Building Bridges

Towards effective means of linking scientific research and public policy: Migrants in European cities

An exploratory survey in 10 European countries by Metropolis International (European Arm) for the European Commission

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Preface

From September 1997 to September 1998, the European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER) hosted the European arm of the international secretariat of Metropolis (for a description, see chapter 1.1 and appendix A), supported by funds from the European Commission. In March of 1998, in consultation with the Commission, the secretariat agreed to concentrate its activities during the remainder of the contract period on mapping European experiences and perceptions of research-policy linkage in the field of "migrants and cities". The report you are about to read is one of the results of that exploration.

Some of this report's findings have been available for quite some time. The final activities report of the secretariat (September 1998), contained a paper by Roger Henke, outlining the objectives, the data collection, and the major results of the study *(The research-policy interface: Metropolis project review of European states;* a revised version has been published on http://www.unesco.org/most/scspco2.htm). Malcolm Cross summarised many of our conclusions regarding the institutional prerequisites and suitable instruments for proper linkage at the third international Metropolis conference (December 1998, *Research within Metropolis: an agenda for action).*

What are the reasons, then, for the delay of more than a year in the publication of the final report of our study? One (admittedly significant) is that all of us moved on to other jobs. But more importantly, none of us was very eager to devote many evenings and weekends to write a report that would not add substantially to what was already available. We felt we had delivered what the Commission wanted us to do; we had made our empiral results, on effective arrangements for linkaging research and policy, as well as our recommendations on how to organise them, available to the network of Metropolis partners in an easy-to-digest form. Simply elaborating on these would not have produced any new insights and probably would have ended up unread on shelves and in drawers. At least, the common kind of elaboration for comparative and explorative surveys like ours, that consists only of best practice examples and/or (quickly outdated) country summaries. Not a very attractive prospect, indeed.

Unfortunately, new insights cannot be produced on demand. Their gestation is inpredictable. For us, however, the long wait has paid off. We believe that our present report contains the kind of value added that makes it worthwhile reading, even for those who are already familiar with our earlier conclusions and recommendations. The additional value is not found so much in new or additional conclusions or recommendations (although the report contains some), but rather in the change of perspective on the linkage issue. We propose to stop defining the linkage issue in terms of knowledge utilisation, and look upon it as a relational problem instead.

Looking back upon the emergence of that perspective, it has been staring us in the face all the time. Nearly all of our September 1998 conclusions were phrased in relational terms. But - as the present report tries to convey - looking at the linkage issue

through the metaphor of relationship really opens up new vistas. By this shift in perspective, our study has become even more "exploratory" than it already was. The intention is to make a case, not to explore all of its consequences and implications.

Because of this, we label the report an interim product; we intend to develop the argument further, in order to consider consequences and implications more systematically. Input from readers is very much welcomed. As stated in our long-term objectives (1.3.4), we look upon this report as a stage-marker in an ongoing process.

Chapter one describes the context of the study (the Metropolis project), its short-term and long-term objectives, and the methodology. In chapter two, a conceptual framework of the research-policy linkage issue is developed, and the concept of bench-marking "related issues" (interdisciplinarity, interorganisational networks, and participatory project planning) is introduced. Chapter three compares European countries in terms of context factors: differences in their research and development appropriations; in "ideological" factors, such as academic or political culture; in institutional structures; and in historical particularities. All are related to the conceptual framework. Chapter four describes information needs expressed by our interviewees, and their attitudes towards international comparison. In chapter five, we discuss the importance of individuals in linking research and policy, and we discuss the tendency of particular institutional arrangements (derived from the interviews) to effectively facilitate linkage. In the concluding (sixth) chapter, we insert the empirical results of chapters three and five into the conceptual framework, introduce a typology of styles of research to order the means of effective linkage (identified in chapter five) and discuss the kind of institutional design that would best facilitate those linkage arrangements.

Our presentation contains several peculiarities that might need some explicit justification. First, we opted for the inclusion of as many examples or illustrations as possible of situations that are not directly related to the issue of research-policy linkage. We hope that others will pick up on our suggestion for bench-marking, and make a detailed analysis of one or more of these situations or fields. And second, we included more Dutch examples than befits one country in a comparative study. This is not so much because Roger Henke, who is the major contributor to the report, is based in the Netherlands, but because the Netherlands has a long tradition of (internationally inaccessible) studies on the linkage issue, and, as a country where social science research and social policy interact very closely, it is home to a very rich cornucopia of linkage modalities.

We would not have been able to conduct our study without the support and input from many organisations and individuals. First and foremost, it was the willingness of our interviewees to contribute time and expertise, that made this study possible. At the very foundation of this report's emphasis on relationship, lies the vision of the Metropolis founders, Demetrios Papademetriou, from the International Migration Policy Program (Carnegie Endowment for International Piece), and Meyer Burstein, from the Metropolis project (Citizenship and Immigration Canada), as well as the view on research-policy linkage of Metropolis' present European co-chair, Rinus Penninx (University of Amsterdam). Nicole Dewandre, from DG XII (EC), lobbied hard within the

Commission's bureaucracy to secure a start up grant for a European arm of the Metropolis secretariat; she also suggested the idea of an exploratory survey as a means of generating effective linkage ideas. The Metropolis partners were very helpful in arranging meetings on short notice with many knowledgeable individuals. Our editor, Nancy Schaefer, improved the flow of the manuscript considerably. Ronald Schouten helped with tables and figures, and René Hendriks contributed a professional layout.

Executive summary

This study claims that one of the major reasons for the general feeling that social science analysis of research-policy linkage has not delivered much relief is caused by its fixation on the utilisation of knowledge. Bench-marking the issue of research-policy linkage shows that the discussion on related issues (such as interdisciplinarity) is primarily in terms of the quality of the relationship between the persons to be linked, and the effects of the relationship (i.e. i.c. non-use or under-use of academic knowledge) are considered in derivative terms. This shift in perspective clearly fits well with the tendencies of particular arrangements to be effective means of linkage, as distilled from our interview material. In terms of new research, arrangements offer good linkage potential if:

- Problem definitions and project monitoring are shared by the research and the policy interests;
- And project teams are open to all disciplines, necessary for the study of the problem as defined;
- Within the context of a long term commitment;
- That is flexible enough to allow mid-term adjustments.

In terms of types or styles of research, policy-oriented research is the prime arena for implementing the above described means. The two other relevant styles – policy relevant research, and policy research – seem best suited for the linkage instruments of state of the art reviews, and staff exchanges, respectively.

Individual qualities like overlapping experience, usually institutionalised in terms of the role of intermediaries, are very important to realise linkage potential. However, bench-marking suggests that arrangements for conducting new research would benefit substantially from a wholly new role – that of facilitator or mediator. Moreover, implementation of this role opens up the possibility of using participatory project planning and monitoring techniques, such as ZOPP, as well.

Combining the above insights, we produced an organisational outline. Its features are:

- Financial and organisational independency, a limited number of support staff and research (and policy advice) staff on secondment or temporary (part-time) basis;
- Important in-house (support) skills should cover participatory project planning and monitoring techniques, and other team facilitation management tools;
- Documentation and data warehousing facilities;
- The institution should be at the heart of a network of research and policy actors. It has to offer added value in terms of playing a coordinating linkage and brokerage role. This, again, presupposes that the institution focuses on a certain issue-arena;
- The institution can serve as the secretariat for policy advice councils;

We did not encounter any existing institution possessing all these features. Indeed, all existing linkage institutions lack in-house (support) skills that include participatory project planning and monitoring techniques, and other team facilitation management tools.

The study also offers a conceptual framework for analysing concrete cases of (the absence) of linkage between research and policy. Basically, this framework is a summary of what 25 years of knowledge utilisation (KU) studies have taught us, considered from the perspective that emphasises the relationship (instead of utilisation), and elaborated in terms of what has received least attention in KU research and reflection, the context of ideological and institutional influences that go beyond the particular issue arena at hand. The following context factors are described:

- Differences in the R&D input between countries
- Political Culture
- Academic Culture
- Policy philosophy for the sector concerned
- The place accorded to science as a knowledge producer by the political and administrative Establishment
- The political belief in rational planning
- The different status assigned to different disciplines
- The research system in a particular sector
- The institutional structure of the policy sector
- Mobility of professionals between sectors and institutional settings
- Historical contingencies

Besides identifying context factors and outlining effective means of linking research and policy, the study also explores the information needs of researchers and policy makers within the issue arena of "migrants and cities", as well as their attitudes towards international comparison.

In terms of content, our interview partners focused on three kinds of analytical perspectives:

- The predominant concern is not with migration processes per se but rather with their consequences. In this regard, the focus is more on integration.
- With this in mind, some tend to select "supply-side" questions, such as human capital or resources, while others are concerned with "demand-side" issues such as job supply or adequate housing.
- In between these two positions are those who worry primarily about the impediments that inhibit the use of resources in fulfilling ther available opportunities.

We matched these perspectives with the Metropolis list of core themes, "Employment and the labour market", "Urban social and spatial structure", and "Social solidarity and social cohesion", and created a matrix of information needs.

The comparison attitudes indicated a need for data harmonisation and for periodic surveys using a common core of measurement instruments.

1. Objectives and context

1.1 The Metropolis project

The International Metropolis Project is a set of coordinated activities conducted by a membership of research and policy organisations who share a vision of strengthened immigration policy by means of applied academic research. The Metropolis partnership, now from twenty countries and a number of international research and policy organisatioations representing a wide range of policy and academic interests, is sustained by the attractions of its core idea. The members of Metropolis work collaboratively on issues of immigration and integration, always with the goal of strengthening policy and thereby allowing societies to better manage the challenges and opportunities that immigration presents, especially to their cities. Metropolis is expected to yield not only reliable and relevant information about immigration and integration, but also to serve as an instructive model for the engagement of the external research community in policy-research. The critical element in policy-research and in evidence-based decision-making is effective communication among researchers, policy-developers, and decision-makers. For more information on Metropolis see appendix A.

In 1998, The European Commission decided to support the project with an exploratory survey of the research-policy interface in various European states. The guiding idea behind this contribution was that an European comparison of experiences with and perceptions of the use of scientific information in policy development in the area of migrants and cities would help Metropolis members to identify linkage possibilities within their own setting of operation.

Although the universe of interview partners was determined by the mission of Metropolis, the accompanying literature review soon demonstrated the broader utility of the survey results. The linkage issues in the subject area of migration and integration are very similar to those in many other areas. Also, the survey could only cover a limited amount of countries, largely defined by (at that time) the European membership of Metropolis. Again, the dimensions of variation emerging from the particular countries surveyed seem to be relevant for a much wider scope. If one is interested in discovering transferable good practice, linkage issues need to be discussed in terms of actual cases within real-life settings. Comparison of cases is easier when all cases share a common core, which the Metropolis frame of reference provided. In other words, although the findings of the survey are not particular to the subject area of migration and integration issues, without such an issue-arena from which to draw case studies, it would have been much more problematic to reach conclusions. Before elaborating on the objectives and methodology of the study, we will first introduce the topic of migrants and cities.

1.2 Migrants, minorities, and the urban context[1]

Our world is being transformed at the local level by forces that appear to emanate from somewhere well beyond our shores. It always has, but during the last decades, the pace has accelerated enormously. The local level is, to a large extent, synonymous with cities. Urban areas rather than states are the nexus of the movement of people, ideas, investment, communications and technology[2]. Migration, and its repercussions is an important element of this globalisation mix. Migration is targeted to cities rather than countries, which means that ethnic minority groups[3] tend to be concentrated in particular cities rather that evenly dispersed throughout a country.

The policy questions raised by this trend of migration are regarded as critical to the future well-being of our societies. We can debate whether migration pressures will rise or fall; we can discuss the likely balance between settlers and seekers after asylum; we can consider whether in today's globalised world migration is manageable; we can assess the wisdom of one country's approach to immigration and integration versus another, yet few would deny the urgency of the issue[4]. The themes identified within the Metropolis network as being of central importance, spatial segregation, economic integration and social cohesion are recognised as those in need of an effective policy response, although the national or local jargon used in policy discussions and development might differ.

This is not, of course, the first age of migration. The number migrating to the New World in the period up to the First World War may have exceeded those moving to North America now. It is not a question of numbers; it is one of space – in all three senses of that word. The old migration was of people like us who went somewhere else. There are no more frontiers out there where our poorer brethren can fight for a piece of the pie. The new migration is of people unlike us who come to live where we are. The old migration was motivated by an overwhelming desire to work when jobs and opportunities were plentiful. That has changed. People still move for the same reasons but they do so into advanced industrial societies where unemployment (and underemployment) rates are often high. The spaces or opportunities in the labour market are no longer there – or at least there are fewer legal vacancies in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs. Finally, the old migration was largely into societies that were confident about their separate identities and which were less heterogeneous than today. The new migration is taking place in an age of crumbling nationalism when cities are often cultural mosaics, with as many external as internal loyalties. Multiculturalism may well be the result of migration; it is also one of its prime causes. It is not that people today are intrinsically less receptive than they were before, only that they are more fearful for their own identities and the security which flows from the simple comforts of familiarity. How else can one explain why the Danes, of all people, have become amongst the least welcoming in Europe to inward migrants[5]? The new migration into cities in the advanced world is characterised by a perceived absence of space – less room to live, to work, or to be when compared with earlier epochs.

The nexus of migrants/minorities and cities is not only characterised by complexity but is also highly politically sensitive[6]. Consequently, academic input, in terms of empiri-

cal evidence and conceptual analysis to be a much coveted commodity, even in national settings where academic research is not an important influence as such (albeit as actual input, or as a legitimising instrument). For a survey of research/policy linkage experiences, this widely shared perception that research and policy *must* relate, proved to be of great advantage. Modalities and possible improvements are much easier discussed when such a common understanding exists.

1.3 Project objectives and methodology

1.3.1 Short-term objectives

The project consisted of a European comparative survey of experiences with and perceptions of the use of scientific information in policy development in the area of migrants and cities. The survey was supported by a literature review.

The main objective of the project was:
- to further the discussion about the various ways social science research and policy interact by providing a common vocabulary across contexts; and
- to identify effective means or arrangements to facilitate linkage between research and social policy.

Subsidiary objectives were to:
- describe differences and similarities between European countries in the research-policy interaction environment;
- identify differences and similarities between these countries in their knowledge needs;
- identify (variation in) attitudes towards international comparison.

The rationale behind these objectives was that:
- the issue of research-policy linkage is much discussed but remains an "unsolved problem";
- all the more so when transferred to an international arena (Metropolis);
- the issue as discussed between stakeholders is mostly phrased in terms of mutual stereotypes (see Box 1);
- case studies seem a way out of this stereotype cul-de-sac;
- case studies also seem the way forward in terms of the social science approach to this problem;
- a comparative case study approach assumes a common vocabulary;
- case studies are only valuable in so far as they are described within their context;
- the context description is valuable in itself for those discussing the issue of research-policy linkage within an international setting;
- Case studies cannot be discussed without considering content, and the survey should therefore allow room for concerns about content. Although this was not the focus of the survey, the a priori expectation was that shared topics needing further research and/or international comparison would emerge across countries.

What is wrong with researchers and policy-makers? 1

The rapporteurs of a 1994 OECD seminar on governmental roles in organisinging and promoting educational R&D listed the stereotypes used during the meeting. Anyone familiar with the knowledge utilisation debate will agree with us that the list is also representative of the kind of allegations in various other issue arenas. It is not exhaustive by any means, but gives agood indication of the normative barriers hindering sensible communication between the "communities" involved. They found that:

Policy-makers

- are narrow-minded and ideological
- are ridiculously impatient
- make decisions irrationally
- make decisions affecting the educational R&D system that are based on external societal considerations
- lack insight
- use research to rationalise what they already decided to do
- refuse to relinquish control
- make faddish funding decisions
- are lawyers who do not understand research
- are excessively rule-oriented
- are short-sighted
- know what they do not like, but cannot say what they could use

Researchers

- are narrow-minded and ideological
- take too much time to do anything
- do not have all the answers
- make authoritative claims in areas outside the range of their expertise
- think they are always right and that there is no need to present the basis for their opinions
- do what they want to do, not what they should do
- always want more money
- engage in faddish research
- lack any common sense
- ignore the complexities of policy decision-making
- accept the existing system as given
- display methodological fetishes
- embrace novel institutions uncritically
- allow themselves to be bought by funding agencies
- use hit-and-run tactics that exploit practitioners
- promise too much
- present recommendations that are practically irrelevant, too limited, and out-of-date
- design research projects to enhance their personal reputations
- do not care about dissemination
- do not communicate or collaborate with each other
- are reluctant to study their own behaviour, either as researchers or as practitioners
- do not understand ordinary classroom teaching' (p.63-64).

Ivor A. Pritchard "Rapporteurs report". In OECD, 1995, *Educational research and development: Austria, Germany, Switzerland,* Paris.

1.3.2 Methodology

The survey was conducted by the European Secretariat of Metropolis (ES), on behalf of the European Commission (DG XII), and limited among European countries. Moreover, selection was determined by other variables, including the availability (on short notice) of relevant interview partners[7]- within both academic and policy circles – as well as the repertoire of language skills available within the survey team[8].

Work on the survey started in March 1998. All staff of the European Secretariat of Metropolis participated:

Malcolm Cross, supervisor ES:	interviews EC, United Kingdom expertise, conceptual analysis
Roger Henke, senior coordinator ES:	interviews Netherlands, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Austria, Italy and the Flemish part of Belgium, conceptual analysis, main author of the final report
Philippe Oberknezev, coordinator ES:	interviews France, Wallone part of Belgium, and Switzerland
Katarina Pouliasi, webmaster ES:	interviews Greece

In sum, 140 interviews have been conducted across 10 countries. Roughly half of the interviewees were researchers, half were policy-makers at both national and local level (see Appendix B). Obviously, some respondents were difficult to categorise in these terms and are best described as knowledge brokers or entrepreneurs. Apart from the interviews, several conferences were attended, where the issues of research-policy exchange and collaboration were debated (see Annex C), and literature describing and analysing the relationship between the academic and the policy worlds (some of it in general terms, some of it in terms of a particular national or subject area), much of it grey in nature, was collected. This report includes a guide to further reading.

Two categories of questions were raised. We enquired about experiences with and opinions about research-policy linkage and we enquired about topics needing further research and/or international comparison. The interviews were guided by an outline of the territory to be covered (see Annex D). It soon became evident that interview partners were most interested in discussing their experiences with and perceptions of interactions with the other "community"[9]. Given the open and exploratory character of the interview format, this meant that the other issues – topics and comparison- were often not addressed. Modalities of research-policy linkage are therefore the core of this final report, although knowledge needs receive some attention too (see chapter 4).

The survey focussed on research performed by university-based researchers, researchers employed by university-affiliated agencies, and non-university public sector agencies. On the continuum from the university academic, whose research costs are fully paid for from the public purse on the one hand, to the researcher employed by a fully commercial research (consultancy) agency, our sample is clearly located at the university-pole part of the continuum. The reason for this choice is that the linkage issue, in its usually definition, involves the two "communities" (see note 9). The char-

acteristics of the research community are clearly those of academia. The "contract" that is the defining characteristic of the other pole of the continuum does, however, solve some of the linkage problems (but poses new problems too); moreover the university system is adapting to its changing environment by incorporating the contract-relationship as one of its important linkage mediums. Annex E on contract research by commercial agencies highlights the advantages and risks of this second type as a medium of linkage. Annex F shows that universities are adjusting to changed environmental circumstances by appropriating contract usage.

1.3.3 Consequences

It is important to recognise the value and limitations of a survey of this kind. We aimed to cast the net of experiences and perceptions as wide as possible. While our study is admittedly exploratory, yet its unique feature is its aim to identify avenues of linking scientific research and public policy that can be (made) effective in a wide range of contexts. Against a backcloth of linkage literature that is based mainly on experiences in the US, the UK and the Netherlands, the diverse sample of contexts has been used to identify particular kinds of arrangements that tend to facilitate linkage better than other kinds of arrangements. Obviously, successful implementation will have to be context-sensitive. Again, the literature review – in combination with the diversity offered by our sample – enabled us to construct a framework for international comparison, that drwas upon a common vocabulary that can be used by those interested in discovering practical lessons from linkage modalities that seem to have achieved some success.

The above has two major consequences. First, our survey is not meant to be representative. We do not claim, either to be able to characterise either the general linkage climate of any of the countries surveyed, or to draw a comprehensive picture of the European state of affairs with respect to the desired and/or potential research contribution to policy development concerning migrants and minorities in cities. Indeed, one would need in-depth studies for each survey country in order to do so (see also 2.1).

And second, it means that the examples of practices that seem to work will not be the core of this report. This would have made sense only if the examples could have been described in-depth (see the description of the Weiss proposal in 2.1). Broad coverage and in-depth description tend to be mutually exclusive, at least, they were for us given our time and budget constraints. Also within Metropolis[10], experience has shown that simply listing brief descriptions of findings, on their own, is inadequate. Therefore, we have focussed on a model for context-analysis and on linkage arrangements that tend to work. The model is intended as a useful tool for developing implementation strategies for effectively linking research and policy. In other words, this report offers a do-it-yourself tool kit of broadly applicable linkage modalities ideas, the so-called "good arrangements", and a model for operationalising a particular linkage idea so as to fit one's own context.

1.3.4 Long-term objectives

The survey and its reported results are conceptualised as part of an interactive process. The tool kit is offered to all our interview partners, to the members of the Metropolis

network, to the participants of the March 2000 Dutch UNESCO Commission/UNESCO-MOST conference on social science/social policy linkages, and to the participants of the fourth and fifth International Metropolis conferences, with the request for feedback to both our suggested framework, as well as our list of good arrangements. In line with our good arrangement suggestions, we believe that the issue of research-policy linkage can best be furthered by combining empirical data with theoretical analysis, integrating the input from both the research and the policy perspective, and practicing self-reflexivity and interaction among a group of interested researchers and policy-makers. This report is just a stage-marker in an ongoing process.

1.4 Defining 'good practice'

The usual definition of "good practice" is tied into the idea of (direct) knowledge utilisation: linkage is judged to be successful to the extent that research output is demonstrably used by a policy interest to which it is linked (see also 2.1). We have chosen a different definition, for two reasons. The first is conceptual: applying the above criterion leads to an unnecessarily pessimistic perspective on the interaction of research and policy. One can think of other criteria to define the policy relevance of research results (defined narrowly as actually making a difference). Taking a longer temporal perspective and/or including policy interests not directly linked with the research under consideration, may sometimes uncover significance not visible to those looking for "direct" utilisation. And some will argue that another indirect influence, the influence on informed public debate, is at least as important a criterion as direct utilisation for determining "good practice". The second reason is methodological: we cannot claim our unit of analysis to consist of in-depth case studies of linkage practices. That is to say, we gathered information about many different cases with the aim to discover lines of variation and aspects of similarity; but lack (in most instances) the detailed, objectively validated information that would be necessary to determine if, to what extent, and in what way, direct use was made of research in problem definition, policy development, implementation or evaluation.

That is why we defined "good practice" as practice that is evaluated positively by informants from both the research and the policy worlds (preferably, although we were not always able to meet with both) and was judged to serve their own professional interests. In other words "good practice" was not defined in terms of maximum use and/or utility of research results, but in terms of the satisfaction reported, whatever its cause. Methodologically this is a viable definition given the data we collected. But it has a conceptual rationale too; a major determinant of "good practice" is a relationship of mutual trust between the parties involved. Trust is a relational quality that develops over time, which needs sustained interaction to flower and often requires collaboration on more than one project before it is soundly established. Under normal circumstances, a basic prerequisite for such continuity to develop is that professional interests are served for both actors involved.

Our suggestions for "good arrangements" are based on "good practice" examples, analysed within their context, and on changes over time within them. This means that our conclusions say something about "good" in a longer-term perspective.

One should not confuse the positive evaluation of a linkage experience with its evaluation as being relevant, or making a difference. Although the reported positive/negative evaluation of linkage experience are taken as givens, we do not necessarily agree with the relevance attached to it by the informant(s). As pertinence does not refer to personal interest but to general interest we regard its evaluation as a matter of perspective whereby we may disagree with our informants. In fact, such disagreement may reveal the particular policy philosophy followed, rather than factual disagreement. We have made our own philosophy of governance explicit in appendix G.

2 The research-policy linkage

2.1 Social science perspectives: knowledge utilisation

In a recently drafted funding proposal Carol Weiss[11] succinctly describes the state of affairs with regard to social science perspectives on social research/social policy linkage issues. She identifies the defining problem as "...the frequent disregard of the findings of sound research and evaluation in the making of social policy". The label "knowledge utilisation studies" (KU), by which the social science perspective is generally known, sums it up: utilisation is what social science reflection on the linkage issue is all about.

There are several theories on utilisation in circulation. The "two worlds" model, described by Caplan, more than 20 years ago (see note 8) while the most simplistic, still retains its utility today. The model states that the question of utilisation can be viewed from two angles, that of the customer (the policy-maker), and that of the supplier (the researcher). Accordingly, problems of under- or non-utilisation are attributed to non-compatible characteristics of the "worlds", "communities", or "systems" of customer and supplier[12]. The most important areas of friction are:

- *Problem definition:* policy has to deal with complex real world social problems; while research develops questions from theoretical frameworks, characterised by a reduction of complexity;
- *Culture:* policy thinks in terms of targets, ways and means, is interested in "what" results, and its discourse uses procedural and legal jargon. Research thinks in terms of generalisation and explanation, is interested in "how" and "why" results, and its discourse uses common sense concepts in restricted, sometimes arcanely technical senses;
- *Role and accountability:* policy tends towards risk-avoidance, repeating previously successful actions, or, in epistemological terms, aims at "verification", ; while research has a stake in the new and unexpected, and aims at "falsification";
- *Time-frame:* policy needs quick solutions, research needs time to comply with its internal quality criteria;

Obviously, the above summation draws a stark, overly simplistic composite of reality. The research on knowledge utilisation has focussed on the nuances and produced many interesting insights into the internal workings of the policy system, the research system, the different kinds of knowledge needed, and the various ways in which knowledge use can be conceptualised.

For an overview of how the problem has been conceptualised, and what 25 years of KU research have taught us, see the quote from the Weiss proposal in Box 2[13]. To give a flavour of the kinds of conceptualisations generated, Box 3 lists the different knowledge requirements of policy as described by van Hoessel, and Box 4 lists the different metaphors or "models" that Carol Weiss (1977, see note 1) distinguished for

describing the (perception of the) relationship between research and policy and their concomitant meanings of "utilisation".

Carol Weiss on 25 years of research on knowledge utilisation 2

'Much social research is conducted for the avowed purpose of influencing policy decisions. Government agencies, international organisations, foundations, and professional associations sponsor research that is intended to provide guidance for wiser policies. The research is conducted in university departments, university research centers, institutes of science, not-for-profit and for-profit research organisations, and within operating service organisations. Much of the research (although by no means all) is thoughtfully done with careful attention to appropriate social science theories and valid research methods. Yet a sizable fraction of it never influences the audiences for whom it was meant.

We know a great deal from twenty-five years of research on "knowledge utilisation" (KU), which is the term by which [the question of which kinds of research, under which conditions, have a better chance of making a difference in policy councils] is generally known. Many studies have investigated the characteristics that are associated with greater use of research findings: characteristics of the studies, of the dissemination mechanisms, of the researchers, or of the users. Scores of studies of knowledge utilisation (KU) have been published, providing a cafeteria of answers to the question of what kinds of research are most apt to be used. Unfortunately, the answers have not converged. For example, some studies find that research quality is important for use; other find that the quality of the research is unrelated to how much influence it has. Some studies find that policy actors turn to research findings when they face a crisis situation; other studies find that crisis is not an environment favorable to research use.

Much of the reason for the discrepancies in research results on KU has to do with differences in definition and in methodology. Regarding definition, researchers have taken different approaches to the meaning of "utilisation." What does it mean that a particular study has been "used"? Some researchers expect that the findings of the research will determine the course of policy, i.e. it will change a decision from what it would have been in the absence of that research. Other researchers take a wider frame: they consider "use" as any serious consideration of the findings of research, whether or not they are actually followed. These latter researchers recognise that many elements go into the making of policy and that it is naïve to expect that research results will overpower all other interests, ideological commitments, and previous information in the issue-arena. If research findings are given a serious hearing, they have a chance of altering policy makers' understanding of the issues, their priorities and agendas, and even their subsequent actions further down the road. On the other hand, if one takes a liberal definition of "use," how can the KU researcher truly know whether the research results have received serious consideration?

Regarding differences in methodology of KU studies, a variety of methods have been used. Studies on KU have been conducted through quantitative surveys, qualitative interviewing, analysis of the fate of particular research studies by the researchers who conducted them, analysis of documents, and through prospective, retrospective, and simulated time frames. The studies have dealt with such varying issue-arenas as housing, energy, mental health, and education. The research on KU has been conducted at different periods of time, much of it in the late 1970s and early 1980s, with another upsurge in the last few years. Most of it has been conducted in the U.S., although studies have also been conducted in Western Europe and occasionally other places as well' (p.1-2).[14]

What research has to offer policy[15] 3

- deliver factual information
- explore the limits of policy
- signal new social problems
- explicate implicit theories or preconceptions of policy
- evaluation of policy
- improve management processes and organisation
- develop social technology
- legitimate policy decisions
- be a tactical instrument in the policy process
- increase the status of the policy agency

Models to describe the linkage between research and policy[16] 4

- *Knowledge driven model:* knowledge as such motivates knowledge use;
- *Problem solving model:* a problem to be solved or a decision to be taken motivates knowledge use;
- *Interactive model:* knowledge use is only one of the many factors in a complex policy process besides personal experience, power relations, political acumen, and other variables. Knowledge use is mediated by interaction between stakeholders that have different types of communication channels. Research is only one of the many sources of relevant knowledge;
- *Enlightment model:* social science concepts "creep" into the policy discourse via all kinds of indirect pathways;
- *Political model:* research is only used when it supports existing political opinions (legitimisation).
- *Tactical model:* research plays a tactical role in policy development/implementation strategies, for example to delay decisions;
- *Status model:* having a well-stocked portfolio of commissioned research is a status symbol for policy agencies.

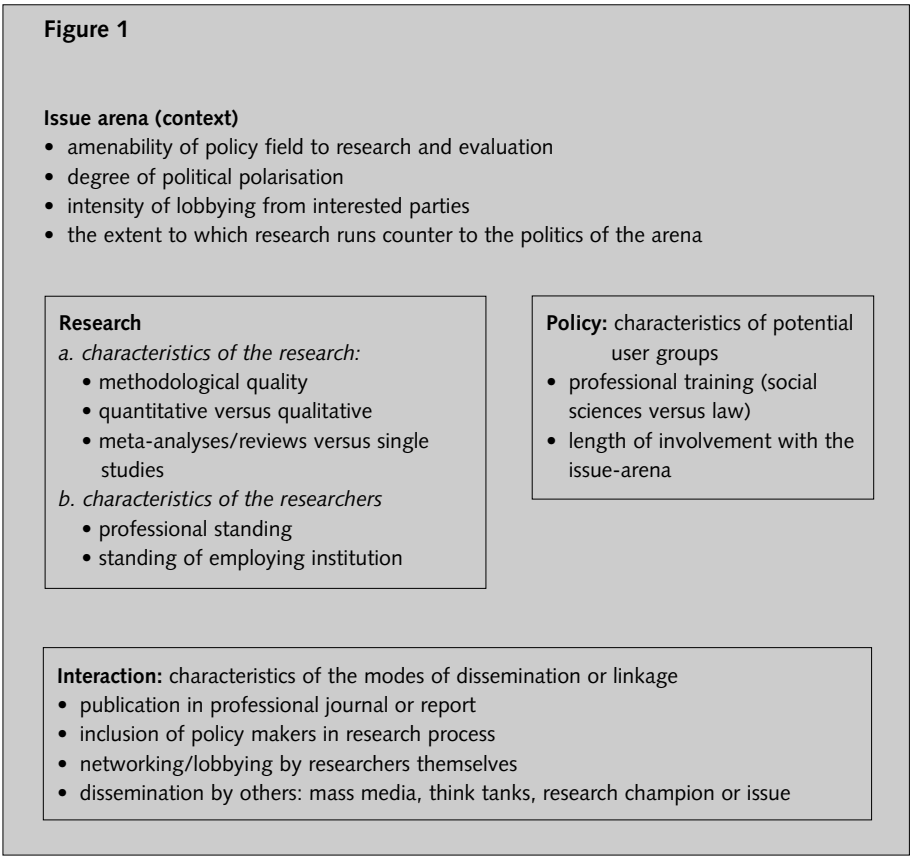
Carol Weiss concludes that '... the findings on [knowledge utilisation] do not cohere into a tidy package of accepted truths". She ascertains that "we are at a point in the KU field where further findings of this sort are not likely to contribute substantially to further knowledge. We now need to take context [original emphasis, RH] into account and to do so systematically. We also need to use common theoretical frameworks, common concepts, and common variables in the investigations' (p.4).

2.2 Knowledge utilisation: state of the art

Because the Weiss proposal can be looked upon as the state of the art in KU studies, we describe her proposal in more detail. She argues that comparison across cases is needed to better understand which of the factors identified by the KU research tradition do indeed advance or thwart the use of research results in the policy arena. As the way forward, Weiss proposes a series of case studies, each of them employing the

same conceptual framework,. The outline of her framework is visualised in figure 1:

Figure 1



For a more detailed description of the aspects to be studied under the Weiss proposal, see appendix H. We support the core of Carol Weiss' arguments:

- Context certainly needs much more attention when we want to progress beyond the existing inconclusive set of research results;
- Comparative case studies are definitely a productive research strategy;
- A common vocabulary of conceptual framework is a sine-qua-non for that strategy to be successful;

We also agree with her that much relevant knowledge on research/policy linkage has been gathered through KU studies.

2.3 From knowledge utilisation to relationship

We would suggest, however, that the general feeling – that social science analysis of research/policy linkage has not delivered much relief – is also due to its fixation on the utilisation of knowledge. From the "two worlds" conceptualisation onwards, the linkage issue has been interpreted as being about the non-use, the under-use or the misuse of research knowledge by policy. The Weiss framework is definitely a more refined model of the linkage situation than its two-worlds predecessor, but the Caplan and Weiss models share knowledge utilisation as their dependant variable. We would propose that defining the problem in different terms might be an alternative way forward. We would also contend that the "new" perspective does not make the KU-models obsolete; far from it. The Weiss framework – research, policy, their interaction, and their context – demonstrates what influences the make-up of *knowledge* exchanged between the two interaction partners, but it also can indicate what determines the *relationship* of the two interaction partners.

Shifts in perspective, in this case from the *effects* of a faulty relationship to their *cause,* do not automatically result in improvements, but they at least open up the field to new input. Unfortunately, KU studies do not regularly look beyond their own horizon. Early on, decision making theory was taken on board, providing a conceptual framework for analysing the particular case of the use of scientific information in terms of general notions of decision making, choice, and information[17]; but not much else has entered KU, either in terms of theory or in terms of research into related issues. We would argue that a closely related field, Research and (Technology) Innovation linkage (RTD), has generated considerable output, but the two seem to constitute quite seperate citation communities, despite thew fact that KU and RTD share as their basic problem definition the utilisation of research knowledge. More recently, the importance of that relationship is increasingly recognised in RTD. A 1998 overview of the field[18] concludes that, 'the two partners [supplier and user, RH] must develop the capabilities which will enable them to benefit from their mutual contact'(p. 155). See Box 5 for a telling overview of factors that encourage innovation.

Factors which encourage innovation 5

Of the 15 key factors suggested by Dodgson and Besant[19], 5 are directly identifiable as being relational:

- A network of intermediary organisations interlinking the science base and industry;
- Receptivity towards external know-how within firms;
- Intermediaries between users and suppliers, providing a set of bridging institutions;
- Firms experienced in long-term trust-based linkages with other firms, customers, suppliers and competitors;
- Employee mobility between and within firms and the science base.

Shifting perspective is very much akin to using a different metaphor for "reading" a situation. Box 6 gives a presentation of Morgan's famous treatise on images of organisation. His claim is that, '[b]y analyzing organisations through different metaphors, by realising that all these "readings" are partial, by realising that the different aspects are intertwined (as opposed to the expectation that one metaphor "fits" the situation best), a new depth of understanding is possible'.

Metaphor: a way of thinking[20] 6

'The basic premise .... is that our theories and explanations of organisational life are based on metaphors that lead us to see and understand organisations in distinctive yet partial ways. Metaphor is often just regarded as a device for embellishing discourse, but its significance is much greater than this. For the use of metaphor implies a *way of thinking* and a *way of seeing* that pervade how we understand our world generally.....

We use metaphor whenever we attempt to understand one element of experience in terms of another. Thus, metaphor proceeds through implicit or explicit assertions that A *is* (or is like) B. When we say "the man is a lion", we use the image of a lion to draw attention to the lion-like aspects of the man. The metaphor frames our understanding of the man in a distinctive yet partial way.....[I]n drawing attention to the lionlike bravery, strenght, or ferocity of the man, the metaphor glosses the fact that the same person may well also be a chauvinist pig, a devil, a saint, a bore, or a recluse. Our ability to achieve a comprehensive "reading" of the man depends on an ability to see how these different aspects of the person may coexist in a complementary or even paradoxical way.

It is easy to see how this kind of thinking has relevance for understanding organisation and management. For organisations are complex and paradoxical phenomena that can be understood in many different ways. Many of our taken-for-granted ideas about organisations are metaphorical, even though we may not recognise them as such. For example, we frequently talk about organisations *as if* they were machines designed to achieve predetermined goals and objectives, and which should operate smoothly and efficiently. And as a result of this kind of thinking we often attempt to organise and manage them in a mechanistic way, forcing their human qualities into a background role.' (p.12-13)

Morgan identifies eight dominant metaphors, viewing organisations as

- *machines:* when managers think of organisations as machines they tend to manage and design them as machines made up of interlocking parts that each play a clearly defined role in the functioning of the whole;
- *organisms:* this metaphor focuses attention on understanding and managing organisational "needs" and environmental relations;
- *brains:* it draws attention to the importance of information processes, learning, and intelligence, and provides a frame of reference for understanding and assessing modern organisations in these terms; two different metaphors are: brain as a kind of information-processing computer and brain as a hologram;
- *cultures:* organisation is seen to reside in the ideas, values, norms, rituals, and beliefs that sustain organisations as socially constructed realities;
- *political systems:* organisations are systems of government drawing on various political principles to legitimise different kinds of rule;
- *psychic prisons:* organisations are "psychic prisons" where people become trapped by their own thoughts, ideas, and beliefs, or by preoccupations originating in the unconscious mind;

- *flux and transformation:* organisations can be understood by understanding the logics of change shaping social life;
- *instruments of domination:* the focus is on the potentially exploitative aspect of organisations.

The list by no means exhausts the possibilities:
'The mode of analysis developed here rests in a way of thinking rather than in the mechanistic application of a small set of clearly defined analytical frameworks.'(p. 16)

'Organisations are many things at one!....I believe that some of the most fundamental problems that we face stem from the fact that the comnplexity and sophistication of our thinking do not match the complexity and sophistication of the realities with which we have to deal.' (p.339)

We would suggest that shifting the perspective from utilisation to relationship indeed opens up a new depth of understanding. Using the relationship perspective also brings at least three other issues to mind that immediately become "related" problems.

2.4 Related issues

Related issues are interesting as bench-marks, or points of reference to make comparisons. In what terms are these issues being discussed? Which arrangements have proven their worth? We will first propose three bench-marking fields and conclude by a general statement on the promises of bench-marking.

2.4.1 Interdisciplinarity

The first issue concerns studies of interdisciplinarity. Although multi- and/or interdisciplinarity frequently surfaces in KU studies – it did in our survey – as an important ingredient of, or even prerequisite for, policy relevant knowledge, the body of literature on the the problems associated with conducting inter- or even multidisciplinary research is strangely absent from KU. A 'two world' binary divide has long been present in Interdisciplinary studies; in 1959 Charles P. Snow coined the label "two cultures" to signal the separation between the arts and the sciences, which has a considerably longer intellectual history. What is immediately striking when one peruses the interdisciplinarity literature, is the focus on the issue of communication between disciplines. This interest is usually not framed by a short term problem-solving motivation but is aimed at establishing long-term relationships between researchers that aims to move the development of science forward[21].

Six types of interdisciplinarity[22] 7

Margaret Boden distinguishes six different uses of the word of interdisciplinarity, requiring '...different intellectual attitudes on the part of the researchers involved, and different types of management or administration. Three would be better termed multidisciplinarity, rather than interdisciplinarity. One is what I would call genuine interdisciplinarity. In order of increasing strength, the six types of interdisciplinarity are:' (p.13)

- *Encyclopaedic interdisciplinarity:* an enterprise covering many, or even all, disciplines within a wide range, but with no need for communication between them;
- *Contextualising interdisciplinarity:* an enterprise in which one takes some account of other disciplines in teaching and/or setting one's research-goals, but without active research co-operation with those disciplines;
- *Shared interdisciplinarity:* an enterprise in which different aspects of a complex problem are tackled by different groups with complementary skills. Results are communicated, and overall progress monitored. But day-to-day co-operation does not occur;
- *Cooperative interdisciplinarity:* an enterprise in which several groups with complementary skills work towards a common goal, actively co-operating on the way;
- *Generalising interdisciplinarity:* an enterprise in which a single theoretical perspective is applied to a wide range of previously distinct disciplines;
- *Integrated disciplinarity:* an enterprise in which some of the concepts and insights of one discipline contribute to the problems and theories of another – preferably in both directions ("both" or even "all": there may be more than two disciplines involved).

However, others would argue that the last (two) type(s) ought to be labelled transdisciplinarity. The debate over the term 'interdisciplinarity' is as contested as that of "utilisation".

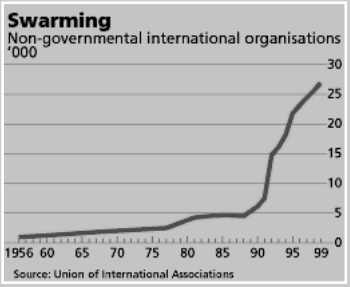
2.4.2 Interorganisational networks

A related field concerns organisation studies that concentrate on networking, another field with a longer intellectual history[23] and emphasis on the nature of relationships. Organisational networks can be described as a cluster of interdependent organisations that have joined forces to reach a specified aim. It is crucial that the network partners recognise their interdependancy.. Networks are being analysed in terms of their structure, their development phases, and their dynamics. This field of research is not primarily motivated by a perceived problem, such as under-usage of research knowledge, but by a social phenomenon, i.e. the growing importance of organisational networks. For the example of the growing importance of networks of Non Governmental Organisations (NGO's) see Box 8.[24]

Spurred by a social phenomenon rather than a social problem, the focus of interorganisational network analysis is as much on what makes networks successful as on what makes them fail. What is remarkable is that network analyses are often strongly cast in relational terms, see for example, Box 9. The experience of the Metropolis network supports this conclusion. Obviously, people or organisations develop relationships through common experience and action. Still, the viability of the network relationship is clearly the more important factor. This has major implications for the Metropolis network, given its remit to study and implement research-policy linkage: where KU and networks are brought together in practice, relationship rules. In KU studies we have yet to encounter exercises to link the field with network studies. However, within the field of RTD studies the connection to network analysis has been made[26].

The growing importance of NGO-networks

The *Economist* recently published an article on the growing importance of NGO-networks[25]. It argues that NGO's grow in number very rapidly:
'It is, by definition, hard to estimate the growth of groups that could theoretically include everything from the tiniest neighbourhood association to huge international relief agencies, such as CARE, with annual budgets worth hundreds of millions of dollars. One conservative yardstick of international NGOs (that is, groups with operations in more than one country) is the Yearbook of International Organisations. This puts the number of international NGOs at more than 26,000 today, up from 6,000 in 1990.'



