizen could judge and deduce the aims of the political parties and their links with the sponsors. However, analysis of the situation in Latvia showed that party financing was actually influencing the choice of the electorate to such an extent that it rendered the principle of openness ineffective. The situation called for active intervention and policy studies to develop amendments to the Law. Providus became actively engaged in the project and worked on proposals for reform.

It was essential to increase transparency in the system and to decrease the importance of money in the electoral campaigns. The expected benefits were: heightened control over parties' income and expenditures, a quantitative decrease in campaign expenditures; a quantitative decrease in advertising; and a more equal opportunity to all parties to attract the electorate. The amendments to the Law, which were proposed by Providus, were accepted in year 2004, limiting the maximum amount to be spent on the political party electoral campaigns. Besides having an impact on the Law "On Financing Political Organisations", Providus set also further agenda for amendments in the system of election campaign advertising, which are yet to be debated by the parliament.

Factors that Facilitated Influence

Analysis of the recent history of the regulatory system of political party financing shows that there was an attempt to implement a very open and democratic system of elections. However, this attempt failed, which can be attributed to the general public's inability to discern the link between the advertising campaigns and the financing sources. In particular, the political parties who could invest more into advertising campaigns and develop more political slogans, were the ones most appreciated by the electorate, despite the fact that the sources of party financing were often dubious. Paradoxically, the system proved to be too democratic and open, relying too much on the political party conscience and transparency of financing sources, and on the ability of general public to evaluate make sound judgement linking excessive financing with business interests. This was particularly pointed out by the research results of the year 2002 parliamentary election campaign. The evidence of excessive advertising and intransparent financing sources of the political parties, combined with the concern showed by international organisations produced a chain of events, including negative opinions polls and instability in government that demanded further research by independent experts and further development of propositions to change the system.

Although Providus wasn't founded until 2002, the core researchers had been involved in the issues characterising the Latvian policy process for nearly a decade, when the political party financing study was established. The experience and reputation that these experts had gained was a key determinant in Providus' decision to involve itself in the project, and it also was also a critical factor in the think tank's ability to achieve policy impact.

Clearly, the two most important factors allowing Providus to achieve policy impact were the political situation in the country, which called for intervention; and the experience of the experts in the think tank and their reputation with the policy makers. Other factors that contributed to Providus success in propagating the ideas for changing the system of political party financing were: 1) awareness among political parties of the need to introduce changes in the system; 2) policy debates involving politicians, journalists and the general public via the Providus-organized seminars and the portal www.politika.lv, which allowed the think tank to receive feedback on the research results and to develop quality propositions; 3) co-operation with Transparency International branch in Latvia, Delna and the State Anti-Corruption Bureau which contributed to the credibility of the research and propositions.

Providus understood that a successful reform required that the political parties reach a consensus regarding the need to change the existing system. With time, the political parties in Latvia have become more aware of the need to ensure transparency in the system of financing, has played a crucial role in stimulating debate on possible reform alternatives. Some political parties have even started publishing the list of donors on their internet sites, hence propagating the idea of openness. Another external factor that promoted the development of the policy debate, which ultimately led to reform of the system, can be attributed to the general attitude of politicians toward researchers and research organizations; not only could politicians be easily approached and involved in discussions about various aspects of party financing, but they were also willing to accept research results.

From the communications standpoint, Providus made use of both of the external factors mentioned above, by actively distributing the research via its portal www.policy.lv, by organising seminars and by participating in the government commissions as experts. It can be noticed that as opposed to many other think tanks, Providus maintained an explicit strategy to keep a continuous link with the politicians, journalists and the general public. They utilized these connections in order to inform, to create a knowledge base for organising policy debate and to gather feedback. This strategy first of all ensured the visibility of the centre and the research projects and also added credibility to the propositions developed.

Another critical factor that ensured the policy influence of Providus research was the fact that it worked in tandem with Delna, the Transparency International branch in Latvia, and the local experts and academicians, which gave more weight to their research results. In some sense, Providus has turned its main competitors into partners, which allows the think tank to develop large-scale research projects that may require analysis of more topics than the think tank would be able to adequately cover working alone. Providus influence in decision making is also ensured via participation in the State Anti-Corruption Bureau, where a representative of the think tank takes the position of the head of advisory panel. This position allows the bureau to be informed about the current lines of policy against corruption and to participate in debates on the further propositions to improve the current system of political party financing

The available evidence about the impact of the amendments in the law on "Political Party Financing" shows that the reform has had positive, though limited impact. In the 2005 municipal elections, Providus carried out a study testing the impact of the expenditure ceilings on the actual spending. It was found that the campaign expenditures declared by the political parties decreased, but there was an increase in the share of undeclared expenditure and hidden advertising. Providus is continuing to carry out media monitoring, and research on aspects of political party financing. The continuity of research is ensured due to the fact that there is a very low rate of staff turnover in the think tank,. This can be attributed to Providus' organisational form, which allows an employee to become a partial owner and feel personally responsible for the success of the institution.

The next steps that Providus plans to take is to develop propositions for amendments in the Law on the Pre-electoral Campaign Advertising, which is yet to be debated by the parliament. However, there is a concern that differing viewpoints between the political parties may make it difficult for the propositions to make headway as of now.

Clearly, due to the favourable socio-political environment and the strategies chosen, Providus has achieved considerable policy impact during its three years of operation. Nevertheless, it is too early to judge the long-term impact and success of the organisation. It will be possible to evaluate the effects of the research carried out by Providus and the accompanying amendments in legislation after the parliament elections in 2006, which are likely to bring up new problems in the party financing scheme and also new policy debates.

CONCLUSION

Transition period in Latvia, characterised by abrupt changes in the socio-political environment and instability generated a necessity for an independent institution to enter the market and to participate in the process of democratisation of the country. This opportunity was realised by Providus, an organisation supported by funding of an international donor and uniting some of the best experts in Latvia in the fields of policy analysis and law. The success of Providus stems from the organisation's expertise as well as the carefully chosen strategy of focusing on research topics, which are both urgent and relevant in the context of transition and the country's pro-European orientation. Due to the fact that Providus research is accompanied by public debates involving the politicians, journalists and the general public, the results and policy alternatives suggested are regarded as relevant by the policy makers, which helps to achieve real impact. This far Providus has been most successful in achieving policy impact on the system of political party financing in Latvia, which was made more transparent and diminished the role of money in determining the election results. Still recognising that Providus is a very young research centre, the next years will show more clearly whether the organisation will be successful in having long-term impact on the policy process in the country.

THIS CASE STUDY WAS DEVELOPED ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS:

Providus members:

- Agnese Lecinska. Adjunct director of Providus, researcher
- Valts Kalnins. Researcher on corruption and political party financing
- Nellija Locmele. Editor of www.policy.lv

Policy makers:

- Diana Kurpniece. The State Anti-Corruption Bureau

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SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT POLICY INSTITUTE (SDPI):

PAKISTAN'S CASE STUDY

BY

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ABSTRACT

Sustainable Development Policy Institute was established in 1992, on the recommendation of the Pakistan National Conservation Strategy, with a mission statement to catalyze transition towards sustainable development. In just over a decade, the SDPI has emerged as a leading research and advocacy oriented think-tank in Pakistan. Consistent donor support throughout its growth period has helped develop SDPI into an effective think tank. Even the design of SDPI was initiated by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature-Pakistan, with significant support from Canadian International Development Agency. Much of the SDPI's policy influence is accomplished through coalitions and alliances. SDPI's research programme itself is rather flexible and has been evidently evolving and changing due to policy needs, research capacity and interest. SDPI has also been able to successfully predict what type of research is in demand from government, particularly with regards to its devolution related work, or with regards to its research on trade, the environment, sustainable agriculture and forestry.

The composition and subsequent direction provided by the diverse SDPI board, which is comprised of not only academics but also senior government officials, has proved instrumental in enabling the organization to pinpoint salient research priorities.

The affiliation of the SDPI with prominent donor organizations, and with environmental agencies in the country has also enabled it to predict research topics of greatest priority within a changing social sector milieu. Having conducted quality research on a range of relevant topics has in turn enabled SDPI to gain immense leverage with even more reluctant government departments, who have often been compelled to seek SDPI advice in view of external pressure to respond to, and provide input to, international frameworks such as the WTO related agreements. In addition to a diverse governing body, there are also an Executive and an Assistant Director and a core team of researchers at SDPI, in addition to a stream of visiting fellows. More erratic funding has placed undue pressure on SDPI research staff in recent years to sustain their work by securing projects. The Institute is therefore trying to secure an endowment to conduct unfettered research.

