WORKING PAPER
Volume 2009 Number 335

Making Science of Influencing: Assessing the Impact of Development Research

Andy Sumner, Nick Ishmael-Perkins and Johanna Lindstrom
September 2009

IDS Institute of Development Studies

About IDS

The Institute of Development Studies is one of the world's leading organisations for research, teaching and communications on international development. Founded in 1966, the Institute enjoys an international reputation based on the quality of its work and the rigour with which it applies academic skills to real world challenges. Its purpose is to understand and explain the world, and to try to change it – to influence as well as to inform.

IDS hosts five dynamic research programmes, five popular postgraduate courses, and a family of world-class web-based knowledge services. These three spheres are integrated in a unique combination – as a development knowledge hub, IDS is connected into and is a convenor of networks throughout the world.

The Institute is home to approximately 80 researchers, 50 knowledge services staff, 50 support staff and about 150 students at any one time. But the IDS community extends far beyond, encompassing an extensive network of partners, former staff and students across the development community worldwide.

For further information on IDS publications and for a free catalogue, contact:
IDS Communication Unit
Institute of Development Studies
at the University of Sussex
Brighton BN1 9RE, UK

Tel: +44 (0) 1273 915637
Fax: +44 (0) 1273 621202
E-mail: bookshop@ids.ac.uk
Web: www.ids.ac.uk/ids/bookshop

IDS WORKING PAPER 335

Making Science of Influencing: Assessing the Impact of Development Research

Andy Sumner, Nick Ishmael-Perkins and Johanna Lindstrom

September 2009

Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex Brighton BN1 9RE UK

Making Science of Influencing: Assessing the Impact of Development Research
Andy Sumner, Nick Ishmael-Perkins and Johanna Lindstrom
IDS Working Paper 335
First published by the Institute of Development Studies in September 2009

ISSN: 2040-0209 ISBN: 978 1 85864 798 3

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Available from:
Communication Unit
Institute of Development Studies
at the University of Sussex
Brighton BN1 9RE, UK
Tel: +44 (0) 1273 915637
Fax: +44 (0) 1273 621202
E-mail: bookshop@ids.ac.uk
Web: www.ids.ac.uk/ids/bookshop

Typeset by IDS, Brighton UK. Printed by Nexus, Brighton, UK.
IDS is a charitable company limited by guarantee and registered in England (No. 877338).

Making Science of Influencing: Assessing the Impact of Development Research

Andy Sumner, Nick Ishmael-Perkins and Johanna Lindstrom

Summary

The impact and influence of development research is an agenda that has been gathering momentum over the last few years. This agenda is a coming together of two divergent concerns. The first, from the funders of research, draws on results based management and is concerned with getting value-for-money from research spending or with 'more bang for the buck'. The second, more typical of those in the development studies research community, is concerned with whether research in the area is 'making a difference'. Among development researchers there is also often a political or normative basis – addressing global poverty and inequality – and catalysing change.

The meanings of the terms' impact and influence are multiple, multi-layered and complex to track. They may refer to use (i.e. consideration) or actual outcome(s) of social change. They can be visible or invisible; progressive or regressive. Impacts and influence can be intended or unintended and immediate or long-term. The processes of impact and influence are acknowledged to be non-linear, iterative and complex.

This paper considers the impact and influence of development research from a plurality of perspectives. Interest in the impact/influence of research projects aggregates upwards to support the overall case for (often public) funding of development research (in areas that are likely to play a major role in the next few years in changing the climate for public expenditure in light of the global financial crisis).

Keywords: policy; influence; impact; communication; advocacy; evaluation.

Andy Sumner is a Fellow of the Vulnerability and Poverty Research Team at IDS. He is a cross-disciplinary economist. His primary foci of interest are: the MDGs and Child poverty and wellbeing; poverty indicators, concepts, methods, approaches; the politics of policy processes.

Nick Ishmael-Perkins is Head of Communication at IDS. He trained as a journalist and anthropologist and has worked extensively in sub-Saharan Africa and the Asia-Pacific region. He has published a number of articles on participatory media, research communication and evaluating communication programmes. He recently completed a study on the effectiveness of large conferences commissioned by the International Development Research Centre.

Johanna Lindstrom is a Research Officer/Coordinator at IDS. She is a political scientist with recent work experience in the areas of monitoring and evaluation; agricultural development, food security and nutrition; pro-poor policy processes, policy influence and the research-policy interface; and public awareness of international development.

Contents

Acronyms

BFPP	Bangladesh Food Policy Project
CBFM	Community-based Fisheries Management
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research
CIFOR	Centre for International Forestry Research
Citizenship DRC	Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability
DFID	Department for International Development
DS	Development Studies
ECDPM	European Centre for Development Policy Management
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IRRI	International Rice Research Institute
ODI-GDN	Overseas Development Institute, Global Development Network
ODI RAPID	Overseas Development Institute, Research and Policy in Development
PPP	Pesticide Package Programme
POR	policy oriented research
PORIA	Policy-oriented Research Impact Assessment

Executive summary

This paper considers the impact and influence of development research from a plurality of perspectives. Interest in the impact/influence of research projects aggregates upwards to support the overall case for (often public) funding of development research (in areas that are likely to play a major role in the next few years in changing the climate for public expenditure, in light of the global financial crisis).

We base our discussion on case studies in the academic literature as well as 31 new case studies generated by a seminar series at IDS in 2008. In total, over 100 case studies of development research influence provide the basis for the discussion in this paper.

We seek to address four questions in particular:

a Why does the impact/influence of development research matter?

b What do we mean by impact/influence in terms of development research?

c What are the ingredients for impact/influence or the factors that support (or not) the impact/influence of development research?

d What would a research agenda on the impact/influence of development research look like?

a. Why does the impact/influence of development research matter?

The impact and influence of development research is an agenda that has been gathering momentum over the last few years. This agenda is a coming together of two divergent concerns. The first, from the funders of research, draws on results based management and is concerned with getting value-for-money from research spending or with 'more bang for the buck'. The second, more typical of those in the development studies research community, is concerned with whether research in the area is 'making a difference'. Among development researchers there is also often a political or normative basis – addressing global poverty and inequality – and catalysing change.

b. What do we mean by impact/influence in terms of development research?

The meanings of the terms 'impact' and 'influence' are multiple, multi-layered and complex to track. They may refer to use (i.e. consideration) or actual outcome(s) of social change. They can be visible or invisible; progressive or regressive. Impacts and influence can be intended or unintended and immediate or long-term. The processes of impact and influence are acknowledged to be non-linear, iterative and complex. The discussions across disciplinary teams at IDS have indicated four different ideas of how research knowledge relates to influence. Each of these approaches reflects a different emphasis on the role of individual capacity, relationships and the policy sphere itself.

c. What are the ingredients for impact/ influence or the factors that support (or not) the impact/influence of development research?

There is no single recipe for assessing impact/influence but there are some common ingredients which can help us to think through our impact/influence (or otherwise).

Factors that seem to support greater research impact and influence include:

- 'Sticky messages' or 'rallying ideas' in the content and processes of knowledge generation and translation that play a role in whether research is acted upon.
- 'Knit-working' or the building of coalitions of connectors and champions around ideas that lead to change.
- 'Strategic opportunism' or the role of mapping contexts to identify windows of opportunity for impact/influence (not forgetting the role of serendipity!)

Each of these has a political dimension. 'Sticky messages' are often a reflection of whose knowledge counts (i.e. power as discourse). 'Knit-working' and 'strategic opportunism' are products of political interests, incentives and capacities (i.e. power as material political economy and power as institutions, norms, conventions and behaviours).

d. What would a research agenda on the impact/influence of development research look like?

There are two priority areas that would benefit from deeper research. These are:

i The ingredients and indicators of impact/influence and their similarities and differences across sectors, spaces and contexts (how would we know if research makes a difference?);

ii The ethics or politics of impact/influence in terms of whose knowledge counts and differing perspectives across disciplines.

With respect to the first, although there is much work on policy processes, they are increasingly seen as complex, dynamic and changing. New actors, institutions and narratives are emerging. There is relatively little work on the non-policy process modalities of influence despite the fact that other stakeholders play an increasingly visible role. The indicators of impact/influence are under-researched and it is clear that positionality matters when assessing the impact/influence of research. The second is concerned with the politics of impact/influence and the ethics of 'making a difference'. Whose research influences or has an impact, and from what standpoint; whose knowledge counts? What are the different approaches within different academic disciplines?