The Economist argues that NGO-networks are increasingly successful:
'As politicians pore over the disarray in Seattle, they might look to citizens' groups for advice. The non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that descended on Seattle were a model of everything the trade negotiators were not. They were well organised. They built unusual coalitions (environmentalists and labour groups, for instance, bridged old gulfs to jeer the WTO together). They had a clear agenda to derail the talks. And they were masterly users of the media. The battle of Seattle is only the latest and most visible in a string of recent NGO victories. The watershed was the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, when the NGOs roused enough public pressure to push through agreements on controlling greenhouse gases. In 1994, protesters dominated the World Bank's anniversary meeting with a "Fifty Years is Enough" campaign, and forced a rethink of the Bank's goals and methods. In 1998, an ad hoc coalition of consumer-rights activists and environmentalists helped to sink the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), a draft treaty to harmonise rules on foreign investment under the aegis of the OECD. In the past couple of years another global coalition of NGOs, Jubilee 2000, has pushed successfully for a dramatic reduction in the debts of the poorest countries'.

Furthermore, the article refers to the information revolution as a major facilitator of this recent network growth:

'When groups could communicate only by telephone, fax or mail, it was prohibitively expensive to share information or build links between different organisations. Now information can be dispersed quickly, and to great effect, online. The MAI was already in trouble when a draft of the text, posted on the Internet by an NGO, allowed hundreds of hostile watchdog groups to mobilise against it. Similarly, the Seattle trade summit was disrupted by dozens of websites which alerted everyone (except, it seems, the Seattle police), to the protests that were planned'.

Relevant dimensions of federative networks 9

The federative network is one of the four types of network structures that Warren (see note 23) described. It is characterised by units with disparate goals, but some formal organisation for inclusive goals (subject to unit ratification), the locus of authority primarily at unit level, autonomously structured units that may agree to a division of labour that affects their structure, and norms of moderate commitment to a,leadership subsystem. Of Warren's four types, the federative type and the coalitional type (that has no formal organisation of inclusive goals, and thus the locus of authority exclusively at unit level and no commitment to a shared leadership) appear especially relevant for our discussion about good institutional arrangements between research and policy. The other two types: the social choice, market structure type, and the unitary structure type seem less relevant. Mast and Ten Brummeler[17] distinguish five relevant dimension for understanding the development and dynamic of federative networks of non-profit organisations.

The five dimensions of the federative type are:
- *Initiative and continuity:* who takes the initiative for the network and how is its continuity safeguarded?
- *Deep structure:* what kind of underlying organisational culture and power relations develop within the network?
- *Bonding intensity:* how strong is the mutual bonding between the network partners (horizontal) and between the members and the formal organisation (vertical)?
- *Mutual dependencies and interests:* what is the pattern of interdependencies and of interests?
- *Costs and benefits:* what are the costs and benefits for the different partners and how does that affect the relationships?

Each of these may be called *relational* dimensions.

2.4.3 Integrated rural development

The third issue we would propose as an interesting bench-mark would be integrated rural development. Moreover, two closely related developments in this arena are especially relevant: the moves towards participatory action research and project planning. The spectrum of these approaches can be ranked on a bi-polar scale[28]. One pole is inhabited by action-research with a strong normative underpinning, based on the principle that people have a right to participate in the production of knowledge that directly affects their lives. It is founded on a premise advocating the need to liberate the poor and recover community[29]. The other pole is inhabited by participatory planning methods[30] that aim for maximum involvement of all relevant stakeholders, for example, the Objectives- Oriented Project Planning, developed by the German Society for Technical Cooperation (GTZ). Box 10 gives more information on this method.

The continuum of particiatory approaches is usually labelled Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRD), and can be characterised by a '...role reversal between development worker and community member....the development worker "hands over the stick"'[32]. In practice, for the larger part of the continuum, the development worker/agency is one of the relevant stakeholders and the issue is less one of handing-over-the-stick as well as of sharing-the-stick. The importance attached to the relation

Objectives-Oriented Project Planning (ZOPP)[31] 10

'ZOPP, from the German term "Zielorientierte Projektplanung", translates in English to "Objectives-Oriented Project Planning." ZOPP is a project planning and management method that encourages participatory planning and analysis throughout the project cycle with a series of stakeholder workshops. The technique requires stakeholders to come together in a series of workshops to set priorities and plan for implementation and monitoring. The main output of a ZOPP session is a project planning matrix, which stakeholders build together. The purpose of ZOPP is to undertake participatory, objectives-oriented planning that spans the life of project or policy work to build stakeholder team commitment and capacity with a series of workshops.

ZOPP is a process that relies heavily on two particular techniques – matrix building and stakeholder workshops – to encourage participatory planning and management of development work. ZOPP helps a project team create a project planning matrix (PPM), similar to a Logical Framework or LogFRAME, to provide indepth analysis of project objectives, outputs, and activities. The PPM results from stakeholder workshops that are scheduled through the life of a project to encourage brainstorming, strategising, information gathering, and consensus building among stakeholders.

The PPM is central to ZOPP based project work because the process of building it relies on repeated, collaborative stakeholder input. In the stakeholder workshops in which the matrix is developed systematic attention is paid to five important issues:

- *Participation analysis.* Taking stock of the range of stakeholder identities, interests, biases, expectations, and concerns.
- *Problems*. Often made visually clear through a "problem tree", through which key problems the project is meant to address are identified, grouped, and prioritised, and their causes and effects brought to light.
- *Objectives.* In a corresponding objectives tree, the desired solutions are articulated, clustered, and prioritised.
- *Alternatives.* A project strategy is created by understanding the range of means for meeting objectives.
- *Assumptions.* These conditions are necessary for successful transformation of problems into secured objectives. Assumptions are systematically examined and arranged in the PPM.

[An example:] Creating a Forum for Stakeholder Communication and Innovation
The Task Manager for an Industrial Efficiency and Pollution Control project for the Philippines took the initiative to create communication linkages among government, the Bank, industry, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to establish a common Bank-borrower team approach to the project preparation process. Through the local counterpart agency, the Task Manager organised a series of stakeholder meetings to further refine problem formulations and define the objectives for a project that had yet to be identified. A ZOPP-based approach was used to bring together stakeholders who initially felt that their conflicting priorities would prevent them from reaching consensus on project objectives. Not only did stakeholders achieve consensus on objectives and prioritisation, but the communication linkages begun in the two-day workshop began a dialogue on systematically focusing on community-level demands to encourage participation and ownership at the local level'.

ship between stakeholders in PRD is immediately evident when reading through the World Bank description of ZOPP, the Bank being a prototypical exponent of the planning pole. So here again, "relationship" has centre-stage.

2.4.4 Bench-marking

This is not the place for a conceptual real bench-marking exercise. To do this properly, for any of the related fields presented above, would require a detailed literature review of the field under investigation. Apart from "internal" ways forward, such as that proposed by Carol Weiss, cross-border benchmarking would be a real possibility for the advancement of the social science perspective on the linkage between research and policy. We would argue that this would be worthwhile and might not only corroborate existing KU wisdom, but also generate new ideas about possible means to link research and policy. To give but one well-known example: the thinking on effective government organisation has profited greatly from using the private sector as a benchmark. All kinds of organisational principles, non-existent in the bureaucracy discourse, could suddenly be entertained as possibilities for increasing efficiency.[33] The examples given certainly do not exhaust relevant areas for comparison. What can be extracted from the select overview presented above, is that "relationship" is pivotal in each of the fields surveyed: the relationship between different scientific disciplines, between different organisations, and between stakeholders in a process of social and economic development. We feel confident, therefore, that our proposal to shift the perspective from knowledge utilisation to that of relationship is valid.

2.5 A conceptual framework[34]

Here we would like to propose our own conceptual framework; our argument is divided into two parts. First we show which elements we would want to modify in the Weiss proposal to make it a better analytical instrument. Then we argue for a different ordering of the constituting element of the framework.

2.5.1 Weiss extended

A prerequisite for comparison is some common set or framework of parameters of interaction. Without such a common framework, comparison cannot become productive. In essence, what such a framework offers is a common vocabulary across cases[35].

The territory of research-policy linkages can be carved up in many different ways. The major notion behind the breakdown chosen for this framework is that :
a) the framework should serve the purpose of increasing our understanding of the interaction mechanisms linking research and policy; and
b) fruitful discussion of mechanisms is more easily achieved when the terms of the debate are not normative.
Therefore, the framework, does not contain categories like misuse of knowledge, but rather those like transformation of knowledge, some forms of which may be evaluated as misuse, but paramount is a vocabulary that maximises chances of an understanding of the mechanism(s) involved that appeals to both researchers and policy-makers.

In very general terms our conceptual framework looks very similar to the Weiss proposal described above: within a larger context several interdependent parameters model the linkage between research and policy. We agree with Carol Weiss that con-

Figure 2

Context
- historical particularities
- status of different social science disciplines
- the policy philosphy of the sector concerned

Research

A. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESEARCH
- methodological quality
- quantitative versus qualitative
- meta-analyses/reviews versus single studies
- research versus advice
- purpose of the research

B. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESEARCHERS
- role and the rules it is bounded by
- interests characteristic of the role
- professional standing
- standing of employing institution
- (educational) background and personality of individuals

Policy

A. CIVIL SERVANTS INVOLVED
- role and the rules it is bounded by
- interests characteristic of the role
- (educational) background and personality of individuals

B. POLITICIANS INVOLVED
- role and the rules etc.

C. ISSUE-ARENA
- other actors involved
  - *a. interest groups*
    - role and the rules etc.
  - *b. other intermediaries*
    - role and the rules etc.
  - *c. media*
    - role and the rules etc.
- phase in the policy cycle
- amenability of the issue to research and evaluation
- degree of political polarisation
- intensity of lobbying from interested parties
- the extent to which research runs counter to the politics of the arena

Relationship (Interaction)

INSTRUMENTS TO LINK RESEARCH AND POLICY
- when new research is at stake
- when the accessibility of existing knowledge is at stake
- when the researcher is a policy advisor

THE USE MADE OF RESEARCH
- instrumental use
- conceptual use
- transformation use

tinuing to develop new sets of parameters or factors is not the way forward. Looking at her proposal, we believe it would benefit from the addition of some extra characteristics. Figure 2 depicts our conceptual framework, using her basic two communities template.

2.5.2 A different ordering of factors

Before elaborating on our modifications, we will argue for a different way of ordering the relevant characteristics. The major advantage of keeping the two communities scheme of ordering is its simplicity, yet the main problem is the relationship between two actors. The further one moves away from this common sense model, the more difficult it may become to create a widely understood and accepted basis of shared understanding about that problem. Its simplicity has two major disadvantages, however:

- The relationship between policy and research is not an easy matter. It is fraught with all sorts of complexities that do not fit into the simplistic stereotypes that common-sense associates with the two communities. The problem is not that the stereotypes have no basis in reality, but that there is a lot more to the story. However true some stereotypes may be some of the time, sticking to the two communities template makes it difficult to prevent those stereotypes from skewing the analysis.
- Without claiming functionalist analysis to be the perfect solution, for subject matters that are debated in a strongly normative discursive space, a functionalist perspective can be a useful tool. We would argue that a two communities ordering of factors impedes usage of a functionalist perspective, since major interdependancies – located between characteristics of the *same* factor – are difficult to take into account.

Obviously, this is all more a matter of opinion than a matter of principle. But we contend that figure 3 offers a better way of ordering relevant factors for the analysis of the relationship between research and policy.

2.5.3 The framework described

The following description of the characteristics mentioned above will show why the ordering of figure 3 fits the interdependencies of the functionalist approach that we propose. Some of the characteristics in figure 3 are italicised. These are the characteristics that constitute the core of the network of interdependencies that frames the relationship between research and policy.

The actors

There are three main actors involved in the interaction:

- the researcher(s)
- the politician(s)
- the civil servant(s)

These actors can play various *roles.* To name only a few that researchers can play:

- the role of the hired producer of policy-relevant knowledge (new research);
- the role of hired summariser of policy-relevant knowledge (state of the art);
- the role of independent critic of policy assumptions;
- the role of expert advisor in policy development;

Figure 3

Context
- historical particularities
- status of different social science disciplines
- the policy philosphy of the sector concerned

Actors

THE RESEARCHER(S)
- *role and the rules it is bounded by*
- *interests characteristic of the role*
- individual personalities
- professional standing
- standing of employing institution

THE POLITICIAN(S)
- *role and the rules it is bounded by*
- *interests characteristic of the role*
- individual personalities

THE CIVIL SERVANT(S)
- *role and the rules it is bounded by*
- *interests characteristic of the role*
- individual personalities

INTEREST GROUPS
- *role and the rules they are bounded by*
- *interests characteristic of the role*
- individual personalities

OTHER INTERMEDIAIRIES
- *role and the rules they are bounded by*
- *interests characteristic of the role*
- (educational) background and personality of individuals

THE MEDIA
- *role and the rules they are bounded by*
- *interests characteristic of the role*
- (educational) background and personality of individuals

Issue-arena
- *phase in the policy cycle*
- amenability of the issue to research and evaluation
- degree of political polarization
- intensity of lobbying from interested parties
- the extent to which research runs counter to the politics of the arena

Instruments to link research and policy
- when new research is at stake
- when the accessibility of existing knowledge is at stake
- when the researcher is a policy advisor

The use
- instrumental use
- conceptual use
- transformation use

Research
- *purpose of the research*
- *kind of research*
- good versus bad methodological quality
- quantitative versus qualitative
- meta-analyses/reviews versus single studies
- research versus advice

These roles are bound by general *rules,* for example the civil service is subordinate to politics. These roles are also characterised by general *interests,* for example. civil servants need problem definitions and solutions that are politically acceptable.

These rules and interests do not prevent (and sometimes actively induce) *tensions* between the actors.

Often the interaction is not limited to these main actors. Other potentially relevant actors are:
- interest groups
- other intermediaries like think tanks
- the media

Also these roles have rules and interests attached to them.

The issue-arena
The characteristics of the issue-arena can be broken down into three categories:
- Characteristics that influence the extent to which research is a regular source of knowledge-input for policy: the amenability of the issue to research and evalution (one might consider this something close to a context factor).
- Characteristics that are interdependent with only one other factor of the framework: degree of political polarisation, intensity of lobbying from interested parties and the extent to which research runs counter to the politics of the arena. These are all characteristics that may hinder or promote the use of research and are therefore central to the conceptualisation that focuses on utilisation; they are more marginal from the perspective of understanding the relationship.
- Characteristics that are interdependent with many other factors of the framework and are therefore part of the heart of the network of interdependencies that frames the relationship between research and policy, called the policy cycle

The *Policy cycle* can be divided into four phases[36]:
- the phase of problem definition
- the phase of policy formulation
- the phase of policy implementation
- the phase of established policy

Generally speaking, it is the case that the rules followed, the (competing) interests of, and the negotiating positions of the three main actors mentioned above varies across policy phases. Moreover, the purposes and uses served by research in the policy process differs across these phases. Usually, all of the mentioned phase differences coexist; for example, when policy makers look for help in coming to grips with an intangible problem, field researchers are often given carte blanche, the purpose their input serves is often conceptual, and their work may be very influential in setting the (policy)agenda. On the other hand, when established policy is to be evaluated, researchers are usually recruited on the basis of very detailled terms of reference, the assumptions underlying the policy are not expected to be questioned, and the results of the evaluation do not normally influence policy.

Research
The characteristics of the research parameter can be divided into two categories:
- Characteristics that are interdependent with only one other factor of the framework: good versus bad methodological quality, quantitative versus qualitative, and meta-analyses/reviews versus single studies. These are all characteristics that may hinder or promote the use of research and are therefore central to the conceptualisation that focuses on utilisation; from the perspective of understanding the relationship they are more marginal. To a certain extent, quantitative versus qualitative has context factor characteristics too. The meta-analyses/reviews versus single studies has an internal interdependency link with the characteristic "purpose of research" that is dealt with below.
- Characteristics that have interdependency links with two other factors: research versus advice is connected with actor characteristics and with the instruments factor.
- Characteristics that are interdependent with many other factors of the framework and therefore are part of the heart of the network of interdependencies that frames the relationship between research and policy: the purpose of research.

Research can serve various *purposes* in relation to policy:
- it can provide (input for) the basic assumptions and concepts for policy in a particular field to be regulated or with regard to a particular problem to be solved;
- it can provide (input for) the actual development of policy;
- it can provide (input for) the development and/or choice of instruments for policy implementation;
- it can provide (input for) the monitoring and evaluation of policy.

Phases of the policy cycle and different purposes of research are linked; basic assumptions and concepts are most important in the problem definition phase and least asked for when a particular field is regulated by an established policy., etc. The interdependencies attached to the phases of the policy cycle are described above; research purposes are part of what we call the core of the functional network of interdependencies

The use[37]
A last, yet crucial factor in the framework is the use that is made of scientific knowledge and/or concepts.
The traditional dichotomy, common in utilisation research, is:
- instrumental use ("engineering"; direct use, practical solution to practical problems)
- conceptual use ("enlightment"; indirect use, knowledge "creep")

Both types of "use" presuppose that science plays an active role with policy as the passive recipient.

However, the recipient, often academically trained, normally does something with or to the knowledge; it is translated or transformed into knowledge that can be applied in practice:
- transformation use

Four common transformations are:
- selective use of scientific results or concepts;

- fitting scientific results or concepts into existing organisational practice (re-labelling of those practices);
- specification of scientific results or concepts to fit ideosyncratic circumstances;
- rewriting of scientific results or concepts.

The essence of this perspective is that (policy) users do not *apply* scientific knowledge but actively *co-produce* it.

Two factors remain to be fleshed out. The first is *context*. We agree with Carol Weiss that this aspect has received least attention in KU research and reflection. We would contend that what she calls context – the characteristics of the issue-arena – is better conceptualised as part of the relationship model itself[38]. We suggest to reserve the label "context" for ideological and institutional influences that go beyond the particular issue at hand. We will return to this subject shortly; our ideas are shaped by the survey material and discussed in chapter 3.

The second factor concerns *instruments to link research and policy.* Again, the relevant characteristics of this factor are distilled from the survey material. Consequently, from the pattern of functional interdependencies, one may, formulate the apriori expectation that "kind of research involvement" is a useful classification system for linkage instruments:
- the production of new research;
- the evaluation and dissemination of existing research;
- research as the basis for policy-advice;

The instruments identified are reported upon in chapter 5 and 6

2.5.4 Caveats

Before moving from the framework to the empirical examination of relevant context characteristics and sensible linkage arrangements, two final remarks on the framework are necessary:
- Although the conceptual framework is developed to model the *relationship* between research and policy, it can be used for modelling *utilisation* also. Utilisation is explicitly accounted for, and can therefore frame KU-type hypotheses as well as relationship focused questions.
- One of our major objectives was to further the discussion about the various ways social science research and policy interact by providing a common vocabulary across contexts. The conceptual framework as described does not yet fulfil this objective. With Carol Weiss, we consider context a major and indispensable element of any common vocabulary. The theoretical exercise described above clarified what should be interpreted as being part of the functionally interdependent set of factors that together, constitute a sufficiently elaborated vocabulary for comparing cases of research policy linkage and relationship. By identifying what should be part of this set, at the same time, one creates a tool to identify context factors, defined here as whatever seems to play an important role in particular case studies of linkage, but is not part of the functional set.
- One very important context factor – the democratic content of the society involved

– cannot be framed in the manner indicated above because it underlies the framework as a whole. The framework represents research-policy interaction in open democratic contexts in which authorities are constraint by their public accountability and governance is based upon consensual agreement. This does not imply that the framework is of little value for discussing research-policy linkages in societies without a democratic culture of public accountability, but that one should be aware of this underlying assumption when applying it to other settings.

3. Comparing European perspectives

After the theoretical exercise, we now move to the empirical part of the report. In this chapter context factors, linkage arrangements, and common knowledge needs are reported. Sections 3.1 and 3.2 are devoted to survey findings regarding relevant context factors.

3.1 Differences in the R&D input between countries

In this chapter we report on lines of variation and similarity across countries and sectors. They stem from of our data by analysing:
- the information we gathered on the general nature of the linkage "climate" in particular countries; and,
- the reasons mentioned for the (lack of) success in particular examples of linkage.

One of the many relevant context variables - differences in the R&D input between countries - merits separate treatment for two reasons:
- it is the only context variable for which comparative indicators are available;
- it is a macro-variable indicating national differences without, however, offering more insight into the effect of these differences on the research/policy relationship.

Appendix I gives an indication of the R&D statistics available. However, there are major problems for anyone using these statistics for comparing countries in terms of the role played by the social sciences (see Box 11).

Problems with R&D statistics 11

Apart from the usual and well-known problems of macro-indicators - comparability of indicators, availability of figures for the same year etc. - the following specific issues can be mentioned:
- The statistics are very weak on the social sciences; there is a heavy bias towards statistics relevant for technology development and innovation. See, for example, the summary in Box 11.
- The only breakdown available is a regional one; breakdowns on subject-matter are absent, at least for the social sciences. However, one can expect substantial differences in research investments between subjects.
- Depending on the national context and policy-arena, one can suspect a serious underreporting of research investment, for example, because the investment is not labelled research (consultancy assignments, "projects" with research components) or because the investment is done by a policy level lower than the units the indicators are based upon.

Appendix I substantiates the weakness of the available indicators for interpreting trends for the social sciences.

At the macro-level, the statistics clearly indicate that Western Europe is behind other industrialised regions of the world in terms of its R&D investment. This does not nec-

essarily mean that policy is less interested in research in Europe than in the US, Japan, or Newly Industrialised Countries (NIC's). It is an indication, however, that in spite of all rhetoric about the importance of the knowledge system, the status of research in policy circles is lower than elsewhere. A telling sign is that the economic turn-around of the last years was immediately translated into substantial budget increases for the social sciences in the US, while the effect in larger European countries was minor, if not absent all together [39]. For a summary of this comparison, see Box 12.

Europe compared to other regions 12

Some relevant highlights of the second European report on Science &Technology (S&T) indicators[40] are:

- The EU devotes a lower proportion of its resources to S&T, both as a percentage of GDP and per capita, compared with the US and Japan;
- Between 1980 and 1994, public investment in education and human capital in the EU rose sightly, but is still below that of the US;
- The number of university graduates per year is lower in the European Union than in the US;
- The EU has a relatively small number of researchers compared with its competitor countries and regions;
- Overall the EU's scientific performance is excellent.

The Second European Report on S&T Indicators (1997) gives an interesting summary of European diversity, convergence, and cohesion. The most remarkable overall conclusion, in line with the above, is that most EU member states converge on the importance that budgetary pressures have played during the last 15 years and will continue to play in the near future: 'In most EU member states, the percentage of GDP devoted to the financing of R&D has been decreasing steadily since 1985' (summary, p. 18-19).

Differences between national R&D systems 13

'Among the most R&D-intensive member states, France has an R&D system that is largely government based, the German system is most oriented to applied research and the UK system is most favourable to the enterprise sector; the Irish R&D system is the fastest growing; R&D in the small member states is very dependent upon a limited number of multinationals.

Of the group of four EU countries that spend most on R&D, Germany and France (with R&D expenditure of 2.3% of their GDP), and the UK (with 2.1%) are well in front of Italy, the lowest of the four with 1%. It is in Germany that research is the most financed by business enterprises, which account for 61% of total financing, compared with 48-49% for the three others. Germany and the UK are the countries with the highest rate of employment of research scientists in the business enterprise sector. France has the highest level of scientists per thousand employees (12.65 compared with 12.14 for Germany, 11.85 for the UK and 6.37 for Italy), and also the strongest concentration of researchers in the public research sector.

The Cohesion-4 countries include Portugal, Spain, Ireland and Greece. These countries' R&D systems are still in a phase of rapid development and catching up. Ireland has a very strong private sector, however, with 69% of its R&D investment carried out by enterprises, the second highest percentage

in Europe after Sweden. At the same time, the Irish government gives relatively little direct support to R&D activities. After Greece, Ireland has the lowest level of GBOARD [Total government budget appropriations or outlays for R&D], at less than 1% of total government expenditure. The Irish R&D system seems to rely very much on the presence of foreign multinationals.

The R&D systems of most of the smaller EU member states are strongly reliant on the presence of a few big enterprises, and consequently the private sector plays a very significant role in their R&D systems. Sweden, for instance, depends on the private sector for 78% of its R&D. In Belgium over 90% of BERD [Business enterprise expenditure on R&D] is financed by the enterprises themselves; only Finland has a higher percentage. In short, there is a large gap between public and private sector investment in Belgium, which is also reflected in the very small number of R&D personnel working in the government or higher education sectors' (summary, p. 18).

As our interest focuses on the linkage of university based or affiliated research and policy (see 1.3.2), another interesting way of looking at national differences is through the lens of university research in national science systems. A 1998 report of the OECD group on the Science system does precisely that (see also appendix F). Box 14 summarises this perspective.

Differences between the place of university research in national R&D systems 14

- In Anglo-Saxon countries, universities are the major source of basic research, but they co-exist with public research institutions devoted to sectors of national interest, such as defence, energy, agriculture, medicine, etc. The latter may undertake basic research where needed, although they are generally involved in applied and technical research activities.
- In large continental European countries, university research co-exists (and co-operates) with a large public sector engaged in basic research in its own laboratories [Germany's Max-Planck Society, France's Centre national de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), Italy's Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR)], which are also involved in technical and applied activities, to provide either R&D infrastructures (as in Germany) or mission-oriented activities (as in France and Italy).
- In smaller continental European economies, public research tends to be mainly oriented towards technical and industrial research, while universities perform most basic research. There are, however, important differences among countries; some have a large public sector (e.g. Norway, Iceland and Portugal), while others do not (e.g. Sweden or Switzerland).

In a similar vein, there are important differences in the functioning of university research and the behaviour of teacher-researchers in the various university systems[41].

- In the Anglo-Saxon world, where academic research is, to some degree, subject to the values that apply thoughout society and the market principles that regulate the overall economy, it develops in an extremely competitive environment. Researchers are concerned with publication and constantly vetted by their peers. They are very mobile and move easily from one university to another according to the offers they receive. They are constantly in search of contracts with industry, government agencies, and local authorities in order to finance their research. They often spend some time in the private sector and even create their own firms.
- This model is very different from others, where researchers are under less pressure, more protected, less pushed to publish and less mobile. They have also fewer opportunities for diversification in their research fields and their careers.

The 1999 UNESCO World Social Science Report (WSSR) summarises the information on the social sciences[42]. The main conclusions are:

- It is difficult to calculate precisely the resources that go into social science research;
- There are considerable disparities in research between countries and sectors of execution. In the higher education sector, the differences are relatively few, but they are greater in the government sector, and greatest in the private non-profit sector;
- In the higher education sector the social sciences account for a proportion of intramural expenditure on R&D that ranges from 8 to 21 %;
- The position of the social sciences, measured as a proportion of total expenditure on R&D, has remained stable over the past decade;
- In OECD countries, 80% or more of social science research in higher education is financed by public funds;
- Compared with gross domestic expenditure on R&D in social sciences and humanities research (SSH), the total number of R&D personnel in SSH generally accounts for a higher percentage of personnel in all scientific fields taken as a whole;
- In higher education, the percentage of total R&D personnel in social sciences is between 7 and 24% of total personnel;
- In the OECD countries, humanities and social sciences courses attract a considerable proportion, and sometimes even the majority, of students.

3.2 Main lines of variation

This section focuses on the factors that can more directly be linked with the linkage between research and policy: ideology, institutional structures and history.

3.2.1 Ideology

For lack of a better term, relevant factors describing the "culture", "philosophy" or "climate" are subsumed here under the label "ideology"; this does not imply any specific position in the never-ending academic debate on the best definition of these terms. We believe that it makes sense to separate analytically the sphere of ideologies, the superstructure, the software (or whatever other metaphor one prefers), from that of institutions, the basis, or the hardware. Obviously, the spheres overlap, mutually constitute each another (or whatever other process description one prefers), but this typological distinction is pragmatic since it is immediately comprehensible to both of the "communities" that comprise our readership.

It is not our intention here to draw general conclusions from the factors described below. We would need comparative in-depth studies, focusing on a few particular and inter-related factors, to further our understanding of the mechanisms by which ideologies shape the linkage between research and policy. Rather, we aim to develop a list of context factors that is exhaustive enough for those using it to analyse their local context. The factors are described using examples drawn from our survey material.

3.2.1.1 Political Culture

National political cultures vary considerably. They exert a marked influence over the way research and policy tend to interact with each other. We present two cases here:

the corporatist political culture of Austria (Box 15), and the North Italian governance culture characterised by patchwork drawn from its public and private sectors (Box 16).

The corporatist political culture of Austria 15

One of our interviewees, Dr August Gächter of the Institute of Advanced Studies in Vienna, sent us an unpublished paper on his experiences on the role of research in the making of Austrian migration policy[43]. His collection of anecdotes contains a strong analytical component. A major explanatory factor for his unnerving conclusion that 'the state, at least in Austria, is incapable of benefitting from social science research, even from the research it commissions' is the polarisation and consensualism of the Austrian corporatist political system. We quote verbatim from his paper:

"Too much information is risky for civil servants. They work for politicians, and the politicians belong to political parties. ... The parties themselves are always fraught with internal tensions, and the only way of keeping them from splintering is to strictly enforce a set of orthodox views on the key issues. ... the parties are characterised by the issues that are central to them. For the social democrats the labour market, and therefore immigration, is self-evidently a key issue. As a result theoretical and political views on labour market and immigration policy are strictly policed within the party. Every party member, with few exceptions, understands this and makes sure not to deviate. The police, in this instance, are the labour organisations in the party, primarily the trade union leadership which is deeply entrenched in the ministry of labour.
Civil servants...do not ususlly manage...to keep a distance from party affiliations...In order to gain any personal influence within the bureaucracy it is necessary to find support from collegues in other departments, other divisions and other ministries. This can be had most easily, and often only, by joining a camp. One only remains a member of the camp by respecting its orthodoxies...

Fortunately, most researchers in the key institutes understand...the necessity of catering to the orthodoxies. They use the same tactics as civil servants to gain personal influence over policy decisions, and know they must be reliable members of a party camp. Most labour market economists in Austria are social democrats. Their research is "safe" in the sense that it does not question the tenets held by the trade union leadership, at least not ...publicly.

For Austrian civil servants it always remained advisable to use any funds available for alliance building inside the wider bureaucracy. Thus reseach budgets are regularly directed to social partner and party institutions, and, where they do not exist, institutes are created that are no more than external attachments to the ministry funding them.'

One may, or may not agree with the negative connotation of the above systemic description. Systems have their own logic and the partiality depicted may sometimes benefit worthwhile initiatives as much as it hinders them. For example, the government's funding for developing an Austrian Forum for Migration Research (attached to the International Centre for Migration Policy Development), along the lines of its highly acclaimed Swiss namesake (see chapter 6). Importantly, the heart of Dr Gächter's argument - that party membership is an important mediating variable in the linkage between between research and policy in Austria - was reaffirmed by many of our Austrian interviewees.

Northern Italy: interwoven public and private sectors 16

Marco Lombardi, research director of the Cariplo Foundation for information and studies on multi-ethnicity (ISMU) in Milan, characterised the North Italian method of tackling social problems as follows:

'The government delegates the solving of social problems to the private sector. That delegation is done by official regulations and the private sector takes care of the problems with government funds. In this way the government circumvents the densely regulated public structure within which it would be impossible to react quickly and adequately to that problem'

The extent to which social services are "outsourced" is dependent upon the local circumstances. Cities with a history of municipal social involvement like Bologna have more services under direct control than cities like Milan, but often, even when it is the municipality itself – as opposed to the trade union (Genova), the church (Rome) or other active bodies who take the initiative – the actual service is delivered by a private body, for providing housing, language learning facilities, etc. The private/public "joint venture" model of cooperation is visible down to the staffing of government offices; for many years, the Foreigners Office of the Milan municipality employs the same *in-house* research consultant for its reporting on foreigners.

Another of our interviewees, professor Zincone, sent us the summary of a paper on the role of experts and civil servants in Italian policy-making. She argues that the Italian example demonstrates the importance of the role played by "traditional lower strata pressure groups such as voluntary associations and unions, by civil servants and experts that formed together a quite stable policy network'. These networks:

- 'Look for a sort of 'window' that could connect their virtual ideas to actual policy making', sometimes guided by high level public administrators and innovative political leaders;
- Introduce practices at the local level that creep up through the system as 'a flow of innovations from the periphery to the centre';
- Introduce 'local practices [that] are often aimed at "going round" the law, at "honestly cheating" national legislators. Practices do not just implement and adapt legislation – as any good student of Law would tell us – they also act *contra legem,* against the law, they can erode unwanted provisions and initiate new ones'.

The argument is not that the situation in Italy is unique, nor restricted to immigration matters, but that, when taken together, these elements add up to a climate where the linkage between research and policy is often mediated through "policy communities" (in the sense proffered by Kingdon[44]) that includes researchers. Moreover, in this setting, they also liaise with policy in the role of expert advisors more frequently than elsewhere (for example, in committees delegated to prepare detailed new legislation).

In terms of the conceptual framework, for both cases described, the context factor "political culture" influences the rules and interests attached to the roles of the main actors:

- In Austria, the roles of researcher, civil servant, and politician are often linked by party membership.
- In northern Italy, civil servants are often less subservient to politicians than is normal elsewhere, and actively align with research and interest group actors to push for particular policies.

Another factor identified in the Weiss proposal as being potentially important, is the extent to which policy circles are staffed by academically educated personnel who are familiar with (social) science discourse: 'in Germany and France, many high officials in state bureaucracies have been educated in the law and relatively few have any background in the social sciences. There is some evidence from the U.S. and Canada that policy actors trained in law are less responsive to social research and evaluation than officials with different kinds of training'. In Germany this factor came up several times in interviews as an explanation of the non-responsiveness of the bureaucracy to the wealth of social science research evidence that the German citizenship regime[45] has very negative social and psychological effects on its non- indegenous population.

3.2.1.2 Academic Culture

Academic cultures also vary considerably, but it is more difficult to come to grips with than political cultures. Political cultures are a subject of interest to the research world, academic cultures much less. For whatever reason, the own nest is not easily turned into a topic for analysis. Comparative work on academic cultures that would further our thinking on the role this factor may play in the linkage between reserach and policy in a particular context is nearly absent. Clark's book mentioned above is one of the few examples but focuses on the description of incentive structures and shys away from the more immaterial aspects of culture.

Frans van Waarden, who has worked for extended periods in Canada, the US, Germany, and the Netherlands, wrote about academic cultures combining style and organisational elements in his analysis[46]. Johan Galtung's classic essay, published nearly twenty years ago[47], is still considered useful starting point and is described in Box 17.

Diversity in intellectual style 17

Johan Galtung characterises four ideal-type intellectual styles according to their profile of differences along four dimensions:

- The extent to which they engage in paradigm analysis;
- The extent to which their descriptions produce propositions;
- The importance attached to theory formation;
- The extent to which commentary on other intellectuals is an important activity.

The resulting matrix of differences between what he calls the Saxonic, Teutonic, Gallic and Nipponic styles is not very informative as such, but his pastiche description of each style is recognisable to those travelling the world academic circuit as valid, albeit close to charicature. Galtung summarises these descriptions by ridicule '...putting down in the shortest possible form the typical question put in the four intellectual styles when somebody is faced with a proposition:' (p.838)

- *Saxonic style:* how do you operationalise it? (US version), how do you document it? (UK version)
- *Teutonic style:* wie können Sie das zurückführen/ableiten? (how can you trace this back/deduce it from basic principles?)
- *Gallic style:* peut-on dire cela en bon français? (is it possible to say this in French?)
- *Nipponic style:* donatano monka desuka? (who is your master?)

Obviously, particular countries, especially the smaller ones of the periphery, are under the influence of two or even three styles. Also:

'The Saxonic intellectual style will tend to crop up where the computers penetrate [remember that this is a 1981 article! RH] .... Even in the heartland of Teutonia and Gallia computers will find their place and generate myriads of data in search of more interpretation than the theory classes of these countries would ever be able to produce. As a consequence dataoriented sub-cultures will emerge,..., giving the entire intellectual system a somewhat schizophrenic character. What comes out of this in the long term remains to be seen; but it may be a Saxonic Trojan horse.... But all that is on the surface of the world. Underneath the styles will live on: the teutons will continue to be irritated when the gauls become too lyrical,..., and the gauls will continue to be bored by teutonic pedantry... Some of them will learn from the others what they do not master themselves, but by and large, what is the virtue of the one will continue to be the vice of the other'(p.849).

We would argue that the academic manners written about by Galtung are important for understanding the relationship between research and policy in a particular national context. Galtung himself hinted at the importance when arguing that the saxonic style – rich in documentation and very meagre in theory, rich in formal language and poor in elegancy – fits the exigencies of political bureaucracies:

'...there is a need if not for consensus at least for a basis on which gentlemen can argue. The saxonic intellectual style produces such a basis. At the same time it reinforces the distinction between professionals of the [bureaucracy] and the outside consultants on the one hand delivering the raw material for the debate, and the governing bodies...picking what they want, putting it in their various thought systems with build-in polarisations...'(p.849).

But given the paucity and anecdotical nature of documentation on differences between intellectual styles, it is for others to pursue this in more detail.

In terms of national differences, the general tenets of Galtung's analysis were confirmed by our survey material. Many interviewees pointed towards academic culture as a determinant of the relationship between research and policy. To give but two examples: the Swedish academic culture with a traditional openness towards policy-relevance and applied research (Box 18) versus the German academic culture with a much stronger internal, theory-oriented focus (Box 19).

Sweden: open towards policy-relevance[48] 18

Sweden's research system is strongly connected to and seen as an integral part of the country's welfare and industrial policy. From the 60s onwards, as part of the development of the social democrat "Swedish model", the link between research and practical reform policies was given shape in a sectoral policy. 'Every sector, with its associated government ministry, would use research as a resource and decide how much money should be spent on it and what work should actually be done.' The sectoral model ended the earlier dominance of researchers, and research came to be steered by other organisations. Research workers became more closely tied to specific sectors than to their departments. In this model a considerable share of governmental research funds are channeled

through sectoral agencies, and through 6 research councils tied in with particular departments (fore example, the Swedish Council for Social Research is funded by the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs). But also the funds going directly into universities and those being channeled through non-sectoral research councils are to partly thematically earmarked. Particular to the Swedish research sytem, is the fact that student enrolment numbers are not the determinant of the research component of general university funding. "The dimensions of research and education are determined separately.... That is one reason why we have much more medical research, for example, than student numbers would justify".

The research policy steering system is not researcher dominated, but they play an active role in it. 'Well developed channels exist between the research community and politicians, right up to the level of Prime Minister.' The government has an advisory body on research policy that has a strong academic representation. But also on particular policy issues, researchers are regularly called in for policy advice. Sweden has a 40 year old tradition of parliamentary committees with paid experts. Such committees 'comprise members of parliament and expertise from universities and central and local public authorities... the final document from a committee is sent out for public criticism.... Government thereafter formulate the proposition to the parliament based on both the commission's work and the criticisms'.

One example was the need for a policy response to the rising concern about the issue of residential segregation, especially ethnic residential segregation that resulted in '[s]everal state committees and commissions [being] set up in 1995-97 to investigate different aspects of these and related problems... [to] mention just four of these': (Anderson, p.5-6)

- The committee on immigrant policy;
- The commission on housing policy;
- The commission on metropolitan areas;
- The investigation on the introduction of new immigrants and on a new organisation of integration policy.

Germany: internal focus

19

Frans van Waarden (see note 6) describes the difference between the Dutch and the German attitude as follows:
'The link between the social sciences... and policy is much stronger in the Netherlands than in Germany. German social scientists are more theoretically oriented and do not have much interest in policy-oriented and therefore often theoretically less interesting research. Similarly, the portfolio of contract research of German ministries is much smaller and when they fund research it is hardly ever at universities. Both orientations strengthen each other. Ministries do not offer contracts because they think professors are not interested, or are unable to deliver. And researchers do not go out of their way to bag contracts. Also because the volume of fundamental research funds – Forschungsgemeinschaft, Volkswagenstiftung, Thyssenstiftung, etc. – is much larger and less difficult to tap. As a result, contact opportunities that could lead to an advisory relationship are scarce' [p. 15, translation RH].

Germany is classified by van Waarden as the country that has the most formidable barriers on the road to tenured professorships. The status accorded to the position (and its host organisation the university) befit those difficulties; it is very high. The barriers create a work habitus that is difficult to reconcile with the practical needs of outsiders:

'A typical German dissertation contains a summary of more than 100 pages of relevant theoretical

literature... The fear of forgetting an important author or approach is great... this fear is grounded because the dissertation is going to be judged by promotors and other professors on its exhaustiveness. In this way a habitus of perfectionism is confirmed and reproduced in the process of academic socialisation' (van Waarden, p.12).

And professors are very much in charge; only they are taken seriously, within their own circles at least. Academia is a relatively self-referentially closed national domestic discourse.
The difficulty to create linkages with "outsiders" do not limit themselves to policy but also to international colleagues. That charateristic is shared, by the way, with other "larger-medium-sized" nations like France and Japan.

An indicator of both the social status and the inward-looking character of the German university sector is that '...something like a consequent evaluation system is still not extant and is still not applied for Germany's university research'[49]. In other countries, such as the UK, a tight feedback linkage between evaluation and funding have been established.

3.2.1.3 Policy philosophy for the sector concerned

Time and again, our interviews turned up the relevance of the philosophy underlying the particular policy field of migrants and integration issues. Both the academic and the policy debate on integration explicitly refer to basic normative assumptions concerning how society should be organised, or what kinds of rights individuals were entitled to, the legitimacy of group-based claims, what rights should be regarded as universal human ones, and what should be attached to political citizenship. A classic comparison is the French versus the German perspective on citizenship.

Both in France and in Germany, the national perspective was mentioned in *every single* interview. The German perspective is symbolised by the fact that the migration and integration discourse is labelled die Ausländerfrage – the Foreigners issue. The French perspective is symbolised by the political incorrectness of labels like *ethnic minority.* One of the conferences we attended in Germany was the Bundeskonferenz der Ausländerbeauftragten des Bundes (May 1998), an annual gathering of the local ombudsmen for immigrants, called by their national level coordination office[50]. The discussions during this two-day meeting were totally dominated by the citizenship issue; the general consensus was that any serious progress on the integration issue was deemed impossible without changing the *ius sanguinis* basis of nationalisation legislation.

Box 20 provides a broader overview of modalities of immigrants' participation in political decision-making that goes beyond the citizenship issue alone.[51] All three models described below are ideal types. Understandably, reality is much more complex, and no country offers a perfect example of any of these three. Be aware, therefore, that classifications, such as the one below, may enlighten as much as they obscure. Other classifications are possible (see Appendix F for an alternative), but given the importance of the citizenship issue, these three models are useful tools that help to account for substantial differences in the practice of immigrant participation. These differences relate to the legitimation, the set-up, the practices, and also to the effects, of immigrant consultation. It is important to note that the choice for a specific model of immigrant participation seems to be determined largely by national traditions, what we would call the policy phi

Immigrants' participation in political decision-making 20

'There is a potential tension between the requirement [for a Western style democracy] of a minimum of shared values in a political community on the one hand, and the requirement of respect for cultural difference and individual and group identities on the other. In the course of history, most European nation-states have come to terms with this tension, although in a variety of manners.... The recent large scale immigration of people with a national and cultural background that differs from the mainstream values in the countries of settlement, has reactivated the debate on the potential tension.... European countries tend to differ in their perspectives in these matters as well as in their definitions of the actual situation....