1. SDPI ENDOGENOUS CHARACTERISTICS THAT FACILITATE INFLUENCE

SDPI's most important organizational and institutional features are summarized in this table and explained below:

SDPI at a glance
1. Founders

Composition	SDPI formed by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature - Pakistan with significant support from Canadian International Development Agency
Role and degree of involvement	The Committee for the Constitution of SDPI consulted government officials, academics, intellectuals, NGOs and journalists while formulating the by-laws and identifying the board of governors. CIDA provide the initial support for SDPI, which was declining and is set to expire in early 2006
2. Governing Body	
Composition	13 members including prominent academics, government officials and development practitioners
Government positions held by GB members	The Minister of State, a provincial Minister for Education portfolios, and the Chief Economist of the Federal Planning Commission are the most senior government positions held by current Boards members
Role and degree of control	Strategic and operational oversight (through Executive Director), the strength/credibility of the board members implies involvement instead of rubber stamping decisions of the executive
3. Budget (for more details see annex 1)	
Expenditures (2003-4)	36% research and consultancies, 58% general administrative costs (includes advocacy, networking, and resource centre costs), 6% Centre for Capacity Building and Training
Sources of funding (2003-2004)	15% local revenues, 30% CIDA, 56% other international donor project funds
4. Research	
Selection of research topics	Research topics are selected in response to funding opportunity (including project-specific or consulting contracts); decisions by board and individual expertise of researchers)
Research process	Internal review procedures implies collaboration and cross-checking of research in the case of junior and assistant researchers, but senior researchers are at liberty to pursue their own methodologies
Research characteristics	Mixture of academic/applied research; addressing local and international issues (for example, the impact of government policies and of globalization on the environment in Pakistan)
Research quality	All research fellows publish papers in established academic journals which are peer controlled
5. Staff	
Composition	35 male, 45 female
Permanence and turnover	Full time staff but turnover is high (Turnover for 2003 to 2004 was 40% out of 50 employees – the average amount of employees during these two past years)

6. Researchers	
Educational background	6 SDPI research fellows are PhDs. There are 10 visiting fellows, 8 of whom are also PhDs (mostly from international universities). Of the entire research staff, including junior and assistant researcher, 40 % of research staff have PhDs and 60 % of the remaining research staff has a Masters degree.
Polycymaking experience	All senior policy fellows are academics and are intermittently consulted by government/multilateral projects like the UNDP's TIHP, etc.
7. Management	
Organizational model	Leadership provides strategic vision which helps link research to advocacy and policy impact; a core team manages everyday activities
Contracts	Contracts of researchers are subject to performance based annual reviews, their contracts stipulate they must conduct high quality research, fundraising to cover the own salary costs, and generate revenues for SDPI. Incentive scheme is also in place for researchers against projects.
8. Outreach and communication	
Who is in charge?	Individual researchers are in charge of simultaneously undertaking research and policy outreach.
Publications	Working paper series; policy briefs; special reports, books, newsletters in English and Urdu.
Tools	Web-site (www.sdpi.org) and weekly seminars; frequent press releases; researcher articles appear regularly in national newspapers
Relationships with audiences	<p>Policymakers are invited to seminars and personal meetings; and receive policy briefings</p> <p>Other important audiences: Donors (IUCN, CIA, DFI etc.), IGOs and NGOs (including Actionaid amongst several others)</p>
Participation in networks	South Asian Network for Development and Environmental Economics (SANDEE), South Asia Watch on Trade, Economics and Environment (SAWTEE), Regional and International Networking Group (RING) etc.

1.1. ORIGINS/YEAR OF FOUNDATION/FOUNDERS

SDPI was founded in August 1992 based on the recommendation of the Pakistan National Conservation Strategy (NCS), which is now referred to as the National Environment Action Plan. The NCS was a highly acclaimed document that placed Pakistan's socio-economic development within the context of a national environmental plan. The NCS, which was approved by the Federal Cabinet in March 1992, had outlined the need for an independent non-profit organisation to serve as a source of expertise for policy analysis and development, policy intervention, and policy and programme advisory services in support of NCS implementation. The National Conservation Strategy (NCS), and the Pakistan Environment Program (PEP) within it, were therefore directly responsible for the establishment of SDPI. The PEP is unique in terms of creating a sustained partnership between public sector and civil society organizations, which include the

Ministry of Environment (National Conservation Strategy Unit, Environmental Wing, and Pakistan's Environmental Protection Agency), the Environment Section of the Government's Planning and Development, SDPI and International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) - Pakistan.

With a mission statement to catalyze transition towards sustainable development, (defined as the enhancement of peace, social justice and well-being), within and across generations, the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) has emerged as a leading research and advocacy oriented think-tank in Pakistan.

1.2. GOVERNING BODY

The governing body of the SDPI is comprised of 13 members and it provides the organization with strategic and operational oversight through its Executive Director, who is also the secretary of the board. SDPI board members hold prominent positions and include members of provincial assemblies, the chairman of the National Commission on Human Development, two members of the Federal Planning Commission, country representatives of Population Council and IUCN. The Minister of State, a provincial Minister for Education portfolios, and the Chief Economist of the Federal Planning Commission are the most senior government positions held by current SDPI board members. The strength and credibility of the board members implies provision of real advice instead of rubber stamping decisions of the executive.

Even the design of SDPI was initiated by the IUCN-Pakistan with significant support from Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). A Committee formed for the constitution of SDPI in turn consulted government officials, academics, intellectuals, NGOs and journalists while formulating the by-laws and identifying a board of governors. The subsequently SDPI board is an independent governing body that determines not only financial and management policies, but also helps articulate SDPI's research priorities.

1.3. FUNDING/INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

Donor funding, through the PEP initiative, has supported SDPI throughout its growth period, helping turn develop SDPI into an effective think tank.

According to expense details from audited accounts for a three year period (from July 2001 to June, 2004), SDPI has on average spent 39% of its funds on research and consultancies, 56% on advocacy, networking, resource centre, finance and administrative costs; and 5% on the activities of its Centre for Capacity Building and Training. Its primary sources of funding for the same period are 12% local revenue, 26% CIDA and 62% other donors. On average, USD 731,265⁴⁷ was received from these donors per year for the above period. (For year-wise details concerning expenses and incoming funds, please refer to Annex I). This is a modest to average size budget in comparison to the influence that the organization yields, its scope of activities and in comparison to the annual budgets of other prominent think tanks and NGOs. SDPI is however keen to secure a broader base of funding than sole reliance on PEP funding, which is meant to end in 2006. Its researchers have so far been successful in obtaining projects to sustain their own work and to generate revenues for SDPI, besides securing their own salaries. The institute is trying to secure an endowment to conduct unfettered research. In addition to the above-mentioned board, there are an Executive and Assistant Director and a core team of researchers at SDPI, in addition to a stream of visiting fellows.

⁴⁷ (Rs. 43,875,911 @ Rs. 60 = 1 USD)

1.4. RESEARCH AND RESEARCHERS

Despite the lingering concern for institutional sustainability, SDPI has managed to develop an expertise on a diverse range of policy issues. Research undertaken at SDPI informs, and is reinforced by its policy advice, advocacy, and training related work which enables it to build a wider constituency for influencing the policy environment in the country in favor of sustainable development. SDPI's research programme is rather flexible and has been evidently evolving and changing due to policy needs, research capacity and interest. Currently, SDPI researchers are focusing on governance (devolution/democratic decentralization)⁴⁸; the environment (sustainable industrial development which also implies work on National Environmental Quality Standards, sustainable agriculture and forestry, trade and the environment, climate change, renewable energy/clean fuels, hazardous waste management, water, population and environment); human development (gender, education, community development, labour, poverty, peace and security, population and development, gender and globalization); and economy (macroeconomic policies and structural adjustment).

The SDPI research programme on governance, for example, is designed to fill the gap in research on governance by providing independent scholarly advice to decision makers on how to address the current crisis in governance and contributing to intellectual debate on the topic. With support from Asia Foundation, SDPI has been exploring whether rural grassroots democracy is possible in Pakistan without fundamental structural reform. SDPI has been analyzing the effectiveness of the devolution plan through its project "Strengthening the knowledge base on the dispensation of law and order and justice in the context of devolution of power to the grassroots level," undertaken with the support of the UNDP. SDPI has been involved in an analysis of access of the marginalized to the judiciary at the local level aiming to investigate the structure of local judiciary to assess its scope, functions and access to the marginalized groups of society, particularly the poor and women. The purpose is to document the role of local judiciary and its accessibility to the poor and women.

Individual researchers have freedom to conduct their research, but they must generate their salaries through project activities, which is somewhat burdening given the simultaneous need to generate revenues, undertake research and carry out policy outreach. Research topics are selected by SDPI in response to funding opportunities, decisions by board and the individual expertise and interest of researchers. An internal review procedure implies collaboration and cross checking of research work. SDPI researchers conduct a mixture of both academic and applied research, which may also simultaneously address local and international issues, for example, as in assessing the impact of government policies and of globalization on the environment in Pakistan. SDPI's advocacy unit itself seeks to draw from the research conducted at SDPI and tries to effect policy changes identified by its researchers. Besides direct input from research staff, the advocacy unit at SDPI is headed by a coordinator, and with a varying level of support staff, remained engaged in public-interest campaigns. Some consistent themes on which this advocacy unit has worked include peace, environment, and women's rights.

1.5. NETWORKS

Much of the SDPI's networking is accomplished through coalitions and alliances. Some of the coalitions with which SDPI is associated are the Pakistan NGO Forum (PNF) and the Pakistan Peace Coalition (PPC). SDPI's sustainable agriculture programme has established an e-forum to discuss the issues pertaining to sustainable agriculture and food security. So far, 27 national and regional, partners have joined this group which provides them with an opportunity to share views and thoughts on issues of common interest. SDPI was even able to influence some NGOs in Punjab (GCO, CARITAS) to initiate a sustainable agriculture

⁴⁸ Devolution of power in the form of creating three tiers of local government was initiated by the current government in 2001. Yet there are several contentions concerning this devolution of power, since elections were held on a non-party basis and since the issue of evolving power from the centre to the provinces has not preceded devolution within the provinces.

programme. There are a number of livelihood-related campaigns that SDPI is involved in including one on food security for small and landless farmers under the umbrella of a coalition of public-interest organizations and farmers associations named the Sustainable Agriculture Action Group (SAAG).

