



FINAL REPORT

Más Saber América Latina

Understanding Think Tank – University Relationships
in Latin America

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On **September, 2014**

Abstract:

Although Latin America represents 10% of the world population, the region produces only 2.3% of the scientific knowledge that is generated globally. Universities and think tanks in Latin America have a key role to play in order to overcome this challenge. However, relationships between these two actors have not been studied yet.

The main objective of this research project was to improve understanding of the relationship between think tanks and universities in Latin America. The project included nine qualitative studies in different countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Guatemala, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay, each addressing at least three case studies on the relationship between think tanks and universities; a regional qualitative and quantitative study (including webometric and bibliometric analyses to quantify links between both entities) to analyze the production of knowledge in the region and understand the links between think tanks and universities.

Findings show that there are multiple links between think tanks and universities in Latin America however most are de-institutionalized, temporary and based on people. This report presents a synthesis of all modes of collaboration and competition and the factors enhancing collaboration, which include: shared values and beliefs about the role of scientific knowledge, converging interests, a need to increase prestige or credibility, and personal contact. The report presents a series of policy recommendations to promote collaboration between think tanks and universities in Latin America and ultimately generate more knowledge in our region.

Key words:

Think tanks, universities, relationships, links, knowledge, Latin America.

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I. About this study

This research project was implemented by a consortium formed by Grupo FARO, Ecuadorian think-and-do tank, and the Centro de Políticas Comparadas de Educación, research center of the Universidad Diego Portales in Chile with financial support from the International Development Research Center - IDRC, through its initiative the Think Tank Initiative www.thinktankinitiative.org.

Although Latin America represents 10% of the world population, the region produces only 2.3% of the scientific knowledge that is generated globally (Belletini, 2012). Universities and think tanks in Latin America have a key role to play in order to overcome this challenge. However, relationships between these two actors have not been studied yet.

The study proposed the analysis of the relationships between think tanks and universities in Latin America in order to generate a better understanding of the links between them and generate recommendations to promote collaboration between these institutions.

a. Objectives

The main objective of this research project was to improve understanding of the relationship between think tanks and universities in Latin America. Specific objectives include: producing evidence for the capacity building of public policy research and providing lessons for effective collaboration between think tanks and universities in the region.

The expected results of this investigation were:

- A better understanding of the relationship between think tanks and universities in Latin America.
- The characterization of the type of relationships found in the region. Some dimensions on which this characterization can be built are: i) focus (research, training in public

policy), ii) intensity (independent institutions or affiliated), iii) temporary nature (permanent, transitory), iv) type of relationship (direct, indirect - through other entities), among others.

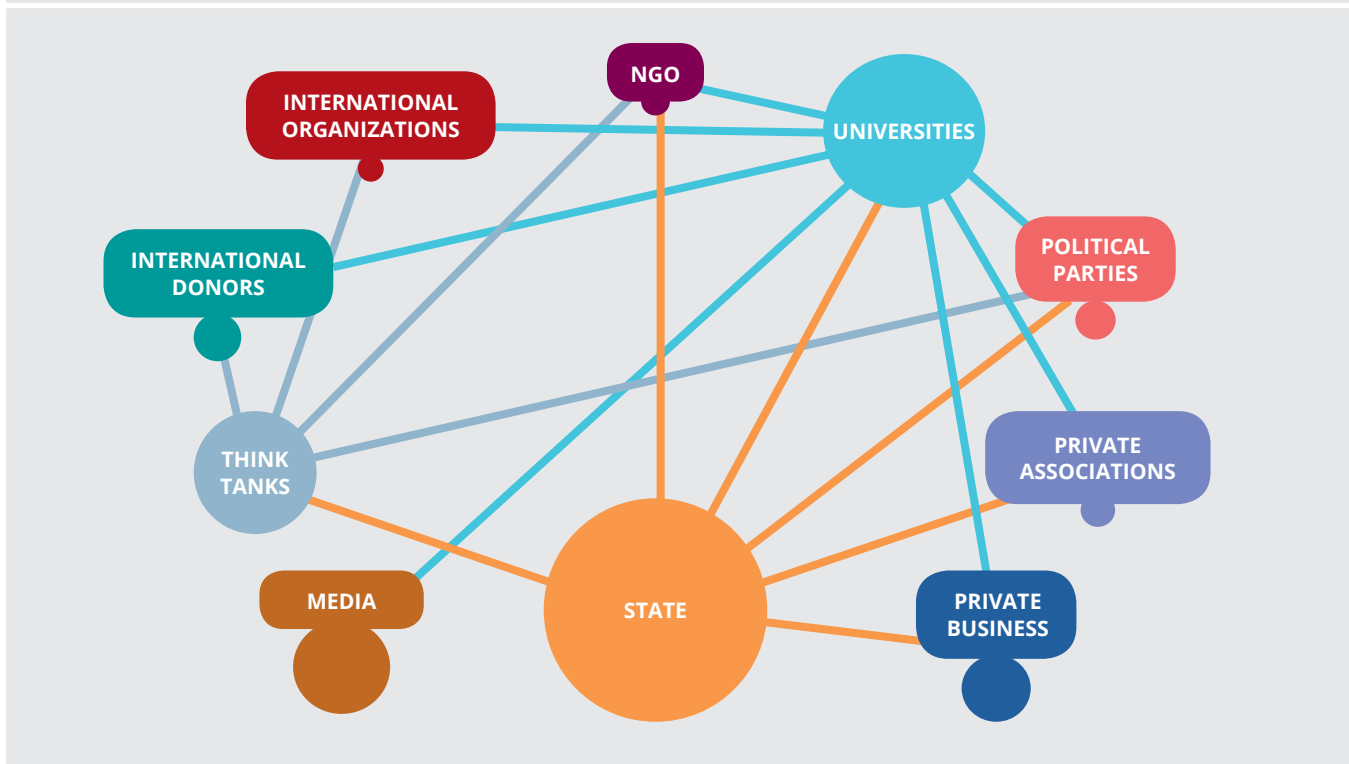
- The analysis of factors affecting the relationship between think tanks and universities in the region.
- The analysis of the implications for donors' support to knowledge generation in the region and public policy in the studied countries.
- A debate on the importance of promoting collaboration between think tanks and universities and a discussion of strategies to enhance it.
- Contribution to the literature with a conceptual framework for future research on this issue.
- Concrete proposals for institutional design and regulatory frameworks that support collaboration between think tanks and universities in the region.

b. Methodology

The project included nine qualitative studies in different countries¹: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Guatemala, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay, each addressing at least three case studies on the relationship between think tanks and universities; a regional qualitative and quantitative study (including webometric and bibliometric analyses to quantify links between both entities) on the production of knowledge in the region and the links between think tanks and universities. In addition, a reflection of the importance of this study produced by the team of experts (the advisory committee) and a final conclusions document were also generated.

To develop the research project, case studies were commissioned through an open call process for all Latin American countries. The case studies conducted qualitative analysis focusing on the relationship between think tanks and universities: the description of the think tanks and universities' community (e.g. number of actors in both communities, aggregate budget), regulatory framework for

¹ The research project was planned for ten case studies but one consultant dropped off the project as it had already started without completing the products.

Figure 1: Knowledge Sector as an Ecosystem. Source: the authors.

these institutions in each country, historical evolution of the relationship, the analysis of three cases of a relationship between think tanks and universities, at least one of those without successful outcomes and recommendations to promote more and better relationships between think tanks and universities.

Additionally, a regional qualitative and quantitative study analyzed the relationships between think tanks and universities from a regional perspective. For qualitative analyses this study was based on inputs generated through webometric and bibliometric analyses in the region.

The study considered a systemic framework that conceives the “policy knowledge sector” as an ecosystem in which different actors coexist and interact:

- i) knowledge providers: universities, think tanks, public institutes, state bodies, international organizations, among others;
- ii) intermediaries: actors who serve as liaison between policy makers and knowledge generators like think tanks, opinion makers and the media; and
- iii) knowledge seekers: policy designers at public institutions both at central and local government level (Australian Aid, 2011).

It is important to note that think tanks and universities distinguish themselves from other actors who also seek to influence public policy (such as unions, lobbyists, activist networks, etc.) in that both types of institutions advocate for policy change based on evidence generated from academic research.

Study Limitations

It is important to present the perceived limitations of the study conducted: this research project makes an effort to portray the situation of the relationships between think tanks and universities in Latin America however:

- The study focuses on nine countries in the region and in country selection we made an effort to include countries in all three sub regions (Central America, Andean countries and the South Cone), big and small countries, and countries with more and less developed research traditions. The nine country studies can give us a preliminary idea on how think tanks and universities relate with each other in Latin America but cannot be generalized for every country in the region as national contexts and specific circumstances would have a different effect on relationships between these actors.
- Each country study presents at least three case studies of relationships between think tanks and universities in the country (successful and unsuccessful cases of collaboration). Researchers chose the most relevant cases in each country; however, findings from these may not represent all the experiences of links and collaboration between think tanks and universities in each country.
- The webometric and bibliometric studies were conducted in an effort to generate quantitative data on the relationships between think tanks and universities and their collaboration in the region, nonetheless, measuring collaboration quantitatively is complicated.
- The webometric analysis was based on a list of think tanks from a network of research centers in Latin America and the Caribbean, coordinated by the Inter-American Development Bank. Although we worked on updating this list, it probably leaves some think tanks out. In addition, the webometric analysis used indicators of connection between the websites of think tanks and universities to evidence collaboration, these indicators are clearly proxies that reveal useful information but are not collaboration indicators themselves.
- In relation to the bibliometric analysis, we used the indicator of joint publications in indexed journals to analyze collaboration between the think tanks included in the case studies and universities in the region. This indicator is also

- a proxy to reveal collaboration between these institutions; however it is limited in that it focuses only on collaboration around a publication that is included in indexed journals. However, publishing in indexed journals, in English (more than 90% of articles in SCOUPS, the database used are in English) is not common to all types of think tanks in the region, even Latin American universities, in general, do not have a tradition of publishing articles in indexed journals.
- We provided researchers with a general framework to guide the scope and depth of each country study to make them comparable. However, comparability extends to a limit in which national contexts and specificities of the cases analyzed for each country make situations too particular to be compared.

II. Findings

As it is discussed throughout this document, Latin America has the enormous challenge of increasing its capacity to produce knowledge. Despite making up 10% of the world's population, our region produces only 2.3 % of the scientific knowledge generated globally.

Universities and think tanks in Latin America have a key role to overcome this challenge. This is the first study focused on the relationship between the two actors and the factors affecting their relationship. However, little was known about these factors affecting the ties between both institutions. Throughout the studies conducted in different Latin American countries, as well as in the regional study, there is evidence that some of the reasons affecting these ties include a shortage of researchers, the limited demand for public policy applied knowledge by the public and private sectors, as well as limited financial resources dedicated to research and development.

This chapter presents an analysis of the roles and relationships between think tanks and universities, the functions performed by each of these organizations, the types of relationships and formulates policy recommendations and proposes strategies to strengthen ties between think tanks and universities in our region recommendations based on the findings in the country studies.

a. Definition and Functions of Think Tanks and Universities: Towards a Definition

Before analyzing the functions performed by think tanks and universities it is important to go over a recurring theme in the different country studies related to the importance of clarifying the definition of think tanks and making their roles in society visible.

We begin at the following observation: that as shown by the country studies and the cases analyzed in them, think tanks are part of the system of for public policy knowledge production in Latin American countries. However, in each country think tanks occupy a different position in this scheme and perform a different function, which sometimes makes it difficult to identify them correctly. This does not apply to universities, that are everywhere recognized as learning organizations that form and certify professionals and senior technicians, that communicate or disseminate knowledge that is transferred internally, and some of which also produce scientific-technical knowledge validated by members of disciplinary communities or specialized areas of knowledge and transfer it to various users in the economy, society and State.

