

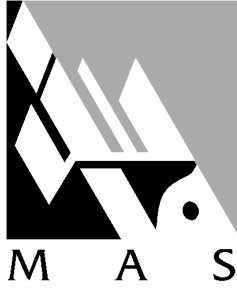


Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS)

**Bridging the Gap
Between Research and Policy Making
In the Palestinian Territories:
A Stakeholders' Analysis**

Joseph DeVoir
Alaa Tartir

2009



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The Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS)

Founded in Jerusalem in 1994 as an independent, non-profit institution to contribute to the policy-making process by conducting economic and social policy research. MAS is governed by a Board of Trustees consisting of prominent academics, businessmen and distinguished personalities from Palestine and the Arab Countries.

Mission

MAS is dedicated to producing sound and innovative policy research, relevant to economic and social development in Palestine, with the aim of assisting policy-makers and fostering public participation in the formulation of economic and social policies.

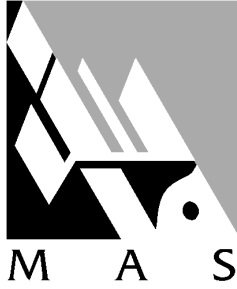
Strategic Objectives

- ♦ Promoting knowledge-based policy formulation by conducting economic and social policy research in accordance with the expressed priorities and needs of decision-makers.
- ♦ Evaluating economic and social policies and their impact at different levels for correction and review of existing policies.
- ♦ Providing a forum for free, open and democratic public debate among all stakeholders on the socio-economic policy-making process.
- ♦ Disseminating up-to-date socio-economic information and research results.
- ♦ Providing technical support and expert advice to PNA bodies, the private sector, and NGOs to enhance their engagement and participation in policy formulation.
- ♦ Strengthening economic and social policy research capabilities and resources in Palestine.

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Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS)
Jerusalem and Ramallah

FOREWARD

The following study has its origins in a simple question: “why is there so little economic and social policy research conducted in the Palestinian Territories and why is the research that already exists not fully utilized by Palestinian policy makers?” There are numerous possible answers to this question. It could be that the available research is of poor quality or even that it is the “wrong” sort of research. Alternatively, it may be that effective research is conducted but not disseminated effectively. An equally feasible explanation is that sound policy is undermined by the political environment; making Palestinian public policy purely reactive, constantly striving to meet the challenges of the latest crisis? This study attempts to answer the question posed above, but also, explore means of remedying this situation.

Information regarding research in the Palestinian Territories is patchy at best. According to data from the Ministry of Higher Education, the number of academic staff in the 11 universities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (excluding the Al-Quds Open University) totals approximately 3,682. Only 10 of these, however, are fully involved in policy research. A recent survey by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) estimates that there are a total of 992 researchers in the West Bank, representing 363 in full-time employment. Yet, in 2008, this seemingly large research contingent registered a mere 2 patents and 3 citation indexes. The same survey estimates total annual expenditure on research to be \$11 million, while another survey (by ARIJ, an applied research institute) puts the figure at a dismal \$4 million.

All seven development plans designed by the Palestinian Authority since its foundation in 1994 stress the strategic goal of developing human capital and building a knowledge-based economy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (WB&GS). This objective further illustrates the need to answer the question posed by this study. Evidence from both the developed and the developing world suggests that, without the establishment of stronger links between the policy making community and the research sector, building an internationally competitive and knowledge-based economy will prove highly problematic.

The following work analyses the policy making environment in the Palestinian Territories and identifies the reasons behind the cleft that exists between policy and research. It evaluates the problem from both the policy

making and the research side of the equation. Based on this, and drawing on the experiences of a number of other states, the study puts forward a number of policy recommendations to bridge the gap between research and policy making.

One of the primary recommendations made is for the creation of “a Knowledge Bank”; an electronic library capable of collating as many reports, books, articles, monographs and studies about Palestinian economic and social development as possible. The resulting library will be made available to all concerned parties. MAS institute has committed itself to realizing this proposal; preliminary steps for the library’s creation have already been taken.

This research has been generously supported by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. I would like, on behalf of MAS Institute, to express my sincere gratitude to the FES for its continuous support of our research programmes.

Numan Kanafani
Director General

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Acronyms

| | | |
|-------|---|--|
| AHLC | – | Ad Hoc Liaison Committee |
| AMC | – | Aid Management and Coordination |
| BZU | – | Bir Zeit University |
| CDS | – | Center for Development Studies |
| CG | – | Consultative Group |
| CRS | – | Congressional Research Service |
| DAC | – | Development Assistance Committee |
| DFG | – | German Research Foundation |
| DoP | – | Declaration of Principles |
| DSP | – | Development Studies Program |
| EC | – | European Commission |
| ESSP | – | Emergency Services Support Project |
| EU | – | European Union |
| IDB | – | Islamic Development Bank |
| IMF | – | International Monetary Fund |
| INGO | – | International Non Governmental Organization |
| JLC | – | Joint Liaison Committee |
| LACC | – | Local Aid Coordination Committees |
| LACS | – | Local Aid Coordination Secretariat |
| LDF | – | Local Development Forum |
| MAS | – | The Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute |
| MoEHE | – | Ministry of Education and Higher Education |
| MoF | – | Ministry of Finance |
| MoH | – | Ministry of Health |
| MoI | – | Ministry of Interior |
| MoP | – | Ministry of Planning |
| MoPAD | – | Ministry of Planning and Administrative Development |
| MoPIC | – | Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation |
| MoSA | – | Ministry of Social Affairs |
| MTDP | – | Medium-Term Development Plan |
| NARS | – | National Assembly Research Service |
| NGO | – | Non Governmental Organization |
| OECD | – | Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development |
| OCHA | – | The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs |
| OoP | – | The Office of the President |
| OPT | – | Occupied Palestinian Territory |
| PA | – | Palestinian Authority |

PAMS – Palestinian Assistance Monitoring System
PCBS – Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics
PINGO – Palestinian Nongovernmental Organizations Network
PLC – Palestinian Legislative Council
PLO – Palestine Liberation Organization
PMA – Palestinian Monetary Authority
PMO – Prime Minister's Office
PNGO – Palestinian Non Governmental Organization
PRDP – Palestinian Reform and Development Plan
PRU – Parliamentary Research Unit
SESP – Socio-Economic Stabilization Plan
SG – Strategy Group
SWG – Sector Working Group
TFPI – Task Force on Project Implementation
UN – United Nations
UNDP – United Nations Development Programme
UNRWA – United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian
Refugees
UNSCO – United Nations Special Coordinating Office
USD – United States Dollar
VAT – Value Added Tax
WB & GS – West Bank and Gaza Strip

Executive Summary

A cohesive and complementary relationship between research and policymaking often proves critical in the achievement of economic development. Scientific research allows for the formulation and application of more effective policies, which in turn, allows for a more efficient and relevant use of limited resources. Furthermore, reliance on locally produced research allows local knowledge to guide the development process in accordance with local needs – thus providing domestic policy makers with greater control over the development process.

The Palestinian case is unique. A lack of genuine sovereignty has generated a number of development challenges specific to the Palestinian Territories. The occupation has proved a consistent impediment to Palestinian development and continues to impact heavily upon all levels of society and government. Despite the challenges generated by this political environment, there remains a pressing need to design sound, effective and research-based policies that can be implemented and operated within the constraints imposed by the occupation.

The aim of this study is to improve and develop the relevance, effectiveness and impact of locally produced research on economic and social policy. This will be achieved by building a clearer picture of the parties involved in the policy-making process and the political and economic systems they operate within. This study also examines the relationship between the research and policy-making spheres and the role that international actors and donors play in processes of research and policy formulation.

To achieve this objective, this study begins by reviewing the relationship between scientific research and policy making in a number of other states, including the United States, The United Kingdom, South Korea, and Germany. Despite the obvious contextual differences between these case studies and the Palestinian Territories, they still provide useful insights into the process of bridging the gap between research and policy. The examined cases provided useful information regarding the financing of independent research, the methods used to allocate research contracts to institutions and organizations and the nature and function of public sector research capacity. These examples provided a framework for the questions we posed to a number of Palestinian stakeholders in the fields of research

and policy-making. The responses we received formed the foundation of our analysis.

This study goes on to provide an analysis of the decision making environment in Palestine, the quasi-governmental institutions that emerged from the Oslo Agreement and the limitations of their jurisdictions and responsibilities. Following this, the study examines the gaps that currently exist between policy making and research within the Palestinian Territories. Both the causes and the implications of these gaps are analyzed. An assessment is also made of the impact of political instability on the policy making process. We address some of the shortcomings on the demand side of the research process and argue that these are largely the outcome of political instability and the inability of policy makers to take advantage of available research. We continue by discussing the general weaknesses of the research sector and finally identify a pattern to help explain these weaknesses. This pattern begins with limited local demand for research, limited demand results in low levels of funding, poor research opportunities leads to a brain drain and a dispersal of skills resulting in weak local research capacity and an unwillingness to develop capabilities. The most notable causes of this cycle are:

- ✧ The tendency of donors to rely on foreign or international research institutions (both for themselves and for their local partners) as well as limited donor interest in the development of local research capabilities.
- ✧ The level of funding currently allocated to independent research institutions from the public budget barely allows for the survival of these institutions, let alone their development.
- ✧ The lack of research training amongst local university graduates; this is reflected in the research capacity of the public, private, academic and NGO research sectors.
- ✧ The lack of coordination between the supply and demand sides of the research process. Improved coordination between researchers and policy makers would help rationalize the research agenda, help prevent repetition and maximize the benefits of past and future research.

The final chapter recommends several methods of bridging the gap between research and policy making. The study asserts the need to strengthen the links between research and policy whilst, at the same time, emphasizing the need to maintain the independence of research institutions and their autonomy from governing bodies. We argue that governing organizations should source the research they require from independent research centers, rather than relying on in-house capacity. Maintaining a

distinction between the research and policy making spheres will help preserve the integrity and independence of the research process. Moreover, concentrating research capacity in dedicated institutes represents a more rational deployment of limited resources.

The recommendations also include the provision of public funding to research centers that meet set standards, whilst also providing appropriate funds to universities for the promotion of scientific research. We recommend the reactivation of the Parliamentary Research Unit, not necessarily to conduct research itself, but to analyze available research and submit summaries to Members of Parliament in order to improve decision making on matters of public policy. This unit could also commission various research centers, through a competitive bidding process, to conduct the research required by the Legislative Council.

Our recommendations also stress the need to involve local research institutions in projects conducted or funded by international donors; to guarantee that Ministries review or commission sound research prior to the formulation of their medium-term or annual plans; and to urge donors to increase financial resources for research centers. Additionally, we recommend the development of a feasible methodology or mechanism to evaluate the impact of research on decision making and to provide decision makers access to the benefits of existing and future research.

Finally, one of the primary recommendations of this study is the development and maintenance of a data bank or electronic library containing all of the research that has been conducted since the founding of the Palestinian Authority. The collection and cataloguing of the largest possible number of research documents will not only guarantee easy access and safekeeping, but it will also help to prevent repetition and, hopefully, inform future research. MAS has conducted an initial exploratory survey and a feasibility study of such a database. Using this, the research team prepared an action plan for the incorporation of a data bank of this sort into the MAS website within the coming year.

The recommendations that this study offers challenge the academic and research communities to further develop their capabilities in line with the current and future needs of policy makers. Likewise it challenges policy makers to adequately “test” available policy options by evaluating and comparing possible policy directions in terms of applicability, cost and risk. It must be noted that improvements in the methodology of planning and programming have been achieved. Yet these improvements should be

regarded as the beginning of a long process of enhancing the quality of Palestinian research and policy making. Leading policy makers need to further increase the value that they assigns to policy research; it is vital that the administration demands that all branches of government base their decisions on a sound and reliable set of facts.

1. Introduction and Methodology

This study is atypical of the Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS). Rather than analyzing broader social or economic trends, it assesses the work we do as an organization and the work of the broader research sector. As a local independent research institute, we are acutely aware of, but do not necessarily understand, the gap separating our own work as well as the work of the research sector in general, from the policies that ‘shape’ our economy and society. Mindful of the limited jurisdiction that policy makers enjoy within the confines of the Israeli military occupation, we hope that this research will contribute to the policy space currently available, however limited it may be.

The link between research and policy making is never straightforward, but in Palestine it is especially convoluted. Too often, locally-produced research is ignored in favor of expertise and advice imported from abroad. Such prescriptions are often offered by those with little, or even no, knowledge of local conditions. However, the fact that locally produced research and policy recommendations are ignored is not merely a consequence of the availability of international substitutes. It is also the product of a lack of capacity and accountability within the Palestinian research and policy making communities. Within both, a haphazard trial and error approach has too often triumphed over a more rational and practical alternative.

This study aims at developing an improved understanding of the actors involved in formulating and implementing policies and the environment in which they do this. Our goal is to identify, understand and bridge the gap between research and policy that exists within the current system. It is hoped that this will help improve the quality and the outcomes of domestic research and policy making in the future. We hope not only to identify, evaluate and explain the inadequacies of the current system, but also, to offer a set of constructive policy initiatives aimed first at building, before solidifying and eventually rendering permanent, a bridge between research and policy making within the Palestinian Territories.

1.1 Problem Statement

Although spending a much lower proportion of national income on research than neighboring states¹, the Palestinian Territories are endowed

¹ Though the national expenditure is comparatively lower, the intensity of international aid to the research sectors (and Palestine in general) has had a huge impact on the amount of research

with many skilled and dedicated researchers and research institutes. However, the impact of locally-produced research on policy-making is a hit-and-miss affair. Importantly, there is often no clear explanation for this lack of coordination.

Well-researched studies, even those specifically commissioned by policy makers, may be loudly applauded on their launch and then gather dust whilst sitting on bookcases. Meanwhile, the most recent policy agendas of international development agencies may be adopted without proper evaluation of their relevance to Palestine. The transfer of different types of global ‘expert’ knowledge and the vast increase in the amount of ‘empirical evidence’ now available to policy makers is in itself not a bad thing (Scholte, 2000; Stone 2001). In areas where local research is weak, international expertise clearly has an important role to play. However, the extent to which local research is side-lined – or not even commissioned in the first place – clearly has detrimental side-effects. These include:

✧ **A lack of local ownership of the development process**

The idea of ‘ownership’ will be referred to throughout this study, and is a key concept in the latest local and international strategies for development (see Case Study II in the appendix). Within the sphere of research, ownership means that Palestinians not only become the ‘gavel holders’ in their development, but also the proprietors of the knowledge needed to make those decisions.

✧ **The erosion of Palestinian research capacity**

An over reliance on imported expertise does little to build local research capacity. Indeed, it may actually provide an incentive for local institutions and qualified Palestinians to abandon local research efforts, and instead, delegate to international organizations to perform policy research.

✧ **The waste of resources caused by the ‘fashionable funding’ of projects**

Programs and strategies based on the latest advancements in development theory or donor thinking and not local circumstances in Palestine are ineffective (Hart, 2007; Brynen, 2000). It is for this reason that the transferring of ownership does not simply represent a

available (Duke University, 2005). We argue, however, that this impact has merely boosted the quantity of research activities, rather than the quality of policy research. This is in large part due to the increased dependence upon external aid by research institutions leading to a decreased focus on local policy formulation.

goodwill gesture from the developed to the developing world, but actually a means of improving the efficacy of development strategies.

1.2 Objectives

Our objective is to improve the relevance, effectiveness and impact of Palestinian research on policy-making by developing an improved understanding of the players, playing field(s) and the international best practices for bridging the gap between the research and policy making spheres. Our conclusions aim not only to provide advice to individual researchers and policy makers regarding means of bridging the gap, but actually, to formalize that bridge through specific policies and procedures at the national level. We hope that this study will mark the beginning, and not the end, of a dialogue that explores how to get the most out of domestic Palestinian research.

It is of the utmost importance that Palestinian-produced research has an increased impact on policy making. By this we do not advocate the rewording of established development norms in local language or the shoe-horning of “one size fits all” policies into the Palestinian context. In contrast, we mean that the unique policy challenges faced by the Palestinian Territories are overcome by those who will have to live with the consequences of the decisions that are made.

1.3 Methodology

Prior to initiating our investigation, it was first necessary to answer the question *What is Policy Research?* Our final definition proved to be as much a product of what we did not think policy research was as what we believed it to be.

It is not Advocacy-based

Due to the continuation of the Israeli occupation, there exists a large body of research that aims at changing international, rather than domestic, policy. For example, Palestinian human rights organizations invest thousands of dollars annually compiling primary and secondary research data with an in-house legal team. However, the majority of their research and policy recommendations are not targeted at the PA. Alternatively, their recommendations are aimed at international agencies, such as the International Court of Justice.

It is not Project-based

There are over 1495 Palestinian NGOs operating in the WB&GS (MAS, 2007), supported by dozens of foreign governments, international NGOs and international agencies including the various agencies of the United Nations. Palestinian NGOs are involved in thousands of projects every year. Many of these are prepared with the help of, and monitored closely by, research institutions. However, this type of research is not targeted towards policy makers, but rather, the needs of specific institutions; frequently this is the original donor organization. This is especially evident within human rights organizations. An international NGO heavily invested in the Women's sector might, for example, choose to conduct or commission research to measure the feasibility of a particular project. Often the research is not formatted to meet the needs of policy makers seeing as the target of the research is most often the donor (or the donor's donor), rather than Palestinian governing bodies.

It is not Market-Oriented

Economic and Social policy research does not include research conducted on behalf of the private sector for the purposes of marketing etc. For example, a bank may utilize researchers to measure the success of a particular business plan or project the impact of a change in strategy. Large private companies are frequently involved in the drafting of public policy, and as a consequence, often commission and utilize research. However, a large part of private sector research is aimed at maximizing profits rather than objectively informing the policy making process.

It is Policy-Based

For the purpose of this study, we will use the definition "Policy-based research is aimed at informing or influencing the formulation of public policy". Organizations that form part of this particular grouping often partake in the various kinds of research listed above. Such organizations may practice a variety of research methods, ranging from field work to analysis. Whilst the interests of such organizations may vary widely, their audience remains the various components of the policy making machine.

1.3.1 Methodology of Data Gathering

To achieve the stated objectives, the research team employed a number of research methodologies to collect the required information. Methods included direct interviews with stakeholders, telephone interview and internet-based research. This study was enhanced significantly by MAS's proximity and access to Ramallah's various policy making circles.

In-depth Interviews with Stakeholders

The team at MAS carried out a total of 30 face to face interviews with individuals and representatives of organizations within both the research and policy making spheres as well as with a number of organisations that fall into neither category. Each interviewee was questioned about their unique experiences and their personal understanding and opinion of the policy making process².

- ✧ Current and former policy makers were interviewed about their attitudes to Palestinian-produced research and how they identify and communicate their research needs.
- ✧ Directors of Palestinian research organisations were questioned about their views of the best way to improve the effectiveness of their studies. What works and what does not work? What techniques have they tried to maximise the impact of their output? What relationships do they have with policy-makers?
- ✧ Donors, international NGOs and Governmental Organizations were interviewed in order to establish how research topics are chosen, what support they provide to Palestinian research organisations and how they might use their influence to increase the impact of their research. At the same time, utilizing data from an ongoing MAS study Tracking External Donor Funding to Palestinian Nongovernmental Organizations in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (2009), we were able to capture a unique picture of external aid and attitudes toward Palestinian research.

Beyond the questions concerning their own specific roles in the process, all interviewees were questioned on the following:

- ✧ Can you identify a gap between policy makers and Palestinian researchers?
- ✧ Can you identify any weaknesses within the Palestinian research and policy making processes, and if so, what are the implications of these weaknesses on the output of the Palestinian research or policy making sectors?
- ✧ Can you identify specific strengths within the realms of research or policy, and if so, explain these strengths and where they are especially evident.
- ✧ Can you suggest ways by which the identified gap can be bridged?

² Interviews were conducted between April and September, 2009. For a list of interviewees, please consult the bibliography.

Telephone Survey

MAS Research Assistants conducted an extensive telephone survey of organizations in order to capture the overall character and capacity of the Palestinian research sector. A broad sample of organisations was chosen from the governmental, academic, private and NGO sectors³. Representatives of these organizations were asked to answer questions relating to the following subject areas:

- ✧ Year of establishment
- ✧ The scope and quality of internal research capacity
- ✧ Primary Type of Research Produced
- ✧ The number of researchers employed
- ✧ The use of external research in policy formulation
- ✧ The use of external consultants in policy formulation
- ✧ The percentage of the external researchers or consultants who are either foreign or local

Mapping the Research Players⁴

Our mapping of Palestinian research producers included NGOs, university research centers, private sector consultancies and survey groups and research units located within Ministries and other public-sector bodies.

Mapping their Playing Field

This study aimed to map the ‘official’ channels and processes of PA policy production by including decision makers in the Cabinet and the (now-suspended) Legislative Council, as well as inter-ministerial level planners. However, the political instability experienced over the last three years and the complex nature of the international aid system required our team to map a number of different PA policy making actors (research consumers).

- ✧ The Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC)
- ✧ The Office of the President (OoP)
- ✧ The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) and Line Ministries

The study also covers one arena of policy making that is not entirely Palestinian, that of Aid Coordination. Considering the PA’s dependence upon the international community, this ‘mixed matrix’ of institutions plays an important role in policy formulation.

³ See appendix IV for a listing of research institutes queried for information and advice.

⁴ This section can be found in appendix IV.

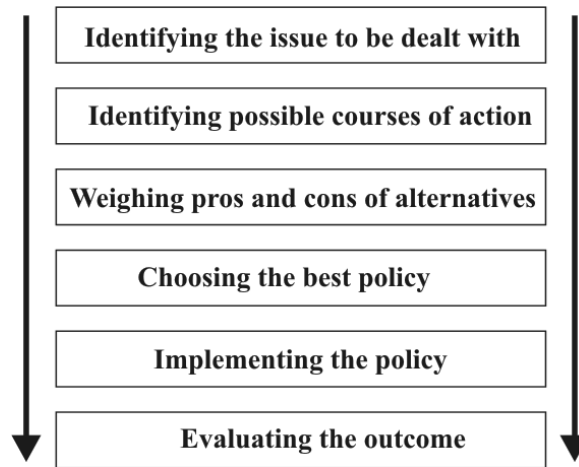
2. International Experiences in Bridging the Gap

2.1 Overview

According to the Overseas Development Institute, “traditionally, the link between research and policy has been viewed as a linear process, whereby a set of research findings is shifted from the ‘research sphere’ over to the ‘policy sphere’, and then has some impact on policy-makers’ decisions” (ODI, 2002:vi).

“The linear, mainstream, common-sense or rational model is the most widely-held view of the way in which policy is made. It outlines policy-making as a problem solving process which is rational, balanced, objective and analytical. In this model, decisions are made in a series of sequential phases, starting with the identification of a problem or issue, and ending with a set of activities to solve or deal with it” (Sutton, 1999:9).

Figure 1: The Linear Policy Making Process



This model “assumes that policy makers approach the issues rationally, going through each logical stage of the process, and carefully consider all relevant information” (Sutton, 1999:9). Not surprisingly, literature on the research-policy link is now shifting away from these assumptions, and

moving towards a more realistic view, “shaped by multiple relations” (Garrett and Islam, 1998; Rawoo, 2001).