SDPI's membership on various sustainable development committees, commissions and task-forces provides it leverage with government ministries and related departments. Yet, it also tries to maintain direct contacts with various Government of Pakistan (GoP) ministries and groups including Federal Forestry Board, Ministry of Environment; Trade and Environment, Ministry of Commerce; Agreement on Agriculture, Ministry of Agriculture; National Forestry Facility Program, Ministry of Environment; and Agreement on Agriculture, Ministry of Commerce.

SDPI researchers have also become part of the technical group on Sensitive (agricultural) Products arranged by the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex. As part of the Pakistan Network for River, Dams, and People, SDPI has provided technical input in their workshop on World Day against Big Dams and subsequently published a paper, entitled 'Social Consequences of Big Dams'. SDPI participated in the Swiss Development Corporation (SDC) partners meeting during which SDPI was included in SDC's community of practice for a collaborative work on poverty reduction. SDPI is currently the co-chair of PCB, Dioxin and Waste Group; and International Persistent Organic Pollutants Elimination Network (IPEP), South Asia. SDPI has established a Population and Environment Communication Center (PECC) with the support of a grant received by The David and Lucile Packard Foundation. PECC is housed within SDPI, but operates at the national level by involving a number of stakeholders, both in the public and private sectors, in all the four provinces of the country. Through PECC, SDPI endeavors to create awareness and build capacity for advocating the interrelatedness between population and environment-related issues. SDPI is also involved in the IPEN Global Persistent Organic Pollutants Bio-monitoring Project; the Clean Air Initiative for Asian Cities; the Global Alliance for Incineration Alternatives and Safe Drinking Water Group Pakistan. Extensive collaborative research work has been performed with these alliances resulting in an impressive list of reports and publications.

1.6. COMMUNICATION

Using communication to promote awareness and capacity to promote sustainable development is a main objective at SDPI, for which it uses a broad range of tools including advocacy, publications and awareness raising activities.

SDPI primarily engages in two types of advocacy. The first is reactive while the second is based on research findings and involves lobbying by the research staff through participation in conferences and workshops, and writing in journals and newspapers. SDPI researchers are themselves invited to deliver numerous talks/presentations at both national and international conferences/seminars to disseminate information and raise awareness on a wide range of sustainable development issues including environmental degradation, peace initiatives, current economic situation, food security, culture, climate change, water management and Pakistan's political situation. A substantial part of the completed research work is presented at various conferences and seminars at the national and international level. SDPI has also used interactive theatre as a participatory tool at the grassroots level for explaining the devolution plan being implemented in Pakistan through the Local Government Ordinance 2001, through project support from Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Canada.

Another effective way in which SDPI contributes to the process of communicating sustainable policy advice is through holding Sustainable Development Conferences (SDCs). The first conference of this series was held in September of 1995, under the title 'Green Economics'. Subsequently, 7 SDCs have been organized by SDPI on a range of development issues with emphasis on emerging sustainable development issues in Pakistan. A large number of individuals from government, academia, NGOs and media participate in these conferences,

where proceedings from the previous year's conference are also launched in the form of an edited anthology. Each SDC is designed to become a forum for sharing and exchanging dialogues on sustainable development with practitioners, civil society and policy-makers. Some 150 panelists from 18 countries participated in the Seventh SDC held in December 2004, including 36% female participants. SDPI 8th SDC is being sponsored by several donors including the Department for International Development and the Delegation of the European Commission to Pakistan.

SDPI also organizes weekly lectures, seminars panel discussions and conferences as part of its advocacy efforts to educate stakeholder groups on various aspects of sustainable development. These seminars provide valuable public space for open debate and intellectual discussion on various sustainable development issues and attract a diverse audience; they are regularly covered by the press.

Over the years, SDPI has received very positive feedback on many of its research presentations and articles. For example, the Minister of Agriculture sought advice on pesticide issues after having seen SDPI's news articles in various newspapers regarding its concern for pesticide use. Moreover, SDPI also assists other research institutions through comments and advice. SDPI's work is widely communicated and cited by other researchers. SDPI research is published in the form of distinguished lecture series, Urdu working paper series, policy paper/monograph/research report/policy briefs/working paper series, newsletters and conference proceedings; it is also archived and available for review at its resource centre. The SDPI advocacy unit also publishes a quarterly newsletter 'Campaigner' in which its campaign efforts are described ; this newsletter is disseminated to relevant stakeholders.

1.7. EVIDENT SUCCESSES

SDPI has helped create awareness regarding the rights of women, provided input on gender issues for government policy-making, and conducted studies on state policies and their impact on the lives of women workers, including authoring a chapter entitled 'In/Security'⁴⁹ concerning the effects of armed and other types of conflict upon women emerging out of research under the SDPI project entitled 'Women, Conflict and Security in South Asia'. SDPI has also served on government committees including the Beijing Follow-up Unit (National Core Group) and been included on the sub-committee of the Permanent Commission on the Status of Women, which has enabled it to secure a position to yield significant policy influence.

Similarly, SDPI has been working on the issues of patents and intellectual property rights regarding TRIPS and WTO. The SDPI Study Group on Information and Communication presented policy recommendations to GoP that have now been incorporated in the policy of the Ministry of Science and Technology on Information Technology. SDPI has also been able to influence the process of devolution in Pakistan by offering suggestions that were accepted by the National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) for inclusion in the Devolution Plan.

While SDPI has limited resources (human and financial) at present, its integrated approach of using research, advocacy, policy advice and training to reinforce each other, and its partnership with a range of established networks, has evidently boosted the organization's capacities for yielding policy influence. SDPI's research program also acts as a catalyst for its training program. SDPI's Centre for Capacity Building thus aims to provide high quality training to the public, private, NGO sector organizations so as to build their capacity. Over 200 organizations and around 2,400 personnel have benefited from these trainings. In addition to building capacity, the training courses offered by SDPI aim at encouraging associational networks and collaborations among the public, private and NGO sectors to help generate greater momentum for sustainable development in Pakistan.

⁴⁹ Khattak SG, 'In/Security', in *Critical Asian Studies*, Volume 35, Number 2, June 2003, pp. 195-208(14)

2. EXOGENOUS FACTORS CONCERNING THE SDPI

The growing recognition of the SDPI amongst policy and opinion makers in the country is due to a combination of endogenous and exogenous factors. While many of the organizational attributes that contribute to its policy impact have been mentioned above, it is also important to be cognizant of some exogenous factors that have provided SDPI a window of opportunity, or conversely pose major challenges to the formulation and implementation of sustainable development policies.

There is at least an evident availability of spaces where research and policy are linked within the country, given the handful of think tanks in the country, particularly those with the capacity to undertake primary research of reasonable quality. SDPI has also been able to successfully predict what type of research is in demand from government, particularly with regards to its devolution related work, or with regards to its research on trade, environment, sustainable agriculture and forestry. The composition and subsequent direction provided by the diverse SDPI board, which is comprised of not only academics but also senior government officials, has proved instrumental in enabling the organization to pinpoint salient research priorities. The affiliation of SDPI with prominent donor organizations, and with environmental agencies in the country has also enabled it to predict research priorities within a changing social sector milieu. Having conducted quality research on a range of relevant topics has in turn enabled SDPI to gain immense leverage with even more reluctant government departments, who have often been compelled to seek SDPI advice in view of external pressure to respond to, and provide input to, international frameworks such as the WTO related agreements. While the external policy environment (including trade policy) is not completely in a think-tank's control, yet it is vital for such institutes to try to pursue their objectives despite these broader policy imperatives, something that the SDPI is evidently doing.

Compulsions emerging from structural adjustment and liberalization prescriptions have often undermined SDPI's advice concerning adoption of environmentally sound sustainable development policies. As a consequence, much of SDPI's work on poverty, gender, trade and the environment has sought to highlight the detrimental impact of myopic macro-economic policies. At times, SDPI is compelled to take a confrontational stance towards exogenous aid conditionalities, like it did when it opposed the recent formulation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper for Pakistan. Other times however, external stakeholders themselves show a greater willingness to seek SDPI's advice, as evidenced by the Institute's current involvement in writing the country report for Pakistan and this assignment is part of a regional study being conducted by the Asian Development Bank in Bangladesh, Pakistan, Philippines and Sri Lanka as a lead-up process of revising its forest policy. SDPI's ongoing work in this regard may not upturn the Asian Development Bank resource management strategy entirely, but it will surely emphasize environmental and poverty related concerns of relevance to the forestry sector. Even effecting a minor change in ADB's existing forestry policy would in turn affect the approach adopted by the Government of Pakistan and by a range of programmes which will be initiated under ADB funded schemes.

It has been cumbersome for SDPI to re-establish relationships with government each time the administration has changed. Since the past thirteen years of its existence, SDPI has had to deal with the change of six governments, accompanied by drastic changes in the policy environment. Despite this relatively unstable political environment, SDPI has continued to produce quality policy research and now it is a recognized and reputed advocate concerning a range of sustainable development issues, often government agencies, multilaterals like the UNDP or else donor led programs themselves seek direct advice of SDPI researchers, details of which follow in subsequent sections.

3. SDPI'S RESEARCH BASED POLICY IMPACT

SDPI has made some significant policy contributions in helping safeguard the rights of marginalized interest groups, culminating in SDPI's inclusion in international trade negotiations within the WTO ministerials. But to

understand how SDPI has been able to gain such legitimacy, it is necessary to focus on seemingly disparate SDPI policy contributions to environmental, agricultural sustainability and trade related concerns, which have collectively impelled and capacitated SDPI to help the Pakistan government negotiate a more sustainable deal within an overarching multilateral policy framework.