What then are think tanks? Specialized literature defines them in different ways. The most concise definition states that they are public policy research organizations. In an extended version they are defined as “research organizations committed to the analysis and intervention in public policies that generate policy-oriented research, analysis and advice on national and international affairs, enabling policy makers and the general public to make informed decisions around public policy issues” (McGann, 2013:15). A different approach characterizes think tanks as “independent non-profit, non-interest-based organizations, producing - and relying on - expertise and ideas to gain support and influence the processes of policy formulation” (Rich, 2004:pos). Meanwhile, a study of think tanks in Canada and USA states that think tanks are a diverse group of organizations that share a desire to influence public policy but do so in many different ways. In other words, “not only they vary greatly in terms of the resources that they have at their disposal but also, think tanks assign different priorities to their participation in the different stages of the public policy cycle” (Abelson, 2009:pos. 1287).

Another definition used for think tanks comes from the perspective of the knowledge produced by them. For example, Campbell y Pedersen (2005) argue that the knowledge relevant for policy influence occurs within organizations such as universities, public or private research institutes, sometimes called think tanks, and research departments attached to political parties, government ministries, unions and business associations. Finally, an international organization provides the following definition: “think tanks are organizations that on an ongoing basis conduct research and promote ideas (advocacy) on any matter relating to public policies; they are a bridge between knowledge and power in modern democracies” (UNDP, 2003:6).

A Catalog of Common Characteristics or a Field?

Immediately these definitions confront us with a number of issues that appear widely discussed in the literature: these organizations, should they be or are they independent or affiliated to a particular ideological view, government administration, political current, interest group or social class? By nature and mission, should think tanks be private organizations or, conversely, can they also have a public character? In relation to research carried out by them, in what aspects and how is their research like research conducted by universities? Are these latter concentrated only in the disciplinary-academic mode of knowledge production (MP1) and think tanks concentrated in MP2? Do these organizations use different communication channels and are they subject to different modes of quality and relevance control of the knowledge produced? At what stages of the policy cycle think tanks involvement has higher expectations of influencing policy, how and how much? Should think tanks necessarily work as nonprofit organizations or should they legitimately act also in the field of business knowledge, generating a surplus and putting it to use under purposes specified in their missions and charters? What relation do think tanks have among each other and with other organizations producing knowledge for the development of public policies? Should these organizations cooperate with each other or can they compete, and if so, how does competition take place? Is it advisable that think tanks specialize thematically or can they address a variety of topics simultaneously? How can we distinguish between different types of think tanks? Should we

start from an ideal type or inductively based on the variety of national and international experiences?

Many of these questions do not have clear answers and often there is little agreement around them. In part this is due to the insistence of defining these organizations under a sort of catalog of common characteristics rather than analyzing the social space they occupy, the roles they perform within it and relationships among each other.

In institutional theory, the name ‘organizational field’ is applied to these collections of interdependent organizations involved in a common system of meanings, as could be the field of policy-applied knowledge production (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). From this point of view, internal attributes of entities under study matter less than their position in a field of relations base on force; the way in which relationships are structured with other organizations involved in the same space and the roles each play. As Scott points out, most of these fields include a limited range of organizational forms

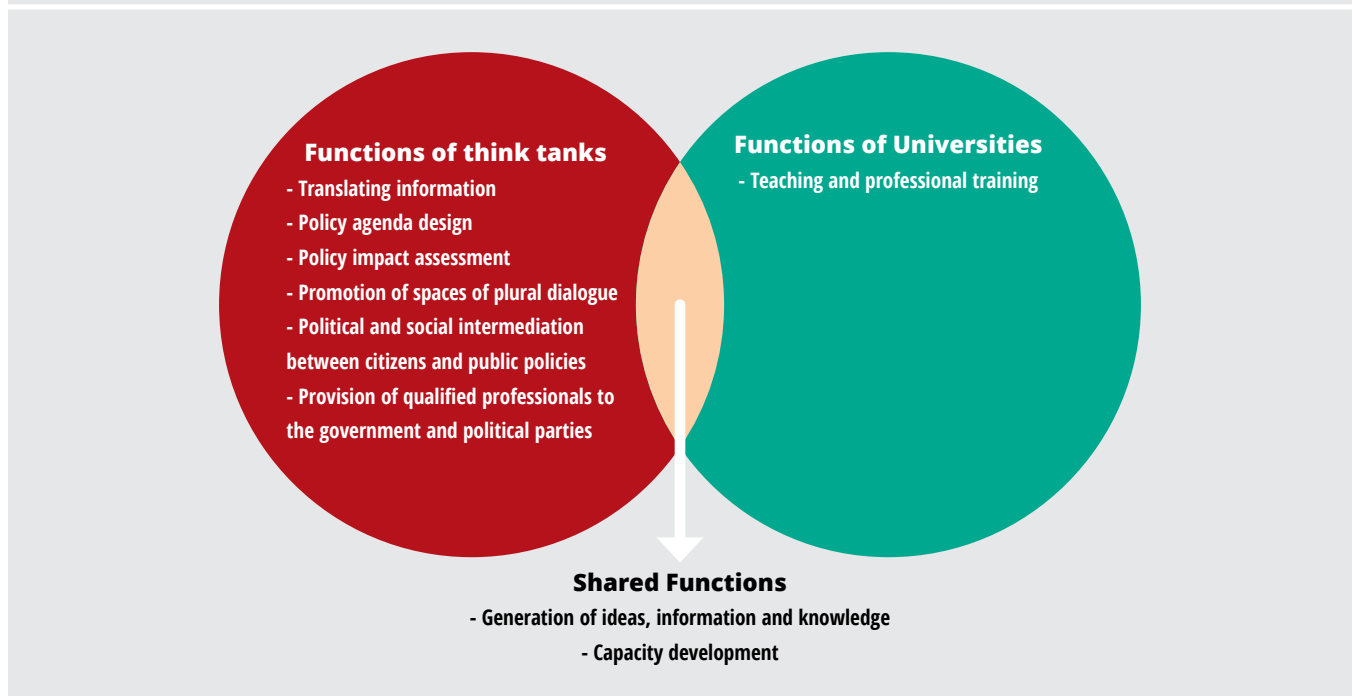
for suppliers -some dominant, or other complementary or subordinate- altogether with support organizations that provide essential resources (including funding) and exerting control. Also in most fields some organizations and intermediate occupations play a critical role, which may, for example, facilitate the communication of knowledge, regulate conflicts of interest, monitor providing entities, etc. (Scott, 2014:229-230).

b. Functions of Think Tanks and Universities

To understand better the relationships between universities and think tanks, Figure 2 presents those functions which are usually considered unique to each of these organizations, as well as those that could be performed by both (Belletini and Carrión, 2009).

As noted in this study, universities are still the predominant actors responsible for training professionals who will perform more specialized functions in society. In the majority of

Figure 2: Unique and Complementary Functions in Think Tanks and Universities. Source: the authors.

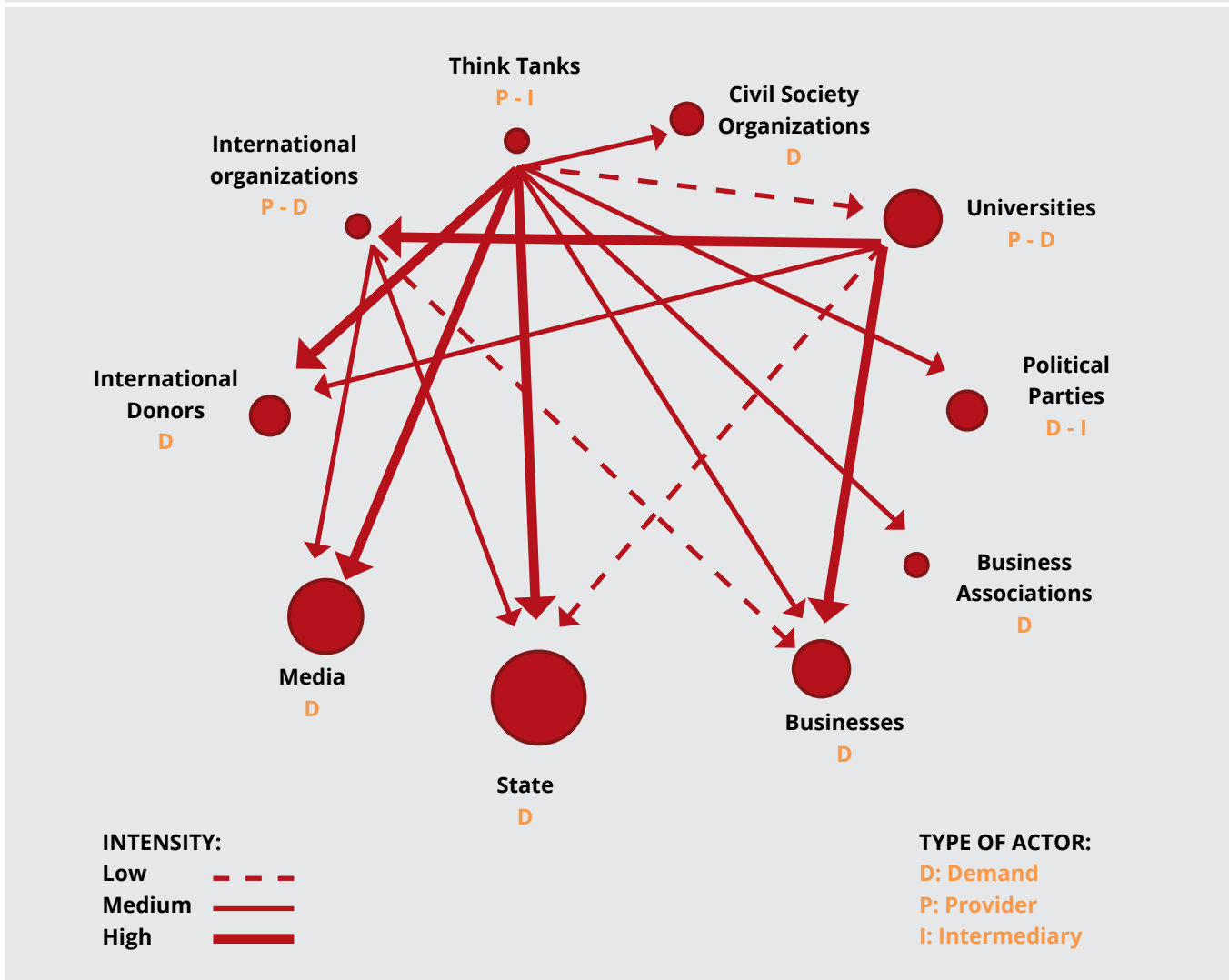


Latin American countries, universities, however, have been limited to this function neglecting their role to perform both pure and applied research. For this reason, it is expected that part of this function is assumed by actors such as think tanks. Limited research capacity of universities is expressed in the fact that only three Latin American universities are included among top universities in the world according to several international rankings that consider the ability to

conduct research as one of the most important dimensions of analysis.

According to the country studies conducted as part of this research project, some of these functions are accomplished with greater intensity by think tanks and universities in Latin America. For example, the functions of knowledge production and training of specialized human capital in public policy

Figure 3: Links of Think Tanks and Universities With Other Actors in Society, Based on Their Function in the Knowledge Ecosystem. Source: the authors.