Policy making in Palestine rarely resembles the sequential and rational process outlined above. Clay and Schaffer (1984) summarized it best, “The whole life of policy is a chaos of purposes and accidents. It is not at all a matter of the rational implementation of the so-called decisions through selected strategies”. However, simply identifying the complexity of the Palestinian context in comparison to other 'normal' states is not enough to bridge the gap between research and policy. For this to occur, Palestinian institutions need to develop orderly policy making procedures that are able to function within the limited policy space available to them.

2.2 International Models of Bridging the Gap

The following section offers examples of how other states have gone about formalizing the bridge between independent research and policy making. We evaluate each case study in terms of the strengths and weaknesses of the various methods and institutions that have been employed to bridge the research-policy divide. Importantly, we also identify how institutionalized research-policy links can help encourage the development of a knowledge-based economy. The lessons drawn from these studies helped to inform both our research and our policy recommendations.

2.2.1 The Congressional Research Services of the United States Congress

In 1914, the US Congress established a separate department within the Library of Congress. The Congressional Research Service (CRS), then called the Legislative Reference Service, was created to serve the technical needs of policy makers. Though the organization is supposed to provide nonpartisan analysis, it is not an independent body. The budget of the CRS is funded entirely by the US government and the services it provides are intended exclusively for public sector consumption.

The CRS serves the staff of congressional committees and Members of Congress by assisting at every stage of the legislative process — from the deliberation and drafting stages of bills, through to committee hearings and floor debates to the oversight of enacted laws and government agency activities.

CRS services come in the following forms:

- ✧ Tailored confidential memoranda, briefings and consultations
- ✧ Expert congressional testimony
- ✧ Seminars and workshops, including the twice yearly Federal Law Update
- ✧ Training for congressional staff in legislative and budget procedures

As is clear from the listed outputs, the CRS does not represent a primary producer of research. Alternatively, it is primarily tasked with analyzing existing research and communicating this to policy makers. In order to meet the wide variety of congresses' needs, the CRS is divided into five interdisciplinary research divisions:

- ✧ American Law
- ✧ Domestic Social Policy
- ✧ Foreign Affairs, Defense and Trade
- ✧ Government and Finance
- ✧ Resources, Science and Industry

Box 1: Independent American Research Institutes

Supporting the work of policy makers and analysts in the US is a plethora of think tanks and policy institutes spanning a broad spectrum of ideologies and special interests. It is the work of these independent institutions that is evaluated, translated⁵ and communicated to policy makers by the CRS.

The primary 'centrist' think-tanks, by far the most credible for policy makers in a divided congress, are as follows:

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, New America Foundation, Pew Research Center and the RAND Corporation

The primary 'conservative', or Republican, think tanks in the US are as follows: American Enterprise Institute, Heritage Foundation, National Center for Policy Analysis and the Project for the New American Century.

The primary 'left', or Democrat, think tanks are as follows: Brookings Institution, the Center for American Progress, the Economic Policy Institute and the Progressive Policy Institute.

⁵ The word 'translated' is used to describe the process in which a complex or academic piece of research is broken down into a format and language that can be consumed by policy makers who may not have any expertise in the subject.

The US's third largest political party, the Libertarians, have a strong footing in the world of policy, primarily through the Cato Institute. Though the party is quite small compared to either the Republicans or Democrats, their cross-cutting policy stances means that they are often used to provide legitimacy to one or the others platform. The primary libertarian think tanks are as follows:

The Ayn Rand Institute, the Cato Institute, the Goldwater Institute and the Ludwig von Mises Institute.

The CRS and the Case of Palestine

The example of the CRS is particularly relevant to Palestine as it was the inspiration and chief technical and financial sponsor of its equivalent within the PA - the Parliamentary Research Unit (PRU). Much like the CRS, the PRU was originally mandated with analyzing and communicating data to policy makers. Unlike the CRS, the PRU is currently deactivated, due to a lack of investment and capabilities, as well as the absence of the PLC, the primary consumer of its output. Reforming the PRU and modeling it more closely on the institution that inspired its creation will be an important part of the policy recommendations accompanying this study.

2.2.2 Bridging Research and Policy in the UK

The Parliament and Constitution Centre provides a focus for the work of the House of Commons Library regarding Parliament and the British Constitution. While their primary objective is to provide Members and their staff with accurate, non-partisan information which is appropriate to their needs, they are also a point of contact for foreign parliaments, devolved legislative bodies in the UK, external academic bodies and research institutions which require guidance on UK parliamentary history and procedure.

The Center rarely produces research papers on its own. However, when needed, it will conduct research on topics of current parliamentary interest. Much more common for the Center is the production of white papers of the sort produced by the CRS in the USA. White papers are concise summaries of available policy options and the research that has been conducted relating to these options. White papers serve a variety of purposes, but are often used to help draft responses to the questions posed

by other Members of Parliament, or to provide an update on legislation or other relevant developments.

Since much of the work of the House of Commons and the House of Lords takes place in committees, made up of around 10 to 50 MPs or Lords, it is the Center's role to provide support, research or analysis to each. Much like the CRS, the Center is broken down into specialties in order to meet the broad range of needs.

Box 2: Standing Committees in the UK Parliament

Select Committees

Select Committees work in both Houses. They check and report on areas ranging from the work of government departments to economic affairs.

Joint Committees

Joint Committees are committees consisting of MPs and Lords.

General Committees (including Public Bill Committees)

These committees are unique to the Commons and mainly look at proposed legislation in detail. They include all committees formerly known as Standing Committees.

Grand Committees

The House of Commons has three Grand Committees which consider matters relating to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Grand Committees in the House of Lords consider Bills outside of the Lords Chamber.

Public Funding for UK Research

Research and development activities in the UK have not escaped the effects of the current financial crisis any better than other sectors. Increasingly, long term or experimental ideas are sidelined in the ongoing struggle to meet daily needs. In September of 2009, a committee from the House of Lords will conduct an inquiry into the effects of the financial crisis upon publicly funded research; "In the difficult economic times ahead, there will be increasing competition for resources to fund new scientific and technological research. In such an environment, it is vital there is a robust and effective system in place to allocate public funds" (Lords Science Committee, 2009).

The questions the committee aims to answer include:

- ✧ What is the overall objective of publicly-funded research?
- ✧ How are public funds allocated?
- ✧ Who is involved at each level of the decision making process?
- ✧ How are research priorities coordinated across Government?
- ✧ Is the balance of Government funding between targeted, curiosity-driven and response-mode research appropriate? How will the current economic climate change the way funds are allocated in the future?
- ✧ How is publicly-funded research aligned and coordinated with research that is not publicly funded?
- ✧ How can industry be encouraged to participate in research seeking to answer societal needs?
- ✧ How does the UK research funding strategy compare with that of other countries?
- ✧ How do English funding strategies compare with the devolved administrations?

A committee of this sort is required in the WB&GS and is included within our broader recommendation for a review of public support for research. Unlike the UK however, the PA needs to first decide to begin consistently funding domestic Palestinian research capacity before it can begin debating exactly how much support to provide.

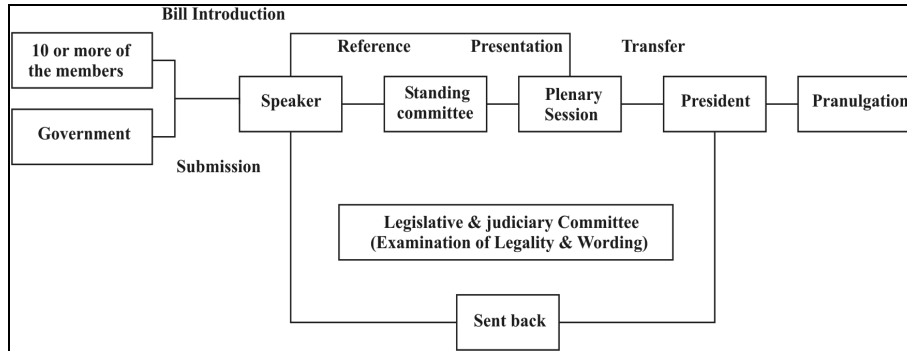
2.2.3 Research-based Policy Making in South Korea⁶

South Korea is a constitutional democracy. Korea's legal system combines elements of the European and the Anglo-American legal traditions. Legislative authority is shared by both the Korean Executive and the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea. In its shared role as legislator, the National Assembly is actively engaged in the public policy research process. In 1994, the Assembly established a number of Lawmakers' Research Groups. These have proved an important asset to the Assembly's members. According to the National Assembly Secretariat, in 2006, 63 research groups conducted 85 policy studies, enacted or revised 444 bills, hosted 235 seminars/public hearings, held 408 discussions and conducted 99 research projects⁷.

⁶ The case of Korea is particularly interesting to MAS, as it was the Korean Government, through the Agency KOICA, who recognized the need for strengthened independent research capacity in the WB&GS, and consequently chose to invest in the existing MAS institute, as opposed to forming their own. In 2007 the Korean Government moved forward on their pledge to fund the construction of a new state of the art MAS headquarters in Ramallah.

⁷ http://korea.na.go.kr/wha/pre_read.jsp

Figure 2: The Korean Assembly Policy Making Process



Source: http://korea.na.go.kr/int/aut_01.jsp?leftid=CA

Bridging the Gap

The relationship between research and policy making in South Korea is well defined and systematic. The National Research Council for Economics, Humanities and Social Sciences (NRCS) represents the hub for government policy research. This body, established in 2005, operates as an umbrella organization for 23 policy-based research institutions, each focusing on a specific policy area and each aligned with the needs of a specific Ministry. Thus the NRCS acts as a leading think tank and conducts or assigns research in line with governmental objectives.

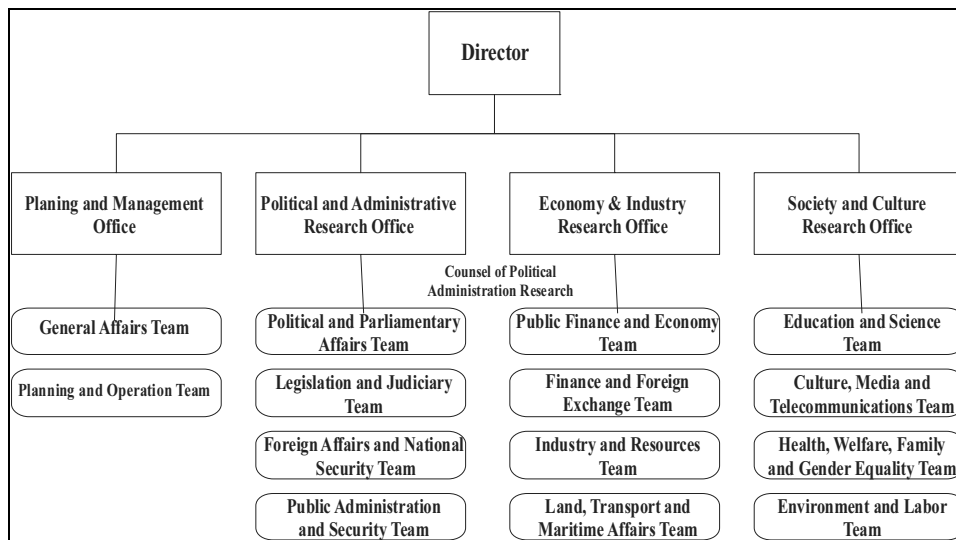
These research institutions, which were established as think tanks for the purpose of developing and evaluating major policy initiatives related to national development, receive full public financial backing. However, each institute preserves its own political autonomy by defining itself as a “government-sponsored organization devoted to independent research on policy making regarding...”⁸.

These government-funded research institutions include, but are not limited to, The Korea Institute of Public Administration (KIPA), Korea Development Institute (KDI), Science & Technology Policy Institute (STEPI), The Korea Institute for Industrial Economics and Trade (KIET), Korea Legislation Research Institute (KLRI), Korea Information Society Development Institute (KISDI) and The Korea Institute of Science and Technology (KIST).

⁸ http://203.250.96.12:8090/eng/about_kipa/history.jsp?pagemode=history

Besides these intuitions, other private research institutes are also recipients of government funds. However, the majority of their financial resources are sourced from the private sector. Since the Korean economy is largely knowledge-based, capital-intensive industries dominate the market. As a result, there are numerous research centers directly involved in R&D. As a consequence, research and development, as a percentage of GDP, increased from 0.56% in 1980; 1.72% in 1990; 2.98% in 2005; and 3.47% in 2007 (Lee, 2009). Governmental investment in R&D has grown tremendously from 2.82 billion Euros in 1999 to 10.1 billion Euros in 2008, showing an annual growth rate of 14.9%⁹.

Figure 3: The Structure of the National Assembly Research Services



Source: <http://www.nars.go.kr/eng/sub/organization.jsp>.

As occurred in both the United States and Britain, the Korean National Assembly established The National Assembly Research Service (NARS). This supports parliamentary activities through the provision of relevant and concise information to National Assembly standing committees and lawmakers regarding matters of public policy¹⁰.

⁹<http://cordis.europa.eu/erawatch/index.cfm?fuseaction=ri.content&topicID=329&parentID=50&countryCode=KR>

¹⁰ <http://korea.na.go.kr/int/sup.jsp?leftid=DA>

The NARS, much like the Palestinian PRU, American CRS and the British Parliament and Constitution Center, is tasked with taking the work of independent research institutes and translating it to fit the needs of the national assembly. The chart below details the organizational layout of NARS and provides insights into how the PRU could evolve.

2.2.4 The Case of Germany

Germany is the 16th most populous country in the world and, with over 82 million inhabitants, the most populous country in the EU¹¹. Germany's economy is the fourth strongest in the world, beaten only by the US, Japan and China (IMF, 2009). When it comes to the quality of its policy research however, Germany triumphs over all its competitors.

According to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), Germany has a 'highly-developed university and research landscape¹²' that makes the label "'Made in Germany" recognized worldwide'. Germany is home to over 100 research universities and is home to more than 250,000 scientists and investigators. This makes Germany the world's third-largest "country of researchers". Besides its considerable domestic research capacity, Germany also plays host to the 20,000 foreign researchers supported by German funding organizations.

The strength of the bridge between research and policy making in Germany is clear. This is especially evident regarding the link between research and national economic policy objectives. As with Korea, Germany has been largely successful in developing a strategic link between research and a widely accepted vision for the national economy. German research excels in mechanical engineering and is a world leader in medical engineering and environmental research. In 2003, more than 13,000 German inventions were patented throughout Europe, meaning that almost one quarter of all European patents are based on developments made by German scientists. Considering the emphasis that is placed on the need to develop a knowledge-based economy in the WB&GS, Germany's success in this area should be of particular interest to Palestinian policy makers.

¹¹ CIA World Factbook. www.cia.gov. Accessed July 4th, 2009.

¹² According to the website *In Cites*, German academics produced the third highest number of research papers, of which received the third highest number of quotations in the world between 1994 and 2004. Available at: http://in-cites.com/research/2005/march_21_2005-1.html. Between 1998 and 2008, Germany was again third for scientific output, behind the US and Japan, according to Science Watch. http://sciencewatch.com/dr/sci/08/jun15-08_1/.

German Research Infrastructure¹³

Founded in 1952, the German Research Foundation (DFG) is the primary German organization for science and research. Legally registered as an ‘association’ under private law, it is responsible for funding research at higher education institutions and at publicly-financed research institutes in Germany. The DFG has an annual budget of around 1.3 billion Euros and currently funds 25,000 research projects.

The figures below demonstrate how successful the DFG has been at bridging the gap between independent research and policy making. While it is a private association that aids researchers in nearly all fields, 99.7% of its funding comes from the public budget.

Table 1: German Federal Funding to the German Research Foundation

| | In m Euro | % |
|---|----------------|--------------|
| Federal Government (Bund) | | |
| Institutional Funding of the DFG | 978.9 | 48.5 |
| Institutional Funding of the DFG (separately financed) | 6.5 | 0.3 |
| Special allocations for earmarked projects | 327.2 | 16.2 |
| sum | 1,312.6 | |
| Federal States (Lander) | | |
| Institutional Funding of the DFG | 608.3 | 30.1 |
| Institutional Funding of the DFG (separately financed) | 6.4 | 0.3 |
| Special allocations for earmarked projects | 86.4 | 4.3 |
| sum | 701.1 | 34.7 |
| Donors’ Association for the Promotion of Science and Humanities in Germany (Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft) | 2.2 | 0.1 |
| Allocations of the Eu/ESF | 0.6 | 0.0 |
| Allocations from private sources | 2.2 | 0.1 |
| DFG’s own income | 1.4 | 0.1 |
| Sum | 6.4 | 0.3 |
| Total Income | 2,020.1 | 100.0 |
| Plus carry-over funds from 2007 | 17.6 | |
| Total | 2,037.7 | |

Source: DFG. Available online at: <http://www.dfg.de/en/>

¹³ A number of other important research institutes work in Germany beyond those described, such as the Max Planck Society, the Helmholtz Association, the Leibniz Association and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. Each of these institutes is renowned worldwide (the last one receiving 40 Nobel prizes) and each of them receives a varying degree of public and private support.

The Fraunhofer Society provides another interesting example. With more than 80 research units, including 58 institutes, the Society carries out research for both the private and public sectors. Much like the DFG, it is a private entity; however, unlike the DFG, around 90% of its research budget is acquired through contract research, as opposed to direct public funding. According to the Fraunhofer Society, however, the limited quantity of public funding that it does receive “enables the institute to pursue more fundamental research in areas that are likely to become relevant to industry and society in five or ten years time”.

Bridging the Gap

Due to the German Parliament’s support for numerous research institutes, policy makers enjoy access to extensive public policy research. The German example provides some interesting insights into the role of public funding. Whether public funds provide 97%, as is the case with the DFG, or 10%, like the Fraunhofer Society, of an institute’s budget, public financial support allows for stability and continuity. Without governmental support the DFG would not be able to maintain, let alone enhance, its knowledge base. In the case of the Fraunhofer Society, public funding allows for the freedom to explore ideas that will not bring an immediate economic benefit, and therefore, could not be financed by the private sector.

2.3 Concluding Remarks

From the case studies explored above, it is possible to identify a number of themes that are present in all four examples.

The cases demonstrate the need for an independent body specifically tasked with evaluating and summarizing research for the benefit of policy makers and legislators. It is unreasonable for the research sector to expect policy makers, who are often subject to considerable time constraints, to wade through lengthy and often complicated pieces of policy research. Establishing an organization dedicated to providing legislators with up to date and concise summaries of policy research represents the most feasible means of informing legislators about research relevant to their areas of interest.

An equally important theme running across all four cases is the issue of public funding. Consistent public funding for policy research allows research institutions to draft broad research agendas, often spanning a number of years. When public funding is available and consistent, institutes are not forced to reassess the scope of their capabilities with the

passing of each project. Moreover, public funding helps guarantee the quality of research, and often, its autonomy from interest groups as researchers are not forced to approach sectional interests for financial sponsorship.

Related to the issue of public funding is the issue of political autonomy. In all the cases we evaluated, publically-funded research institutes clearly defined themselves as independent from the political system. The importance of independence cannot be over stated; academic autonomy allows these institutes to produce impartial policy research and offer conclusions that are the product of sound and objective research and not political expediency.

It must be noted, however, that the issue of political autonomy is more complicated than it first appears. This is especially evident in the American example. When a political system operates alongside a developed and dynamic civil society it is not necessary that all research institutes are apolitical. In the United States, for example, every major political party works in conjunction with a number of policy research foundations sympathetic to their cause. Each institute is forced to compete with other institutes of its own political persuasion and institutes advocating different policy agendas. This healthy level of competition between organizations represents a kind of market place of ideas. An obvious benefit of this system is that it moves some of the funding burden away from the public budget and towards privately funded interest groups. However, it must be noted that American partisan research institutes represent only a small part of a broad research sector that includes many independent and apolitical universities and research organizations. Moreover, within the United State partisan research institutes operate in a political system that has well defined, established and largely-respected mechanisms of accountability, a free and often critical media and a lively and politically engaged civil society. Without these pre-conditions, partisan research is likely to prove more detrimental than beneficial.

A final lesson that can be drawn from the cases is the possible utility of linking research agendas to national policy objectives. In the cases of both Germany and Korea, economic policy research has been used to help achieve the realization of a broad economic vision. In Korea, research has been used to identify how best to encourage the development of knowledge-based and capital intensive industries. In Germany, research has been used to identify how to develop those sectors of the economy where Germany is most competitive. Clearly, therefore, when research is commissioned and conducted correctly, it can make an important contribution to national economic objectives.

3. The Policy-Making Environment in the Palestinian Territories

This chapter will clarify the unique environment in which the Palestinian National Authority formulates and implements policy. It starts by addressing the shifts from civil administration, to the PLO, then to the PA and later to the emergency government. Furthermore, it tackles the constraints that have resulted from a high levels of dependency on external aid.

3.1 From Civil Administration to the PLO

After the war of 1967, the Jordanian and Egyptian administrations over the remainder of Arab Palestine were replaced by an Israeli military occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Israeli 'Civil' Administration, as it was later named in the 1980's, was a permanent state of martial law that monopolized decision making.

PLO institutions abroad could exert no influence over Israeli policy making in the WB&GS. Palestinian civil society institutions worked at the grassroots level within the confines of an occupation where Palestinian organizations were heavily repressed. Though local policy making was not possible, the PLO still exerted considerable influence within the WB&GS. An income deduction on Palestinian workers in neighboring countries was channeled through the PLO into affiliated civil society organizations inside of Palestine. 'By the mid-1990s, Palestinian NGOs were providing up to 60 percent of primary healthcare services, half of all hospital care, all of the available disability care, almost 100 percent of all agricultural training and research and about 30 percent of educational services' (Sullivan, 1996).

The PLO was recognized by the international community as the sole representative of the Palestinian people at the Arab Summit in Rabat Morocco in 1974. In November of 1988, the Palestinian National Congress (PNC) of the PLO unilaterally declared Palestinian Statehood. It was another six years before the Oslo Accords resulted in the establishment of the PA.

Following his return to the occupied Territory, President Arafat consolidated his power into a unitary executive where the legislative and

judicial branches of the PA were largely sidelined until his death in 2004. The monopoly of decision making and popular support that President Arafat enjoyed in the WB&GS was strengthened by his ability to use public finances to achieve his own political objectives. In the early years of the PA, within the context of the occupation and the centralized internal power structure, a vast network of weak public institutions developed.

With numerous best practices upon which the Palestinian Authority could be modeled and an unprecedented level of international donor enthusiasm, a huge opportunity was missed. During the early years of the authority's existence, the detrimental effects of power consolidation and patrimony were further compounded by the PA's failure to cooperate with, or benefit from, the capacity of existing civil society organizations. However, we should not lay all blame at the feet of the PA. The jurisdiction given to it by the Paris Protocols on Economic Relations would have proven an effective obstacle to development, regardless of the PA's performance.

3.1.1 The Paris Protocol and the Limitations on Policy Space

The 1993 Declaration of Principles was an early indication that negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians would result in the former making far more concessions than the latter. In this document, both sides recognized the rights of the other to exist as a people within the borders of Palestine/Israel, and committed themselves to negotiating a permanent settlement and to improving relations between the two peoples. The agreement provides a framework for a solution, rather than a solution itself. The ambiguities contained within this framework were later solidified in the expanded Paris Protocols. Much like the Declaration of Principles, the Protocol provided only limited Palestinian jurisdiction over the development and state building processes within the WB&GS.