The policy impact of the SDPI on environmental issues is easy enough to track. SDPI was party to the struggle for the Environmental Protection Act. It played a leading role in lobbying for the legislation. The Pakistan Environmental Protection Council (PEPC), the highest policy-making body in the country on environmental conservation, has been a main recipient of SDPI advice. Since the activation of PEPC in late 1994, several policy briefs have been submitted to it on a number of issues, including economic incentives for pollution control, implementation of National Environmental Quality Standards (NEQS), clean fuels program, the textile, pulp and paper industries, urban environmental problems, other environmental issues and legislation. The SDPI-Business-Government Roundtable on the Environment to finalize the consensual policy proposals for PEPC was a significant success. SDPI was also a member of the Clean Fuels Committee and is the Secretariat for the Pakistan Environment Standards Committee, which were constituted by PEPC.

It is interesting to note from the above examples how SDPI has managed to create a niche for the organization amongst relevant policy-makers based on the strength of its technical know-how. This assessment is further evident from the advice that the organization is continually being asked to provide to major stakeholders. SDPI has participated in a peer review of the Program for Environmental Research and Training project of the Government of Pakistan's National Energy Conservation Centre (ENERCON). SDPI has reviewed guidelines by ENERCON on Fuel Efficiency in the Transport Sector and most of the SDPI's recommendations were incorporated in the revised document. Policy advice has also been given by SDPI to the Government of North West Frontier Province (NWFP) on urban environmental problems and on various aspects of the provincial conservation strategy since several years.

SDPI has also interaction with relevant stakeholders on institutional reforms in the forest sector of NWFP. At the request of the Government of Pakistan in early 2005, detailed comments were sent to the NWFP's Environmental Protection Agency concerning guidelines for gas and oil exploration. The Ministry of Environment has also become a direct recipient of SDPI policy advice on numerous issues, including marine pollution, bio-diversity, climate change, urban environment and habitat issues. SDPI researchers have contributed a chapter on the Environment for the latest Economic Survey of Pakistan and given requested input on the National Environment Policy, 2005 and the draft Trade Policy 2005-2006.

It is important to focus on the process of how SDPI has come to provide advice to the Federal and Provincial levels of government on not only trade but also WTO related positions, dynamics and concerns that are in the best interests for Pakistan's socioeconomic development. Before doing so however, it is equally instructive to consider how the SDPI has successfully managed to weave a range of its other research activities to obtain recognition concerning WTO implications. In this regard, SDPI has made a conscious choice to link its research work on micro level impacts to macro level policies. For example, the Institute conducted research on subcontracted women workers in the global economy funded by the Asia Foundation and done extensive studies on the effects of structural adjustment policies on women workers in Pakistan. These projects led the Permanent Commission on the Status of Women to approach SDPI to serve on its subcommittee on women and employment. In turn, SDPI built on its research on work related gender impacts to consider the impact that globalization has on women.

SDPI undertook research during 2004 on the potential effects of the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (ATC) on gender equality in Pakistan. More recently, SDPI began to assess the actual effects of the quota phase-out on female employment. SDPI is also preparing a study on the effects of liberalisation of water supply under the General Agreement on Trade in Services on gendered access to potable water. Preliminary work has included the development of a conceptual framework for the gender analysis of liberalisation of basic services and an overview about human and social dimensions of Pakistan's water policies. Research on the

extent of the Gender Digital Divide, i.e. gender gaps in the access to Information and Communication Technology in Pakistan and on measures to bridge it effectively is also under preparation. Alongside the research, SDPI has briefed officials from the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Commerce, and the Ministry of Industries on the potential gendered employment effects of the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (ATC) phase-out. Amongst others, SDPI suggested setting up a training scheme for vulnerable women workers in the Pakistani garment industry. Based on its research on ATC, SDPI conducted a seminar on 'Textile workers in the post-quota era'. Together with Friedrich-Ebert Foundation, SDPI organised a workshop for trade unions and women organisations' representatives on gendered employment implications of the ATC expiry" in October 2004. An action plan on how to mitigate the potential harmful employment consequences of the quota phase out was developed by the participants and presented to various ministries. Subsequently Azam Chaudhry Law Associates trained participants from the government, business, and academia on 'Employment dimensions of the ATC expiry' at a training course on WTO agreements. SDPI further developed a training module on 'Gender Dimensions in Economic Globalisation'. A module on 'Gender, water, and globalisation' has also been included in SDPI trainings on 'Women, development and environment' and 'Natural Resource Management with a focus on Water Management'.

On another front, SDPI initiated advocacy on problems concerning patenting and property rights under the TRIPs agreement of WTO. SDPI gave policy advice on Article 27.3(b) of the Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs), recommending the drafting of a new Act. Literature on TRIPs and IPR was provided to the Secretary, Agriculture, regarding the Basmati Rice Patent issue, which he especially appreciated in a letter to SDPI. Numerous meetings were held with the Ministry of Agriculture to discuss these issues in detail. The Ministry, subsequent to receiving SDPI's input, decided not to follow the Union for Protection of Plant Varieties lobby (which includes 37 developed countries to protect the interests of their plant breeders) and instead requested SDPI's input into the new draft Act with a focus on farmers' rights. As a result, the position adopted by the Government of Pakistan on the issues of property rights and patenting was exactly what SDPI had advocated for. SDPI has even brought together a range of local civil society partners as well as partners from Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, UK, and Philippines to compare and evaluate the drafts of regional PBR Acts. A workshop organized by SDPI for this purpose concluded with a joint press conference where the participants unanimously declared "no patents on life forms".

As part of its work on the WTO, SDPI also jointly organized the First Study Group meeting on WTO in collaboration with UN Trade Initiatives from Human Development Perspective (TIHP) project. SDPI gave input in several meetings solicited by the National Steering Committee for UNDP's TIHP. The Institute has also met with Pakistan's negotiators on Agriculture in WTO Geneva, as well as the Secretary Commerce to discuss Pakistan's strategy for the upcoming Hong Kong Ministerial. A SDPI representative was also included in the official delegation for WTO ministerial conference in Hong Kong. During the G-20 Bhurban Conference in September 2005, the Government of Pakistan had approached two representatives of civil society organizations to address the G-20 Ministers on the issue of agriculture. One representative was from SDPI. An immediate policy impact evident in this regard is that the declaration of G-20 Ministerial Conference now includes most of points that were raised by these civil society representatives earlier during this conference. SDPI has been asked by the Ministry of Environment to give input on the national draft law on Access and Benefit Sharing (ABS) and SDPI is also simultaneously in touch with the World Trade Review to initiate a joint advocacy campaign on ABS, to help maximize policy impact on this important issue.

SDPI has thus evidently devised a multilayered approach to influence policy. SDPI research is utilized for advocacy and awareness raising purposes and at the same time it enables SDPI to form alliances with local and international networks and alliances to apply collective pressure for achieving a favorable policy environment. The ambitious or even daring policy based agenda of the SDPI cannot be addressed immediately, yet the Institute has set both long and short term targets for itself and it has begun to demonstrate a discernable degree of influence on the policy making environment in the country.

4. CONCLUSIONS

While the policy influence of the SDDPI is hard to deny, the institution-specific impact of the vast range of collaborative activities on which SDPI is working in partnership with other stakeholders is as difficult to measure as achievements concerning promotion of sustainable development. Yet the sheer ability of the SDPI to be participating in, and securing representation on prominent national and international groups concerning trade or gender issues for example, is itself indicative of its potential policy making influence. The growing list of SDPI research and related advocacy and training activities is also indicative of the increasing importance and utility of such an institution in Pakistan. SDPI has also had discernable policy influence on a range of diverse issues including governance, environmental protection, education, rural water supply, gender, trade and environmental issues detailed in the above sections.

SDPI's fast growing reputation and integrated scope of activities makes it a prominent advocate for sustainable development policies. However, more erratic funding has placed undue pressure on SDPI research staff to sustain their work by securing projects. While relying on its researchers has been a wise coping strategy, as it has also enabled SDPI to directly contribute to and in turn influence the work of several other stakeholders which engage the research expertise of SDPI, this financial compulsion to devise and secure project funding, may begin to detract from SDPI's ability to keep track of the fleeting windows of opportunity within which to impact policy. The turnover rate within SDPI is another concern that must be effectively curbed to help maintain the requisite institutional focus that is needed to secure policy change. Despite these challenges, SDPI's quality of work and its intent to act as both a generator of original research on sustainable development issues, and as an information resource for concerned individuals and institutions, has so far not suffered or wavered, it has only improved.

ANNEX I

SDPI Expense details from Audited Accounts

For 3 Years from July 2001 to June, 2004

	Year (2001-2002)	%age	Year (2002-2003)	%age	Year (2003-2004)	%age
<u>Expense Details</u>	Amount	%age	Amount	%age	Amount(Pak.Rs)	%age
Research and Consultancies	17,605,283	37%	19,637,067	44%	15,560,158	36%
Advocacy, Networking, Resource Centre, Finance and Administrative expense	27,873,099	59%	22,340,359	50%	25,373,546	58%
Centre for Capacity Building and Training	1,787,994	4%	2,275,020	5%	2,576,595	6%
Total	47,266,376	100%	44,252,446	100%	43,510,299	100%

Sources of Funding						
	Year (2001-2002)	%age	Year (2002-2003)	%age	Year (2003-2004)	%age
<u>Year 2002</u>						
<u>Local</u>						
Revenue	4,767,044	8%	4,205,369	12%	6,059,943	15%
<u>International Sources</u>						
CIDA(Canadian International development Agency)	11,765,613	21%	9,755,260	28%	12,120,599	30%
<u>Other Donors</u>						
International Donors	39,731,689	71%	20,409,579	59%	22,812,638	56%
Total	56,264,346	100%	34,370,208	100%	40,993,180	100%

ANNEX II

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Given the stated objectives of the case study, the following sources for data collection were utilized:

Personal interviews with key personnel in SDPI (Executive Director, Senior Research Fellow/Deputy Director, and other relevant personnel including advocacy and program coordinators) were undertaken.