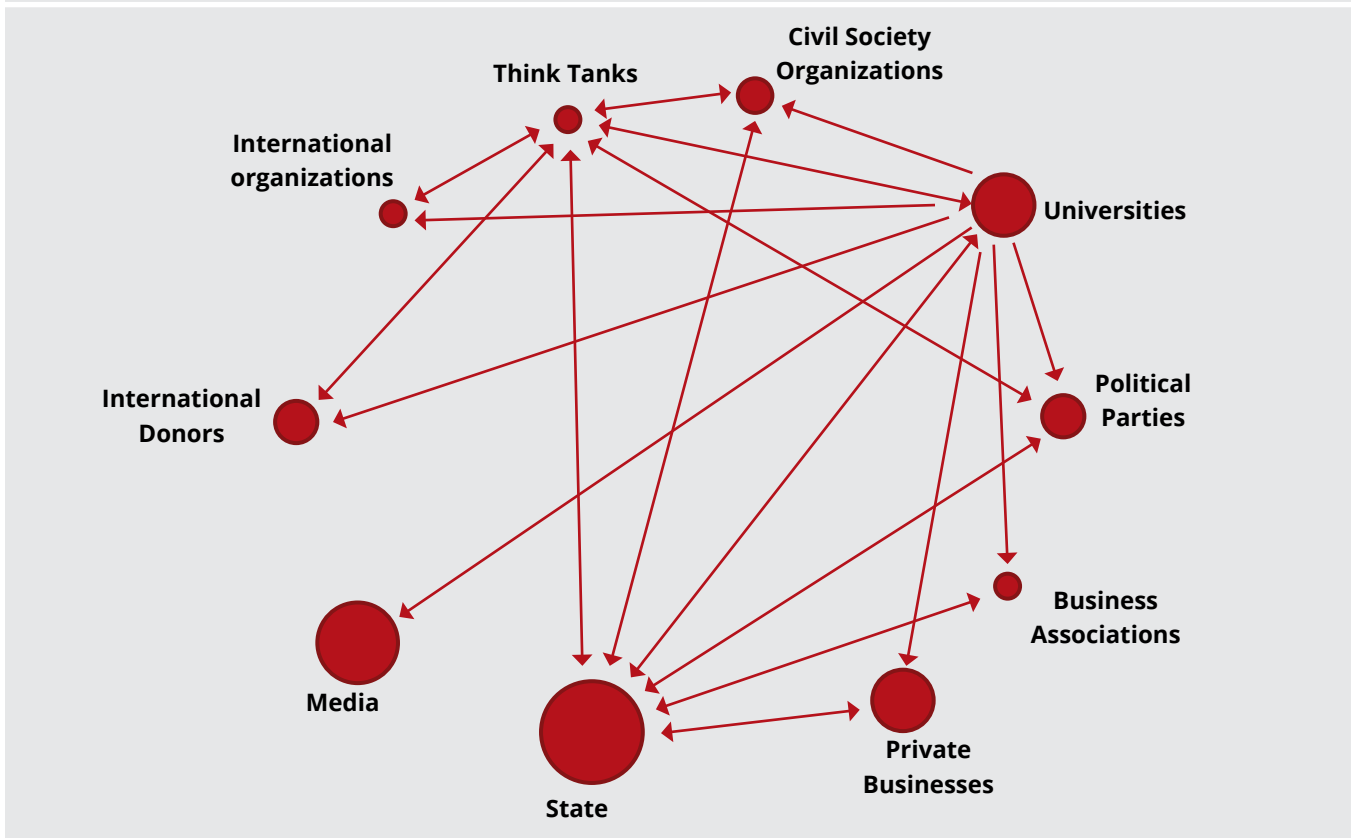
are functions recurrently found in the case analyzed in the nine country studies. Additionally, each function generates a network of relationships. Figure 3 presents the system idea, information and knowledge generation in Latin America where think tanks and universities play an important role not only for their capacity to generate these but also for the number of interactions of these with others actors in society.

Figure 4 shows the system of researcher training and exchange on issues related to public policies. In this system we have found that there are flows from think tanks to universities that, in general, have better capacity to provide career plans and job stability. This is the case for countries like Colombia where there is a strong tradition of university

presence in society that has made of this institution the favored destination of researchers.

However there are, some flows of researchers from universities to think tanks mainly looking for flexibility, they are interested in the orientation to public policy influence and the opportunity to conduct applied research. Additionally, in many cases, there are political factors that have promoted these flows. This is the case of Chile where democratic breakdown and the consequent elimination of universities as plural spaces for the debate of ideas, led to the creation of think tanks that housed researchers who left universities.

Figure 4: Links Between Think Tanks and Universities with Other Actors in Society, According to the Talent Training Function. Source: the authors.



Moreover, in most of the countries analyzed we found that there are flows of students from think tanks to universities as they are focused on pursuing master's degrees or performing temporary teaching activities. Reverse flow also occurs when students migrate from universities to think tanks to pursue internships and engage in temporary research projects.

Finally, there are bidirectional flows of senior researchers between universities and think tanks due to researchers that transition from one organization to the other specifically for the organization of events, publications, courses, training activities, to mention some of the activities mostly found in studies conducted in the countries analyzed in this study

III. Factors affecting the link between universities and Think tanks

In the studies conducted in several countries in the region we found factors that enable or hinder relations between think tanks and universities (See Table X in Annexes for a summary of country findings). The following section presents an analysis of the main aspects that enhance these links:

a. Factors Promoting the Link between Universities and Think Tanks

- Complementary capacities: Think tanks have credibility as organizations doing quality public policy- applied research. On the other hand, universities have the ability to establish training programs for researchers and offering career plans and job stability that are often more difficult to achieve in think tanks .
- Networks and communications: Another factor that appears as an enhancer of links between the two institutions is the increasing need of both types of institutions of becoming part of international networks of knowledge generation and dissemination. Since, in general, Latin America has remained away from these networks; case studies showed that think tanks and universities often join forces in the efforts of becoming members of these.

- Circulation of researchers: As we mentioned above, one function shared by both universities and think tanks is the formation of advanced human capital. The two types of institutions do this by using different strategies. Universities do it by initial professionalization while think tanks form professionals through workplace training. Since these functions are complementary, case studies show that they tend to work together in specific and temporary exchanges of researchers both at the senior and junior level.

b. Factors that Hinder Collaboration between Think Tanks and Universities

- Competition for resources: Undoubtedly the most important obstacle for a stronger link between think tanks and universities is competition for financial and human resources. As presented above, resources channeled to finance research in Latin America are still scarce. Even though, the creation of specialized research and innovation funds is initiating in some countries, it is still not the common practice of the region. Additionally, compared to other regions in the world there is still a shortage of qualified researchers to generate quality knowledge and with the potential to improve the quality of public policies.
- Organizational Timeframes: Universities' timeframes are not the same as those for think tanks. Universities tend to be organizations with heavier administrative structures which make it difficult for their response times to match those of think tanks who still have the flexibility and opportunity of response that characterizes smaller organizations.
- Context: As evidenced in most Latin American countries there is still little demand for research. Faced with this reality there are not enough incentives to identify synergies and opportunities for collaboration to generate more links between think tanks and universities.
- Focus: Latin American universities are still focused on more theoretical research and more general topics. Think tanks, in contrast, focus on public policy-applied research.

IV. Governance of the relationship between universities and Think tanks in Latin America

For purposes of the analyses of interest in this study, think tanks and universities interact in the same field of knowledge production, providing information, analysis, ideas, statements, practice transfers, designs and tools, impact assessments and critical reflection conducive to learning around public policy (Hall, 1993). What is the field of knowledge production? It is the system of organizations providing these strategic means for governance in times of globalization, increased complexity and risks, active civil societies, better informed and more educated people and a difficulty of central institutions to obtain and maintain public trust and hold sufficient ranges legitimacy.

Particularly the State and the public policies it commands need to be sustained by richer and denser knowledge networks than those currently in existence, as is apparent in report *Perspectivas Económicas de América Latina 2012* (OCDE/CEPAL, 2011). In fact, this report states that public administration in the region faces numerous challenges such as insufficient availability of fiscal resources to contribute effectively to development; pre-bureaucratic States, scarcely professionalized, with lowly qualified personnel, a lack of transparency and high levels of distrust; weak structures of generation and use of knowledge, and knowledge production irrelevant and of little use to promote public policies that require a high degree of consistency and continuity; public expenditure in relation to GDP that is well below in relation to OECD countries; excessive fiscal and administrative centralism with a precarious organization, income, personnel, and technologies at the municipal level; absence of coherent regulatory systems with significant power imbalances among public agencies and private interests, in favor of the latter (OCDE/CEPAL, 2011:51-54).

Good governance and, above all, new forms of governance of societies, require effective availability and access to information, knowledge and means of implementation in order to design and implement policies adequate to the complexity of problems, and a 'new public management' not only at the State level but from all stakeholders involved in

a country's governance (Pons y van Zanten, 2007). As it is usually said, governance is the government's action and its interactions with non - governmental parties associated to the governing process; that is, in its collective relationship with the economy and the public policies (Boyer, 1990:51).

In general, the notions of governance and governance networks are posed considering the presence of components, each one of them, demanding knowledge and using and applying it intensively in the public policy sphere. Among them: increased participation of non-governmental organizations, public-private collaboration, diversity and market competition, decentralization, policy domain integration, "soft law" understood as non-coercive normative action, adaptability and continuous learning, and coordination (Lobel, 2012).

The notion of network governance generates specific interest, as -along with hierarchies and markets- would be the key components of new governance. According to the concept proposed by Torfing (2012:101) concept, these networks are an horizontal articulation of interdependent actors, that are however operationally autonomous, from public and private sectors, interacting through negotiations within a normative, cognitive and imaginary framework, facilitating self-regulation and contributing to the production of public regulation in a broad sense.

The author, also states that these networks can perform different functions in fields such as knowledge sharing, coordination of activities and problem solving; they can be created from above or rise from below; formed inside or among organizations; strongly or weakly structured; be temporary such as task forces or institutionalized permanently, and take various forms within the organizational field, such as the field of think tanks, strategic alliances, and advisory committees, collaborative arenas, and intersectorial panels.

In brief, these networks would be an expression of the transformations and renewal of the State in the regulatory capitalism and not, as is often misunderstood, a result of the (neoliberal) emptying of the State. Nor should they be considered as a panacea; in fact, on the one hand they

develop next to old and new bureaucracies, and on the other hand, next to markets, providing an additional means to drive social processes (Rhodes, 2012). But, they do not replace but coexist with previously established modes of coordination of socioeconomic systems studied by Lindblom (2001, 1977).

Its advantages, as Sorensen and Torfing (2007) point out, are that they enable informed decision-making processes in public policy, generate innovative solutions, mobilize private resources and create convergence and cross-cutting commitments around new ideas. They also accompany risks, commonly called failures in the networks, like producing deadlocks or shared veto, directionless consensus, stagnation due to an excess in transactions, etc.