The Paris Protocol, signed between the PLO and the Government of Israel in April of 1994, provided the foundations for the economic relationship between Israel and the PA. However, the legal framework that resulted afforded the new Palestinian Authority only limited control over economic policy. The power to allocate limited and uncertain resources is, in effect, much less than the policy instruments available to local governments in other countries (UNCTAD 2008). The framework of the Paris Protocol included a customs union that left Israel in control of all external borders as well as the collection of import taxes and VAT. Moreover, the Protocol does not guarantee the free movement of the Palestinian labor force either within WB&GS or Israel proper.

However, under the terms of the Paris Protocol, a limited and vulnerable policy space is afforded to the Palestinian Authority (Nasr 2009). It allows Palestinians to manage their own economy – to a limited degree – and eliminates the restrictions imposed by the previous Israeli Civil Administration. Also, the creation of the PMA allows Palestinians to regulate the financial sector. This freedom does not however extend to monetary policy or the issuance of a national currency.

The protocols also allow the PA to enter into trade agreements with other countries – on the condition that they do not contradict other articles. In effect, this allows Palestinian agricultural products to enter the Israeli market; the PA to enact import/export legislation; the PA the right to decide on direct tax rates, and a guarantee that the PA will receive 75% and 100% of the taxes that Palestinian workers pay in Israel and Israeli settlements respectively.

However, it has been clear since the Protocol's implementation that even the limited policy space ceded to Palestinians would regularly be infringed upon by the occupying power. Whilst the Protocol's introductory statements aim to correct the structural deficiencies in the Palestinian economy, the aforementioned obstacles and constraints make this objective unachievable. Israel still controls at least 60% of the natural resources of the WB&GS as well as all borders, the movement of people and commodities and the enforcement of a complex tax system. Furthermore, the focus on economic issues and the establishment of a joint economic committee (JEC) with no clear mechanisms of conflict resolution has ensured that any ambiguity in the agreement is resolved in favor of the stronger party.

To summarize, the Protocol fails to alter the asymmetrical and co-dependent character of Palestinian-Israeli economic relations. The framework enshrined in the Paris Protocol fails to equip the PA with even the most basic policy tools; preventing the implementation of a consistent development strategy or even basic economic stabilization policies. It is this highly limited and unstable policy environment that Palestinian policy makers, researchers and planners are required to operate within.

3.2 From Palestine Liberation Organisation to Palestinian Authority

The Palestinian Authority was established in 1994. The Office of the President (OoP) was created with Arafat's election in January of 1996. He

remained in the position until his death in November of 2004. The first election in the WB&GS in 1996 also established the Palestinian Legislative Council as a unicameral representative body of 88 members. In line with the Oslo Accords of 1993, the election of the first PLC should have taken place alongside the creation of the PA and OoP in 1994; however, it did not take place until January 20th 1996¹⁴. The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) was created in 2003 to manage the day-to-day affairs of the PA and liaise with Israel and the international community, as both had refused to deal with President Arafat during the Second Intifada. Between 1994 and 2005, these three bodies formed the hub of policy making in the WB&GS.

3.2.1 From the Palestinian Legislative Council to the Emergency Government

The second PLC election was held on January 25th 2006. All Palestinian parties, with the exception of Islamic Jihad, took part. As with the 1995 elections, Israel disrupted voting in occupied East Jerusalem and within the Diaspora.

The election resulted in a decisive Hamas victory; winning 74 seats out of the 132 that were available and eventually forming a majority government¹⁵. Though they had pushed for, funded and monitored the polls, leading elements of the international community chose to sever ties with the elected Palestinian government. In addition, Israel responded by refusing to deliver PA tax revenues collected by the Israeli Ministry of Finance and needed to support the sizable Palestinian public sector.

In June of 2006, following the mass arrest of 41 Hamas members of Parliament, the PLC was rendered useless and disbanded. The formation of a 'broader' unity government in April was also not recognized by the international community¹⁶. As the sanctions continued and Palestine slid further and further into crisis, the two main rival parties, Hamas and Fatah, began small-scale clashes in the final months of 2006. In June of 2007, a

¹⁴ This session was delayed for weeks, with the executive branch of the PA being accused of slowing the PLC's emergence. This was an early sign of the weak cooperation between the Legislative and Executive branches.

¹⁵ In June 2005 the PLC voted to increase the number of members from 88 to 132, stipulating that half be elected under a national proportional system and the remainder by traditional constituencies. <http://www.pal-plc.ps/site/331/default.aspx> (July 2th 2009)

¹⁶ The use of the word 'rejected' is slightly inaccurate, as the international community simply chose different channels through which to fund the PA that it wanted. Largely due to the TIMS mechanisms, more international aid than ever entered the WB&GS through the Office of the President.

full-scale military coup resulted in Hamas taking control of the Gaza Strip. Following the violence, President Abbas dismissed Prime Minister Haniyeh, ending the unity government on June 14th 2007.

Following Haniyeh's dismissal, the role of the PMO was altered significantly. Rather than Fatah officials selecting one of their own to hold the office of Prime Minister, Salaam Fayyad, former Minister of Finance and co-chair of the independent 3rd *Way* party was tasked with forming the Emergency Government. In his dual role as Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Dr. Fayyad was able to increase the influence and prestige of the office, eventually rendering it the primary conduit of aid into the WB&GS. Moreover, in the absence of a functioning PLC, the PMO became the primary source of legislation¹⁷.

As the constitutional term limit of the Emergency Government neared, the two main factions grew further and further apart. The government transitioned from an Emergency to a Caretaker Government on August 17th until its resignation in March of 2009. As national reconciliation efforts halted again, a new enlarged Caretaker Government was formed in mid-2009 and remains in place at the time of writing. The current government continues to be headed by Dr. Fayyad.

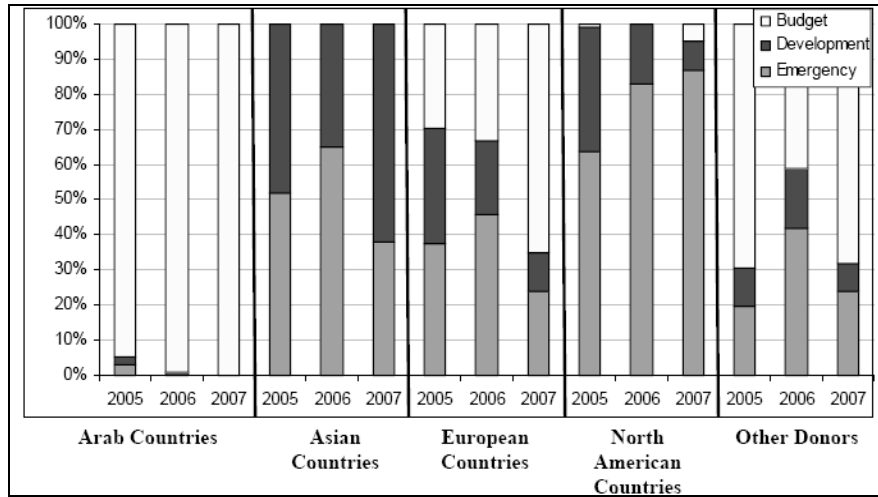
Throughout this process different bodies and institutions have emerged and receded as focal points of policy making. Each step involved a change in procedures, priorities, personalities and centers of power. As such, the relationship, or the lack of a relationship, between researchers and policy makers has changed with every stage in the development of the Palestinian political system.

3.2.2 A Perpetual 'State' of Dependency

Simply detailing the current and past conditions of Palestinian political institutions does not provide a full picture of the policy making environment within the Palestinian Territories. The Palestinian Authority now works alongside 13 UN bodies, 40 major donor countries, 65 international NGOs, and over 1,500 active local NGOs. Some of these are relatively ineffective, while others wield considerable influence and maintain annual budgets rivaling that of the PA itself. Regardless of size, character or finances, these organizations are all part of the system of international aid.

¹⁷ The PMO, along with the Council of Ministers, has the power to draft and propose legislation to the President. Meanwhile the MoF, in the absence of the PLC, is the body holding the purse strings, and therefore the veto power, over legislation.

**Figure 4: Aid Disbursements
by Type and Country Grouping 2005-2007**



Source: Ministry of Planning, 2008:12. Note: Budgetary Support for the PA has effectively created a pseudo-state in the midst of an ongoing military occupation. Emergency Relief Aid aims at easing the effects of the occupation and compensating for the sudden 'spikes' in violence that occur. Development Funding (best described by the MOP in its 2005 review of aid as 'everything not included in the previous two') is absorbed by local governments and civil society institutions and is used for numerous purposes.

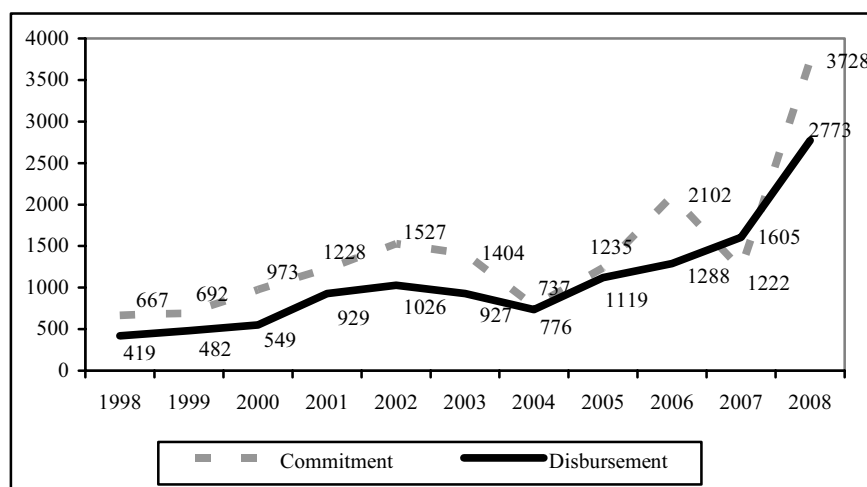
The PA receives one of the highest levels of international assistance, when measured on a per capita basis, of any country in the world. Consequently, external financial assistance is of the highest importance to the Palestinian economy and policy making process. Yet whilst aid flows into the WB&GS are considerable, they are anything but predictable. The figure below shows how different donor states have altered both the amount and the type of aid they provide over time. Managing an economy so heavily dependent upon aid has forced Palestinian policy makers and researchers to tie their objectives and strategies to developments in international and domestic politics. This is highlighted in the figure below; note how the type of aid entering Palestine changes dramatically following the 2006 elections.

As the figure shows, levels of development support drop across the board following the elections in January 2006. Development funding, which is vital for the development and implementation of new policies, was denied to the PA when the new leadership was deemed 'unacceptable' by the international community. With the exception of Arab states, the level of budget support does not increase again until 2007, with the emergence of

the TIM and the 12th government. In spite of the increased popularity of the new cabinet, development support did not increase until after the emergence of the Palestinian Reform and Development Plan (2008-2010) and the PEGASE mechanism in 2008.

An additional challenge facing Palestinian policy makers and planners is the discrepancy that so frequently exists between *commitments* and *disbursements* by international donors. The figure below highlights the differences between promises made and kept.

**Figure 5: Commitments versus Disbursements
1998 – 2008 (1000's USD)**



Source(s): 1998 – 2004 - MoP World Bank Staff *calculations*. (MOP, 2005:5 – emphasis added); 2005 – 2007 - MoP, 2008:9; 2008 – MoP PAMS database online (accessed July 1, 2009).

This problem is exacerbated by the fact that funding pledges are made at a relatively late point in the year (July). As a result of this, the time available to researchers for analysis of funding data is limited; rendering the production of research proposals of sufficient quality and relevance problematic.

The challenges generated by aid dependency have been highlighted in order to illustrate that the PA itself is not the only ‘gavel holder’ in the policy making process. Even though donors and international agencies may be formally beholden to the PA, financial dependence is a one-way street. This reality was especially evident following the 2006 elections and the changes in aid flows that resulted from them.

Box 3: the TIM and the PEGASE

Following Hamas's parliamentary victory in 2006, the international community suspended direct financial support to the PA. The EU, by far the biggest donor to the WB&GS, established a Temporary International Mechanism (TIM) "to ensure the direct delivery of assistance to the Palestinian people" (The European Commission)¹⁸. This mechanism was designed to meet the basic needs of the Palestinians people whilst, at the same time, by-passing the coffers of the Hamas-led PA¹⁹. After months of comprehensive sanctions had failed to change the policies of Hamas, the European Commission decided that it "still needed to meet the needs of the Palestinian People". However, the TIM included the following preconditions:

1. Contact that did have to occur with the PA was to only take place at the 'lowest possible technical/working levels
2. Only the Office of the President could act as an interface for the management unit of the TIM, charged with signing and ratifying all legal agreements
3. International banks were to be selected to pay eligible expenditures, bills and basic needs allowances directly to eligible Palestinians
4. All payments had to be validated and overseen by the TIM

The changes that the TIM brought to the Palestinian policy making community are still being assessed. What is clear though is that the locus of power formally shifted from the Hamas cabinet to the President and his cabinet, and then to Dr Fayyad. The backing of these two leaders by the international community led to the reopening of the channels of international aid which Palestinians and Palestinian policy makers so depended upon. Yet the TIM not only allowed for the re-activation of aid flows to Palestine, the mechanism actually led to an increase in international assistance to unprecedented levels.

In February 2008, seven months after the formation of the Emergency Government, the TIM mechanism was replaced by the PEGASE, which moved beyond the Windows of the TIM and aligned aid flows with the key priorities of the Palestinian Reform and Development Plan (PRDP 2008-2010)²⁰. Unlike the TIM, which was temporary and constantly required donors to recommit to it, the PEGASE has a three year time frame which directly corresponds to the intended length as the PRDP.

¹⁸ Since June 2006, the European Commission has contributed €455.5 million to the TIM with further contributions coming from EU Member States, Norway and Switzerland (€157.5 million).

¹⁹ The TIMS also facilitated the transfer of tax revenues, previously withheld by Israel, to be channelled through the MoF (Neilson, 2007).

²⁰ Since its establishment in February of 2008, PEGASE has disbursed €409 million out of the €550 million pledged. The mechanism has channelled a further €131 million from other donors and EU Member States.

4. Identifying the Gap

Having mapped the unique policy making environment in the Palestinian Territories, this study endeavored to identify the ‘gap’ that exists between locally produced research and the policy making process. In order to do so, MAS conducted a number of interviews with stakeholders. These interviews tried to look beyond the obvious constraints of the occupation. They included discussions of the sources and implications of the gap as well as discussions of how best to bridge this divide within the confines of the existing political context. These interviews pointed towards the existence of three separate gaps between Palestinian researchers and policy makers, rather than one:

- ✧ Lack of Capacity in the Policy Making Arena
- ✧ Lack of Capacity in the Research Sector
- ✧ Lack of Coordination in the Realm of International Aid

4.1 Lack of Capacity in the Policy Making Arena

“Palestinian policy makers most often don’t make use of research.”

-Joe Nassir

Mr. Nassir’s comment helps to illustrate the unwillingness or inability of policy makers to utilize available research when drafting policy proposals. Our interviewees divided their criticisms of the policy making community into four broad categories:

- ✧ Political Instability
- ✧ Institutional Incompetence
- ✧ Individual Incompetence
- ✧ Individual Agendas

4.1.1 Political Instability

Pervasive political instability and general insecurity has rendered the implementation of any model of linear and rational policy making highly problematic. According to those interviewed, instability has impacted upon policy making in two main ways: a general absence of procedures to follow-up and evaluate policy and a lack of institutional memory; especially at the Ministerial level.

Within the Palestinian Territories, changes in political leadership and styles of governance are rarely smooth. Changes in the leadership of central departments or the membership of committees are usually turbulent. Perhaps more importantly, there exists a systemic failure to cooperate or coordinate with predecessors. Consequently, policy initiatives are rarely followed-up and leadership changes often result in a rapid and drastic change in policy direction. Information and expertise is not adequately communicated by outgoing staff to incoming staff. Frequently, this renders the accomplishments of the previous staff redundant and requires that new staff learn the same lessons learned by their predecessors.

“When a new Minister arrives, they are usually unaware of the studies, policies or strategies of that Ministry” (Ramlawi 2009). Furthermore, “rarely does the policy maker know about relevant research that might help them in their decision making” (Sawalha 2009). Even when institutional memory is maintained at the sub-Ministerial level, the new Minister and their advisors must take time to understand and absorb it. Preserving institutional memory amongst permanent staff is difficult because “most Ministries lack good libraries or policy archives, implying minimal or no recollection of policies” (Malki 2009).

4.1.2 Institutional Incompetence

Institutional incompetence refers to the systemic limitations of Ministerial procedure and organizational culture. Those policy makers, researchers and academics who were interviewed highlighted two areas of incompetence in particular.

National Priorities Setting

According to Qatami (2009), “Law making and policy decisions are subject to a random process of selecting which laws to work on or policies to formulate”. In such a scenario, “there is no coordinated effort or set of procedures for setting policy priorities at the national level”. Many respondents claimed that certain improvements had been made in this field. A number identified the PRDP as an example of this. However, there are an equal number of detractors who argue that the PRDP was neither an exercise in Palestinian ownership nor democracy and thus does not represent an example of successful priority setting by the Palestinian Authority.

This inability to develop cohesive and collectively endorsed legislative agendas is illustrated by the relationship between the President and the Office of the Prime Minister. There is often a discrepancy between the priorities of the President and the PM. Moreover, on a number of occasions legislation has been approved by the Prime Minister later to be rejected by the President. Examples of this include draft anti-narcotics legislation, the law of Dar Al-Fatwa, the protection of the emblem law, the law of political parties, and the law of public health Insurance.

A Lack of Mechanisms Bridging Research and Policy

It is not only the lack of consensus regarding a national policy agenda that prevents the development of one. There is also “no mechanism that outlines legislative priorities in the PLC. This is a major obstacle to planning and development” (Khatib 2009) ²¹. A lack of order in the legislative process has resulted in the absence of any common procedures being either developed or adhered to by policy makers – not only in the realm of policy formulation, but also, in the utilization of available research. Throughout the various stages of the Palestinian political system’s development, there has never been a regulatory framework for, or even any guidelines regarding, the use of research in the policy making process. In this context, it is unsurprising that there exists a lack of cooperation and communication between the two spheres. This has resulted in a situation where by the two sectors operate independently of each other and the advice of one is not sought by the other. An additional impediment to cooperation may have been that policy research often challenges the utility and validity of policy recommendations produced by government departments. This has provided policy makers with an incentive to actively ignore the research community.

4.1.3 Individual Incompetence

“If the Minister is humble enough to admit their lack of knowledge on a certain topic, he/she requests that research be done”

-Nabil Kassis

There was a consensus among those interviewed that many policy makers lack the necessary academic or professional expertise to properly carry out their duties. The structures of patronage and nepotism which are so frequently used to staff the PA mean that policy makers are often “not

²¹ “There has been and remains no law that governs the mechanisms of formulating laws. However, there is a common practice – policy framework – which the PLC has been using ever since their establishment up until the emergency government in 2007” (Khatib).

specialized in the topic or subject they are working on” (Ramlawi, 2009). Moreover, this lack of meritocracy means a significant number of policy makers lack the requisite skills “to understand research and transform it into policy” (Ramlawi, 2009). Whilst it is clear that specialist skills are required when working within fields such as health or monetary policy, all Ministries require qualified managers experienced in public administration and the researching, drafting and implementation of policy.

This systemic shortfall in relevant expertise has meant that, rather than relying more heavily upon research to make up for their lack of knowledge, policy makers often fail to recognize the importance of research altogether. In the Palestinian Territories, only 1 member of the 132 member Palestinian Legislative Council is a lawyer – three quarters of 1%. Lacking the capacity to assess a problem means one is also unable to commission research to address it. As a result, “Policy makers might have the mechanisms for assisting them in policy making, however, they are not capable of benefiting from them as they don’t know how to use them” (Kassis 2009).

4.1.4 Individual Agendas

“Usually when new Ministers arrive to take up their role, they come with their own agenda. The problem is exacerbated when the new agenda conflicts with the old one. Why does a Ministerial change have to be accompanied by a change in priorities?”

-Nasser Qatami

Policy making in Palestine is “hindered by politics” (Kassis 2009). However, this problem is equally relevant to the research sector. A number of Palestinian NGOs and research institutions are openly aligned with a political party. In this context, bridging the gap between research and policy often “depends upon the topic of the legislation and the party affiliation or the organization that conducted the research” (Oudeh 2009). As has been identified above, the presence of partisan research institutions which promote ideological agendas is not necessarily negative; it is possible that partisanship in the research sector can “enrich research outcomes through the competition of ideological frameworks” (Botmeh, 2009). This said, partisanship within the research community can only benefit the policy making sphere when partisan research institutes form only a part of a broader research sector that includes numerous independent and apolitical institutes.

In every institution, political or otherwise, senior staff members will have individual agendas. This does not have to prove detrimental if policy makers are prepared to mould their own agendas to fit available research. Personal agendas become particularly harmful when individuals “don’t take research into consideration in their determination to take a certain approach” (Abdel Majeed 2009). Individuals who are not prepared to compromise in the pursuit of their desired political outcomes undermine policy continuity and disrupt the links between research and policy. “Though it is customary for a new government to drop the policies of previous governments and advance new ones, the issue is how this transition can be managed in way that takes past experiences into account. In this sense, it is the system that needs to be changed, not necessarily those that operate within it” (Botmeh 2009). Until some form of systemic change is achieved, however, individual prerogatives will continue to play a destabilizing role.

4.2. Lack of Capacity in the Research Sector

Our interviewees identified four primary reasons why the capacity of the domestic research sector is insufficient:

- ✧ Inadequate Research Training in the Palestinian Education System
- ✧ The Emigration of Expertise (The Brain Drain²²)
- ✧ An Inability to Properly Communicate or “Package” Research
- ✧ Lack of Research Capacity in the PA

4.2.1 Inadequate Research Training in the Palestinian Education System

“In primary and secondary education, students do not receive training in research methods or critical thinking. Future research will be constrained by the limitations in available capacity”

-Khalil Nakhleh

A common concern of the interviewees was the inadequacy of research training in Palestinian universities. “University education in Palestine is normally limited to the writing of a Masters level thesis, and does not focus on research” (Shalabi, 2009). Sub-standard research training has too

²² The term “Brain Drain” is used to describe the out-migration of people with technical and intellectual expertise from developing, or less economically-developed countries, to those characterized by better professional, economic or advantaged geographical features (MAS, 2008).

often resulted in poor quality research. Such research “adds little in the way of new knowledge and has only a minimal influence on national policy making” (Shalabi, 2009). Though Palestine does possess a number of reputable research institutions, there is a lack of analytical skills to back these up. “The ability to analyze data is not a skill fostered at the Master’s level (Jad, 2009); rather it is a skill nourished through the arduous PhD process, this is precisely what is lacking in Palestinian universities²³”. Though not specific to policy making, the following table highlights the presence of a general dissatisfaction with the quality of locally produced research. Note how the majority of respondents were concerned about the inability of researchers to translate their findings into policy proposals.