These above interviews focus on discerning how SDPI's research and advocacy influence policymaking processes. Interviewees were questions (based on open ended questionnaires prepared in consultation with CIPPEC) and utilize variables to detect how context, research characteristics, and links affect the concrete/tangible experience of using research in the policymaking process. Moreover, interviews were supplemented by analysis of SDPI publications and all also be compared to information obtained from relevant secondary sources and include an external interview with a peer organization/policymaker (recommended by SDPI) who has worked with the organization on a specific project.

The information gathered has been systemized to present complete description of the organization's institutional and political context, as well as its operational processes and an assessment of SDPI's impact on policymaking in Pakistan in the short-term and long-term.

THIS CASE STUDY IS BASED ON THE FOLLOWING IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS:

People from SDPI:

- Dr. Sabbah Khattak. Executive Director of SDPI
- Dr. Abid Suleri. Deputy Director of SDPI and Senior Research Fellow.

External Informant:

- *Mr. Irtiqa Zaidi, National Project Director for the UNDP supported Trade Initiative for Human Development (TIHP) and Economic Consultant, Ministry of Commerce, Government of Pakistan.*

Other sources:

- Khattak SG, 'In/Security', in [Critical Asian Studies](#), Volume 35, Number 2, June 2003, pp. 195-208(14)
- SDPI website (www.sdpi.org.pk)

APPENDIX V: FURTHER ENDOGENOUS AND EXOGENOUS FACTORS THAT CAN AFFECT PRIs

ENDOGENOUS FACTORS

1.1 Institutional management

Leadership

Leadership was mentioned frequently as an endogenous factor with an important weight for the influence in policymaking. This factor underlies the possibility of effectively managing the described endogenous factors. Behind this set of factors, one can deduce the existence of strong and committed leaders who ensure that these features are well aligned and combined to increase the possibilities to impact policymaking.

For example, within a difficult context such as the closed political regime in Belarus which poses severe constraints for IPM-Belarus operations, leadership plays a key role in ensuring the organization's survival. The prudent management of the institution is signaled as one of the most crucial factors that stipulate its ability to survive and continue its operations. The leaders of the IPM have managed to find the optimal level of criticism and encouragement of the Belarusian government.

The lack of a solid and sustainable leadership is also perceived as a potential threat to reach impact in policy. In the case of ISS-India, the organization is largely run by the Director and there were no identified any attempts to develop a second line of leadership.

Leadership may also play a more important role during the creation phase of this type of institutions. Strong leadership and management have helped IUE-Russia to successfully engage in policy influence. It is a well-run institution in many respects; in terms of financial and research management, and its leaders have been able to capitalize on favorable start-up conditions and develop the institutional capacity.

Even though it was not explicitly signaled among those most relevant factors, it can be deduced that effective management and leadership work as a platform to enable other key endogenous factors such as diversified and or institutional funding, selection of a strategic and policy relevant agenda, and ensuring access to and knowledge of policymakers' needs and preferences.

1.3 Human resources

PRIs also derive their strength to influence policy from hiring highly qualified researchers. They emphasize academic qualifications and professional experience of researchers. Usually a basic qualification for main researchers is a Ph.D. degree.

1.3.1 Governmental experience

Even though solid academic backgrounds and credentials are a requisite for the PRI to gain reputation and recognition among certain social groups, what seems to help PRIs better achieve their policy goals is the presence of staff with governmental experience and/or solid contacts with policymakers. There are various manners by which the organization ensures it has human resources with knowledge and access to policymakers:

-Staff/ former staff held or holds government positions: for example, the researchers manning ISS are mostly retired bureaucrats, pooling in the experience of policymaking they were engaged in while in service. Indeed, when recruiting a researcher at ISS-India, sharp intellect, capacity to articulate and good public relations are the characteristics most sought after.

However, this feature works as a double-edged sword: when links with government are so tight as to being directly involved in the implementation of a specific public policy or becoming a permanent member of an official commission, PRIs may be questioned about their degree of independence. Partisan politics can clearly affect what they say and how they operate. Hence, PRIs have deployed a set of implicit or explicit policies to manage public perceptions about the interests they represent and defend. CELS-Argentina, for instance, has two unwritten rules based on its policy to relate with the State and maintain an independent position. First: no financial aid or support is accepted from Argentinean Government Agencies.⁵⁰ The second affects the composition of the board: no official of any governmental branch can be part of the organization's board of directors or hold an executive position at CELS.⁵¹ In compliance with this rule, CELS has lost a number of directors and senior staff to the government in the past few years. However, they do not regret this rule or consider relaxing its containment, as it ensures the organization's independence.

Fedesarrollo-Colombia has a whole different approach to this phenomenon and regards governmental experience as a very positive factor to achieve its policy goals. The historical coming-and-going linkage existing between Fedesarrollo's researchers and the government, particularly in such areas as economics and planning, is named by its members and by external actors as the "revolving door" factor, which is highly valued by them. This is complemented by the fact that, since its establishment, the institution has trained teams of technicians appointed to leading positions in public office, where they have been responsible for the country's economic decisions over various Colombian administrations. The revolving door places the organization in between the academic and political worlds, and thus it becomes much easier for them to disseminate their own proposals among special policymaking groups.

-Participation in government commissions/ task groups: ad hoc commissions formed to deal with specific policy issues have proven a very effective mechanism for researchers to voice their ideas and proposals. Over time, Providus-Latvia researchers have successfully established close links with the Parliament, the Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Education, as well as the State Anti-corruption Bureau. Because these government structures are directly involved in the policy decision-making processes concerning criminal justice, corruption, education, and State quality, they benefit from the research and analysis produced by Providus. Most of the core researchers are working as experts commissioned by the governmental structures named above. Nevertheless, in order to retain the reputation of an independent and impartial public policy centre, the members are neither directly involved in politics nor do they occupy formal positions in the government or ministries.

-Conducting joint research: to carry out research with a government department provides CEPA-Ghana with an added advantage: researchers have a wide exposure to governmental affairs and priorities. This proves very instrumental in solidifying contacts with the government. Such links as well as holding formal governmental positions assist CEPA in the process of setting a research agenda, disseminating results, and eventually establishing useful contacts with various influential policymakers.

1.3.2 Highly qualified researchers, with expertise and technical know how

Possessing a specific knowledge or know how demanded by government is also a feature of human resources that has helped some PRIs recognition by policymakers. In the case of IUE-Russia, the policy development experience developed over time along with a gradual expanding into adjacent research areas added value to their researchers' expertise, affording them a comprehensive approach to propose solutions for urban problems.

⁵⁰ CELS has currently two projects financed by state funds (one still active), but these were either obtained through public contest or consist of State matching funds of projects sponsored by international financial institutions.

⁵¹ CELS staffers can simultaneously be part of the organization and hold a position in the public administration as long as there is no incompatibility. However, they no longer can be part of any activity involving CELS' public positioning or representation.

Likewise, the originators of Providus had gained experience with Soros Foundation Latvia and were therefore recognized as experts in particular fields of political processes and civil society. Their opinions were highly regarded both by politicians and journalists. Moreover, they distinguished themselves by their comprehensive understanding of the legal mechanisms that can be used to influence Latvian policy processes. This facilitated their ability to put forward ideas and to establish bonds with government leaders and other policymakers.

1.3.3 Staff permanence

Continuity of specific research lines, fluid contact with policymakers and quick detection of entry points in the policymaking processes require some degree of permanence of human resources in the PRI. In consequence, a high turnover rate appears as a threat for those organizations trying to effect long term policy change.

NEPRU-Namibia, for instance, has faced competition for skilled staff from government offices. It is important to note that although there are several employment opportunities for researchers, the supply of skilled researchers is very low. Some researchers have left the institution to join the government including the Central Bank. However, in recent years the institution has managed to attract economists from the government. The institute interprets that this may signify that it is adequately fulfilling its function as a training ground for economic researchers.

The turnover rate within SDPI-Pakistan (for 2003 to 2004 was 40% out of 50 employees – the average amount of employees during these two past years) is also a concern that the institute must effectively curb to help maintain the requisite institutional focus that is needed to secure policy change.

PRIs face the scarcity of qualified human resources through diverse mechanisms: ESRF-Tanzania offers a competitive remuneration package compared to other peer organizations, which partly explains why there is minimal turnover. On the contrary, GRADE-Perú cannot call for tender to hire researchers as universities do, because they are not able to provide financial security. Those who join GRADE must look for their own resources for research, as the researchers of the institution are self-financed. Therefore, the attraction is basically to be part of the group, to have the necessary institutional platform to submit to research calls in issues they are interested in and, eventually, to be part of the initiatives with support obtained by other colleagues.

Finally, to face the problem of retirements and departures ISSER-Ghana engaged the services of Principal Research Assistants (PRAs), with MPhil degrees in Economics and other Social Sciences. These are hired for 3 years after which they progress to pursue PhD programmes abroad. Funding for such programmes comes from the institute under its G-RAP programme and the PRAs themselves through fellowship offers and sponsorship. The staff capacity-building effort through the use of PRAs has yielded some positive developments as 3 of the PRAs gained admission into PhD programmes abroad in the 2004/2005 academic session.