Citizenship is the most common entitlement for an individual in a democracy to exert full membership rights and to take part in the political process. Many immigrants are not citizens of the country of settlement, and therefore may not be entitled to political participation....
A major distinction that matters here is the one between the *ius soli* and the *ius sanguinis* principle. Under the *ius soli* system, anyone born in a country is entitled to that country's passport; under the *ius sanguinis* system, the passport of the parents is decisive for the passport of their child. In the latter case, foreign citizenship may be perpetuated into the second and subsequent generations.
Under *ius soli,* by contrast, children of immigrants automatically obtain the passport of the country where their parents reside. In Europe, Germany is the most outspoken example of the *ius sanguinis* system, and the United Kingdom of the *ius soli* system. Under the *ius sanguinis* system the political and the cultural community are seen as relatively similar; under the *ius soli* system it is territory, not ancestry, that is decisive for the attribution of political rights. Most countries now have a mixture of the two, with relatively easy access to their citizenship for second generation immigrants'.

[In terms of a perspective on political participation that is broader than naturalisation and voting rights, the differences between approaches can be described in terms of three ideal-typical modalities of immigrant participation, RH]

'Modalities of immigrant participation[52]
The first model is the *individual rights* model. In this model immigrants, like all other residents, are seen as individuals who directly interact with the state. Public policy aims at giving individual migrants equal standing with other residents vis-à-vis the state, which means a formal assurance of access to the country's institutions, of which the labour market and education tend to be emphasised. There is little room for intermediate structures such as immigrant associations or consultative councils outside the state bureaucracy in this model.... In this model the granting of individual rights to immigrants is seen as the major instrument for inclusion; this may often imply a relatively generous naturalisation policy. Whether the immigrants are actually in a position to exercise their rights, is largely their own responsibility... In Europe, France offers the classical example of this individual rights model. Portugal and Italy also have certain elements of this approach in their policies.

The second model we have labelled the *multi-cultural* model. Here too, the individual immigrant, rather than the migrant group, is seen as the primary target of incorporation. In contrast to the individual rights model, however, it is acknowledged that immigration has also led to the development of new communities in society, that may distinguish themselves in cultural terms from those that already existed. The authorities consider these communities as relevant entities in society, but in a rather loose way, without, for instance, precisely defining their membership. In this model, the state sees it as a primary responsibility to make sure that all members of society are treated on an equal footing, irrespective of the community of which they are part... It is less likely that such relatively loose arrangements will develop into formalised consultation structures with a specific mandate. In view of this, it is understandable that, at the local level, there may be important differ-

ences in the actual arrangements for political participation of immigrant or cultural communities. The classical example of this model is offered by the United Kingdom. Among the more recent immigration countries Norway also tends towards this multi-cultural model.

The third model is the *corporatist* model. In this model membership is organised around corporate groups and their functions. Corporate groups may be defined by a specific identity, such as occupational, ethnic, religious, linguistic or gender belongingness, and are then emphasised as the source of action and authority. Individuals are members of one or more corporate groups (they are often born into it), and through those groups they particpate in the different spheres of society. In a liberal democracy the state should see to it that all groups have equal access to the common good, without seeing themselves obliged to abandon their specific cultural characteristics. In the corporatist model, immigrants are defined in terms of group membership, rather than as individuals. Immigrant groups are often referred to as ethnic communities or ethnic minorities. Their membership is well defined, and they may be subject to specific rights and policy measures, developed to improve their social situation or to preserve some of their cultural characteristics... In the corporatist model formal avenues exist that enable the immigrant communities to participate in decision making mechanisms and to pursue their interests, both at the national and at the regional and local levels. Like the individual rights approach, the corporatist approach is top-down, in contrast to the multi-cultural model, which is bottom-up. The Netherlands comes closest to the classical example of the corporatist model in immigrant policy, although it has lost some of its rigidities in recent years. Sweden used to be another example, but significant changes have taken place there as well.'

losophy, and experience of the country concerned, rather than by the nature of its immigration.

The 10th anniversary issue of the Dutch journal Migrantenstudies (1995), includes two analyses of the influence of policy philosophy on actual policy. Bukow and Llaryora compare Dutch and German policy, and Mahnig compares French and Dutch policy[53]. In both analyses basic normative assumptions are a prominent explanatory variable for the understanding of differences. The explanatory power is especially strong for the Dutch-German comparison, because the problems that policy is confronted with – kinds of immigrant groups, development of their presence, etc. – are quite similar.

However, the meeting of the Ausländerbeuftragten also vindicated another important universal; local level differences in integration practices between Länder and cities are considerable. In terms of particular immigrant facilities and administrative practices, Nordrhein-Westfalen and Baiern, in Frankfurt, Berlin, or Hamburg, differ sometimes more than those between a German city and a French city[54]. The influence of this factor therefore is difficult to pin down in general terms. In Box 21, a discussion on labelling and political correctness (in surveys) is presented which warns against too much fatalism concerning the deterministic character of engrained policy principles.

Labelling and political correctness in surveys[55] 21

'It is almost a truism to observe... that the French disinclination to recognise "minorities" contrasts sharply with the Dutch acceptance of cultural difference, Scandinavian and British pragmatism and German exclusionary concepts of societal membership... Perhaps the most extreme divergence of view on how issues of migration and integration should be approached is that between the 'Anglo-Saxon' model and that derived from the principles of citoyennetÈ enshrined in the French Republican model. This is not the place to explore the underlying philosophies that inform these perspectives; suffice it to say that whereas the former has found it possible to use social constructions such as 'race' in census returns, the latter has always eschewed such labels on the grounds that they are potentially divisive.

In fact, close inspection shows that as far as Europe is concerned, actual practices are more temporal than fundamental. For example, in the UK census of 1981 a question was included on birthplace and parental birthplace. Ethnic descent was then inferred from this proxy variable. Later, after heated and often acrimonious debate, a so-called "ethnic question" was included in the census of 1991 and will be repeated in 2001 (with some minor amendments). In France, it is now not uncommon for surveys to include similar questions to those included in British censuses and surveys during the early years of migrant settlement (Silberman and Fournier, 1998).[56] For example, the *Formation Qualification Professionelle* survey of 1985 (and repeated on a smaller scale in 1993) contains data on naturalisations, thereby enabling foreign-born populations to be identified. Later surveys (such as the EVA survey in 1993 carried out by the *Centre de Recherche et d'Etudes sur les Qualifications)* contain data on immigrants according to their date of arrival and on children of immigrant parents. Studies in the UK showed that data derived from questions on parental birthplace were well within acceptable error levels when compared with self-assessed ethnic origin data. In other words, the differences between nations may well turn out to be less fundamental than earlier feared. I am certain, for example, that French survey practice will generate data that are comparable with those in other European counties.'

In terms of the conceptual framework this factor directly influences the issue-arena.

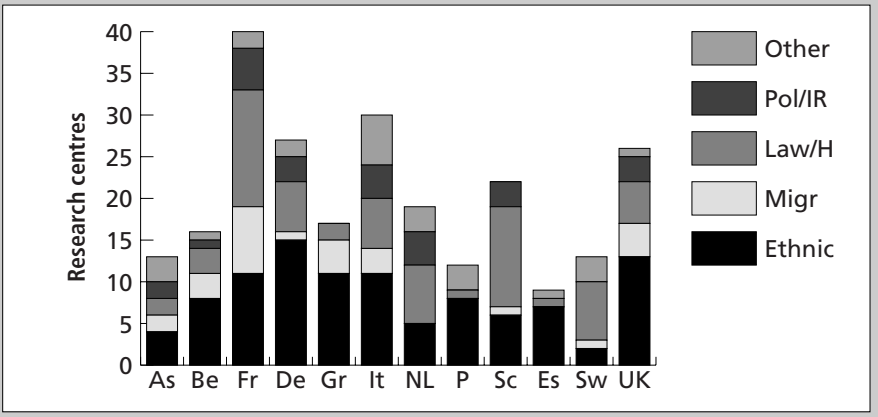
3.2.1.4 The place accorded to science as a knowledge producer by the political and administrative establishment

On a general level, the indicative importance of national differences in RTD expenditure, and the share of the social sciences in the total RTD expenditure, has already been outlined in 3.1. In 3.1. it has also been suggested that the share particular subject matters receive within the social sciences, e.g. the share of research on "Metropolis" issues, varies between countries. At this level of specificity, the relevance of this factor can be evaluated more easily. A first indication of the prominence of this issue can be gleaned from *The Ethnic studies in Europe: a survey of research centres and resources* compiled by the Cemes in partnership with the Consiglio Italiano per le Scienze Sociali (1999, online available at www.cemes.org), see Box 22.

Ethnic and migration studies centres in Europe[57] 22

'.. there is no shortage of institutes, organisations and information sources in our field. [The] directory of institutes and research centres in Europe.... lists 357 institutes, centres or research groupings (including documentation centres) in 37 European countries. Of these 250 (70 per cent) are in seventeen Western European states.... Twenty-seven per cent fell into the category of "law and human rights" institutes but the largest single category was unsurprisingly 'Ethnic Studies' which included joint ethnic and migration studies centres (41 per cent). Fig 1 shows that there is a considerable variation by country with human rights research activities most likely in Scandinavian countries, France, and the Netherlands. Migration studies alone were relatively weak everywhere accept France, which is probably a reflection of non-acceptance of 'ethnic minority' categories as a legitimate designation. In Germany, Italy and the UK "ethnic studies" centres are strongly represented.

[V]ery few of these centres are international and comparative and, as far as I am aware, none seek to embrace North America and Europe.... [M]ost of these centres are 'purely' academic. Those that are not are often linked with a particular political party, trade union or NGO. Few, if any, are founded upon the principle of the link between the [research and policy].'



At the level of a particular country the (development of the) importance of research in a particular field can be specified in more concrete terms. Box 23 contains an extract from the country report written by Katarina Pouliasi and presents the case of Greece, a country slowly adjusting to its new status of being a country of immigration.

The case of Greece 23

The rather low number of immigrants in Greece up to very recent years is the major reason for the near absence of an official policy. The existing Law 1975/91 on "Police control of frontier passages, entrance, stay, work and deportations of foreigners and procedures of refugees' recognition" is a strict, but insufficient in dealing with today's multi-faceted migration and integration issues.
Three kinds of recent immigrants in Greece can be distinguished on the basis of their origin and the state's attitude towards them:

- The so-called *traditional immigrant groups,* seeking employment and very often trying to get permanent residence. They come from Egypt, the Philippines, Africa and Asia. Larger groups are Iraqis, Armenians (from Iraq, Iran, Syria or Libanon), Eritreans, Palestinians, Latin Americans, and Vietnamese, mostly employed illegally in cheap rural labour and domestic services. Seasonal immigrant workers find employment in the agricultural sector (usually from Poland), in touristic services or in fisheries. Whether or not this labour force meets an existing demand in the Greek economy, or causes an increased demand for cheap illegal labour and contributes to the spread of black economy, is a matter of constant dispute. The unofficial procedures through which these immigrants enter Greece, contribute to the infringement of their workers' rights and hinder their potential social integration
- Greek *re-migrants from the CAS countries.* The most significant remigrant groups are Pontian Greeks and Greek Albanians. Pontian Greeks emigrated to the South-eastern part of Asia Minor (Pontian Peninsula) between the 9th and 17th century. According to estimates of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 10,000 to 15,000 Greek Pontians are re-patriated every year. A well-defined integration programme for the remigrants has been developed and has been implemented by the 'General Secretariat for Geeks Abroad' of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The programme concerns both initial reception and long-term integration, including language courses, vocational training, housing policy, and psychological counselling. An extensive network of official state and municipal organisations and remigrant associations and communities are involved in the implementation of this policy.
- *Albanians.* The political instability and the chaotic social and economic situation in Albania have resulted in large scale out migration. The illegal entrance of large numbers of Albanians into Greece over the last 3 to 4 years resulted in a new and largely uncontrolled social phenomenon in Greece. These refugees, living with the stigma of illegality, are facing extremely serious problems of survival. Only a very small percentage of these can find work in the black market or affordable housing. At the same time, the native population feels threatened, manifested in xenophobic attitudes. For example, the rapid increase of criminality is widely attributed to the massive influx of the Albanians.

With respect to two of these three cases, research has slowly started to make an impact:
- Academic research has been important to the development of repatriation policies. Probably the best example of a study that was directly influental is *Greek refugees from the former Soviet Union* conducted by Prof. Koula Kasimati of the Centre for Social Morphology and Social policy (KEKMOKOP). The perceived usefulness and successive impact of this study has upgraded the very marginal status of research results as information resources for policy.
- In case of the Albanian influx, the Ministry of Labour has taken the initiative in developing legislation that would allow government and society to face the situation in its real dimensions. Its goal was to define the problem based on quantitative measures. The massive illegal influx from neighbouring Albania has thus lead to the perceived need for more systematic study of migration phenomena. Two presidential decrees, 358/98 and 359/97 introduced transparency into the procedure of legalising immigrants. Ms Marily Galaora, Special Consultant on migration policy to the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, stated that the contribution of experts and members of the Labour Union to the development of the above mentioned presidential decrees has been recognised as valuable and will be taken into consideration more often in future legislative arrangements.

To summarise, the general picture that emerged from the interviews revealed that research is only now being recognised as a potentially relevant source of policy information. Greece has a history of stakeholder involvement in policy development (e.g. trade unions) but the recognition of (academic) research data, concepts, and expertise as relevant is very recent, and clearly motivated by that country's sudden shift from being a country of emigration towards becoming a country of immigration.

Obviously, an evaluation of the relationship between research and policy in the field of migration and integration issues in a country like Greece has to take into account that relevant research capacity is relatively small, and research interest in the topic and political and administrative openness to the idea of research-based policy a very recent development. Conversely, evaluation of that relationship in countries like the UK or the Netherlands have to take account of their long history of migration and ethnic relations research and research-based or -legitimated policy. Generally speaking, one can conclude that the role assigned to science as a basis and legitimation of policy directions differs across countries, across historical time and across sectors. One may hypothesise that national styles of governance differ regarding the value attached to science, but that these differences are slowly decreasing under the convergent pressure of international and transnational organisations and institutions. This trend is stronger in some sectors than others, depending, amongst other things, on the extent to which the sector is influenced by the international arena.

3.2.1.5 The political belief in rational planning

As argued above, there are considerable national differences, regarding the extent to which science is seen as an important input for policy. Once part of the policy-culture, the importance attached to (social) science legitimation of policy directions and policy actions was a persistent characteristic which seems to have diminished somewhat. The disillusionment of policy with this type of research seems subject to patterns of peaks and troughs (see note 60), although the wave does not necessarily correspond precisely to the degree of research utilisation. Once science is accepted as an important source of relevant data, ideas, and advocacy material, its use becomes institutionalised and disappointment is translated into different preferences for kinds of research (for example, more evaluation, less causal analysis), as well as for disciplines (more economics, less sociology), and changing ways of linking with research (more explicit short-term contract research and less block grant finance, rather than abondoning the commissioning and the use of research).

One may argue that the place accorded to science as a knowledge producer by the political and administrative establishment is closely related to the wider concept of the political belief in rational planning. The belief in science-based policy and the belief in rational planning seem to have a strong family resemblance and are often inseparable elements in the amalgam one could call the policy attitude towards science input. For those who regard science as an emblem of rationality (scientists) this is only to be expected, but for others (policy users) not all science counts as rational input. If the belief in science-based policy is a symptom of a broader set of assumptions, national variations concerning them within the political and administrative system become important for understanding the differences in importance attached to science as a source of knowledge.

The usual recollection encountered in the KU literature[58] goes like this: the popularity of the political belief in rational planning has waxed and waned throughout the 20th century[59]. Across the developed world the optimism about rational, and thus, science-based planning of the 60s and 70s was followed by doubt and a more limited perception of the role science can play. To a certain extent, budget reductions for

social research in general, and for non-mission oriented, non-contract research in particular, is related to this scaling down of expectations[60].

However, we believe that the above is much too simplistic to be useful. As stated earlier, changes in the way social science interacts with policy-making may correlate with the ups and downs, but in as far as the level of interaction remains comparable, how do we explain national differences in that level of interaction? Obviously, this question is beyond the remit of our study. For those wanting to assess the role the wider context of planning and policy, however, we suggest exploring the following perspectives:

- Closely related to the more specific factor (i.e. the place accorded to science as a knowledge producer by the political and administrative establishment), but meriting separate attention, we suggest that the use of science advisers as policymakers[61] is an indicator of the strength of technocratic values in the political and administrative process.
- A second indicator of the extent to which technocratic values have taken hold in a particular country's politico-administrative culture is the relative extent to which it has participated in the general phases of science and technology policy during the last three decades. Box 24 outlines these phases as described by Gibbons et.al. in The new production of knowledge: the dynamics of science and research in contemporary societies[62]. We would argue that only countries that have actually gone through all three stages – as opposed to countries that have jumped on the bandwagon during stage two or three only – can be called more technocratic.
- Lastly, we suggest that Gibbons et.al. call the shift towards a new mode of knowledge production, as identified in a particular national context, and especially within the social sciences[63], is an indicator of the pervasiveness of technocratic values. Box 25 presents this new mode of knowledge production.

Three phases of science and technology policy 24

Gibbons et.al. identify three phases in science and technology policy that they classify as "policy for science", "science in policy" and "policy for technological innovation". They contend that there is a new phase in the making, based on the belief that the new mode of knowledge production is in the process of becoming recognised by those involved in developing science and technology policy (see Box 24).

Policy for science
'In the first phase, the problem..... was posed in terms of working out a policy for science. The main issue, was the growth of the scientific enterprise per se. The key questions, then were concerned with criteria for choice within science; setting up guidelines for choosing between expensive projects, often in different disciplines. This vision of science policy, in which the key decisions were to be taken by scientists, now seems untenable if not naive. None the less, it still lingers in the minds of many in academia as the norm of a proper policy for science.... So much is happening outside the traditional disciplines that it seems folly to formulate policy entirely within them....

Science in policy
In the second phase, both scientists and policy makers advocated a reform: policy needed to shift from policy for science to policy in which science was seen to support the objectives of other policies – a shift to science in policy.... The intention was that science and technology should play a key

role in achieving the diverse policy objectives of a modern industrial state rather than simply aiming at the development of science itself.... That there were potential benefits to be had from science was unquestioned, but it was not [considered] the scientists' job to extract them....

Policy for technological innovation
During the 1980s, declining economic performance and increasing world-wide competition forced policy makers to narrow their perspective on the role of science in achieving national goals to the single question of how to hitch the scientific enterprise to industrial innovation and competitiveness.....[P]olicies shifted to technology as a more effective base from which to support national industries.... This change of orientation and belief clearly exhibits some of the attributes of knowledge production in Mode 2 [see Box 24]: a blurring of the distinction between science and technology, the creation of national and in some cases supranational programmes.... [T]he establishment of networks and other informal modes of communication among active partners and growing familiarity of university scientists with working in large, often multinational, teams....

The old and the new mode of knowledge production 25

Gibbons et.al. Propose that trends in the way knowledge is produced amount, '... not singly but in their interaction and combination, to a transformation in the mode of knowledge production.... The transformation is described [in their book] in terms of the emergence alongside traditional modes of knowledge production [as a new mode] that we will call Mode 2' (p.1).
The differences between the old and new modes of knowledge production are presented below as summarised by Caracostas and Muldur[64]: (see table next page)

It is important to note that Gibbons et.al. identify the massification of higher education as a major push factor in the emergence of Mode 2 knowledge production. It raises '... the general level of familiarity with science and technology throughout society. The result is a multiplication of the number of sites where research is a recognisable, professional activity.' (p.72). As this massification is a trend in all countries, this supports our claim that in the long term national differences regarding the importance of science as supplier of data, ideas and legitimation will level off.

Table: Differences between the old and new 'models' of knowledge production

Parameters	Mode 1	Mode 2
Problem definition	In the context of essentially and solution academic interest of a specific community	With a view to applications, on the basis of consultation with different interests
Field of research	Single-discipline Homogeneous	Transdisciplinary Heterogeneous
Organisation method	Hierarchical Specialised (by type of institution)	Temporary collaboration on a problem, production at several sites and in several institutions at the same time
Dissemination of results	Through institutional channels	Within the network during production and then, by reconfiguration to address new problems, in society
Funding	Essentially institutional	Raised for each project from a range of public and private sources
Assessment of social impact	*Ex-post,* when results are interpreted or disseminated	*Ex-ante,* when defining problems and setting priorities for research
Quality control of results	Essentially peer judgement of the scientific contribution made by individuals	Includes a varied body of intellectual, social, economic and political interest; quality is no longer simply a scientific question, which is why it is criticised by partisans of mode 1

Source: based on Gibbons et al., 1997.

3.2.1.6 The different status assigned to different disciplines

Economics, demography, and statistics are disciplines that are well-respected everywhere – irrespective of their success. And this is true not only of their methods but of their theory too. Economics is the best example, of course; its predictions are off the mark regularly but this does not seem to influence its stature in policy debates. The status accorded to other sciences varies considerably over time and across countries. For example, ten years ago political science used to be a respected discipline in the eyes of the policy world in the US, but enjoyed little status in Europe; however, given the growing importance of the citizenship issue, political science seems to have gained ground in several European countries. A decade ago IMER research (IMmigration and Ethnic Relations) – based mostly in anthropology and sociology departments – reigned supreme in Norway and Sweden. Now there is a definite move towards funding quantitatively oriented studies on labour market participation, housing segregation etc., based in departments like economic geography.

The obvious difference, however, is not more "macro"; it is the overall higher status conferred upon the social sciences in the US as compared to Europe. The description of this difference in Box 26 is 15 years old but is still as valid as it was then.

Status of the social sciences: US versus Europe[65] 26

'In the U.S.A. the dialogue between social researchers, policy makers and civil servants is much more intensive and productive than it is in Europe; in the American society much more money is spent on social research funding (about 30 times more than, for example, in the United Kingdom), social research findings influence much more public policy and many more university social scientists are used as advisors to government policy or are brought in directly into it to fill important positions. This much greater receptivity of the social sciences and of social scientists themselves from "users" side which has been observed in the States is, owing to a number of reasons, related to the structure of the American society itself, the workings of its political and bureaucratic system, as well as to the high status conferred in that country on the social sciences (including the so-called soft ones like sociology, political science, etc.). As humorously pointed out by J.L. Sharpe in his comparison of 'the social scientist and policy making in Britain and America' (1975): "The British (but one could equally well say European) social scientist who goes to the United States feels like an English chef visiting Paris"' (p.17).

3.2.2 Institutional structures

All of the factors described above, have their institutional expression; normally, at the institutional level several of the above factors collectively shape a particular national configuration. Within a particular context, it might be possible to say something sensible about the historically determined co-evolution, co-determination, relationship, interaction (or whatever other concept one feels appropriate to use), of (some of) the these factors and the institutional arrangements of both the research system and the policy sector concerned. In general, the relationship between ideology and practice is hotly contested; unfortunately, we cannot go into detail here, since it presupposes in-depth case study analysis. But, since institutional arrangements in themselves have a dynamic of their own, we are going to explore some aspects of that dynamic.

3.2.2.1 The research system in a particular sector

The institutional structure of the research system in a particular sector differs across countries. One element already mentioned with respect to national R&D infrastructure as a whole is the degree to which the research capacity for a sector is university based. Other important elements are the scale and sector. Small countries like Flanders, Switzerland or Norway have peculiar problems as well as characteristics. Box 27 describes the scale issue of research capacity.

Being small can be a problem: Flanders, Switzerland and Norway 27

Developing and maintaining sufficient research capacity in areas deemed important is a major problem for smaller countries. The three smallest countries (Belgium, for practical purposes, consisting of two parallel research systems) visited during the survey all showed signs of this problem and its correlates.

Flanders

One of our interview partners, Dr Bogdan van Doninck, who works for the federal office supporting the prime minister (affaires scientifique, techniques et culturelles), lamented that Flanders and Wallone, constituting such small markets for research, lacked expertise in many areas that are relevant for the policy world. He also pointed out that the issue of scale has negative effects on the quality of academic work, because it weakens peer control:

'In Belgium we do not have a tradition of debating either research results or the relationship between research and policy. The country is too small. We all know each other and may be (financially or otherwise) dependent on each other anytime in the future. To give but one example: when in 1994/1995 the research of a faculty of social sciences Dean had to be evaluated, it proved impossible to find someone willing to do it, even anonymously. The risk that in the future the Dean would be on a peer review panel that would judge a proposal submitted by the evaluator were apparantly considered too great'.

Switzerland

Switzerland resembles Belgium in the multi-research system respect. An evaluation report of the Swiss Science Council[66] described the situation as follows:

'... tensions... by necessity must arise in a political system that is organised so as to institutionally reflect the diversities of tradition and culture of the various parts of the country. This diversity, and the resulting cantonal authority over most of the university system... surfaces clearly in the enormous divergences between the German and French-speaking parts of the country, and also in the divergences within these parts. Different regulations, for example, apply to the same issues in all elements of research organisation, teaching, and career structures. As a result, cooperation both in research and teaching, is considerably hampered.' (p.14).

Consequences are not only negative:

'A common feature of much of the research undertaken in Switzerland is that it is done in reference to, and often in cooperation with, international scholars. This pervasive situation reflects the fact that a country of the size of Switzerland frequently cannot provide a sufficient number of scholars working on the same or even related topics. While this situation reinforces the fragmentation of social science research in the country, it, on the other hand, contributes to the regular import of international research findings and expertise'(p.13).

Norway

In 1996, the Research Council of Norway, in co-operation with the Ministry of Local government and Regional Development, decided to fund a new five year programme (1997-2001) on Interna-

tional Migration and Ethnic Relations (IMER – as a follow up to previous programmes on this theme since 1985). The decision to continue funding was largely based on the following conclusion of the previous programme committee:

'The basic problems of the IMER area are, however, the same as when IMER and Programme for Immigration Research were established in the beginning of the 1990s; there are relatively few researchers who have worked continuously and for a long time in this field. These researchers are spread over many different institutions and places in Norway. The universities and the well-established disciplines capture to only a very small degree, the research challenges connected to international migrations and ethnic relations in the multicultural society. The increased interest in applied research and testing of new solutions in the field have not been followed up with an equivalent contribution in basic research. Applied research is mainly done by market-oriented research institutions with increasingly greater demand for payback... It is therefore difficult to achive a satisfactory, continuous and stable development of competence in the field'.[67]

As far as sectoral differences are concerned, the research infrastructure differs considerably across sectors; for example a small country like the Netherlands has a disproportionally large agricultural research sector. And the example of the Swedish focus on medical research has been mentioned above (see Box 18).

Related to the research infrastructure are things like the organisation of research training[68] and the system of research funding. The influence of research training may be understood in terms of the kind of socialisation different training regimes amount to (see Box 19 for the German example). The influence of the predominant mode of research funding seems of crucial importance; in some countries the policy world is a vital funder of research, in others, it is not. When there is no necessity to collaborate with the policy world, obviously it will happen a lot less (Germany is an example, see Box 19). Also, funding systems in which government money is channelled through National Science Councils as opposed to those where it is used to run departmental research programmes create very different environments. Examples of the first are the IMER programmes of the Norwegian government, the social cohesion programme of the Dutch government, or the Forschungsschwerpunkt Fremdenfeindlichkeit of the Austrian government. Examples of the latter include the Blomman-money project in Sweden, the research budget of the interdepartmental co-ordination group on Minority policy in the Netherlands, or the Italian Metropolis project .
Dutch research on migration, integration, and ethnic relations in the past was and continues to be funded through both NSC and departmental channels. What makes it an interesting case is that it is a small(er) country, with a long tradition of migration and ethnic relations research which has an almost total dependency on government money for research in this field. Box 28 describes the close relationship between Dutch research and policy in this sector.

As far as sectoral differences are concerned: the research infrastructure differs considerable across sectors. A small country like the Netherlands has a disproportionally large agricultural research sector for example. The example of the Swedish focus on medical research has been mentioned above (see Box 17) [69].

The Dutch case 28

With respect to the field of migration and integration research, the Dutch case can be described as being developed in close harmony between civil servants and social scientists within a context of public debate that is not politicised[70]. Ellemers, in his article commenting upon what seven foreign collegues wrote on Dutch research and policy in this field[71], summarises the linkage. After expressing surprise at the fact that hardly any of the authors addressed the proximity of research and policy (the docility with which research follows fashions and policy problem definitions) and the funding issue, he says:

'All things considered, it is odd that Dutch research on immigration and minorities seems hardly inspired by and is not done on the basis of academic curiosity, but is mostly determined by governmental research programmes and the problem definitions contained therein. Even most Dutch dissertations in this field are direct or indirect fruits of research conducted on the basis of government contracts. A large majority of research is the result of contracts of government agencies – often ministries, with or without liaison of the Advisory Committee on Minority Research (ACOM) – or are the result of the National Research Council priority programme on ethnic minorities'(p.82).

Obviously, many of his Dutch collegues would disagree with depictions like docile etc., and would argue for example, that the ACOM programming ensured that the voice of academia was influential. The about face in the perception of labour migrants (from temporary guest workers to permanent immigrants) was made relatively early in the Netherlands and arguably due to the close involvement of social scientists in policy problem definition. However, it seems undeniable that the framing of the debate in terms of "ethnic minorities" is in line with what Daalder, Lijphart and others have called the 'consociative democracy' of the Netherlands[72], which does not pivot on the interpretation of a highly critical academia. The marxist perspective, very much en vogue in both France and the UK at that time, may have neglected the cultural dimension but highlighted aspects (such as class) that were absent in the Dutch problem definition[73].

3.2.2.2 The institutional structure of the policy sector

With respect to the institutional structure of the policy sector, the level of de/centralisation has an especially important influence; just who is responsible for what kinds of policy decisions? Urban policy (of crucial significance for the connection between migrants and cities) is a good example because cities are an important level of sub-national government. In countries with a federal structure, such as Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium, the division of task between the federal government and the sub-national 'regions' (L‰nder, cantons, or regions/communautÈs), as well as the actual differences in terms of the policy content between the sub-national units, may all co-determine if in a particular sector research-policy linkage is a national affair, or is mainly a sub-national affair and if there are large differences between various regions.
Another level at which the decentralisation of responsibilities seems crucial is that of the control of research budgets. When these are controlled at a low level within the hierarchy (i.e. Austria), the bulk of contract research will have a very applied nature, and when higher levels have their own budgets, chances increase of more long-term programme funding .
The research funds of the European Union are an interesting case with respect to the connection between the level government invested with authority over a particular policy domain and research involvement/investment. Box 29 profers the argument

that only when the Union went beyond its purely economic mandate were the social sciences offered a share of its research funds.

The European union and the social sciences 29

The research policy of the European union historically has been and remains one mainly designed to support economic competitiveness. Since Luca Guzetti described the history of its research policy[74] in 1995, little has changed. His monograph makes it abundantly clear that in as far as interest in the social sciences has played a role in the deliberations on the course of European science policy, it was only in the limited sense of auxiliary sciences for technological problem-solving[75]. The major EC publication on science and technology, the 2nd report on science and technology indicators[76], is fully focused on the issue regarding ways to facilitate the move from R&D towards innovation and competitiveness. The information bulletins produced by the commission bureaucracy, *Cordis focus, Innovation & Technology Transfer, Euroabstracts,* etc., and discussions within relevant advisory committees, are all dominated by the theme of technology transfer. If "society" enters the picture, it is usually in terms of the relationship between technology and society. The indicators themselves do not immediately show this absence of the social sciences as a source of relevant information *per se* (see Appendix I), but the share of social science programmes proper within the frameworks do. The fourth framework programme had a total of 1% of its funds dedicated to what was called the "targeted socio-economic programme". Within that programme, however, a large share went to the sector "evaluation of science and technology evalution options", an interesting but nevertheless auxiliary topic. Within the current fifth framework programme, the "slot" for social science research is more or less abolished again in favour of interdisciplinary programmes. The actual share of social science capacity within these programmes remains uncertain but we would predict a relatively marginal increase compared to the fourth framework programme.

Guido Martinotti a former chairman of the standing committee on social sciences of the ESF (among many other positions), is more optimistic[77]:
'Social scientists have always worked intensively with the commission, but in the past exclusively in applied projects. Access to "scientific" research proper was barred. With the fourth framework programme a partial opening was achieved, under the label Targeted Socio-Economic Research, or TSER. The awkwardness of the title, and in part of the content, reflects the difficulty of the process. In the preparatory work there was a great effort to include themes such as those relating to the changing production system. Instead more pietistic concern about social exclusion prevailed, because when social science approaches charity it becomes more understandable to non-experts. This is not to say that the theme of social exclusion is not important, but that there is a widespread tendency to start from "social problems" and work back to their 'causes', rather than to invest in systematic knowledge on social process.... The preparation of the 5th framework programme introduced dramatic changes which will have profound and lasting consequences on the issue of interdisciplinarity.... The change from science-driven research to society-driven research imposes integration of disciplinary knowledge in wider problems and issues. It is debatable whether this approach will favour the standing of social sciences on the European research scene, but there is no doubt that it will give a powerful boost to interdisciplinarity' (p.166).

Whatever our differing expectations about the near future, we fully agree with Martinotti on the fundamental change implied by the recognition of the social sciences as important to the research efforts of the EU. We suggest this is directly connected with the extension of EU regulatory authority into hitherto national domains of "social" policy by the Maastricht (1992) and Amsterdam (1997) treaties. There is a delay between the institutionalisation of EU authority in "social" matters and the willingness to fund its own social science base for data gathering, conceptual development, and other functions policy looks towards when engaging research, but the connection seems too obvious to deny.

3.2.2.3 Mobility of professionals between sectors and institutional settings
The problem of mobility of professionals between sectors and institutional settings has been mentioned earlier as an important context factor regarding the relationship between research and policy. The greatest difference is between the US and Europe as a whole (see Box 26). The higher level of mobility in the US creates a situation in which it is normal for researchers to be (temporarily) employed in a policy environment, and for policy personnel to switch to research institutions. Consequently, the resulting staffing profiles increase chances for mutual understanding when policy and research meet.

Obviously, mobility is just one possible facilitator for better understanding, it is no guarantee. Many sociological studies suggest that the working environment is a strong determinant of individual perspective. Most of what has been brought forward under the previous two headings (the research system in a particular sector and the institutional structure of that sector's policy domain) would substantiate that. This means that a researcher within a policy environment will tend to quickly take on the policy perspective, and vice versa.

But the fact remains that changing environments familiarises staff with the opportunities and constraints of the new environment. And this requires spending time immersed in a particular work setting to fully realise 'how things really work'. One may read about, or hear about the budgetary constraints inherent in (local) government policy-making, but it may take the actual experience of participating in such a pressurised environment to drive home the point that subsequent decisions do not result necessarily from misinformation or bad intent. And it needs being party to everyday departmental gossip and politics, to really understand why disciplines remain such strong refuges.

Although real mobility between the research and the policy domain is much less common in Europe than in the US, there are second best options to be found in the former:The scientist-as-policy advisor is a more or less common role in all of the countries surveyed. In some this role has institutionalised forms, consisting of advisory committees with a mixed membership of researchers and civil servants. Collaboration on various issues over a longer time period also gives participants an opportunity to become acquainted with the operational constraints of the other domain. Box 30 gives an Italian example.

Commissione per l'integrazione (Italy) 30

This commission was established in July 1998 by the Department of Social Affairs. It is chaired by Professor Giovanna Zincone, and is comprised of members from various universities and ministries, the national research council, independent consultants and the NGO sector (Charitas). Its mission is to advise the government on integration policy. It has organised several national and two international expert meetings to discuss various specific matters like the position of Roma, the reform of citizenship legislation and political participation of migrants. It has commissioned various preliminary studies, on matters such as models and indicators of integration in Europe, Islam and the media, cost-benefit analysis of immigration, and housing policy for migrants. The commission recently published its first report on integration of immigrants in Italy[78].

The Netherlands is another country with this formal mechanism. Box 31 gives an overview of the various forms the formal mechanism of "advisory council" has taken in there.

Advisory councils in the Netherlands[79] 31

The country used to have a plethora of "councils" but with the enactment of the so-called "desert law", the current coalition government (effective from 1 January 1997) abolished many topic-specific councils and restructured the advisory function along sectoral lines. At present, the Dutch government has three main types of advisory bodies. The three types are:

- *Publicly funded policy research institutions* such as the Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis (CPB), and the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP).
- *Advisory commissions* of a similar nature as the above Italian example described in Box 29. One example is the Council for Public Administration, which is concerned with the organisation and functioning of public administration in order to increase its efficiency. It consists of a membership of 12 people, including a mix of university professors, civil servants (in this instance, for example, a mayor and an ex-provicial governor), and consultants. Members' expenses are paid for and they receive modest fixed consultancy fees. The Council for Public Administration shares a support office with the other Interior Ministry Council, the Council for Financial Relations, that advises on legislation concerning financial relations, particularly those between the national government and the municipalities and provinces. This support is substantial and is comprised of two managers, eight advisors and three secretarial staff.
- The third type is an interesting mix of the first two: *The Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy.* Members may be drawn from the scientific community, the business world, and the civil service. Moreover, various academic disciplines are represented; in addition to outstanding scholarship, it is important that Council members understand social processes and are familiar with the workings of the political and administrative system. The Council aims to reflect the diversity of society as a whole. The office of Chairperson is a full-time appointment, while the other members are expected to be available for at least two days a week. Members are appointed for a period of five years, and may be reappointed once, although there are also advisory members. The Secretary to the Council, assisted by an Assistant Secretary, also heads the Bureau that supports the Council in its activities. The Council concentrates on developments that will affect society in the longer term, and its work centres on the publication of public reports, known as Reports to the Government. In theory, the Council can deal with any subject regarding government policy, provided that they are concerned with the future, are supra-sectoral in nature, and concern major social and political issues which require remedies over a period of years. Furthermore, the Council publishes a series of preliminary and background studies and a series of working documents. Both series provide the building blocks for its reports.

3.2.3 History

Without taking sides in the historicism debate, we would argue that, historical contingencies are a major explanatory context variable for the interpretation of cross-country differences, in addition to more specific ideological and institutional factors described above. In general, it is the interaction of various factors described earlier - in combination with particular personalities and historical contingencies - that determine a particular context. It is often impossible to point to any particular influence as the most important. In our interviews we very often encountered explanations couched in historical terms, for the state of affairs regarding national research-policy relationships in general:

- Belgium's four-tiered administrative system (Flanders, Wallonia, Brussels, and the Federal government);
- The grounding of Austria's political culture in its civil war preceding WW II. During the first republic preceding the Nazi take-over in 1938, Austria experienced a genuine civil war. During WWII, political elites were detained in camps. There a new way of dealing with political differences (in terms of coalitions) emerged. After the war the detained generation vowed to practice their non-violent skills in order to prevent a repetition of the disastrous interbellum conflict. The only post-war exception to the coalition arrangement, social-democrat Kreisky, was more than once described as "combining the big coalition in his own person".

Or, for the relationship between research and policy within the migration and integration policy-arena:
- Germany's WW II history and the recent reunification. Several interviewees analysed the German "mental block" against accepting a self-definition as a country of immigration in terms of German insecurity about national identity, in terms of the nearly untranslatable "Vergangenheitsbewältigung" ("to deal with one's history").
- Italy's or Sweden's decentralised organisation of responsibilities between the national government and cities.

Of course, one may argue over precisely what is meant by the term "historical contingency". To the extent that historical happenings can be "explained" in terms of ideological and institutional variables, these events may be thought to have lost their independent explanatory power. On the other hand, the kinds of major events, and historically grown structural givens, play a role of their own, beyond all that may have contributed to their origin. Whatever may have caused Austria's civil war, the fact that it took place *in itself* seems a powerful force against changing the present status quo. Whatever may have caused the federalisation of Belgium, once it had taken shape it became the major determinant of the Belgian interaction context. But in the end, is remains a matter of perspective regarding what is identified as "ideology", "institutional structure" and "historical contingency".

To conclude, one characteristic that should be part of all perspectives is the relativity of each influence, but that is often lost in the enthousiasm of arguing for a particular determining relationship. Ideologies, institutional arrangements and the hold of history on the present are neither total nor unchangeable. Indeed, this point about the explanatory power of ideology was already made in section 3.2.1.3. The point about history[80] is well-illustrated by recent events in Germany and Austria. Since we held our interviews, German citizenship law *has* changed, and Austria's great coalition between the Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats *has* broken up. The Austrian "turn-around" is especially interesting because it shows that stability and change are often rooted in the same factors. Box 32 presents the vote for Haider's right wing party as a protest against the stagnant, "power corrupting" effects of a great coalition if it remains unchallenged for too long.

Jorg Haider, Austria's conundrum 32

'The main reason why support for Mr Haider has leapt, from 5% in 1986 to 27% at the general election last year to 33% in the latest opinion polls, is not the stirring of racial hatred (which is less acute in rich, stable Austria than in, say, France) but the Austrians' growing dislike of a grubby system known as *Proporz,* under which Austria's two main parties – the Socialists and the centre-right People's Party – have shared out power and patronage between them since the second world war. Most top jobs in state business and the public service, including schools and hospitals, are allocated by *Proporz;* even janitors and committees selecting juries are affected. Long before immigration became controversial, Mr Haider's main purpose was to break up what had become a corrupt duopoly'.[81]

3.3 Context factors and the conceptual framework

It is important to realise that the conceptual framework outlined in 2.5.3 does not yet "model" context factors in the way it incorporates the characteristics that constitute the core of the network of interdependencies that frames the relationship between research and policy. However, it does provide a basic structure for discussing context factors because it forces their analysis into a concrete mode; it enables us to ask questions such as "which of the core factors is/are influenced by what context factor(s) in what way"?
This is valuable not only because context factors are extremely important in understanding exactly what went on in a particular case, but also because the comparison of sufficient cases will make it possible to separate analytically the context factors that should be brought into the core model itself from those that may be regarded as context proper. As we indicated in 2.5.3, we reserve the label "context" for ideological and institutional influences that go beyond the particular issue at hand. But, exactly what an instrumental set of context characteristics would look like remains to be seen. The list above, based on the survey experience, reflects a raw set of factors that need additional comparative work.

To give just one example of what the difference between core and context factors means; *in general,* researchers often have interests such as advancing scientific knowledge and advancing their status among peers. These interests are characteristics of the "actor" factor of the core network of interdependencies. Within a particular *context,* the future earning capacity of their department may be a major factor in the way researchers enter the interaction with the policy world. However, comparative case studies may lead to the conclusion that "future earning capacity", more often than not, is part of the interdependent network of actor characteristics determining the relationship. If this were the case, they are better included in the core "model". Since the issue of context has received the least attention in KU studies, we are not yet in a position to separate conclusively context proper from the core.

Having said this, we have to make an even greater concession; we do not claim that our framework covers all possible interaction circumstances. Rather, our framework should be viewed as a tool which can be modified or enhanced as needed; please feel

free to add to it, reformulate certain elements or parameters, and suggest new connections within it. We believe that it covers sufficient ground to serve its purpose of providing a common vocabulary across international cases, which, when implemented, should make it easier to:

- identify the still uncharted territory on the map;
- position case studies in relation to each other;
- identify the relevant characteristics of core factors; and
- analytically separate characteristics of core factors from the context.

After the core of the conceptual framework has been finetuned by the addition of these extra characteristics, and has proven its conceptual validity, it could even be used to describe types of interaction/linkage in terms of various combinations of core characteristics. If such a typological approach would be viable in practice, remains to be seen, but we would suggest that creating a typology based on the conceptual framework is one way of facilitating the application of the framework to real-life cases.

4. Comparing European perspectives: content[82]

Our interviews regularly compiled lists of topics considered candidates for either state-of-the-art reviews or new research. As stated earlier, however, this assessment of information needs is admittedly sketchy, even in terms of an exploratory survey. On the other hand, the the survey took place under the Metropolis umbrella, an organisation which has already identified a triad of areas of interest to its wide range of participants[83]. Therefore, in this exercise we did not have to start from scratch. Although we did not confront our interviewees with the Metropolis list of themes, we did use the list as a frame for digesting the suggestions received. It is undeniable that this method could have proven unworkable; if many of the information needs mentioned did not 'fit' the chosen frame, we would have been forced to discard that frame. Ultimately, however, it proved to be a useful ordering instrument, thereby affirming the Metropolis choice of core themes.