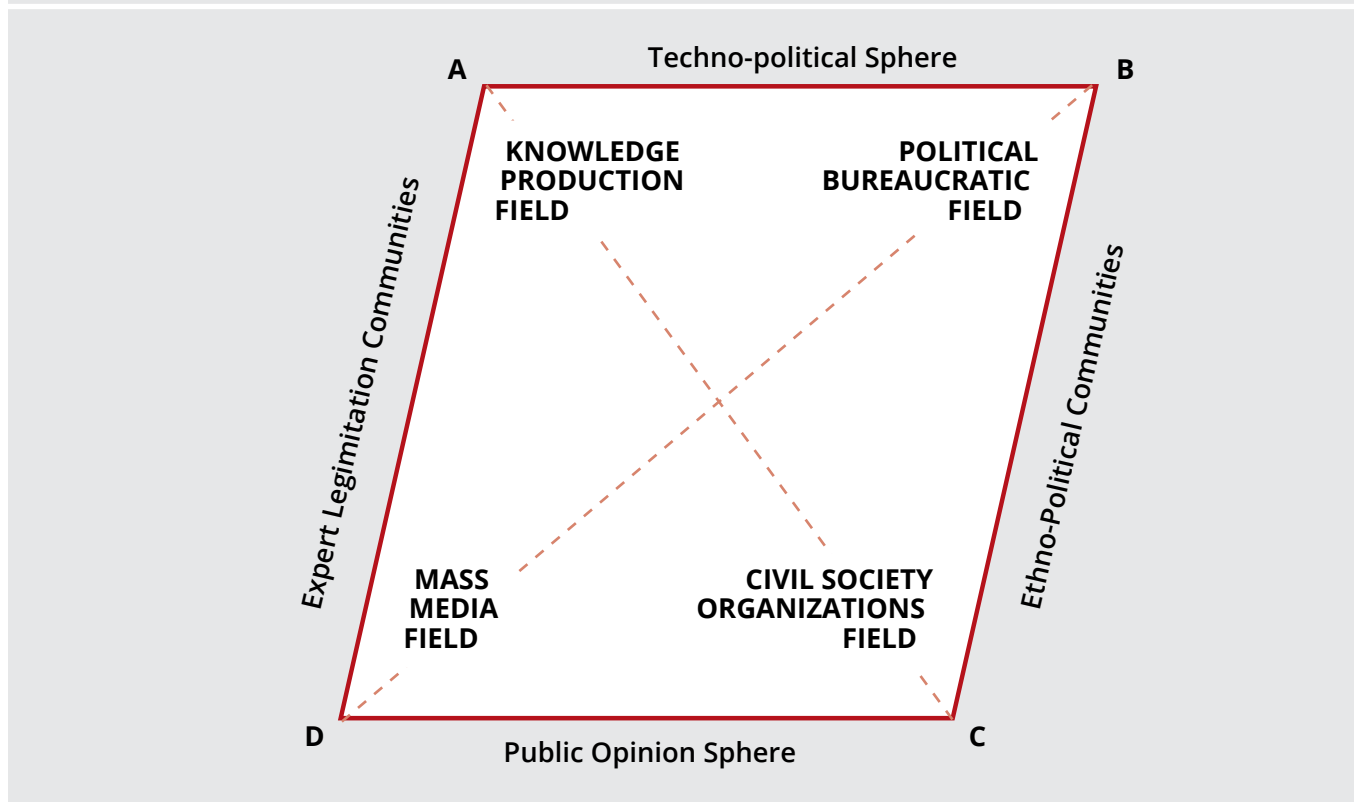
It is suggested, therefore, the need to guide these networks, to generate a 'governance of governance' and a 'regulation

of the self- regulation'; in short, to have some form of meta-governance, which must occupy a central position on the issue of networks (nodality), have legitimate authority over the actors in the network, have access to and command over resources and have the organizational capacity to monitor and manage networks (Hood, 1986) in previous *idem*, 107.

Context and Structure of the Knowledge Production Field

All this also underlies the increasing complexity of the public policy knowledge production field, a field inserted in this new governance and networks context, involving multiple actors (Lynn, 2012). Here we will limit our focus on two types of key central players in this field -v.gr. universities and think tanks, and their reciprocal relationships- after situating the field itself within the larger governance context.

Figure 5: Organizational Field of Knowledge Production. Source: the authors.



Indeed, as shown in Figure 5, the organizational field of the production of relevant knowledge is linked –in the analytical perspective used in this study- to the bureaucratic political field of the State, the field of civil society organizations (non-governmental organizations) and the field of mass media and digital networks. The set diagrammatically represents the new governance mentioned above, which is expressed here, in the first place in the techno-political sphere along side B-C. Above it, in the upper triangle, we find the meta-governance field, which has available the instruments of the new public management and moves according to the organizational field's own institutional logic: politics and the public policy context, the political regime, the governmental scheme, hierarchical forms of control and command, parliament and other State powers, its capacities and bureaucratic procedures, the possibility of promoting – and at the same time self-regulate- the auto-regulation of civil society.

The public opinion sphere is located in the lower triangle and is part of the contemporary mode of governance contributing to a number of additional institutional logics, common to the economic system, the markets, civil society organizations, non-governmental organizations, the private sector, companies, social movements, stakeholders and plural systems of material and symbolic interests that constitute civil society.

This sphere contributes to governance through its link and interaction with the State field (B) on one hand, and, on the other hand, of the axis of distributed knowledge (C-A), resulting in various forms of encounters (convergent and conflicting, and everything in between) among public policy specific knowledge and local, social, experimental knowledge, from the base, the street, the lived experience and the inter-subjective and discursive manifestations of non-specialized, everyday citizen cultures.

Indeed, around this axis (C-A) is that series of changes are produced nowadays, changes to be considered in the analysis of the relationships between knowledge and policy. For example, the multiplicity and diversity of publics who are stakeholders in the variety of public policy issues; the skills of knowledge and 'local expertise' of non-specialist groups; the limitations that the technical knowledge reveals in new

situations; the legitimacy of concerns and questions of local agents; the importance of values??, ethical perspectives and previous experiences of the parties concerned; demand for more horizontal communication that arises from these parties and the demand to be heard as another actor of governance; the uncertainty generated by the clash between diagnosis and expert solutions that claim equally supported by scientific evidence, and the growing emphasis on institutional processes of critical (self) reflection in addressing key issues for civil society (Irwin and Michael, 2003: 42).

Sometimes these changes occur as a tension or contradiction between technocratic perspectives of public policy and the value of expert knowledge (typical of side A-B) in the diagram, and democratic perspectives, civic or social movements (typical of angle C, of the C-A axis conceived in the bottom to top direction) and the side of governance (C-B) in its aspects of community-driven legitimacy of solutions promoted through governance networks with their hybrid knowledge platform, common at the same time of technopols and of active citizens.

Knowledge Communities

A conceptually more sophisticated way to understand the apparent tension between practices of expert and non-expert knowledge is through the opposition of two types of communities around the axis of knowledge needed to influence public policy.

Haas epistemic communities are located at the end of angle A in Figure 5, which are professional networks with recognized expert procedures to transmit it from the academic world to the world of politics. The condition for science to be influential, adds Haas (2004: 573), is that its expertise and validity claims are developed behind a wall of political isolation.

At the other end, in C the opposite angle of the diagram, the notion of other kinds of communities, constituted as 'ethno-epistemic assemblages' arises. It is, in this case, a variety of actors and stakeholders that interact in frontier areas of science and society, raising claims of truth (or knowledge about reality), but whose claims are based on a different kind

of knowledge and not only on that proclaimed as canonically scientific: “knowledge of politics and the democratic process, ethics and moral responsibility, economics and trade implications on human experience and identity” (Irwin and Michael, 2003: 119). According to these authors, ethno refers here to local knowledge, culturally situated, with its indexing characteristics (with a sense based always on where and when it occurs) and reflexivity (continuously open to answer and review), while assembly refers (simplifying) to a group of utterances that can be extremely heterogeneous, a discursive coalition, that nonetheless maintains a varying degree of articulation to how networks work and to the public policies mentioned above.

Knowledge, Media and Public Opinion

So far we have seen the meaning of our triangle A-B-C (Figure 5). Therefore, it remains to say something about the triangle C-D-A, where angle D leads to media or mediated society, in the sense attributed by Thompson (1995).

The first thing that should be noted in relation to the discussion in the previous section, is that on C-D side a powerful model for politics and policy rises, namely, public opinion, as a construct produced by the interaction between the dynamics of civil society (C) and the media, where these provide multiple channels of expression for people, groups and organizations, at the same time adding these voices in the shape of public opinion and, more specifically, in relation to (A), in the shape of surveyed public opinion (Bourdieu, 1979; Wacquant, 2004).

In turn, the triangle A-D-B introduces media as the support to disseminate knowledge generated in the field of knowledge production and put it to operate within the State field while, at the same time, influencing over the normative formation and implementation (soft law) of the public opinion, thereby giving rise to one of the environments within which policies must be discussed, approved and implemented.

Therefore, the issues shaping the public policy agenda become here an essential stage in the public policy cycle for the input of expertise and of ethno-epistemic groups. At the same time, this triangle has resulted, in the second half

of the twentieth century, in a number of small devices and techniques “invented to make real communities”: surveys of attitudes and values, market research, opinion polls, focus groups, citizen juries and others, he says, have drawn these new cultural spaces and have injected them in authorities’ deliberations (Rose, 1999: 189).

In sum, the field of knowledge production and provider organizations like universities and think tanks need to be closely related to the media field -a link that is frequently provided by think tanks oriented towards public opinion and civil society- as well as civil society organizations that seek to express through the media to condition the political and policies and accommodate the voices in their communities, social movements and non-governmental organizations.

In this way then, policy networks, through which the knowledge produced in the upper left corner of our diagram operates, interweave projecting into the rest of the system through the privileged -and interstitial- position that think tanks occupy contemporaneously according to some authors. What is that position?

Medvetz’s Think Tanks in the Social Space

To answer this question we need to explain briefly here the theory developed by Tom Medvetz (2012), author of probably the more consistent study published in recent years about the nature of the work of think tanks in American society. From the outset, the author argues that the very notion of think tanks is blurred, indistinct, shifty and contentious. And soon, explains that the definitional dilemma cannot be solved by way of identifying a single organizational figure of the public policy field of knowledge production which, usually, is characterized by its autonomy from the State, the markets and universities or, if desired, with governments, political parties and pressure groups.

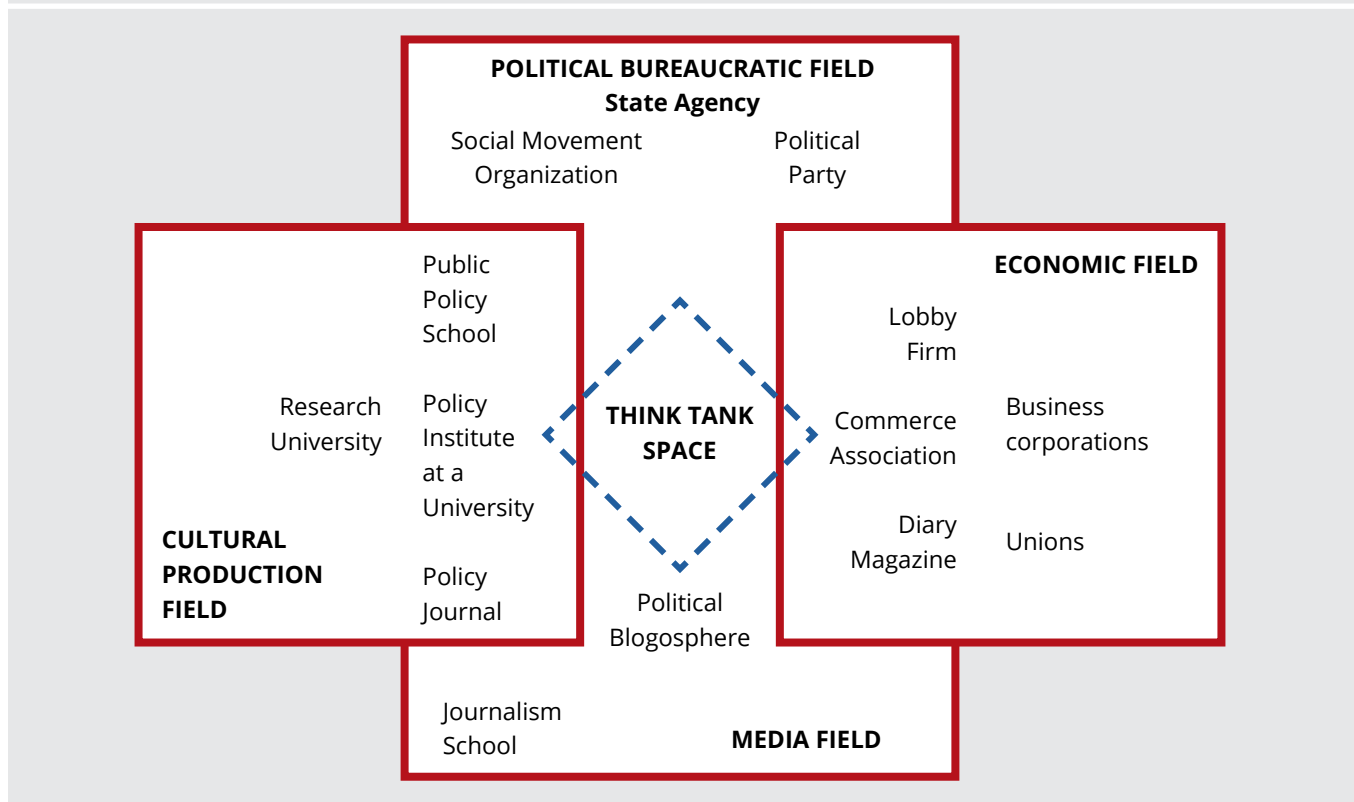
On the contrary, Medvetz argues: think tanks historically originate in those other spaces and, to this day, occupy a position -interstitial, he calls it- among various social fields which are depended upon for key resources such as personnel, finance, projection and prestige.