2. Research management

2.1 Selection of research topics

2.1.1 Anticipation of key public issues

A key factor of the influence of research on policy seems to be the capacity of PRIs to set a strategic topic agenda, by interpreting which topics would be relevant in their contexts throughout the time and by starting to develop research lines in that direction early on. This is clear in the cases of GRADE-Perú and CEP-Chile that designed a foundational plan of research at the time they were being created. This tendency is not counteracted by those specific research cases which are demand-driven because the PRIs winning the calls have previously done research on those topics and have consolidated their reputation in the field. In these cases, PRIs must adapt their research interests to the terms of references set by the founders. They must demonstrate that they are able to mobilize the appropriate and suitable resources to carry out the project in

time and form. For instance, GRADE-Perú and NEPRU-Namibia show this type of tendency. In these cases, topic relevance is reinforced by the fact that research in those PRIs is usually demand-driven by the government of their corresponding countries and financed by international agencies. Hence, the information they are asked for is already needed by policymakers.

Another example of this capacity is SDPI-Pakistan: it has been able to successfully predict what type of research is in demand from government, particularly with regards to its devolution related work, and research on trade, the environment, sustainable agriculture and forestry. In this sense, affiliation of the SDPI with prominent donor organizations, and with environmental agencies in the country has also enabled it to predict research priorities within a changing environment.

The link between funding and a long term research agenda

Possibilities to work with a mid or long term scope depend on the availability of institutional funds that allow more flexibility in the establishment of the research agenda and sustainability of research lines until the window of opportunity opens up. One clear example is CEP-Chile, where selection of research topics is mainly done by the staff. Usually, the topics are defined on the basis of long-term criteria, trying to answer questions such as which are the most relevant problems in Chile, where should they head as a country, and what they need to achieve the desired goals.

The same type of funding influences directly the way FIEL-Argentina organizes research activities. Long-term funding, coming from enterprises that belong to the Board, reduces the kind of temporary or thematic constraints that are external to the institution and related with funders' own agendas or deadlines. Therefore, researchers have some degree of autonomy to set the institute's research agenda. They can choose to do research on topics that they are interested in or that they consider potentially important for the future, but that are not in the public agenda yet, as was the case of the effective influence of their studies on State Reform.

2.1.2 Balance between continuity and adaptation

Even though expertise and public recognition build on permanent research on specific areas, PRIs also need to respond to the changing political and social environment so as not to lose relevance in the political arena. Therefore, they need to constantly find equilibrium between a long-term and structural approach to policy issues with a short-term and junctural monitoring of current affairs. This is also applicable to communications strategies, to be analyzed in the following section.

GRADE-Perú is constantly revising its research priorities so as to identify new needs experienced by those in charge of public policies, as well as areas where greater knowledge of social and economic processes has to be developed. In the past decade, GRADE's research agenda has become considerably broader owing to their identification of priority areas. They seek to reach a balance between continuity and consistency on the one hand, and adaptation and attention to junctural changes modifying reality on the other hand. Needless to say, this is not an easy task.

The need of such a balance is embedded in CELS-Argentina's strategic planning process. The selection of research topics is made in accordance to the assessment of the country's political juncture and general situation by its Executive Committee. Notwithstanding, the selection itself is not limited to the Executive Committee. In fact, research topics may be selected by the board, the Executive Director or by the different Programs staff. This selection process takes into consideration CELS' interest on influencing policy changes in the specific area and its feasibility. Consistent with CELS' core programs, the strategic plan establishes the

priorities for the year and identifies the possible areas and cases of interest for the organization. Throughout the year, these priorities are subject to modification, bearing in mind specific political junctures.

The search of balance becomes more frequent as PRIs grow and expand activities from the initial interests and expertise of founders. For instance, the ICPS-Ukraine was established with the goal to assist the government with analysis of policy alternatives and implications. Consequently, it primarily focused on economic policy and public-policy-procedures-related issues, regarded as top priorities since the organization's creation. However, over time, the ICPS decided to also follow new directions based on the needs and situation within the country. As a result, the organization is now more concerned with regional policy, local government issues, the development of the third sector, and European integration.

2.2 Research process

2.2.1 Continuity of research

Perceiving research as an unending process, in the sense that issues under study are permanently monitored and reevaluated based on political changes and outcomes improves the chances that the research incorporates policy-related aspects such as relevance, feasibility, etc. This can be illustrated by how Fedesarrollo-Colombia maintained an unyielding line of research into labor reform during more than a decade. They closely followed the problem from the very beginning while promoting and spreading their ideas on the subject to the relevant stakeholders who had an interest in reform. This helped them become a key actor in the specialized debate about how to improve the labor reform.

GRADE- Perú research efforts into education have also been a continuous process. Since 1987, they had been drawing diagnoses and evaluations of the sector. Studies were carried out about the impact of education variables on socioeconomic life, as well as on factors related to the development of a national system of education. This positioned them in a unique place when the government needed technical advice to drive some reforms in the educational policy.

Similarly, the permanent efforts by ISS-India to keep the issue of local governance continuously alive over a time span of more than 20 years in the public domain through studies, public lectures, workshops and symposia and involving all the major stakeholders in the process have led to conceptual clarity and convictions among policymakers and practitioners about the need for continuous fine tuning of the *Panchayati Raj*⁵² institutions.

2.2.2 Participatory approach

An effective mechanism to widen interest, demand and consensus on research outcomes and research-based proposals is to integrate those groups affected by the specific policy in the research process. This also helps to ensure research quality, and, all in all, contribute to position them as key actors in the debate on public policies.

Furthermore, PRIs working directly with the government seem to affect policy much more readily and with immediate effect, and also when government officials are involved in and/or consulted about research projects. Donor and international agencies explicitly involved in assisting the governments also seem to be able to promote the influence of research on government policies.

ESRF-Tanzania consults diverse stakeholders in the formulation of the research program and research projects and requests their views on its research papers. This ensures wider ownership of the research outcomes; informed stakeholders lobby the government to uptake evidence and proposals developed by the

⁵² *Panchayati Raj institutions are the units of local governance that operate at sub-national level. India is a federal country, comprising of 30 states. These constitutionally enjoy autonomy in respect of certain financial and administrative decisions. Panchayati Raj institutions are composed by a three tier structure of governance: district, block and village.*

institute. For example, in the *Globalisation and East Africa* research project, a group of well-known professionals from various economic, legal, and social fields was convened in order to provide technical and professional guidance throughout the research process. The papers were presented at research seminars as a means to solicit feedback from various stakeholders. Government officials, the private sector, civil society, academia, and development partners participated in the project's bi-weekly seminars, the annual globalisation seminars, and project evaluation. The stakeholders acted as consultants to the globalisation project in order to more effectively identify key and relevant research themes, to promote dialogue on the subject, and to disseminate the research results.

Based on the same philosophy, ICPS-Ukraine seeks to ensure active participation of all interested parties in their research and analysis projects. A wide range of stakeholders (researchers, clients, donors, and journalists) are invited to participate in the discussions on which project results are based.

Another example of this approach is CELS-Argentina. Based on their conception of research as a tool to influence policy, research projects are considered open processes of policy incidence. Therefore, at the beginning of each project, CELS identifies the relevant policymakers involved in the specific policy area and presents them an outline of the project's objectives and goals. Later on, the results of the research are provided to them in order to evaluate and validate them prior to their release.

Finally, Providus-Latvia combines wide participation with flexibility. This implies that its experts do not take a particular stance on a specific issue before the research is finalised; they can change their propositions during debates with experts, policymakers and other stakeholders involved.

Participatory approach as a competitive advantage

CER-Uzbekistan has pioneered in the utilization of a participatory approach in the country, which has allowed the institution to distinguish itself from other PRIs. This approach implies that a specific research team is formed for each project, engaging specialists of other academic institutions, experts from public and private sectors, lawyers, and government officials. The involvement of the latter has turned into the principal know-how of the CER which distinguishes it from the 'standard' team-building model of peer organizations. By this way, government officials can directly contribute to policy advice via consultations which then enable CER to produce better targeted and viable recommendations since the input of government officials has already been taken into account.

2.3 Research characteristics

One interesting finding is that in many of these PRIs research is usually supported and accompanied by other activities that expand the possibilities that this research informs specific public policies or policy debates. Advocacy efforts, seminars and events, and training are all effective mechanisms to bridge research and evidence internally produced to policymakers or those who influence them.

Based on this conception of research as a component of a larger set of tools and activities to influence policymakers, several PRIs differentiate themselves clearly from pure academic centers. IUE-Russia, for example, emphasizes that conducting academic research has never been set as a goal. On the contrary, they regard policy development and implementation as their competitive advantage. Therefore, the analytical work undertaken by its professionals usually does not exceed 25-30% of their time and geared towards problem identification in the first place, providing the basis for political and legal solutions to the identified issues, and

also disseminating results on pilot projects and analysis. The bulk of the researchers' time goes to public and private consulting on the basis of their findings.

IUE has additionally developed various types of training programs and materials targeted at various audiences, in some of which they provide government officials and CSO representatives with the policy skills they need to improve public programs. KIPPRA-Kenya also plays a leading role in capacity building for government officers who participate in their Young Professionals program. This methodology has proved to be effective in equipping public servants with research skills necessary in policy formulation.