1 Introduction

The impact and influence of development research is widely discussed by academics in development studies and development practitioners. It is clear that impact and influence are understood and valued from very different perspectives. This paper offers a review of recent work in this area with the aim of isolating priority areas of future research to which IDS is well placed to contribute. This review draws upon case studies in the academic literature as well as 31 new case studies generated by a seminar series at IDS in 2008, resulting in over 100 case studies from which to draw lessons.[1]

Impact and influence can be interpreted in a variety of ways. Researchers have different assumptions about who they are trying to influence, to do what and how best to do it. Do we want to achieve improved research 'uptake' or do we want our research to contribute more directly to social change? What kind of change do we want to achieve? Should we seek to catalyse change? Do we want to change what people do (policy, organisational behaviour or individual behaviour), to change the way people think (destabilising dominant discourses, opening up discourse to new voices), or to change the way people feel (changing representations of people and their actions)? Unsurprisingly, there are also differences between disciplines about exactly *how* change happens.

This paper addresses four questions:

- Why does the impact/influence of development research matter?
- What do we mean by impact/influence in terms of development research?
- What are the ingredients for impact/influence or the factors that support (or not) the impact/influence of development research?
- What would a research agenda on the impact/influence of development research look like?

This paper is structured as follows. Section 2 is concerned with why impact/influence matters. Section 3 focuses on the plurality of meanings of impact/influence. Section 4 discusses ingredients for impact/influence and Section 5 concludes the paper and outlines a forward-looking research agenda.

1 The 31 case studies were drawn from the transcriptions of a series of eight seminars and a summative event held at IDS between January and May 2008. Each IDS team hosted a seminar, and several external contributors offering comparative views (broadly defined) were also invited. The other case studies are those referred to throughout the paper and principally draw on the case studies of the Overseas Development Institute, Research and Policy in Development (ODI RAPID), ODI Global Development Network (ODI-GDN) and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) (see references throughout).

2 Why does the impact/influence of development research matter?

Many members of the Development Studies (DS) 'community' seek to 'make a difference' (Mehta *et al.* 2006: 1). Indeed, Development Studies (DS) is to a large extent about applied or instrumental research and is concerned with real-world problems (even when theorising).[2]

Researchers are often attracted to DS by a concern about and a commitment to social justice and prevailing levels of global poverty and inequality. While there is a strong dominant tradition in the DS community of researchers working within a 'modernising paradigm', the concern about poverty and inequality is arguably linked to the emergence of DS in the 1960s of a resurgence of Marxist and Neo-Marxist socio-economic theory, and the independence of most African countries following anti-colonial conflicts leading to declarations of 'African Socialism' (for example, Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, and Léopold Senghor in Senegal, as well as black liberation). Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) also fostered a sense of potential for intellectual revolution with his discussion of paradigmatic change.

Fast forwarding to today, although often couched in the discourse of post-colonial positionality (making any claims to 'know' loaded), a normative political commitment is evident in a DS focus on influencing thinking, discourse, behaviour, practice and public policy. For example, a recent survey of 43 heads of (European) development research institutes found that 88 per cent saw the research community itself as an important audience, but 82 per cent also said that policymakers in their own countries were an important audience (EADI 2006: 6).

Definitions of DS research typically identify a commitment to instrumentality, as in Molteberg and Bergstrøm's (2000: 7) proposition that:

> Development Studies is research committed to improvement. Knowledge generation is not an end in itself … An implication of this is that Development Studies addresses current, actual problems, focusing on solving them it tends to be applied and action or policy-orientated.

Research in DS can be placed on a continuum of purpose from less or different types of instrumentality (such as theory/abstraction) at one end to research with high instrumentality (focused on policy, practice, or action) at the other with combinations in between.

Instrumentality in DS research has been a focal point for many critiques which see research in this field as 'the source of many of the problems of the so-called Third World' (Corbridge 2005: 1). This point relates to the nature of interventions in the lives of the people who are the 'subjects' of or 'participants' in DS research who are often from different social and cultural backgrounds to that of the researcher.

2 This section draws upon discussion on the nature of Development Studies in Sumner and Tribe (2008).

Rahnema's (1997: 395) remark that 'who are we… to intervene in other people's lives?' is illustrative of this problem. When the purpose of DS research is instrumental, issues of legitimacy and accountability are raised with respect to what counts as 'good intentions'.

Why might DS researchers today be interested in the impact/influence of their research? Two interlocking reasons are related to notions of accountability.

First, accountability to often poor and marginalised people, partners, countries and communities in seeking good change rather than engaging in extractive research that only benefits the researcher's career is crucial. In this context, Lather's (1988: 272) concept of the 'catalytic validity' of research is relevant to certain kinds of research as it points to 'the degree to which the research process reorients, focuses, and energizes participants [or researchers and research 'subjects'] towards knowing reality in order to transform it'.

Second, accountability to the funders of research matters. This is usually defined by funders as the relevance/utility of the research to their overall objectives (not only of the donors but also the public resources drawn from taxation. DS research is funded to a great extent from public funds although this may be shifting and the mandates/missions of funders such as DFID are of significance here.

Accountability issues extend to questions about what happens if researchers get it wrong, or if research is misused or misinterpreted, as well as to the independence of research (independence from whom and how?).

Organisations with a specific mandate to promote social justice and/or to reduce poverty and inequality need to ensure that their activities fulfil their mandate. For example, the IDS mission statement says:

> Our mission is to work with a global network of partners to:
>
> - Develop dynamic ideas and analysis on the global issues that shape our world;
> - Provide practical solutions that accelerate sustainable poverty reduction, promote social justice and ensure that all people's voices are heard;
> - Use authoritative research, innovative teaching and cutting-edge communications to influence key audiences in order to achieve our vision.

Underlying the impact/influence agenda is an assumption that research expenditure has a higher value added than alternative uses of development funds (such as other aid spending).[3] Indeed, DS research funding is increasingly linked to demonstrable impacts/influence as accountability measures. For example, DFID's (2008) research strategy notes,

3 Contentious as it may be, research tends to support this. For example, Surr *et al.* (2002: 8–9) list many studies that purport to demonstrate the strength of research in reducing poverty. Agricultural research in particular would seem to have a high rate of return. Surr *et al.* note that research suggests that the cost of lifting one person out of poverty through agriculture research was US$180–190 per person, compared with US$2,304 per person for lifting one person out of poverty through aid spending in general.

DFID's new research strategy places increased focus on influence and highlights the lack of accountability of research institutes to the users of its research (the strategy consultation found that there was a moral imperative for researchers to be held accountable for their findings).

DFID currently allocates 10 per cent of the budgets of funded projects to communications. For the European Commission the share is higher at a third of expenditure. This share is similar to that of other donor agencies and the UK research councils. For example, the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) in the UK has a department dedicated to research impact, and submitted proposals require plans for user-engagement and communication; and the ESRC-DFID Joint Scheme has asked researchers to link their research to contributions to the Millennium Development Goals.

Interest in the impact/influence of research projects aggregates upwards to support the overall case for (often public) funding of DS research (in areas that are likely to play a major role in the next few years in changing the climate for public expenditure, in the light of the global financial crisis). However, this interest may also reduce funding for research which is not immediately seen as 'relevant' to funders.

3 What do we mean by impact/ influence in terms of development research?

What do we mean by impact, influence and 'making a difference'? Interest in impact/influence can be traced to Aristotle who emphasised the importance in persuasion of logos (i.e. an intellectual basis), ethos (i.e. a moral or ethical basis) and pathos (i.e. an emotional appeal to feelings). In recent years, there has been a mushrooming of books on this subject at the intersection of business studies, behavioural economics, marketing and psychology, starting with Robert Cialdini's (1984) work *Influence: The Psychology of Persuasion* and more contemporary examples such as Gladwell's (2000) *Tipping Point*, Gardner's (2006) *Changing Minds*, and Chip and Dan Heath's (2007) *Made to Stick* (see Box 3.1).