Actually, the issues emerging from Metropolis "exercises" (to define common interests among its two main types of stakeholder in the programme), were so close to what we picked up during the interviews that, for practical purposes, it was possible to combine them into a proposal for a Metropolis agenda for action. However, before examining the content of the issues it should be pointed out, that the universe we drew our information from excludes one important stakeholder, namely migrants and ethnic minorities themselves. There is no substitute for including them at some stage in the formulation of information needs.

Having faced the challenge of trying to summarise some core ideas emerging out of the interviews with researchers and civil servants across Europe, and the many hours of debate at the workshops in the second and third Metropolis International conferences (1997 and 1998), we were struck by the emergent consensus on the type of problems and issues deserving more research attention. While a faithful listing of ideas would take many pages, three points can be made.

4.1 A delineation of the field

First, there is a clear delineation of the field in the minds of those participating in the universe surveyed. Box 33 lists a number of themes that recur.

4.2 Three analytical perspectives

Second, when reflecting on what is especially important, interviewees and participants focus on three kinds of analytical perspectives :

- While the issues were not expressed in precisely this way, the predominant concern is not with migration processes per se but rather with their consequences. In this regard, the focus is more on integration, perhaps because those drawn into the

Migration and integration research: a list of themes 33

1. Theories of migration
1.1 Theories of migration processes
1.2 Theories of integration
2. Migration processes and patterns
2.1 Immigration trends
2.2 Migration types and typologies
2.3 Migration networks
2.4 Forced migration
2.5 Gender and migration
2.6 Undocumented migration
2.7 Return migration and development
2.8 Demographic trends in migrant populations and host populations
3. Issues of settlement
3.1 Areas of settlement
3.2 Urban concentration
3.3 Indicators of segregation
3.4 Language acquisition
4. Economic integration
4.1 Labour market segmentation and patterns of income inequality
4.2 Skills mismatch and economic restructuring
4.3 Ethnic entrepreneurship
4.4 The employment of undocumented workers
4.5 Migrants and organised labour
4.6 Fiscal impacts of immigration
5. Political and legal integration
5.1 Patterns of immigration control
5.2 Models of multiculturalism/assimilation
5.3 Acquisition of citizenship
5.4 Anti-discrimination legislation
5.5 Voting behaviour
5.6 Political mobilisation and political organisations
6. Social integration
6.1 Measures of social integration
6.2 Family, household, and community organisation
6.3 Housing type and quality
6.4 Educational aspirations
6.5 Educational achievement
6.6 Social mobility among migrants
6.7 Migrants and health issues
6.8 Migrants and the criminal justice system
7. Majority responses
7.1 Prejudice and attitudes to immigration/immigrants
7.2 Patterns of discrimination
7.3 Nationalism and xenophobia
7.4 Racial violence
7.5 Political extremism
8. Social and cultural identity
8.1 Ethnic and racial identities
8.2 Ethnic stereotypes

Metropolis arena – and thus also our interviewees – are preoccupied with cities and their development[84].
- With this in mind, some tend to select "supply-side" questions, such as human capital or resources, while others are concerned with 'demand-side' issues such as job supply or adequate housing.
- In between thes two positions are those who worry primarily about the impediments that inhibit the use of resources in fulfilling ther available opportunities.

These three perspectives are elaborated below in the form of bipolar alternatives.

4.2.1 Migrants or minorities?

In all countries, the processes of migration (causes, regulatory systems, selection mechanisms, etc.) remain important topics for further investigation. It is equally clear, however, that the system is dynamic deriving partly from the transformation of the migration process into one of integration[85]. By and large, the cities are the locus for integrative processes, so it is more important to reflect this in a future research agenda than to study migration itself. That does not mean that the term "minority" has to be employed, but it suggests that more research on the (so-called) "second generation" is appropriate. Here, as in many other areas, there is much variation according to the ethnic origin of the young people concerned. For example, in the UK, South and Southeast Asians (of Indian, Pakistani and Chinese ethnic origin) are over-represented in higher education while other groups with a longer migration history are under-represented. Insofar as labour market problems are often linked with educational deficits, these variations are important to understand.The important point though, is to move attention beyond the issue of migration itself. Long after the issue of "newcomers" becomes passé, questions of "integration" remain unresolved. The answers to these questions are not self-evident. If they were, then differences in the fortunes of the same group in different locations, or of different groups in the same location, would be easier to understand.

4.2.2 Human capital or structures of opportunity?

The preceding argument is reminiscent of one of the most common disputes in the research literature between those who argue from a "supply-side" perspective emphasising human capital and those who stress the importance of "demand-side" deficits. There is a natural tendency in the early years of migration to focus on human capital, but in subsequent phases, the consequences of changes to societies themselves are as important. It is interesting to observe this maturation of vision in the thinking behind the European Commission's new urban development initiative:

'The economic globalisation that accompanies globalisation has had a major impact upon the economic and social condition of cities. It has brought fragmented labour markets, a decline in manufacturing and a growth in the service sector, high levels of structural unemployment, an increase in part-time employment, more insecure and low-paid jobs, a shift in the balance of male and female employment and a growing gap between the highest and lowest levels of household incomes'[86] (p. 5).

This leads, in turn, to segregation that is reenforced by social changes in family com-

position, birth rate declines, and suburban out-migration. But the evidence suggests that these structural transformations affect some cities much more than others. It is by no means clear, for example, whether prosperous cities are less or more likely to develop these *ghettoised* features[87]. A research agenda in this area has to look comparatively at the balance between human resources, barriers to their mobilisation, and the opportunities that can be accessed with them. It is the *interaction* that is interesting, as well as being vital for policy purposes. After all, it makes a great deal of difference whether the focus for policy initiative is on schooling, or on housing, and urban planning, or on fiscal measures of income distribution.

4.2.3 Victims or agents?

Without in any way wishing to neglect the effects of discrimination or the consequences of job loss, it is important not to fall into the trap of treating all migrants and their descendants as *victims.* Some clearly are; others, equally clearly, are not. In between, there is a growing number made up of those who are victims to some extent, but who have found a way round the obstacles that have twarted others. The tide of history can be seen as helping this process. Take, for example, the case of trade.

While there are as many disputes today about whether globalisation is still characterised by uniquely high levels of trade as there are about its consequences, there are very few who would argue challenge the belief that trade offers considerable opportunities. Migrants have always been adept at utilising their knowledge and cultural familiarity to good effect in exploiting trading possibilities. We are familiar with the proposition that migration is a consequence of globalised ties, but it may well be that the world economy in the next millennium is increasingly dependent upon *globalised people.* Transnational migrants, and in particular, diasporic communities, are therefore at the forefront of economic ties and represent an advanced, rather than retarded section, of the business community[88]. Put another way, ethnic networks are able to become so significant precisely because they operate in a globalised economy.

Thus "ethnic business" is not necessarily a self-contained and second-rate form of capitalism; rather it may represent an inchoate form of commercial activity on which a large proportion of the global economy will ultimately come to depend. Thus it is vital not to see urban migrants only as victims; they may be essential *resources* on which the city's fortunes are based. The interesting research questions arise in trying to understand the circumstances that are conducive to this more positive outcome.

4.3 Perspectives and themes

And third, as mentioned earlier, when reflecting on what is especially important, interviewees and participants do not veer far from the short list which formed the backbone of the Second Metropolis International Conference in November 1997 in Denmark. Social scientists are likely to want to stress the linkage between the three perspectives and the three themes. Figure 2 illustrates how this linkage could be conceptualised.

Research within Metropolis

Substantive Focus	Levels of Analysis		
	MICRO-LEVEL	MESO-LEVEL	MACRO LEVEL
	Resources ⟷	**Pathways** ⟷	**Opportunity structures**
Employment and the Labour market	e.g. skills acquisition/ethnic business studies	e.g. ethnic division of labour/ intergroup variation in labour market performance/job discrimination studies/	e.g. changing structure of urban labour markets/informalisation processes/changes in meaning of work etc
Urban social and spatial structure	e.g. migrant communities and transnational networks	e.g. social and spatial mobility/ critical group studies (second generation etc)	e.g. permeability and response of urban institutions/operation of housing market/effects of local fiscal policy etc/urban demographic change
Social solidarity and Social cohesion	e.g. ethnic identity issues	e.g. political mobilisation and participation	e.g. integration strategies and citizenship policies/majority responses (attitudinal and actual)/ actions of control institutions (e.g. police, criminal justice etc)

4.4 Migration

The universe we drew our positions from was primarily concerned with integration as opposed to migration issues (push and pull factors, regulatory systems, selection mechanisms, etc.) which were previously mentioned, and are particularly relevant in the "new" immigration countries such as Italy.
Box 34 gives an example of a list derived from one such country

A shortlist of topics for research from Greece[89] 34

- The cultural aspects of migration, especially with respect to the education of second generation immigrants;
- Education in both the mother tongue and the language of the host country;
- Migration and Social exclusion;
- Employment in relation to legal migration;
- Problems related to legal and employment conditions of non-legal immigrants;
- Issues related to political migrants;
- Questions related to the role of the state in the control of migration;
- Migration and political and economic relationships with neighbouring counties.

As alluded to in 4.2, it is important to recognise that the focus on integration of the constituency that we drew our information from – those involved with the Metropolis arena, who are preoccupied with cities and their development – is not necessarily shared by all involved with migration issues in the wider sense. The much neglected feasibility studies on the possible establishment of a European migration observatory[90] drew their input (partly) from different policy and research informants, selected on the basis of their involvement with migration rather than integration issues. In the final report, for example, the authors dealt with obtaining the views of governments in the following way:

'Assessing the demand from governments poses certain difficulties, given that migration issues are usually dealt with by several ministries or departments. The strategy adopted, in consulation with the Secretariat-General, was to concentrate upon the national Steering Group representatives of the K4 Committee. One problem with this strategy was that it focusses mainly on officials of interior ministries where the principle current concerns are associated with asylum issues. Most Steering Group members interviewed, for example attend CIREA' (P.6) [Centre for Information, Discussion and Exchange on Asylum, a formal network of the SG].

Although additional sources were consulted to redress the focus on asylum issues, the list is still noticably different from ours in terms of focal interest. Box 35 shows that the world looks noticably different when migration is the predominant concern.

The definitional range of migration studies and information gaps 35

The pre-feasibility study concludes its survey (regarding studies about migrants, theories on the causes of migration, policies to direct migration flows, and current data collection and research activities) by stating:
'The field of migration is notorious for its diversity and interconnections. To introduce some basic systematic order among the areas covered, at least six areas show distinguishable differences.' (p.46)
In the final report, these areas are used to describe the "definitional range" of migration studies:

1. Actual flows, stocks and return migration
2. Root causes
   - for migration from the South
   - for migration from the East
   - policies to tackle root causes: overseas development assistance
3. Impact
4. Integration
   - the general context
   - current topics
5. The demand for migration
   - demographic demand
   - labour demand
6. Policy evaluation (p.15-31)

The differences between a focus on migration as opposed to integration become even more evident when looking at the information needs identified by the user group survey of the feasibility study team:

- Coordination and access to migration information
- Comprehensive and up-to-date information on national policy and legislation
- Timely, reliable, and harmonised statistics, especially on asylum
- Comparative trend analyses of migration trends, most notably stocks, flows, asylum and labour migration, but also integration and citizenship
- Origin country reports and early warning, especially on asylum
- Specific research gaps and access to information about ongoing research

4.5 An immigration perspective

Most of our interview partners were quite adamant that within their national contexts the policy balance of power was clearly in favour of the migration focus. The "fortress Europe" perspective on migration issues was identified as the dominant player on the policy field. France and Germany are apparent examples: in both countries the ministry of social affairs/labour, who is in charge of "integration", is subordinate to the more powerful ministry of interior in charge of border-flows, and also the citizenship issue. Moreover, in a country like the Netherlands where that the balance of power between the ministry of interior and the ministry of justice is more evenly distributed, both the political and the public arena are dominated by the asylum and the illegal migrants issues.

In conclusion, we offer the following thoughts on the subject regarding research needs

as identified by our informants:
First, when comparing the rankings identified in Boxes 33 and 35, two things are evident: there is a fair amount of overlap, but the foci are quite different. The different emphases are a reflection of the phenomena pointed to by the feasibility study team quoted above: '... migration issues are usually dealt with by several ministries or departments'. Often a national academic domain follows the sectoral divisions of the policy world, but in this particular case the research community seems less segregated (across the board) than the policy domain. Although normally different individuals have responsibility for, and expertise in *migration* (stocks and flow) and *integration* issues, they usually share the same institutional research-setting.

Next, we believe that the differentiation within the policy domain is a reflection of the difficulty European states have with the transformation into countries of immigration. There are substantial differences between countries regarding the extent to which the notion has taken hold, but even in the countries most aware, the political and public acceptance of immigration is still far removed from what is to be found in the "traditional" immigration countries like the US. However much trends (especially demographic) are converging, and pushing all western European economies to import increasingly large numbers of immigrant labour within the foreseeable future, the acceptance of this reality is very slow (see Box 36)

Western Europe and immigration 36

A press release on an unpublished report by the United Nations Population Divison[91] spells out the immigration consequences of Europe's declining and ageing population. What is the need for replacement migration if:

- countries want to retain their present population size?
- countries want to retain their present working age population?
- countries want to retain their present ratio of the working age population (15-64 years) to the retired age group (65+ years)?

'According to the medium variant population projections, [due to low fertility (less than two children per couple) RH] the countries of Europe and Japan are expected to decrease in population size over the next 50 years. For example, the population of Italy, currently 57 million, is projected to reach 41 million by 2050.... In addition to the decrease in population size, the countries of Europe and Japan are undergoing a relatively rapid ageing process.... [I]n Italy, the median age of the population increases from 40 years to 53 years and the proportion of the population 65 years or older goes from 18% to 35%.... In order to maintain its current population size to 2050, Italy would need about 240,000 migrants per year.

Declining and ageing populations lead to shrinking working age group populations (15-64 years) both in absolute and relative terms. According to United Nations projections (the medium variant which assumes some in migration) for Italy, for example, the working age population is projected to decrease from 39 million today to 22 million by 2050. And in Germany, the working age population is expected to decline from 56 million today to 43 million in 2050.... [I]t is estimated that if Italy and Germany wish to maintain the size of their working age populations constant at the 1995 levels up to the year 2050, Italy will need approximately 350,000 migrants per year and Germany close to 500,000 migrants per year.

The ratio of the working age population (15-64 years) to the retired age group (65+ years) is expected to decrease substantially in Europe and Japan. For example, whereas in Europe today there are approximately five persons in the working age group for each person in the retirement age group, by 2050 this ratio will be about half this size, two persons in the working age group for every person in the retirement age group.... in the case of Italy and Germany, in order to maintain roughly the ratio of four persons in the working age population (15-64 years) for every person in the retired age group (65+years), the average numbers of migrants needed over the period 1995-2050 would be 2.2 million per year for Italy and 3.4 million per year for Germany'.

And last, we would argue that acceptance of this 'immigration country' status, and a concomitant evenly distributed policy interest in both immigration and integration issues, is the way forward. Box 37 cites Francis Fukuyama, who, in a recent interview, referring to the UN demographic figures of Box 36, makes exactly this point.

Immigration and integration[92] 37

'During the next two generations, immigration is going to be one of the major political issues for Europe. In the 21st century the populations of countries like Italy and Germany are going to decrease at a yearly rate of more than one percent. During one generation they will lose more than 30 percent of their autochthonous population! The resulting massive major labour shortage can only be accommodated by immigration. Countries that will succeed in not only admitting labourers from outside but also integrating them into a larger culture are going to be most successful. I do not believe in multiculturalism if that means the co-existence of different separate cultures within one society.... What is needed is a tolerant and liberal society that accepts "others", but eventually succeeds in integrating them into a single pattern of language and values. The United States was successful precisely because they originated from a shared political idea and not from a common culture. That enabled people from different backgrounds to cooperate. Europe is going to have much bigger problems with immigration because its nations existed before they developed into democracies. That is the reason for the rise of politicians like Austria's Jörg Haider and political parties like the Belgian Vlaams Blok' [translation RH].

We are not in a position to determine if the programme portfolio of the major European research institutes already shows such balance between (im)migration and integration interests; however, our educated guess would be that research – being less constrained by public opinion and the ballot Box – is ahead of policy in integration interest[93].

4.6 Attitudes towards international comparison

As stated in the objectives for this study, we wanted to identify (variation in) attitudes towards international comparison. Given the reasons explained in the chapter on methodology, our data on this topic are quite haphazard, and therefore cannot be called a sufficient basis for drawing conclusions. Nevertheless, several trends in the survey material warrant further comment.

4.6.1 General trends

1. In the countries surveyed, international comparison might not figure equally prominent on the agenda of research priorities, but differences between individuals seem much more substantial than those between countries.

2. If there is one variable that points to a "national" lack of interest in international comparison, it is the presence of a "national" barrier to policy change in the sector concerned. In Germany, more than anywhere else, we encountered the argument that the political obstruction to regarding changes in citizenship legislation was so crucial for the integration problems faced by the policy world, that expecting much of research in this domain, let alone internationally comparative research, was considered naive. But this argument was as much one against (the assumption that) science-based policy is realistic, as against international comparisons per se. In fact, enough individuals in Germany stressed the importance of international comparison to make any generalising statement about the country problematic.

3. When subjects were defined in terms of policy issues, comparison was considered sensible only when the contexts compared were similar. It seemed that the further removed from policy assumptions, the less restrictive the view on the potentials of comparison.

4. Comparison, even among those enthusiastically advocating its scientific and policy importance, is always considered an extremely difficult enterprise. There is a very informative body of literature on international comparison, and nothing flagged by our interviewees was especially new. The major difficulties highlighted were:

- Contexts are systems of interdependent institutions and their supportive ideologies. It is therefore near impossible to create comparative contextualisations for a particular phenomenon. There are too many variables involved with too many differently organised interdependencies, which makes comparison between the phenomenon in question in country A and country B problematic.
- Because different ideologies dominate the national debates on migration and integration issues, core concepts like "citizenship" and "integration" have different meanings in different contexts. For example, in as far as national data on aspects of integration are available, these data are collected on the basis of indicators that vary according to the particular meaning attached to "integration".
- The particular "national" ideologies of the policy arena are strong conceptual filters that make it difficult for those "socialised" in ideology A to really understand the viewpoint of others inculcated in ideology B. Even internationally-oriented individuals frequently commented upon the difficulty they have experienced in trying to prevent or overcome conceptual misunderstandings at international gatherings.
- All of the above makes it very difficult to organise the nuts and bolts of internationally comparative projects. Since phenomena are embedded in their local context, it is advisable to have local researchers/teams tackle the project in each participating country. But, because of inhered conceptual problems, the ensuing difficulties of identifying indicators that are valid across countries, or finding proper equivalents for indicators that are impossible to standardise, in addition to the normal constraints of time and especially funding[94], in reality, most international comparisons are often-

collections of related national studies rather than bonafide comparative studies.
- Often closely related to the issues raised above, but clearly needing separate attention, concerns the data sources that enable comparative research to be conducted. Again, this is a problem that has received considerable attention and is addressed by many parties: data producers and collection agencies (EUROSTAT, OECD, the UN system); large scale social science data facilities like the Central Archive for Empirical Social Science Research at Köln University and the European Centre for Analysis in the Social Sciences at Essex University; and European funding agencies (the European Commission and the European Science Foundation).

This last pitfall was mentioned by nearly all who commented upon international comparative work. One could also argue that it stands out among the list of difficulties mentioned. However, the other problems bear a strong family resemblance to the problems addressed in the rest of this report, in that they have the same relational quality that connects many aspects of the research policy interaction issue. On the other hand, the availability of data sources is less of an interaction problem and may be tackled by more conventional approaches. Therefore, we have singled it out for a closer look.

4.6.2 Dealing with data[95]

The problems of developing data sources that will enable comparative research to be conducted are very considerable. They are also well known. Box 38 on Data archives will address some of the issues.

Data archives[96] 38

The UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) 'encourages the establishment of data archives. R.CADE, for example, was established in 1995 to access data on Europe...[it] was founded because:
The European data base is not well integrated; large scale research is hardly co-ordinated; measurement instruments and data representation lack compatibility; data access and data protection regulations differ, and even information about the availability of information is not easy to obtain. In short the criteria for efficient organisation of databases have hitherto been defined from a national perspective, and, even within nations, there is little co-ordinated resource management' (p.155).

John Salt, Rinus Penninx and Catherine Withol de Wenden, et.al. summarised some of the issues raised during the course of their feasibility study regarding the creation of a European migration observatory concerning the compilation, use, and distribution of statistical data bases:

'The first issue that was raised numerous times concerned the need for comparable data. The requirement for good meta-data (data about data) was cited, especially for the methodology used to collect a particular dataset. A second, related issue is the need to provide information that explains the meaning of data rather than a catalogue of records and fields and how they were collected. In essence, this is a desire to have expertise to supplement the data and implies that analysis is carried out and that data and results are placed into a context....
Finally, there was a perceived need to be able to integrate databases. This includes, but goes far beyond, the issue of comparable data. At a fundamental level, it involves the linkage of spatially referenced datasets (data collected and reported for known spatial units) with non-spatial databases, including documentary databases. Several institutes are beginning to confront this problem directly... by using Geographic Information Systems' (p.165-166).

It is telling that the feasibility study proposes an important role for the observatory-to-be-established in coordinating (statistical and other) information, in acting as a catalyst for data harmonisation, in overseeing the provision of comprehensive meta-data, and in playing an analytical role in data interpretation. The existing initiatives are clearly insufficient.

The essential problem is that different European countries pursue inconsistent strategies in collecting data and seldom accord sufficient, if any, consideration to the need for comparative research.Yet at the same time, the debate has been very restricted. It has been concentrated largely on issues of stocks and flows. Once it is accepted that the contribution of the research community should be directed both towards these areas *and* integration issues, then the picture changes. The Labour Force Survey, for example, could be hugely beneficial for comparative research, although where relatively small communities are concerned, it fails to sample large enough numbers to be very helpful.

The Treaty on European Union recognises the role of the Council of the European Community (CEC) in acting to improve the conditions of employment of third country nationals and the need '... to monitor regularly the progress towards achieving economic and social cohesion'[97] but there are no comparative sources of economic and social data which focus specifically on the position of ethnic minorities and third country nationals. What is required is the adoption of the best practice from member states in terms of social surveys in other countries, so that over time comparable data sets can be developed. The need for initiatives of this kind has been recognised by the European Science Foundation (ESF) in its report on the *Social Science Frontiers in European Research* (1993). This document reported on a workshop in October 1993 that was convened in order to offer advice on the European Commission's Fourth Framework Programme. It includes the comment that:

'[A] valuable initiative could be to finance European value-added surveys in several countries, based upon the design and experience of national surveys..... The collection of this comparative data would be both of value to policy development and cost-effective in terms of co-ordinating and maximising the costs versus results ratio of research at both the national and community levels' (p.19).

The ESF has established a 'general attitude survey' along these lines, but this is only one aspect of the problem.

The same concern was reflected in the work programme for the 'Targeted Socio-Economic Research' (TSER) component of the 4th Framework Programme that identified the need for '... conceptual and methodological work on constructing and integrating data and indicator systems as a common effort of the European social science research community...'[98]. In practice, this area of the TSER has not yet yielded a great deal of value regarding integration issues and while the 5th Framework Programme documents speak of '...establishing a common research infrastructure', it remains unclear whether real progress will be made on improving the quality of comparable data in the medium term.
It is not, however, as if "good practice" does not exist. The new European Household

Panel study run by EUROSTAT, for example, is one obvious instance even though the sample sizes are too small to be of much use for problems at city and neighbourhood level. It is widely known that in the UK, the 1991 population census for the first time contained an "ethnic question" and that a fourth national survey of ethnic minorities has been conducted, paid for partly by the Economic and Social Research Council ijn tandem with the British government. This was a major survey (with a control sample from the indigenous population) which focused on the experience of discrimination, inter-ethnic relations (including those between different minority groups) and divergences between ethnic groups. It also measured the degree to which the majority population accepts and supports "multiculturalism". The first results of the survey were published in 1997.[99] In Germany, the Household Panel survey also offers longitudinal data of exceptional interest, particularly for measuring the fortunes of, say, Turks, in the labour market, and mention has previously been made of recent French surveys (see Box 21). At the national level, then, there is plenty of good social science data collection, but it is of little use in generating a comparative understanding at the *European* level because it is seldom utilised to stimulate similar data collection elsewhere. A key opportunity arises for social scientists to improve this situation by taking the instruments in national surveys and applying a relevant core of questions elsewhere.

Extrapolating from our survey material, we would promote the interpretation that *the adoption of periodic surveys using a common core of measurement instruments* would be very much welcomed by many of our interview partners.

5. Comparing European perspectives: good linkage arrangements

In this chapter, we will describe our findings of linkage arrangements that tend to work, but before sketching these arrangements, we want to reiterate what we stated about these arrangements in the methodology section of chapter one.

We aimed to cast the net regarding experiences and perceptions as broadly as possible, which means that the examples of practices that seem to work will not be core of this report. This would have made sense only if the examples were described in-depth. However, broad coverage and in-depth description tend to be mutually exclusive. In other words, this chapter offers the (so-called) "good arrangements", a do-it-yourself toolkit of broadly applicable linkage modalities ideas,

The best way to think about these is in terms of an analytical level,that is located midway between the abstract level of factors shaping the context of research-policy interaction (chapter 3) and the concrete level of examples of good practice. This meso-level of abstraction is based on "good practice" examples, analysed within their context, as well as changes over time within those contexts. It is phrased in the form of *tendencies* of particular kinds of arrangements to better facilitate linkage than other kinds of arrangements *in the long-term.* This means that our conclusions say something about "good" in a longer-term perspective.

Arrangements are a label for institutionalised ways of research policy interaction. The survey material points out that arrangements are not the only determinant of fruitful interaction. Arrangements *tend to facilitate* but only when staffed by the right kind of persons. Therefore a separate section is dedicated to the role of individuals.

5.1 The role of individuals

The role of individuals is crucial since linkage between policy and research is always achieved between people. However favourable the macro-context may be or supportive the institutional arrangements, it needs mutual understanding, fruitful interaction requires the mutual understanding and cooperation of individuals at the interpersonbal level. Time and again informants acknowledged this when asked about the reasons why a particular collaboration deserved the label "good practice".

Focusing on individual personalities, one first of all thinks about that particular researcher who regularly succeeds in bridging the gulf with the policy world because of her mastery of the policy discourse, her ability to connect short term policy problems with theoretical notions, and her sensitivity to the role of sources of information and legitimation (other than science), etc. Or one notes an express civil servant who is willing to commit budgettary resources to longer term projects, able to consider policy consenquences of research results and theoretical notions (even when these are not directly available in the form of a policy summary), and is sensitive to the time con-

straints that methodological rigour may impose on research projects etc. Such personalities were referred to repeatedly by respondents asked to explain why a particular collaborative project had been successful.

5.1.1 Bench-marking: the field of management

Yet if we attempt to go beyond the conclusion that any structure needs agents to make it all happen – agents who are much more than just (replaceable) cogs in a machine – this raises questions about whether such effective individuals share certain characteristics, or if particular mixes of individual characteristics and situational characteristics are more effective than others. Obviously, in-depth psychological profiles are beyon the remit of our study, but we suggest that turning one's attention to management literature may be a sensible way to proceed. As soon as *relationship* was introduced as our major perspective on the interaction between research and policy, "management" came into view as a potentially rich bench-marking area. The more restricted area of interorganisational networking has been dealt with earlier (see 2.4.2), but much wider areas in the field of management are relevant.

One lesson that is gleaned from management literature is that it is fruitless to search for one superior "personal style", for leadership, for team membership, for change management, or whatever other issue to be considered. Box 39 presents the concept of team roles, "cooperative styles", or characteristic ways to contribute to the team. One of the conclusions to be drawn from this is that the "habitus" of monitor and critical evaluator, very prominent in both academia as well as among research commissioners within policy circles, is a problematic basis for collaboration if not tempered by the presence of other team roles.

Team roles[100] 39

When psychologist Belbin started studying participants of management games at Henley, the famous British business school, he put together a team of the "smartest" managers. Unexpectedly, this team scored below average. Team members fiercely disagreed about everything and could not decide on a course of action. After seven more years of research, Belbin developed a theory about team roles based on three principles:

- Team members fulfil several roles at the same time: a functional role (based on technical expertise), an organisational role (based on formal position), and a team role (based on personality). Belbin identifies nine such "cooperative styles", or characteristic ways to contribute to the team;
- A good allocation of tasks, and a good mix of team roles are keys to succes;
- The more that functional roles match team roles, the more successful teams can be. If one's personality fits one's tasks, the strengths of a cooperative style can be used to maximum benefit.

Belbin's the team roles are:

- T*he company man:* practical organiser, hard worker, loyal and persistent, needs regularity and clear structures;
- *The source researcher:* explores ideas and sources from outside and brings them to the team, spots chances;
- *The plant:* the creative mind, visionair, introvert;
- *The monitor:* analytical thinker, evaluator of ideas and plans;
- *The shaper:* passionate and achievement oriented doer, provides direction, thrives in stressful situations;

- *The chairman:* coordinator of objectives, manager of conflicting interests, procedure oriented;
- *The caretaker:* looking after details, accurate and concentrated, worrying and control oriented;
- *The group worker:* focussed on personal relations, striving for an 'us-feeling', prevents unnecessary stress and confrontations;
- *The expert:* technical specialist, solo performer;

The influence of the roles can best be illustrated by one participant's experience in a management game. Teams for the game were put together on the basis of people's scores on a team role test: a team of monitors, a team of company men, a team of shapers, etc. The author, Rob Groen was part of the monitor team:

'what followed was a shocking experience: the cooperation with my fellow spirits resulted in an impressing magnification of my own qualities and weaknesses, a frightening charicature of my own way of dealing with things. As monitors amongst ourselves, we discussed numerous possible game strategies, evaluated their risks, weighted their pro's and con's and, finally, rejected all. Rules were discussed in terms of their (lack of) logic, and the ensuing exchanges were so acrid and fundamental that we let auctions and other game opportunities slip. We lost, never having had a chance.... Also the other teams experienced enourmous difficulties trying to escape their doom. The company men, in a very efficient and disciplined manner developed a plan of action, but lacked any talent to change gear when circumstances suddenly changed. The shapers, with grim determination and pitiful bravado, bluffed their way to victory and triumphantly boasted about that the next day' (p.202)[translation RH].

In real-life situations, however, if a certain team has a multi-role membership that is optimally adjusted to the tasks at hand, this is mostly due to sheer luck. Teams heavily dominated by one particular role type, may be very successful in certain situations (for example, victory of the shapers) but the range of these situations tends to be very limited. Most teams are somewhere in between the optimal mix of roles and one-sided membership.

Management consultants would classify both academia and the policy world as being high on monitors, so the chances that during shared sessions monitors are overrepresented are very real. That is not a promising basis for cooperation.

Obviously, thinking about these interaction styles in terms of roles is only one possible way of looking at it. Another way to think of them is as ways of thought. Box 6 already presented a specimen of this approach (Morgan's images or metaphors of organisation). Box 40 gives another example of an analysis in terms of thought styles.

Thinking in yellow, blue, red, green or white print[101] 40

Dutch management consultant Leon de Caluwé developed a typology for thinking about change using colour labels[102]. According to this model things/people are likely to change if one....

- *Yellowprint thinking:* brings interests together, forces them to formulate opinions, creates win-win situations and forms coalitions, shows the advantages of certain opinions (power, status, influence);
- *Blueprint thinking:* formulates an unambiguous objective, develops a plan of action, monitors the process and adjusts accordingly, stabilises and controls the situation, reduces complexity to a minimum;
- *Redprint thinking:* stimulates people in the right way (by punishment and reward), implemeting

sophisticated HRM-instruments for remunerating, motivating, promoting, status, returns something for what is received;
- *Greenprint thinking:* makes people aware of new perspectives and personal shortcomings, motivates them to see, learn, do new things, create suitable shared learning experiences;
- *Whiteprint thinking:* takes personal wishes as a starting point, flows with the energy of the people, is open to dynamism and complexity, works at removing blockades, uses rituals and symbols.

All of these perspectives have their value, but when individuals, thinking in different "colours" collaborate on a common venture, good mediation is needed to prevent misunderstandings and conflicts. When organising a workshop, for example, yellowprint thinkers will tend to expect consensus about something, blueprint thinkers will tend to expect concrete results, while redprint thinkers will be satisfied if the atmosphere is positive, and participants show commitment. It is amasing how long these kinds of expectations can be implicit!

More important than the subtle differences between these conceptualisations are their similarities:
- People are limited in the number of roles or styles they master; most of us prefer one or two of the styles over the others, and make it a habit of applying them irrespective of the needs of the situation;
- Certain styles fit some situations better than others;
- People differ regarding the extent to which they are self-reflexive about their personal styles and preferences;
- The use of a mediator/facilitator is the most obvious "instrument" for dealing with the opportunities and problems associated with the one-sidedness of and the differences in interaction and thought styles.

5.1.2. The facilitator

We suggest that the idea of mediation or facilitation of collaborative processes is

Facilitating a product developing team[103] 41

'In the summer of 1997 Vrumona, the soft drinks producer of the Heineken corporation, organised a two-day brainstorm session to generate ideas for new products. One of the resulting ideas is a drink for the modern and awareness-oriented adult, with ingredients that go along with the human biorhythm and improve balance and vitality.... In November, the management gives the 'biorhythm' project team the go-ahead to develop the new soft drink. It takes project leader Haarsma and his team a year and around 450.000 Euro to create 'Xi'.
Haarsma considers a multidisciplinary project team essential for the product's success. It consists of a brand manager, a technological product innovator, a logistic expert, a purchasing agent and account managers for the household market and the catering industry.
"Before, the marketeer studied the consumer market and told the technologist what kind of drink he needed. But the product innovator should be directly involved in the market research because he is much more knowledgeable about tastes. With all different disciplines combined it is easier to make the right decisions, but it asks a lot of the members of one's team".
That is why the biorhythm team gets an external mediator to facilitate the group interaction. She confronts team members with communicative habits, like continuously interrupting others, that block smooth interaction and intervenes when discussions are non-productive or collaboration runs into rough waters'.[translation RH]

something to be taken on board when considering the issue of research-policy linkage. We have come across this idea before; although not immediately evident in the description of Box 10, the success of participatory planning techniques like ZOPP is dependent upon professional mediation by a process facilitator. Box 41 gives the example of facilitating a product development team in a private enterprise.

Facilitators can be enlisted for various kinds of functions. Box 42 gives an overview of possible roles a facilitator can play. This list is taken from a field that qualifies as another bench-marking candidate: Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR). Appendix J describes ADR in more detail.

Roles and functions of a facilitator[104] 42

The mediator may assume a wide variety of roles and functions to help parties resolve conflicts. Moore[105] distinguishes nine such roles:

- *The opener* of communications channels who initiates communication or facilitates better communication if the parties are already talking;
- *The legitimiser* who helps all parties recognise the right of others to be involved in negotiations;
- *The process facilitator* who provides a procedure and often formally chairs the negotiation session;
- *The trainer* who educates novice, unskilled, or unprepared negotiators in the bargaining process;
- *The resource expander* who provides procedural assistance to the parties and links them to outside experts and resources, such as lawyers, technical experts, decision makers, or additional goods for exchange, that may enable them to enlarge acceptable settlement options;
- *The problem explorer* who enables people in dispute to examine a problem from a variety of viewpoints, assists in defining basic issues and interests, and looks for mutually satisfactory options;
- *The agent of reality* who helps build a reasonable and implementable settlement and questions and challenges parties who have extreme and unrealistic goals;
- *The scapegoat* who may take some responsibility or blame for an unpopular decision that the parties are nevertheless willing to accept. This enables them to maintain their integrity and, when appropriate, gain the support of their constituents;
- *The leader* who takes the initiative to move the negotiations forward by procedural, or on occasion, substantive suggestions.

Thus, the role of mediator is by no means straightforward. The tasks that a mediator should perform have to be determined anew for each bargaining process, and the role of a mediator can change as negotiations proceed.

From the viewpoint of the problem to be solved, it is remarkable that the concept of an external facilitator with a coaching, guiding, and conflict mediating role has not gained any currency in research policy interactions. Indeed, without acceptance of the role of facilitor in practice, all kinds of participatory planning methods, presented earlier as bench-mark areas, are impossible to implement.

The examples given above – coaching a team with an unambiguous indicator for success, and mediating in conflicts of interest – examples that may both be classified as "high pressure", give an indication why this may be the case; unless the stakes are

high, it is difficult to admit that external involvement may be beneficial. The acceptance of outside help might be interpreted as the acknowledgement of one's own shortcomings. The threat of serious trouble if success fails to materialise seems a good push factor to overcome such hesitations. Research-policy collaboration is normally perceived as a commitment to do one's best, not an obligation to succeed. And a commitment in itself may not be a strong enough incentive to face one's weaknesses.

5.1.3 The intermediary

Although the role of facilitator/mediator is virtually unheard of in the field of research policy relations, intermediaries do exist. Both the policy and the academic world have knowledge brokers or entrepreneurs, who are intermediaries that link inside and outside arenas.

5.1.3.1 The policy entrepreneur

In countries where scientific data is accepted input and legitimation for policy, ministries, larger cities, and large quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations (quango's) usually have a staff whose task descriptions are focussed on providing that scientific input. Modalities for bringing this about vary widely; some major ones encountered during our survey are described in Box 43.

Ways of embedding knowledge brokers in a policy setting 43

A *full-fledged research department* is one modality to ensure the necessary research input. An example of this is the The Research and Documentation Centre (WODC) of the Dutch Ministry of Justice. WODC can best be characterised as the knowledge centre in law and justice, which aims to make a professional contribution to the development and evaluation of justice policies. This involves:

- conducting research concerning criminal and justice policy;
- instigating and supervising research conducted by other institutions, granting subsidies and providing access to files;
- analysing global trends and policies for internal and external relations;
- collecting and providing documentation mainly concerning criminal and justice policy literature.

A city such as Rotterdam has its own Centre for Research and Statistics (COS), that provides much of the city's data gathering and data analysis needs (see www.cos.nl).

Another modality is a *research liaison department.* The WODC (described above) instigates and supervises external research as one of its tasks, but some focus exclusively on the intermediary role; for example, the Direction de la Recherche et des Affaires Scientifiques et Techniques (DRAST) of the French Ministry for Housing and Transport:

Dans une société moderne et dynamique, la compétence technique est essentielle. La Direction de la Recherche et des Affaires Scientifiques et Techniques (DRAST) exerce, en matière de recherche et d'innovation, les attributions du ministère, sauf dans le domaine de l'aviation civile où elle intervient en coordination avec la direction compétente (DGAC).
Équipe légère d'une cinquantaine d'agents, elle assume des fonctions de pilotage, d'animation et d'incitation en étroite liaison avec les autres directions d'administration centrale de l'Équipement et le ministère chargé de la Recherche[106].

The Direction de la recherche, des études, de l'évaluation et des statistiques (DREES) of the French Ministry of Labour and Health is another example of this type of modality:
Les attributions de la DREES:[107]

- *Statistiques et systèmes d'information:* Concevoir l'appareil statistique et assurer la collecte, l'exploitation et la diffusion des statistiques. Assurer la conception et la cohérence des systèmes statistiques;
- *Recherche:* Orienter, en liaison avec le ministère chargé de la recherche, la politique de la recherche. Concourir au développement des travaux de recherche et à la valorisation de leurs résultats;
- *Synthèses et études:* Effectuer des travaux de synthèse, notamment les comptes de la santé et les comptes de la protection sociale. Réaliser des études et des projections socio-démographiques, économiques et financières. Coordonner et animer les études menées sous l'égide du ministère;
- *Evaluation:* Contribuer à promouvoir les travaux d'évaluation. Analyser les effets structurels des politiques sociales et participer à la conception, à la validation et à la mise en oeuvre des méthodes d'évaluation;
- *Information:* Diffuser et publier les travaux dont elle a assuré la réalisation et la coordination.

Another common modality is that of *policy advisors* within policy departments who are given the *task of research liaison,* which, inturn, can be regarded as the decentralised variant of the centralised liaison function described above.

At the sub-departmental level, within the Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, the innvandringspolitisk seksjon (ips) of the Department of Indigenous, Minority and Immigrant Affairs, research liaison is part of the task description of the senior policy advisor. Likewise, the foreigners office of the Social Services department of the Milan municipality has integrated its research liaison function within its own staffing profile. And for its statistical needs it permanently employes its own "resident" consultant (see also Box 16)

5.1.3.2 The research entrepreneur

Also in the research setting, the liaison function has been institutionalised. As recounted earlier (see 3.1. and appendix F), universities have increasing systemic linkages with the outside world. The institutional context of research is changing as universities are encouraged to enter into joint ventures and cooperative research with industry, government facilities, and other research institutions as a means of improving the effectiveness of networks and feedback loops in national innovation systems. Most universities have created service departments to facilitate these linkages. Box 44 gives the example of a UK university liaison office. The Anglo-Saxon academic world has the most advanced linkage facilities. For example, the liaison office often plays a direct (editorial) role in the development of funding applications.

A research liaison office: RDSO of Warwick university[108] 44

The Research and Development Services Office (RDSO) is part of the Warwick University's central administrative support services. Its *principal roles* are to:

- provide a 'one-stop-shop' for research support for academic staff, identifying research funding, helping with grant applications and contract negotiations, advising on intellectual property matters, and assisting with the financial management of research projects;
- liaise with industry and those organisations who sponsor research, regionally, nationally, and in Europe.

Its *organisation:*
The Research Grants and Contracts Group is divided into two teams which, between them, are responsible for the administration of research grants and contracts from inception to completion.

- The Pre Award Team provides:
  - help with grant applications to research councils, charities, and to Europe;
  - research contract negotiations with industrial and commercial bodies;
  - costing, pricing, and processing research contracts.
- The Post Award Team handles:
  - financial administration of all grants and contracts accepted by the University;
  - financial planning and forecasting for research grants and contracts;
  - financial administration of research-related grants (most funded by the EC).
- The Regional and Industrial Development Group provides advice and support with:
  - liaison with research and development bodies in Europe and the West Midlands Region; liaison with industry, commerce, government bodies, and agencies;
  - links with the University Science Park and local business (including SMEs);
  - intellectual property matters and the exploitation of research;
  - the Teaching Company Scheme.

- In addition, the RDSO is responsible for:
  - identifying and disseminating information on research funding opportunities;
  - databases and management information on grants and contracts;
  - maintaining the RDSO web site;
  - advice and support on research policy for University management and committees;
  - administration of the University's Research and Teaching Development Fund, which provides pump-priming money for the research projects.

5.1.3.3 Prerequisites and Problems

A major prerequisite for being able to function as an intermediary is the ability to relate to all of the parties that are to be linked. The benefits of overlapping experience for acquiring this ability are evident. The staff of research liaison departments within policy environments are usually former academic researchers. In general they are equiped with sufficient sensitivity for the constraints with which their research and policy partners have to grapple. University liaison offices are staffed (to a lesser degree) by people with a background that covers both worlds, although experience in the private sector is quite common. In general, however, we would argue that entrepreneurs at both sides of the curtain are sufficiently familiar with the various contexts in which they operate.

One problem that was mentioned several times in interviews was the risk of role confusion, a problem faced mainly by the policy entrepreneur. A researcher employed by a ministry or city research department is supposed to represent the interests of her employer. Yet, in the longer term, it is difficult to escape being taken aboard, when immersed in a particular culture. Although, in principle such intermediaries are well equipped to understand the interests and perspectives of the academics contracted for a particular project, they often tend to become increasingly preoccupied by the short term policy perspective and objectives reigning their work environment. So, instead of sitting on the fence, they risk "going native".