Similarly, CER-Uzbekistan develops capacity building activities targeted to civil servants that work for government economic agencies and specialists in policy research. For example, an extensive training program for civil servants was implemented in 1999-2002 with the support by the International Development Fund/World Bank. For 3 years, trainings on basics of macroeconomics and foreign trade theory, with case studies and implications for transition economies were delivered to civil servants from the economic ministries (including Finance Ministry, Ministry of Economy and Statistics, Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations), the Central Bank, regional governments and other economic and advisory agencies. The evaluation produced by a special mission showed that the results of trainings were very positive; a number of trainees expressed that they had been promoted after their participation in the program.

SDPI-Pakistan also recognizes its integrative approach of using research, advocacy, policy advice and training to reinforce each other as a factor that boosts the organization's capacity for yielding policy influence. The institute has thus devised a multilayered approach to influence policy: research is utilized for advocacy and to raise awareness of certain issues; at the same time it enables SDPI to form alliances with local and international networks to apply collective pressure for achieving a favorable policy environment.

Research as an instrument

A peculiar conception of the role of research is the case of CELS-Argentina, whose research objective is not the generation of knowledge *per se*, but its use as an instrument to enhance its capacity in terms of public policy incidence. In this sense, research grounds the organization's proposals on policy changes, evaluation and monitoring. However, this does not mean that research is less important or taken less seriously than other activities such as judicial litigation.

2.3.1 The advantages of focus

Sustained focus on specific policy areas allows researchers and PRIs to become legitimate and recognized voices in debates, decisionmaking processes and projects, as well as to be consulted when public issues related to their areas of specialization. Focus leads to building a solid network of interested stakeholders, participation in policy communities, development of entry points within governmental agencies, and retention of specialized researchers.

PRIs recognize that there are also some inherent risks to specialization, and thus devise some strategies to cope with these. For instance, being decentralization and the promotion of local democracy the general focus of the research projects of ISS-India, they seek to approach from this angle a wide variety of related topics such as gender justice, empowerment of the marginalized people at the grassroots, human rights, etc. In addition, ISS spends organizational energy to respond to important events that have a bearing upon the functioning of the local government institutions in the country through tools like case studies, special articles or even full-scale studies to respond to a topical issue. Still, the organization has detected that it can further extend the exploitation of its focused research, scarce studies have been undertaken on the operational aspects of local governance such as delivery of services to the local people through *Panchayats*. To diversify

their research activities they will require a much more knowledgeable research team, which in turn implies substantial funds to support.

On another hand, researchers in Providus-Latvia consider an advantage to be able to specialize and continue working in the fields in which they have experience. Being a small institution, it has insufficient capacity to take on other themes. Its core research areas are highly relevant and important within Latvia's medium-term context; they do not currently experience the need to diversify and take up new fields of research. However, focus is not limited to a unique area: in contrast with other PRIs in Latvia that mainly focus on a single policy issue such as corruption or human rights- Providus has decided to cover a wider range of policy issues. This enables the organisation to apply for more project competitions and also ensures competitive advantage in interdisciplinary projects.

2.3.2 Operational outputs

Also, research with an operational output -the kind of research that presents a clear proposal with specific policy options- is a key factor in influencing policy. Furthermore, as shown in CEP-Chile, KIPPRA-Kenya and CELS-Argentina cases, the development of an innovative way or an original topic about a problem, especially when there are several sources of information competing, can draw the attention of politicians and place research in a better position in the debate. In the case of CELS-Argentina's influence on the reform of the Supreme Court Judges appointment procedures, the project aimed at changing the focus of the debate from a critique of the discredited Supreme Court magistrates to an assessment of the practices of the Judiciary and specifically of the Supreme Court. Thus, it expressed the need for a change that could prevent a similar crisis in the future. Traditionally, debates regarding judicial reform had been limited to a series of organizations and associations representing different positions within the judicial corporation. In contrast, the debate fostered by CELS and the other organizations was a more plural and inclusive one. They produced a synthetic table which very succinctly identified problems, proposed solutions and established the governmental agency responsible to undertake each reform.

PRIs that provide clear and concrete policy options seem more amenable to acceptance. And all the more if the operational aspect of policy formulations is clearly explained and the implementation aspects are considered. Mere generalized policy prescriptions tend not to be all that effective. All PRIs seem to be equipped to help translate broad objectives and policies into programs and specific projects as well as to carry out feasibility studies.

3. Communications

3.1 Strategies and tools for research communications

Before analyzing which type of strategies and tools are most commonly used by successful PRIs to foster the use of research in policymaking processes, it is important to highlight that all of them understand the advantages of deploying and systematizing a variety of channels to support dissemination. This combination of tools allows them to balance reach (i.e. columns and articles in mass media) with feedback and interactivity (personal meetings with policymakers). It also reflects the organizations' capacity to respond to different audiences' needs and achieve synergy by optimizing available information to influence diverse sectors.

Another common pattern among these cases is that communications around key topics is constant, consistent and repetitive. This is especially evident in Latin America, where the organizations commit to certain topics related to reforms for a long time and use every communicational opportunity (seminars, press, meetings, discussions at networks, etc.) to voice their ideas and proposals. For example, both Fedesarrollo-Colombia and FIEL-Argentina have sustained systematic and persistent communications through the dissemination of rigorous products to diverse audiences regarding state reform and labor reform, respectively.

Periodic publications are a regular practice in these PRIs, and are used by them as a valuable tool to become recognized sources of information on specific topics, as well as to disseminate evidence on current affairs that can affect the political agenda.

Two examples of periodic publications

- IPM's Economic journal "ECOWEST" (published quarterly from 1999); and the quarterly bulletins "Economic Review: Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, Ukraine" (published from 2004), "Belarusian Economy: Trends, Analysis, Forecast" (published from 2001), and "Belarusian Monthly Economic Review" (published from 2002). Each product has a specific purpose – either to monitor the situation or to analyze the underlying dynamics (i.e. Belarus Infrastructure Monitoring), or to inform the public about current issues (Belarus Monthly Economic Review).
- The monthly newsletter of ISS-India — *Panchayati Raj Update* — helps communicate the relevant issues and concerns to different stakeholders. This effort at informing public opinion in turn arms it to urge authorities to adopt the desirable changes. This newsletter has become one of their major achievements to install local governance as a topic in the agenda. Its wide circulation has generally kept the stakeholders well informed. Certainly this newsletter is one of the voices that helped in advancing the need to create a larger space for local governance. The painstaking efforts of the ISS in collecting the information on local governance from different States in the country allow constant communication of these data/ideas to the larger public.

Last but not least, accessibility in terms of legibility and availability is also pointed out as a factor that eases the flow of research findings to the policymaking arena. For example, following their belief on the need to simplify academic discourses, GRADE-Perú jointly with the Ministry of Education produced a series of concise bulletins on education results in order to reach a larger public.

Besides analyzing the variety of formats through which messages can be conveyed, it is interesting to note that in Latin America's successful cases, what and how was being said had a significant weight in the expansion of reach to relevant actors on specific topics. In fact, the content of the messages was in some cases shaped and fine-tuned according to the politics stream. CEP's work on State reform depicts this practice. In order to increase possibilities of reaching consensus –and thinking in advance about political viability and support of the proposals- they decided to combine the original concentration on political financing as key to State reform (which was being perceived mainly as an approach in the lines of the political party of the Pro-concertation) with a focus on formal processes to appoint high-level public officials, which they estimated would appeal right-winged positions.

3.2 Relationships with other relevant actors

Communications with other actors are also important. In most of the cases, the capacity to reach policymakers with research results and proposals is tightly linked to the ability to gain consensus on the institute's overall goals and purposes among other key stakeholders that yield influence on the policymaking processes. Frequently, involvement of these other groups is not limited to the phase of diffusion of ideas – though it is a main part of their weight in helping PRIs achieve policy impact. Successful PRIs have the capacity to clearly detect and interact with those groups that have shared interests or the resources needed by these institutes to achieve their objectives, not only in the general political game, but specifically in each project, area or issue they deal with. For example, ESFR-Tanzania considers that engagement of different stakeholders can greatly boost the influence of the research on policy as -when informed- they can lobby the government for the adoption of certain policies which they perceive as beneficial.

Among the most relevant actors we may highlight the importance of the following relationships:

- Business sectors

Leading businessmen and business chambers are frequently influential voices in policy debates and decisions. Several PRIs engage this sector as an endorser of their proposals and a bridge to access policymakers. Latin American cases, with the exception of GRADE-Perú, depict a very high involvement of this sector: as mentioned above, Fedesarrollo-Colombia and FIEL-Argentina were in fact created by leading businessmen and business associations.

- Donors

As analyzed in the funding section, bilateral and multilateral institutions such as the IADB and the World Bank are relevant actors for many PRIs. Regarding communications, their influence on policymakers has frequently opened up dissemination opportunities. In the case of GRADE-Perú, the incorporation of specialists into some reform processes has been driven in several cases by the international agencies such as the World Bank and IADB. This has indirectly benefited GRADE by uncovering new possibilities to bring evidence to the table of discussions and thus influence decisions. In Ghana, the engagement of bilateral and multilateral organisations, donor agencies, and international financial institutions (IFIs), amongst others, in the developmental process of the country has enabled PRIs to have a major impact on policy. They convene and engage institutions in policy research projects that later indirectly impact policymaking in the country. In fact, significant research projects from ISSER-Ghana became the source for policy documents and reports on the Ghanaian economy from these international organisations and agencies, which often find their way to the doors of government. Like in many African countries, these organisations frequently function as third-party “interventions” through which the government accepts research emanating from these institutes.