In brief: Medvetz sorts out the dilemma of definitions focusing on understanding the position of think tanks within the social structure; as part of a field of power, he says, taking the concept developed by Bourdieu (1991). Thus, while affirming the hybrid nature of these organizations, he locates them within a social space where, in the manner which is also shown in Figure 5, but in also more complex ways, recognizes four basic fields: the field of cultural production (of knowledge), the political, economic and media fields. These fields intersect and generate gaps – as the gaps in the knowledge and political field, knowledge and media, economic and political, and economic and media fields-, leaving think tanks in the middle, in a central, privileged, relatively pure, location and around a variety of other organizations such as public policy schools, lobbying offices, political magazines, social movements and others (Medvetz, 2012: 37-42) type (Figure 6).

Before going further, let us see three consequences of the author’s approach, each of which needs to be reworked in the light of think tanks’ experience in other parts of the world, particularly in Latin America as is clearly stated in the country studies.

First, effectively, and as explained by Medvetz, his analysis concludes that think tanks occupy a ‘privileged central position’ within the field of power, near the crossroads that the canonical fields form (political, economic, cultural and media). Second, as a result, the image of a constitutively hybrid organization would emerge: in part academic research center, technocratic agency, support and advocacy group, and in part public relations entity or lobbying firm, and so on. Third, progressively think tanks in a national organizational field - at least this would happen in the USA, - begin to focus on the other in their judgments and

Figure 6: Think Tanks in the Social Space. Source: adapted from T. Medvetz (2012:37)



practices and thus establish a social universe with its own institutional logic, inner structures and agents or actors. It is interesting to expand this conclusion in the words of the author: “despite its apparent reducibility [possibility of being reduced to the main fields in which they are interstitial, but centrally located], think tanks have achieved for themselves a degree of autonomy. They form a structured social space that has its own intelligible logic and history, its own rules of operation and agents who, in turn, have unique styles, skills and criteria to guide intellectual production. In other words, there is an aspect of think tanks’ existence of which we can only understand in terms of relations between think tanks”(Medvetz, 2008: 8-9).

Divergent Approach

This analysis and the theoretical perspective that supports it are certainly of greatest interest and serve to guide our conceptual framework for the study of the relationships between think tanks and universities in Latin America.

Immediately we must say, however, that in our case we start from different premises, at times opposed to those of Medvetz, to the same extent in which the fields that are involved here -particularly the production of knowledge and, within it, the position think tanks occupy and the role they play- have very different characteristics. They also have dissimilar paths, contextures and peculiar structures and are formed organizationally in very diverse ways. It is even, unlikely that in Latin American countries we could talk about a relatively autonomous field of think tanks or assigning to these the degree of centrality that Medvetz’s analysis gives them.

Another methodological aspect in which we move away from the author is the emphasis on the idea that there would be a sort of meta field covering all other -i.e. the field of power in Bourdieu’s view- to keep our focus strictly on the public policy knowledge production field, again without subsuming it in the field of cultural production, as it happens in Medvetz’s 2012 publication.

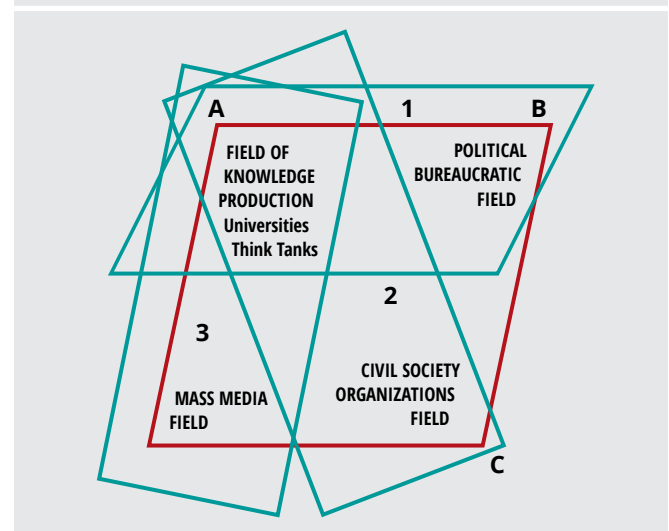
We also do not locate the economic field in a separate place, as the American writer does, who in turn leaves civil society

out of his analysis, which in our case has a key role and covers both the economic sphere, of market and businesses, and also, especially – given the focus on the production of public policy knowledge- in social movements, non-governmental organizations, the city and the neighborhood, the people and their various associations, etc. In fact, these instances of civil society are increasingly important as carriers of non-specialized or highly codified knowledge, as was seen, but relevant to public policy sectorial networks and to the governance that supports them.

Public Policy Triple Helix

Given the above, it is possible to return now, as does Figure 7, to the universities-think tank pairing and their projection from the field of expert knowledge production to other fields fundamental in the formulation, design, approval, implementation and evaluation of public policies. We call this representation the triple helix of public policy knowledge following the triple helix model -university-government-industry- that Leydesdorff and Etkowitz (1996) proposed to account for the emerging regime of production of innovations as the engine of capitalism in developed societies².

Figure 7: The Triple Helix of Public Policy Knowledge
Source: Adapted from Leydesdorff and Etkowitz (1996).



² Etkowitz (2013) suggest the possibility of expanding the triple helix theory beyond the field of economic-commercial field.

At the Latin America level, the organizational field is formed mainly by higher education providers, academic research, training and certification in advanced human skills: technical, professional, scientific and what is more generally understood as personnel working with advanced knowledge and symbolic analysts, as is sometimes referred its globalized segment (Reich, 1992).

This field is comprised of 11,120 tertiary education providers, 3,518 of which are officially recognized as universities or equivalent institutions, 70% characterized as private universities. Of all registered universities, only 4.1% -i.e. 143 universities, most of them public- regularly participate in the production of academic knowledge with a minimum volume at the international level (Table 1).

Table 1: Latin America: University Organizations and Think Tanks in the Knowledge Production Field, 2011/2012

COUNTRIES	ORGANIZATIONS		Think Tanks	UNIVERSITIES			
	Universities			No. by registered scientific production, 2007-2011			
	Public	Private		(>5,000)	(>2,500)	(>1,250)	(>500)
Argentina	55	60	137	2	3	8	17
Bolivia	17	68	51	0	0	0	0
Brazil	100	86	82	11	26	38	70
Chile	16	44	41	2	3	6	13
Colombia	81	201	40	1	2	4	7
Costa Rica ³	5	50	37	0	0	0	0
Cuba	67	Not Applicable	18	0	0	1	2
Ecuador ¹	29	42	18	0	0	0	0
El Salvador ³	1	25	13	0	0	0	0
Guatemala ³	1	13	12	0	0	0	0
Honduras ³	6	14	9	0	0	0	0
Mexico ²	579	1,556	60	3	4	12	24
Nicaragua ³	4	48	10	0	0	0	0
Panama ³	5	36	12	0	0	0	0
Paraguay	15	72	27	0	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	6	43	5	0	1	0	1
Peru	35	65	32	0	0	0	2
Venezuela	33	25	17	0	1	4	5
Uruguay	1	14	17	0	1	2	2
Total	1,056	2,462	638	19	41	75	143

Note. Source: Based on Brunner and Ferrada (2011) and the references below.

¹ Data on universities before the closing of 14 private universities.

² Number of universities, technical colleges, 2011-2012 cycle, SEP, Sistema Educativo de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, 2012.

³ El Heraldo in Honduras, July, 3, 2013 with data for 2012/2013.

Available in: <http://www.elheraldo.hn/Secciones-Principales/Pais/Honduras-con-la-segunda-peor-cobertura-universitaria-en-Centroamerica>

For purposes of this analysis we consider that such a minimum volume is reached with the publication of an average of 100 scientific and technical articles per year during the 2007 – 2011 period recorded in the SCOPUS database³. If a looser criterion is used, it could be argued that in Latin America there are about 1,600 institutions in total with some scientific activity (with at least one article published during the five year period), of which more than 500 published an annual article on average during the same period. However, other -less 2000- have not published any mainstream article over the past five years and are, literally, only teaching organizations. Next to it we present in the region a total of 638 think tanks in 2012 (Table 1), identified as relatively stable organizations conducting analysis and participating in the field of public policy, to which they contribute with books, monographs, reports, policy newsletters, conferences, seminars, briefings and informal discussions with policymakers, government officials and key stakeholders (McGann, 2013: 15 and 113).

That is, at its core, the public policy knowledge production field in Latin America is formed by a variety of organizations that can generally be classified into two categories, both with a high degree of internal heterogeneity: of universities and think tanks. The involvement of universities in this field is variable depending on the characteristics of each organization: its mission, intensity on its academic research function, knowledge areas of interest, public or private nature of the institutions, its funding structure, number and academic level of full-time teachers, relative prestige of each institution, its location in the geography and geopolitics of the national knowledge society, existence of a competitive marketplace of ideas and the volume and nature of the demand for knowledge focused on public policy formulation, operational modalities of the political system, civil society and the media field, etc. The country studies that are part of this study, present valuable data for a characterization of each of the national systems of higher education and the role of the universities involved in the field of deliberation and public policies.

For its part, think tanks are also a highly differentiated organizational space with features particular and specific to each country, as is shown in the country studies. There are autonomous and independent think tanks, with autonomy from the government, interest groups or donors, quasi-independent, with partial autonomy from the government, but dependent on the demands and funding of stakeholders; affiliated to universities, constituted as academic centers; part of the governmental structure or constituted as a State agency; formally linked to a political party; with funding coming mainly from public sources, but without being part of the formal structure of government, etc. (McGann, 2013: 114). The list of types of think tanks is not exhausted in this detail, nonetheless: there are think tanks organized around a political personality, former Presidents for example, and others that group a generation of young researchers looking to break into the top of the intellectual and influential sphere of technopols; there are generalist think tanks and thematically specialized ones; think tanks deploying a wide range of functions (full-service think tanks) or issues and other with a focus on activities and specific topics; some think tanks linked more closely to social movements and other formal organizations; some interested in promoting the encounter between citizen, local knowledge and expert knowledge, while others claim to be fully academic or technocratic; some are more local than national, and others have a transnational or global projection, etc. (Pons and van Zanten, 2007: 125).

It is well known that there are serious difficulties in measuring the impact of knowledge produced and venerated by universities and think tanks around the design, development and implementation of public policies and, more specifically, its influence on each of the phases of the policy cycle.

In fact, the only quantitative indicator available -though only partially relevant- is the scientific-technical knowledge production that is internationally registered, under MP1, which is often used as a proxy for impact, especially in terms of the flow of articles published over a relatively long

³ At the global level, around 2700 institutions reach the minimum level. See Scimago, SIR Global 2013.

period in areas of social sciences and economics, as well as, in particular, the production (measured this way) in certain disciplinary categories with particular usefulness potential to public policies, such as public administration, political science and international relations, sociology and political science, education, transport and urban studies (Table 2). We say ‘only partially relevant’ because not all of this registered academic production is actually used by the actors in the political-bureaucratic field and not all the actually relevant production –present in gray literature and other products and services associated with MP2 mode of knowledge production

from universities and think tanks- is shown in the indicator of mainstream literature (Hessels and van Lente, 2008).