Research on the impact/influence of DS research has been conducted by development institutes/agencies including the Research and Policy in Development (RAPID) research group at the Overseas Development Institute (ODI)[4] and the European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM) on policymaking impacts.[5]

Much work has been done in the OECD countries by the UK Cabinet Office, the ESRC Centre for Evidence-based Policy and Practice and the related 'Evidence

4 See www.odi.org.uk/RAPID (accessed 23 August 2009).

5 See www.ecdpm.org/ (accessed 23 August 2009).

Network' (see for example, Boaz and Ashby 2003; Grayson 2002) and the Research Utilisation Centre at St Andrews University.[6]

At IDS there is work in this area in most, if not all, of the DRCs. Other work includes that by the IDRC (on the influence of research on policy), the GDN ('bridging' research and policy), Healthlink WorldWide, the 'Research into Use' programme of NR International and the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) (impact assessment) (see Court *et al.* 2005; Dinello and Squire 2002; IDRC 2004).

The IDS seminar series featured presentations from five research teams within the Institute as well as from three comparator organisations for whom research communication and decentralised decision-making are a fundamental part of their agenda. What emerged from these seminars were four distinct ideas about how research knowledge relates to power and social change.

The Information Approach = the quantity of knowledge is what counts; influence is about getting your research in front of the decision-maker and the more places it is available the more likely it is to make a difference.

Evidence-Based Approach = the quality of knowledge is what counts; influence is about producing high-quality, contextually relevant research.

Value-Based Approach = whose knowledge counts is what counts; influence is about making your research credible or 'brand' building. Politics is there but it's politics only as discourse (*c.f.* Foucault).

The Relational Approach = it's not the knowledge that counts but the dialogue; influence is not just about changing minds but being open to changing your own mind in the process. The notion is that politics can be neutralised with conscious attempts at equality.

It is important to note however that these approaches were not mutually exclusive and many research programmes plan to follow more than one in the same time-frame. The difference was the approaches that various disciplines might choose to emphasise.

Interestingly, there were also a number of common elements to influence/impact which were valued across disciplines and research sectors. These features – which relate to opportunism, connections and messaging – have been theorised and made part of popular discourse in various ways. (They also have significant operational implications for how we assess the value of research knowledge.)

6 See www.ruru.ac.uk/ (accessed 23 August 2009).

Type of approach	Approach to knowledge	Approach to influence view	Implications for research impact?
Information	Quantity matters	Influence is access to decision maker	Build broader repositories of research knowledge
Evidence	Quality matters	Influence is about producing high quality research	Build a taxonomy of quality and relevance
Value-added	Credibility matters	Influence is about making your research credible or 'brand' building	Invest in networks and communities of practice
Relational	Dialogue matters	Influence is mutual, and means being open to changing your own mind in the process	Develop participatory communication principles in research planning

Box 3.1 Tipping point, changing minds and made to stick

Gladwell, M. (2000) *Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference* [This is a derivative of the standard linear diffusion model which is critiqued elsewhere in this paper.]

Malcolm Gladwell (2000), a Washington Post journalist, argued that ideas spread like epidemics. The question is then, 'why is it that some ideas … start epidemics and others don't? And what can we do to deliberately start and control positive epidemics of our own?' (2000: 14). For Gladwell, ideas reach a 'tipping point'. This is 'the moment of critical mass, the threshold, the boiling point' (2000: 12). Gladwell argues ideas or 'social epidemics' are like a virus in the sense that they are contagious; geometric (little causes can have big effects) and sudden (change is not gradual but at one dramatic moment or a boiling point). He argues there are four stages – each with different kinds of people involved at different stages (he calls these innovators, early adopters, the early majority and the late majority from Business Studies theory). Gladwell identifies three rules that social epidemics follow:

- The 'stickiness factor' – this is the infection agent or *the message*. As Gladwell (2000: 25) notes 'the hard part of communication is how to make sure a message doesn't go in one ear and out the other. Stickiness means that a message makes an impact'.
- The 'law of the few' – these are *the connectors*. Some people matter more than others for spreading ideas. There are those who spread the message, there are 'mavens' (information traders), and salesmen (or persuaders), the last being critical to any 'tipping point'.

- The 'power of context' – this is the notion that human beings are more sensitive to *the context* or the environment than they seem.

Gardner H. (2006) *Changing Minds: The Art and Science of Changing our Own and Other People's Minds*

Howard Gardner, a Harvard psychologist, lists seven factors or 'levers' that 'determine whether or not a tipping point has been reached … change is most likely to come about when the first six factors operate in consort and the resistances are relatively weak (2006: 18, 65). Indeed, he argues we should spend less time, 'trying to convince … and more time trying to understand and thereby neutralise the resistances … and challenge [people's] representation, demonstrate its weaknesses and cause it to be undermined' (2006: 4, 59). Gardner's (2006: 15–16) seven 'levers' are as follows:

- Reason – i.e. the underlying rationale or logic of an idea;
- Research – i.e. the collection of data relevant to the idea;
- Resonance – i.e. if an idea 'feels right';
- Representational re-descriptions – i.e. the extent to which an idea lends itself to representation in different forms, which reinforce each other;
- Resources and rewards – i.e. resources make a difference although they are not enough by themselves;
- Real world events – i.e. events matter to the spread of ideas;
- Resistances – which are central to preventing change.

Gardner believes these 'levers' have different emphasis among different 'audiences'. For example, among those who consider themselves 'educated', reason and research are the most powerful 'levers' and large audiences are 'chiefly affected by powerful stories' (2006: 15, 210).

Heath, C. and Heath, D. (2007) *Made to Stick: Why Some Ideas Take Hold and Others Come Unstuck*

Chip and Dan Heath, the former, a Professor at Stanford University, analysed urban legends, wartime rumours, proverbs, conspiracy theories and jokes and conducted 40 experiments with 1,700 people over ten years. They argue that six factors in combination determine what is memorable and what is not. These are (2007: 16–18) and conveniently spell SUCCESS:

- Simple (any idea over one is too many);
- Unexpected (a surprise grabs our attention);
- Concrete (the more dimensions of details the more hooks our minds use to create a memory);

- Credible (even untrue stories don't stick unless there is a hint of truth);
- Emotional (we remember emotional experiences much more than anything else; we care more about individuals than groups; and we care about things that reflect our identities);
- Stories (information is more memorable and meaningful in a story form).

So what actually is research influence or impact? Various terms – for example, use, uptake, impact and outcomes – are used interchangeably. There is much work on research impact/influence in the sense of use or consideration – research influencing policymakers, practitioners, and thinking – but also perspectives on the role of research and knowledge in wider social change (see below).

In terms of specific definitions in the literature amongst the most cited are Caplan's (1979) and Weiss's (1977) definitions of research 'use' from the 1970s and more recently Webber's definition as follows:

> [f]or the most part, 'use' is understood to mean 'consideration' and has been measured by interview questions asking 'Would you find this type of research helpful?' or 'Have you considered this type of information when making a decision?' The exact process of use has been given different interpretations and little effort has been made to compare approaches to measuring knowledge use
>
> (Webber 1991: 5–6)

Weiss's (1977: 531–3) seven meanings of research 'use' or research utilisation is well cited (see Box 3.2). She noted:

> [the] prevailing concept of research utilisation stresses application of specific research conclusions to specific decisional choices. A problem exists; information or understanding is needed to generate a solution to the problem or to select among alternative solutions; research provides the missing knowledge; the decision makers then reach a solution … Data from three recent studies suggest that the major use of social research is not the application of specific data to specific decisions. Rather, government decision makers tend to use research indirectly, as a source of ideas, information, and orientations to the world. Although the process is not easily discernible, over time it may have profound effects on policy. Even research that challenges current values and political feasibilities is judged useful by decision makers.

These models can be used to explain impact and influence in different situations and are not mutually exclusive.

Box 3.2 Weiss's models of research utilisation

- *Knowledge driven:* a linear view that research findings may be communicated to create action;
- *Problem solving:* a policy-driven, linear view that begins with the end users of research and problems they face before tracking back in search of useful findings;
- *Interactive:* here the set of non-linear, less predictable interactions between researchers and users, with research influence/impact happening through complex social processes of 'sustained interactivity';
- *Enlightenment:* this model eschews the notion that research influence/impacts are simple and instrumental in effect; instead research is seen to affect change through 'the gradual sedimentation of insight, theories, concepts and perspectives';
- *Political:* research findings seen as ammunition in adversarial systems of decision making;
- *Tactical:* research to be a resource to be drawn on whenever there is pressure for action on complex public issues, and may be used not just to bolster decision making but also to stall and deflect pressure for action.

Source: Weiss (1979).