Finally, personal communications skills are also influential on PRIs’ capacity to reach the policy realm. In Latin America, some researchers are undoubtedly personal ambassadors of specific ideas; they build their own interpersonal networks in order to gain reputation in their areas of expertise. This type of researchers tend to be more media-friendly and visible: they make calls and presentations to legislators or public servants when ideas related to their proposals are being discussed, participate at networks, publish articles and columns, etc. Moreover, many have the needed skills to detect how to couple their ideas and concepts with the public discourse in the policy arena.

This factor is tightly linked with face to face communications since its impact is enlarged when individual policymakers are personally interested in conducting reforms. When selecting individuals to build strong relationships, researchers usually aim at those opinion leaders that have a vested interest in the topic, as well as political ability to influence diverse groups. In this sense, Kingdon (Kingdon, 1995) points out how for a researcher who wants to have an effect in the short run there is a premium in knowing what is in the minds of people in government. This enables researchers to better craft their messages and proposals. Personal and direct communications leads to a deeper knowledge of what, when and how to present ideas.

EXOGENOUS FACTORS

1. Degree of governmental capacity

In Latin America, since the 1990s the creation of PRIs increased by 86% as compared to the existing number. A possible explanation for this growth might be the increasing weakness of the State in policymaking. Structural economic reforms carried out during the 1990s in the whole region reduced the size and the role of the State. This reduction process was paralleled with the decentralization of its functions. The former depleted many areas previously influenced by the State, and made them "vacant" for PRIs or other political actors, and the latter created more contact points with the government since the local levels were now open to them.

In Eastern Europe, the fall of communist regimes, and the consequent need to build and develop a new State bureaucracy also opened up opportunities to impact policies for PRIs based on a large demand of research, as well as expertise on certain topics. Lack of knowledge is extended even to the policymaking procedures

themselves, such as the intervention of ICPS by providing technical assistance to Ukrainian governmental bodies. In fact, among key factors that explain the success of ICPS reside the lack of information and expertise among public servants on the public policy issues.

The need to improve State capacity in this region is tightly linked to the incentives posed by the European Union. After ten years of independence, there was the increasing awareness of the need to implement transparent public procedures and international standards of governance to be able to access the European Union that lead Ukrainian authorities to take ICPS recommendations into consideration.

Moreover, whereas macro economic and political variables set the "hard" limits of the aims PRIs may pursue, the political-institutional variables assign distinct probabilities for PRIs to have an impact on policy. The specific political-institutional context of PRIs is different depending on the topic area; in other words, it is not the same to have the Ministry of Education as interlocutor as to have the Ministry of Economy. Also, it is not the same to propose broad topics of State reform, as in FIEL Argentina's case, than to promote an education policy to measure quality, as GRADE-Peru did. In each of these cases, rules governing the behavior of the actors involved are different. Also, the characteristics of the area of the state apparatus with which PRIs interact will shape the relations the institute can establish and will allow it to reach greater or lesser degrees of effectiveness. In this sense, the degree of openness to external agents –as described above-, the type of institutions of the area in question, the prevalence of formal or informal rules as well as the degree of contestation of actors such as labor unions, political opposition, etc. will also vary.

On the other hand, these variables are key to understanding the micro-processes which support the macro-processes. Mediating between political regimes and research-based policy proposed by a PRI, there are institutions. This means that a relation between, for example, higher degrees of democracy and higher degrees of impact of actors external to the state apparatus in politics cannot be taken for granted. It is necessary to look at the specific state architecture through which policies must be processed in order to understand their real constraints.

Understanding how research and policy interact should let us identify potential interventions, which could lead to better policies. That is why we must focus on the nature and extent of the impact of research on policy. However, research can influence policy only through institutions. Elected decision-makers remain responsible for the selection, persistence and implementation of new ideas in policy. Among research proposals and implemented policies we may find several key actors and individuals as well as formal and informal institutional rules: that is why institutions are crucial. Good ideas are not enough to obtain good policies.

For example, ideas that seemed to be good a decade ago are now being replaced by others that seem to be more feasible and realistic. In fact, the experiences of Latin American countries with market-oriented reforms have led to strong critiques. They have paved the way for the development of a "new paradigm" which is supposed to complement -in a critical way- previous reform efforts and to open a more comprehensive agenda. It does not necessarily intend to dismantle what has been achieved but rather to rethink those achievements. This renewed conventional wisdom is grounded on the premise that *institutions are crucial for development*.

Ideas matter. However, it is also the case that ideas do not matter. It not only depends on the quality of ideas or on the features of the macro political context. Ideas are shaped within organizations, which propel them within the hearing range of decision-makers. That is why it is so important to understand the medium where ideas are shaped: political institutions.

For instance, the case of the education policy promoted by GRADE in Peru is very interesting, as it shows the above mentioned issues: in a context of an authoritarian political regime, with little press freedom, etc. a specific area of the state apparatus -education- was specially open to participation of external and specialized agents to carry out a project promoted by the World Bank. The Ministry of Education was particularly interested in GRADE and other actors' ideas in the education area, to the extent that the efforts made were expressed in an annex of the new Peruvian Law of Education. In short, what first seems contradictory (an

authoritarian regime, then greater openness to the influence of PRIs) makes sense when analyzing the specific political-institutional variables which have an effect on the relationship.

2. Level of rotation in government

Several PRIs regard high rotation among government officials as an obstacle to achieve policy impact. SDPI-Pakistan is forced to re-establish relationships with government each time the administration experiences changes. This has been a frequent barrier for its influence in environmental policy: within the past thirteen years of its existence SDPI has had to face the change of six governments, followed by drastic changes in the environmental policies arena.

To deal with the same challenge, IPM-Belarus has opted to establish solid connections with governmental agencies at the institutional level, as opposed to developing personal relationships. It does not work with a particular person in a governmental body (i.e. Ministry or Department of a Ministry), but rather with the agency as a whole. However, this practice affects its capacity to influence the policy setting process which becomes rather limited since there have no personal contacts to push forward some specific ideas and proposals within their governmental bodies.

3. Lack of competitors

Becoming the first PRI to investigate and present proposals in a specific policy area or generating unique information and evidence that is not available in the marketplace or affordable to government have helped these organizations develop and maintain niches of specialization that increase the need and/or support of them, or the opportunity to survive.

For instance, the quite restrictive political context in Belarus -including the suppression of most PRIs and think tanks- has turned IPM into almost the only “player in the field”. Thus the institution faces no competition when applying for grants and other donor financed projects. Also, any foreign or international organization that desires to implement projects with independent organizations in Belarus is immediately directed to the IPM.

Also CER has acted for a long time as the only player in the sphere of policy research in Uzbekistan. The same situation characterized the emergence of ICPS that became the first organization in Ukraine to monitor key economic and political statistics on a regular basis. Furthermore, most of its publications are still unique in the Ukrainian context.

When Fedesarrollo-Colombia was created, it was the only institution devoted to examine and evaluate public policies with both a rigorous and an academic approach. Because of this, it became the only interlocutor of the government on public policy evaluation. However, over time, the research tradition built by the institution has spread to other institutions, research centers, universities and consulting agencies and it has contributed to the development of the Colombian academic community and to the public policies debate.

Finally, GRADE also attributes its prominent role in the policy change in Perú to the little or no competition that it faced in the academic debate on the evaluation of education.

4. Centralization of decision making

When those who should make the policy decision or implement it are clearly and neatly defined or detected, it becomes easier for the PRI to concentrate its advocacy efforts and gain influence. As was mentioned above, the creation of the Ministry of *Panchayati Raj* in India has eased ISS's ability to advance its proposals regarding local governance promotion at the national level. Equally, Lima, the capital city of Peru, enjoyed much more power in the 90s than it had in the two previous decades. Its larger autonomy enabled GRADE to reach policymakers more easily, specifically those in the Ministry of Education.

Aware of the importance of directly addressing those who could implement each of their proposals, CELS and other five organizations released in 2002 a clear and concise document identifying and explaining eight main problems which affected the work of the Supreme Court, proposing the measures required to overcome them. As shown below, they clearly established the governmental agency that should be responsible for the support and monitoring of the proposed changes.

Table 1 – Identified problems, proposals and competent agencies

Identified Problem	Proposed measure	Responsible agency
1) Exaggerated volume of cases of Supreme Court intervention.	Restricting the Supreme Courts' jurisdiction	Congress and Supreme Court
2) Supreme Court proceedings' lack of publicity	Public hearings and enforcement of the new restricted jurisdiction mentioned in 1.	Congress and Supreme Court
3) Obstacles in citizenry participation in the search of justice; restriction to parties considered by the Court	Implementation of the <i>amicus curiae</i>	Congress and Supreme Court
4) Judicial Branch's work lacked transparency, especially the Supreme Court	All magistrates should be subject to basic transparency and accountability standards.	Congress and Supreme Court
5) Lack of accountability and control of the administration of the Judicial branch	The administration of the Judicial branch should be subject to the Administrative Investigation Attorney's Office.	Congress, Supreme Court and the Magistrate's Council
6) Magistrates tax exemption	Magistrates should be subject to the income tax	Supreme Court
7) Lack of transparency in proceedings regarding the appointment of Judges, particularly Supreme Court ones.	Public hearings with citizen participation. Reception of opinions from civil society organizations.	Senate and Executive Office
8) Lack of transparency in proceedings regarding the removal of Judges, particularly Supreme Court ones.	Establishing clear rules and proceedings regarding the matter.	Congress and Executive Office