The risk of university liaison office staff giving priority to the academic perspective appears to be less, since they tend to be much less involved with the content of research than their counterparts in the policy world. Intermediaries in the policy world usually liaise from the beginning (formulating the terms of reference for the project), through the research process (for example, membership of a supervising or guidance committee), until the end (judging the resulting output), often representing the policy interest in the absence of the actual policy staff. Conversely, university liaison staff, whose prime motivation is turn-over, are usually much less a party to the content discussions between the policy and the research parties involved. They connect, assist in contractual negotiations, and might monitor contractual obligations, but are not normally involved in defining the problem to be studied, nor negotiating about the final version of the end product(s).

As far as we know, the task definitions regarding intermediary functions, either within a policy or a university setting, these do not include the role of facilitator/mediator as described earlier. Management consultants often claim that coaching the interaction process between those concerned with the content of the project does not require any knowledge of the either the content nor the particular settings where interaction partners come from. We would certainly agree that the ability to coach such processes without content and background knowledge is proof of superior counselling skills. And would also agree with the argument that close involvement with either the particular content or with any of the interaction partners poses the risk of role confusion and induces facilitators to participate in discussions instead of guiding them. On the other hand, mediators of longer-term processes do tend to familiarise themselves with the problem as well as with the different interests involved. As in anthropological fieldwork, there is a delicate balance between distance and involvement, between the insider and the outsider perspectives, between engagement and observation; a balance to find each time one enters an interaction situation.

However, we contend that the existing intermediary role could become much more effective in bringing about fruitful research-policy linkages[109] by defining their task in terms of process facilitation, and, whenever opportune, by making use of participatory planning and monitoring instruments.

5.2 The role of institutions

In this section we will discuss *the tendencies* of particular kinds of arrangements, or institutionalised ways of research policy interaction (that we distilled out of 'good practice' examples collected during the survey) to effectively facilitate linkage *in the long-term.*

5.2.1 Combining applied data-gathering and theory-driven research

Arrangements that facilitate the connection between short-term data-gathering, applied research, and longer-term, theory-driven programmes, are better for linkage than those where these two kinds of research are separated institutionally.

Two important differences between the "academic" perspective and the "policy" perspective, concern the time horizon and the comprehensiveness of the problem definition. While policy is (usually) interested in answers to or solutions for very specific problems within the shortest possible time, academics are interested in framing specific problems within larger contexts, with the implication that the more time is available, the more context can be apprehended. These differences have been highlighted earlier in the paragraph 2.1. We may point out the similarities with another well known dichotomy, the categories of "fundamental" versus "applied" research. Box 45 describes the characteristic differing emphasis regarding theory while also signalling the similarities.

Fundamental versus applied research: theory 45

According to Peter Nas, fundamental and applied research tend to differ on several characteristics, such as who takes the initiative, how project monitoring is organised, objectives of the study, problem definition, theory, methods, target group, and dissemination of results. The role of theory is an obvious parallel with the differences between an academic and a policy perspective. Nas says:

'As far as theory is concerned, fundamental research is focussed on formal theory construction, on abstract and generalising statements, and applied research is targetting grounded concepts, that are less abstract and more obviously refer to particular (local) forms of a social problem or phenomenon. With the former, methodological rigour is crucial: reliability, validity, generalisability and other basic scientific principles reign supreme. While for the latter, policy relevance is crucial: using a diversity of methods and instruments the research aims at applicable results'.[110]

This difference usually finds its institutional expression in the fact that the first kind of research, longer-term theory-driven programmes and the second kinds, short-term data-gathering applied research, are done by different personnel who tend to gather at different institutes. Of course, there is a certain amount (even a fair amount) of overlap between data-gathering versus theory-driven research, and academic versus commercial research described in Appendix E (Contract research by commercial agencies). But our argument has broader relevance. Within the category of academic research, for example, an institutional split is manifested between institutes that target data-gathering and those that target theory-driven research. In principle, there is nothing wrong with either kind of research, but their insulation from each other makes both less effective (informing policy) in the longer term, than they could be in concert. And, it may be added, less effective in advancing theory than would otherwise have been possible. Box 46 gives an example of an institute that comes close to the ideal of combining both research perspectives within one setting: the Italian Censis foundation.

Censis, Centre for Social Studies and Policies (Italy)[111] 46

Censis, the Centre for Social Studies and Policies, was founded in 1964 and carries out socio-economic studies and research. In1973, it became a legally recognised Foundation (bill no. 712 of October 11, 1973), and enjoys the support and participation of several large public and private institutions. For the past thirty years it has carried out numerous studies, consultancy services, and

proposals in social areas: education and training, employment, welfare, territorial networks, the environment, the economy, local and urban development, public government, communication, and culture. Research is carried out mainly on behalf of ministries, regional, provincial and municipal governments, chambers of commerce, business and professional associations, banks, private companies, network managers, and international agencies in the context of EU programmes.

Censis carries out approximately 60 research studies every year on behalf of several clients .... using research methods that are midway between an essentially academic style and one which is exclusively geared towards research goals. This has allowed Censis to develop over the years a remarkable knowledge of even the smallest and most local mechanisms that determine the development model for Italian society. Also, it provided a sophisticated methodological apparatus to pursue individual research goals and to refer them back to a more general interpretive framework.

Besides these research fields (mentioned above), Censis is also involved in three other sectors. They are cross-cutting and aimed at data processing and research methods, at disseminating information from research activities, and putting it into perspective internationally:

- the centre for data processing and methodology deals with methodological and statistical planning of research studies, and its implications for computerised resources. It processes close to 100,000 statistical data every year and manages both Censis and external databanks;
- the communication, press, and publishing department manages Censis' communication services, interacts with the press, and manages the various publishing projects related to the Institute. It also features a specific line of research on media, information, and research studies including a sizable component on public relations and image;
- the international projects department has recently developed a very close relationship with the European Commission, especially with the departments in charge of public relations, employment and social issues, communication and culture, environment, research, telecommunications and regional policies. It supervises research programmes and technical consultancy; it cooperates with the interested institutions, and undertakes and contributes to innovative international projects sponsored by such major agencies as OECD, World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

We contend that two major conditions need be fulfilled to enable an institution to merge both kinds of interests:

- The mission statement of the institution must be explicit about the importance of both data-gathering and theory, and contain the right mix of direct policy relevance (implying a particular customer) as well as that of more general conceptual relevance which are aimed at the academic and the public debate.
- The funding arrangements must allow for a certain amount of independence. To take the example of Censis; although admittedly conducting many contract research projects, the institute is not fully dependent upon this type of research and conducts various self-funded activities, such as the *Annual report on the Italian social situation.*[112]

Some argue that the kind of knowledge production described here as "better" actually constitutes a new mode that can be contrasted with the traditional disciplinary mode of knowledge production (see Box 25 on the old and the new modes of knowledge production). This new mode, however, refers to arrangements that are quite network-like and temporary, aimed at solving a particular "problem", while we would argue that the virtual organisation of multi-disciplinary expertise is not yet a common reality within the

social "field"; Box 47 gives a Dutch example of such a network collaboration.

The Dutch annual poverty reports 47

In 1996 the Dutch Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs commissioned an academic research team, led by Professor Engbersen (Erasmus university Rotterdam), to annually produce a poverty report for 1997 through to 2000. The contract funded two elements:

- Four annual reports on poverty and social exclusion. They are based on analyses of the yearly poverty monitor data collected by the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP, see also Box 31), along with contributions by leading poverty experts and the results of anthropological neighbourhood studies;
- Anthropological fieldwork in five neighbourhoods in different Dutch cities, focusing on identifying the different survival strategies developed by various vulnerable groups; and how are these facilitated or hindered by geographical and institutional factors.

The results of this project are the major input for the annual "social conference" which brings together all Dutch poverty-oriented academic, policy and implementation interests for a brainstorming about possible policy responses.

The contract brings together all relevant academic expertise, ensures that proper conceptual analysis of the (relatively) raw data derived from the poverty monitor is linked directly to the policy debate. At the same time, the reports are produced under the auspices of an independent editorial team, and are a crucial element of the academic research programme of the sociology department at Erasmus university.

We believe that there is plenty of scope for such network arrangements in the social field. The Dutch example, described in Box 47, signals one interesting mode for such arrangements; that is, networks with particular data sets or data storage facilities at their core. The large-scale social science "facilities" that enjoy the status of host institutes for recipients of EU framework programme grants, are prime examples of such modes that could become the focus of various issue-networks.[113]

5.2.2 Multidisciplinary approach

Arrangements that bring about actual multidisciplinary collaboration of (disciplinary) experts in order to solve a jointly defined problem are better for linkage than those that foster mono-disciplinary approaches or those that stop short of a shared problem definition.

A well-known difference between the academic perspective and the policy perspective is that the tension between the mono-disciplinary approach normally followed in academia, often leads to partial insights that usually do not (adequately) answer the policy question. Multidisciplinary approaches tend to come closer to addressing the real problem as perceived by the policy interest.[114] This is not to say that the problem as defined by the policy interest involved is necessarily the best approach to a solution! The policy territory is as much disputed between different ministries, departments, etc. as the academic territory is disputed between disciplines. As one of our informants put it, a researcher will never understand how a local authority functions without knowl-

edge of the compartmentalisation of its budget[115]. Academic perspectives, either mono- or multi-disciplinary, may reveal crucial aspects of a problem that are out the purview of the particular policy perspective that they are dealing with (see below).

Be that as it may, we did not encounter much opposition against the position that multidisciplinary approaches are more adequate for real-life issues. This stance was not only common among our interviewees from the policy community, but equally acknowledged by academic researchers. Earlier we identified the issue of interdisciplinarity as a bench-marking area. Box 48 describes an arrangement proposed to solve two kinds of difficulties at the same time: those associated with internationally comparative research[116] and those regarding interdisciplinary collaboration.

Light infrastructure social science laboratories 48

'Much of comparative research in the field of the social sciences today is hardly cost-effective. Typically, a group of researchers physically travels to participate in meetings in which no little time is spent in trying to understand one another.... the same intellectual result would cost much less, and would take up much less time and would almost certainly be better, if it were possible to bring together working groups for a limited, but sufficiently long, period, from a few months to a year or more, at research institutions or "laboratories" which one could describe as "light infrastructure"....

By using "light infrastructures" at reasonable cost, one could envisage different laboratories linked in networks. Why these "light infrastrucures"? .... [T]o avoid confusion with institutions such as the European University Institute in Florence or the various centres for "advanced research", which are either institutions for permanent academics or places of "reward" for emeritus researchers at the end of their careers.... [I]t is necessary to conceive rather of places similar to laboratories, in which teams of researchers could find everything they need for empirical research (instruments, data, documents, communications), with a permanent technical and operational staff, in order to avoid the creation of vested institutional interests on the part of the residents....

This type of initiative would... involve selected groups of people, above all young researchers, with the emphasis on interdisciplinarity.... [E]minent scientists... would... perform co-ordinating functions in the laboratories and be responsible for scientific direction, although they would not always be present. The teams admitted to these laboratories should then undertake to leave in the laboratory the data they have obtained and created for the use of subsequent researchers. They would also be encouraged to collect data according to determined protocols which would facilitate their reusability'.[117]

One may note the heavy emphasis on "time for understanding each other": several months to more than a year! One may also note the "negative" attitude towards established centres of excellence, because they focus on academic excellence only. We would argue that the first supports our claim that relationship is the perspective to take if one wants to create real linkage. As far as the second is concerned, we agree that the existing academic institutes[118] have limited objectives, but we propose that they are, nevertheless, settings to learn from if one wants to improve research-policy linkage.

As far as multidisciplinary potential is concerned, most research institutes in the field of migration and ethnic relations have staff teams drawn from various disciplines. Experience shows that collaboration between closely related disciplines within single research projects is not uncommon, but that input from less related disciplines normally takes the form of sub-projects that do not share much of a common theoretical core. It is also the case that the disciplines represented do not cover the social sciences as a whole but part of the continuum, either sociological/anthropological, legal, geographic or economic.

5.2.3 Shared problem definition and project monitoring

Arrangements in which the policy interest and the research interest actively collaborate from the start (that is to say from the problem definition onwards) without losing sight of their respective roles and responsibilities, are better for linkage than those where there is either no collaboration or role-confusion, and superior to arrangements where the problem definition is not shared.

When research addresses a question posed by policy, a shared understanding of what problem is to be addressed is obviously essential to prevent misunderstandings and clashes later on. Without prior attunement, it is usually quite difficult to relate research results to policy needs. Moreover, prior agreement is important from the perspective of consensus regarding the most pertinent question, as this may turn out to be something different from that which either research or policy would come up with separately. Since this is a question of negotiation, it is important to safeguard the interests of both parties involved, lest power differentials (for example, in contract research) exert more influence than they should. Negotiation between different interests also means that both really ought to be represented. Researchers getting too closely involved with policy and policy-makers getting too closely involved with researchers may "cross over" to the other camp, a risk that is especially evident when the person involved is institutionally embedded in that other camp (usually a researcher within a government office).[119] Time and again shared problem definition and shared project monitoring were highlighted by informants as crucial for good linkage. With respect to shared conceptualisation and implementation of research, the survey resulted in the following conclusions:

- Such collaboration is regularly found at the level of individual research projects;
- Successful collaboration is normally followed up by easier access into the policy world for the researchers involved;
- It does not, however, regularly result in longer term collaboration *of the same intensity;*
- Where collaboration at the level of research programmes (normally creatures with a longer lifespan than projects) occurs, the exact problem definition etc. of projects *within* the programme tend to be non-collaborative ventures.

Box 49 describes an example of a research project, which was successful in terms of shared problem definition and project monitoring.

Looking at native language teaching for immigrant children in Austria 49

'At the beginning of the school year 1992/93, native language instruction for the children of immigrants *(muttersprachlicher Unterricht; formerly muttersprachlicher Zusatzunterricht)* became part of the regular curriculum in Austria's compulsory schools... However are the... ambitious educational and sociopolitical goals implemented?.... Contradictions exist on several levels between the demands on native language instruction and its legal and organisational implementation'.[120]

In 1996 the Ministry responsible (Education and Cultural Affairs) commissioned the *Europäisches Zentrum für Wohlfahrtspolitik und Sozialforschung* in Vienna to conduct a study of the current legal and organisational implementation of native language instruction. The coordinating researcher, Dilek Çinar, described the collaboration with the departmental representatives *(Referentinen)* in very positive terms. She explained her positive attitude by referring to the following circumstances:

- Researchers and Referentinen already knew each other for a long time and trusted each others' expertise and commitment;
- The Ministry was in genuine need of information about the administrative practice and open to its outcome;
- The Ministry was willing to involve practitioners in the research and to accept their viewpoint as relevant input. Results of a representative survey amongst native language teachers were discussed with a select group of teachers. The results of this discussion were an integral part of the analysis;
- The object of study was defined collaboratively. Two long sessions were spent to reach consensus on the problem definition, on the required financial and time scopes, and on the methodological restrictions;
- Researchers and Referentinen were in frequent contact during the study, and the study team received a lot of assistance (in terms of access to material and statistics from other departments which otherwise would have been very difficult to obtain);
- The results of the study were discussed with departmental policy makers over several meetings;
- Afterwards, the researchers were invited to contribute to departmental discussions whenever their expertise covered the issue debated; and
- The results were published by the Ministry and put at the disposal of all respondents without cost.

The example of Box 49 corroborates the first two of our conclusions. We will illustrate the other one with another example from Austria, taken from the Research programme on Xenophobia. The format – followed by the Austrian Federal Ministry for Science and Transport for developing a programme, and fleshing it out with research projects – is typical regarding the way research programmes are developed everywhere, either in National Research Councils, with or without the collaboration of Ministries, or under the auspices of a Ministry directly.

The Austrian research programme on Xenophobia[121] 50

The homepage of the Research Programme on Xenophobia, funded by the Austrian federal Ministry for Science and Transport, describes the development of the programme with the following statement:
'The recent increase of xenophobia and racist activities all over Europe as well as the lack of scientific discussion of these phenomena in Austria have been the motive for the Austrian Ministery of Science to develop a research programme on "Fremdenfeindlichkeit – xenophobia".

The issue of this programme is to stimulate and concentrate scientific research on these topics, to provide constant communication and cooperation between research-teams and to build up research networks within the context of the programme as a whole.

The research programme has been planned and is supervised by an interdisciplinary scientific board. In 1995 the programme was publicly announced, and interested reseachers were invited to submit drafts within the following research-areas:
- Phenomenology of Xenophobia
- Migration and Xenophobia
- Politics, Economy and Xenophobia
- Media and Xenophobia
- Social Structure and Xenophobia
- Intercultural Conflict and Xenophobia

The call for papers resulted in 118 proposals, out of which the 30 best evaluated projects were selected. Their outcomes, presumably at hand within the years 1998/99, are planned to be published. Results of relevance to everyday praxis will be forwarded to concerned professions (city planners, social- and streetworkers, teachers, police officers).'[122]

The steps from idea to projects can be summarised as follows:
- The ministry identifies the need for a coherent scientific research programme with two objectives: develop the field in terms of fundamental research, and develop intervention strategies;
- An interdisciplinary constituted scientific board, 15 members strong, discusses the outlines of the programme, commissiones two background papers, and organises an international expert meeting to finalise the six focal research areas;
- A call is announced, Austrian researchers hand in proposals, to be evaluated through peer review.

It is hoped that an accompagnying programme of workshops, and lectures will bring the research results to the attention of practitioners and policy makers and fulfil the interventionist objective. The emphasis on the scientific debate during programme development is, however, a telling sign. The edited volume, which came out of the expert meeting referred to above, ended with a short evaluation by a departmental official, about programme development up to that point. His basic message is that the research community had not shown much concern for anything else other than their own hobby horses.[123]

5.2.4 Flexible arrangements

Arrangements that allow for innovation in approaches are better for linkage than those that are constrained by an a priori format of gathering and delivering results.

The problems as defined by research and policy, and the research and policy processes are both dynamic phenomena. Arrangements that are too narrowly bound by a priori contractually agreed procedures are not flexible enough to allow for changes when these are needed. No one will dispute the advantages of clear and unambiguous agreements, but when the intrinsic uncertainty and flux of reality is being agreed out of existence, effectiveness will be sacrificed. Rigidity often results from a lack of trust between the parties involved. With adequate time on their hands, contract partners can open up initial arrangements after mutual trust has been established. Large-scale data-gathering exercises (e.g. monitors of sectoral policies, or panel studies) are examples of projects that are usually regulated by detailed contracts which, in the longer term, stifle their potential policy relevance if they are not open for renegotiation. We will illustrate this point with a Dutch example: the monitors of the Institute of Sociological and Economic Research of Erasmus University (Rotterdam).

Monitors on behalf of the Dutch Home Ministry[124] 51

The Institute for Sociological and Economic Research (ISEO) was established in 1986 to facilitate the research group around Justus Veenman whom the Home Ministry had commissioned to monitor the position of minorities in Dutch society (in sectors such as education, the labour market, welfare arrangements and health care, identified by the acronym T&E).[125] In 1995 the same Ministry commissioned ISEO to conduct a yearly monitor "Grote-Stedenbeleid" (GSB, meaning Large City Policy) that charts the urban developments in the 25 biggest cities (down to neighbourhood level) in the Netherlands.

Both monitors are heavily data-oriented. Veenman commented upon the advantages that these multi-year contracts (T&E is now in its 14th year) have:
'The policy request for research usually comes when the answer is needed immediately. Shared reflection upon questions that might become urgent in the future is only possible within the context of an established relationship between policy-maker and researcher. A multi-year contract offers the possibility to establish a sound relationship and prove one's trustworthiness to each other. Also, within a multi-year context it is much easier to accept that not everything is foreseable, and that new issues and questions might appear that need to be included. My experience with these monitors is that a relationship of mutual understanding and acceptance makes things possible that were not open for discussion earlier. For example, with the GSB monitor, right from the start, we pushed to be allowed to go beyond data gathering. Initially, our funder thought this politically too sensitive. But with the years, more in-depth data analysis and interpretation has become part of our terms of reference'.

5.2.5 Long-term commitments

Arrangements that allow for collaboration between individuals across different projects over time, and that facilitate the development of mutual trust and sensitivity to the interests of the others involved, are better for linkage than those favouring single project linkages.

As already mentioned above, mutual trust is a very important, and trust needs time to develop. Indeed, without it, the open communication necessary to arrive at shared problem definitions is difficult to bring about, and the flexibility required to deal with changes in the real-life situations under scrutiny and changes in the research and policy processes involved, is tough to arrange. Time and again mutual trust was brought up in interviews as the reason why a particular collaborative effort worked out well.

Surprisingly, there is often little recognition of what real collaboration entails. Box 52 gives an inspired description. It is the kind of cooperation that facilitators try to bring about in teams responsible for product development (see Box 41), that would ensure optimal linkage between research and policy interests. While it is difficult to bring about, it should, nevertheless, be the ideal goal.

Cooperation[126] 52

'Cooperation is a skill. Before a team can function successfully, several important conditions have to be fulfilled.... an unambiguous, shared aim, the willingness to share responsibility, equal participation, sincerity and trust , and sufficient autonomy for each individual.

Cooperation is also an art, a communicative art... It is the art to deal with the various perspectives existing within a team, and to understand, value and "manage" their interrelationships.

But cooperation is foremost a choice.... Cooperation implies more than knowing what one has to offer and what one takes responsibility for, it also implies knowing what one refrains from, what one leaves to others.... Cooperation means that people are consciously willing to be mutually dependent.

That is why cooperation always has its price: it makes one vulnerable because it draws heavily on trust, on solidarity, and on one's willingness to honour agreements. Cooperation costs time and energy, because one's own input and interest must constantly be tuned to those of others. And cooperation can be boring, because taking radical and extreme positions is curtailed, and strong conflicting needs must be patiently reconciled, for example, the need to individually excell and the need to be part of the team.

Cooperation is a quite a task.' (p.206)[translation RH]

That long-term commitments indeed become enduring[127] is also shown by the development of the T&E monitor described in Box 51. The survey supporting the monitor, was conducted three times (1988, 1991, 1994) by ISEO alone. In 1998 it was conducted in collaboration with the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) of the Dutch government. The Ministry that commissions the T&E monitor also commissions a yearly minorities report from the SCP[128]. Any outsider, who is familiar with the budgetary pressures faced by the research sections of Ministries, would not have bet on such a scenario. The second monitor was commissioned supposedly to decrease the Ministry's dependency upon only one source of information. But two monitors on the same issue is hard to sell to the public. Nevertheless, the Ministry has not (yet) favoured one over the other, but only encouraged them to collaborate on the factual data collection.

5.2.6 Overlapping experience

Better linkage arrangements also create opportunities for individuals to equip themselves with the knowledge and skills necessary to correctly interpret both the academic as well as the policy discourse, as well as the structure of constraints and opportunities that underlies each of them.

Mutual trust is important, but can hardly develop (let alone be sustained) without a sound understanding of the opportunities and constraints inherent in the counterpart's envoronment. Frequent interaction already helps in this respect, but is not the only way forward. The list of context factors that shape the research-policy interaction environment, contained other factors that are directly relevant to this issue: mobility of professionals between sectors and institutional settings, and the extent to which policy circles are staffed by academically educated personnel. In both cases, people familiar with one perspective operate within the institutional setting of the other. Although the label is normally used with a more restricted connotation, they too might be called "knowledge brokers", equipped with the necessary knowledge and skills to understand the discourse of both worlds and thus able to act as a bridge between them. Usually the term is used for staff that is explicitly hired to fulfil such a bridging function.

In paragraph 5.1.3.3 we discussed the role of overlapping experience, and the risks of role confusion, from the perspective of the individual. In terms of institutional arrangements, overlapping experience signals the promises of (temporary) staff exchanges. Unlike the macro-factors mentioned above (that are givens from the perspective of individual organisations interested in improving their linkage with either research or policy) the introduction of staff exchanges is within the range of possibilities of single organisations.

We suggest that in European settings, which lack the American-style mobility between the research and policy sectors[129], policy research (studies carried out as part of the policy process) offer the best opportunity for temporary staff exchange. It is important not to under-estimate the value of policy research. After all, most policy development takes place without research of any kind. It should be broadly defined to include information gathering and in-depth evaluations which are the grist of the policy maker's mill. The critical problem in policy research is the lack of time and personal space within which to develop ideas and formulate policy proposals. Another constraining variable is a lack of access to a supporting environment. This works two ways. Academic researchers, often dismissive of policy research, can profit from the privileged access to administrative data, process information, and personal contacts that a placement within the civil service may provide. A civil servant can profit from the access to scientific data, theoretical debate, and personal contacts that placement within an academic setting may offer. And both can profit from the time saving aspect that freedom of normal day-to-day chores brings.

5.2.7 Self-reflexivity

Arrangements that have a certain amount of self-reflexivity built into them are better than those that lack opportunities for such reflection. We understand self-reflection

here not so much in terms of short term monitoring and evaluation of particular projects, but rather in terms of all parties concerned reflecting together about how their field is evolving over time.

What reflection may offer is:

- A clearer understanding, albeit retrospectively, of what linkages between research, policy and reality (apart from "direct utilization" of research) have actually evolved. Such exercises may make the relevance of otherwise invisible research apparent; for example, its indirect influence on policy via public discourse. It may also uncover the instances where policy informed research, and not the other way around (for better or worse);
- The opportunity for a discussion (as opposed to an exchange of stereotypes) about the peculiar features of the worlds of research and policy that influence their interaction.

Mutual, and even better, shared understanding of such matters can both strengthen the relationship, and directly improve knowledge use. The following Boxes give some examples of the kind of research and policy realities that are usually held against one by the other, but are hardly ever faced jointly.

To argue an opinion means to risk its credibility 53

'A[n].... efficient practice of neutralizing expert statements is to simply contradict them. It is not necessary to cite evidence against them and it may be positively harmful to do so. For the public pronouncements of experts are simply "opinion". An opposing opinion on the same subject is sufficient to set off any impression the expert may have made on the public. Some administrators and politicians ... understand that regardless of whether research is "true" or not, to express a contradictory opinion is sufficient in order to keep public opinion undecided. Other administrators and politicians ... make the mistake of arguing a contradictory opinion in public instead of just issuing an apodictic statement. To have to argue already implies that the opinion is not common sense, is technical, is interpretation, and in this way raises the suspicion it may be contrived. In short, to argue an opinion means to risk its credibility. "Truth" is widely held to be simple, and obvious. Any expert, outside or inside the bureaucracy, commencing to argue a point has already lost the game'.[130]

Academics, of course, live by argument, and are particularly prone to misinterpret mechanisms, like the one described here. As part of academic training, one learns to acknowledge the existence of several possible descriptions, explanations, or interpretations of a given reality, and to weigh the case for each one of them, with the hope of being able to settle for one, but more often than not ending with new questions instead of definite solutions. These kinds of differences between academic and political debate[131] tend to create unnecessary hard feelings because each side experiences the other as not understanding the "rules".

Incremental policy 54

Although policy is often formulated as if rational planning were possible (see also 3.2.1.5), policy development actually follows an "incremental model":
'One proceeds gradually, builds upon accepted conceptions and established policy. Conflict is avoided, and problems are played down. Knowing that they often disappear by themselves, or change through particular circumstances, or move down the list of priorities, they are only confronted when they cannot be neglected anymore. The golden rule to follow is: seek accommodation, be flexible, stay in the game, and safeguard one's alternatives....
Incremental policy is what Lindblom termed "the science of muddling through".[132] .... Good policy is policy that is accepted by all parties involved. The differentiation between means and ends is not very important because consensus about certain means is sufficient, even if different parties envision different ends.... The analysis is usually quite restricted, because alternative values, means, and side-effects are kept out of the discussion to uphold consensus, as opposed to rational policy development that strives for exhaustiveness and takes account of all relevant factors....
This is an important reason for the gulf between scientists and policy-makers.... Scientists usually prefer rational policy and have no respect for incremental procedures that often appear strange and ad hoc to them. Policy makers, on the other hand, often cannot implement advice based on a rational planning model, precisely because of their incremental way of muddling through'.[133] [translation, RH]

It has to be said that opportunities for such reflection presuppose a policy culture in which science is accorded an important place as a knowledge producer by the political and administrative establishment. It assumes a willingness to temporarily suspend one's personal and institutional convictions, and the ability to discuss them without defending them. The same applies to the academics involved. They must be willing to see their theories for what they are: potentially productive fictions that may or may not enlighten a certain situation. Box 55 contains another quote from the unpublished paper of August Gächter, admittedly a caricature, but true nevertheless.

Research fictions and policy fictions 55

'...[B]ureaucracies tend to insulate themselves. The real world is too worrisome and too complicated to be taken into account. Officials, being only human, prefer the neat fictions of party orthodoxies – ideologies would be too grand a word – and of internal memos. Consequently, state action is based on fiction rather than fact, and is very often directed at making the real world conform to the fictions. In this bureaucrats and experts are not very different. The latter also hold tight to their fictions, either as learnt from text books on econometrics or the latest sociological bestseller, or as spun from the yarn of their personal neuroses.'

'Researchers ... need to adhere to academic conventions which often resemble a church's articles of faith. They can be quite removed from empirical reality. In this sense researchers tend to produce fiction. This fiction can be quite at odds with the bureaucracy's. When they clash the issue is never that it is fiction but that the two sets deviate'.[134]

When, at a certain moment in time, self-reflexivity has entered a linkage relationship, institutional memory does not last longer than the individuals involved. Thus, even in such settings, opportunities have to be worked at; they never become the rule.

6. Conclusions and recommendations

This report had several objectives. The main ones were:
- to further the discussion about the various ways social science research and policy interact by providing a common vocabulary across contexts; and
- to identify effective means or arrangements to facilitate linkage between research and social policy.

Subsidiary objectives were to:
- describe differences and similarities between European countries in the research-policy interaction environment;
- identify differences and similarities between these countries in their knowledge needs;
- identify (variation in) attitudes towards international comparison.

In the previous chapters we have developed a conceptual framework of the research policy relationship (chapter two), we have drawn as many relevant context factors as possible out of our survey material (chapter three), we have described the knowledge needs expressed, and the attitudes towards international comparison (chapter four), and we have identified linkage arrangements that tend to work better than other arrangements (chapter five).

The knowledge needs and the attitudes towards comparison do not need much further treatment; primary conclusions were obvious and dealt with in chapter four itself:
- The needs expressed by our interview partners were easily matched with the Metropolis list of core themes, thereby corroborating this list;
- The comparison attitudes underlined the need for data harmonisation and periodic surveys using a common core of measurement instruments.

6.1 The conceptual framework revisited

6.1.1 The framework fleshed out

All that has been presented in chapters three and five can now be added to the conceptual framework.

As already indicated in the relevant chapters, the conceptual framework is an instrument to be developed. It needs to be applied to reveal its limitations, to distill additional core factors from what is now lumped together under the context heading, and to improve our understanding of the interdependencies among the core factors.

Despite these limitations, the conceptual framework can be said to fulfil the objective of providing a common vocabulary across contexts to further the discussion about the various ways social science research and policy interact.

Figure 4

Context
- historical particularities
- political culture & institutional structure of the policy sector
- academic culture & institutional structure of the research system in a particular policy sector
- the prevailing culture of public debate
- the policy philosophy of the sector concerned
- mobility of professionals between sectors and institutional settings
- place accorded to social science research as a knowledge producer by the political and administrative establishment
- political/administrative belief in rational planning
- status of different social science disciplines

Actors

THE RESEARCHER(S)
- *role and the rules it is bounded by*
- *interests characteristic of the role*
- individual personalities
- professional standing
- standing of employing institution

THE POLITICIAN(S)
- *role and the rules it is bounded by*
- *interests characteristic of the role*
- individual personalities

THE CIVIL SERVANT(S)
- *role and the rules it is bounded by*
- *interests characteristic of the role*
- individual personalities

INTEREST GROUPS
- role and the rules they are bounded by
- interests characteristic of the role
- individual personalities

OTHER INTERMEDIARIES
- role and the rules they are bounded by
- interests characteristic of the role
- (educational) background and personality of individuals

THE MEDIA
- role and the rules they are bounded by
- interests characteristic of the role
- (educational) background and personality of individuals

Issue-arena
- *phase in the policy cycle*
- amenability of the issue to research and evaluation
- degree of political polarisation
- intensity of lobbying from interested parties
- the extent to which research runs counter to the politics of the arena

Research
- purpose of the research
- kind of research
- good versus bad methodological quality
- quantitative versus qualitative
- meta-analyses/reviews versus single studies
- research versus advice

The use
- instrumental use
- conceptual use
- transformation use

Instruments to link research and policy

WHEN NEW RESEARCH IS AT STAKE
- institutional arrangements that ensure the connection between data-gathering applied research and theory-driven programmes
- multi-disciplinary teamwork
- shared problem definition
- contractual arrangements that allow for mid-term changes
- commitment to collaborate extending beyond one particular project, allowing for shared learning

WHEN THE ACCESSIBILITY OF EXISTING KNOWLEDGE IS AT STAKE
- state of the art summaries
- short non-academic summaries of research findings
- targeted meetings

WHEN THE RESEARCHER IS A POLICY ADVISOR
- clear task description
- clear distinction between scientific opinions and political-normative opinions

6.1.2 The framework analysed

In chapters three and five, more was presented than simply factors and linkage "instruments". We followed up on the shift in perspective *from knowledge utilisation to relationship* (see 2.3). From the latter perspective, we presented three issue-arenas that are interesting as bench-marking fields (see 2.4). In chapter five we added management as a fourth candidate. Throughout chapter five we have used examples and references to these other fields. We have already stated that this is not the place for a proper bench-marking exercise (see 2.4.4), but, given the readily available examples from these fields for our argument, we feel confident that such an exercise would be a real possibility for the advancement of the social science perspective regarding the linkage between research and policy. We conclude that:

- The focus on relationship has indeed opened up new vistas;
- Bench-marking related fields that have traditionally been analysed in relational terms is a way forward;
- Our analysis suggests several, more specific themes that would be particularly interesting to pursue:
  - Participatory project planning and monitoring techniques
  - The role of facilitator, or mediator
  - The potential utility of metaphor as an analytical instrument for understanding research policy linkage

The first two seem directly relevant for the development of good linkage arrangements, while the last theme warrants some additional comment. Looking at "relationship" through the lens of management literature has signalled metaphor as a potentially useful instrument. Again, such an analysis would go beyond the confines of the present study, but we suggest that "thinking through" the consequences of various metaphorical images of the relationship between research and policy may be a productive way to translate the vocabulary of the framework into an analysis of the interaction. Obviously, the first task to be accomplished would be to identify the most important metaphors that are used for relationships like those between research and policy. Recalling the organisational metaphors identified by Morgan (see Box 6), some seem applicable, others less so. One does not need much imagination to see that the ones that can be applied (for example the organism, brain-as-information-processor, and political system metaphors) evidently result in very different "stories" (using the same vocabulary).

One could even say that our suggestion to shift perspective from utilisation to relationship is also a change of metaphorical images of the linkage situation as a whole. Going beyond the perspective advocated in this study would imply a search for yet other "master perspectives" or metaphorical lenses. Our claim would be that having more images creates better opportunities for understanding. Each image or perspective highlights certain aspects and hides others. We offer the Market metaphor as our suggestion for an alternative perspective on the linkage situation. Not so much in its restricted sense of the user as buyer and the researcher as seller, but in a broader sense that defines the arena as a "market of information".

6.2 Linking good arrangements to kinds of research involvement

The second major objective – to identify effective means or arrangements to facilitate linkage between research and social policy – needs an additional analytical step to enable us to frame our conclusions as recommendations. The tendencies of certain arrangements to provide better linkage than others are not mutually exclusive. The framework in its full-fledged form (see figure 4) uses the triad of new research/accessibility of existing research/policy advice as an ordering principle. It is telling that nearly all tendencies cluster within the category "new research".

There are, however, different "styles" of research, and it is obvious that particular arrangements are best applied to particular styles.

6.2.1 Styles of research[135]

It is conventional to draw a distinction between policy research, policy relevant research and academic research.

- *Policy research* refers to studies carried out as part of the policy process. The motivation is to illuminate one aspect of that process in the interests of effective policy development. It may include feasibility studies, background reports and evaluation research. In fact, the last kind – that is research which explores the success or otherwise of a policy meeting its declared objective(s) – is the most common. The critical determining condition of policy research is that it is premised upon the definitions, perceptions, and priorities of policy makers. A significant proportion of this research is carried out "in-house"; that is, by research and development, or statistical, divisions of government agencies at the local, national or regional levels.[136] The results are typically published (if at all) in the form of reports ("grey literature"), tend to be presented without much theoretical underpinning[137], and are sometimes evidently politically motivated.

- *Policy relevant research,* by contrast, may be focused equally on policy issues but does not share the assumptions of the policy maker. It is thus more wide-ranging, perhaps more critical, and often longer-term. Much of the work carried out in the migration and ethnic studies literature falls into this category. It is driven by a combination of academic logic coupled with one which is essentially moral, or ethical. The choice of topic, in particular, is never derived entirely from the academic literature alone. For example, the distinguished US sociologist William Julius Wilson, while undoubtedly committed to the highest standards of scholarship, is also highly concerned about the consequences of urban change for America's minorities.

- *Academic research* differs from these two not by the standards it seeks to attain but by the origins of the problem it explores. When this is derived exclusively from the scientific literature itself, without any recourse to policy or political debate, then it may be said to fall into this category. The long-standing debate on the origins of ethnicity is perhaps one example (Smith, Gellner et al). Typically found in academic journals, such debates sometimes have a flavour of careerism about them; their proponents appear locked in a struggle for prestige and academic advancement[138].

Three questions arise in relation to this classification. Is it accurate? Is it exhaustive, and what relevance may it have for the good arrangements identified through the survey?

To dismiss the first question quickly; it is more of a caricature than a typology. The boundaries are frequently crossed, just as the distinction between policy-maker and researcher is often rather muddy in practice, as people with PhDs and a research record end up in ministries or in local government.

We are more concerned with whether it is exhaustive. The majority of researchers interested in migration and ethnic studies end up pursuing interests in the policy relevant category. Some of them, however, are interested in moving further in the direction of action, while at the same time seeking to avoid becoming too enmeshed in the short-term and sometimes "fickle" priorities of officials. We all know, for example, that research is sometimes exploited as a strategy for *evading* politically unpopular decisions. Similarly, there are clearly those in city administrations, in local government, in state administrations, national/federal governments and in regional administrations who understand the need to step outside the building, not only to commission policy evaluation but also to reflect with others on how to stop "second generation" youth from becoming disaffected, how to prevent urban ghettos, how to promote entrepreneurship, how to control criminality or extremism, or whatever the problem at hand may be.

- One might call this a new category of *policy oriented* research which is defined as studies based on a *shared* perception of the issues, where relevance and topicality are critical, and where the object is to improve the quality and effectiveness of public policy. This differs from policy research in being more independent and thus potentially more critical; it differs from policy-relevant research in being constrained by policy priorities and perceptions.

6.2.2 Styles and arrangements

We propose that particular arrangements are best applied to specific styles. This does not, however, mean that the arrangement-style connections, suggested below, are exhaustive; they are the most obvious, and, in terms of recommendations that follow from our study, the first to be tried out.

6.2.2.1 Policy research

The category of *policy research* seems most apt to be the arena for periodic staff exchanges, or other similar facilities. The point of exchange is two-pronged:

- An instrument to increase overlapping experience;
- An instrument to conduct the research in a supportive and informed setting.

In view of what we say below about policy relevant research, we explicitly include the writing of reviews of policy research as a potentially interesting objective of staff exchange. Thinking about objectives for researchers and civil servants, the following differentiation seems appropriate:

- For policy staff, time in an academic setting to review existing (often grey) policy research material;
- For researchers, conducting policy research on secondment in a policy setting.

An issue at stake in the policy research category is the expertise and data sources gathered within commercial research agencies. These agencies, being fully dependent on contract research, operate on a more competitive footing than their academic equivalents. In addition to the risks associated with the primacy of profit maximalisation (see appendix E), this means that accumulated data and expertise tends to be kept in-house. Agencies strive towards dominating particular niches in the market and this intellectual capital is their most important resource. (Raw) data of singular policy research studies are often not particularly relevant for the scientific community. However, larger, specialised agencies often possess raw data of many related studies, that together, constitute an interesting source for all kinds of further research and meta-analyses. We believe that, from the viewpoint of furthering social scientific insight, the in accessibility of these sources is regretted. This is not the place to explore possible ways to overcome this problem, but given the continuous increase in the use of contract research by commercial agencies, we strongly recommend that action should be taken on this issue.

6.2.2.2 Policy relevant research

As far as access to existing research is concerned, the category of *policy relevant research* is most promising in terms of delivering useful input for policy debate and development (but see above). However, our study did not produce any revolutionary ideas for accessing existing research information, but reconfirmed the utility of known instruments:

- *State of the art research summaries/reviews:* the ones prepared for the 1997 Copenhagen conference of Metropolis are a good example of these (see http://international.metropolis.net/research-policy/index_e.html). Their access figures (as well as the locations from where they are being accessed[5]) on the Websites that host these reviews, make the demand for such reviews abundantly clear;
- *Short non-academic summaries of research:* 3-4 page long précis of important studies that set out the main findings in non-technical language. The research summaries of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, the UK's largest independent social research and development charity, are a good example (see http://www.jrf.org.uk/);
- *Targetted meetings:* a series of seminars, organised monthly on specific topics. A concrete example is "Le petit déjeune de la MIRE" (Mission interministérielle de recherche et experimention; Ministry of Employment and Solidarity, France). From 20 to 30 minutes, a researcher presents his work, followed by a general discussion with 20-30 invited participants. In total, every seminar lasts 1,5 hours. Participants are personally invited and are drawn from civil servants and researchers who are directly involved with the subject matter. All present receive a copy of the research report. In order to assure the informal character and non-hierarchical nature of the seminar, the organisers tend to avoid inviting very senior individuals (e.g. ministers, secretaries of state or directors of departments).

Obviously, state of the art research summaries/reviews of academic and policy-orient-

ed research also make a lot of sense.
- Reviews of academic research may feed new ideas and perspectives into both the policy relevant and policy-oriented research arenas; and
- Reviews of policy-oriented research may feed into either the policy relevant and even academic terrains, but also into the policy research arena.

We suggest that both kinds of review require academic backgrounds because they assume familiarity with current theories. Reviewing policy-oriented research for the benefit of policy research assumes overlapping experience (for reviews of policy research, see above).

Without doubt, the generative potential for new ideas and new perspectives from such reviews (of all styles of research) is equally relevant for improving the utility of research findings, for policy development and debate, *and* for academic debate and theory formation. It is also apparent that reviews are more effective if they are targetted to a particular audience. That means that reviewing policy relevant research to inform policy debate presupposes a review which is distinct from reviewing the same corpus to inform academic debate. The connection we propose between policy relevant research and reviews is premised on the policy community as the main beneficiary of these reviews.

6.2.2.3 Policy-oriented research

It is evident that the category of *policy-oriented research* is the prototypical arena for linking research and policy in terms of new research. This is the kind of research that is near enough to (current) policy concerns to be of direct interest to civil servants and politicians, while still being grounded in (academic) theory. It is the kind of research that offers good linkage potential if:
- Problem definitions and project monitoring are shared by the research and the policy interests;
- And project teams are open to all disciplines necessary for the study of the problem as defined;
- Within the context of a long-term commitment;
- That is flexible enough to allow mid-term adjustments.

6.2.3 Institutional design

The question now arises about what kind of institution(s) or organisation(s) could deliver these functions. A number of principles can be set out; all follow from the need to safeguard:
- The independence of the institution from any one particular interest;
- The necessary time to develop the institution.