Typically, 'use' is understood as either conceptual or instrumental use. Caplan (1979: 462–4) defines instrumental use relating to micro-level decisions and conceptual use as relating to macro-level decisions:

> associated with the day-to-day policy issues of limited significance [and that these] applications involved administrative policy issues pertaining to bureaucratic management and efficiency rather than substantive public policy issues and the latter with important policy matters which affect the nation as a whole.

This demarcation between use/impact/influence/outcomes of instrumental versus conceptual research use/impact/influence/outcomes has survived. For example:

> Non-academic research impact is about identifying the influences of research findings on policy, managerial and professional practices, social behaviour or public discourse. Such impact may be instrumental, influencing changes in policy, practices and behaviour, or conceptual, changing people's knowledge, understanding and attitudes towards social issues … research can contribute not just to decisional choices, but also to the formation of values, the creation of new understandings and possibilities, and to the quality of public and professional discourse and debate.
>
> (Davies *et al.* 2005: 11)

The conceptual versus instrumental use dichotomy asks about impact/influence on what and whom? – i.e. what modalities and audiences – a change in thinking/discourse, i.e. conceptual (unsettle a dominant discourse or replace a dominant discourse of a set of actors), or a change in behaviour, i.e. instrumental (organisational behaviour or public policy and policymakers).

Research that seeks to influence – policy for example – has a differing objective to research more generally. Sometimes labelled 'policy orientated research' (POR) it can be defined in a number of ways.

CGIAR (2008: 1) identifies policy-oriented research primarily with social science research but also recognises that physical or biological science projects may also be policy-oriented.

Ryan and Kelly (2008: 1) define policy-oriented research (POR) as:

> research aimed primarily at affecting choices made by governments or other institutions whose decision are embodied in laws, regulations, or other activities that generate benefits and costs for people who are affected by those governments or institutions.

Babu (2000: 4–5) develops this into two categories as follows:

> The benefits of policy analysis research can be classified into two broad categories; pre-decision benefits and post-decision benefits. Before decisions are made, policy research information is useful in facilitating the decision-making process. These benefits can also be called process benefits. Process benefits include the benefits from strengthening the policy analysis units at various levels and creating additional capacity for policy analysis.7

In short, definitions of policy orientated research immediately take us to what research is seeking to influence in the policy field.

In terms of policy we might identify a range of policy impacts. These may be changes in: policy content, agenda setting, policy framing, procedural change and shifts in policy implementation. For example:

- Policy content change – Research evidence can lead to actual substantive change in the content of policy and/or resources allocated.

- Policy agenda setting – Research evidence can change policymakers' priorities and draw attention to new issues or policy issues previously under-emphasised.

---

7 Babu continues (2000: 4–5) 'Process benefits can be realised even if the policy decisions are not actually made. This is particularly so when the research information helps prevent implementation of erroneous policy decisions. Such error-reduction benefits need to be counted in evaluating the impact of food policy research. Process benefits can be further categorized into quantifiable benefits and qualitative benefits. Quantifiable benefits are those which can be assigned a monetary value, although they tend to be subjective. Qualitative process benefits are those which cannot be directly quantified but can be represented in other terms, for example, the number of times a research report is used in the decision-making process, the role of the report in initiating dialogue, and the number of citations of the report in future research'.

- Policy framing shift –Research evidence can change the way that policymakers understand a problem or the possible responses to it.

- Policy procedural change – Research evidence can change how policy itself is made by procedural/institutional change that leads to new actors or new evidence being part of the process of decision making.

- Behavioural changes in policy implementation – Research evidence changes how policy is implemented.

Source: Adapted from Jones and Sumner (forthcoming).

The literature in research impact/influence deals mostly with the policy modality of research impact/influence and thus mainly with policymaking audiences for good reason. Tracing the impact/influence of research from research outputs to reductions in poverty and inequality is difficult (see methodological issues below). The clearest example of an evaluation of research impact/influence on outcomes (of poverty reduction) is by IFPRI and discussed below, but this specifically looks at the introduction of new agricultural technologies, rather than at concepts and ideas which are more difficult to measure. Most of the literature implies that policy impact/influence is universally positive and is assumed to lead to impact on development outcomes. The research-policy interface is clearly important, but it is only part of the picture.

The focus on 'use' suggests that the researcher's job is finished when the research has been disseminated (i.e. to policy audiences). Given that DS research is often normative and the researcher is concerned with positive development outcomes, this focus needs to be questioned. We should be interested in the outcomes themselves. What happens if DS research informs action that leads to negative outcomes? Whose responsibility is that?

When the political and tactical models of research use are considered, it is important to ask if policy impact/influence is beneficial if it serves to legitimise a certain group's hold on power, for example. Some impact evaluations have found instances of research being used for tactical and political purposes, indicating that research is not always neutral in providing explorations of solutions to a problem (see Coe *et al.* 2002; Molas-Gallart and Tang 2007).

There are also instances where research has highlighted an issue that funders then become interested in and, as a consequence, funding is diverted from other programmes which may have more impact on poverty reduction. Important questions are who decides what is 'relevant' research and 'relevant' to whom? Poor quality research can lead to negative development outcomes if, for example, research which does not consider the context and the results are applied universally or if the results are out-of-date or faulty in some way. Additional issues arise if there is mis- or selective interpretation of the research process or the results.

There has been growing interest in assessing DS research impact/influence as 'outcomes' in the light of social reality although it is often very difficult to claim attribution (and risky if researchers cannot show it). Examples are work by the

Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR), IDRC and the IDS Citizenship DRC (see Box 3.3).

Box 3.3 Summaries of selected research impact/influence publications of the Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability (Citizenship DRC) at IDS

Wheeler, J. (2007) *Creating Spaces for Engagement: Understanding Research and Social Change*

- One of the key issues in using research for social change is how to address the expectations that communities involved in the research have as a result of the research process.
- The experience of the Citizenship DRC points to the importance of recognising the trade-offs and risks that may be involved in research that links to social change and challenges existing power structures
- The experience of the DRC shows how using research for change often involves the need to reconcile diverging interests.
- While using research for influence has risks, it has led not only to changes in policy in some cases, but also to changes in researchers' perspectives. The type of influence that the research can have is informed by the way that researchers define research itself. Those more focused on research as activism engaged with people on a local level, and must confront the contradictions and complexities of that context in order to have any influence. Those with more of a focus on generating evidence to inform policy engaged with local and national government officials, and learned more about the constraints and possibilities on policy decisions in the process.

Guijt, I. (2007) *Assessing Learning for Social Change: A Discussion Paper*

- Social change is a collective process of conscious efforts to reduce poverty and oppression by changing underlying unequal power relationships. Assessment and learning that strengthens social change includes recognising the specific features of such developmental processes and then accommodating these methodologically.
- Standard monitoring and evaluation (M&E) approaches based on fixed, time-bound achievements and segmented realities fail to do justice to such interconnected efforts over a long time period.
- In practice, creating an appropriate assessment and learning process requires mixing and matching and adapting a combination of frameworks, concepts and methods – to ensure they address information and reflection needs and match existing capacities.
- Being clear about the theories of change that individuals and groups

have helps to strategise and provide a focus to learning and assessment.

- Methods will never be the full answer to the challenges of assessment and learning. Due to its system-wide nature and, therefore, the need to engage a range of actors, assessment and learning for social change will always require negotiating about information needs and about learning modalities.
- Credibility and trust are essential to effective assessment processes and can be seen as a by-product of the main competencies and qualities. These start at the personal level but are ideally reflected in convergence within the organisation around core, non-negotiable values and practices for both social change and assessing social change.
- A focus on 'assessing social change' as advocated in this paper can be helpful to bridge the disconnection between levels that lead to confusion and mismatches across scales.
- Donors need to rethink the principles on which they base their models of evaluation and learning. Amidst what might seem like a daunting agenda, one action point merits special attention, that of consistency – donors must be more rigorous in aligning their espoused values with the protocols and systems they use.
- Intermediaries can play critical roles as innovators, challengers and bridgers – for many a continuation of roles they already take seriously.
- The core shift that must be recognised is that infusing assessment processes with political consciousness will require new skills and capacities.
- For all those involved – activists, intermediaries, evaluators, donors – generating practical ideas and sharing inspiring examples are essential.