However, as is clear from this data, total knowledge production in social sciences is very limited in the countries in the region; note that Brazil, the Latin American leader, for example, has a much lower output than the Netherlands (with 22,000 publications during the same period) and Switzerland, Norway, Finland, Denmark, exceed Mexico's production, while Chile and Argentina combined are equivalent to Denmark's knowledge production, and separately are located below Portugal.

Table 2: Registered Academic (Public Policy Relevant) Knowledge Production, 1996-2012

	Social sciences*	Public administration	Political sciences and International relations	Sociology and Political science	Education	Transport	Urban Studies	Economics, Econometrics and Finances*	Total Relevant
Brazil	14,019	549	418	1,928	3,804	346	372	2,413	9,830
Mexico	5,183	95	192	459	708	77	91	1,057	2,679
Chile	3,526	69	101	274	617	177	155	913	2,306
Argentina	2,947	29	145	288	324	20	180	785	1,771
Colombia	1,616	83	207	264	233	39	79	531	1,436
Cuba	1,282	1	8	35	395	4	4	0	447
Venezuela	1,268	14	100	146	134	20	22	103	539
Peru	511	12	19	48	62	5	9	114	269
Puerto Rico	248	1	1	9	36	3	1	0	51
Uruguay	238	3	23	30	27	5	3	112	203
Costa Rica	205	7	13	28	25	2	0	43	118
Bolivia	199	1	7	31	17	1	4	0	61
Ecuador	154	4	11	21	16	2	7	0	61
Guatemala	98	0	4	7	5	0	1	0	17
El Salvador	86	1	6	9	14	0	3	0	33
Nicaragua	82	8	1	8	8	3	2	0	30
Panama	50	1	3	6	1	2	0	0	13
Dominican Republic	42	2	0	5	2	0	0	0	9
Honduras	36	0	1	2	3	0	0	0	6
Paraguay	30	3	3	3	5	1	1	0	16

Note. Source: Elaborated by the authors.

Something similar occurs in a discipline key to governance, which is, public administration. In this case, Brazil competes with France but is well below the United Kingdom; other countries in Latin America are within a considerable distance of almost all Western European countries. The data in absolute terms shows that in disciplines strategic for public policies, like education and urban studies, for example, average annual production for the region is of 19 and less than three articles, respectively. Since production originates almost entirely in just five countries, and even among these Brazil represents about half of the academic production, we can conclude that the contribution to public policies from the academic work MP1 style, generated by universities -where it probably concentrates-, or in academic focused think tanks, is very limited.

Basic Clusters of Knowledge Production

In terms of conceptual and qualitative analysis the relationship between universities and think tanks, we can now return to the divergence stated above regarding the representation formulated by Medvetz around the position and the 'core' impacts of think tanks. Around that, we offered previously, a complementary - alternative approach (Figure 6), which includes as relevant components: the field of knowledge production, that has priority for the purposes of this study, and other components that form the triple helix: political-bureaucratic field, the civil society organizations field, and the media field including digital networks.

Having established the plural, distinct, diverse, organizational nature of the main field (the public policy knowledge production field), in the sections that follow we will deepen the description and analysis of these four basic clusters that form the social space of knowledge production. The main lines of analysis are summarized schematically in Table 3. (page 22)

First, the cluster in the first line reflects the conditions of action of universities and think tanks within the knowledge production field, in which Medvetz celebrates the degree of autonomy that these organizations (especially think tanks) would have reached in the United States, allowing them, properly, to constitute a field (to the point of having them represented separately in the knowledge production field), a conclusion with which we do not agree. Second, in the second line, a cluster that connects to organizations producing knowledge with organizations in the political-bureaucratic field, which we have described as a field of assembly or techno-political articulation⁴.

Third, a cluster that binds differentially organizations and providers of expert knowledge with mobilized stakeholders and activators of local knowledge within civil society, which we can call of joint civic knowledge (ethno-epistemic communities). And finally, a fourth media-producer cluster (in the last line) a cluster resulting in the assembly of networks that provide the fundamental platform for public deliberation in contemporary democracies, sometimes also called the public sphere⁵.

Universities and Think Tanks in a Space of Differences

Additionally, Table 3 allows us to observe in detail the similarities (few) and abundant differences between think tanks and universities in their location and functions within the knowledge production field and in the sets integrated by both types of knowledge organizations and organizations in other relevant fields. These differences and similarities are schematically presented in Table 4 (page 23).

⁴ See Joignant and Guell, 2011; Estrada, 2005.

⁵ See the collection of books from different authors published by the editorial Fondo de Cultura Económica generically titled: "Sociedad civil, esfera pública y democratización en América Latina".

Table 3: Agents and Dynamics of Knowledge in the Fields Relevant to Public Policies

Fields	Universities	Think Tanks
Knowledge Production Field	Universities with public policy research, especially under the MP2 mode, and university organizations in general, occupy a dominant position in the knowledge production field; they operate historically in an institutionalized sphere and act with autonomy and fiscal resources. Under these conditions universities constitute an auto-referred field and are coordinated under a variable mix of a politics, markets and academic profession interests (in the way of Clark, 1983 Triangle). The knowledge produced is essentially expert knowledge under the disciplinary, or inter, trans and multi-disciplinary framework.(Swartz, 2013)	Think tanks are 'universities without students' that due to their size, resources, trajectory and prestige occupy a subordinated place in the knowledge production field. There are several types of think tanks according to their link with the relevant fields. In general, Latin American think tanks have limited autonomy as they are connected not only to the knowledge production field but also - in an effort to survive and succeed- to the neighboring fields of which they depend to obtain personnel, financial resources, inputs, influence and prestige.
Political - Bureaucratic Field	Universities generate and transfer knowledge that is useful to the effectiveness and legitimacy of public policies. They form <i>technopols</i> and the expert knowledge that distinguishes them. They produce research under mode MP1 generating ideas and hypothesis that are part of the 'politics paradigm' (Hall, 1993) and data, information and knowledge generated under MP2 mode (Novotny, Scott and Gibbons, 2004) that influence each phase of the policy cycle: agenda setting, formulation, decision, implementation and evaluation (Jann and Wegrich, 2007). The supposition is that MP2 mode increases through the cycle.	Think tanks are essentially bridge organizations, intermediaries between the knowledge production field and the political-bureaucratic field. They usually work as 'revolving doors' and service station for groups of technopols. They package, transfer, and disseminate data, information and knowledge; some also generate intangible goods under the rules of mode MP2. They mobilize issues for the policy agenda and influence the formulation of public policies. Think tanks are integrated more easily to policy networks than universities (Raab and Kenis, 2007).
Civil Society Organizations Field	Due to their mission and function, universities build symbolic borders in their relationships with civil society organizations: disciplines, esoteric language, epistemic communities (Haas, 1992), specialized communication, and peer reviews. In consequence, their closeness to public policies through training of directive personnel and technopols and through MP1 mode of knowledge production and in a supplementary way through MP2. Universities are usually closer to the political-bureaucratic field than to the civil society organizations field. Influence on civil society organizations is promoted more through the climate of ideas, beliefs and narratives that guide actors' behavior and public opinion.	Think tanks act in representation of groups and civil society organizations 'interests and as part of public policy networks, especially in phases of citizen participation in referendums, decision-making processes, implementation and evaluation. Some think tanks (Non-governmental organizations) work as social innovation laboratories and agents of a citizenship of knowledge (Erkowitz, 2013). They work to be expertise translators to both ways. Ethno-epistemic public policy communities (Irwin and Michael, 2003) gather diverse types of esoteric and profane knowledge.
Media Field	Universities act disciplinarily in relation to media: professional schools and basic and applied research under MP1 mode. Critical thinking around media. It is rare that universities are used as public intellectual communications platforms. Esoteric communications circuits are located in journals, academic books, and in expert languages. Public policy researchers: policy briefs and y debates to influence democratic deliberation.	The media occupies a central position in think tanks' project. Media is the essential vehicle to communicate with the political-bureaucratic field, technocratic circles, the civil society organizations field and public opinion. They work as the basis for activities like advocacy and they mediate between the knowledge production field and social agents, social movements and people. Media are key in the competition for visibility, influence, prestige and fundraising. Think tanks visibility in media is usually used as an impact indicator. Increased relevance in digital networks (Chafuen, 2013).

Note. Source: Elaborated by the authors.

Table 4: Universities and Think Tanks in a Space of Differences

Universities	Think Tanks
National systems widely diversified	National systems widely diversified
Internal differentiation mainly responds to disciplinary specialization dynamics.	Internal differentiation responds to thematic and functional requirements.
Are structured around a highly regulated profession that lives for and by the university	Personnel with frequent and high turnover in temporary functions
Internal institutionalizing of permanent sections	Flexible institutional structures, organized by tasks and projects
External fundamental links are articulated with the labor market and disciplinary communities	External links are kept basically with the knowledge production field, the media, and civil society organizations
Peer review with others producing knowledge	Social accountability of generated knowledge
Main power resource: monopoly over degrees and titles	Main power resource: capacity to competitively influence the knowledge production field and the civil society organizations field
Are mainly institutions with students	Are universities without students
They work with advanced knowledge articulated in the curriculum or in the borders between disciplines	They mainly package, transfer, apply and disseminate knowledge available in the knowledge production field
They possess a wide knowledge horizon	They possess a focus on public policy-applied knowledge
They act in relation to the political-bureaucratic field providing paradigms, designs, and seeking to influence in third order changes (Hall, 1993)	Except from academic think tanks, the rest assume more commitments with the political-bureaucratic field and they influence, preferably, over decisions and instruments of first and second order changes (Hall, 1993)
They reaffirm their organizational autonomy in relation to the government, the market and powerful stakeholders	They reaffirm independence and objectivity of the evidence they provide but they depend on external fields
Influence based in academic knowledge, the basis of professions and/or produced under MP1 mode	Influence based in the administration of knowledge useful to the political-bureaucratic field, civil society organizations and to guide public opinion through media
From the moment that universities promote MP2 research they assume functions that are closer to think tanks	Gradual expansion of MP2 in universities decreases part of the specificity of think tanks (Stone, 2007)
Some universities perform a role in technical-academic and social training of political, intellectual, managerial elites	A role in the validation of civil society leaders and of support/criticism to elites in the political-bureaucratic field, the media and businesses
A distant relationship with the media and digital networks in favor of communication in specialized circuits	An interest to generate a privileged relationship with media to comply with its functions
Institutional incentives to publish in internationally registered journals	Organizational incentives to communicate to the public opinion through media and political-bureaucratic and civil society circuits
The main type are research universities, with research production, teachers and global, regional, national or local projection	The main type are academic think tanks (competing mostly in the knowledge production field), of hired research, advocacy and services to the civil society organizations field
Financial resources come mainly from public sources and increasingly from the market of students and knowledge products and services	Financial resources come mainly from private, international, and, in a smaller degree, public sources
They are predominantly nonprofit organizations	They are predominantly nonprofit organizations
Their prestige is affected by national and international rankings, affecting student and academic market preferences	Similarly, but in a smaller degree, and only with an effect in think tanks' positioning in the market of ideas and influence

Note. Source: Elaborated by the authors.

V. Conclusions and recommendations for improving the links between universities and Think Tanks

a. Conclusions

In conclusion, this report cannot properly be the completion of something; it rather resembles the assertion or proposition that under the name of conclusion was defended in ancient schools. In this case, it is a set of ideas or clues to further explore the link between universities and think tanks in Latin America in the public policy knowledge production field.

To start with this kind of conclusion, we can say that with the growing demand for data, information, evidence and knowledge that accompanies the Weberian secularization, rationalization, intellectualization, bureaucratization and specialization processes of contemporary societies, it also increases the importance of the knowledge production field and organizations that are part of it, which provide those resources and staff that the field produces, refines, transmits and uses.

The above is especially true for the governance of these societies, which adopt increasingly complex forms distributed in the regulatory capitalism and the regulatory and the evaluating and controlling State (Levy-Faur, 2012). Similarly mobilized civil societies influence multiple and conflicting interests of the variety of groups within it, that with the emergence of digital networks communicate with each other and in all directions facilitating the exchange of information, ideas, discomforts and complaints.