Table 2: Obstacles and the factors that limit the benefits for private enterprises from the output of scientific research (2007)

| | Agree | Don't Know | Disagree |
|--|-------|------------|----------|
| Lack of harmonization of the results of research designed to your needs | 67.3 | 21.2 | 11.5 |
| The absence of competent consulting firms employing the results of scientific research | 71.2 | 19.2 | 9.6 |
| Dissatisfaction with the results of research | 46.2 | 28.8 | 25.0 |

Source: MAS, 2008. The Role of Research and Development in Enhancing the Competitiveness of the Palestinian Private Sector.

4.2.2 The Emigration of Expertise (The Brain Drain)

“In the field of research capacity, the brain drain is not a difficult concept to understand. If one must go abroad to get a good education, you will find that many do not return.”

- Yousef Dauod

As more and more of the academic elite leave Palestine in search of a superior education or improved job prospects, “there are fewer and fewer qualified people in the Palestinian Territories. Those who remain usually lack experience, (Nassir 2009) rendering it “difficult to maintain a sufficient level of research capacity within an institution” (Kassis 2009).

Interestingly, there is actually considerable demand for qualified and experienced researchers within the WB&GS. Those that choose to or are

²³ PCBS data, for example, is reliable but “mute”. Until a trained analysis takes place, the data “will remain useless”, regardless of how much is collected (Sawalha, Khatib, Awartani).

forced to stay and possess advanced research skills or specific expertise enjoy a flexible and lucrative job market that can eventually result in employment within an international organization²⁴. However, this high and constantly unfulfilled demand for skilled researchers often proves detrimental to the quality of domestically produced research. Palestinian researchers are in such high demand that employment is often guaranteed. Consequently, there are few incentives for researchers to produce internationally credible output. With a high level of job security and the prospect of international employment or consultancy work ahead of them, many researchers devote their efforts to promotion or immediate financial gain. It is not uncommon for Palestinian researchers to try and juggle a number of projects at the same time in order to maximize profitability or exposure to the international community.

Indeed, a problem identified by the focus groups that were convened is the steady flow of domestic expertise from the local to the international level. This can occur without these skills actually leaving the Palestinian Territories. International agencies or consultancies are often capable of providing a salary five to six times larger than a local research institution or the PA. As a result, employment within international organizations is highly desirable and pursued by many of the most qualified Palestinians. Furthermore, joining an international organization or company at the local level often represents the first step towards emigration, where an individual would be paid as an international, rather than as a local, staff member²⁵.

4.2.3 An Inability to Properly Communicate or “Package” Research

In order for research to be beneficial, it must be packaged in a way that policy makers can understand. Often this means presenting research in the shortest and simplest way possible. Policy makers are busy people frequently subject to many time commitments. The failure of policy makers to properly utilize available research is unacceptable. This said, it is unreasonable for researchers to expect policy makers or their staff to review, understand and digest lengthy data sets and pieces of analysis.

²⁴ According to some interviewees, a researcher in Palestine who has reached a certain level of credibility or success can easily earn the annual Palestinian per capita income in just one or two days.

²⁵ Within large international agencies, such as the UN or EU, international staff are paid much more money and enjoy a broad range of benefits not extended to their local counterparts. These often include increased amounts and frequencies of paid vacations and additional stipends for living in a ‘dangerous’ place. Over the course of the study, the authors have encountered three Palestinians working in the UN who, after building their capacities enough, were looking to relocate to Darfur where they could enjoy the same status as their peers.

There is a general tendency within the Palestinian research community to produce long and complicated studies which fail to fully utilize existing research and often include an extensive and sometimes politicized discussion of Palestinian history. As a consequence, locally produced research is rarely presented in a way that is either accessible or useful to policy makers. Academic studies frequently rely heavily on theoretical concepts unfamiliar to policy makers. The unwillingness of the research community to present their work in a way that policy makers can quickly and easily digest has resulted in many studies simply being ignored. Respondents also criticized the research community for not properly disseminating its output to governing institutions or the public at large, or alternatively, disseminating a product that is inaccessible to all outside of the world of academia.

4.2.4 Lack of Research Capacity in the PA

This study asserts that the research capacity of government bodies is not a vital element of the Palestinian research sector. As the case studies examined above demonstrate, the independence of the research sector from the political system is highly important. At present, numerous government departments maintain research units with limited experience or expertise. More often than not, the maintenance of such units represents a waste of resources. Moreover, the presence of sub-standard research units within government Ministries frequently provides Ministers and policy makers with an unwarranted confidence in their own capabilities which can negatively impact upon their decision making. An additional problem that arises from in-house research units stems from their proximity to the political process. When researchers are subordinate to and paid by policy makers, political interference and politicized research is far more likely to occur.

4.3 The Impact of International Aid on Domestic Research

The following section examines the feelings of the interviewees regarding the effects of international aid upon the Palestinian research sector. It should be noted that, without external financial assistance, it is likely there would be no research conducted within the Palestinian Territories; the PA would be forced to allocate its limited resources to meeting the immediate needs of the population. Thus international donors should be commended; their support has already helped bridge the gap between research and policy in Palestine. This said, the impact of international aid upon the

research sector is not always positive. It is possible to identify two areas of concern regarding external assistance and domestically produced research:

- ✧ Research that responds to international demand rather than PA priorities
- ✧ Donors investing in external research capacity

4.3.1 Demand Driven Research

*“Research is not conducted in accordance with national priorities, but according to individual projects or programs”
-Asaad Ramlawi*

According to Malki (2009), “research at the Ministerial levels is usually intended to establish or improve cooperation with donors, or in order to obtain funding of some sort... the problem here is that such research serves a very specific purpose, it does not contribute to institutional memory and is definitely not utilized when formulating policy.” The same can be said of the Palestinian NGO sector, which is heavily reliant upon external assistance. Project based research, which usually evaluates the previous or proposed work of international NGOs rather than attempting to inform national policy making, monopolizes funding and available expertise. Additionally, the constant focus on new projects restricts domestic capacity building. Junior researchers rarely remain in a single subject area for long. Instead they are constantly reallocated according to project needs. Consequently, few researchers have the opportunity to build a level of expertise in one area.

Table 3: Palestinian NGO Funding Sources (1999 & 2006)

| Year | External | Self Funded | Government | Local | 1948ers | Diaspora | Other |
|------|----------|-------------|------------|-------|---------|----------|-------|
| 2006 | 71.7 | 5.6 | 3.7 | 1.8 | 0 | 1.1 | 16.1 |
| 1999 | 76.4 | 15.2 | 0 | 1.2 | 0 | 7.2 | 0.1 |

Source: MAS, 2007. Mapping Palestinian NGOs in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
Note: In 2000, Research PNGOs received approximately 4.1% (\$4,622,197) of the total funding to PNGOs (\$112,736,506). In 2006, Research PNGOs received approximately 1.4% (\$3,130,503) of the total funding to PNGOs (\$223,607,358).

Current mechanisms for allocating donor funding have had two important consequences on the research sector. Firstly, they provide no incentive or resources to follow-up projects once they have been completed. As soon as the funding for a project ends, those who were involved move on to the next project. Secondly, current funding mechanisms generate considerable

repetition of research. A donor organization may commission a piece of research in preparation for the implementation of a project even though an identical piece of research has been completed by another donor organization.

Palestinian NGOs depend upon project grants to fund their overheads. For this reason, there is an incentive for local NGOs to take on a large number of projects, but more importantly, a great variety of projects, even if they do not possess the necessary expertise or capacity to meet the project aims. An NGO researcher may spend all of 2007 researching the feasibility of an agricultural investment project only to spend 2008 analyzing the female-led house hold. In either case, there is not enough “time to conduct good research because more money and more donors are waiting. The job is completed when the report is finished – and no follow up is carried out” (Awartani 2009).

4.3.2 *Setting the Agenda*

The table below highlights the influence that donors possess, in comparison to the PA, when determining research agendas. 57.7% of respondents agreed that donors were a factor in determining what research is undertaken. In contrast, only 33.3% agreed the same was true of the PA. Perhaps more enlightening is the quantity of individuals who disagreed. Only 19.2% of respondents said that donors were not a factor in determining what research is undertaken, while 45.8% said the same of the PA.

Table 4: Factors and determinants prompting research by institutions (2007)

| Determinants | Agree | Don't know | Disagree |
|--|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Private sector needs and requirements | 68.8 | 6.2 | 25.0 |
| The needs of the PA and its requirements | 33.3 | 20.9 | 45.8 |
| International institutions request | 57.7 | 23.1 | 19.2 |

Source: MAS, 2008. The Role of Research and Development in Enhancing the Competitiveness of the Palestinian Private Sector.

The table above makes more sense when one looks at the sources of funding available to the research sector (see below). As the table shows, there is a heavy dependence upon international aid, as opposed to resources provided by the PA. Whereas 61.5% of respondents regularly receive funding from abroad, only 4.8% regularly receive it from the PA.

Table 5: Sources of funding and support to research (2007)

| Sources of funding for research | Often | Sometimes | Rarely |
|---|-------|-----------|--------|
| from the institution itself | 58.6 | 24.1 | 17.2 |
| Private sector support | 16.0 | 12.0 | 72.0 |
| Contracts with private sector institutions | 26.9 | 15.4 | 57.7 |
| PA support | 4.8 | 14.3 | 81.0 |
| Financing of local NGOs through research projects | 20.8 | 45.8 | 33.3 |
| Financing of international NGOs through projects | 61.5 | 26.9 | 11.5 |
| The financing of multilateral institutions through projects | 39.1 | 39.1 | 21.7 |

Source: MAS, 2008. The Role of Research and Development in Enhancing the Competitiveness of the Palestinian Private Sector.

A study carried out by MAS in 2007 demonstrated how dependent the local NGO sector is upon international aid for its research. As the table below illustrates, nearly three quarters of NGO research funding comes from external sources. On the other hand, almost no financial resources (0-3.7%) are provided by the domestic public sector.

Table 6: Palestinian NGO Funding Sources (1999 & 2006)

| Year | External | Self Funded | Government | Local | 1948ers | Diaspora | Other |
|------|----------|-------------|------------|-------|---------|----------|-------|
| 2006 | 71.7 | 5.6 | 3.7 | 1.8 | 0 | 1.1 | 16.1 |
| 1999 | 76.4 | 15.2 | 0 | 1.2 | 0 | 7.2 | 0.1 |

Source: MAS, 2007. Mapping Palestinian NGOs in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Note: In 2000, Research PNGOs received approximately 4.1% (\$4,622,197) of the total funding to PNGOs (\$112,736,506). In 2006, Research PNGOs received approximately 1.4% (\$3,130,503) of the total funding to PNGOs (\$223,607,358)

Table 7: Degree of benefit from research output (2007)

| Recipients | high | medium | Low (limited) |
|-----------------------------|------|--------|---------------|
| Public sector | 26.5 | 50.0 | 23.5 |
| Local NGOs | 39.4 | 30.3 | 30.3 |
| International Organizations | 50.0 | 21.9 | 28.1 |
| Private sector | 38.2 | 23.5 | 38.2 |
| University students | 61.8 | 32.4 | 5.9 |
| Researchers | 63.6 | 30.3 | 6.1 |

Source: MAS, 2008. The Role of Research and Development in Enhancing the Competitiveness of the Palestinian Private Sector.

Existing funding mechanisms have regularly proved to be the most important determinant of research agendas. “For research institutions to exist, they must meet the requirements (agenda) of donors. This does not mean that all research objectives are designed to correspond with the agendas of donors. However, in many cases, research institutions and NGOs change their objectives and operating strategies in order to secure the funding necessary for their continued existence, even though these new objectives are not related to the NGO’s or the institute’s existing expertise” (Nakhleh 2009).

In the quest for new sources of funding, research institutions are often obliged to focus on “fashionable” research topics²⁶, or those which correspond with the stated priorities of donor organizations. An example of this would be an institute that specializes in women’s affairs, spending much of its time researching a subject like empowerment, which is highly theoretical and has no bearing on national policy formulation, simply to secure funding from a donor which commissioned research into this subject. Research priorities reflect donor priorities. All the while “actual national policy priorities are ignored” (Jawabreh, 2009).

²⁶ Since the majority of funding sources are from the EU and USA, the PA research has been mostly directed towards these countries’ experiences, many of which are not applicable to the Palestinian situation.

5. Bridging the Gap

According to the above deliberation and analysis, the research team has prepared a set of policy recommendations aimed at bridging the gap between research and policy making within the Palestinian context.

5.1 The PA as Patron of Research

- ✧ At present, the research capacity within individual Ministries and departments is unable to meet the needs of policymakers. Moreover, in-house researchers often lack the requisite objectivity for the production of sound and impartial policy recommendations. We suggest that attempts to construct a strong and comprehensive research capacity within each Ministry should be put on hold, and instead, independent research capacity outside of central governing institutions should be expanded, leading to an increase in both the quality and the quantity of its output. By relocating the research burden to independent and dedicated research centers, Ministry staff will have more time to develop the necessary analytical and appraisal skills to effectively translate research into feasible policy proposals. Moreover, it will allow for the concentration of expertise in dedicated institutes, instead of spreading it thinly across numerous government departments.
- ✧ It is of the utmost importance that the research sector is allocated a greater proportion of the public budget. Such a re-allocation of funds would allow for a reduction in international donor dependency and for increased investment in domestic research capacity. Importantly, only through increased financial support can the research sector adequately align itself with governmental objectives; this may be especially true of economic policy.
- ✧ To realize this recommendation will require specific requests being made at the next donor's conference on aid to the WB&GS for increased investment in domestic research capacity. It will also require that such requests are backed by specific commitments by donors for the inclusion of a research budget line in the next MTEF.
- ✧ It is clear that the kind of formalized research-policy links that exist in Germany and Korea are, at present, outside of the range of the PA in terms of both funding and expertise. However, these examples

demonstrate the need to at least begin moving in that direction, if the objective of building a knowledge-based and internationally competitive economy is ever to be realized.

5.2 Prioritizing Education in Development

- ✧ In order to combat the continuing exodus of expertise and knowledge to other countries it is critical that the PA increases investment in education both within the WB&GS and in Palestinian students abroad. As identified above, the skills necessary for the completion of quality research are best acquired through doctorate level study. Consequently, there exists a pressing need for the establishment of PhD programs within the Palestinian Territories. Until this occurs, the PA must continue to invest in students studying abroad, even at the risk of them not returning. Yet introducing PhD courses will not be sufficient on its own. It will also be necessary to equip Bachelor and Masters level students with superior research skills. Without improving the caliber of Palestinian graduates, no amount of PhD programs will fill the exiting shortfall in research expertise.
- ✧ As is evident from the case studies that we have examined, planners need to begin looking not only at how to improve the Palestinian educational system, but also, how to do so in a manner that encourages the skills necessary for the fulfillment of broader economic aims. The examples of Germany and Korea illustrate how linking research to broad economic policy objectives can contribute to the achievement of those objectives. In both cases, the research-policy relationship has proved strikingly successful, and as consequence, policy makers are unable to ignore the value of independent policy research. In those cases where research institutes have had a tangible benefit on economic and social development, funding is likely to be consistently available.

5.3 Formalizing the Bridge between Policy Making and Independent Research

- ✧ Within both the PLC and the Cabinet, changes need to be made in policy making procedures in order to encourage the systematic use of available policy research. It is also necessary to encourage an organizational culture where follow-up research and policy appraisal is not only encouraged, but required.

- ✧ There is a critical need for the standardization of policy recommendations. Through extensive discussions with stakeholders in the research and policy making communities, a standardized 'White Papers' format should be developed. Any standardized format must be acceptable to a broad range of researchers and interest groups. The standards set should be simple enough for policy makers to internalize and use on a regular basis whilst, at the same time, maintaining the complexity and nuance of the original research. Each White Paper should briefly explain the reasoning behind the policy recommendation, provide a summary of related research and detail exactly where the research can be accessed in full.
- ✧ Furthermore, whenever possible, local researchers should be utilized in order to increase national capacity and better align research with governmental objectives. At present an opportunity to begin bridging the gap between the two spheres exists in the shape of the PRDP process. This program could become a collective focus for both researchers and policy makers alike. Furthermore, we recommend the inclusion of a clause within the PRDP II, requiring the use of local research capacity in measuring the progress and effectiveness of the plan's implementation.

5.4 Knowledge Transfer

- ✧ The research team recommends the drafting of policies designed specifically to transfer international expertise and knowledge to domestic researchers. In cases where local capacity is not sufficient to meet the needs of policy makers, a local capacity building element should be built into the research project. This could take the form of cooperation or collaboration between international and domestic organizations. This may involve a division of labor between the two or even a “buddy system” where a local researcher works alongside his or her international counterpart. Alternatively, local research institutes could be endowed with a form of “observer status”, where by they are allowed to follow and monitor the activities of international organizations; absorbing the methods and strategies they employ and directly experiencing their business culture. Such a policy would be inline with Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness.
- ✧ An additional mechanism is needed to overcome the language barriers that exist between international and domestic organizations. International research is widely available to donor organizations and

development practitioners. However, its utility is often limited for local policy makers, academics and independent researchers due to the languages used. This study asserts that, in the wake of the Paris Declaration, international donor organizations have a limited obligation to publish their research in local languages, in order to render it accessible to the domestic policy making and research communities. This obligation, however, is two sided; the PA should begin to invest more in advanced language education as a means of overcoming language barriers.

5.5 From Reactive to Proactive

- ✧ It is necessary that local research institutions take a more proactive role in determining donor agendas. This can be achieved via the production of quality research projects aimed at achieving measurable goals, rather than following funding fashions. For local needs to determine research agendas, donors will have to prioritize research in their annual budgets. More importantly, they will have to conduct truly 'open' calls for proposals, in which the applicants guide the subject and theme of the proposed research, rather than the donors. In those cases where donors do select the topic to be researched, they should first consult the PA or local stakeholders in order to establish its relevance to national priorities.
- ✧ Many of these prescriptions aim to decrease the dependence of independent research institutions upon external donors. This said, international aid will still play a crucial role in the development of Palestinian research capacity. Funding that is genuinely independent of the Palestinian political system will remain necessary if controversial, creative and critical research agendas are to be pursued. For the foreseeable future, therefore, genuinely impartial local research will require international sponsorship. In this sense, it is hoped that aid will become a means of protecting academic freedom, rather than limiting it.

5.6 Reactivating the Parliamentary Research Unit

- ✧ The research team recommends the reactivation of the Parliamentary Research Unit and its refitting to fulfill its original mandate of analyzing independent research and providing quality analysis to policy makers in a language and format they can understand. The PRU

was originally designed to emulate the US Congress' CRS unit. For it to fulfill its stated mandate, the PRU will have to be able to collect, analyze and process significant quantities of data as well as maintain sufficient staff to review and appraise white papers and policy proposals from a variety of think tanks.

- ✧ The PRU, as one of the chief bridges between policy makers and researchers, should also play a more central role in identifying research needs and communicating these to the various research communities. The United Kingdom's Lord's Science Commission that is discussed in chapter 2 provides an interesting insight into the possible benefits of centralizing and coordinating research efforts in order that they might better reflect political realities. In the case of the Commission, the need to reassess research needs and priorities was established in the wake of the financial crisis. In Palestine, where crises occur daily, the need for a similar body is clear.

5.7 National Research Database - 'Knowledge Bank'

- ✧ The above research clearly identifies the need for the establishment of a national research database that brings together all existing and future research, all existing policy proposals and all future white papers into a single electronic library. Such a "Knowledge Bank" would provide both researchers and policy makers with an easily accessible source of all previous policy proposals and the research associated with them. This system would also help prevent research duplication as researchers could conduct a comprehensive search of existing research before embarking upon new investigations. Moreover, a research database would provide an important source of institutional memory; meaning that professional expertise would not have to come and go with staff, but rather, could be stored centrally and accessed from any computer terminal.

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- ✧ Islah Jad: Professor at Bizeit University
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- ✧ Joe Nassir: Lead Economist in the World Bank
- ✧ Khalil Nakhleh: Independent Researcher
- ✧ Majdi Malki: Professor at Birzeit University
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- ✧ Naser Qatami: Ministry of Labor- Deputy Assistant
- ✧ Samia Botmeh: Former Director of Birzeit University's Center for Development Studies
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Appendices

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I. Political Timeline

1991

Oct – Madrid Peace Conference

1993

Sep – Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government, Oslo Accords

Oct – First Pledging Conference for Middle East Peace in Washington, DC

Nov – First Meeting of the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLC) in Paris

Dec – First Meeting of the Consultative Group in Paris

Dec – First Palestinian Police Donors Conference

1994

Jan – Establishment of the World Bank administered Holst Fund

Mar – Second Police Donors Conference and the formation of the COPP

Apr – Paris protocol on economic relations between Israel and the PLO

May - The Gaza-Jericho Agreement is signed by Israel and the PLO

May – Informal meeting of the AHLC

July/Aug – Establishment of the PA with the Arrival of Yasser Arafat in Gaza

Sep – Informal meeting of the AHLC

Oct – Israel and Jordan sign peace treaty

1995

Jan – First meeting of the LACC and the formation of the Sector Working Groups

Jan – Informal Meeting of the AHLC

Apr – Informal meeting of the AHLC

June – First meeting of the Joint Liaison Committee (JLC)

Sep – Oslo II Agreement in Taba

Sep – Informal meeting of the AHLC

Oct – CG meeting in Paris

Nov – Assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Rabin

Nov – Informal meeting of the AHLC

1996

Jan – International conference on aid to Palestine

Jan – Legislative and Presidential Elections held in Palestine

Spring – Intensified attacks between Israelis and Palestinians

Apr – Informal meeting of the AHLC

May – Benyamin Netanyahu is elected Israeli Prime Minister

Sep – Informal meeting of the AHLC

Nov – CG meeting

Dec – Informal meeting of the AHLC

1997

Jan – An agreement on redeployment in Hebron begins

June – Informal meeting of the AHLC
Nov – Informal meeting of the AHLC
Dec – CG meeting in Paris

1998

May – Informal meeting of the AHLC
Oct – Wye River Memorandum signed to begin final status negotiations
Nov – Second Pledging Conference for Middle East Peace in Washington, DC

1999

February – CG meeting held in Frankfurt, Germany
May – Oslo Accords expire
May - Ehud Barak is elected Israeli Prime Minister
Sep – Sharm El Sheikh Agreement to start final status negotiations
Oct – AHLC meeting in Tokyo

2000

July – Camp David Peace Summit Fails
Sep – Outbreak of the Second Intifada
Dec – President Clinton provides parameters for accelerated negotiations

2001

Jan – Negotiations in Taba fail
Feb – Israel elects Ariel Sharon Prime Minister
Sep – First meeting of the Middle East Quartet (US, EU, Russia & UN) in New York

2002

Spring – Israel launches ‘Operation Defensive Shield’
June – ‘100 Days Reform Plan’ for the PA is announced
June – US President George W Bush delivers speech on peace in the Middle East
June – Israel begins construction of the Separation Wall
July – The ME Quartet launches a Task Force on Palestinian Reform (TFPR)

2003

Feb – AHLC meeting
Apr – Mahmoud Abbas is appointed first Palestinian Prime Minister
May – The ‘Roadmap to Peace’ is launched by the Quartet

2004

Apr – Sharon’s Disengagement Plan from Gaza Strip is announced
Nov – The death of Palestinian President Yasser Arafat

2005

Jan – Mahmoud Abbas is elected Palestinian President
Feb – Ariel Sharon and Mahmoud Abbas announce a ceasefire in Sharm el-Sheikh
Mar – Endorsement of Paris Declaration on Aid effectiveness
Aug – Israel disengages from Gaza
Dec – AHLC meeting

2006

Jan – Hamas wins a majority in Palestinian Parliamentary Elections
Mar – Hamas-Led Government is established
May – EU Launches TIM mechanism of international aid
June - Parliament Disbanded

2007

Feb – Signing of the Palestinian unity agreement/Mecca Agreement
Mar – The Palestinian unity government formed
Mar – The ‘Riyadh Declaration’ is adopted following the 19th Arab league summit
May – The U.S security plan ‘Acceleration benchmarks for agreement on movement and access’ is adopted
June – Hamas takeover of Gaza
June – Unity Government disbanded
June – First Emergency Government Formed
Sep – AHLC meeting
Oct – AHLC meeting
Nov – Annapolis peace conference
Dec – Paris Donor's Conference- PRDP financing

2008

Jan – AHLC meeting
Feb – AHLC meeting
Feb – EU replaces the TIM with the PEGASE
Mar – AHLC meeting
Apr – Informal meeting of the AHLC
Sep – AHLC meeting
Dec- Israeli war on Gaza

2009

Mar – The 12th Palestinian government is disbanded by Salaam Fayyad
Mar – Sharm el Sheik conference on Gaza Reconstruction
May – AHLC meeting
June – The 13th Palestinian government is formed by Salaam Fayyad
June – AHLC meeting
Sep – AHLC meeting

II. Case Study I: Policy Making in the 12th Palestinian Government

In an attempt to understand the gap between the decision-making process and policy-formulation on one hand, and between the systematic research that should precede it on the other, this case study looks into the policy making progress of the 12th Palestinian government by reviewing the decisions of the Council of Ministers for the period 18/06/07-20/05/2009. The accompanying table shows some of these decisions in terms of the date of adoption of the resolution by the Council of Ministers and the action by the Office of the President. It should be noted that virtually of all the decisions referred only to draft laws or amendments to laws already in place. Very few new laws or policies were developed by the 12th government so as to remain with their mandate under Article 43 of the Basic Law²⁷. These drafts and amendments represent a kind of decision-making which the integration of the available research capacity into the process is a must to ensure the accuracy and effectiveness of decisions. However, this type of decision-making should be consistent with the existing legal system and the process of drafting legislation.