Guijt, I. (2008) *Critical Readings on Assessing and Learning for Social Change: A Review*

- Improving learning-oriented monitoring first and foremost requires affirmative political action and leadership to widen the space for learning and reflexivity.
- Four principles for monitoring and evaluating advocacy are identified: ensure that what an NGO values gets measured; use methodological approaches that are appropriate for the type of advocacy work being carried out; look at the whole, not just the parts; and make impact assessment an organisational priority.
- Importance of viewing the M&E of advocacy as part of a holistic policy process, rather than as a separate task at the end. The involvement of people in impact assessment strategies can be directly linked to efforts to strengthen civil society and to form more democratic societies.

- Outcome Mapping is an innovative approach for planning, M&E and organisational learning that defines changes as changes in the behaviour, relationships, activities, or actions of people, groups and organisations with whom a programme works directly.
- Outcome Mapping is growing rapidly, as it provides practical options for tough M&E questions such as: how can we understand our contribution to social change within complex and dynamic partnerships?; how can we bring analytical rigour to our monitoring and analysis based on qualitative information?; how can outcome challenges, progress markers and strategy or organisational monitoring lead to new insights efficiently with out 'death by data'?; how can we structure and track development in terms of partnerships and process?

Pathways approaches to impact/influence assessment are based on a visual description of the causal chain of events and outcomes that link outputs to a goal (logic model); and network maps showing the evolving relationships necessary to achieve the goal such as implementing organisations, boundary partners, and beneficiaries (see Douthwaite *et al.* 2007a; Earl *et al.* 2001). In *The Impact Pathways* model used by the CGIAR, an 'outcome' is the external use, adoption or impact/influence of outputs leading to 'changes in knowledge, attributes, policies, research capacities, agricultural practices, productivity, sustainability or other factors required in order to achieve the intended impact' (Douthwaite *et al.* 2007a: 9). IDRC's Outcome Mapping approach defines 'outcomes' as behavioural change and differentiates outcomes from development impacts, which are seen as longer-term goals (Earl *et al.* 2001).

Table 3.1 summarises some of the definitions in the literature. It emphasises the diversity of definitions of impact/influence across use, impact and outcome in conceptual and instrumental modalities and for different audiences. In many cases, the concepts are used synonymously or not defined. In some cases, a linear stages pathway is dominant in the literature: use (leading to)> impact/influence > outcomes > impacts.[8] In others, a more sophisticated iterative cycle of impact/influence is depicted: key messages > capacity to access audience > capacity to impact/influence audience > actual change/outcomes > leading back to new key messages (from the participants).

8 In some of the literature, outcome comes before impact as in impact pathway and outcome mapping models – impact are the longer term changes.

Table 3.1 Selected definitions of research impact/influence

Organisation/ Reference	Nature of enquiry	Definition of use/impact/influence/outcomes
IDRC Earl *et al.* (2001)	Development research	Outcomes: changes in behaviour, relationships, activities, or actions of the people, groups, and organisations with whom a programme works directly. Impacts: changes in state, for example, policy relevance, poverty alleviation, or reduced conflict
IDRC Carden (2004) Neilson (2001)	Development research	Policy (defined as public policy) impact/influence can be four types: - expanding policy capacities - broadening policy horizons - affecting policy regimes - developing new policy regimes Influence is regarded as being on a continuum with direct impact on legislation or particular government decisions on one end to changing the prevailing paradigm on the other.
IFPRI Meinzen-Dick *et al.* (2004)	Agricultural research	The impact of adoption of new agricultural technologies on poverty
IFPRI Ryan and Garrett (2003)	Economic policy research	Policy influence (not defined further)
UNIP Emmerij *et al.* (2001); Jolly *et al.* (2005)	UN ideas	Changing the ways that issues are perceived; by framing agendas for action; changing the ways that key groups perceive their interests – and thus altering the balance of forces pressing for action or resisting it; embedding in an institution or institutions, which thus adopt responsibility for carrying the idea forward and become a focus for accountability and monitoring.
RURU Davies *et al.* (2005)	Social science research	Non-academic research impact is defined as the spread, use and influence of research findings in non-academic contexts.
ESRC Solesbury *et al.* (2003)	Cross-cutting social science research (education, health care, social care and criminal justice)	- Awareness of and access to research - The extent to which research is considered, read or cited - Acquisition of new knowledge and understanding - Changed attitudes and beliefs - Behavioural change
Molas-Gallart and Tang (2007)	Social science research	Impact on practice and policy through the application of new knowledge gained through research activity and application of skills and methods gained by researchers through the research process.
ESRC Wooding *et al.* (2007)	Social science research	Academic and wider impacts on policy and professional practice: - Knowledge and research - Public policy - Career development - Policies and practices of organisations

ODI RAPID Hovland (2007)	Development research	Outcomes and impacts: changes in behaviour, knowledge, policies, capacities and/or practices that the research has contributed to, directly or indirectly (e.g. change in government policy, working practices of an NGO, reduction in poverty in a certain area, strengthened livelihoods or civil society input into policy processes, etc.)
ODI (Various)	71 case studies (50 for GDN)	Various (see www.odi.org.uk/RAPID).
Creation, Adoption, Negation, Distortion of Development (CANDID) McNeill (2006)	Ideas in development	Diffusion or uptake of ideas via bibliometric tracking.
CGIAR Douthwaite *et al.* (2007a)	Agricultural research	Outcome: the external use, adoption or influence of outputs leading to 'changes in knowledge, attributes, policies, research capacities, agricultural practices, productivity, sustainability or other factors required in order to achieve the intended impact' Impact: any longer-range benefits

The available literature indicates that exploring research impact/influence is methodologically tricky. The literature highlights the importance of knowing the motives for conducting (research) impact evaluations before deciding what and how information on research impact or influence is to be conceptualised, collected and presented. Generally, motives are associated with learning or judgement (Davies *et al.* 2005). The motives then govern the approach to impact/influence evaluation that is chosen. Some approaches specifically refer to research impact/influence while others do not.[9] These approaches are not mutually exclusive and are often combined to achieve a more comprehensive impact assessment. One approach is forward-tracking (or supply-side) moving from research to its consequences. Another is backward-tracking (demand-side) moving from research users to identify potential impact/influences. There are several types of supply-side approaches:

- Output evaluation: The traditional impact assessment of academic outputs is an assessment of peer-reviewed published outputs, of the quality of output and the extent to which the output has influenced other academics (by citation tracking) (Davies *et al.* 2005)
- Uptake evaluation (or evaluation of utilisation): The extent to which research and recommendations have been 'picked up' by others (Hovland 2007)

9 For a more comprehensive list see Hovland (2007) – methodological approaches are listed according to performance areas (or purpose – whether evaluating strategy and direction, management, outputs, uptake or outcome and impacts).

- Outcome/impact evaluation: Depending on definition of outcome/impact, specifically looking at welfare outcomes – has a reduction in poverty and inequality been achieved? – or looking at changes in behaviour, knowledge, policies, capacities and practices, encompassing both conceptual and instrumental impact/influence (Hovland 2007).
- Process evaluation: Looking at implementation and asking how impact/influence was achieved.
- *Ex-ante* evaluation: The approaches above are generally *ex-post*, but research programmes often include *ex-ante* evaluations such as logical frameworks, to gauge the success of research in achieving its objective. This type of evaluation does not replace *ex-post* evaluation (Ryan and Garrett 2003); and many approaches integrate planning, monitoring and evaluation. Examples include IDRC Outcome Mapping (Earl *et al.* 2001), CGIAR Impact Pathways (Douthwaite *et al.* 2007a) and Social Network Analysis (Davies 2003).

In contrast, backward-tracking approaches track backwards from decisions or practice to identify potential impact/influence from research with the main approach being case-based evaluation which begins with user communities and asks about their use of research (Davies *et al.* 2005).

Once the approach to evaluation has been decided, there are a number of methodological issues. The challenges in this area probably explain the relative absence of studies evaluating research impact/influence on end users (who may be the poor and marginalised). The difficulties are substantial as noted by Hovland (2007: 2):

> Both instrumental and conceptual impacts of research are difficult to measure. When research has an instrumental impact on policy or practice, this often occurs in conjunction with a series of other events and relationships, and thus the relative contribution of the research to the outcome is not easily determined. This difficulty is enhanced even further when it comes to conceptual impacts, where research may have been converted into an anecdote, a catchphrase, or received wisdom. In these cases the research may have 'percolated' through various policy and practitioner networks, to great effect, but without being tagged as a specific piece of research.