To respond to this explosion and variety of demands, the public policy knowledge production field has had to differentiate itself also and to multiply the diversity of organizations, services and products in it. There are no accurate statistics on this field, its operation and results, beyond gross figures on the number of universities and think tanks and very partially on the production of specialized literature generated by academic activity. Later on, it will be necessary to establish more complete maps of this field, with a dense description of its composition as organizational space, its links with other relevant fields, and its networks and

circuits of knowledge production, circulation and use.

Immediately the formula of the triple helix in which think tanks and universities are involved with their own characteristics in each case operating from the knowledge production field and interacting and exchanging with the political-bureaucratic, the civil society organizations and the media field, appears as an interesting lead for further exploration in this regard.

The various forms of organizations, which with their dynamics determine the trajectory of the public policy knowledge production field, emerge from the relations explained above, and, at the same time, public policy networks operating in the various phases of the policy cycle (identification of problems/issues, formulation of policies that includes the stages of analysis, instrument development, consultation and negotiation with stakeholders; adoption / decision; implementation and evaluation) develop and articulate around them.

In this context, the idea with the most potential for future development is probably the one around public policy networks, and the corresponding notion of network governance, both concepts analyzed briefly in the body of this report. In fact, they are closely related, “network governance evokes a world in which State power is dispersed among a vast array of networks spatially and functionally different composed of all kinds of public, private and voluntary organizations with which now the center interacts” (Rhodes, 2013: 34).

In turn, policy networks appear as sets of interacting organizations and individuals grouped around a major function or department of the government or, more generally, around a shared interest in public policy. According to the author just quoted, these usually include professional groups, unions and businesses. But consultation, representation and negotiation circles usually cover a much wider array of organizations: political parties or fractions of them, neighborhood groups, civic associations of various kinds, social movements, trade unions, local communities, etc., mixed with lobbying offices, public relations organizations and media agents.

In fact, policy networks have become ubiquitous, especially in some key public policy sectors such as: health, public safety, environment, education, transport, urban life, cultural management, etc. In all these cases, governance increasingly takes place through a combination of hierarchy (command and control), markets and networks. Some authors, like Torfing (2012: 102) for example, consider these governance networks equivalent with diverse forms of strategic alliances on one hand, and with think tanks on the other. However other authors, such as Williamson (2013) for example, understand these networks in a direction we have followed here as well: as a form of governance that allows new voices to raise, new sources of authority and discourse to appear and to reduce the barriers that until yesterday separated the State from the economy and civil society. He adds, exemplifying the case of educational public policies: “these shifts towards new forms of governance have pushed new participants from think tanks, multilateral agencies, non-governmental organizations, nonprofit consulting groups, social enterprises and philanthropic capitalists to become part of the educational policy process” (Williamson, 2013: 3).

Then, a suggestion for future research that continues the analysis initiated by this study is not so much to study knowledge production field organizations but their participation in public policy networks with a variety of other organizations and around specific policy issues. Indeed, at the crossroads –between think tanks, university departments or centers specializing in public policies, grassroots organizations, media, government agencies, associations and civil society movements, etc.- new spaces of governance are articulated, which are spaces of networks with different characteristics than the mere sum of organizations and concurring agents. There, for example, public policy laboratories arise, innovations in the knowledge production field arise, unplanned communication circuits are generated, and forms of power and ‘liquids’ knowledge emerge, in a flux, according to Z. Bauman characterized it in his analysis of late modern society. Arnoldi (2007), pointing in the same direction, points out that today is not enough to be a think tank, you should also be a link tank with enough connections to create interactive synergies and capacities to access the media field. The author ranks these knowledge and connection organizations as “declarative agents” whose ideas

not only seek to reflect the political reality but continually produce and mobilize new political possibilities through the intensely informational culture of society and network governance.

All these are issues pending description, analysis, interpretation and debate in Latin America. Are we in our societies also witnessing a shift from government to governance, from hierarchies to markets, networks and meta-governance? Are the demand for data, information and public policy-applied knowledge increasing in an equivalent manner as in the developed world? Do they meet our public and private universities, with its great diversity of missions and interests, these demands? Are think tanks born here, similarly to what happened in the USA and the UK, as organizations essential for building bridges between power and knowledge, science and society, expertise and practice in the field of public policy? Is it possible to articulate the Latin American analysis of public policies around the conceptual and empirical idea of policy networks? Would it make sense to study the link between organizations in the knowledge production field (universities and think tanks) as part of larger sets where they concur, with different functions, organizations and agents of the political-bureaucratic, civil society organizations and media fields? More generally, in Latin America do ideas matter as much as they seem to matter for the governance of developed countries? Or here the role that think tanks and university specialized departments play in the field of public policies is occupied by international organizations such as the OECD, World Bank, IMF, ECLAC and others who generate not only policy paradigms but also ways to implement them, technical support, expert consulting, knowledge services and monitoring and evaluation authoritative reports? Do organizations in the knowledge production field influence the different stages of the public policy cycle, and in the three change orders in and of policies stated by Hall (1993) here in the same way as in other parts of the world? Are the organization of the academic profession and institutional incentives within universities aligned to promote the involvement of researchers in the analysis and formulation of public policies? Are there policy networks in Latin America that have proven to be successful in joining expert, esoteric and local, non-specialized knowledge emerged from the

experience and practice reflection? Are new forms of governance in our region prone to change and innovation of policies or do they primarily work to maintain the status quo? Do they strengthen democracy or do they bring new risks of conflict of interest and corruption?

Finally, a future research agenda on the role of policy knowledge faces a wide range of issues to deal with in this social space where the development of public policies, new forms of governance, the transformation of the State, networks policy, the mobilization of civil society organizations' interests and changes in technology and communication practices and learning about policy converge.

b. Policy Recommendations and Strategies to Improve the Links Between Think Tanks and Universities

Below are some public policy recommendations and organizational strategies that will allow more and better relationships between think tanks and universities in Latin America:

1. Making the work of think tanks visible

In several of the studies conducted in this research project we evidenced the need to make the work of think tanks visible as they still remain as invisible actors in Latin American society. As discussed in the Brazil's country study, there is not a term in Spanish that can convey the semantic meaning of think tank. Attempts to translate it to Portuguese or Spanish are imprecise, unknown and unintuitive. To make the work of think tanks visible it is necessary to start by an agreement of the best term to use for the community of the knowledge production field in Latin America for further dissemination of such term accompanied by the dissemination of actions of think tanks in the media. One way of achieving this objective is to support initiatives focused on conducting impact assessments of the work of think tanks to show their contributions to society in more concrete ways. That is, to ultimately build a message around how the work of these organizations really impacts the quality of life of people.

2. Support research and think tanks financially

Staff turnover in think tanks reflects the financial instability of these organizations. Few think tanks manage to maintain a permanent body of researchers with a salary. For think tanks to begin to have greater relevance in the generation of knowledge it is necessary that public funding sources are opened to them. In Brazil, there is legislation to promote a culture that gives private companies tax breaks in donations to cultural, artistic and sporting activities. Think tanks could also be beneficiaries of these resources; however, "public policy-applied research" is not visible to most donors.

The creation of a government policy of tax waivers for companies that donate to research projects in public policy would help think tanks have more predictable income and maintain researchers with fixed salaries. These mechanisms not only should be disseminated but also simple to use. Countries like Uruguay have mechanisms for tax breaks for companies donating to universities for teaching and research activities, but, to date, these mechanisms do not include think tanks with an academic focus or CSOs.

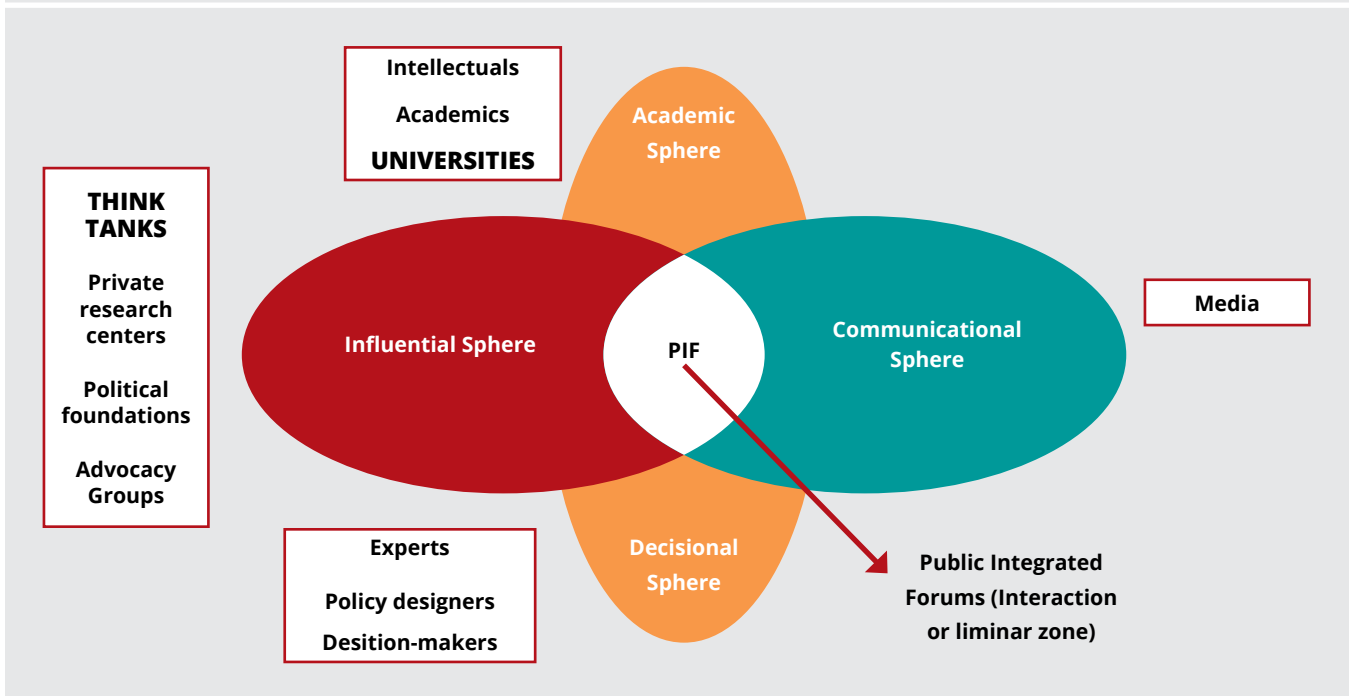
3. Construction of spaces for dialogue

As Peru and Argentina's studies showed, more or less institutionalized spaces that allow periodical meetings between think tanks and universities are required. In the case of Peru this space was secured in the initiative of Sepia, who conducted calls for researchers in think tanks and universities in different regions of the country to discuss issues of interest to the various territories. These meetings served as an opportunity also for the identification of new spaces for collaboration.

In the case of Argentina the proposal of Integrated Public Forums (FPI) that combine, as shown in Figure 8 (*next page*), think tanks and universities, as well as journalists, can overcome several challenges that the institutional environment eventually face.

Forums, as concrete spaces in the short term, and permanent networks that can be derived from them, as processes in the

Figure 8: Integrated Public Forums. Source: Recommendation presented in the Argentina’s country study.



medium term, can have favorable effects on the construction of social-political and epistemic communities around policies, and with even an informal integration to decision-making centers and existing communities in public policies, including the promotion of virtual spaces that remain sub utilized.

4. Promote public-policy applied research

In Brazil’s study, and in most countries in the region, the disciplinary field of public policy is still poorly structured, with visible methodological-theoretical fragmentation. Currently, the amount of research done is not enough to assert its consolidation. Moreover, there is also a great thematic and organizational fragmentation, i.e. there is a horizontal proliferation of case studies that lead to a deficit of institutionalization (Melo, 2001; Faria, 2005). Arretche (2003) indicates that theses and research papers are aimed at “a collection of facts” that helps little to the development of theories. On the other hand, theoretical research is not concerned on giving practical guidance to decision-makers.