First, if the funding is too piecemeal and short-term, it will not succeed. There has to *be a commitment for 'core' funding over a period of at least 5 years.* On that basis, it is relatively straightforward to raise project money from research councils, national or local government, or from many other national and regional sources. The second principle is that the institution should have *a core staff of limited number, who have research support functions only.* This ensures the continuity necessary to develop

proper infrastructural provisons and an institutional memory. The third principle is that those involved as research staff should be *on secondment rather than recruited* in the normal way. Otherwise, there is an inevitable tendency to build a bureaucratic career structure that would be quite inappropriate for an experimental initiative. The secondment should be for a longer duration than one particular project, however! Two to three years seems the kind of period that avoids the risks associated with permanent staff, while guaranteeing sufficient time for longer term collaboration. A fourth principle is that *any initiative should not be too closely entwined within the tentacles of any one larger body,* either a public (government, university) or private organisation. This is because association with any other institution which is too close creates the risk of self-interested interference. Even undeserved interpretations of interference by any of the other parties would already diminish the potential effectiveness of the institution as a means of linkage.

We do not know of existing institutions that embody all of these principles. The missions of the Swiss and Austrian Migration Fora come close to the kind of linkage arrangement envisioned but both are still traditional institutions in the sense that:
- They are hosted by one particular mother institution;
- They have tenured research staff; and
- The research projects they conduct are not designed in fully participatory ways.

The Swiss Migration Forum has been in existence since 1995, and is the more traditional of the two. Its history and present facilities are described in appendix L. The Austrian Forum for Migrationstudies (ÖFM), started in 1998, has a history that shows more policy involvement in its formative phase. Box 56 describes its development and present operations.

Österreichisches Forum für Migrationsstudien 56

In 1997 the Austrian Ministry of the Interior commissioned the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD, Vienna) to conduct a feasibility study for an Austrian Forum for Migration studies[140] (along the lines of the Swiss Forum for Migration studies). The project team:
- Made an inventory of Austrian migration studies from 1980 onwards;
- Surveyed the Austrian research world for opinions about the status quo with respect to migration studies and themes to be explored in the future;
- Surveyed national and local policy circles and NGO's about their information needs and accessibility problems, their collaboration with research, and their ideas about the mission and the organisational structure of an Austrian Migration Forum.

In 1998, on the basis of the resulting proposal, the Ministry gave ICMPD a three year grant to develop the Forum. The Forum presents itself in a leaflet as follows[141]:
'Am ÖFM kommt ein kleines und qualifiziertes Team zum Einsatz. Den Kern bilden eine wissenschaftliche und koordinatorische Leiterin, eine Soziologin und Dokumentaristin, sowie eine Dokumentationsassistentin. Auserdem wird das Team nach Bedarf von externen Experten unterstützt....

Dokumentation und Forschung bilden am ÖFM eine Einheit. Forschungsprojecte des ÖFM beinhalten daher meist einen ausführlichen Literatur- und Dokumentationsteil....

Das Forum bemüht sich um die Erfassung und Auswertung von Materialien die über herkömmliche Literatursammlungen nur schwer zugänglich sind....
[Das] ÖFM setz aktuelle und spezifische Schwerpunkte:

- Migration und EU-Osterweiterung;
- Integration ausländischer Arbeitnehmerinnen in den Arbeitsmarkt;
- Illegale Migration;
- Ost-, Mittel- und Südosteuropa.

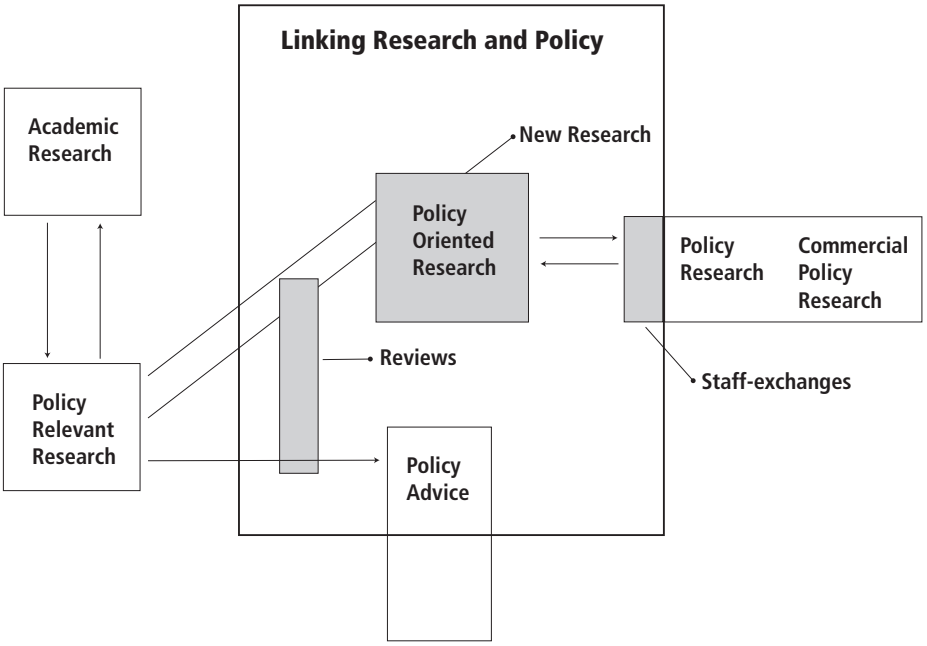
Das ÖFM versucht als clearinghouse dazu beizutragen, dass sich das "know-how" von migrationsbefassten Stellen nicht unnötig dupliziert, sondern sinnvoll ergänzt:

- ÖFM bringt Forscherinnen und Behördenvertreterinnen an einen Tisch und stärkt ihre Kooperation im Migrationsbereich. ÖFM vermittelt geeignete Kontakte. In der umfangreichen Adressdatenbank können in vielen Fällen auch gezielt einzelne Ansprechpartnerinnen gefunden werden.
- ÖFM informiert sich über laufende und abgeschlossene Projekte, Themenschwerpunkte und Veranstaltungen und gibt diese Information auf Anfrage an Sie weiter.
- ÖFM organisiert fachspezifische Veranstaltungen.

Although facilities such as a documentation centre and a clearinghouse are valuable assets for any linkage institution, the ÖFM lacks[142] what should be the core of that kind of organisation, a jointly formulated and monitored programme of policy-oriented research.

Figure 5 visualises all of the above discussion. The arrows represent state of the art/review potential. The shaded areas represent the proposed research style – arrangement links (one of these being reviews of policy relevant research for the benefit of policy oriented research and policy advice). The space called linking research and policy designates the operational area of the proposed linking organisation, with policy oriented research as the core of its mission, and supportive roles for policy research and particular kinds of policy advice.

Figure 5



The area designated *linking research and policy* suggests the core functions that an ideal linkage institution should fulfil:

- Jointly programme and conduct a series of policy-oriented studies;
- Produce state of the art reviews of policy relevant research to inform both its policy-oriented research programme and its policy advice;
- Be a clearinghouse of staff exchanges between research and policy;

Other characteristics of this institution would be:

- The principles outlined above, financial and organisational independence, a limited number of support staff and research (and policy advice) staff on secondment or temporary (part-time) basis are important conditions to be fulfilled;
- Important in-house (support) skills should cover participatory project planning and monitoring techniques, and other team facilitation management tools;
- The overlap in figure 5 between the linkage area and "policy advice" indicates the possibility of the institution assuming the secretariat for policy advice councils, comparable to the arrangements described in Box 31 (Advisory councils in the Netherlands);
- Obviously, documentation and data warehousing facilities fit the profile of such an institution;
- The functions envisioned presuppose that the institution is at the heart of a network of research and policy actors. It has to offer added value in terms of playing a coor-

dinating linkage and brokerage role. This, again, presumes that the research and policy actors share a common interest concerning content. That is to say that the institution should focus on a certain issue-arena (as opposed to arrangements like The Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy, described in Box 31). [143]

6.3 Linkage and Relationship

As stated above, we did not find this kind of arrangement in practice. However, we did find several arrangements that can be considered partial implementations of the ideas presented, such as the Migration Fora described in Box 56 and Appendix L, and the advisory councils described in Box 31. Also, the proposals for "light infrastructure social science laboratories" (Martinotti, see Box 48) and for a European Migration Observatory[144] (see also Boxes 35 and 38) contain features comparable to what we propose here.

However, none of these stress the need for in-house (support) skills that include participatory project planning and monitoring techniques, and other team facilitation management tools. This ties in directly with our proposal to think primarily about the linkage issue in terms of creating a relationship of mutual trust and appreciation between research and policy actors. All of the existing institutional arrangements are characterised by the focus on knowledge and information. Obviously, information is what everyone is ultimately after, but we contend that when linkage is the primary aim of an institution, one should imbibe the lessons gleaned by those investigating linkage issues in other "fields" (the ones described as interesting sectors for bench-marking exercises):

- Bridging gulfs, such as between research and policy, is often too difficult for the parties involved to bring about themselves, without outside help;
- Facilitation of the bridging process is best organised through the involvement of a consultant, without any personal or institutional interests attached to the issue at hand, who is trained in mediation techniques, possibly with the use of particular planning and monitoring tools.

Intriguingly, the policy community is normally very eager to use the private (profit) sector as a bench-mark. It is an interesting question why the use of the described kinds of (process) management tools, indeed quite common in the business world, have not caught their attention.

7. Select annotated bibliography: A guide to further reading

1. Research policy linkage

1.1 Knowledge Utlization classics

What is, and what is not to count as a classic is a matter of contention. The list below could be longer, and/or it could list other works; the points we want to make are:

a) anyone interested in the subject should get acquianted with the work of Caplan, Weiss and Bulmer;
b) Jasanoff is less well-known, because her topic is more specific to the US situation, but it is certainly a classic as far as the scientist-as-advisor role is concerned;
c) anyone looking for well-edited anthologies may go for Bulmer but the more recent Wagner c.s. has interesting articles too; for example, the Weiss piece, linking functions of research to circumstances under which it can influence policy, can be called a classic in itself.

Bulmer. M., 1986, *Social science and social policy.* London: Allen & Unwin.

Bulmer, M. (ed.), 1987, *Social science research and government.* Cambridge university press.

Caplan, N., Morrsion, A. & Stambough, R. (1975) *The use of social science knowledge in policy decisions at the national level.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Caplan, N. (1979) The two communities theory and knowledge utilization. *American Behavioural Scientist,* 459-470.

Jasanoff, S., 1990, *The fifth branch: science adviser as policymakers,* Cambridge: Harvard U.P.

Wagner, P., Weiss, C.H., Wittrock, B., Wollman, H. (eds.), 1991, *Social sciences and modern states.* Cambridge University Press.

Weiss, C., 1977, *Using social research in public policy making,* Mass: Lexington Heath.

Weiss, C., Bucuvalas, M., 1980, *Social science research and decision making,* NY (etc.): Columbia UP, 1980.

Weiss, C. , 1991, Policy research: data, ideas or arguments? In: Wagner, P. et.al.

1.2 The Netherlands

The Netherlands are a country with a long tradition of research policy linkage; the linkage has been studied and commented upon quite extensively, but, unfortunately, all of it is internationally inaccessible because it is written in Dutch. And even in the Netherlands, part of it is difficult to locate, because of its "grey" status. The point of this overview is to show that

a) when a particular country is studied more intensively, one can find quite some interesting material in writing;
b) the KU field could profit from the rich empirical sources available in the Netherlands.

1.2.1 Meerjarenplan Sociaal Onderzoek en Beleid

In 1979, the ministry of Education initiated a five year research programme *Social*

research and policy, to empirically study issues of
- interaction and cooperation between researchers and civil servants;
- the programming of social policy research.

A literature review and the development of contract research guidelines were also part of the project. The immediate output is listed below; afterwards, two of the researchers involved wrote their dissertations, on the basis of the material collected.

Becker, H.A. (red.), 1986, *Sociaal-wetenschappelijk Onderzoek en Beleid; resultaat van een studiedag ter afsluiting van het 'Meerjarenplan SociaalOnderzoek en Beleid'*, Utrecht: Jan van Arkel.

Hoesel, P.H.M van, A. van Gageldonk, N. Schoemaker, 1982, *Programmering van Sociaal-Wetenschappelijk beleidsonderzoek,* Leiden: Lisbon.

Hoesel, P.H.M. van & A.F. Wiersema, 1984, *Onderzoek programmeren, hoe doe je dat?* Leiden: Lisbon.

Hoesel, P.H.M. van, 1984, *Programmering van sociaal wetenschappelijk beleidsonderzoek,* Leiden: Lisbon.

Hutjes, J.M. & M.C.J. Cuisinier, 1982, *Sociaal-wetenschappelijk onderzoek in het overheidsbeleid; een analyse van de empirische literatuur,* Nijmegen: I.T.S.: Instituut voor Toegepaste Sociologie.

Oijen, P.M.M. van, B.W. Frijling, I.Th.M. Snellen & J.M. van Westerlaak, 1982, *Samenwerking tussen onderzoek en beleid,* Nijmegen: ITS.

Oijen, P.M.M. van, I.Th.M. Snellen & J.M. van Westerlaak, 1984, *Ambtenaren en onderzoekers; een vergelijkende studie naar de samenwerking tussen onderzoek en beleid bij 45 onderzoeksprojecten in opdracht van 10 departementen,* Leiden: Lisbon.

O & W, 1985, *Het meerjarenplan voor Sociaal Onderzoek en Beleid; een overzicht,* Zoetermeer: Graafland.

1.2.2 Other relevant literature

The overview presented here is not exhaustive, but shows that the linkage issue has received a fair amount of attention.

Bos, B., 1993, *Overheid en onderzoeksinstituten tussen doel en markt; omvang, organisatie en sturing van het beleidsonderzoek bij de rijksoverheid,* Zoetermeer: CIP.
An evaluation of magnitude, organisation and programming of contract research by all Dutch ministries.

Ester, P., J. Geurts & M. Vermeulen (eds.), 1997, *De makers van de toekomst; over nut en noodzaak van toekomstverkenningen voor beleidsonderzoek,* Tilburg: U.P.
Necessity, usefulness, methods and constraints of scenario-analysis for policy research.

Gorter, K.A., 1991, *De rol van lopend onderzoek bij onderzoeksprogrammering; feiten en meningen over themakeuze in onderzoeksprogramma's,* Den Haag: Nimawo.
Research registration and research programming.

Homminga, A., T. Van de Pennen & J. Svensson, 1994, *Van feit naar beleid; een theoretisch en empirisch onderzoek naar de relatie tussen onderzoek en (welzijns-)*

beleid; verslag deel 1 van de stage bij het SCP.
A sectoral study: the relationship between research and welfare policy.
Hoesel, P.H.M. van, 1987, De identificatie van beleidsonderzoek. In M. Van der Vall (red.) *Sociaal Beleidsonderzoek.* Den Haag: VUGA.
Characteristics of policy research.
Lucassen, L. & A.J.F. Köbben, 1992, *Het partiële gelijk; controverses voor het onderwijs in de eigen taal en cultuur en de rol daarbij van beleid en wetenschap (1951-1991),* Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger.
A detailed case study, of the kind that Carol Weiss is looking for; the relationship between Dutch research on teaching non-Dutch children their mother tongue and Dutch policy in this field.
Penninx, R., 1988, Wie betaalt, bepaalt? De ontwikkeling en programmering van onderzoek naar migranten, etnische minderheden en woonwagenbewoners, 1955-1985, met speciale aandacht voor de rol, van de overheid. *Amsterdamse sociaal-geografische studies,* 13.
Rinus Penninx has analysed the relationship between research and policy in the sector of migration and integration issues several times during the last decade. The three publications listed here are the gist of his work on this topic.
Penninx, R. 1992. *Wie betaalt en wie bepaalt? Onderzoeksbeleid van de overheid m.b.t. minderheden en de invloed van onderzoek op beleid.* The hague: Home Ministry.
Penninx, R. 1998. Over machtsverhoudingen tussen politiek, beleid en onderzoek; de casus van minderhedenstudies en -beleid. *Sociale Interventie,* 7(4), p.175-181.
Puffelen, F. van, S. Hietbrink, M. Schuit, D.D. van der Stelt-Scheele, 1989, *Opdrachtgevers onderzocht; opdrachtonderzoek bij de overheid: feiten, opinies en trends,* Amsterdam: SEO.
An opinion survey among civil servants commissioning research: facts, opinions and trends.
Research voor beleid b.v., 1996, *De wisselwerking tussen beleid en onderzoek; een overzicht vanuit de praktijk van 13 departementen,* Leiden: Lisbon.
An evaluation of organisation, programming and perceived usefulness of contract research by all Dutch ministries.
Snel, E., 1996, *De vertaling van wetenschap; Nederlandse sociologie in praktijk,* Utrecht: SWP.
An analysis of the relationship between Dutch sociology and Dutch social policy in the 50s and 60s; it is a dissertation and includes both empirical work and conceptual analysis of the transformations of scientific knowledge in the interaction between research and policy.
Snel, E. 1996. Voorbij 'engineering' en 'enlightment'. Nieuwe visies op het theorie-praktijk probleem in de sociologie. *Beleid&Maatschappij,* 3, p. 109-120.

1.3 Relevant literature from other countries: general perspective

The Netherlands stand out in terms of the quantity of available material, especially empirical material. However, also other European countries produce interesting material. The underneath is meant to underline that only consulting the (very much Anglo-Saxon) classics, may not be the right way forward. Both Hartman and Nowotny and Lambiri-Dimaki contain input from various European countries. The other two are

more nationally oriented.

Hartman, F. (Hg.), 1993, *Standort und Perspektiven der außeruniveritären Sozialforschung,* Wien: Remaprint.
INPL, Congrés National de la valorisation universitaire et assemblee generale du reseau curie 98, 1998, *Actes,* Nancy: INPL.
Lampinen, O., 1992, The utilization of social science research in public policy. Suomen Akatemian Julkaisuja 4, Helsinki: Vapk-Kustannus
Nowotny, H. & J. Lambiri-Dimaki (eds.), 1985, *The difficult dialogue between producers and users of social science research,* Vienna: European Centre for Social Welfare Training and Research.

1.4 Relevant literature from other countries: sectoral perspective

Apart from general work on the relationship between research and policy, there are sectoral studies. As these, in principle, take more of the relationship *context* into account, they are worth mentioning separately. Below are three studies on education and one on urban policy. It is interesting to note that many converge upon action research-type strategies as the most effective model of linkage.

OECD, 1995, *Knowledge Bases for Education Policies,* Paris: OECD.
Reimers, F., Mcginn, N., 1997, *Informed dialogue: using research to shape education policy around the world.* Glenview: Praeger.
Tydén, T. (ed.), 1995, *When school meet science,* Stockholm: Stockhom Institute of Education Press.
Weisbrod, B.A., Worthy, J.C., 1997, *The urban crises: linking research to action.* Illinois: Northwestern University Press.

1.5 Media

Fenton, N., A. Bryman & D. Deacon, 1998, *Mediating social science,* London: Sage.
The media are an increasinly important factor in public debate; if you look for a starting point to explore their role in the triangle research/public opinion/policy, this is the one to go for.

1.6 New mode of knowledge production

Gibbons, M., C. Limoges, H. Nowotny, S. Schwartzman, P. Scott & M. Trow, 1994, *The new production of knowledge; the dynamics of science and research in cntemporary societies,* London: Sage.
This book and its claim of the emergence of a new mode of knowledge production very quickly took hold of debates around research-policy linkage, interdisciplinarity, technology and innovation studies etc. Stimulating read, but as yet unproven hypothesis, especially for the social sciences.

2. Academic culture

Whatever the limitations of the "two communities" approach to the linkage issue may be, understanding the particular institutional and ideological constraints of the research arena and the policy domain, is essential to understanding the relationship between the two.

Baggen, P., A. Tellings & W. van Haaften (eds.), 1998, *The university and the knowl-*

edge society, London: Concorde.
Proceedings of a conference on the role that universities can, or should play in an increasingly knowledge intensive society
Becher, T., 1989, *Academic tribes and territories; intellectual enquiry and the cultures of disciplines,* London: O.U.P.
A classic study on the disciplinary mechanisms determining academic life; Cunningham, R., 1999 (see Interdisciplinarity) contains an article of another authority on this topic: John Ziman.
Defoort, C. & N. Standaert, 1997, *Areastudies stellen wetenschappen ter discussie,* Leuven: Leuvense perspectieven, 4.
The concept of area studies as an "early" critique of disciplinarity.
Fruytier, B. & V. Timmerhuis, 1995, *Mensen in onderzoek; het mobiliseren van human resources in wetenschapsorganisaties,* Assen: Van Gorcum.
HRM in scientific organizations.
Galtung, J.,1981, Structure, culture, and intellectual style: An essay comparing saxonic, teutonic, gallic and nipponic approaches. *Social Science Information* (Sage), 20 (6), p. 817-856.
Still an unsurpassed essay on intellectual styles.
Haan, J. de, 1994, *Research groups in Dutch sociology,* Amsterdam: Thesis.
An empirical study on the functioning of "schools" of thought within one discipline; although a very local study, the analysis has universal applicability.
Hemels, J., F. van der Kolff, Y. De Lusent, 1999, *Kennis in afleveringen; een kleine geschiedenis van het wetenschappelijk tijdschrift,* Amsterdam: Nederlands Instituut voor Wetenschappelijke Informatiediensten.
The history of the scientific journal.
OECD, 1995, *Research training; present & future,* Paris: OECD.
Zaunberger, K., Kerner, W., 1999, *Strategies and research policies on research training in Europe.* Luxembourg: EC (IHP).

3. Policy culture

As stated under 2, whatever the limits of the two communities approach to the linkage issue may be, understanding the particular institutional and ideological constraints of the research arena and the policy domain is essential for understanding the relationship between the two. A difference between the research and the policy domains is that on the last so much more has been written. The studies listed below are just a first reading suggestion for those wanting to get a feel for the kinds of material available. They are examples of particular perspectives on the policy domain, and steer clear of technical analyses.

Kingdon, J., W., 1984. *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies.* Don Mills, Ot.: Harper Collins.
Wilson, J., Q., 1989, *Bureaucracy: what government agencies do and why they do it.* Basic Books.
Stone, D., 1997, *Policy paradox, the art op political decision making,* New York: Norton.

4. European comparisons: immigration, integration, urban policy and practice

For those interested in comparisons of different countries in terms of policy arena's relevant to migrants and cities, quite an extensive bibliography is available by now.

Berg, L. van den, Braun, E, Meer, van der, J.,1997, *National urban policy in the European union.* European institute for comparative urban research, EUR.
Short descritions of national urban policy of all 15 EU states.

Bommes, M. & J. Halfmann, 1998, *Migration in nationalen Wohlfahrtsstaaten, theoretische und vergleichende Untersuchungen.* Osnabrück: Rasch.
The Netherlands, Germany, the US, Australia, Switzerland, France, Sweden.

Breebaart, M., S. Musterd & W. Ostendorf, 1997, *Mutli-Ethnic Metropolis: Patterns and Policies,* Amsterdam: AME.
Patterns and policies concerning ethnic segregation in The Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, the UK, Sweden, France and Canada.

Community Relations, 1997, *Measurement and indicators of integration,* Strassburg: Council of Europe.
When comparing, the issue of indicators is crucial; indicators for integration are a very much unsolved debate.

Council of Europe, Community relations, 1999, *Political and social participation of immigrants through consultative bodies,* Strasbourg: Cedex.
The Netherlands, France, Norway, Portugal, the UK, Sweden, Belgium, Germany, Finland, Italy, Switzerland, Denmark.

European Commission, 1994, *Pre-feasibility study on the possible establishment of a European migration observatory.* Luxembourg: E.C.

European Commission, 1996/1998, *Feasibility study for a European migration observatory; Final report,* Luxembourg: E.C.
These two reports give an excellent overview of who does what in the field of migration studies in Europe; especially strong on stocks and flow data-collection (also the international organizations involved); the research centre info is somewhat outdated.

International centre of comparative urban policy studies, 1998, *Racism, xenophobia and minority policies in the European city (draft),* Rotterdam.
Antwerp, Athens, Barcelona, Berlin, Birmingham, Copenhagen, Dublin, Helsinki, Lille, Lisbon, Madrid, Milan, Rotterdam, Vienna.

Mitteilungen der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Belange der Ausländer,1996, *Ausländerbeauftragte anderer Länder: Darstellung von Instituionen in EU-Staaten, Norwegen, der Schweiz, Tschechien sowie den USA und Kanada mit ähnlichen Aufgaben wie die der "Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Belange der Ausländer"* in Deutschland, Bonn.

OECD, 1998, *Immigrations, integration and cities; exploring the links,* Paris: OECD.
Australia, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, the UK, the US.

Soysal, Y.N.,1994, *Limits of citizenship; migrants and postnational membership in Europe.* University of Chicago Press.
A recent addition to the tradition of citizenship literature. A good introduction to the field.

Vermeulen, H., 1997, *Immigrant Policy for a Multicultural Society; a comparative study of integration, language and religious policy in five western European coun-*

tries, Brussels: MPG.
Belgium, Germany, France, the UK, the Netherlands.

5. European comparisons: research and policy context

Comparisons between countries not focussed on migrants and/or cities but illuminating broader contextual differences.

Clark, B.R., 1995, *Places of Inquiry. Research and advanced education in modern universities.* Berkeley: UCP.
The US, the UK, Germany, France, Japan.

COS (Commissie van Overleg Sectorraden), 1999, *Internationalisering Sectorraden: Mogelijkheden vanv erkenningen en potentiële internationale partners,* Rijswijk: NV Sdu.
An overview of a) 'partner organizations' within the EU for the Dutch government advisory bodies for research, and b) examples of foresight exercises in the UK, Australia, the US, Germany, Denmark, Sweden and France.

Felderer, B. & D.F.J. Campbell, 1994, *Forschungsfinanzierung in Europa; Trends-Modelle Empfehlungen für Österreich,* Wien: Manz.
Germany, the Netherlands, the UK, Finland, Austria.

OECD Group on the Science System, 1998, *University research in transition,* Paris: OECD.
OECD countries.

OECD, 1995, *Educational Research and Development; Austria, Germany, Switzerland,* Paris: OECD.

Suzenet, G., 1997, *R & D Policies: Case study: water; present status in Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain,* EUR 17726 EN, Luxembourg: EC.
Good factual descriptions of the general R&D system in the countries surveyed

Waarden, F. van.1996. *Instituties en internationale mobiliteit; Een vergelijking van wetenschappelijke banenmarkten en carrierepatronen in Duitsland, Oostenrijk, Engeland, de USA, Belgie en Nederland.* AWSB working papers 96/03.

Wagner, P., 1999, The twentieth century - the century of the social sciences? In: UNESCO, *WSSR,* p.16-41.
An overview of the role accorded to the social sciences.

6. Networks

Network studies are a relatively recent field (although early studies exist, e.g. Warren); the ripe and green selection below gives an indication of the kind of material available when one wanted to look at networking as a field for bench-marking.

Bandemer, S. von, P. Kalff, M.A. Suàrez, J.F. Tellechea & J.P. Watson, 1996, *Typology of partnerships in the European research and innovation system,* EUR 16964 EN, Luxembourg: E.C.

Bazzane, G. & C. Ayache, 1998, *Study on the impact of HCM networks in the field of communication technologies,* EUR 18624 EN, Luxembourg: EC.

COST, 1997, *COST Evaluation, Main report.*

European Commission, 1996/1998, *Feasibility study for a European migration observatory; Final report,* Luxembourg: E.C.

Glasbergen, P. (Ed.), 1995, *Managing environmental disputes: network management as an alternative.* Dordrecht etc.: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
Marsh, D., 1998, *Comparing Policy Networks,* Buckingham: O.U.P.
Mast, W. & L. ten Brummeler, 1994, *Organisatienetwerken in de non-profit sector; de dynamiek van netwerken aan de hand van vijf relevante dimensies.* Utrecht: SWP.
Warren, R.L., 1967, The interorganizational field as a focus for investigation, *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 12, 1967, p.396-419.

7. Interdisciplinarity

Interdisciplinarity is possibly the field closest to research-policy linkage. It is widely recognized as a must, it is widely recognised as an intractable problem, and it is strong on problem descriptions and weak on solutions.

Cunningham, R., 1999, *Interdisciplinarity and the Organisation of Knowledge in Europe,* Luxembourg: EC.
The proceedings of a recent (1997), and very good conference on the subject. Lots of interesting (bench-marking) material.
Lunca, M. 1996, *An epistemological programme for interdisciplinarisation,* Utrecht: Isor.
The kind of philosophical analysis that does full justice to the scientific issue of interdisciplinary theory construction, yet stops short of considering the pragmatics of solving concrete problems.
Mudimbe, V.Y. & B. Jewsiewicki (eds.), *Open the Social Sciences, repot of the Gulbenkian Commision on the restructuring of the Social Sciences,* Stanford, California: S.U.P.
The kind of analysis that does full justice to the societal need of interdisciplinary problem approaches and gives some practical suggestions that are easily transferable to the research policy arena.

8. Participatory techniques

Participatory (project planning and monitoring) techniques is similar to the research-policy linkage issue in terms of the fact that the participants supposed to collaborate are often identical (researchers, policy staff and practitioners), yet it is much more focused on practical instruments to bring about fruitful collaboration.

Becker, H.A., 1997, *Social Impact Assessment,* London: UCL
One of the techniques available within the field of policy research, that might be used to structure the interaction between more academicly oriented researchers and policy makers, interested to draw from their expertise.
Boog, B, H. Coenen, L. Keune & R. Lammerts, 1998, *The complexity of relationships in action research,* Tilburg: T.U.P.
Based on a 1997 conference, this edited volume focuses on the relationship of the researchers and the researched, with many of the contributions being case study descriptions.
Smith, S.E., D.G. Willms & N.A. Johnson, 1997, *Nurtured by knowledge: learning to do participatory action-research,* New York: Apex.
One of the more "extreme" approaches to action research in third world contexts.

World bank., 1996, *The World Bank Participation Source Book,* (http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/sourcebook/ sbhome.htm
The book to consult if one is interested in participatory techniques, online available on the internet.

9. R&D indicators

The kind of literature available if one is after quantitative information on R&D investments in different countries.

Commission cooperation federale de la conference interministrerielle de la politique scientifique, 1995, *Vademecum pour l'utilisateur des statistiques et des indicateurs en matiere de science, technologie et innovation.*
Just to indicate that in a world of often non-harmonised data sources, one needs manuals to find one's way through a jungle of material, and even more important,to refrain from drawing invalid conclusions.

European Commission, 1998, *Research and Development: Annual statistics* 1998, Luxembourg: E.C.
Strong on figures, weak on analysis.

Kazancigil, A. & D. Makinson, 1999, *World social science; Report 1999,* Paris: UNESCO, Elsevier.
Contains a chapter on the social sciences.

Muldur, U. et al., 1997, *Second European Report on S & T Indicator incl. Appendix,* EUR 17639 EN, Luxembourg: E.C.
The major European publication; uses a wealth of data sources but concentrates largely on technology indicators. First report published in 1994.

Tijssen, R.J.W., Th.N. van Leeuwen, B. Verspagen & H. Hollanders, 1998, *Wetenschaps- en technologie-indicatoren 1998,* Zoetermeer: NOWT (Het Nederlands observatorium van wetenschap en technologie).
The Netherlands are known for their accurate statistical information; bi-annually the data on science and technology are analysed in a comparative perspective. Contains more info on the social sciences than the EC material, but much of it is non-comparative

10. RTD studies

Another field that would be interesting for conceptual bench-marking.

Caracostas, P. & U. Mulder, 1997, *Society, the endless frontier; A European vision of research and innovation policies for the 21st century,* EUR 17655 EN, Luxembourg: E.C.
Interesting, because it draws on many recent RTD studies to suggest new approaches; it is therefore a good introduction to recent research in this field.

Dodgson & Besant, 1996, *Effective Innovation Policy: a New Approach,* London: ITP
One of the directly relevant studies Caracostas and Muldur draw upon.

8. Other literature used or mentioned in this report

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Notes

1. The text of this paragraph is taken (with some alterations) from Malcolm Cross' paper *Research within Metropolis: an Agenda for Action* prepared for the 3rd international Metropolis conference, Zichron Yaacov, Israel, December 1998.
2. For an analysis of the relationship between cities and nations see Robin Cohen, "Back to the future: From Metropolis to Cosmopolis", in: Jan Hjarnø (ed.)(1999) *From Metropolis to Cosmopolis,* South Jutland University Press, p. 9-26.
3. The academic literature on migration and ethnic relations contains various definitions of labels like migrants and (ethnic, cultural) minorities. On top of "academic" differences of opinion, debates in particular national settings "prefer" particular labels, the most well known example being the use of Ausländer (foreigners) in Germany. This is not the place to argue for any particular label and, therefore, we are going to use them indiscriminately.
4. In all countries surveyed, important players within the policy world have defined these issues as being important; obviously in some countries, the agenda-setting is much more recent that in others.
5. EUROSTAT, *Eurobarometer 1996.*
6. Not only in the sense of differences between countries, but also in the sense that within the same country migrants and minorities regularly move in and out of media headlines.
7. The assignment to conduct the survey was given in March 1998, the appointments to the ES were temporary and lasted until August 1998.
8. English, French, German, Dutch, and Greek.
9. See 2.1: a label used to describe the basic linkage problem, first coined by Caplan in his analysis:
   – Caplan, N., Morrison, A. & Stambough, R. (1975) *The use of social science knowledge in policy decisions at the national level.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
   – Caplan, N. (1979) The two communities theory and knowledge utilisation. *American Behavioral Scientist,* 459-470
10. A discussion within Metropolis on the development of a database of "good practice" examples of integration policies clearly signalled the demand for the inclusion evaluations (prerequisites and context determinants). Without such analytic information it seemed impossible to consider transferability regarding examples.
11. If anyone can reflect with authority on issues of research/policy linkage it is professor Carol Weiss (Harvard Graduate School for Education). She has authored various classics such as *Using social research in public policy making,* Mass: Lexington Heath, 1977, and (with Bucuvalas) *Social science research and decision making,* NY (etc.): Columbia UP, 1980.
12. This summary is based on Fons Kemper's description in "Research and Policy Research in the Netherlands", a paper presented at the 14th ISA conference, in the session on Policy Making and Applied Sociology, July 1998.
13. For a brief description of the development of KU as a separate field of research, see Tyden, T. 1995, Introduction. In: idem (Ed.) *When School meets Science.* Stockholm Institute of Eduvcation Press.

14. The quote is taken from a *draft proposal for research funding to the program on Management Of Social Transformations (MOST)/Unesco: Factors that Improve the Use of Research in Social Policy – Case Studies,* 1999.
15. Homminga, A., Penne, van de T., Svensson, J., 1994, *Van Feit naar Beleid; een theoretisch en empirisch onderzoek naar de relatie tussen onderzoek en (welzijns-)beleid.* Unpublished, Twente University; the list is partly based on: Hoessel, P.H.M. van, 1987, De identificatie van beleidsonderzoek. In M. Van der Vall (ed.) *Sociaal Beleidsonderzoek.* Den Haag: VUGA.
16. Weis 1977, see note 10.
17. One may point to the well-known 1980 Weiss and Bucuvalas study (see note 11), but also to the kind of approach used in research handbooks for particular policy sectors. An interesting example is the 1994 T*ravel, Tourism, and Hospitality Research: A Handbook for Managers and Researchers* (Ritchie, J. & Goeldner, C. 2nd ed., NY:Wiley). This manual- type standard work, starts out with a chapter on the role of research in tourism management that defines it purely in terms of information supply for management decision making.
18. Caracostas, P. & Muldur, U. , 1998, *Society, the endless frontier: A European vision of research and innovation policies for the 21st century.* EC/DG XII.
19. Dodgson & Besant, 1996, *Effective Innovation Policy: a New Approach,* London: ITP.
20. This material is taken from Morgan, G., 1986, *Images of organisation.* Beverly Hills etc.: Sage.
21. Two relevant publications are the 1996 *Report of the Gulbenkian Commission on the Restructuring of the Social Sciences* edited by V. Mudimbe, and the 1999 Academia Europaea report on *Interdisciplinarity and the Organisation of Knowledge in Europe* edited by Richard Cunningham (proceeding of a 1997 conference).
22. Boden, M.A., 1999, "What is interdisciplinarity?" in: the Academia Europaea report, p.13-23.
23. R.L. Warren, for example, did research on the development of networks among community decision organisations in the 60s and developed a typology of network structures ("The interorganisational field as a focus for investigation", *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 12, 1967, p.396-419).
24. Another example would be the growing importance of policy networks; see D. Marsh (ed.), 1998, *Comparing policy networks.* Buckingham: OUP.
25. Editorial of the 11-12-99 issue: *The non-governmental order; will NGO's democratise, or merely disrupt global governance?* (see www.economist.com)
26. An interesting example is Bandemer, S. van, c.s., 1996. *Typology of partnerships in the European research and innovation system.* Brussels: EC/DG XII.
27. Mast, W. & Ten Brummeler, L., 1994, *Organisatienetwerken in de non-profit sector.* Utrecht: SWP.
28. The close relationship between action-research and project planning is demonstrated by the fact that professional meetings regularly include exponents of both poles of the continuum. The 1997 edited volume that came out of the annual conference of the Dutch Action Research Network contains two contribution that are explicitly focussed on project planning by development agencies (Ben Boog c.s. [eds.], 1998, *The complexity of Relationships in Action Research,* Tilburg:

TUP.

29. A recent exponent of this approach is the 1997 book edited by Susan Smith and others *Nurtered by Knowledge: learning to do participatory Action-Research,* NY: Apex Press.
30. Also see 5.1.2 on facilitators
31. This text is taken from the appendix on methods and tools of *The World Bank Participation Source Book,* 1996.
32. Diesen, A. van, 1998, Keeping hold of the stick and handing over the carrot: dilemmas arising when development agencies use PRA. In: Boog, see note 28.
33. This is not to claim that government and private sector are identical to each other in all respects! The private sector is ruled by the "market", public administration is ruled by the "budget". Party politics are particular to government, as are the guiding concepts of legitimacy and public accountability (analysis borrowed from an interview with Marjan Smit *De BV Nederland? Onzin!,* Intermediair,2 , 2000.
34. Apart from Carol Weiss, our thinking on this conceptual framework has greatly profited from discussions with prof.dr. Rinus Penninx, director of the Institute of Migration Studies of the University of Amsterdam (formerly employed by the Dutch department that was – at that time – responsible for migration and integration policy), and dr. Erik Snel, Erasmus University, Rotterdam. Both have also written on the relationship between research and policy (see the references).
35. A common vocabulary is a prerequisite for a discussion, but it does not in itself ensure a productive discussion!
36. Various authors label the phases slightly differently and/or distinguish three or five phases; however, the gist of all these phase-models is the same.
37. For another labelling of very comparable types of utilisation, see Box 4
38. Obviously, this is a matter of preference; another way of thinking about it would be to draw a distinction between the issue-arena as the "immediate context" and the other characteristics as the "wider context".
39. Presentation on *Challenges for Postgraduate Education in the Social Sciences,* by Ron Amann, chief ESRC, during the april 1999 ALSISS conference on Postgraduate Education in the Social Sciences (for ALSISS, see www.alsiss.org.uk).
40. EC, 1997, *second European report on S&T indicators.* Brussels.
41. See Clark, B.R., 1995, *Places of Inquiry. Research and advanced education in modern universities.* Berkeley: UCP, for a comparison of the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, France and Japan.
42. Jun Oba, 1999, "The social sciences in OECD countries", in: WSSR, p.58-73.
43. A. Gächter. *Less fact and more fiction.The role of research in the making of migration policy: a collection of anecdotes from inside the state.* 5/5/1998
44. Kingdon, J., W., 1984. *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies.* Don Mills, Ot.: Harper Collins.
45. The SPD-led coalition that came to power in 1998 adopted a new, more *'ius soli'* based law on naturalisation that went into effect on the 1st of January 2000.
46. Waarden, F. van.1996. "Instituties en internationale mobiliteit; Een vergelijking van wetenschappelijke banenmarkten en carrierepatronen in Duitsland, Oostenrijk, Engeland, de USA, Belgie en Nederland". *AWSB working papers* 96/03.
47. 1981, "Structure, culture, and intellectual style: An essay comparing Saxonic, Teutonic, Gallic and Nipponic approaches". *Social Science Information* (Sage), 20

(6), p. 817-856.

48. The factual information and quotes are taken from Öhrström, L. 1991. *Research, the Swedish approach.* Stockholm: The Swedish Institute, and interviews with Erland Bergman, administrative director of the Swedish Council for Social Research (www.socforsk.se), and Prof Roger Anderson, a geographer based at Uppsala University (including information contained in his 1997 *'Divided cities' as a policy-based notion in contemporary Sweden,* paper submitted to the NETHUR conference on undivided cities.
49. Campbell, D. & Felderer, B. 1997. *Evaluating academic research in Germany: patterns and policy.* Vienna: Institute for Advanced Studies.
50. For a cross-national comparison of this institution see: 1996. *Ausländerbeauftragte anderer Länder. Darstellungen von Institutionen in EU-Staaten, Norwegen, der Schweiz, Tschechien sowie den USA und Kanada mit ähnlichen Aufgaben wie die der 'Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Belange der Ausländer' in Deutschland. Mitteilungen der Beauftragten etc.*
51. Entzinger, H. 1999. "Immigrants' political and social participation in the integration process". in: *Political and social participation of immigrants through consultative bodies.* Council of Europe Community Relations series, p.9-63. The extensive literature references in the original have been left out.
52. These models correspond to a large extent with those that have been distinguished by Soysal in her study on forms of immigrant membership and participation in Europe (Soysal, Y.N.1994. *Limits of citizenship; migrants and postnational membership in Europe.* University of Chicago Press).
53. Bukow, W-D. & Llaryora, R. "Het Nederlandse minderhedenbeleid vanuit Duits standpunt bekeken", Migrantenstudies, 1, p.20-29; Mahnig, H. 'Gelijkheid' of 'respect voor verschil'? Integratiepolitiek in Frankrijk en Nederland, idem,. p. 39-48.
54. For a recent review of the relationship between differences in policy assumptions and similarities in practices, see Vermeulen, H. (ed.) 1997. Immigrant policy for a multicultural society. *A comparative study of integration, language and religious policy in five western European countries.* Brussels: MPG.
55. The text of this paragraph is taken from Malcolm Cross' paper *Research within Metropolis: an Agenda for Action* prepared for the 3rd international Metropolis conference, Zichron Yaacov, Israel, December 1998; for literature references, see the original.
56. Silberman and Fournier note, for example, that the relative absence of studies on education and labour market performance amongst migrant descended populations is '...more a lack of questions than a shortage of data...' (Silberman, R., Fournier, I.,1998, *Educational attainment and unemployment for immigrants' children in France: an investigation of the discrimination hypothesis.* Unpublished paper presented tot the 3rd MigCities conference, Milan, november, p.3).
57. Taken from Malcolm Cross' paper *Research within Metropolis: an Agenda for Action* prepared for the 3rd international Metropolis conference, Zichron Yaacov, Israel, December 1998.
58. Representative is the following quote from Helga Nowotny's "Social science research in a changing policy context", in the 1985 book she edited with Jane Lambiri-Dimaki, *The difficult dialogue between producers and users of social sci-*

ence research. Vienna: European centre for social welfare training and research. As Box 25 shows, her own thinking has developed considerably since that time, yet her position remains representative of social science self-reflection on the issue:

'There was a time – not too long ago – when many of us were actually lured by the signs that the princes of the day sent out – signals for wanting our advice: in the planning euphoria of the late 1960s and early 1970s the belief in the malleability of societies and in rational planning as an indispensable feature of mature societies not only permeated our text-books, but also lead to an unprecedented flourishing of applied social science research. It was carried by the belief that societies could be reformed through the fiat of political interventions and our belief in the possibility that we as researchers could produce solutions to any kind of problem posed to us. But, as Brecht already remarked, belief is often followed by doubt'. (p.7)

59. For a recent more elaborate overview, see Peter Wagner's "The twentieth century – the century of the social sciences?" in: UNESCO, 1999, *WSSR,* p.16-41.
60. One has to be careful with univariate causal attributions here because the loss of belief in rational planning was also connected to the worldwide economic crisis of the 70s.
61. Derived from the subtitle of Sheila Jasanoff's 1990 classic *The fifth branch: science advisers as policy makers,* Cambridge etc.: Harvard University Press.
62. Michael Gibbons, Camille Limoges, Helga Nowotny, Simon Schwartzman, Peter Scott and Martin Trow, 1994, London: Sage.
63. We believe that their provocative analysis is much more accurate for the natural than for the social sciences and the humanities. Their book contains a chapter on *the case of the humanities* but is arguably less convincing than their material on science and technology.
64. 1997, *Society, the endless frontier,* Brussels: EC/DGXII.
65. Lambiri-Dimaki, J., 1985, "The difficult dialogue between producers and users of social science research: some comments on the theme". in: Helga Nowotny and Jane Lambiri-Dimaki (eds.).
66. 1993, *Revitalising Swiss social science.* Berne:Research policy FOP 13.
67. The Research Council of Norway, 1998, *International Migration and Ethnic Relations – IMER: Work Programme,* Oslo, p. 6-7.
68. For a good overview of differences see: OECD, 1995, *Research training; present & future,* Paris.
69. For a good overview of differences see: OECD, 1995, *Research training; present & future,* Paris.
70. See Hans Mahnig, 1995. The political consensus that Mahnig identifies in the late 70s only increased in the 80s and 90s as analysed in the 1997 dissertation of Alfons Fermin *Nederlandse politieke partijen over minderhedenbeleid 1977-1995.* Amsterdam: Thela Thesis.
71. Ellemers, J.L., 1995, "Immigranten en etnische verhoudingen in Nederland gezien door buitenlandse ogen". in: *Migrantenstudies,* 1, p.80-86.
72. For example, see Lijphart, A., 1975, *The politics of accomodation – pluralism and democracy in the Netherlands.* Berkeley etc.: University of California Press.
73. Rath, J., 1993, *Ethnic minorities studies' in the Netherlands: the remarkable*

absence of marxist theory. Unpublished paper (see also Ellemers).