However, in reality the relationship between research and decision-making in Palestine is neither clear nor does it follow a consistent mechanism guided by the legislative agenda of the previous governments. Furthermore, many pieces of legislation were approved hastily without the required consultancy with stakeholders; while others were issued after several consultations and research, but failed to be recognized for one reason or the other.

Due to the limited policy jurisdiction of the 12th Government, there are a number of draft laws which have been prepared and approved by the Council of Ministers, but which have received a Presidential signature making it law. According to Yasser Abu Khater, the head of the Legal Department in the Office of the Presidency:

"We do not need to pass laws consistently and we recognize the stipulations of Article 43 stating that Emergency lawmaking can only take place in cases of extreme necessity".

Our research shows that there is a difference in assessing the necessity of the legislation between the Office of the Presidency and the Council of

²⁷ Which states that only laws of extreme necessity should be passed in the absence of the legislative branch.

Ministers as a number of laws have been referred to the Office of the President without being signed. A few example of this include the anti-drug legislation, the law of Dar Al-Fatwa, the protection of the emblem law, the law of political parties, and the law of public health Insurance.

However, a number of laws have been prepared and approved by the Council of Ministers such as the law of National Archives and the Law of the authority of (AlHajj wa AlOmra), but before the law was endorsed by the OoP, both institutions were dismantled.

Examples such as these reflect some discrepancy in priorities between the two main policy making bodies in the 12th Government - despite the existence of the legislative agenda and a High Commission to manage it. In addition, there is a clear divergence of views between representatives of the ministries \ Council of Ministers \ Presidency Office themselves and between the legal institutions of the civil society sector, who feel that their effect on the decision-making process is limited and that the link between independent research and policy making is weak at best.

The cabinet finds that there is a clear process and mechanisms for drafting legislation and that it is guided by a clear legal framework. According to Cabinet Members, this process is done extremely well in terms of preparing the initial drafts of the law with the concerned ministries conducting appropriate research and consultation and then submitting them to the Council of Ministers for reading, modification and approval.

The prime minister's office, on the other hand, acknowledges that there is a lack of focus on the real cost of implementing a project that can only be measured in the often neglected financial feasibility studies.

In turn, the Birzeit University Institute of Law for example, claims that the research effort behind legislations is often not enough and that there are little or no actual studies on the impact of the law. The Institute also points to a lack of judges in several important committees and the sporadic adherence to the Regulatory Impact Assessment, whose absence can cause the generation of 'Dead Letter Legislations'.

Other problems in this context related to "import and translation" of some of the laws flowing out of the fountain of international best practices, which require certain types of systems, structures and stability simply not available in Palestine. For example, the *money laundering law* lacked the regulatory and legal framework to be effective.

However, there are positive examples of lawmaking in the 12th Government according to the Palestinian Energy Authority and the Ministry of Communications. They stated that the general electricity law and the regulation of telecommunications sector are considered a success story for bridging the gap between decision-making and research. The formulation of the General electricity law began several years ago, and involved foreign expertise as well as numerous workshops and consultations with stakeholders. In addition, resources for research and consulting were budgeted for in the project design. Currently the law is in the application process awaiting some small technical changes before completion. With regard to the Telecommunications Law, there have been many pieces of research, feasibility studies and impact assessments before the law's adoption.

Another interesting piece of policy-formation was the decision to adopt a comprehensive strategy for gender mainstreaming throughout the various ministries. This initiative appeared to have belonged to the ministries themselves, but with broad support from the women's civil society organizations. Several internal studies at the Ministry of Women's Affairs were prepared and workshops conducted in order to reach the final version of the comprehensive strategy document. However, even though the strategy was accepted, the necessary mechanisms for implementation are still absent – meaning the gender departments are not yet integrated into the structure of ministries.

Table 1: Policy Samples of the 12th Palestinian Government

| Number and Date of Cabinet Meeting | Decision No. | The Decision | Nominated by | Action by the President Office | Remarks |
|---|---------------------|--|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| (100) (23/03/09) | 12/100/07 | Forward a draft law on the use and protection of the emblem to the President office | Prime Ministry | Not Issued | |
| (106) (04/05/09) | 12/106/02 | The approval of the overall strategy for the formulation and organization of work gender units in ministries | Ministry of Women Affairs | Not Applicable | Face difficulties in applying it because of manpower salaries and putting the gender department on the ministries structures |
| (29) (19/11/07) | 12/28/04 | Forward a draft law on the organization of work of the authority of border crossings to the President office | Prime Ministry | Not Issued | |
| (30) (26/11/07) | 12/30/03 | Forward a draft law on the Palestinian Judicial Institute to the President office | Prime / Ministry of Justice | Issued by 08/03/01 | |
| (32) (10/12/07) | 12/32/03 | Forward the draft law on political parties to the President office | Prime Ministry | Not Issued | |
| (35) (31/12/07) | 12/35/05 | Forward amendments to the income tax law | Ministry of Finance | Issued by 08/03/18 | |
| (45) (10/03/08) | 12/45/03 | Forward a draft law on AlHajj wa AlUmra authority to the President office | Ministry of Religion affairs (Awqaf) | Not Issued | AlHajj and Umra Authority was cancelled |
| (53) (28/04/08) | 12/53/33 | Amendments to the Companies law | Ministry of National Economy | Issued by 08/05/20 | |
| (57) (26/05/08) | 12/57/01 | Forward the draft decision on the law of the Investment Promotion Law in Palestine to the President office | Ministry of National Economy | Not Issued | The cabinet ask the president office to return the law for them for more review and amendments |

| Number and Date of Cabinet Meeting | Decision No. | The Decision | Nominated by | Action by the President Office | Remarks |
|---|---------------------|--|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| (58) (04/06/08) | 12/58/05 | Forward the draft decision on the law of applicable licensing to the General Petroleum Authority to the President office | Ministry of Finance | Not Issued | |
| (60) (16/06/08) | 12/60/07 | Forward the draft decision on the law of the traffic law to the President office | Ministry of Transportation | Issued by 08/07/09 | |
| (74) (06/10/08) | 12/74/07 | Forward the proposed amendments to the law of Palestinian local governments number (1) for 1997 to the President office | Ministry of Local Governments | Issued by 08/11/13 | |
| (74) (06/10/08) | 12/74/08 | Forward the General Electricity law to the President office | Energy Authority | Issued by 09/04/23 | It is not applied until now, few technical issues need to be solved |
| (83) (15/12/08) | 12/32/04 | Forward the public health insurance law to the President office | Ministry of Health | Not Issued | |
| (90) (12/01/09) | 12/90/03 | Forward the Dar El-Efta' to the President office | Prime Ministry | Not Issued | |
| (93) (02/02/09) | 12/93/02 | Forward the Telecommunication sector regulation to the President office | Prime Ministry | Issued by 04/06/09 | |
| (94) (09/02/09) | 12/94/07 | Forward the national archive law to the President office | Prime Ministry | Not Issued | The offices of national archive were closed |
| (99) (16/03/09) | 12/99/04 | Forward the draft law on combating narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances to the President office | Prime Ministry | Not Issued | |

III. Case Study II: The PRDP and the Ownership Revolution

Though the debate had been going on in Palestine for some time (see MAS, 2005 Towards a Development Vision!), it has only been within the past few years that local and international actors began turning the ideas of 'ownership' into a more concrete structural reality.

In 2003 aid officials gathered in Rome for the High Level Forum on Harmonization, where donor countries agreed to better streamline and coordinate their aid efforts in the developing world.

SESP and The Medium Term Development Plan (MTDP)

'In 2003, the MoP drew up a *Socio-Economic Stabilization Plan* (SESP) in an attempt to steer donor assistance towards meeting a set of PA priorities that would help bring about some stabilization in the deteriorating social and economic environment. Until 2000, most donor support was in the form of development aid, namely in the areas of institution-building and reconstruction. As the Second *Intifada* extended into its third year, it became clear that funding priorities were no longer sustainable. The successive implementation from one year to another of emergency and relief plans, which are decoupled from development needs, leads to dependency and donor fatigue. Through the SESP, the PA sought to regain the leadership of its development agenda and enhance the quality of its dialogue with the international donor community by providing a framework for foreign aid' (MTDP, 2005-2007, Forward).

Work on the *Medium Term Development Plan* (MTDP) started in March 2004 involving a core group of staff from the MoP and a wide range of counterparts from other line ministries of the PA.

Much like the SESP, the MTDP worked to transform the relationship between the PA and donor institutions. Despite the ongoing difficulties to development posed by the occupation, the PA recognized its responsibility to guide the development process 'within the limits of the occupation' (MTDP, 2005-2007, Forward). The MTDP attempts to simultaneously pursue relief efforts and address development issues in a way that sustainably addresses two of the WB&GS's most overarching needs: the reduction of poverty and the building of institutions (ibid).

In 2005, representatives of over 100 countries and dozens of international NGOs signed the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. Unlike the Rome Declaration on Harmonization, which focused on relations between

donors, the Paris Declaration laid out a framework for relations between donors and recipients.

In December of 2005, a meeting of the AHLC in London restructured the international aid system in Palestine to more closely adhere to the principles laid out in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness.

In this new structure, the local aid coordination bodies were all to be chaired by relevant PA Ministries and overseen by the MoP. This new position of 'Gavel Holder' meant that for the first time, the PA was meant to take the lead in guiding development policies, rather than following the donors.

The Declaration is focused on five mutually reinforcing principles:

- **Ownership:** Developing countries must lead their own development policies and strategies, and manage their own development work on the ground. This is essential if aid is to contribute to truly sustainable development. Donors must support developing countries in building up their capacity to exercise this kind of leadership by strengthening local expertise, institutions and management systems²⁸.
- **Alignment:** Donors must line up their aid firmly behind the priorities outlined in developing countries' national development strategies. Wherever possible, they must use local institutions and procedures for managing aid in order to build sustainable structures. In Paris, donors committed to make more use of developing countries' procedures for public financial management, accounting, auditing, procurement and monitoring. Where these systems are not strong enough to manage aid effectively, donors promised to help strengthen them.
- **Harmonization:** Donors must coordinate their development work better amongst themselves to avoid duplication and high transaction costs for poor countries. In the Paris Declaration, they committed to coordinate better at the country level to ease the strain on recipient governments, for example by reducing the large numbers of duplicative field missions. They agreed on a target of providing two-thirds of all their aid via so-called "program-based approaches" by 2010. *This means aid is pooled in support of a particular strategy led by a recipient country—a national health plan for example—rather than fragmented into multiple individual projects.*
- **Managing for results:** All parties in the aid relationship must place more focus on the end result of aid, the tangible difference it makes in poor people's lives.

²⁸ The target set in Paris was that 75% of developing countries would produce their own national development strategies by 2010. In this sense Palestine is far ahead of the curve. The PRDP is not even the first, but perhaps the most comprehensive national development plan. It will continue until 2010, before the next three year plan is put in place, well ahead of the schedule set forth by the Paris Declaration.

They must develop better tools and systems to measure this impact.

- **Mutual accountability:** Donors and developing countries must account more transparently to each other for their use of aid funds, and to their citizens and parliaments for the impact of their aid. The Paris Declaration says all countries must have procedures in place by 2010 to report back openly on their development results²⁹.

The PRDP (2008 – 2010)

Following the six month bridge plan³⁰, the planning began in early June of 2007 for an expanded, 3-year, MTDP that would eventually become known as the PRDP 2008 - 2010. In the words of the PRDP's developers:

'To begin with, it is worth noting that in previous years there has been an almost complete disconnect between policy-making, planning, and budgeting. This lack of linkage between policy, planning and spending played a major role in undermining the PA's ability to manage effectively the implementation of its reform agenda, and its policies and plans to deliver better development and service delivery outcomes for its citizens. The absence of an integrated expenditure framework and performance management mechanisms has also frustrated efforts to harmonize and increase the effectiveness of donor aid and assistance. With more than 40 active donors, humanitarian aid and development assistance flows are extremely high but fragmented. The majority has been delivered through bilateral, uncoordinated arrangements between donors and beneficiaries with insufficient attention paid to performance and outcomes. This has allowed a 'shopping list' approach through which donors and beneficiaries devised projects that were not always aligned with national priorities and the impact of which have not always been thoroughly assessed.

The PRDP initiative addresses these long-standing issues to produce for the first time a domestically-owned, comprehensive and integrated expenditure framework. The PRDP is being produced through a bottom-up process that has built ministry and agency level ownership and accountability for implementation. The PRDP sets out specific reform and development goals, linked to planned expenditure, and associated objectives and performance targets. It will set out responsibilities and

²⁹ In (2003) the Palestinian Ministry of Planning (MoP) began an effort to track donor funding into the West Bank and Gaza Strip in a Mechanism known as PAMS, the Palestinian Aid Monitoring System. Through an interactive computer-based archive, donors were asked to submit the data from their projects, or enter it in directly, starting from the year 2002

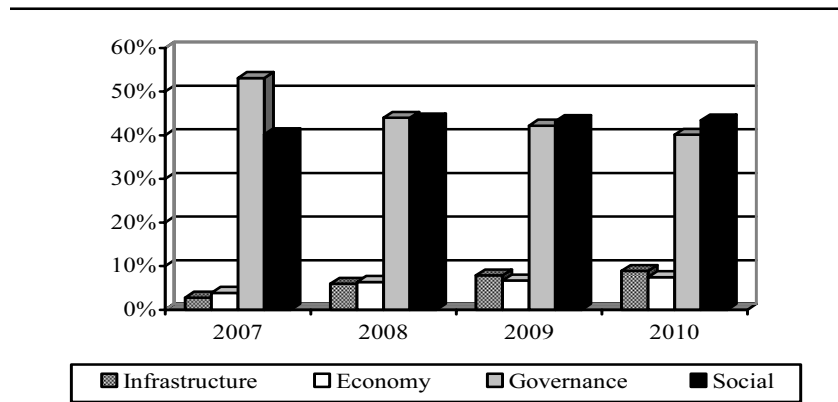
³⁰ While the 12th government was still in its infancy, a 6 month plan was drawn up to provide a type of stability and return to aid normalcy following the international embargo on the Hamas-led and unity governments.

performance targets throughout the PA hierarchy, from the Council of Ministers to ministries and agencies. Accordingly, the PRDP will provide a solid basis for performance management subject to the implementation of appropriate mechanisms for tracking budget execution, and a monitoring and evaluation system' (PRDP, 2008:28).

What is the PRDP?

The PRDP is not a law; it is a policy framework that only elaborates itself as a law through the annual budgeting process³¹ as a Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF). Because of this, the PRDP can be reshaped and reformatted on an ongoing basis, allowing for greater participation by civil society and the research sector.

Figure 1: Sector distribution of total recurrent and development budget resources



Source: The Palestinian Reform and Development Plan (2008)

Note: **Infrastructure** – Road Improvement, Road Safety, Air and Sea, Electricity Sector Investment, Water and Wastewater Management, Public Recreation and Culture.

Economy – Institutional Reform for Enterprise, Trade Infrastructure and Facilitation, Enterprise Investment and Development, Agribusiness Development, Industrial Capacity Development, Tourism Industry Development, Affordable Housing.

Social - Social Protection Reform and Integration (SPRI), Access To Education, Quality Education For All, Education Performance & Efficiency, Vocational Training Initiative, Health Quality Improvement, Health Care Affordability, Women’s Empowerment, Youth Empowerment, Employment Generation Initiative.

Governance – Security Sector Reform and Transformation, Justice Now, Open and Accountable Government, Efficient and Effective Government, and Accountable Local Government.

³¹ In the absence of the PLC, passing a budget is one of the few powers granted to the Emergency Government according to the Basic Law.

As a framework it endeavors to provide an overall vision of development by breaking public investment and international aid into four Broad Sectors: Infrastructure, Economy, Governance and Social.

What is Ownership? The Role of Research in Developing the PRDP

'The PA has formed twelve governments during the thirteen years of its existence. Each of these governments experienced instability in the political, economic, social, and security environment. This discontinuity of leadership and lack of stability left little space for effective Palestinian institutions to take root and mature' (PRDP, 2008:31).

A number of organizations, such as Stop the Wall, described the PRDP as a 'donor-driven' exercise, and apparently one aimed at furthering the elusive 'donor agenda' while clothed in the fashionable phrasing of 'ownership'. However, the logic behind this claim is rather confused. Why would the donor community insist on a Palestinian development agenda that presumably tells them what to do with their resources, rather than giving them the freedom to invest or 'develop' as they please?

For once, an agenda has been set that guides the incoming governments work following a smooth transition. Individual ministers may reformat and restructure the components of the plan, but they remain within an overall framework. This has in many ways worked to reverse the crippling effects of political instability upon policy making.

Though the PRDP's critics are able to point at the specific language and policies that clearly bear the finger prints of an international agenda, be it liberal or political, the evolving nature of the PRDP means that its quality depends heavily upon Palestinian competency at the policy making and research levels. The advent of the plan was a one-time show, but the actual elaboration is a day by day process.

The creators of the PRDP have proven one thing when it comes to the donor agenda versus Palestinian ownership: A competent team proposing a competent plan is not only accepted by the donors, but excitedly. In the December 2007 Paris Pledging conference to the PA, 40% more funding was pledged to the plan than was asked for – crucial, considering the international communities poor record of keeping financial promises.

The other major critique concerning Palestinian ownership over the PRDP, and indeed development process, is that local research and the 'control of the facts' was largely absent.

The MoP, who led the charge toward the PRDP, relied upon international expertise provided by DFID via the Adam Smith Institute, an international consultancy firm who has advised the PA for over ten years. The reason given was the relative haste in which the plan was created, and the lack of cooperation, coordination, and competency of local research available within this window of time. Though local professionals were brought in on the plans construction from academia, NGOs, the private and public sectors, there lacked any real intensive research by independent and competing institutions during the Plan's development. However, the PRDP is not the first MTDP, and a number of research papers on the subject, especially those of MAS, were used in its formulation.

Within the rushed atmosphere surrounding the formation of the twelfth government and a plan to reopen international development aid to Palestine, it is no surprise that international experts, able to provide efficient policy packages in a timely manner, would play an important role in the planning process – precisely because their role is not to compete with or challenge the policy advisors, rather to support them.

Thankfully limited local ownership over the research process is something that can be remedied in the coming year's development of the MTEF, and the ongoing development of the Second PRDP 2011-2013. The time constraints have been removed, and the existing plan has been in place long enough for researchers and civil society as a whole to voice their discontents. All that seems to be stopping Palestinians from taking full control over the facts and figures behind their development is the unidentified 'gap' between research and policy – not the donor agenda.

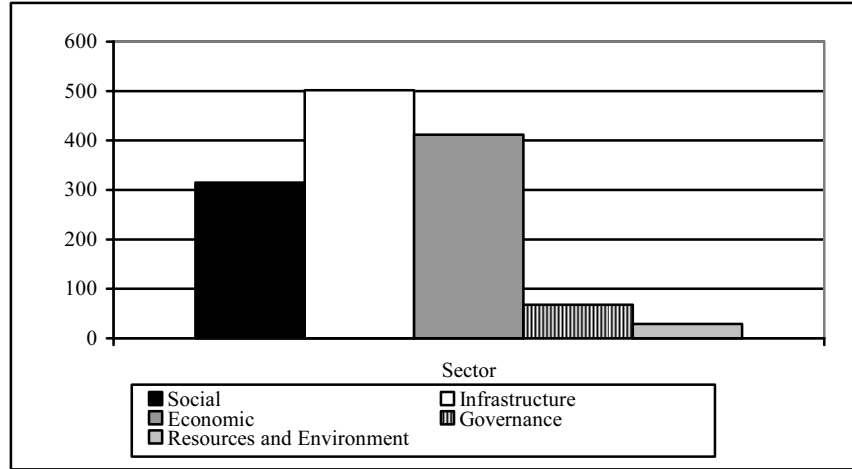
The first Emergency Government, a collection of largely independent technocrats, has proven that a competent PA representation in international arenas can push a Palestinian agenda to the fore. The PRDP is not a new idea, or even a new policy. What is different is the competence of the position it puts forth.

Gaza Reconstruction Plan 2009 – 2010

Immediately following Israel's war on the Gaza Strip, preparation for a Early Recovery and Reconstruction Plan 2009-2010 (ERRP) was headed by the MoP and involved a number of PA ministries, UN agencies and local and international NGOs. Much like the PRDP, the challenges and solutions were divided into four main sectors: Social, Infrastructure, Economic and Governance. An additional sector, Natural Resources and the Environment, was added to address the unique environmental

challenges in Gaza, both before and after the war. The following figure shows the allocation of the plan's budget along these sectors.

Figure 2: Distribution of ERRP Budget (Millions USD)



Source: Ministry of Planning, 2009. Gaza Recovery and Reconstruction Program 2009 – 2010.