There are numerous political science, sociology and economics researchers with an interest on theoretical studies, while there applied knowledge has low value.

In addition, there are no serious journals focused on scientific knowledge that is applied to the field of public policy in Latin America. A journal similar to the Journal of Public Analysis and Management, published by the American APPAM, certainly increases the interest of academics (for incentives on the publication in scientific journals) and of policy analysts (for disseminating best practices). And, as posed by studies of Brazil and other key countries, it becomes necessary to promote the creation of scientific journals for the publication of policy related work and policy papers.

5. Formation of researchers specialized in public policies

It is urgent to promote the creation of training programs to generate public policy specialists. This is also a space for collaboration between think tanks and universities;

training courses could be designed and implemented jointly. Additionally, as suggested by the study of Colombia, it is also important to reflect on strategies to recapture the brain drain and allow social research and action research to consolidate as a professional alternative. This requires also an analysis about the competitiveness of wages and the scope of research projects, among other issues related. Moreover, the implementation of these courses itself can help strengthen ties, build networks among think tanks, and between think tanks and universities.

6. Conducting joint research projects

As the study of Paraguay proposes, it is important to promote research projects that encourage collaboration between think tanks and universities. Competitive grants from the State could include additional requirements related to the formation of consortiums that integrate both types of organizations.

7. Continue research around the functioning of the public policy triple helix

The formula of the triple helix appears as a relevant track for future exploration, we know more about the concept of the triple helix of university-government-industry aimed at generating market-oriented knowledge and innovation than about the public policy triple helix. It is crucial to improve our understanding of this other triple helix oriented to generate knowledge to promote better democracies, more social inclusion and more sustainable as well as resilient societies. Future research should focus not only in the relationships among think tanks, universities and the government but also with other actors that could complement this helix, such as civil society organizations and the media sector, and also on the way in which this helix is financed or the way in which the other triple helix is financed (university-government-industry) and lessons that can be learned from its reality.

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Table 5: Summary of Findings in Country Studies		
COUNTRY	THINK TANKS STUDIED	MAIN FINDINGS
Argentina	<p>“ATLAS” Network (Fundación Atlas 1853, Fundación Libertad, Fundación de Investigaciones Económicas Latinoamericanas - FIEL)</p> <p>Centro de Implementación de Políticas Públicas para la Equidad y el Crecimiento (CIPPEC)</p> <p>Centro de Economía y Finanzas para el Desarrollo de la Argentina (CEFID-AR)</p>	<p>Think tanks origins:</p> <p>Think tanks are born in face of political and democratic instability, by “sustitutive exclusion”, i.e. they receive intellectuals that are expelled from universities and other circles. After a while, and with the return to democracy, many think tanks become universities.</p> <p>About collaboration between think tanks and universities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There is a deficit of collaboration between think tanks and universities. - Links and interactions are based on people and previous affiliations of researchers to universities. There are efforts to collaborate but these are not institutionalized and are limited to specific projects for result dissemination (forums) and academic discussion. - Several spaces of collaboration could be enhanced, especially those where think tanks meet with a variety of actors: as public integrated forums that gather various stakeholders in the knowledge sector.
Bolivia	<p>Instituto de Investigaciones Socio-económicas (IISEC), Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas (IIE), Instituto de Estudios Avanzados en Desarrollo (INESAD),</p> <p>Fundación ARU</p> <p>Fundación Milenio</p> <p>Fundación Jubileo</p> <p>Instituto PRISMA</p>	<p>Think tanks origins:</p> <p>Think tanks are born first to a response to military regimes, and then, in the midst of the efforts to fight poverty supported by international organizations (specific initiatives become institutionalized and become think tanks or non-governmental organizations).</p> <p>About collaboration between think tanks and universities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There is a vicious circle of low demand for research from local policy actors; restrictions on access to human and financial resources; low quantity and quality of local research, and little dissemination and practical utility of evidence - The lack of demand for research could be related to the variation of quality on research products and the inability of users to determine and identify quality products (what is called “the market for lemons” by Akerlof (1970)⁶). - There are no incentives for universities to intervene in this market beyond trying to take advantage of local consulting opportunities. - Think tanks and universities have different focus (universities concentrate their efforts in training and think tanks focus on research under consulting agreements with international organizations). - Interaction between think tanks and universities has happened in training and professional accreditation.

⁶ Akerlof explains that in markets where users can't identify which products are of quality and which are not, there are higher incentives for the production of lesser quality products.

Table 5: Summary of Findings in Country Studies (Continued)

COUNTRY	THINK TANKS STUDIED	MAIN FINDINGS
Brazil	Centro Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais (CEBRI) Instituto Fernando Henrique Carodoso Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada (IPEA)	<p>Think tanks origins:</p> <p>Think tanks are born after political and democratic crisis periods in an effort to generate evidence that informs the new public policies promoted by the democratic regimes.</p> <p>About collaboration between think tanks and universities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relationships between think tanks and universities are mostly collaborative. The field of public policy knowledge production in Brazil is so immature, the opportunities are vast. - There is no competition for resources (funds for each sector have separate sources) between think tanks and universities. - Personal relationships are key, collaboration usually sparks from agreements between think tanks and a specific researcher in a university. - Differences that make collaboration difficult: universities focus mostly on descriptive research and are more bureaucratic and think tanks concentrate efforts on generating applied research. - Think tanks are more dependent on universities than viceversa.
Colombia	Fedesarrollo CINEP Dejusticia CorpoVisionarios	<p>Think tanks origins:</p> <p>Think tanks are born in different key moments: from a pact of political elites after the military regime, to face the crisis of the intervention of the State, and growing from expert missions arriving to the country.</p> <p>About collaboration between think tanks and universities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The relationship between universities and think tanks is essentially complementary (joint research, universities training think tank members, a circulation of members of think tanks and universities). - Complementarity lies in that: think tanks provide conceptual frameworks, analytical tools and power distribution and regional universities bring knowledge and closeness to territories. - Competition is increasing with new professionals, new think tanks and a decline in cooperation resources.

Table 5: Summary of Findings in Country Studies (Continued)

COUNTRY	THINK TANKS STUDIED	MAIN FINDINGS
Chile	<p>Centro de Estudios Públicos (CEP Chile)</p> <p>Libertad y Desarrollo (LyD)</p> <p>Fundación Chile 21 (CH21)</p> <p>Corporación de Estudios Para Latinoamérica (CIEPLAN)</p>	<p>Think tanks origins:</p> <p>Think tanks are born as a result of the need for a space that can house intellectuals that are excluded and isolated by the military regime, many were also born in response to the transition to democracy to generate the information and analysis necessary for the return and consolidation of democracy and the processes promoted in this period.</p> <p>About collaboration between think tanks and universities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There are few and weak links between think tanks and universities. Most are poorly institutionalized and specific for the coordination of events or projects that seek to reduce costs for both entities. - There is a transit of researchers in both directions at the same time that universities function as nurseries for recruiting think tanks. - Collaboration spurs from the search for greater prestige and visibility, especially in the case of young institutions such as many of the existing universities. - The Chilean university system has left a void on generating public debate and think tanks have taken this role. Universities have focused on the teaching profession, which has reduced its role in knowledge generation, except in the case of three universities that account for 90% of national publications. - The incentive structure for the publication of research in the university system is markedly influenced by foreign publication standards (ISI indexing, SCIELO, SCOPUS), which has generated characteristics of language and logic with little basis in the field of think tanks that work more fluidly and less standardized. - Think tanks collaborate more with private universities (this may be because these have more resources to share with other organizations or because they need to increase their prestige and relevance).

Table 5: Summary of Findings in Country Studies (Continued)

COUNTRY	THINK TANKS STUDIED	MAIN FINDINGS
Guatemala	Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales (ASIES) Centro de Investigaciones Económicas Nacionales (CIEN) Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios Fiscales (ICEFI)	<p>Think tanks origins:</p> <p>Think tanks are mostly born based on the return to democracy and an increased openness to civic participation and public debate.</p> <p>About collaboration between think tanks and universities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collaboration has been casual and informal. Cases of collaboration have enabled the introduction and maintenance of specific items on the agenda for discussion; for example, the discussion of constitutional reforms in security and justice. - Some collaboration initiatives have extended to the regional level, however relationships are still weak. - Causes of weak links include that: universities have longer periods to investigate a topic and, in most cases, do not use research results in advocacy; and think tanks aim to influence the public sphere, responding quickly to the debate. An opportunity of collaboration opens when think tanks aim to influence a long-term agenda of strategic issues.
Paraguay	Centro Para El Desarrollo De La Investigación Científica (CEDIC) Centro Paraguayo De Estudios Sociológicos (CPES) Instituto de Estudios Comparados en Ciencias Penales y Sociales de Paraguay (INECIP) Centro De Análisis Y Difusión De La Economía Paraguaya (CADEP)	<p>Think tanks origins:</p> <p>Think tanks are created in face of the fall of the authoritarian regime and transition to democracy; they occupy the research space of universities due to their low productivity in research.</p> <p>About collaboration between think tanks and universities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The social and political context is very relevant. The recent political transition process, boosted after the fall of an authoritarian regime affected the functioning of many of the country's institutions, including the universities. During the process of democratic transition and until today, they played a highly restrictive role focusing almost exclusively to educational tasks and relegating research. This situation enabled emergence of independent think tanks. - Collaboration has happened in the shape of specific alliances made by think tanks with local and international universities mostly for the production of research, training of civil servants and influencing public policy. - There is also competition between think tanks and universities in knowledge production and training. - At present, with the return to democracy, think tanks face difficulties accessing funding, this could promote more collaboration in the search for synergies and cost reduction or increase competition to access funds.

Table 5: Summary of Findings in Country Studies (Continued)

COUNTRY	THINK TANKS STUDIED	MAIN FINDINGS
Peru	Seminario Permanente de Investigación Agraria (SEPIA), the Centro Bartolomé de las Casas (CBC), and the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP)	<p>Think tanks origins:</p> <p>Think tanks are born in several moments: in the context of the expansion of North American academic networks in Latin America, in response to social changes that the country went through in the process of agrarian reform, and finally, they are born in an effort to elevate the debate around public policies.</p> <p>About collaboration between think tanks and universities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relationships are conditioned by both structural factors of long duration (fragmentation of academic, social and ethnic differences, universities unprepared for research, with some exceptions) and by recent changes affecting the dynamics of market knowledge (reorientation of cooperation, increased demand and budgets of universities, competition for skilled professionals. As a result, research centers and universities collaborate, but also compete for positioning, reputation and ultimately resources. - The case of SEPIA stands out as a case of successful, permanent collaboration. SEPIA, a sort of network has a specific objective for collaboration (producing a bi-annual seminar related to agrarian research) and involves local universities, think tanks and civil society organizations to achieve this. - Collaboration is exceptional and mostly limited. Successful cases have four characteristics: they have a short-term and limited focus, are based in personal commitment, have very specific objectives, those that have consolidated in time have had a low profile and do not require high commitments of time from professionals.
Uruguay	CERES (Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Económica y Social) El Abrojo (Instituto de Educación Popular) Centro de Investigaciones Económicas (CINDE) Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana (CLAEH)	<p>Think tanks origins:</p> <p>Think tanks are created during a de facto period as a refuge for teachers and researchers, by the end of the authoritarian regime other centers focused on policy debate are born (there is also a transformation of some think tanks into universities or the transition of their human resources to universities). With the consolidation of democracy, international donors move away and think tanks face difficulties to survive.</p> <p>About collaboration between think tanks and universities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relationships are informal and based on researchers common to think tanks and universities. - Think tanks maintain a vocation for the influence of public policies while universities focus on professional training. - Scarce resources promote competition, though a key incentive for collaboration has been the need for internationalization

Note. Source: Elaborated by the authors in the basis of country studies results.



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