74. 1995, *A brief history of European Union research policy,* Brussels: EC/DGXII.
75. For a similar evaluation, see Wobbe, W., 1993, "EG Forschüngsförderung: Erfahrungen und Perspektiven aus dem Sektor Sozialwissenschaften", in: Hartman, F. (Hg.), 1993, *Standort und Perspektiven der aufleruniveritären Sozialforschung,* Wien: Remaprint.
76. Muldur, U. et al., 1997, *Second European Report on S & T Indicator incl. Appendix,* EUR 17639 EN, Luxembourg: E.C.
77. 1999, "Interdisciplinarity and the social sciences". in: Cunningham, R., 1999, *Interdisciplinarity and the Organisation of Knowledge in Europe,* Luxembourg: EC., p.149- 176.
78. Commissione per le politiche di integrazione degli immigrati, 1999, *Primo rapporto sullÌntegrazione degli immigrati in Italia.* Roma: Dipartimento per gli Affari Sociali - Presidenza del Consigliuo dei Ministri.
79. For more detailed information see http://www.wrr.nl/HTML-EN/BasisDE-EN.html
80. History itself is always in a state of "flux" as interpretations are continually (re-) created, and historians (or anyone else for that matter) have difficulty distancing themselves from the current climates of opinion of the era in which they live. [comment by Dr Nancy Schaefer]
81. Editorial, *The Economist,* February 12th - 18th 2000.
82. This chapter is derived from Malcolm Cross' analysis of a research agenda for Metropolis, based (among other input) on the survey. See his 1998 paper *Research within Metropolis: an agenda for action.*
83. The range is clearly much wider than the European countries covered by the survey, yet Metropolis is definitely slanted towards industrialised economies, with the core of its membership coming from Europe and north America. And however much their perspectives on and approaches towards some topics (especially migration) might differ, the issues identified as meriting reviews, research, and international comparison are indeed very similar.
84. See however 4.3!
85. C. Young recently argued that 'The search for effective policy accommodation of cultural diversity is unending. Concepts of nationhood, distributive impacts of state action and communal identities themselves are in constant flux and evolution. Policies which on balance facilitated harmonious relationships among groups yesterday may have different effects tomorrow. Ethnic "problems" are never "solved"'. C. Young (ed.), 1999, *The accomodation of cultural diversity: case studies.* London: Macmillian.
86. Commission of the European Communities, 1998, *Draft European Action Plan for Sustainable Development.*
87. Cross, M.& Moore, R. (eds), in press, *Globalisation and the New City: Migrants, Minorities and Urban Transformations in Comparative Perspective* London, Macmillan.
88. Cohen, R., 1997, *Global Diasporas: an Introduction* London UCL Press.
89. This list is based on information provided by the director Prof Dimitris G. Tsaousis and the vice director Prof Koula Kasimati of KEKMOKOP, and by Petros Linardos-Rylmond, Scientific Consultant at the Labour Institute.
90. In response to the EC's 1994 *Draft Communication to the European Parliament*

and the Council (on immigration and asylum policies) COM (94) 0023, the Secretariat General commissioned a Pre-feasibility study on the possible establishment of a European migration observatory (Pachler, M., Penninx, R., Groenendijk, K., & Böcker, A, 1994, Luxembourg), and on the basis of its report, *A Feasibility study for a migration observatory: final report* (1996/1998, Salt, J., Densham, P., Chell, V., Prophet, H., Hogarth, J., Penninx, R., Doomernik, J., Withol de Wenden, C., & Vuddamalay, V. Luxembourg.

91. *Replacement Migration: Is It a Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations?* is a study currently in progress at the United Nations Population Division. A preliminary report on the findings of this study is expected to be available at the end of March 2000. Quotes from: http://www.undp.org/popin/wdtrends/replamigration.htm.
92. Interview with Francis Fukuyama by Didier Seroo in IS, 2000/1, p.22.
93. *The feasibility study for a European migration observatory: final report* (1996/1998), contains a chapter on research by existing institutions: inventory of data collection, funding and analysis. Among many other things they identify:
    •'an imbalance in the topics covered....there is a heavy emphasis on integration. In sharp contrast, the (future) demand for immigration is least covered.... Most, if not all, EU states do not conceive themselves to be countries of (mass) immigration and thus rarely sponsor research which could make this stance less unequivocal'.
    •'[an imbalance in topics covered between countries], for example there is a plethora of research to be found on integration in Germany, whilst little exists in Italy' (p.67).
94. For practical purposes, the EC framework and other research programs are the only regular funding sources for internationally comparative work in Europe. Network funding is easier to obtain, but this implies that the research projects themselves have to be funded though local sources. In practice, this means serving two masters: the project tries to comply as closely as possible to a common, internationally agreed format, while at the same time obliging the terms of reference of its national sponsor. If this sponsor has policy objectives, there are bound to be (major) differences between what is the best indicator, approach, etc. for the local objectives and what is the best choice for the international comparison. This normally means that the comparative objective ends up being compromised.
95. With slight changes taken from Malcolm Cross' *Research within Metropolis: an Agenda for Action.*
96. All material here is taken from the European Commission's, 1996/1998, *Feasibility study for a European migration observatory; Final report,* Luxembourg: E.C. See paragraph 4.4 for more information about this study.
97. CEC, 1992: 203.
98. *Working Document* SOCIO-ECO/1: 8 October 1994.
99. Modood, T., Bertoud, R., et al., 1997, *Ethnic minorities in Britain: diversity and disadvantage.* London: Policy Studies Institute.
100. Based on Belbin, R.,M. Management teams: over succes en faalfactoren voor teams, Academic Service, and Rob Groen's epilogue in that book.
101. Taken from Caluwé, de L.,I.,A., 1998, "Denken over veranderen in vijf kleuren". M&O, 4, p.7-27.

102. It should be noted that there is no relation between the famous de Bono hats (1985, Six thinking hats, Penguin) and de Caluwé's colour scheme.
103. Danko, Q, 2000, "Kom met een nieuw product", *Intermediar*, 4, p.21.
104. This quote is from Driessen, P., Vermeulen, W. "Network management in perspective: concluding remarks on network management as an innovative form of environmental management". In: Glasbergen, P. (Ed.), 1995, *Managing environmental disputes: network management as an alternative.* Dordrecht etc.: Kluwer Academic Publishers, p.168.
105. Moore, C.,W. 1986. *The mediation process; practical strategies for resolving conflicts.* Jossey-Bass publishers.
106. http://www.equipement.gouv.fr/recherche/index.htm
107. http://www.sante.gouv.fr/htm/publication/index.htm
108. http://www.csv.warwick.ac.uk/services/RDSO/
109. As is evident from the descriptions in Boxes 43 and 44, intermediary roles have all kinds of other functions, too.
110. Nas, P., 'Application'. In: Nas, P., et.al.. (eds.), 1997, *Ontwikkelingssamenwerking in sociaal-wetenschappelijk perspectief.* Bussum: Coutinho, p.41.
111. See for more information: http://www.censis.it/; Dutch examples are government funded policy research institutes like CPB and SCP (www.cpb.nl and www.scp.nl, see also Box 31) or an institute such as the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (www.nidi.nl).
112. The Annual report on the Italian social situation stemmed from the need for a readily available tool for analysing and interpreting social phenomena, processes, tensions, and needs as they surfaced in Italy. This undertaking has been carried out uninterruptedly for over thirty years, starting in 1967. The report consists of:
    • An overall view, an interpretation of the evolution of Italian society..... This interpretive approach tries to link the analytical thread with the line followed in the previous years. Therefore, it is useful for anybody wishing to investigate closely the continuous transformation of the country;
    • A phenomenological analysis . It offers a study and appraisal of the events occurring during the year that had a profound influence on the country, even if they were only "embryonic";
    • Areas of social policies and means and procedures. They offer a yearly assessment of the various sectors, namely education, employment, welfare, territory and networks, economic actors, local governments, communication and culture.
113. For a short description of the history of data archives, see Martinotti, G.,1998, "Interdisciplinarity and the social sciences". In: Cunningham (ed.), p.173-174.
114. In the discourse on the new mode of knowledge production mentioned above, joint problem definition between experts of heterogeneous background is called transdisciplinarity.
115. From the City of Rotterdam.
116. Another potential bench-marking area.
117. Martinotti, G.,1998, "Interdisciplinarity and the social sciences". In: Cunninham (ed.), p.172-173.
118. To name but a few: the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies in Wassenaar, the Wissenschaftszentrum in Berlin, the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna, or the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in Paris.

119. However, This does not mean that such individuals cannot fulfil a very important function as "knowledge broker", equipped as they are with inside knowledge and skills of both the research and the policy world.
120. Çinar D., 1998, *Gleichwertige sprachen? Muttersprachlicher unterricht für die Kinder von Einwandern,* Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, p. 324. The content of this Box is based on this book as well as on a personal interview with the author.
121. See: http://bmwfa6.bmwf.gv.at/4fte/fremd/lse.htm and Burkert, G., K. Guzei, C. Lutter, A. Schmölzer (eds.), 1995, *Fremdenfeindlichkeit,* Wien: Remaprint.
122. http://bmwfa6.bmwf.gv.at/4fte/fremd/lse.htm
123. Burkert, G., 1995, "Nach-Forschung unerwünscht. Ein Ergebnis?" In: Burkert, G. et.al.
124. Based on an interview with the director of ISEO, Professor Justus Veenman, and information from website http://www.few.eur.nl/few/research/iseo/info/index.htm
125. The project is called Toegankelijkheid and Evenredigheid (Accessibility and Proportion) and includes a survey conducted every three to four years (Sociale positie en voorzieningengebruik van allochtonen – spva).
126. Groen, R., 1998, "Teamrolmanagement in Nederland". In: Belbin, R.,M. *Management teams: over succes en faalfactoren voor teams,* Academic Service.
127. Obviously, a lack of change can mean stagnation too. We are aware of the dangers when relationships tend towards symbiosis, but our argument is developed against a backcloth of too few long-term relationships.
128. The SCP has completed seven reports since 1993.
129. This is not to say that Europeans never move from one sector to the other, but when that happens, it is usually a one-time only occurence, whereas carreer movement in the US tends to be more fluid. Countries differ widely regarding the extent to which people change jobs between different sectors. Restricting ourselves to some examples drawn from the civil service:
    • Belgium has entrance examinations for the civil service, and pension claims and seniority rules do not take previous careers into account, which are quite formidable institutional barriers for changing sectors.
    • France has a special higher education institution for its senior civil service posts, L'école nationale d'administration (ENA), which means that at that level inward mobility from other backgrounds is hardly possible (see for more information on the French educational system: http://www.edutel.fr/syst/default.htm).
    • The Dutch civil service is quite open to outside candidates at the higher levels of the hierarchy.
    • The higher echelons of the German civil service are dominated by professionals who have a background in law; since "cultures" tend to reproduce, this makes inward mobility of social science experts difficult.
    A recent study commissioned by the Dutch Ministry responsible for the civil service, gives a comparative overview of civil service personnel policy in 14 OECD countries, and makes it abundantly clear that mobility is exclusively discussed in terms of interdepartmental mobility: Wall Bake, D., van den, a.o. (Berenschot BV), 1999, *The senior civil service. A comparison of personnel development for top managers in fourteen OECD member countries* (The management summary can be downloaded from http://www.minbzk.nl/).

130. Gächter, A.,5 May 1998, *Less fact and more fiction. The role of research in the making of migration policy: a collection of anecdotes from inside the state.* Unpublished paper.
131. Obviously, differences of degree, not of nature! Academic debate can be very political and political debate can be academic.
132. Lindblom, C.,E., 1959, "The science of muddling through". *Public Administration Review,* 19, p.79-88.
133. Nas, P., et.al. (eds.), 1997, *Ontwikkelingssamenwerking in sociaal-wetenschappelijk perspectief.* Bussum: Coutinho, p.54-55.
134. Both quotes from: Gächter, A.,5 May1998, *Less fact and more fiction. The role of research in the making of migration policy: a collection of anecdotes from inside the state.* Unpublished paper.
135. With slight changes taken from Malcolm Cross' paper *Research within Metropolis: an Agenda for Action,* 1998.
136. This distinction and those that follow are quite different from debates about methodology and about quality. Quantitative and qualitative methods, or a combination of such techniques, may be appropriate for any style of research, and all have benefits and drawbacks.
137. However, an interesting development is the growing use of techniques such as Log(ical) Framework Analysis, that compare implicit policy assumptions (about behavioural, social, and institutional processes) and explanatory social science theories [personal communication Professor Frans Leeuw, chief inspector Dutch higher education]. For an practical introduction, see website http://iucn.org/themes/eval/english/lfa.htm
138. Nevertheless, these debates are a nursery of new ideas for policy relevant research.
139. This is done through the statistical services of the counter on the pages concerned.
140. Stacher, I., K. Demel & E. Dostal, 1997, *Machbarkeitsstudie für ein österreichisches Forum für Migrationsstudien und Entwurf für die Organisation eines Forums für Migrationsstudien,* Wien: ICMPD.
141. ÖFM Fokus.
142. This is not to "blame" the ÖFM for its shortcomings; it has just started up, with a very limited staff, and concentrates for the time being on reviews; it has the potential to grow into a fully-fledged linkage institution. However, this would imply less emphasis on research themes of the host institution (ICMPD), and more direct involvement of its users in the agenda setting.
143. This aspect has remained implicit because our study *did* indeed focus on a certain issue-arena.
144. European Commission, 1996/1998, *Feasibility study for a European migration observatory; Final report,* Luxembourg: E.C.

Appendix A: The international Metropolis project*

Introduction

The International Metropolis Project is a set of coordinated activities carried out by a membership of research and policy organizations who share a vision of strengthened immigration policy by means of applied academic research. The Metropolis partnership, now from twenty countries and a number of international research and policy organizations representing a wide range of policy and academic interests, is sustained by the attractions of its core idea. The members of Metropolis work collaboratively on issues of immigration and integration, always with the goal of strengthening policy and thereby allowing societies to better manage the challenges and opportunities that immigration presents, especially to their cities. Ideally, this work would involve teams made up of both researchers and policy-makers.

Metropolis is an evolving project and has witnessed considerable growth since it beginnings in 1995. Members are now from:

- North America: Canada, United States
- South America: Argentina
- Europe: Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom
- Middle East: Israel
- Africa: South Africa
- Australasia: Australia, New Zealand, Japan
- International Organizations: European Commission, UNESCO, Migration Policy Group, Quartiers en Crise, International Centre for Migration Policy Development, International Organization for Migration

The Underlying Idea: Research Enriching Policy

The idea of using academic research to stimulate and strengthen policy making enjoys considerable currency. As governments come to question the necessity and appropriateness of their direct involvement in numerous facets of society, they are looking for ways to better use the capacities of third parties, particularly universities, for the information required to develop policies, legislation, and programs. Metropolis is an attempt to advance the role that research plays in policy-making on an international scale. It seeks to promote evidence-based decision-making in the field of immigration and integration. Metropolis is expected to yield not only reliable and relevant information about immigration but also to serve as an instructive model for the engagement of the external research community in policy-research. The critical element in policy-research and in evidence-based decision-making is effective communication among researchers, policy-developers and decision-makers. In none of these communities is this emphasized sufficiently.

There are many ways that one can try to link policy with academic research. What might be considered the traditional way is to follow a broadly consumer transaction model. Often, we conceive of the role of research in the policy development process as a very simple transfer of knowledge from a supplier, the researcher, to a consumer, the policy analyst or decision maker. One might envision Metropolis along these familiar lines. Metropolis provides many fora for conveying

* All text from the Metropolis International website: http://international.metropolis.net/

the research products from the supplier to the consumer, including the Internet, conferences and seminars, and publications of various sorts. However, to regard Metropolis as functioning only in this way would be to sell short its partnership structure. The researchers and policy makers are not simply suppliers and consumers, but are partners with a shared objective: stronger policy in the field of immigration.

The Metropolis approach to the relations between academic research and policy is to encourage joint initiatives to:

- identify and articulate issues and problems for policy and research work;
- develop appropriate data;
- conduct international comparative research directly related to the policy issues identified as priorities for the Metropolis partnership;
- exchange and analyze experiences amongst the partnership regarding the effects of immigration, especially within our cities, and the effects of government and non-government interventions, especially those designed to facilitate immigrant integration;
- develop conclusions, especially with regard to best policy practices; and
- exchange and analyze information about effective practices where these have been identified and explained on the basis of rigorous empirical research.

Metropolis encourages these joint initiatives by fostering the growing international network of researchers and policy makers, by convening events that provide opportunities for its members to hold informed discussions, to discover where potential for collaboration exists, and to plan accordingly. There is no question that a partnership arrangement is more demanding than a mere supplier-consumer relation; there is also no question that its potential is far richer. Metropolis has organized its activities on the premise that one reason for the relatively low level of exchange that often has existed between the academic and the policy communities is that neither organizational culture was attuned to work with the other. Consequently, Metropolis has conceived of itself as a project wherein opportunities would be provided for intensive face to face collaboration on active policy issues. The means for doing so have been conferences and seminars, organizational meetings, international comparative research projects, and the establishment of an internet website.

How to Contact the International Metropolis Network

For general information check www.international.metropolis.net

For specific questions contact the International Secretariat at:

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Metropolis International Secretariat
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Appendix B: Interviewees

Institutional affiliation as per time of interview

Austria (13)
Mr Rainer Bauböck
Institute for Advanced Studies, Wien

Ms Katarina Bemal
International Centre for Migration Policy Development, Wien

Ms Gudrun Biffl
Austrian Institute of Economic Research, Wien

Ms Dilek Çinar
European Centre for Policy Research, Wien

Mr Jens Danschat
Institut für Stadt- und Regionalforschung, Technische Universität Wien

Mr Heinz Fassman
Austrian Acadamie of Science/Institut für Stadt- und Regionalforschung, Technische Universität Wien
(see also Germany)

Ms Heidemarie Fenzl
Bundesministerium für Innere, Wien

Mr August Gächter
Institute for Advanced Studies, Wien

Mr Rudolf Giffinger
Institut für Stadt- und Regionalforschung, Technische Universität Wien

Mr Nikolaus Marschik
International Centre for Migration Policy Development, Wien

Ms Elisabeth Menasse-Wiesbauer
Bundesministerum fur Wissenschaft und Verkehr, Wien

Mr Bernhard Perchinig
Wiener Integrationsfonds

Ms Irene Stacher
International Centre for Migration Policy Development, Wien

Belgium (16)
Mr Youssef Ben Abdeljelil
University of Antwerp, CASUM

Mr Jean-Luc Agosti
Gouvernement de la region wallonne, Cabinet du Ministre de l'action sociale, de la santé et du logement, Jambe

Mr Thierry Basomboli
Cabinet Echevinat de la jeunesse, des sports, du logement péri-urbain et des relations interculturelles, Liege

Mr Albert Bastenier
Catholic University of Louvain, Collège J. Leclerc

Ms Talbia Belouari
Commission Communautaire Française, Brussel

Mr Bogdan Van Doninck
Federale Diensten voor Wetenschappelijke, Technische en Culturele Aangelegenheiden, Brussel

Mr Bernard Hubeau
Faculty of Law, University of Antwerp/Ombudsman City of Antwerp/Co-chair Antwerps Centrum voor Migrantenstudies

Mr Stefan Nieuwinckel
SOMA, SIF+URBAN Programmacoördinatie, Antwerpen

Ms Nouria Ouali
University of Brussels, Institute for Sociology

Ms Karen Phalet
ERCOMER, Utrecht University

Ms Arlette Pollain
Centre régional d'intégration de Liège

Mr Michel Poulain
Catholic University of Louvain, Gedop

Mr Andréa Rea
University of Brussels, Institute for Sociology

Mr Michel Vanderkam
Centre pour l'égalité des chances et la lutte contre le racisme, Brussel

Mr Yves Van de Vloet
Gouvernement de la région Bruxelles-Capitale, Cabinet du Ministre-Président

Mr Jan Vranken
University of Antwerp, CASUM

France (13)
Ms Jocelyne Bac-Teissandier
Dept. of Development, Evaluation and Methods, Fond d'action sociale (FAS), Paris

Mr Maurice Blanc
Department for Sociology, University of Nancy, LATES

Ms Sophie Body-Gendrot
Institut des etudes anglaises/nord-américaines, Université de Paris-Sorbonne

Mr John Crowley
Centre des études et de recherches internationales (CERI), Paris

Mr Michel Digne
Fond d'action sociale (FAS), Paris

Mr Jean-Paul Le Divenah
Fond d'action sociale (FAS), Paris

Mr Patrick Du Chayron
Mission interministérielle de recherche et expérimentation, Ministère de l'emploi et de la solidarité , Paris

Ms Marie-Thérèse Espinasse
Ministère de l'emploi et de la solidarité, Département de la population et des migrations , Paris

Mr Francis Godard
Programme of Research, Ministère de la recherche, de l'éducation et de technologie , Paris

Mr. Thierry Hubert
Délégation interministerielle à la ville , Paris

Ms Anne Querrien
Plan Urbain, Ministère de l'équipement , Paris

Mr Patrick Simon
Institut National des Etudes Démographiques (INED), Paris

Ms Laura Vanhué
Urban consultant, Brussel

Germany (14)
Mr Rainer Albrecht
Ausländerbeanftragter der FHH/Ref. f. Ausländerrecht (Hamburg)

Mr Philip Anderson
Jesuit Refugee Service, München

Mr Bernd Baumhold
VHS Hattingen (Ausländerbeauftragter Hattingen)

Mr Peter Ederer
Sozial- und Sportamt (Ausländerbeauftragter Ravensburg)

Ms Michelle C. Fanzo
Journalist, Berlin

Mr Heinz Fassman
Institute for Geography, Technical University München
(see also Austria)

Mr Bernd Geiss
Büro der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen, Bonn

Mr Kay Hailbronner
Konstanz University, Juristische Fakultät

Mr Uwe Hunger
Institute for Political Sciences, Münster university

Mr Herald Lederer
European Forum for Migration Studies, University of Bamberg

Mr Helmut Rittstieg
Universität Hamburg, Juristuische Facultät

Mr Emir Ali Saq
Foreigners Office, Bielefeld

Mr Georgios Tsapanos
Büro der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen, Bonn

Ms Rosi Wolf-Almanasreh
Amt für Multikulturelle Angelegenheiten/Ausländerbeanftragte Frankfurt am Main

Greece (10)
Mr Dimitrios Charalambis
Institute of Political Science, National Centre for Social Research (EKKE), Athens,

Mrs. Marily Galaora
Special Consultant in migration policy, Ministry of Labour and Social Security, Athens

Ms Koula Kasimati
Centre for Social Morphology and Social policy (KEKMOKOP), Department of Social Policy and Social Anthropology, Panteio University

Petros Linardos-Rylmond
Scientific Consultant, INE Labour Institute GSEE, Athens

Chara Paraskeuopoulou
E.E.T.A.A. (Greek Company for Local Development and Self-government), Athens

Mrs Euanthia Papadatou
Department Of Economic and Social Policy, General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Athens

Ms Marina Petronoti
National Centre for Social Research (EKKE), Athens,

Mr Dimitris G. Tsaousis
Centre for Social Morphology and Social policy (KEKMOKOP), Department of Social Policy and Social Anthropology, Panteio University

Ms Olga Tsakiridi
Institute of Urban and Rural Sociology, National Centre for Social Research (EKKE), Athens

Ms Maria Tzortzopoulou
National Centre for Social Research (EKKE), Athens,

Italy (14)
Ms Christina M. Bettini
Foreigners Office, Municipality of Milan

Ms Maria Adriana Bernardotti
Osservatorio delle Immigrazione, Bologna

Mr Guido Bolaffi
Department of Social Affairs, Presidency of Ministers Council, Rome

Ms Giancarla Boreatti
Foreigners Office, Municipality of Milan

Ms Carla Collicelli
CENSIS, Roma

Ms Maura de Bernart
University of Bologna, Department of Sociology

Mr Zeleke Eresso
Forum of Immigrants, Municipality of Bologna

Mr Matteo Fiore
Settore del Servizi Sociali, Milano

Mr Marco Lombardi
Fondazione Cariplo - ISMU, Milano

Mr Bruno Murer
Foreigners Office, Municipality of Milan

Mr Andrea Pacini
Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, Torino

Mr Franco Pittau
Caritas Diocesana Roma, Centro Studi & Documentatione, Roma

Ms Francesca Steiner
Istituzione dei Servici per l'Immigrazione, Bologna

Ms Giovanna Zincone
University of Torino

The Netherlands (19)
Ms Edith Elizabeth Bleeker
Ministry of Justice, Immigration Policy Department, The Hague

Mr Pieter Bol
Adviser for Social Affairs, Municipality of Rotterdam

Mr Jan Bouts
Director Research NIPO/Strategic Planing

Director Lowe Kuiper & Schouten BV, Amsterdam

Mr Gotfried Engbersen
Department of Sociology, Erasmus University Rotterdam

Mr Han Entzinger
AWSB, Utrecht University

Mr Köbben
LISWO, Leiden University

Mr Ben Koolen
Ministry of Interior, The Hague

Mr Chris de Lange
Externe Fondsen en EG Coördinatie, Ontwikelingsbedrijf Rotterdam

Mr Hans van Miert
Immigration and Naturalisation Department (INDIAC), Ministry of Justice, Immigration Policy Department, The Hague

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Mr Philip Muus
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Mr Nico van Nimwegen
The Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute, The Hague

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Mr Rinus Pennix
Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES), University of Amsterdam

Mr Arie de Ruyter
CERES, Utrecht University

Ms Surendra Santokhi
Major Cities Policy, Municipality of The Hague

Ms Nel Statema
Urban Migration Policy, Municipality of The Hague

Mr Justus Veenman
Institute for Sociological and Economic Research (ISEO), Erasmus University Rotterdam

Norway (11)
Ms Nina Gran
Norwegian Association of Local and Regional Authorities, Municipal Policy Department, Oslo

Ms Eli Grut Regional
Directorate of Immigration, Oslo

Ms Eva Haagensen
Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, Department of Immigrant and Refugee Affairs, Oslo

Ms Anna G. Kolky
Equal Opportunity Section, Directorate of Immigration, Oslo

Mr Tor Lunde Larsen
Research Council of Norway, Oslo

Mr Steven Meglitch
IMER, Oslo

Mr Lars Ostby
Statistics Norway, Division for Social and Demographic Research, Oslo

Ms Nasim Riaz
IMER, Bergen

Ms Anna Siri Rustad
Equal Opportunity Section, Directorate of Immigration, Oslo

Mr Serdar Semen
IMES /Institute of Philosophy, Bergen

Ms Vivien Wrede-Holm
Municipality of Oslo, Department for Employment and Social Affairs

Sweden (14)
Mr Gunar Alsmark
Lund University, Department of European Ethnology

Mr Roger Anderson
Dep. of Social and Economic Geography, Uppsala University

Mr Erland Bergman
Swedish Council of Social Research, Stockholm

Ms Monica Claesson
Malmö City

Mr Eric Clark
Department of Social and Economic Geography, Lund University

Ms Kristine Dosen
Stadshuset, Göteborg Stad

Ms Asa Helg
Sverige 2000 Institutet, Göteborg

Mr Urban Herlitz
Department of Social Work, University of Goteborg

Mr Kent Johansson
District North, Goteborgs Stadsbyggnadskontor

Mr Evald Malm
Förvaltnings AB Frantiden, "The Future of Hjällbo"

Ms Irene Molina
Dep. of Social and Economic Geography, Uppsala University

Ms Birgitta Ornbrant
Ministry of Interior, Stockholm

Ms Marthe Valeonfari
Sverige 2000 Institutet, Göteborg

Mr Charles Westin
Center for Resarch in International Migration and Ethnic Relation, University of Stockholm

Switzerland (10)
Mr Claudio Bolzman
Centre for Social Research, Ecole Supérieure de Travail Social , Geneva

Mr Michele Galizia
Federal Commission Against Racisme, Bern

Mr Michel Goenczy
General Direction for Social Action of Geneva Canton

Mr Dieter Grossen
Federal Office for Foreigners, Ministry of Justice

Mr Werner Haug
Population and Employment Division, Federal Office for Statistics, Bern

Mr René Riedo
Secretariat of Federal Commission for Foreigners, Bern

Mr Walter Schmied
Fürsorgeamt der Stad Zürich

Mr Hans-Rudolf Wicker
Tobler University, Institut of Ethnology, Bern

Mr Andreas Wimmer
Swiss Forum for Migration Studies, Neuchâtel

Mr Gottfried Zürcker
Federal Office for Refugees, Ministry of Justice, Berne

European Commission (4)
Ms Annette Bosscher
Head of Section Labour Mobility and Equal Opportunities Division, DG V

Ms Sandra S. Lutchman
Auxiliary Officer Labour Mobility and Equal Opportunities Division, DG V

Stefaan de Runck
Administrative Officer, DG XVI

Ms Floriana Sipala
Secretariat-General

International organizations (2)
Mr John Murray
Council of Europe, Division for Population and Migration, Strasbourg

Mr Roger Zegers de Beijl
Migration Branch, International Labour Organisation, Geneva

Appendix C: Conferences attended

SISWO: Sociaal-wetenschappelijke studiedagen, April 1998, Amsterdam, session on "social science and advocacy".
Speakers addressing the topic of research-policy linkages:
prof Anton Köbben, Leiden university
prof Siep Stuurman, Erasmus university, Rotterdam
prof Godfried Engbersen, Erasmus university, Rotterdam

Bundeskonferenz der Ausländerbeauftragten des Bundes, der Länder und der Kommunen, May 1998, Bonn.
Speakers addressing the topic of research-policy linkages:
prof Faruk Sen, director Zentrum für Turkeistudien, Essen
dr Lale Akgün, director Landeszentrum für Zuwanderung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Solingen
ms Cornelia Schmalz-Jacobsen, Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen, MP

Metropolis Interconference: Divided Cities and strategies for undivided cities, May 1998, Göteborg.
Speakers addressing the topic of research-policy linkages:
mr Meyer Burstein, head metropolis project Citizenship and Immigration Canada
prof Roger Anderson, Uppsala university
dr Ronald van Kempen, Utrecht university
ms Krisine Dösen, senior planner, Göteborg city
dr Lars-Göran Karlsson, Umeå university
dr Per Broomé, Institute of population economics, Stockholm
dr Sören Olsson, Göteborg university
dr Ingrid Johansson, Göteborg university
dr. Irene molina, Uppsala university
dr Gunar Alsmark, Lund university
dr Urban Herlitz, Göteborg university
mr Evald malm, Framtiden municipal housing group, Göteborg

City of Vienna/OECD: Migration and sustainable urban development, June 1998, Vienna.
Speakers addressing the topic of research-policy linkages:
prof Hans-Joachim Hoffmann-Nowotny, Zürich university
dr Gudrun Biffle, Austrian institute of economic research, Vienna
Josef Konvitz, Urban affairs, TDS OECD, Paris
dr Jean-Pierre Garson, DEELSA, International migration unit, OECD, Paris
prof Maria Ardiana Bernardotti, Bologna university
dr. George Muskens, DOCA, Tilburg
prof Heinz Fassmann, Technical university, München
dr Etienne Piguet, Swiss forum for migration studies, Neuchâtel
prof Faruk Sen, Zentrum für Turkeistudien, Essen
dr Jean Tillie, University of Amsterdam
prof Robert Giffinger, Technical university of Vienna
dr Achmed Ishtiaq, Bradford racial equality council

prof Jens Dangschat, Technical university of Vienna
ms Barbara John, dept. for migration and integration, Berlin

Universität der Bundeswehr: Managing migration in the 21st century, on the politics and economics of illegal migration, Hamburg.
Speakers addressing the topic of research-policy linkages:
prof Richard Alba, State univerity of New York
mr Rainer Albrecht, Ausländerbeautragter der FHH, Hamburg
dr Philip Anderson, Jesuit refugee service, München
prof Kay Hailbronner, Universität Konstanz
dr Harald Lederer, European forum for migration studies, Bamberg
prof Ivan Light, University of California, LA
prof Susan Martin, Institute for the study of international migration, University Georgetown
prof Philip Martin, University of California, Davis
prof Jim Hollifield, Southern Methodist university Dallas
Mr Olaf Reermann, ministerialdirektor, home ministry
prof Jeff Passel, Urban institute, Washington
prof Rainer Hofmann, Walther Schücking institute for international law, Kiel
prof Thomas Straubhaar, Universität der Bundeswehr, Hamburg

NVMC: Waan van de dag. March 1999, Utrecht.
Speakers addressing the topic of research-policy linkages:
prof Peter Ester, director Organization for strategic labour-market research (OSA)
prof Paul Schnabel, director Social and Cultural Planning Office Dutch government
prof Ed van Thijn, former home minister , former mayor of Amsterdam
prof Andre Köbben, Leiden university
drs Pieter Broertjes, chief editor Volkskrant
dr Lieteke van Vucht Tijssen, board Utrecht university
drs. Jos Kok, director research department ministry of social affairs
dr Paul de Beer, Social and Cultural Planning Office
mr Kees Tamboer, journalist Parool

Royal Netherlands Academy for the Arts and Sciences/Board for the Social Sciences (SWR) Sociale wetenschappen en beleid: spannende verhoudingen, November 1999, Amsterdam.
Speakers addressing the topic of research-policy linkages:
prof Pieter Drenth, chair SWR
prof M. Scheltema, chair Netherlands scientific council for government policy (WRR)
prof Dick Wolfson, Institute for Social Studies, The Hague

Appendix D: Topics to be addressed in the European exploration of (good practice) in the use of (internationally comparative) research in policy development on migrants and cities

Explanation
On behalf of the European Commission (DG XII) the European arm of the Metropolis secretariat conducts an internationally comparative survey of experiences with and perceptions of the use of scientific information in policy development in the area of migrants and cities. In a minimum of 6 European countries interviews will be conducted with, on the one hand, some key players in the development of migrant and minority integration policy (at national level and at city level), and on the other hand with academics closely involved with research that is being used for policy development.

Against the context of the national administrative arrangement of responsibilities for immigration and integration policies (for example in terms of what is done nationally and what is done locally), and against the context of national arrangements of ensuring the availability of information and advise on these issues, we want to make an exploratory inventory of
- Examples of good practices in the linkage between research and policy and their pre-conditions
- Major policy-issues that deserve more attention from research
- The potential of international comparison

In line with the exploratory nature of the survey the interviews will have an open character. Below are the issues to be addressed. Each issue is expressed in a lead question and an outline of the territory as the investigators perceive it. This outline is not to be interpreted as an interview schedule but as a way to ensure that interviewer and interviewee share the same understanding of the issue to be discussed.

Factual information

During Interview	name
	Institutional affiliation
	Contact details

1. Present use of scientific information (policy version)
Lead question: To what extent and how does your department make use of scientific information for policy development

Outline of the territory of this topic:
- what are the most important inputs into policy development (independently produced scientific information, commissioned scientific information, information from policy implementers, lobby groups, political interest,.....)
- does your department make use of scientific knowledge in policy development, policy implementation or policy evaluation
  - is it an important ingredient or relatively minor compared to the other inputs
  - in which of these areas is it used most
- where do you get your scientific information from
  - does your department have a section that is responsible for research and/or documentation

- is that a general resource or is it specifically aimed at issues related to migration, minorities and city/or city-issues
- for getting access to interesting scientific information do you rely mostly on contacts with individual researchers, contacts with research institutes or on documentation
- do you go about it in a systematic way
- does the information come directly from the producers or via intermediaries
- does it come mainly from universities, from advisory bodies/agencies or from contract research agencies
- is most of what you make use of commissioned by yourself or is it independently produced
- how extensive is the portfolio of research that your department is actively involved with

- Do you experience the present situation of the linkage and exchange between research and policy as problematic
  - If so what do you do to deal with the problem

Note:
In as far as possible ratios should be indicated by a %, and amounts should be quantified, not with the aim to have precise figures but to make expressions like "more", or "not much" more precise and thus more comparable.

2. Good/bad practice examples of the linkage between research and policy
Lead question: Can you give examples of effective ways of ensuring the policy-relevance of academic research

Outline of the territory of this topic:
- do you have experience with research/policy linkages that work(ed)
  In terms of the timeline of the research process one could think about good practice with respect to:
  - problem definition
  - organisational/contractual arrangements
  - monitoring
  - output
  - are there any contextual conditions that are essential for the success
  - what is your experience with particular instruments to "valorise" (non-commissioned or existing) research like literature reviews, policy summaries....
- do you have experience with practices that did/do not work at all

If specific examples are mentioned request information about them to be send to secretariat

3. Ideas for instruments, arrangements, etc. that might work or that are needed
Lead question: Do you have ideas about instruments, facilities and/or arrangements that do not yet exist for the domain of migration/integration and urban policy but that would improve the use of scientific information in policy development

Outline of the territory of this topic:
- can you propose new instruments, arrangements, facilities that would be helpful in linking research to policy development
  - can you indicate where these ideas come from

- what would be needed for these ideas to materialise (action strategies)

4. Topics/Issues that deserve attention
Lead question: What are the major issues that research should deliver input for

Outline of the territory of this topic:
- what are the major policy issues as defined in the recent past and at present for which research information was/is being used as input
- in which areas/on what topics do we need more information than is available at present
- in which areas/on what topics is research information available that is not made use of (properly)
  - what can/should be done about the lack of use of relevant existing material

If there are policy documents that indicate present and/or future topics of interest, ask for them to be send to the secretariat

5. International comparison
Lead question: How can international comparison be of help in policy development

Outline of the territory of this topic:
- do you make use of institutional contacts for exchanging research information and policy experience across borders (and if so which)
  - what would you need to make more use of international comparison
- what is needed to make international comparison viable and productive
- in which areas do you think international comparison is of added value
  - can you indicated which countries are the most interesting comparison partners for which each area of interest

If material is available on international comparisons that the department has been involved with or makes use and evaluates as productive request for it to be send to the secretariat

Some of our interview partners were expected to be knowledgeable about the the general linkage "climate" in their country. The were asked an additional set of questions:

6. The national situation with respect to migrants and cities issues

Explanation
Our exploratory inventory of
- Examples of good practices in the linkage between research and policy and their pre-conditions
- Major policy-issues that deserve more attention from research
- The potential of international comparison

should be set against the context of the national administrative arrangement of responsibilities for immigration and integration policies (for example in terms of what is done nationally and what is done locally), and against the context of national arrangements of ensuring the availability of information and advise on these issues.

We want to describe that context for your country in paragraph that is informative enough to

serve its purpose (being the context for the other information) but without going into too much detail.

1. Are you aware of a document that would best describe this context for our purposes
- administrative arrangement of responsibilities for immigration and
- integration policies
- arrangements of ensuring the availability of information and advise on these issues

2. Could you identify the major institutional interests
- on the policy side
- on the research side

3. Does your country have a tradition of research for policy in this field

Appendix E: Contract research by commercial agencies[1]

At present, contract research is characterised by an explicit agreement with the principal commissioning the research about problem definition and the expected outcomes of a study. In return the research partner charges rates that guarantee the continuity of the research agency.

For a policy-maker in search of particular knowledge, such arrangements are attractive; major problems associated with research-policy linkage can be avoided when using contracts. Different timeframes are hardly a problem; if results are needed within four months, four months will be stipulated in the contract. The framing of the research questions is under direct control of the contractor, and can be moulded to the needs at hand. The results must be presented in the proper format which directly fulfills the function contracted.

It took time for the "contract" that gives contract research its name to become fully exploited as an instrument to ensure a "customer"orientation. Academic culture is not normally customer directed, neither in terms of the professional attitude inculcated in staff, nor in its internal organisation. It is small wonder that the demand for contracts, with increasingly elaborate terms of reference, is growing at a phenomenal rate everywhere, paralelled by a growth of research agencies outside of universities on the supply-side of the market[2].

As contract research questions are derived from real life concerns and not from discipline-based theories, the internal organisation of contract research agencies is different from that of university-based research units. A contract research work environment can be attractive for researchers because of its different way of doing things:
"After my graduation I wanted to leave university and go out into the world... I was looking for an environment that would enable me to develop more of my capabilities and personality. I now work with a large commercial research agency and I am required to do things that I neglected, could avoid or missed at university: teamwork, keeping time schedules, immediate and unambiguous communication, bagging contracts and giving good-fellowship higher priority than personal glory".[3]

For many policy purposes, contract research is obviously a most appropriate linkage form between research and policy. The market mechanisms unleashed by the contract form do create their own problems, however.

To the extent that a research agency becomes dependent on contracts, it tends to develop into a regular commercial company, with performance statistics, shareholders, and a management deliberating mergers and take-overs. It will tend to perceive the "market" exclusively in terms of profit maximalization. Profit generation as a master objective does not imply negligence of scientific

1. This box is partly based on an analysis of the internal workings of contract research by an employee of a Dutch research pvt. Ltd. (NEI): R.van der AA. "Niet bij brood alleen! Over de binnenkant van contractonderzoek". *Facta* 1999-8, 12-14, and partly on information with directors of other such agencies (ITS, NIPO, RvB)
2. These agencies often start off as institutes that retain a university affiliation, but more often than not, this is only a temporary phase on the way towards fullfledged independence.
3. Wilma Aarts in *Facta,* 1999-8, p.17.

integrity, professionalism, or public relevance of research results, but it does pose risks in terms of the immunity to pressure from the principal to deliver results that are in line with his financial or other interests and in terms of the quality of the results.