As the figure shows, the infrastructure sector receives the highest amount of aid in the wake of the crisis, with little over half a Billion USD, followed by the economic sector, already crippled by the siege, at just over 400 Million USD.

In total the ERRP calls for 1,326 Million USD, in addition to baseline budget support, supplementary Emergency Budget Support and the humanitarian needs UN appeal, all totaling 3,378 Million USD. In the Sharm El-Sheik emergency donors conference on March 2nd, 2009, 47 countries or agencies pledged 4,691 Million USD – much like the PRDP, the donor's pledged nearly forty percent more than what was asked for.

IV. Mapping the Palestinian Research Capacity

IV.1 Palestinian Private and NGO Sector

In 2007, 81 Palestinian Nongovernmental Organizations (PNGOs) carried out research activities, representing almost 6% of the total NGO activities. However, only 16 of the estimated 1,495 PNGOS identified research as their primary activity –little over 1% (MAS, 2007).

The number of Palestinian Research organizations, and especially the amount of revenue they receive, is very misleading when one looks into the actual organizations engage in pure policy formulation, as opposed to either advocacy-based or project-specific research.

In fact, the number of Palestinian NGOs engaged in the formulation of policy on a regular basis and as a primary activity can nearly be counted on two hands (1% of all PNGOs). These organizations however, play a critical role in bridging the gap between research and policy making, in either the production or promotion of specific policies.

The following two tables show the number of NGO and Private institutions engaged in research in 2007 according to a survey by MAS³². As the tables show, NGOs are far more engaged in research concerning the social science and humanitarian issues than the private sector. The private sector however is more engaged in economic sciences than the PNGO sector with 8 institutions employing 49 researchers, as opposed to 3 PNGOs employing 33.

Table 2: NGO Research According to Field and Number of Employees (2007)

| Sector | NGOs | |
|---|-------------------|----------------|
| | # of institutions | # of employees |
| Experimental R&D in the field of economic sciences | 3 | 33 |
| Experimental R&D in the field of humanities, social sciences and philosophy | 4 | 23 |
| Experimental R&D in the area of legal sciences | 0 | 0 |
| Experimental R&D in the social sciences and other humanitarian | 15 | 100 |
| Total | 22 | 156 |

Source: MAS, 2008. The Role of Research and Development in Enhancing the Competitiveness of the Palestinian Private Sector.

³² It is important to note that, although the NGO and private sector are technically different, most private sector research institutions in Palestine receive their commissions from international donors in the same way that PNGOs do.

**Table 3: Private Sector Research
According to Field and Number of Employees (2007)**

| Sector | Private sector | |
|---|-------------------|----------------|
| | # of institutions | # of employees |
| Experimental R&D in the field of economic sciences | 8 | 49 |
| Experimental R&D in the field of humanities, social sciences and philosophy | 3 | 4 |
| Experimental R&D in the area of legal sciences | 1 | 2 |
| Experimental R&D in the social sciences and other humanitarian | 8 | 30 |
| Total | 20 | 85 |

Source: MAS, 2008. The Role of Research and Development in Enhancing the Competitiveness of the Palestinian Private Sector.

The following table highlights the resources used by private and NGO research enterprises. Interestingly for our research was the response concerning the importance of local and international expertise as a research resource. According to the 2007 survey by MAS, 2/3 of respondents claimed that foreign expertise was either important or very important, while over 92% claimed the same in terms of local experts.

**Table 4: Resources Utilized by Private
Research and Development Enterprises (2007)**

| Means of benefits | Very Important | Important | Not Important At All |
|---|----------------|-----------|----------------------|
| Scientific Journals | 37.3 | 39.2 | 23.5 |
| Specialized periodicals | 41.2 | 35.3 | 23.5 |
| Advisory research report and studies | 52.9 | 39.2 | 7.8 |
| The outcomes of the conferences, symposia and workshops | 43.1 | 43.1 | 13.8 |
| Foreign professionals | 35.3 | 31.4 | 33.3 |
| Local professionals | 51.0 | 41.2 | 7.8 |
| Sending staff to pursue graduate studies | 41.2 | 31.4 | 27.5 |
| Sending staff for training courses | 51.0 | 33.3 | 15.7 |
| Internet | 59.6 | 32.7 | 7.7 |
| Print media | 38.5 | 40.4 | 21.2 |
| Reports and publications from Internet | 48.1 | 38.5 | 13.5 |

Source: MAS, 2008. The Role of Research and Development in Enhancing the Competitiveness of the Palestinian Private Sector.

The following table details a number of the specialized private and NGO research institutions we spoke to over the course of our survey. Respondents were questioned on the following:

- ✧ Number and type of staff members.
- ✧ Type of publications produced and the rate of production.
- ✧ Whether or not there is cooperation with other research centers.
- ✧ Whether the organization utilizes foreign or international expertise.
- ✧ Examples of their work bridging the gap between research and policy.

Table 5: Sampled PNGO Research Capacity

| Specialized Research Institutions | Staff | Type of Publications | Do you cooperate with other research centers? | Local or international expertise? | Rate and Amount of Publications | Do you have examples of your work affecting policy? |
|--|---|---|---|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| ARIJ | -12 core researchers -38 part time -10 Admin. | -Applied Research -Surveys Environment | Rarely | Local | -Monthly Reports -Occasional Studies | None listed |
| Mu Muwatin | -20 Consultants, -13 part and full time employees | -Applied Research -Policy Research Politics | No | Local | 8-18 per year | Elections law |
| Ma'an Development Centre | -1 full time and the rest via projects contracts | -Applied Research Development | On occasion | Local | 3-4 per year | -Waste Management -Infrastructure Development for Salfit -Curriculum Development: -Environment Policy |
| CARE | -3 full time researchers -2 admin staff -712 volunteers | Applied Research | No | Local | 4-5 per year | -Increase the role of librarians in schools in CWB |
| CPSD | Not listed. | Applied Research | No | Local | 15 studies per year | -Health Insurance Law -Agricultural Insurance |
| Bisan Center | 3 Research 2 Admin | Applied Research | No | Local | Not Listed | Not Listed |
| Palestinian Academy for Science and Technology | Not Listed | -Surveys -Applied Research | No | Local | 3 per year | -Scientific research in Palestine (2002) |

| Specialized Research Institutions | Staff | Type of Publications | Do you cooperate with other research centers? | Local or international expertise? | Rate and Amount of Publications | Do you have examples of your work affecting policy? |
|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|---|---------------------------------|---|
| Women's Association for Development | -7 admin -researchers selected by project | Applied Research | No | Local | 3 per year | -Role of women in local councils |
| Miftah | -Researchers contracted on a project basis | -Applied Research -Surveys | often | Int'l Experts are placed into project teams | 3-6 per year | -Cooperation with PCBS |
| Women's Research Center | -Researchers contracted on project basis | Applied Research | No | none | 3-4 per year | Not listed |
| PANORAMA | 1 Admin, 3 researchers | Applied research | No | Local consultants | 2-3 per year | -Improving Local Government -Evaluation of the PLC and members |
| AWRAD | -3 Admin -4 Research -166 field workers on project basis | -Applied Research -Surveys | On occasion | -60% local -40% Int'l | Number per year not listed. | - 5 surveys to the judicial sector |

IV.2 Academia

The team at MAS carried out a number of interviews by phone and face to face with faculty at a number of universities in the WB&GS. Selected institutions were asked what type of specialized research centers they house, the numbers of Assistant, Associate and Tenured (full) professors they employ, the number and rate of publication and the number of events carried out by their research centers over the course of the year. The following table shows the results and aims to serve as a reference guide for organizations seeking a specific research specialty.

Table 6: Sampled Academic Research Capacity

| University Name | Research Centers | No. of Asst. Prof. | No. of Assoc. Prof. | No. of Full Prof. | Annual Publications | No. of Events |
|----------------------|---|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|---|--|
| Al-Azhar University | - Scientific Center for Drugs Analysis and Research - Food Analysis Center - Strategic Studies, Development Research, and Surveys Center - Environment and Water Research Center | 113 | 22 | 24 | Al-Azhar University Journal is evaluated through a local and int'l jury and rated by the ISSN. | No events listed. |
| Islamic University | - Center for Environmental and Rural Studies - Business Research and Studies Unit - Quran Center - Materials and Soil laboratory - MVU laboratories - Resource Development | 130 | 52 | 22 | The university's journal is published bi-annually on 3 topics: Islamic (20), Natural Sciences (22), and Humanistic Sciences (52). | 6 conferences and several seminars. |
| Al-Aqsa University | -Applied Research Center (under construction) | 106 | 14 | 2 | Al-Aqsa University Journal is published bi-annually on topics: natural sciences and humanities research conducted by professors. | 6 conferences |
| Bethlehem University | -Institute for Community Partnership | 13 | 16 | 2 | No publication listed. | No events listed. |
| Birzeit University | - Institute of Community and Public Health. - Institute of Law - Institute of Women's Studies | 155 | 33 | 11 | 240 publications in 2006 and 2007 69 articles in both English and Arabic | In 2006/2007, faculties have presented work in 73 conferences. |

| University Name | Research Centers | No. of Asst. Prof. | No. of Assoc. Prof. | No. of Full Prof. | Annual Publications | No. of Events |
|------------------------------|--|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Institute of International Studies - Institute of Environment and Water Studies - Center for Development Studies - Center for Continuing Education - Media Development Center - Najjad Zeenni Information Technology Center of Excellence | | | | 11 books in Arabic 7 books in English 8 reports 16 studies 10 periodicals published | |
| Hebron University | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bander Ben Sultan Center for Strategic Studies - Industrial Epidemiology Research Center - Agricultural Information and Counseling Center - Islamic Studies Center -Administrative and Technical Center -Water and Air Pollution Research Center - Agricultural Experimental and Research Stations | 59 | 19 | 2 | No publications listed. | No events listed. |
| Al-Quds University | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open and Distance Learning Center - Media Production Center - Refugee Studies Center - Continuing Education Center | 332 | 20 | 8 | 1 journal published Bi-annually | Around 10 conferences annually. |
| An-Najah National University | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Continuing Education Center -Energy Research Center -Earth Sciences and Seismic | 124 | 47 | 22 | 8 Arabic books 6 English books. Al- Najah journal has so | 4 -6 conferences annually |

| University Name | Research Centers | No. of Asst. Prof. | No. of Assoc. Prof. | No. of Full Prof. | Annual Publications | No. of Events |
|----------------------------------|--|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--|--|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Engineering Center - Center for Urban and Regional Planning -Central Medical Laboratory -Construction Transportation Research Center - Academic Program for the Study of Involuntary Migration - Center for Human Rights and Democracy - Poison Control and Drugs Information Center -Chemical, Biological, and Drugs Analysis Center - Opinion Polls and Survey Studies Center - The Legal Center for Studies, Consultations, and Training | | | | far published 21 editions in both natural and humanistic studies | |
| Palestine Polytechnic University | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Industry Center - Friends of Fawzi Kaoush IT Center - Quality Assurance Unit - Health Care sector enhancement project | 2 | 26 | 2 | 110 published scientific researches | In 2007 there were 155 scientific conferences, 3 general and 7 workshops |
| Arab American University | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Computer Center - Continuing Education and Community Service Center -Hassib Sabbagh IT Center of Excellence -Dental Center | 34 | 2 | 1 | 7 research projects 38 publications | No events listed |

IV.3 Public Sector Research

Many of the ministries contacted through our telephone surveys claimed to have no research units within them; however, our database gathering of Palestinian policy research unearthed a number of studies which were either produced for internal use or ill advertised to the broader public.

Surveyors Observations

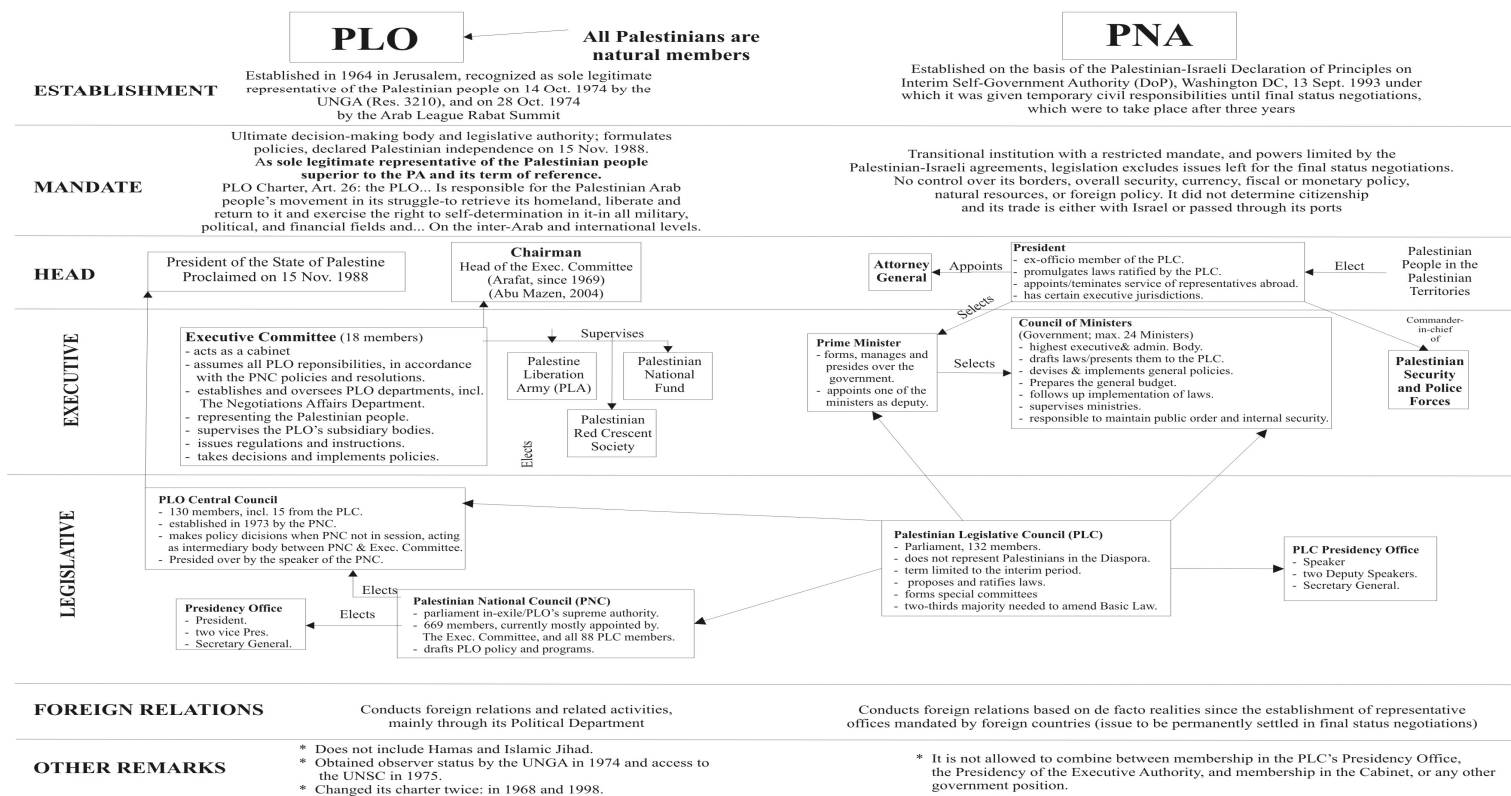
- Ministries that do not have a Research Department expressed the need for one, such as the Ministries of Finance and Tourism.
- Some ministries, such as Local Government, do have a research unit but it will close soon.
- Some ministries explained that research carried out by their own units was not taken seriously as it was not seen as independent, rather only reflective of a particular minister's agenda.

Table 7: Samples Governmental Research Capacity

| Ministry | No. of Researchers | Use of Research Institutions | Use of Consultants | Local Consultants | International Consultants | Notes |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Ministry of Economy | 8 | No | No | | | |
| 2. Ministry of Planning | | | | | | No R&D unit |
| 3. Ministry of Women's Affairs | 4 | Always | Yes | 90 | 10 | The Ministry outsources few research institutions when the project has sufficient budget. |
| 4. Ministry of Education, | 4 | Often | Yes | 50% | 50% | |
| 5. Ministry of Local Government | 6 | No | No | | | It will be closed soon |
| 6. Ministry of youth & Sports | | | | | | No R&D unit |
| 7. Ministry of Justice | | | | | | No R&D unit |
| 8. Ministry of telecommunications | | | | 90% | 10% | Recently activated |
| 9. Ministry of Health | | | | | | No R&D unit |
| 10. Ministry of Finance | | | | | | There is an inactive Research unit |
| 11. Ministry of Foreign Affairs | | | | | | No R&D unit |
| 12. Ministry of prisoners | | | | | | New one |
| 13. Ministry of Tourism | | | | | | There is no Research and Development unit |
| 14. Ministry of Interior | | | | | | No R&D unit |
| 15. Ministry of Social Affairs | 1 | | | | | New department |
| 16. Ministry of Information | | | | | | No R&D unit |

| Ministry | No. of Researchers | Use of Research Institutions | Use of Consultants | Local Consultants | International Consultants | Notes |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 17.The Ministry of Awqaf | 1 | No | No | | | Heritage & Islamic Research doesn't affect ministry policy |
| 18.Ministry of Transportation | | | | | | No R&D unit |
| 19.Ministry of Agriculture | 12 | Often | Yes | 80% | 20% | Before 2002 the use of foreigner consultants was more than local because of the lack in local experts especially in the field of strategic planning |
| 20.Ministry of Labor | | | | | | No R&D unit. Formal request have been done to create research unit. They only prepare internal reports by consultants, both local and foreigner |
| 21.Ministry of Public and Housing | 1 | Often | No | | | |
| 22.Ministry of Culture | 1 | | | | | It exist but not activated, but is expected to be activated soon |

Figure 3: The Structure of The PLO and PNA (PASSIA 2009)



V. Palestinian Policy Making Structures

V.1 The Palestinian Legislative Council

Following elections within the WB&GS in 1996, the Palestinian Legislative Council was established as a unicameral body of 88 members. Following the arrest of 41 of the 73 Hamas parliamentarians after the second PLC elections, the President disbanded the PLC in the quest for a unity ministerial government. The body has remained inactive throughout our study.

Policy making process by the PLC

The PLC has the role of formulating laws and supervising their implementation by the executive branch of the PA, who in turn is responsible for setting the bylaws through which implementation is possible.

When active, laws are proposed to the PLC through a submission of a draft law to the chairman, who then adds the item onto the PLC agenda. The Presidential Cabinet, a member or members of the PLC, or one of the committees³³ at the PLC can submit a draft of a law which they view as necessary to:

- ✧ Fill a gap in legislation;
- ✧ Replace an obsolete law with a more practical and applicable one;
- ✧ Update legislation;
- ✧ Modify already existing legislation to better suite the ever changing Palestinian environment.

³³ There are various specialized committees within the PLC, three of which were developed as response to the special Palestinian situation:

- The Jerusalem Affairs Committee
- The Committee for Confronting Israeli Settlements
- The Refugee Affairs Committee

The remaining committees are similar to those found in other countries' legislative councils or parliaments. They are the: Political; Budgeting; Interior; Natural Resources and Energy; Public Supervision and Human Rights; Economic; Legal and Social Committees³³. In addition, there is the Parliamentary Research Unit (PRU).

1. The Proposal Phase

Legislative proposals are brought to the PLC agenda through two main conduits: The Council of Ministers or by members and committees from the PLC.

Regardless of the source, however, all drafts are then submitted to the chairman for inclusion into the agenda. When the chairman of the PLC adds the proposed law to the PLC agenda for general discussion, he commissions the PRU to conduct a study or prepare a report for the PLC members in preparation for the general discussion. In addition to the PRU, the legal committee is asked to weigh in beside external stakeholders.

The report produced for the general discussion focuses on the following points:

- 1) An introduction to the proposed law
- 2) Stages completed to date in preparation of the first draft
- 3) The need for the law
- 4) Survey of existing legislation in the field into which the proposed law is intended to integrate to assess its possible impact upon implementation
- 5) Assessing its harmonization with existing Palestinian laws and investigating whether there are any inconsistencies
- 6) Comparing the proposed law with international legislation and best practices
- 7) Guaranteeing harmony with international agreements and treaties³⁴

2. General discussion

Once the draft law is on the agenda and the report is completed, it is disseminated to all PLC members in preparation for the general discussion. In the discussion members vote for or against the proposed law. If approved, the draft can continue to move to the next level, the first hearing. The 'half plus one' rule among attending members is used at this stage. Under this rule, only half of the attending members in a session, plus one, can approve or reject of the draft³⁵.

³⁴ The Palestinian basic law (2001) states that the PA must work to join international agreements and abide by those previously signed.

³⁵ In order for a PLC session to convene, 67 members, i.e., half plus one of total PLC members must be present at the beginning of the session. However, there are no laws requiring the members to remain until the end of the sessions - and in reality, many leave before it ends. Furthermore, there is no limit as to the number of remaining PLC members who can pass or

If rejected, the draft law is discussed no further. However, it can be brought back in for another general discussion when a new PLC is formed following elections.

3. Formulating First Draft

If the draft law is approved in the general discussion, then it is forwarded to the relevant committee and the legal committee within the PLC. The relevant committee amends and reformulates the proposed draft in the form of a first draft of the law-to-be, while maintaining the proposed objectives and the underlying philosophy of the submitting party. The costs and benefits are weighed by the MoF and others, all in conjunction with the legal committee to guarantee that it is not inconsistent with other existing laws.

Most of the discussions and research are manifested in this stage. Here, available research (previous research, research conducted by the PRU and/or commissioned research) is utilized. Research studies, reports and other literature are discussed in various workshops, group discussions, public debates and by members of the PLC, all coordinated and organized by the relevant committees.

Consequently, members of the PLC are briefed on the issues surrounding the proposed law and made aware of available knowledge on the topic to be better equipped to discuss the draft and make reasonable arguments during the first hearing.

At this point, the relevant committee is assigned to surveying and assembling knowledge regarding this case. Depending on the law, various methodologies are implemented to this end. For example, pure economic laws might require outside expertise and focused discussions with leading experts and stakeholders; whereas, social laws might require public consulting or discussions with lobbyists or civil society activists in the field concerned. Hence, each topic being discussed is dealt with according to the necessities of various stakeholders and experts – meaning that there is no one standard approach in formulating the first draft of the law.

Regarding research, the relevant committee, in conjunction with the Legal Committee, might conduct an in-depth study on the topic, or it might commission it be conducted outside the PLC depending on its available

reject a law. For example, 7 out of 12 remaining members in a session can pass or reject a law, which has been the case at times, especially with apolitical or non-social laws.

capacity. If the study is commissioned, then the PLC might accept its recommendations, take a few, or not use it at all. In either case, workshops are organized to discuss the findings with all stakeholders and different parties.

There are no laws or internal PLC rules that require the committee to seek outside experience (local or international). However, it became a common practice among PLC committees to seek outside (local or international) expertise to assist with the more technical issues. Especially in the cases of economic laws, such as the Palestine Investment Law, the PLC completely relies on outside expertise.

Laws that are directly targeted for the society or of public interest require a relatively longer period of time for preparation before the first hearing, since the relevant committees must conduct workshops and focus group discussions to gather public support for the issue – especially when the law being discussed is controversial. The role of lobbyists is manifested in this stage where they have the space to influence policy makers and members of the PLC.