Capturing subtle and diverse impacts/influences poses considerable challenges. Table 3.2 outlines some of the major issues involved in searching for conceptual impact/influences, users, timing, attribution, and so on.

There is a substantial issue of responding to the sheer complexity of unravelling influence and impacts. In the DS field, Complexity Science and research on Complex Adaptive Systems is attuned to 'messy realities' (see for example, Rihani 2002). Development is understood theoretically in this context as complex, dynamic, diverse, 'messy' and uncertain. The focus is on *interrelationships* rather than on linear cause and impact. Attention is paid to *processes of change* rather than to snapshots of change. Eyben (2006: 203–4) summarise Complexity Science as follows:

Table 3.2 Assessing research impact/influence: methodological issues

Methodological issue	Further details
How to assess conceptual impact/influence?	There may be direct impact/influences on public policy research that are easily discerned, but how does one track the more subtle changes (changes to people's behaviours, attitudes to and understanding of social issues)? According to empirical studies this type of impact is a lot more common than direct impact and it is often a situation of ideas 'creeping' into policy deliberation and as such is very difficult to measure (Davies *et al.* 2005; Coe *et al.* 2002).
How to assess those who have been influenced?	Where do you look for research impacts? Who are the research users? In many cases these may be completely different from those anticipated by the project designers. When looking at policymakers it may be difficult to discern who the key people are. Further, there is the issue of sampling – a decision needs to be made on random or purposive sampling (Davies *et al.* 2005; Ryan and Garrett 2003).
How to decide when to look for impact/ influences?	If an evaluation is carried out shortly after the completion of a project and discovers little impact, does this necessarily mean that there will be no impact? Considering the complexity of policy processes and the rare instances of direct impact of research on policy, it can be difficult to decide when it is best to evaluate impact. Most monitoring and evaluation happens during or just after project completion and may not find evidence of any impact. (Davies *et al.* 2005; Carden 2004; Ryan and Garrett 2003).
How to assess attribution or contribution or the counter-factual?	How do you assess the contribution of research to a certain outcome? Was it the key driver? There are lots of different factors that support ongoing change – how does one evaluate the input of only one of these factors? The challenge of evaluation is that credit for change can only be claimed by discrediting other inputs. What would have happened if the research had not been carried out and how do you measure this? (Carden 2004; Davies *et al.* 2005; Meinzen-Dick *et al.* 2004; White 2006) This issue is further compounded by researchers identifying impact from their portfolio of work rather than specific projects, whereas evaluation is done on a project-by-project basis (Molas-Gallart and Tang 2007).
Should assess-ment be qualitative, quantitative or both?	How to balance qualitative descriptions with quantitative assessments, considering both subjective and objective judgements? (Davies *et al.* 2005).
At what level should invest-igation of influence take place?	What is focus: institutional, programmatic, thematic or project level? (Ryan and Garrett 2003).
How to deal with context specificity?	How is a consideration of context taken into the evaluation methodologically? (Davies *et al.* 2005; Molas-Gallart and Tang 2007).
What is a 'good' outcome?	In order to see if poverty and inequality has been reduced, a good measure for poverty and inequality needs to be used in impact assessment – one that goes beyond simple measures of income and nutrition (Meinzen-Dick *et al.* 2004: 1).

> Complexity theory posits that it is not possible to predict with any confidence the relation between cause and effect. Change is emergent. History is largely unpredictable … New interrelational processes are constantly being generated, which in turn may affect and change those already existing. Small 'butterfly' actions may have a major impact, and big ones may have very little impact.

According to Ramalingam *et al.* (2008, ix, 1, 4–5) this Complexity body of ideas aids:

> ... understanding of the mechanisms through which unpredictable, unknowable and emergent change happens … [and] can prove particularly useful in allowing us to embrace what were previously seen as 'messy realities'.

Ramalingam *et al.* (2008) list ten ideas with respect to the composition of systems, adaptive change and agency (see Box 3.4).

Box 3.4 Key ideas in complexity sciences

i. Systems are composed of:

- Interconnected and interdependent elements and dimensions.
- Feedback processes that promote and inhibit change within systems.
- System characteristics and behaviours that emerge often unpredictably from the interaction of the parts, such that the whole is different to the sum of the parts.

ii. Systems change occurs via:

- Nonlinearity – i.e. when change happens, it is frequently disproportionate and unpredictable.
- Sensitivity to initial conditions – i.e. small differences in the initial state of a system can lead to massive differences later; butterfly effects and bifurcations are two ways in which complex systems can change drastically over time.
- Phase space or the 'space of the possible' – i.e. the dimensions of a system, and how they change over time.
- Attractors, chaos and the 'edge of chaos' – i.e. the order underlying the seemingly random behaviours exhibited by complex systems.

iii. Agency is a function of:

- Adaptive agents – who react to the system and to each other.
- Self-organisation – a particular form of emergent property that can occur in systems of adaptive agents.
- Co-evolution – which describes how within a system of adaptive agents the overall system and the agents within it evolve together, or co-evolve, over time.

Source: Extracted from text in Ramalingam *et al.* (2008).

In Complexity Science, policy 'systems' are understood to be made up of multiple elements and processes which are not only connected but inter-dependent through feedback loops, non-linear processes, and sensitivity to initial conditions. Within these systems agents are co-evolving and adaptive. Outcomes are the product of an iteration or juxtaposition of factors. This suggests that we need to focus on the processes of change rather than solely on outcomes. It suggests greater emphasis on interrelationships and the juxtaposition of discourses/evidence, actors/networks, and context/institutions in producing co-evolving processes and outcomes. We also need to bear in mind the diversity of pathways and contexts and the nature of path dependency (i.e. sensitivity to initial conditions) and context-specificity – any claims to universality need to be balanced with commentary on the outliers. It also needs to be acknowledged that there are many traditions in the systems of innovation literature that are not predicated on the theorems of complexity science that similarly emphasise the importance of non-linearity, interdependence of relationships, and the uncertainty of outcomes. Similarly, research in the tradition of constructivism (present in many disciplines of enquiry) gives considerable emphasis to the co-construction of understandings as well as to the co-evolution of the components of human systems. In practice those researching impact/influence often use frameworks, notably for research on policy processes, that take little account of complexity.[10]

How have researchers sought to research impact/influence in practice? Although different approaches have strengths in varying situations, none deal adequately with all of the methodological challenges either because they are too difficult to deal with or they are not considered important. The issue of conceptual impact/influence is particularly difficult to address and only Molas-Gallart and Tang (2007), McNeill (2006) and Earl *et al.* (2001) even discuss it.

Table 3.3 identifies approaches used in assessing policy impacts of agriculture research and the 'what' (indicators, counter-factual), the 'how' (methodology and methods) and the 'when' (timing and type of assessment).

10 First generation models in the 1950s/60s were highly linear models that largely assume a certain kind of functioning democracy. For example, the older rational models (e.g. Lasswell 1951), bounded rationality models (e.g. Simon 1957), incrementalism and/or disjointed incrementalism models (e.g. Lindblom 1959). Second generation models were much more explicit and dealt with power. There was also expansion from considering state actors and their political or bureaucratic interests and capacities to non-state actors and to a foci on networks and a shift from linearity and stages, to iterative processes and to spaces. Examples include the middle ground or mixed scanning models (e.g. Etzioni 1976), garbage can theories (e.g. March and Olsen 1976), interceptor/receptor models (e.g. Hanney 2005), the three inter-connecting streams model (e.g. Kingdon 1984), the political economy approach of de Janvry and Subramanian (1993), the ladder of utilisation and receptors receptivity model (e.g. Knott and Wildavsky 1980), the interactive or problem solving/engineering models (e.g. Grindle and Thomas 1991), the Research and Policy In Development (RAPID) research-into-policy model (Crewe and Young 2002), the argumentative model (e.g. Fischer and Forester 1993), and the Structuration or KNOTS-discourse based model (e.g. Keeley and Scoones 2006; KNOTS 2006).