Understandably, the issue of independence from those commissioning the research is downplayed as a serious risk by those involved. Commercial agencies always describe bending reality to please those commissioning research as signing their own derath warrant, because in the longer term, principals do not want to be associated with agencies whose results can be bought. The argument runs as follows: contractors will argue that if they can buy results from agency x, others can buy results too. The chances that the reputation of agency x is or will be damaged are therefore real. Given that one's reputation for intellectual independence and integrity can result in real clout, principles do not want to be associated with tainted reputations. Yet it dt does seem unwise, however, to flatly deny the risks involved; short-term needs often overrule longer-term interests, making it more difficult to determine what is intellectual fraud (the complication in research is often not in the results as such but in the problem definition which is often entirely determined by the principal). Moreover, a relatively lucrative market for contract research like the Dutch one is regularly upset by scandals, most recently about the extent to which research, that is needed by companies and authorities to demonstrate their compliance with environmental legislation, can be and is bought by private operators as well as local authorities[4]. It should be stressed that the issue as such is tied to (research) contracts in general, and that the above assessment of a difference in risk between university-based (contract) research and commercial agencies is purely one of degree.

The quality issue is closely linked with the fact that time is money and therefore, the research is going to be limited by a very strict time constraints. The construction of elaborate theoretical models is usually not part of the deal. Data analysis is limited to information that is needed to answer the question posed by the commissioner, and that question is more often than not of a very practical nature. Time for additional analyses to uncover underlying causes and relationships is not available. In other words, quality is conceived in terms of value added to scientific understanding. Commercial agencies counter this argument by pointing towards the trend of segmentation of the market for contract research; some agencies specialise in consumer research, others in opinion polls, and others again, on even more specific topics like monitoring and evaluation of labour market policy. Within a specialised agency, considerable sector know-how can be collected, also in terms of data. Time limitations are going to stimulate the use of variables and techniques that have been proven to be valid and reliable, and across individual projects, can contribute to an even greater cumulative knowledge. From a commercial point of view, such knowledge banks or data warehouses are very interesting because they can be "mined" for new information with relatively minor additional investment[5]. Agencies can employ an interesting mix of methodological specialists and broadly oriented conceptual researchers and actively advertise their expertise to make the most of their sector monopoly. However true this counter argument may be, it applies only to a minority of agencies and even for these, it usually applies only to a

4. In a report (1999, Wie betaalt, bepaalt) researcher M. van den Anker of the Rotterdam policeforce concluded that many environmental consultancy agencies and laboratories are prepared to commit fraud.
5. As is argued elsewhere in this report, the institutionalisation of contract research into separate institutions that lack regular exchange channels with the academic world, should be defined a problem of its own. Potentially important data are not available for (further) analysis.

part of their research portfolio[6]. The bulk of contract agency research is aimed at answering ad hoc and short term knowledge needs and does not feed into either a cumulative knowledge base nor into (long-term) strategic policy development.

Defining the contract as the solution for research-policy linkage problems is like defining the project as the solution for all development problems. It will do for certain problems, under certain circumstances, but is not a general panacea[7].

6. We obviously lack quantitative data to substantiate this statement and it should be interpreted for what it is: an educated guess.
7. For a recent critique of the project form see Andrew Sheppard,1998, Sustainable Rural Development. London: Macmillan. Especially chapter 5, The project, p.120-145

Appendix F: Universities adapting to changes in their environment

In 1998, the OECD group on the Science System published a study on *University Research in Transition*. The summary of that report provides a good summary of the changes that universities are going through in response to changes in their environment. Although '...on balance universities are adapting to changes ... in largely positive ways..' the trends sketched underneath '...raise serious questions about how to ensure that universities can continue to make their unique contribution to long-term basic research and maintain an appropriate balance among research, training and knowledge transfer.'

- 'Declining government R&D finance... with the result that universities are seeking new sources of support and a new basis for that support.
- Changing nature of government finance - government funding for academic research is increasingly mission-oriented and contract-based and more dependent on output and performance criteria. This can lead universities to perform more short-term and market-oriented research.
- Increasing industry R&D finance.
- Growing demand for economic relevance... they are often constrained by rigidities arising from the traditional disciplinary organisation of research.
- Increasing systemic linkages - the institutional context of research is changing as universities are encouraged to enter into joint ventures and cooperative research with industry, government facilities, and other research institutions as a means of improving the effectiveness of networks and feedback loops in national innovation systems.
- Growing research personnel concerns.
- Internationalisation of university research... is... making research more competitive and leading to specialization.'

(p. 7-8)

Appendix G: Philosophies of governance

Bovens and 't Hart provide a helpful typology of philosophies of governance, perspectives, or outlooks on the possibility of steering societal processes*. When analysing problems:

- *Optimists* will see systems that in principle function well, but are hampered by a particular misfit or mistake at the level of the individuals involved. The world is controllable, policy is defined as problem solving and fiascos are exceptions.
- *Realists* will see faulty institutional arrangements and an arena of competing interests, both of which, especially in their interconnectedness, are never completely overcome. The world consists of opportunities and constraints, policy is organised action, and fiascos are organisational failures.
- *Pessimists* will focus on the interconnectedness of all factors mentioned above, and many more not mentioned; systems as a whole are bound to misfunction, having failure wired into them. Policy is overdetermined, and successful interaction is the exception to the rule.

It is important to realise that each perspective has its merits. Each focuses on particular phenomena (and disregards others) and it is not difficult to illustrate the partial truths that are revealed by these respective foci:

- The *pessimists* highlight that usually both parties involved in research-policy linkages are dissatisfied with the results. Even in settings with a long-standing history of frequent interaction, with a long-standing history of trying to prevent communication problems and of trying to create institutional arrangements facilitating linkage (e.g. the Netherlands) dissatisfaction is the rule. The fact that "direct utilisation" is the common way of defining success is a major component of this disenchantment. Our data confirm both the widespread dissatisfaction as well as the domination of the utilisation criterion as a measure for success.
- The *optimists* highlight that, whatever constraints exists, examples of good practice can always be found. Against all odds, individual enthusiasm and particular (historical) circumstances can beat any system. We have not encountered a single (national) setting wherein research and policy did not meet sometime to the profit of both.
- The *realists* highlight that some institutional arrangements and some interaction "climates" (to use a term that better describes what "systems" amounts to) are definitely more favourable to research-policy interaction than others.

We believe (policy) recommendations should focus on the areas where changes can make a difference. That is why we have looked at "good practice" examples with a mixture of an optimistic, individual-focused perspective on the one hand, and a realistic, institutional arrangements and negotiation-of-interest-focused perspective on the other, in order to arrive at "good arrangement" suggestions.

* Bovens, M. & 't Hart, P. 1996. *Understanding policy fiascos.* New Brunswick/London: Transaction Publishers.

Appendix H: Weiss' comparative case studies*

The Weiss plan for case studies involves a conceptual framework that dictates exploration of the following characteristcs and features of the individual cases:

the initiation of the study
(Who initiated it? For what reasons? For what purposes? Did the initiators evince concern for the application of results of the research to practical action? Was there a formal proposal or Request for Proposals? How was the research performer chosen? Who funded the study?

review of the proposal for the study
Who judged its merits? Were there conflicting opinions about the worth of the study? Was the expected usefulness of results a criterion for approval? Did reviewers consider the methodological quality of the proposed study? Did they consider the academic reputation of the researcher(s) and/or their organization?

the researcher(s)
What was their reputation as researchers? What was the reputation of their research organization? Had they done research of this kind before? What was their disciplinary affiliation?

conduct of the study
How long did the study take? How many people worked on it, in what capacities? Were stakeholders, including policy makers, involved in the conduct of the study during its course? Did the research have an explicit theoretical basis? What research methods were used? How were data collected? How were the data analyzed? Did the methodology adhere to sound technical principles? What kind(s) of report(s) were written?

findings
What did the findings show? Did they provide clear direction for action? Were the implications of the research a need to make changes in current policy or programming? Big changes or small changes? Did the findings run counter to established policy or agency interest? Would implementation of the findings be expensive in financial terms? Would implementation of findings require changes in agency structure or standard operating procedures?

dissemination of results
How were results of the research communicated to research audiences? to policy making audiences? Did the researchers speak at conferences, or training sessions for professionals, or in public forums? Did researchers attempt to reach policy makers with their findings? Was there a "research champion" outside of the research team who publicized the findings? Did the media report any of the findings? Did other "intermediaries," such as think tanks or interest groups, communicate the findings to policy audiences?

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* Taken from a draft proposal for research funding to the program on Management Of Social Transformations (MOST)/Unesco: *Factors that Improve the Use of Research in Social Policy, Case Studies,* 1999, p.5-6.

political context
What was the history of the issue-arena, e.g. decentralization of educational administration, privatization of day care provision? Had the topic been debated before? Were there clear supporters and opponents of the direction that the research supported? Were divisions between supporters and opponents long-standing and firm? Did the issue-arena respect research evidence? What other research findings, if any, were in currency? What other information was being supplied to decision makers? What groups were lobbying decision makers in support of which causes? Did any of the lobbying interests use research findings in making their case? Was their time pressure for reaching a decision? Were decision makers facing a crisis in which existing solutions were unworkable?

prospective users
Who were the most appropriate users of the research? What positions do they hold? What is their disciplinary background? How long have they worked in the issue-arena? Did they learn of the findings of the research? Through what channels? If they heard about findings, did they believe them? Did they believe that the findings were relevant to their issues and the conditions they faced? Did they interpret the findings fairly, or did they misinterpret or distort the findings?

utilization
Did decision makers, in fact, use the findings to reconsider what they were doing or planning to do? Did they make changes? If so, were they big changes or small changes? Which findings were ignored? How much time elapsed before they implemented changes related to the research? What factors promoted consideration of the research? What factors inhibited consideration of the findings? How satisfied were decision makers with the extent to which the research served their needs?

Appendix I: Comparative macro-indicators of RTD

Below, we present two tables from the 1997 Second European Report on Science and Technology (S&T) Indicators. Definitions and classifications are standardised, mainly through the so-called Frascati manual of OECD[1] (and the subsequent Canberra manual for the measurement of human resources); for non-EU/OECD countries, the main data source is UNESCO, sometimes using a broader definition of Research and Development (R&D) than the OECD[2]. It is important to note that R&D covers three activities: basic research, applied research and experimental development. It does not include policy related studies!

The first table refers to Government R&D appropriations as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). 'Government R&D appropriations (GBAORD) means all appropriations by central government allocated to R&D in central government budgets. Data on government appropriations, therefore, refer to budget provisions, not to actual expenditure.' (p. M-16)

It goes without saying, that the above qualifications severely compromise the validity of the figures below, when they are used to indicate differences in the use of scientific research by policy.

Table A Government R&D appropriations as a percentage of GDP from 1986 to 1996
[Source Second European Report on S&T Indicators,1997]

Country	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995*	1996*
EU 15#	0.97	0.98	0.97	0.94	0.94	0.94	0.92	0.90	0.85	0.84	0.81
B	0.57	0.55	0.53	0.65	0.61	0.62	0.60	0.63	0.62	0.62	0.65
DK	0.61	0.66	0.83	0.80	0.76	0.76	0.70	0.66	0.68	0.75	0.75
D	1.11	1.11	1.06	1.06	1.04	1.03	1.01	0.99	0.93	0.91	0.91
GR	0.21	0.22	0.21	0.26	0.23	0.22	0.19	0.21	0.22	0.24	0.31
E	0.34	0.39	0.43	0.52	0.55	0.54	0.52	0.50	0.49	0.49	0.46
F	1.36	1.39	1.42	1.37	1.38	1.37	1.29	1.26	1.24	1.16	1.10
IRL	0.39	0.39	0.36	0.31	0.30	0.31	0.33	0.35	0.30	0.31	0.37
I	0.72	0.75	0.80	0.73	0.74	0.75	0.80	0.69	0.63	0.62	0.59
NL	0.94	0.95	0.94	0.91	0.91	0.86	0.85	0.83	0.79	0.76	0.76
A	0.58	0.57	0.57	0.58	0.56	0.63	0.64	0.67	0.72	0.70	0.67
P	0.27	0.31	0.29	0.31	0.34	0.41	0.43	0.55	0.451	0.5	0.49
FIN	0.72	0.74	0.75	0.77	0.82	0.97	1.05	1.09	1.03	1.01	0.98
S	1.20	1.25	1.23	1.18	1.21	1.27	1.28	1.30	1.211	1.19	-
UK	1.11	1.04	0.95	0.92	0.90	0.87	0.85	0.86	0.78	0.79	0.76
NO	0.74	0.81	0.89	0.95	0.98	0.98	1.06	1.03	0.99	0.94	-
CH	0.38	0.39	0.33	0.34	0.32	0.33	0.34	-	-	-	-

* Provisional # Excluding Luxembourg
Source: Eurostat, CSRS, Data: OECD

1. OECD, 1994, *The measurement of scientific and technological activities: proposed standard practice for surveys of research and development - Frascati manual* 1993, Paris.
2. I.e. when following the definitions outlined in UNESCO, 1984, *Manual for statistics on scientific and technological activities,* Paris.

The second table refers to Government R&D Appropriations by Socio-Economic Objective. It is important to note that the breakdown follows the nomenclature for the analysis and comparison of scientific programmes and budgets (NABS) developed by the EC. 'In order to arrive at politically more interesting groups, some NABS-classes have been combined'. Specifically, the NABS-classes

- Infrastructure and general planning of land use.
- Control and care of the environment.
- Protection and improvement of human health.
- Social structures and relationships.

have been aggregated to form *Human and Social Objectives* (see p. M-16). When looking at the desegregated 1996 data[3], across the EU15, the most "social" of the categories, *Social structures and relationships,* accounts for 21% of the amount spent on Human and Social Objectives. And percentages for individual years of individual countries may vary considerably. It seems likely that the aggregation is partly motivated to compensate for the yearly fluctuations and to create trends that are more easily interpreted. The result is, that it becomes even more impossible to establish how much social science in "contained" in the figures.

Table B Government R&D Appropriations (GBAORD) by Socio-Economic Objective
[Million; 1990 Purchasing Power Standards; Source Second European Report on S&T Indicators,1997]

	1980	1985	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
B	**726**	**798**	**922**	**947**	**934**	**978**	**976**	**1007**	**1073**
Human and social objectives	57	52	54	73	65	64	63	74	93
Technological objectives	265	300	278	276	266	288	285	305	295
Agriculture	57	56	47	48	47	42	41	35	45
Research financed from GUF	186	177	315	318	320	343	342	338	373
Non-oriented research	147	179	188	188	188	188	189	193	188
Other civil research	11	22	36	42	45	50	54	58	74
Defence	3	12	4	2	2	2	2	3	5
D [a]	**10048**	**10781**	**11164 l**	**12597**	**12613**	**12256**	**11821**	**11837**	**11984**
Human and social objectives	1353	1120	1277	1403	1415	1367	1 312	1269	1300
Technological objectives	3159	3535	2981	3200	3433	3085	2914	2866	2854
Agriculture	187	214	216	400	318	318	313	308	307
Research financed from GUF	..	3389	3636	4178	4440	4544	4479	4467	4467
Non-oriented research	..	1228	1464	1911	1696	1877	1711	1779	1786
Othercivil research	..	9	86	122	46	20	80	76	89
Defence	1020	1286	1504	1384	1265	1044	1012	1072	1180
EL	**87**	**144**	**196**	**189**	**169**	**183**	**198**	**278**	**301**
Human and social objectives	16	25	30	27	23	28	27	36	42
Technological objectives	14	24	34	32	25	31	28	54	64
Agriculture	22	39	34	30	23	24	24	30	33
Research financed from GUF	13	41	81	87	84	83	95	127	129
Non-oriented research	17	9	9	7	8	13	21	27	29
Othercivil research	-	3	3	3	3	1	0	0	0
Defence	6	4	4	3	2	4	4	3	4

3. European Commission, 1998, *Research and Development: Annual statistics* 1998, Luxembourg: E.C.

	1980	1985	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
F	**8149**	**11306**	**12653**	**12662**	**12021**	**11620**	**11424**	**10769**	**10773**
Human and social objectives	887	1145	700	704	833	844	809	902	932
Technological objectives	2122	3061	3134	3306	2641	2588	2517	2257	2273
Agriculture	318	401	504	526	466	459	446	373	386
Research financed from GUF	..	1348	1478	1574	1619	1612	1638	1687	1721
Non-oriented research	..	1628	1914	1931	2020	2085	2 037	2 086	2068
Othercivil research	36	188	48	53	164	161	201	205	270
Defence	2974	3536	4874	4568	4277	3870	3777	3259	3124
I	**2765**	**4867**	**6340**	**6552**	**7013**	**5988**	**5540**	**5624**	**..**
Human and social objectives	243	380	949	1 135	984	818	693	772	..
Technological objectives	1346	2366	2077	1755	1982	1450	1317	1 175	..
Agriculture	115	185	186	186	176	154	133	122	..
ResearchfinancedfromGUF	..	1055	1892	2052	2515	2312	2245	2362	..
Non-oriented research	..	367	691	695	611	536	467	513	..
Othercivil research	..	30	156	211	250	207	194	175	..
Defence	74	483	389	518	495	511	492	505	..
NL	**1785**	**1774**	**2026**	**1947**	**1956**	**1924**	**1907**	**1954**	**1924**
Human and social objectives	292	230	268	292	296	317	278	246	234
Technological objectives	320	406	596	511	515	424	403	391	392
Agriculture	162	78	89	104	89	91	94	92	94
Research financed from GUF	731	751	674	639	643	676	718	807	791
Non-oriented research	191	178	239	242	251	247	250	235	231
Othercivil research	41	77	92	92	90	101	97	120	118
Defence	48	54	68	67	71	68	67	63	64
A	**461**	**564**	**664**	**771**	**796**	**849**	**915**	**897**	**873**
Human and social objectives	22	30	49	64	68	67	95	80	71
Technological objectives	76	58	67	91	83	82	101	89	84
Agriculture	19	25	26	26	29	30	30	29	30
Research financed from GUF	293	382	442	493	515	549	580	581	570
Non-oriented research	52	69	78	95	99	120	108	117	117
Other civil research	-	0	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Defence	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
S	**1337**	**1510**	**1628 I**	**1694 I**	**1684 I**	**1668**	**1605**	**1638**	**..**
Human and social objectives	231	208	328	261	254	248	299	266	..
Technological objectives	278	270	163	178	175	146	152	172	..
Agriculture	26	30	31	30	31	28	20	28	..
Research financed from GUF	..	418	511	515	814	620	628	640	..
Non-oriented research	..	221	210	247	-	235	204	189	..
Other civil research	..	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	..
Defence	203	363	385	463	410	392	303	342	..

	1980	1985	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
UK	**6905**	**8245**	**7509**	**7131**	**6886**	**7136**	**6765**	**7083**	**6909**
Human and social objectives	..	650	825	776	856	986	981	1430	1395
Technological objectives	..	1684	1385	1136	1052	1112	1068	584	569
Agriculture	..	405	300	301	350	367	343	358	349
Research financed from GUF	..	1333	1271	1312	1315	1224	1324	1294	1262
Non-oriented research	..	366	433	402	454	369	390	830	810
Othercivil research	..	25	17	51	33	45	29	31	31
Defence	3745	3782	3280	3154	2826	3032	2630	2555	2493
NO	**416**	**480**	**730**	**746**	**838**	**837**	**846**	**829**	**844**
Human and social objectives	88	103	148	156	169	170	167	147	150
Technological objectives	92	92	161	162	182	194	184	185	174
Agriculture	38	49	76	74	86	85	85	82	83
Research financed from GUF	150	153	234	242	279	281	303	301	316
Non-oriented research	29	34	67	70	79	64	65	74	78
Other civil research	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Defence	19	49	43	42	43	43	42	41	42
CH [bc]	**378**	**..**	**455**	**465**	**487**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**
Human and social objectives	..	..	82	95	..	..	..	..	..
Technological objectives	..	..	52	56	..	..	..	..	..
Agriculture	..	..	45	43	..	..	..	..	..
Research financed from GUF	..	..	-	-	..	..	..	..	..
Non-oriented research	..	..	182	185	..	..	..	..	..
Other civil research	..	..	2	0	..	..	..	..	..
Defence	59	..	91	86	..	..	..	..	..
US [bcd]	**43551**	**55452**	**59056**	**58782**	**59299**	**59310**	**56846**	**54209**	**53294**
Human and social objectives	8492	8297	10078	10801	11494	11555	12051	11722	11 40
Technological objectives	10280	6443	8596	9289	9418	9109	9692	9604	8982
Agriculture	1114	1186	1183	1260	1331	1355	1430	1364	1306
Research financed from GUF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Non-oriented research	1803	2070	2231	2350	2305	2284	2256	2202	2208
Other civil research	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Defence	21863	37457	36968	35082	34751	35008	31417	29318	29160
European Commission [ef]	**284**	**573**	**1314**	**1646**	**1762**	**2047**	**2026**	**2298**	**2591**
Million ECU									
Human and social objectives	-	62	142	209	272	443	398	461	574
Technological objectives	-	487	1040	1261	1177	1253	1170	1365	1439
Agriculture	-	16	47	69	97	100	115	124	149
Research financed from GUF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Non-oriented research	-	8	40	49	97	21	22	42	174
Other civil research	-	-	45	58	119	230	321	305	256
Defence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Notes

1996 data are provisional

a Break in series because of unification

b Excludes data for the R&D content of general payment to the higher education sector for combined education and research (public GUF)

c Federal or central government only

d Excludes most or all capital expenditure

e Data rate in current prices due to the lack of an appropriate deflator

f Administrative costs not included

Source: EU plus Norway: Eurostat, but 1980 data from OECD

European Commission: Eurostat DGXII-AS-4

Other OECD countries: OECD

Appendix J:
Philosophies governing European migration and minority policies*

The one-dimensional classification of different perspectives on minorities, presented in Box 20, is one way of carving up the European space, but neither the only one, nor the best for all purposes. The categorisation below is two-dimensional, based on the general view on citizenship in different countries *and* their immigration history.

'The philosophies basically governing migration and minority policies on the national and urban level can be divided in four or five types:

- *The "ex-colonial" type*
  Policies concerning residence and social rights have been primarily formed in times of ex-colonial immigration and are directed at the integration of immigrants in structural terms (labour market, housing, health care, education, political participation, etc.). The minority "problem" is viewed as a problem of access to the markets where valuable goods and services are distributed; minority problems are interpreted as "class"- problems within the existing system of social classes, frequently aggravated by institutional and personal discrimination. Policies to redress "unfair" inequality stress participation of minorities in the decision making and executive processes (Birmingham, Rotterdam, to a certain extent Antwerp and Lille).

- *The "guest worker approach"*
  Migrants and ethnic minorities established themselves primarily as guest workers, temporarily by definition. Presently, they may have permanent residence rights, but stay "foreigners", in a conceptual context, which is characterised by citizenship definitions, stressing the "ius sanguinis"-principle. Immigrants enjoy certain social rights, which may differ from policy sector to policy sector and from nationality to nationality. Guestworkers stay predominantly "a class apart" outside the autochtonouos system (Berlin, Vienna, to a certain extent Copenhagen). They have to cross over into the autochtouos nationality before the are entitled to full citizenship rights. The cultural dimension is not an important issue of debate.

- *The pluralist approach*
  Policies are designed and carried out with the objective of full social integration of minorities on the structural markets of goods and services. If residence requirements are satisfied, social rights almost automatically follow. Policies are directed at redressing the unequal social-economic position of immigrants (class-approach). Migrant should therefore participate in the centres of power. The most important distinguishing element, however, is the relevance of the cultural dimension. Where large minorities are present, their cultural contribution is to be valued as structural part of a pluralist society, which is supposed to change autochtonouos culture as well as the culture of immigrant groups. Immigrants and ethnic minorities are a structural and permanent part of society (Rotterdam, to a certain extent Antwerp, Copenhagen and Birmingham).

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* International centre of comparative urban policy studies, 1998, *Racism, xenophobia and minority policies in the European city* (draft), Rotterdam.

- *"Universalisme republicain"*
  The French appproach (Lille) to migrants and ethnic minorities is strongly structural, in the sense that public policies are directed at insertion in the labourmarket, the housing market, education, etc. Culturally and legally, however, France applies strict rules to "public space"; all legal resident are protected by the same republican rules if they obey the same republican rules (the assimilationist approach).

- *Humanitarian action*
  This category consists of cities with heterogeneous policies and initiatives (Lisbon, Madrid, Barcelona, Milan, Athens, Dublin). Most policies are in a formative phase; a number of actions are carried out, directed at "easing" the settlement process. Some show some structural elements (Barcelona, Madrid, Helsinki), opening up employment opportunities, housing, education, public health to immigrant newcomers. One of the key elements in policies is promotion of respect for "human rights". Milan possesses a broad assortement of initiatives and organisations often funded by national, regional and municipal authorities. Dublin and Athens still find themselves in the first phases of ad-hoc interventions.' (p. 8-10)

'Although cities function in a common national political space, which structures in the conceptions about and regulations on migration and minorities in their respective countries, there is room for a certain amount of variation within the national territority: Berlin is not München, Lille not Marseille and Milan not Palermo. There are demographic differences in terms of number of immigrant and the composition of ethnic groups present, there are geographical differences, which determine to a certain extent the functions cities acquire in the process of immigration. There are of course differences in the availability of resources, in the existence of administrative and organisational structures, but also in political attitudes to "the problem" of migration and conceptions of social equity.

In spite of the eventual variations within a country, it is the national state and its laws regarding the residence titles and the ensueing rights, which to a very large extent determine the way in which the phenomenon of migration and the presence of ethnic groups in the local level is viewed and treated. There are surprisingly large differences between countries concerning the conceptions of citizenship. This even may be the most important factor to explain the variations in the European Union in national policies towards immigrants and established black and ethnic minorities' (p. 105).

'One important general characteristic of the actual urban agendas everywhere in minority policies is, that the pressures of the refugee phenomenon tend to overshadow, if not supersede policies directed at established minorities. "The crisis of the newcomers" (refugees, asylum seekers, illegal immigrants) seems to increasingly occupy public attention, while "routine" policies directed at established minorities seem to loose support.'(p.10)

Appendix K: Alternative Dispute Resolution

'Network management makes use of methods of social conflict resolution known as 'collaborative problem solving' ..., 'joint problem solving' ... or 'consensual approaches' .... The methods are also subsumed under the generic heading of *Alternative (Environmental) Dispute Resolution* (ADR). Bingham typifies them as "a variety of approaches that allow the parties to meet face to face in an effort to reach a mutually acceptable resolution of the issues in a dispute or potentially controversial situation".... The key concepts are consensus building, joint problem solving, and negotiation. The methods aim to start a structured negotiation process among the parties involved in a dispute. The objective of negotiation is to convert win-lose confrontations into joint problem-solving efforts. In the negotiating process, all-gain results are sought. These are solutions that convince all parties that, on balance, they can expect their gains to be greater than their losses... ADR is generally considered applicable in situations that are kindred to the principles of network management:

- There needs to be a "mixed motive" situation. This is a situation where the social actors involved are facing both cooperative and confrontational stimuli;
- The parties involved in environmental conflict must perceive a mutual dependence. That is, they must judge themselves to be incapable of achieving their self-interest independently;
- Each of the parties must be of the opinion that voluntary participation in a joint dialogue and concerted effort to solve the problem will yield more benefits than losses.'*

'Network management is not simply concerned with carrying out a "project" that has a clear objective; where the starting point and finish line are recognizable; and for which the financing, scheduling and human resources can be budgeted beforehand. Indeed, the opposite is more likely. Network management involves a great deal of uncertainty....

Although there will be agreement on the direction of the outcome, the final result can only be determined after various rounds of consultation and negotiation. It takes a specific form of process supervision to deal with these uncertainties. We use the term 'process' here because we refer to course or the development of the interactions between the actors involved. Such a process does not occur spontaneously but requires supervision, planning and organization. "Supervision" means that guidance is provided for the interaction processes; "planning" means that the different activities are attuned to each other; and 'organisation' means that purposeful relations are created among the actors.

Several aspects are crucial to the design of network management. These aspects, which are closely related to each other, are the following:
- the stages in the interaction and communication processes;
- the selective activation of actors;
- the formation of a specific organisational structure;

* Quote taken from Glasbergen, P., Environmental dispute resolution as a management issue; towards new forms of decision management. In: Glasbergen, P. (Ed.), 1995, *Managing environmental disputes: network management as an alternative.* Dordrecht etc.: Kluwer Academic Publishers, p.12-13. For references: see the original.

- the definition of the policy problem;
- the design of the interaction and communication processes;
- the enlistment of a mediator;
- the formulation of conditions for implementation.'*

* Quote taken from Driessen, P., Vermeulen, W. "Network management in perspective: concluding remarks on network management as an innovative form of environmental management". in: Glasbergen, P. (ed.), 1995, *Managing environmental disputes: network management as an alternative.* Dordrecht etc.: Kluwer Academic Publishers, p.160.

Appendix L:
Aufgaben und Organisation des Schweizerischen Forums für Migrationsstudien*

(Stand: Dezember 1998)

Zur Geschichte

Das Projekt zur Einrichtung einer zentralen Forschungs- und Dokumentationsstelle für die schweizerische Migrationsforschung wurzelt in einem forschungspolitischen Bericht für den Fachbereich Ethnologie aus dem Jahre 1991. Der Bericht identifizierte als primäres Ziel die Schaffung eines interdisziplinär konzipierten und anwendungsorientierten Forschungs- und Dokumentationszentrums für Migrationsfragen. Ein vom Wissenschaftsrat – dem höchsten forschungspolitischen Gremium der Schweiz – organisiertes Hearing, an dem Fachleute aus Forschung und Praxis teilnahmen, machte die Dringlichkeit des Vorhabens deutlich.

Die Schweizerische Akademie der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften (SAGW) übernahm daraufhin mit finanzieller Unterstützung des Wissenschaftsrats die Planung. Die SAGW setzte eine interdisziplinäre Arbeitsgruppe ein. Auf der Basis einer vorgängigen Umfrage sowie einer Vernehmlassung entwickelte die Arbeitsgruppe das Konzept zur Einrichtung eines Schweizerischen Forums für Migrationsstudien, das sowohl den Bedürfnissen der Forschung wie jenen der behördlichen Entscheidungsträger oder anderer in der Praxis mit Migrationsfragen betrauter Stellen gerecht werden sollte. Fachpersonen und Arbeitsgebiete der schweizerischen Migrationsforschung wurden inventarisiert, die Wünsche der Praxis und der Forschung eruiert, das Aufgabenprofil des SFM definiert, ein Organisationsmodell entwickelt, ein Stellenplan und Finanzierungsmodelle erarbeitet sowie der Standort Neuenburg festgelegt. Die SAGW schlug daraufhin das Projekt "Schweizerisches Forum für Migrationsstudien" an erster Stelle für ein sozialwissenschaftliches Schwerpunktprogramm des Nationalfonds vor. Die forschungspolitischen Entscheidungsträger gaben jedoch dem Projekt "Zukunft Schweiz" den Vorzug, weil mit den Schwerpunktprogrammen grundsätzlich keine dauerhaften Institutionen finanziert werden sollen.

Von der Tatsache ermuntert, dass die Einrichtung einer Forschungs- und Dokumentationsstelle im Migrationsbereich einem breiten Bedürfnis verschiedenster Kreise entsprach, versuchte die Arbeitsgruppe, das Projekt auf anderem Weg zu realisieren. Der Kanton, die Stadt und die Universität Neuenburg sowie einige Bundesämter unterstützten das Bestreben, das SFM auch ohne Förderung durch den Nationalsfonds aufzubauen. Die Arbeitsgruppe erhielt vom Bundesamt für Flüchtlinge, dem Bundesamt für Statistik, vom Eidgenössischen Departement für auswärtige Angelegenheiten sowie der Stiftung Bevölkerung, Migration und Umwelt (Zürich) einen Aufbaukredit zugesprochen. Im Jahre 1995 konnte das Forum schliesslich die von der Universität Neuenburg zur Verfügung gestellten Räumlichkeiten beziehen, die ersten Mitarbeiter beschäftigen und seinen Betrieb aufnehmen.

Aufgaben

Grenzüberschreitende Migration stellt eine der wesentlichen sozialen, wirtschaftlichen und politischen Herausforderungen unserer Zeit dar. Seit die Arbeitsmigration aus Südeuropa durch andere

* See www.unine.ch/fsm/

Formen der Einwanderung aus neuen Herkunftsgebieten ergänzt wurde, zeichnet sich auch für die Schweiz eine zusäätzliche soziale und kulturelle Heterogenisierung ab. Dabei sind vielfältige Beziehungen der Einbindung und Ausgrenzung zwischen Zugewanderten und ansässiger Bevölkerung entstanden.

Eine Vielzahl von Institutionen beschäftigt sich mit der neuen Einwanderungsdynamik: die Behörden des Bundes, der Kantone und der Gemeinden, die Privatwirtschaft, Kirchen, Hilfswerke, Ausländervereinigungen, internationale Organisationen etc. Häufig fehlen jedoch die Entscheidungsgrundlagen für angemessenes migrationspolitisches Handeln.

Das Schweizerische Forum für Migrationsstudien stellt Forschungskapazitäten bereit, um Informationen aufzubereiten, Analysen zu erstellen und Handlungsmöglichkeiten zu evaluieren. Zentrales Ziel ist es dabei, mit diesen Studien einen Beitrag zur Versachlichung und Professionalisierung der hiesigen Diskussion zur Migrationsproblematik leisten zu können. Die angewandte Forschung des SFM wird durch eine kontinuierliche Aufarbeitung der wissenschaftlichen Literatur sowie durch Grundlagenforschung ergänzt.

Das SFM stellt der Forschung sowie der interessierten Öffentlichkeit eine Dokumentation und Bibliothek zur Migrationsthematik zur Verfügung und betätigt sich im Bereich der universitären Lehre und der Weiterbildung. Es koordiniert und dokumentiert wissenschaftliche Studien zur Migrationsproblematik in der Schweiz und dient als Kontakt- und Vermittlungsstelle füür andere Forschungsinstitute in Europa. Im einzelnen umfassen die Aufgaben des SFM:
Forschung
- Grundlagenforschung
- Auftragsforschung
- Expertisen und Evaluationen

Koordination
- Forschungskoordination im Inland
- Verbindungsstelle zur Migrationsforschung anderer Länder

Kommunikation
- Verbreitung von migrationsspezifischem Sachwissen in der Öffentlichkeit
- Beratung und Information
- Weiterbildungsveranstaltungen

Dokumentation
- Spezialbibliothek
- Bibliographische Datenbank
- Datenbank zu Institutionen im Migrationsbereich

Rechtliche Form, Organisationsstruktur und Finanzierung
Das Schweizerische Forum für Migrationsstudien wird von einer gemeinnützigen Stiftung getragen, welche der Aufsicht des Eidgenössischen Departements des Innern untersteht. Stiftungsgründer sind der Kanton Neuenburg, die SAGW sowie die Stiftung Bevölkerung, Migration und Umwelt (Zürich). Das SFM ist der Universität Neuenburg als fakultätsunabhängiges Institut angegliedert. Ein Vertrag regelt die Nutzung der universitären Infrastruktur (Informatik und Räumlichkeiten). Der Direktor des SFM ist als Dozent für Migrationssoziologie an der Universität Neuenburg tätig.

Das SFM gliedert sich in den Stiftungsrat als Kontrollorgan, den Wissenschaftlichen Beirat als beratendem und dem Institut als durchführendem Organ.

Der Stiftungsrat setzt sich neben den Stiftungsgründern aus Vertretern von Verwaltung und Hilfswerken zusammen, welche im Migrationsbereich tätig sind, namentlich des Bundesamts für Flüchtlinge, des Bundesamts für Statistik, des Bundesamts füür Ausländerfragen, der Caritas Schweiz, des Eidgenössischen Departements für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, des Schweizerischen Roten Kreuzes sowie der Universität Neuenburg. Als Mitglieder des Wissenschaftlichen Beirats wurden die wichtigsten Vertreter der verschiedenen Zweige und Disziplinen der schweizerischen Migrationsforschung berufen. Der Beirat wacht über die Qualität der vom Institut getätigten Forschung sowie über die Einhaltung der ethischen Richtlinien, unterstützt die Direktion bei der Forschungskoordination und mit Expertisen zu einzelnen Sachfragen.

Das Institut steht unter der Leitung von PD Dr. Andreas Wimmer (Ethnologe)[Momentan Sandro Cattacin phd, RH]. Als wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter im Forschungsbereich sind gegenwärtig auf der Basis einer festen Anstellung ein Ökonome, zwei Politologe und eine Soziologin beschäftigt. Der Dokumentationsbereich wird von einem wissenschaftlichen Dokumentalist geleitet, der von einer Bibliothekarin unterstützt wird. Insgesamt sind 500 Stellenprozente in Festanstellungen gebunden und durchschnittlich weitere 100 durch Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter auf Mandatsbasis.

Die Aktivitäten des Forums basieren auf zwei finanziellen Pfeilern: einerseits den Einnahmen aus Forschungsmandaten (ca. 65% der Erträge), andererseits auf leistungsunabhängigen Beiträgen der Stiftung Bevölkerung, Migration und Umwelt, des Schweizerischen Roten Kreuzes sowie der Caritas Schweiz. Das Jahresbudget beläuft sich auf rund 850'000 Franken.

Bisherige Tätigkeit des SFM
Schwerpunktmässig war das Institut während der ersten Jahre seiner Existenz darum bemüht, Dokumentation und Bibliothek aufzubauen sowie Mandate im Bereich der angewandten Migrationsforschung auszuführen. Es ist dem SFM gelungen, sich innerhalb dieser kurzen Zeit einen Ruf als Produzent qualitativ hochstehender Forschung zu erwerben und eine Dokumentationsstelle zu schaffen, die einen schnellen Zugriff auf die Literatur zum Thema Migration in der Schweiz ermöglicht.

Während der Aufbauphase konnten nicht alle Aufgaben des Instituts in gleichem Masse wahrgenommen werden. So war es nur sehr beschränkt möglich, migrationsspezifisches Sachwissen einer breiteren Öffentlichkeit zugänglich zu machen oder im Bereich der Forschungskoordination im In- und Ausland tätig zu werden. Die folgende Darstellung beschränkt sich deshalb weitgehend auf die Bereiche Forschung und Dokumentation.

Forschung
Die Mehrzahl dieser Forschungsprojekte weisen einen transdisziplinären Charakter auf und werden entsprechend meist in Teamarbeit konzipiert und durchgeführt. Soziologie, Ethnologie, Politikwissenschaft und Wirtschaftswissenschaft sind die am häufigsten zueinander in Beziehung gesetzten Fächer. Das SFM stellt eine der wenigen sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschungsinstitutionen der Schweiz dar, die transdisziplinäre, anwendungsorientierte Forschung in der täglichen Arbeit praktizieren. Gerade für ein Themenfeld wie die internationale Migration erweist sich diese

institutionalisierte Kooperation zwischen den Disziplinen als äusserst fruchtbar.

Darüber hinaus zeichnet sich die Forschungstätigkeit des SFM dadurch aus, dass aufgrund der personellen Zusammensetzung des Mitarbeiterstabes die französischsprachige und die deutschsprachige Forschungstradition verbunden werden. In den meisten Projekten arbeiten Mitarbeiter mit französisschprachiger und deutschsprachiger Universitätsausbildung eng miteinander zusammen.

Bibliothek und Dokumentation

Der Dokumentationsdienst des SFM setzt sich zum Ziel, detaillierte Informationen über alle Aspekte des Migrationsgeschehens in der Schweiz zur Verfügung zu stellen. Der gesamte Bereich wurde von Beginn an auf die modernen Kommunikationstechnologien ausgerichtet. Es ist der Dokumentation gelungen, mit sehr geringem Kostenaufwand diese neuen technischen Möglichkeiten zu nutzen und als eines der ersten sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschungsinstitute der Schweiz eine recherchierbare Datenbank auf dem Netz anzubieten. Die Dokumentation umfasst gegenwärtig folgende Teile:

- *eine Spezialbibliothek,* welche einen Grossteil der wissenschaftlichen Literatur zum Thema Migration in der Schweiz enthält. Darüber hinaus sind über 100 Zeitschriften und Bulletins abonniert, neben den Publikationsorganen von Schweizer NGOs und Regierungsstellen auch die wichtigsten internationalen Fachzeitschriften.
- *eine bibliographische Datenbank zum Thema Migration in der Schweiz.* Sie beruht auf einer ersten systematischen Umfrage bei schweizerischen Forschern und Forscherinnen sowie einer ständigen Nachführung.
- *eine Datenbank* mit über 1000 Adressen von Forschern, Behörden auf Bundes-, Kantons- und Gemeindeebene sowie weiteren in der Praxis mit Migrationsfragen beauftragten Institutionen.
- *eine Datenbank* mit den Adressen und dem Aufgabenprofil der in der Ausländerberatung tätigen schweizerischen Organisationen, welche auf einer Umfrage des SFM beruht.
- *Eine Homepage* mit allgemeinen Informationen, einer Publikationsliste des SFM, Angaben über schweizerische Kongresse und Weiterbildungsveranstaltungen im Migrationsbereich sowie dem Bibliothekskatalog.

Die Dokumentation pflegt regelmässige Kontakte zu anderen Dokumentationsstellen im In- und Ausland. Inzwischen ist das SFM zu einem festen Ansprechpartner für ausländische Dokumentationszentren geworden, welche sich ebenfalls auf den Migrationsbereich spezialisiert haben.

Zukunftsperspektiven

Die Nachfrage nach angewandter Forschung im Migrationsbereich scheint nachhaltig zu sein. Die Migrationsproblematik wird die Schweiz auch in Zukunft – beispielsweise nach dem Abschluss eines Freizügigkeitsabkommens mit der EU – beschäftigten und figuriert weiterhin weit oben auf der Liste der Politikfelder mit grossem Handlungsbedarf. Insbesondere die Integrationsfrage wird in Zukunft noch an Bedeutung gewinnen, zeichnen sich doch hier bereits jetzt grössere Defizite ab, welche durch die allgemeinen wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Entwicklungen wohl noch spürbarer werden.

Die rasch wachsende Zahl der Anfragen an den Dokumentationsdienst zeigt, dass in der breiteren Öffentlichkeit sowie in Kreisen der Forschung ein Bedürfnis nach einer zentralen Informationsstelle besteht. Auch ausländische Forschungsinstitute im Migrationsbereich zeigen grosses Interesse

an der Tätigkeit des SFM; eine zentrale Ansprech- und Scharnierstelle zwischen ausländischer und schweizerischer Forschung ist gerade für einen Bereich wie die Einwanderungsthematik von grosser Bedeutung, nicht nur weil Migration per se ein transnationales Phänomen darstellt und eine vergleichende Perspektive in der Forschung nötig ist, sondern auch weil der europäische Einigungsprozess eine zunehmende Koordination und Vernetzung sowohl der Einwanderungspolitik wie der Forschung nach sich zieht.

Die Zukunftsperspektiven für eine schweizerische Forschungs- und Dokumentationsstelle, welche sich ausschliesslich Migrationsfragen widmet, sind insgesamt als gut zu bezeichnen. Um seiner Aufgabenstellung und den kommenden Herausforderungen gerecht werden zu können, wird das SFM sein bisheriges Tätigkeitsprofil erweitern. Zu den zukünftig anvisierten Tätigkeitsfeldern gehören die Grundlagenforschung sowie die Forschungskoordination und -kommunikation.

Wir hoffen, dass sich die Forschungs- und Dokumentationsarbeiten des Instituts weiterhin auf einem Pfad nachhaltigen Wachstums entwickeln und dass sie dazu beitragen werden, einen sachlichen und informierten Umgang mit den zukünftigen Herausforderungen im Migrationsbereich zu wahren.