In this stage as well, is where the opinion or decisions of policy makers and PLC members can be influenced by research. Here stakeholders might prefer to conduct research – noncommissioned – to better argue their positions. This is not without a bit of randomness. Researchers argue their positions in the workshops organized by the PLC committees, and often with individual PLC members or groups of members. Most often, minority parties utilize research in order to support their positions and exert influence, i.e., making up for their small number of legislators with a strong understanding of the facts. The relevant department and the Legal Committee finalize a first draft of the proposed law.

4. First Hearing

During this session, the attending PLC members review each article of the draft law – point by point. If this draft is rejected by half plus one of the attending members of PLC, it is finished. However, if the draft is approved (half plus one), the relevant committee(s) prepare a second draft of the law for discussion and review in the second hearing.

During this second draft preparation, the relevant committee takes into consideration the suggestions and arguments raised in the first hearing and have a month's time to finalize a second draft of the law and incorporate any changes. Here, the role of the legal committee is the same as it was in

writing the first draft – that is to make it legally sound and guarantee its consistency with existing laws. Though little time remains, research and expert opinion can be sought at this point to strengthen the position of lobbyists or clarify an ambiguity highlighted in the first discussion.

5. Second Hearing

When the draft is done, the PLC reviews the articles that were disputed or argued for. The articles that were agreed upon in the first hearing are not reviewed again. If the second draft is agreed upon, then it is sent to the president for final approval. If there are amendments to be done, a third session is called for, and the draft is forwarded again to the relevant committee and the legal committee who are given two weeks time to finalize a third draft of the law³⁶.

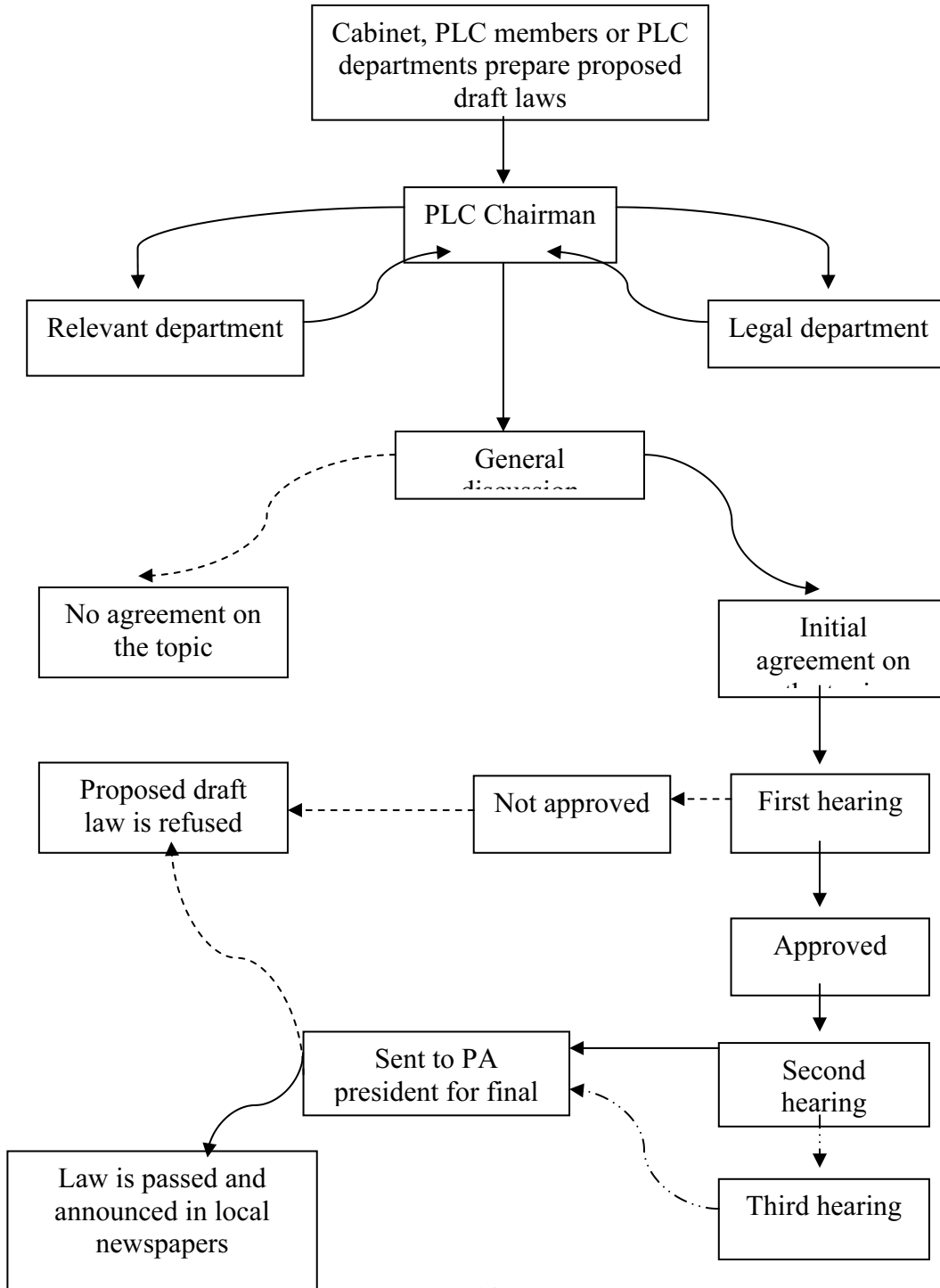
6. Presidential Approval

If the second draft (or in some cases the third draft) is approved by half plus one of the attending members, it is forwarded to the President of the PA for final approval. He has thirty days time to approve or suggest changes or amendments on the drafted law.

If the president makes suggestions to the drafted law, then this draft is sent back to PLC. If two thirds of PLC members during the session reject the president's amendments/suggestions, then the law is passed in the form as it was sent to the president, i.e., without taking into consideration his suggestions. However, if the PLC members rejecting the president's amendments/suggestions did not make up two thirds of the convening members, then the law is passed as he has amended it and announced in local newspapers.

³⁶ Drafts will continue being discussed with this methodology in as many hearings it takes for the half plus one to agree to the draft. However, third hearings hardly ever take place.

Figure 4: The PLC Policy Process



V.2 The Office of the President (OoP)

The Office of the President was the first quasi-governmental body established in 1994 following the Oslo Accords. Palestinian president Yasser Arafat remained in the position of president until his death in November of 2004. Following his death, in accordance with the Palestinian Basic Law, the head of the PLC, Rauhi Fattouh, was instated as interim President for the two months preceding new elections.

In January of 2005, former Prime Minister (March 2003 – September 2003) Mahmoud Abbas was elected to a four year term. Following the internal unrest in the summer of 2007 and the establishment of the Emergency Government, Presidential elections have been postponed beyond the January 2009 deadline according to the Basic Law.

Table 8: Palestinian Presidents (1994 – Present)

| Name | Party | Tenure |
|---------------|--------------|--|
| Yasser Arafat | Fatah | July 5 th , 1994 – November 11 th , 2004 |
| Rauhi Fattouh | Fatah | November 11 th , 2004 – January 15 th , 2005 |
| Mahmoud Abbas | Fatah | January 15 th , 2005 - Present |

Source: MAS, 2009

Primary Duties

Since April of 2006 the PLC has been inactive, leaving the OoP to take care of pressing legislative issues that require immediate attention. Issues of less importance are to be left aside until the PLC resumes activity³⁷, most probably not before the next elections in January 2010, if it occurs. Hence, the OoP, has taken up the role of regulator and supervisor in the West Bank while the Gaza Strip remains in the control of Hamas.

Under normal circumstance, the powers and responsibilities of the OoP are as follows:

- ✧ Commander-in-Chief of the Palestinian Forces.
- ✧ Sends and receives all foreign ambassadors.
- ✧ Veto bills within 30 days of passage with 2/3 majority needed to over turn veto.
- ✧ May grant pardons or commute sentences but not general amnesty.
- ✧ If Legislative Council is not in session, in exceptional cases, can issues decrees with force of law, but decrees must be presented to Legislative

³⁷ Such as the Commercial Agent's Law, Parties' Law and the Referendum Law.

Council as soon as convened for approval or cease to have force of law.

- ✧ Appoints and removes the Prime Minister.
- ✧ Order the Prime Minister to call together the Council of Ministers.
- ✧ No right to dissolve the Legislative council and call for early elections.

In the absence of the PLC the role of the president's office:

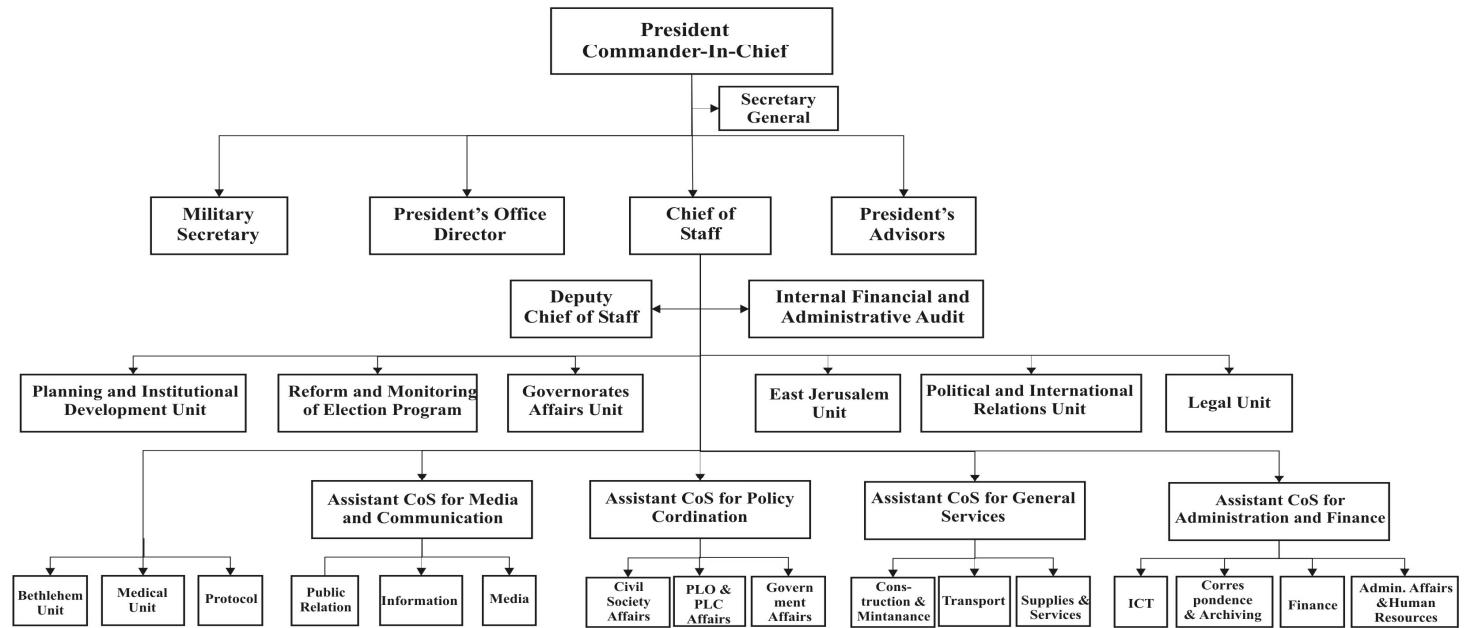
- ✧ Policy and law formulation that affects public interests, such as voting laws. In this case, PLC and the cabinet have no provisional role.
- ✧ The law/policy is passed on from the cabinet to the legal advisor and the legal issues department of the OoP. In addition to contacting all stakeholders and organizing workshops, meetings can be organized to understand the perspectives of various stakeholders and assess the law's immediacy and public support.
- ✧ If the law does not tackle a pressing issue, the process may take up to 6 to 12 months to be completed.
- ✧ The primary role of the OoP is to supervise and object.

OoP Research Capacity

In addition to the research and advisory capacity at the OoP, other sectors might become involved as well, such as the NGO, private or academic, both local and international. International research is often encouraged, especially when there is a perceived lack of local capacity. The case in the Telecommunications Committee Law is a good example, as it relied almost wholly upon international technical expertise.

Figure 5: The Structure of the OoP

**Organizational Structure,
President's Office (Provisional)**



Source: PASSIA, 2009

V.3 The Prime Ministers Office (PMO)

The PMO, created in 2003 to manage the day-to-day affairs of the Palestinian Authority and liaise with Israel and the international community as both had refused to deal with Palestinian President Yasser Arafat in the height of the Second Intifada.

Unlike many other nations adhering to a ministerial system, the PM is an appointee of the President and ruling party, rather than elected by the people. Hence, in March of 2003, PA President Arafat appointed fellow Fatah official Mahmoud Abbas as the first Palestinian PM. The office remained in the hands of Fatah (see table below) until shortly after the 2006 PLC elections that saw Hamas emerge as the ruling party.

On March 29th, 2006, approximately three years after the formation of the office, Ismail Haniyeh, the head of the Hamas list was appointed as the fifth PM of Palestine until his dismissal by PA President Abbas on June 14th 2007, following violent inter-factional violence in the Gaza Strip.

Following Haniyeh's dismissal, the PMO underwent dramatic changes. Rather than Fatah officials choosing one of their own to hold the position, Dr. Fayyad, from the independent 3rd Way party was tasked with forming the Emergency Government.

In his dual role as PM and Minister of Finance, Dr. Fayyad increased the power and prestige of the office by becoming the primary conduit of aid into the WB&GS, as opposed to the OoP, and the primary body for legislation in the absence of a functioning PLC.

Table 9: Palestinian Prime Ministers (2003 – Present)

| Name | Party | Tenure |
|-----------------------|---------------------|---|
| Mahmoud Abbas | Fatah | March 19 th , 2003 – September 6 th , 2003 |
| Ahmad Qurei | Fatah | October 7 th , 2003 – December 18 th , 2005 |
| Nabil Shaath (Acting) | Fatah | December 18 th , 2005 – December 24 th , 2005 |
| Ahmad Qurei | Fatah | December 24 th , 2005 – March 29 th , 2006 |
| Ismail Haniyeh | Hamas | March 29 th , 2006 – June 14 th , 2007 |
| Salaam Fayyad | 3 rd Way | June 17 th , 2007 – Present |

PMO Policy Making

The law or policy originates as an idea in either: the relevant ministry, the PLC or PLC Committee³⁸ or the Council of Ministers (cabinet). In reality, most laws or policies are brought to light by the relevant ministries who are the primary consumers of policy research and charged with moving public opinion into line with policy formulation. Relevant ministries are also responsible for implementing policies; hence, they are more aware of the needs for increased or decreased regulations.

- ✧ The relevant ministry senses the need for new policy or amendments through its work on the ground.
- ✧ These workers within the ministry report their opinion and ideas to their superior, who in turn reports the idea to the minister or his/her deputies.
- ✧ If the idea is met with initial approval, a research study is asked to be prepared for discussion. The research department or the relevant department within the ministry might be assigned to conduct the study or prepare the report. If the ministry's research capacity is low, they might seek outside expertise (local or international).
- ✧ After the report/study is completed, it is passed on to the Line Minister and Prime Minister for review and final approval.
- ✧ A summary report is prepared, including the needs and costs of implementation, which is then passed through the MoF (to ratify its alignment with the budget) and the legal committee (to ratify its alignment with existing laws and norms).
- ✧ The summary is presented to the cabinet, in its role as a coordinating committee among all ministries, where it is discussed in various ways:
 1. All ministers participate in the discussion
 2. A special committee is delegated to carry out the discussion
 3. The request for a more in-depth study with more details
- ✧ After the approval of the policy by the cabinet, the law is passed on to the President's Office for approval³⁹. This, however, is only done for immediate needs in the absence of the PLC. Once in the OoP, the policy is passed on to the relevant expert advisor. From there, there are four ways it can proceed:

³⁸ In the instance where the PLC is functioning.

³⁹ Once the bill arrives on the President's desk he has 31 days to sign it, reject it or make amendments.

1. Approval and passage into law
2. Rejection and the end of the process
3. Amendments can be made which are then sent back to the PLC for approval or rejection. (2/3 of PLC members are required to overturn Presidential amendments). In the absence of the PLC, amendments are turned over to the line ministries for approval⁴⁰
4. Inquiries into the specific ramifications of the law and its implementation

**Table 10: List of Ministers in the
Emergency and First Caretaker Governments
(June 17th, 2007 to March 12th, 2009)**

| Name | Position |
|---------------------|---|
| Salam Fayyad | Prime Minister and Minister of Finance |
| Reyad El-Malki | Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Information |
| Abel Razaq Al-Yahya | Minister of Interior |
| Jamal Bawatna | Minister of the Awqaf |
| Ziad Al -Bandak | Minister of Municipal Affairs |
| Samir Abdullah | Minister of Planning and Minister of Labor |
| Mahmoud El-Habash | Minister of Social Affairs and Agriculture |
| Kholoud D'eibes | Minister of Tourism and Women's Affairs |
| Mashhour Abu Daqa | Minister of Transportation |
| Kamal Hassona | Minister of National Economy, Minister of Telecommunication, and Minister of Public Works and Housing |
| Fathi Abu Mughli | Minister of Health |
| Ashraf Alajrami | Ministry of Prisoners' Affairs |
| Lamis El-Alami | Ministry of Higher Education |
| Ali Khashan | Ministry of Justice |
| Tahani Abu Daqa | Ministry of Culture |

⁴⁰ Due to the conformity of the ministries and the relative harmony between the PMO and the OoP, the instances of Presidential amendments are very low. Those cases and laws which are amended, but which are not immediately urgent, are kept to the side until the resumption of the PLC.

Table 11: List of Ministers in the Second Caretaker Governments (June 13th, 2009 to Present)

| Name | Position |
|--------------------|--|
| Salam Fayyad | Prime Minister and Minister of Finance |
| Naim Abu Humus | Secretary General of the Cabinet |
| Reyad El-Malki | Minister of Foreign Affairs |
| Said Abu Ali | Minister of Interior |
| Mahmoud El-Habash | Minister of the Awqaf (religious properties) |
| Khaled El-Qawasmeh | Minister of Municipal Affairs |
| Mohamed Ishtayyah | Minister of Public Work and Housing |
| Ali Al-Jarbawi | Minister of Planning |
| Hatem Abdel Qader | Minister of Jerusalem Affairs |
| Majeda Al-Masri | Minister of Social Affairs |
| Kholoud D'eibes | Minister of Tourism |
| Mashhour Abu Dagga | Minister of Transportation & Communication |
| Hasan Abu Libdeh | Minister of National Economy |
| Ahmed Majdalani | Minister of Labor |
| Fathi Abu Mughli | Minister of Health |
| Issa Qaraqei' | Ministry of Prisoners' Affairs |
| Lamis El-Alami | Ministry of Higher Education |
| Ismeel Ide'q | Ministry of Agriculture |
| Ali Khashan | Ministry of Justice |
| Siham Bargothi | Ministry of Culture |
| Rabeha Diab | Ministry of Women Affairs |

Table 12: List of Ministerial Committees and Membership

| Committee | Membership |
|---|--|
| Social Committee | Minister of Social Affairs, Minister of Health (or representative), Minister of Labor, Minister of Education and Higher Education, Minister of Women Affairs and Minister of MoPAD |
| Economic Committee | Minister of Finance, Minister of National Economy (or representative), Minister of Labor, Minister of MoPAD, Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Tourism. |
| Committee for supervision and follow up of permanent reform plans | Prime Minister, Minister of Finance, Minister of National Economy, Minister of MoPAD (or representative), Minister of Local Governance, Minister of Justice, Minister of Women's Affairs |
| Jerusalem Ministerial Committee | Minister of Jerusalem Affairs, Minister of Culture (or representative), Minister of Religious Affairs, Minister of Health, Minister of Education and Higher Education, Minister of Youth and Sports, Minister of Media, Minister of Tourism. |
| Permanent Committee for Ministry Administration | Secretary General of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Finance, Minister of MoPAD, Chief of Staff, Chairman of the Board of the Retirement Authority. |
| Permanent Committee of Settlements' Affairs and Repercussions of the Wall | Minister of State, Minister of Public Works and Housing, Minister of Local Governance, Minister of MoPAD, Minister of Agriculture, Head of Palestinian Water Authority, Head of Energy and Natural Resources Authority |
| Permanent Committee for the Allocation of Public Land | Minister of Public Works and Housing, Minister of Local Governance, Minister of MoPAD, Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Tourism, Minister of National Economy, Head of Land Authority |
| Permanent Committee for Cooperation with non-Ministerial Public Bodies | Minister of MoPAD, Minister of Justice, Chief of Staff, Minister of Social Affairs, Minister of Finance, Secretary General of the Council of Ministers |
| Permanent Committee for Infrastructure | Minister of Public Works and Housing, Minister of Transportation, Minister of Telecommunications and Information Technology, Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Local Governance, General Authority for Civil Affairs |

Note: The duties outlined for each ministerial council is to raise their recommendations to the cabinet. In this sense, committees at the PMO level are very similar to those of the PLC, and have largely taken on this role in the latter's absence.

VI. The Mechanisms of International Aid Coordination

As a result of the almost unprecedented amount of aid being channeled to the WB&GS and the highly politicized conditions in which it is delivered, a complex structure governing external aid has developed. The following section briefly maps the structure and evolution of this system, as well as its influence on the direction of external aid system. As these bodies represent the macro-level decision makers and stakeholders in the Palestinian development process, how and what decisions they make have an effect on external funding to PNGOs, which are only a small part of the bigger picture of externally financed development.

VI.1 Capital Level Aid Coordination

As the below figure shows, the external aid coordination structure is divided into two levels, the capital and the local. At the capital level are the major donor bodies, represented by the Quartet, EU, US, Russia and the UN. These players liaise with the Ad-Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLC), a 12-member committee, established on the 1st of October 1993 by the Multilateral Steering Group of the multilateral talks on Middle East peace in the context of the Washington Conference. The AHLC serves as the principal policy-level coordination mechanism for development assistance to the Palestinian people and seeks to promote dialogue between donors, the Palestinian Authority (PA) and the Government of Israel (GoI). The AHLC is chaired by Norway and co-sponsored by the EU and US. Its members include Russia, the EU, Japan, Canada and Saudi Arabia, while the PA, Israel, Egypt, Jordan and Tunisia are associate members. The World Bank acts as the Secretariat of the body.

According to Brynen (2000:3), the AHLC acts as a 'sort of political steering committee, responsible for the overall guidelines and policies of the aid process, with all decisions made by consensus.

The Joint Liaison Committee (JLC) follows up on AHLC decisions and recommendations at the local level, in between meetings of the AHLC, which are usually held twice a year (spring and autumn). The JLC was originally created in 1995 to enhance 'tripartite' cooperation with the understanding that implementation could not proceed without the cooperation of the occupying power. The JLC was disbanded in the early part of the decade as a result of the Intifada and was revived in June 2008. Its current members include Norway, the PA, the World Bank, UNSCO, the IMF, the US, EC and EU and GoI.