Table 3.3 Studies of policy impacts of policy research in agriculture

Reference	The 'what' - The indicators - The counter-factual	The 'how' - Methodology - Methods	The 'when' - Type of assessment - Timing
Rationing (RR) programme in Bangladesh Babu (2000)	People's perceptions of the contribution (influence, value and impact) of IFPRI's research to the policy change and people's perceptions of what would have happened without IFPRI's research.	Qualitative. 65 semi-structured interviews with donors, collaborators, policymakers, and participants in the Bangladesh Food Policy Project (BFPP) training courses. Review of project documents.	Impact Assessment Closure + elapsed time (6 years)
Food for Education programme in Bangladesh Babu (2000)	People's perceptions of the contribution (influence, value and impact) of IFPRI's research to the policy change and no counter-factual.	Qualitative. Interviews with donors, collaborators, policymakers, and BFPP participants in the training courses. Review of project documents.	Impact Assessment Closure + elapsed time (4 years)
In-Trust Agreement between FAO and CGIAR Gotor *et al.* (2008)	Participants' perception of the role of Biodiversity in establishing ITA and participants' perception on counter-factual (what would have happened without the research).	Qualitative. 16 key informants' interviews. 'Triangulation' and review of documents.	*Ex-post* Evaluation Closure + elapsed time (6 years)
Pulp and Paper Policy in Indonesia Raitzer (2008)	Participants' perception influence, contribution and attributive impact of CIFOR's research and interview response on counter-factual (what would have happened if all other players were active, but without CIFOR research).	Qualitative. 31 key informant interviews with representatives of 16 distinct organisations.	*Ex-post* Impact Assessment Closure + 6 years
Barley Fertilisation Policy in Syria Shideed *et al.* (2008)	Participants' perceptions of how the policy change has taken place and the role of different institutions involved in the change. Counter-factual on farmers' practices before the policy change and how fertilisation policy would have evolved in absence of POR.	Qualitative. 18 interviews with partner institutions, stakeholders and policymakers.	*Ex-post* Evaluation Closure + 17 years
PROGRESA Anti-poverty and Human Resource Investment Conditional Cash	Participants' perception. IFPRI's influence on the design of PROGRESA and its contribution to the programme and spillovers.	Qualitative. 39 interviews with major participants in the programme and its evaluation	Impact Evaluation

Transfer Programme in Mexico Behrman (2007)	No counter-factual.	(through in-person, telephone or email). Review of documents.	
Dairy Marketing Policy in Kenya Kaitibie *et al.* (2008)	Participants' perception on the policy change process and its implementation. Policymakers and researchers response on counter-factual (how long it would have taken for the policy change to occur without SDP).	Qualitative. Field interviews with 61 milk traders, 5 field regulators. Interviews with policymakers, SDP researchers, and NGOs. Review of SDP publications between 1997 and 2005.	*Ex-post* Impact Assessment Closure + time lapse (2 years)
Pesticide Package Programme (PPP) in Philippines Templeton and Jamora (2008)	Economic benefit of the PPP and participants' perception on the factors that brought about or influenced the government's decision to change the policies on pesticides and pest control practices. No counter-factual.	Mixed (Qualitative and Quantitative). Key informant interviews with policymakers and stakeholders. Media review.	*Ex post* Impact Assessment Closure + elapsed time (16 years)
Community-based Fisheries Management (CBFM) in Bangladesh Pems *et al.* (2008)	Participants' perception on how far recent changes in the awareness and opinion of key agencies and policymakers, as well as the content of new policy documents, can be attributed to the CBFM project. No counter-factual.	Qualitative. Expert face-to-face interviews with 26 selected experts. Written survey sent out via email to 32 experts from various institutions related to the project, 21 responded. Social Network Analysis.	Impact Assessment Closure
Rice Marketing Policy in Vietnam Ryan (1999a)	Partners and stakeholders' perspective of the value, influence and impact of IFPRI research. No counter-factual.	Qualitative. Interviews by an independent consultant with 35 officials and stakeholders.	Impact Assessment Closure + elapsed time (1 year)
Community based food security and capacity building in Malawi Ryan (1999b)	Partners and stakeholders' perspective of the value, influence and impact of IFPRI programmes: training, capacity strengthening and policy research activities. No counter-factual.	Qualitative. 52 Interviews by an independent consultant with various partner institutions and stakeholders (most in person, and a few over telephone and by email).	Impact Assessment Closure

Source: Sumner *et al.* (2009).

Research in the area of policy impacts of agriculture policy research typically follows a pattern. In sum:

- The 'what': The indicator depends on the type of policy impact being assessed.
- The 'how': The dominant approach is qualitative, semi-structured interviews with key informants and the counter-factual assessment is typically made on key informants' perceptions.
- The 'when': Assessment usually takes place after project closure + elapsed years.

Impact assessments of policy research seem to rely largely on subjective assessment to determine the pathways and the degree of influence. Most *ex-post* impact assessment of policy-oriented research employs a qualitative approach. This involves primarily interviewing partners, stakeholders and policymakers about their perception of how the policy change has taken place and the role of the different institutions involved in the change. In addition to the interviews, documents review is another commonly used method. These documents are research reports, policy briefs, newspaper articles and reports, evaluation reports, etc.

While the quantitative approaches generally use economic models to measure rates of return to research and is useful to compare returns across projects, it does not provide much insight into the policy processes and how policymakers use research information.

Attribution to specific research or interventions is acknowledged as a significant challenge in the literature. Only in the IDRC and World Bank examples (which are slightly different as they are evaluating applied research or practical interventions) are control groups discussed (the use of which itself can raise many ethical issues) or the need to establish a counter-factual case to envisage how change might have occurred in the absence of research or an intervention. Does this mean that attempting to establish a counter-factual scenario is something that DS impact/influence studies should not tackle? The Outcome Mapping focus on tracing a contribution, rather than seeking attribution may offer the best way to address this difficult issue.

There are various other ways of thinking about the counter-factual for example,

- The same research in a similar country.
- The same research in the same country but in a different sector.
- The same research in the same country and the same sector but a different policy.

The approaches that deal best with the methodological challenges are those that employ a mixture of methods: backward and forward tracking, process and outcome and *ex-ante* and *ex-post* and those that take account of the context in which an evaluation is situated.

4 What are the ingredients for impact/influence or the factors that support (or not) the impact/influence of development research?

A multitude of complex factors likely influence the impact or influence of DS research. These include those factors that the researcher has a degree of control over (methodologies, dissemination strategies, engagement with users) to those outside her/his control, but which greater attention to can lead to opportunities for (strategic) opportunism (donor discourses, political and economic context) during the conduct of the research or at the end. Table 4.1 identifies and groups some of the key factors identified in various studies.

There is no single recipe for impact/influence but there are ingredients that stand out as being important. These include factors that inhibit (barriers/impediments) and facilitate (facilitators/drivers) research impact/influence. Some relate specifically to the impact/influence of research on policy and some are more general. Different studies are predicated on various assumptions, types of impact/impact and instrumental or conceptual frameworks. Some utilise frameworks which focus on policy processes rather than on research use/ outcomes themselves. Some seek to capture types of research impact/influence, while others seek to capture the processes through which the impact/influence occurs. Some are descriptive or analytical; others are normative. Some offer a micro-lens, relating to research usage in stages (e.g. the linear models of Knott and Wildavsky 1980), while others are iterative and focus on 'non-decisional processes' (e.g. Weiss 1980) and 'percolation' processes. Highlighting the iterative nature of percolation, recent models focus on researcher and research user interactions, notably in the health research and policy arena (e.g. Hanney 2005; Molas-Gallart and Tang 2007).

Notwithstanding the diversity in the literature, three domains or clusters of factors emerge which focus on the underlying notion of the social life of an idea – the factors in Table 4.1 are divided into these domains: (1) content and processes of knowledge generation and translation; (2) connecting and champions of impact, influence, 'knit-working' and change; and (3) context, 'strategic opportunism' and luck.

Content and processes of knowledge generation and translation refer to the engagement and participation of users of research at the outset and during the research. In this context, there is an effort to craft what Gladwell (2000) (see Box 3.1) calls 'sticky messages' in narratives and 'stories' that are not only memorable but credible and also adaptable via 'translation' for different audiences. Impact/influence in this context is a messy, long-term project that builds over a researcher's academic publishing career to build credibility (the researcher's networks are very important in this).

Connecting champions of impact, influence, 'knit-working' and change refers to networks and to the importance to influence of building coalitions or 'knit working' groups. Networks are a crucial element of research influencing as is a common advocacy strategy of building coalitions for change along the lines suggested by Gladwell's (2000) 'law of the few' where ideas and change are spread by those who are connected to or part of wider movements.