A Task Force on Project Implementation (TFPI) which liaises with the GoI on issues of project implementation and comprises USAID, UNSCO, EC, the World Bank. The TFPI has a rotating Chairmanship with each member taking on the position of Chair for a six-month period.

VI.2 Local Aid Coordination

LACS is central to aid coordination. Established in 1995 as the Local Aid Coordination Committee (LACC), LACS was responsible for establishing the Sectoral Working Groups (SWGs) in 1995 and coordinates between aid agencies and the PA. The original LACC was co-chaired by UNSCO and the World Bank. The LACS, on the other hand, is made up of a small team of technical experts who provide support to the Local Development Forum. The secretariat is led by the MoP, the World Bank, Norway and UNSCO.

The change from the LACC to the LACS came following a decision by the AHLC in December of 2005 to better align aid structures to the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and encourage more Palestinian 'ownership' over the development process. In response to the perception that the previous model was more 'top-down and donor-driven', especially since the outbreak of the Second Intifada, the new structure worked to put PA policy makers in the driver's seat. After its downsizing to a Secretariat, the LACS is now responsible for providing cross-cutting 'support to nearly every component part of the system'⁴¹.

The Local Development Forum (LDF) was created in 2005 as a type of hub for external aid and development planning. Membership is open to PA representatives, all donor and aid agencies, as well as to the Association of International Development Agencies (AIDA). The Forum is co-chaired by the Ministry of Planning (MoP), together with Norway, the World Bank and UNSCO. LDF meetings are planned and prepared through meetings of the LDF co-chairs and 'Friends of the Co-Chairs' with the help of the LACS. Since October 2007, LDF meetings have been chaired by Prime Minister Salaam Fayyad.

Four distinct Strategy Groups (SGs) dealing with: economic policy, governance, infrastructure development and social development and humanitarian issues are guided by the LACS and LDF. 'The SGs focus on

⁴¹ In its cross-cutting role, the LACS support the LDF, SGs, SWGs and TFPI. They are charged with assisting the co-chairs of the SGs, liaising with the TFPI, and guiding the agenda of the LDF through the preparation and organization of meetings.

policy formulation and programmatic coordination, and pursue better design of donor projects to support the PA's priorities. Membership is limited and based on solely upon the financial or analytical value of the respective agency' (LDF, 2009).

According to the LDF and LACS, 'each Strategy Group is co-led and chaired by the most relevant PA line ministry and lead donor to the sector' (ibid). Though the words co-led and co-chaired are used, the ministry chair is given the power to convene meetings and determine the agenda. The donor chair is only to 'support' or 'advise' the minister.

The key functions of the SGs include:

- ✧ Creating a space for national development policy formulation and adjustments that take into account socio-economic and political circumstances.
- ✧ A body to ensure convergence between PA priorities and donor commitments.

The Palestinian MoP is assigned to each of the four SGs as a representative of the Directorate General of Aid Management and Coordination (AMC) (LDF, 2009:9). A representative of the team creating the PRDP II is also invited. This cross-cutting role allows the MoP to fulfill its primary duty of 'ensuring the alignment of donor interventions with the PRPD, and other national plans, in accordance with relevant aid effectiveness principles' (ibid).

The SGs are supported by 15 Sector Working Groups (SWGs) and one Working Group. These groups coordinate between the PA and the donor community at the technical level. Certain SWGs are supported by **Thematic Groups** (TGs) or Taskforces, such as in the education and health sectors. The first responsibility assigned to the Co-Chairs of the Sector Working Groups is to 'Promote principles of ownership, alignment, harmonization, results and accountability' (LDF, 2009:6). The SWGs and their corresponding TGs are as follows:

Table 13: Sector Working Groups and Subgroups

| Sector Working Groups | Thematic Groups and Taskforces |
|--|---|
| Agriculture | |
| Fiscal | Fiscal Taskforce |
| Private Sector Development | Micro Finance Taskforce |
| Water and Sanitation | |
| Municipal Development and Local Governance | |
| Health | National Nutrition Steering Committee, Pharmaceutical TG, Mental Health TG, Non-Communicable Diseases TG, Women's Health TG, Children's Health TG |
| Education | Higher Education TG |
| Social Protection | |
| Judiciary | |
| Public Administration | |
| Civil Service | |
| Security | |
| Elections | |
| Energy and Electricity | |
| Environment | |

VI.3 The Critique of the Aid Coordination Structure

Though the sheer amount of aid entering the WB&GS requires a system of external aid coordination, questions still remain about the effectiveness of this structure in responding to Palestinian needs and priorities, and the ability of Palestinian Ministries to put forward a competent agenda to guide donors, as opposed to follow them.

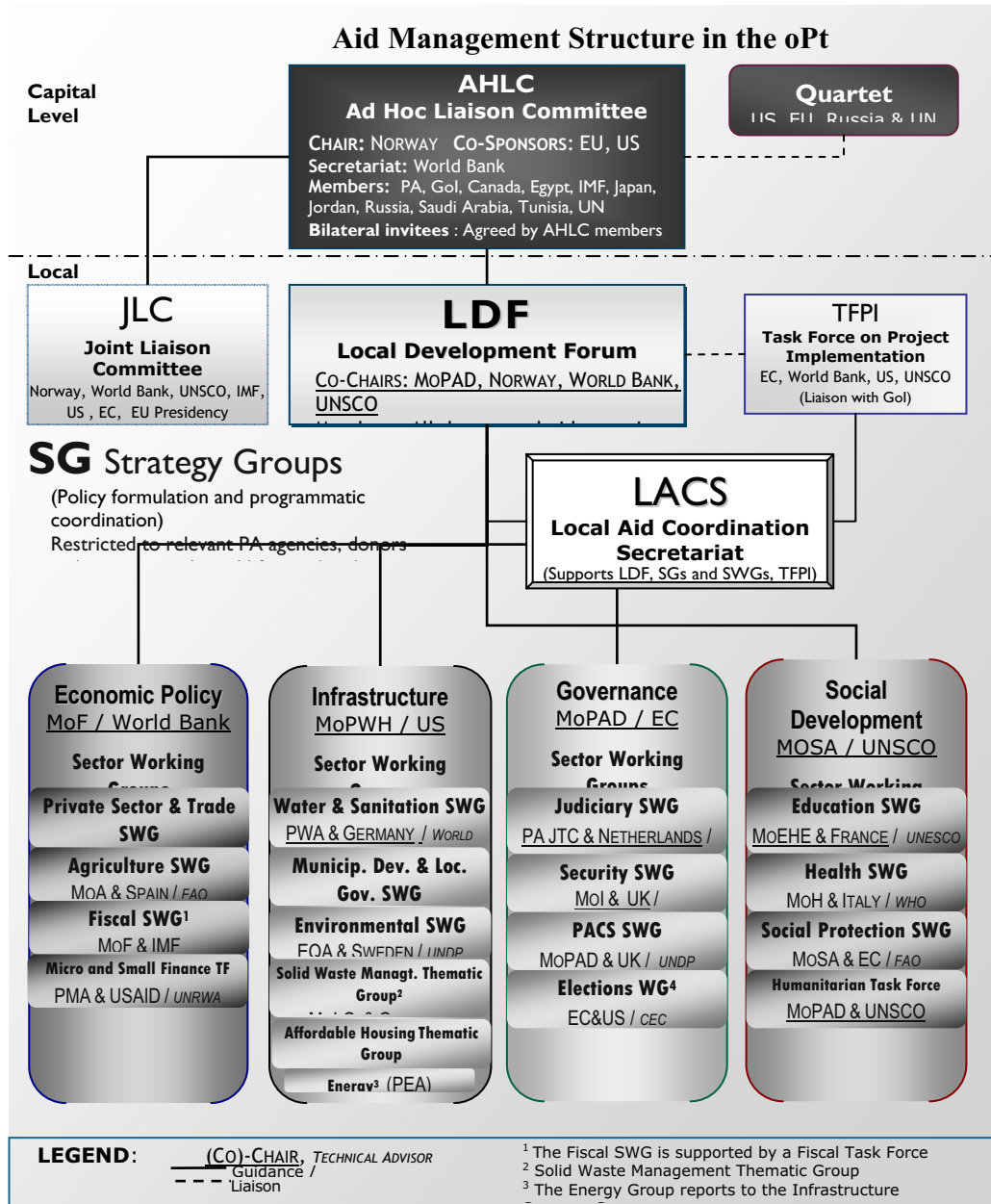
The blame for this cannot be entirely placed upon the door of international donors though. While the donors have changed the system to align with the principles of aid effectiveness outlined in the Paris Declaration, the ongoing occupation and political instability in the PA have ensured that decision making power still rests in the hands of donors at the capital level. Even with the structural changes, and even with a competent stable PA, the same client-recipient relationship would remain (Khan, 2003). After all, it is the donor who gives the money, or not, as the case may be. The response to the election victory of Hamas in 2006 is only too clear an example of donor's political agendas overriding their development strategies.

There is another important criticism of the system of aid coordination: it largely fails to include Palestinian NGOs⁴². Though critical to development, these organizations have little say in the overall direction of aid at the strategic levels. While International NGOs are represented through AIDA, the Palestinian NGO Network (PINGO) has continually asked the AHLC for more representation and access to technical information⁴³.

⁴² A few PNGOs, such as MAS, are given ‘observer’ status within SWGs. However the numbers are low and the placement is not fixed. The ability to do little more than observe has meant that attendance is low for the small number of PNGOs invited to the table.

⁴³ For an expanded and critical account of the Aid coordination system, see: Brynen, 2000: chapter 4, Le More, 2004 and Khan, 2003.

Figure 6: Aid Management Structure in the oPt



VII. Proposal for the Development of an Electronic Library 'Knowledge-Bank' Specializing in Socio-Economic Research

It is well-known that scientific research in all fields helps to facilitate and improve decision-making processes. Effective research allows policy makers to base their decisions on the best information available to them; scientific research affords them much needed information, presents them with different solutions and possible scenarios and allows them to predict possible obstacles and problems they may be confronted with as well as means of overcoming these. It is for this reason that scientific research is now considered of the utmost importance within developed countries, and why huge budgets are dedicated and directed towards it. The spread of the Internet and information technology has made a significant contribution towards the compilation of existing research and publications into dedicated electronic libraries. Such libraries are most often accessed through the websites of the various research and academic institutions that operate them, either freely or for an annual subscription.

The Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS) recognizes the importance of compiling the available socio-economic research into a database to guarantee that the conducted research is both easily accessible and well protected. This preliminary report offers an action plan for the construction of an electronic database specialized in social and economic research that will be accessible via MAS's website.

Key observations about research and research institutions operating in Palestine:

1. There are a very limited number of institutions in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (oPt) that prepare economic and social research.
2. The majority of the research produced by such institutions is not adequately disseminated; often due to lack of media coverage, unawareness of the research that has been conducted or the fact that research often forms a small component of broader funded projects by donors.
3. Access and exposure to electronic publishing and libraries in Palestine remains limited; there exists no specialized websites/institutions that compile and publish research in a professional manner.
4. Some institutions refuse to provide electronic libraries with their research due to concerns over inadequate intellectual property rights legislation.

5. Thus far, interest in scientific and policy-based research by Palestinian policy makers has been limited, and as a consequence, budgets for such research generally remain small.

The need for an electronic library that specializes in Economic & Social Research:

There is a rising interest from investors, researchers, donors, and policy-makers both within and outside Palestine to acquire economic and social information and data that will help them in their decision making and the planning of projects. Thus, the Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS) is keen to take a leading role in the development of a specialized electronic library that can be accessed via the MAS website.

Scope of Work:

To develop and maintain a ‘Knowledge-Bank’ or Electronic Library containing all of the studies, reports and publications that have been produced since the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority. This specialized electronic library will be a comprehensive and important reference source for anyone who would like to study the Palestinian economy.

Methodology/Action Plan:

In order to achieve the stated objectives, we propose to take the following steps:

1. Conduct an adequate and comprehensive analytical study of the operations of Palestinian research institutions and how they publish their research.
2. Conduct a comprehensive survey of existing electronic libraries and databases and assess their strengths and weaknesses in order to gain from the experiences of similar projects.
3. Communicate with the institutions and centers that publish research, develop a legal framework for publishing mechanisms that will protect the intellectual property rights of those who produced or compiled the research and give MAS the right to publish them electronically.
4. Determine how publishing will be conducted. A number of options exist including the uploading of electronic copies of the documents or the creation of direct links to the documents on the research institute’s websites.
5. Develop and upgrade MAS’s website in line with the requirements of the electronic library.

6. Assign the tasks of developing, designing and building the database to a specialized information technology company. The design will be harmonized with MAS and its partner's needs and prospects.
7. Compiling and processing research that exists currently for its eventual addition to the database.
8. Launching the electronic library on MAS's website which will be accessed using a username and password. The management team of MAS will decide whether access to the database will be free or require a fee.

Outputs:

This project aims to develop a Knowledge-Bank specializing in social and economic research which will eventually form an integral part of MAS's library. This Electronic Library will contain all of the studies, reports and publications that have been developed since the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority. The collection and cataloguing of the largest possible number of publications will not only guarantee accessibility and protection, but it will also help to prevent the repetition of research and strengthen future research. This database will form a vital and comprehensive reference for research and academic institutions, independent researchers, investors, policy-makers, planners and students. It is worth mentioning that the Institute hosts the largest specialized economic library in the West Bank and Gaza. This library provides information and support to researchers inside and outside MAS and contains more than 23,000 publications in both the Arabic and English languages. In addition, it subscribes to various periodicals and international databases and is a deposit center for the publications of the IMF and ESCWA. Moreover, the new MAS building, which is currently being constructed, will allow for a considerable expansion of the library.

Estimated Cost:

It is quite difficult to estimate the costs of such a project prior to the completion of extensive analysis or the choosing of a design for the electronic library. However, the estimated costs of existing databases are around \$32,000. This cost includes both the database and the specialized library software. The software will be developed by 'Noor Software', a Palestinian information technology company. Therefore, it is estimated that the total cost for the development of the database and the electronic library, the upgrading of the current MAS website and the preparation of the legal arrangements and agreements will cost around \$50,000.

Expected obstacles and problems:

1. Financing the project is, by far, the primary and most pressing obstacle that needs to be overcome.
2. The unavailability of electronic copies for all existing publications means that scanning hard copies or reprinting these studies will increase the overall cost of the project.
3. The possibility of non-cooperation from the institutions that produced the studies.
4. The fear of not being able to access all the required data and research.
5. An inability to ensure the sustainability of the project due to limited financial resources.

Beneficiaries:

1. Palestinian and international research institutes: The electronic library will allow researchers to build on existing work, but also, it will mean that their research can be accessed all over the world, making their work more effective and beneficial.
2. Palestinian researchers and academics: The electronic library will ensure the dissemination of their research and thus overcome the financial constraints that often prevent many researchers from publishing their work.
3. International researchers and academics who are interested in studying the Palestinian economy. It is hoped that the proposed electronic library will become the first and most important reference source for socio-economic research in Palestine.
4. Policy-makers and planners at the national level.
5. Decisions-makers in Palestine.
6. The international donor community: The electronic library will help them in designing and implementing their programs.

The results of the conducted databases survey on research institutes and governmental research departments:

During July 2009, MAS contacted several relevant institutions and government departments to collect, analyze and examine the different databases that they use. The following is a summary of the results of this survey:

1. **Ministry of Planning** (Waddah Hamdallah): The Ministry compiles data, studies and reports on different sectors such as education, water, health etc. These reports are beneficial for the planning and policy-

- making process. The Ministry will provide MAS with these reports upon request. <http://www.mop.gov.ps/>
2. **Ministry of National Economy** (Azmi Abdel Rahman): The Ministry has several reports that were prepared within the ministry, other ministries, and from international organizations. The Ministry will provide MAS with these reports soon. Moreover, the Ministry compiles the different studies that address the various sectors of the economy upon the request of the Ministry of Planning to the benefit of the LACS database. <http://www.met.gov.ps/>
 3. **Ministry of Education and Higher Education** (Mamoun Jaber): The Ministry prepares reports and research through the department of studies and information in the ministry. Those studies are available electronically and can be provided to MAS upon request. <http://www.mohe.gov.ps>
 4. **Ministry of Women's Affairs** (Sami Sihwail): The Ministry prepares reports related to women's affairs through contacting local research institutes. The studies are available electronically and can be provided to MAS upon request. <http://www.mowa.gov.ps/>
 5. **LACS** (Imam AlShawa and Helen Smith): In 2009, LACS started developing a database covering all fields and sectors. Until recently, 397 titles were compiled. Some of those titles are available in electronic format and the others can be requested from the producer of the research. The strength of this database is that it provides studies and reports that cover different economic sectors. However, LACS faces difficulties in accessing several publications, in addition to the unavailability of several publications in an electronic format. <http://www.ldf.ps/article.aspx?id=1>
 6. **Palestinian Women's Research and Documentation Center** (Iman Ammous): In 2005, the Center developed a database that specializes in the compiling of the work of those organizations and experts who are interested in women's affairs. Moreover, the Center's publications are available in an electronic format on their website. Also, the titles of the available publications in the Center's library can be found on the website as well. The strength of this database is that it contains publications by experts on women's affairs all over the world. However, the Center faces difficulties in compiling data and publications. <http://www.pwrdc.ps/>
 7. **Birziet University (Center for Development Studies- Resources Center)**: The Center's database provides information about the available publications in the library, recent publications, a summary of recent publications concerned with development issues in Palestine

and a list of links to related websites. The strength of this database is that it allows the searcher to scan the relevant publications on the various sectors in Palestine. However, this database does not provide an entire collection of reports and studies, in addition to the unavailability of the different studies in an electronic format. The Center does maintain an annotated bibliography of reference material on development in Palestine. However, although this database provides a wide range of material relating to development issues, it only provides titles, author information and other data without actually providing the electronic copy of the publication. <http://home.birzeit.edu/cds/arabic/library/>

8. **Ma'an Development Center:** The Center's website includes a database containing the available publications in the library as well as the publications of the Center and other research institutes. This said, whilst the database allows individuals to search for relevant publications on the Center's website, the range of publications available is limited. <http://www.maan-ctr.org/>
9. **The Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group (PHRMG):** The Group's website hosts around 430 titles of human rights publications issued by the Group itself as well as publications from similar institutions. The search tool for the database is easy to use. However, the searcher has to visit the library for a complete set of publications as the majority are not available online. <http://www.phrmg.org/>
10. **The Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA):** PASSIA has developed a database that specializes in the compiling of details regarding high profile Palestinian personalities that play an active role in international affairs. The results can be listed either alphabetically or periodically. Moreover, the visitor of the website can find the organization's publications available in an electronic format. <http://www.passia.org/>
11. **PECDAR:** The website of PECDAR contains some of their own reports and publications as well as a number of reports by other organizations such as the World Bank, UNESCO, and MAS. <http://www.pecdar.org/>
12. **PADICO (Hiba Darwesh):** PADICO has all the publications relating to the investment conference held in Nablus, as well as other publications. These studies can be provided to MAS upon request <http://www.padico.com/>
13. **Palestinian Refugee Research Net:** The Center's website has a database that contains various studies and publications cornering Palestinian refugees. <http://prrn.mcgill.ca/index.htm>

14. **PCBS:** In 2008, PCBS developed a database (Palinfo) which specializes in statistics drawn from the Palestinian economy and society. This database provides tables, figures and indicators for various fields. However, it is exclusive to the publications of the PCBS itself. <http://www.pcbs.gov.ps/DI5Web/home.aspx>
15. **Welfare Association:**
16. **International Organizations:** International organizations publish their own studies on their own websites. Therefore, it is most likely that MAS will compile the different studies and upload them on to its own database. Some international organizations may include:
- ✧ **The World Bank:** The Bank's website affords around 548 studies concerning the economic and social conditions in the West Bank and Gaza. www.worldbank.org/ps
 - ✧ **The International Monetary Fund:** The Fund's website affords around 203 studies concerning the conditions in the West Bank and Gaza. <http://www.imf.org/external/np/wbg/2006/eng/rr/index.html>
 - ✧ **Portland Trust:** The Trust's website affords 'The Portland Trust Palestinian Economic Bulletin' in addition to some of MAS studies. <http://www.portlandtrust.org/>
 - ✧ **United Nations:** The United Nation's website provides a database of UN publications as well as some working papers and periodicals. Whilst this database affords access to many UN publications, several are for sale or paid subscription only. <http://www.un.org>
 - ✧ **ILO:** The ILO's website includes several databases that contain a wide range of publications that relating to the issues of economic development, labour, and human rights. It has around 287 titles concerning the Palestinian economy. <http://labordoc.ilo.org/webvoy.htm> Moreover, the statistical database contains statistics about the Palestinian labour force. <http://laborsta.ilo.org/>
17. **Other International Websites:** Contain various publications about the Palestinian economy which will be connected to the MAS database. These may include:
- ✧ HighBeam Research website premiere online library <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-103316133.html>
 - ✧ Database of EUI (European university institute) publications. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS) <http://cadmus.eui.eu/dspace/handle/1814/7719/simple-search?query=palestine>

18. **Rikaz-Arab Minority in Israel:** A social and economic databank about the Palestinian society within Israel. AlJalel supports the development of Rikaz. Previously, the Ford Foundation contributed to the development of this databank. Currently the European Commission provides some financial support to it. This databank contains information about Arabs inside Israel such as unemployment rates and income levels. Moreover, other publications are available in an electronic format on the website. However, although this database facilitates access to needed information, it is largely confined to statistical data and does not include specific studies or pieces of research. [http://www.rikaz.org/pls/p/w_emocno\\$.startup](http://www.rikaz.org/pls/p/w_emocno$.startup)

**Organizations Name and Website address
for the surveyed database**

| Institution | Website |
|---|--|
| PCBS | http://www.pcbs.gov.ps/DI5Web/home.aspx |
| Palestinian Women's Research and Documentation Center | http://www.pwrdc.ps/ |
| World Bank | www.worldbank.org/ps |
| IMF | http://www.imf.org/external/np/wbg/2006/eng/rr/index.htm |
| LACS | http://www.ldf.ps/article.aspx?id=1 |
| UNCTAD | http://r0.unctad.org/palestine/publications.htm |
| Rikaz: Arab Minority in Israel | http://www.rikaz.org/pls/p/w_emocno\$.startup |
| Center for Private Sector Development - CPSD- Palestinian Businessmen Association | http://www.cpsd.ps/activities/studies.html |
| HighBeam Research website premiere online library | http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-103316133.html |
| Database of EUI (European university institute) publications. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS) | http://cadmus.eui.eu/dspace/handle/1814/7719/simple-search?query=palestine. |
| OCHA: *Gaza Response Activity Database Report.*Protection of Civilians Online Database | http://www.ochaopt.org |
| Development studies center | http://home.birzeit.edu/cds/arabic/library/ |
| Palestinian Refugee ResearchNet | http://prrn.mcgill.ca/index.htm |
| ILO | http://labordoc.ilo.org/webvoy.htm http://laborsta.ilo.org/ |
| United Nation | http://www.un.org |
| Portland Trust | http://www.portlandtrust.org/ |
| PADICO | http://www.padico.com/ |
| PECDAR | http://www.pecdar.org/ |
| PASSIA | http://www.passia.org/ |
| The Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group (PHRMG) | http://www.phrmg.org/ |
| Ma'an development center | http://www.maan-ctr.org/ |