Context, windows, strategic opportunism and luck refer to 'the power of context' (Gladwell 2000). Influence and change often need a conducive environment in terms of context, for influence or change to result. Researchers can search for windows of opportunity via strategic opportunism, i.e. the systematic identification of good opportunities to enhance impact/influence acknowledging that change may be non-linear, iterative and complex, but that opportunities are often visible to those who know how/where to look and that serendipity often has a major role to play.

Each of these domains has a highly political dimension that requires more detailed exploration. For example, 'sticky messages' often correspond to whose knowledge counts (i.e. power as discourse). 'Knit-working' and 'strategic opportunism' are likely to reflect political interests, incentives and capacities (i.e. power as material political economy and power as norms, conventions and behaviours).

Table 4.1 Factors that play a role in research influence

Content and processes of knowledge generation and translation	
Research methodologies	- Research methodologies that involve all stakeholders in the research process (from design to dissemination) can be a driver of Impact/influence. The research process is as important as the final product of research (Coe *et al.* 2002). By involving all stakeholders the relevance and usefulness of the research can be increased and a consensus for change can be built (Ryan and Garrett 2003; Jones 2005), but this will rarely solve the problem of distance between researchers and policymakers completely – the differences are often more intrinsic than just a gap in interaction (Neilson 2001). - More rigorous (traditionally defined) methodologies are perceived by policymakers as more effective and may be a driver of impact/ influence (Sumner and Harpham 2008). - The more complex and sophisticated the methodology; the more difficult to understand the influence. - Securing stakeholder buy-in to ensure 'ownership' of a research project is likely to facilitate impact/influence of research findings (Jones 2005).
Project intention	- IDRC experience suggests that projects that are specifically intended to have policy impact/influence are more likely to achieve this (Neilson 2001).
Dissemination and communication and sticky messages	- Lack of translation of research for policy audiences can act as a barrier. One reason for this is the cultural gap between researchers and policymakers, but also the difficulties in conveying simple messages, particularly for social science research – the research is often inconclusive, ambiguous, contradictory and quickly out-of-date (Neilson 2001).

	- Policymakers tend to want clear recommendations that researchers are unwilling and unable to supply (Sumner and Harpham 2008). - McNeill argues that the more malleable an idea is, the more influential in policy circles, also drawing the conclusion that the more academically rigorous research is less influential (2006). - Research entrepreneurship – skill set that enables researchers to sell research (Sumner and Harpham 2008). - Showing what works – telling a story in a similar context makes the research more influential (Sumner and Harpham 2008). - Adapting the research to the audience – e.g. if speaking to economists, frame research in economic language (Jones 2005). - Using an interactive communication approach, with a variety of methods (incl. visual materials) (Jones 2005).
Project duration	- IFPRI experience suggests that longer term projects are more likely to achieve greater impact and that there is a likely trade-off between immediate production of results and impact and the long-term development of research capacity in-country and possible reduction of research quality (Ryan and Garrett 2003).
Connectors and champions of impact, influence, knit-working and change	

Messengers/ champions	- Agility and opportunism (Coe *et al.* 2002).
	- Capacity (skills, time and resources) to do dissemination (Coe *et al.* 2002; Hovland 2005).
	- Maxwell's (2003) four types of policy entrepreneur:
	  - Story-tellers – researchers need to be good story-tellers in order to impact/influence policy
	  - Networkers – researchers who are good networkers are more likely to have policy impact/influence
	  - Engineers – researchers who become practically involved in testing their ideas are more likely to be influential
	  - Fixers – researchers who use their 'expert power' to maximum effect are more likely to have impact/influence.

Interpersonal relationships/ networks	- Social networks are important channels for policy and practice application (Molas-Gallart and Tang 2007; McNeill 2006). - Using intermediaries for policy impact/influence, such as MPs (Coe *et al.* 2002). - Strategic choice of 'policy champions' that can support the research (Ryan and Garret 2003; Molas-Gallart and Tang 2007). - Working in partnership with Southern researchers increases the chances of relevant research and thus its potential for impact (Coe *et al.* 2002).
Donor influences	- Donor influence pushing for use of evidence in policymaking (Sumner and Harpham 2008).
Originating institution/'brands'	- The credibility of the originating institution is important – research showed that NGOs and donors value NGO studies, whereas government officials and international financial institutions (IFIs) prefer research that they themselves have commissioned (Jones 2005).

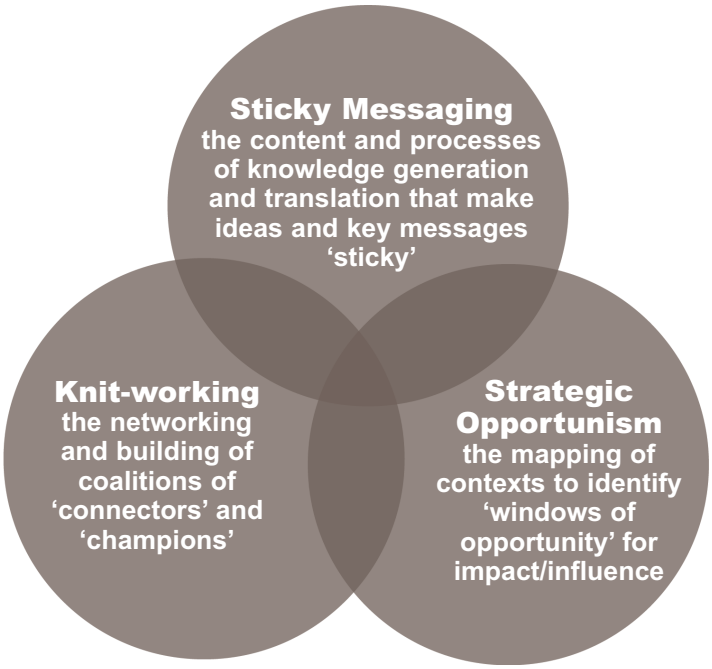
	- Research suggests that 'branding' is an important factor in the policy influence/impact of research (Molas-Gallart and Tang 2007; McNeill 2006; Sumner and Harpham 2008).
Context, strategic opportunism and luck	
Different worlds and incentives	- There is a cultural gap between academics and policymakers (IDRC 2004, *c.f.* Caplan's 'different worlds'). The academic community struggles with the paradox between rigour and relevance – how do you maintain academic standards while ensuring that research is relevant to policymakers' priorities? - Academics and policymakers have different theories about what constitutes knowledge and high quality research (Neilson 2001; Sumner and Harpham 2008). - Academics tend to focus on theory and method - Policymakers look at experience and common sense.
Policy windows	- The research needs to align with policy needs (policy spaces or windows) (Molas-Gallart and Tang 2007).
Political/economic context	- Greater impact/influence of international discourses in domestic policy can be a driver of impact/influence (Sumner and Harpham 2008). - Nationalism may lead to rejection of international research due to it being deemed relevant to national contexts and seen as a continuation of imperialism (Coe *et al.* 2002). - Lack of an enabling environment may limit take up of research by practitioners (Hovland 2005; Ryan and Garrett 2003). - Limited capacity to implement change (Coe *et al.* 2002): Vision does not fit actual capacity, inability to understand constraints for action, incl. budgets, failure to prioritise, inability to take political risk into account, lack of accumulated experience, gap between what policymakers think is going on and what is actually happening; policies produced by people inexperienced with government machine; political style and culture; lack of participation of poor people, failure to get buy-in from practitioners. - Professionalism in bureaucracy and ability to process evidence (Sumner and Harpham 2008). - [Specific for developing countries] Indigenous researchers tend to have a more fluid relationship with policymakers further up the policy chain and thus more influence/impact. (Coe *et al.* 2002). - Impermeable institutions, inaccessible policy circles and bureaucratic tendency to stick to standard solutions (Hovland 2005). - Limited financial capacity in South to use research (Coe *et al.* 2002). - [Perhaps specifically for developing countries]: Political instability in governments – high turnover of staff can be an impediment of impact (Sumner and Harpham 2008). - Lack of interest in research (Coe *et al.* 2002).

5 Conclusions and a research agenda for influence

The impact and influence of DS research have been an agenda gathering momentum over the last few years. This agenda is coming together as a result of the funders' interest in results-based management and value-for-money and the DS researchers' interest in 'making a difference'.

The meanings of research impact and influence are multiple and multi-layered and defined as use (i.e. consideration) or outcome of social change. There may be no single recipe for influence but there are some common impact/influence ingredients (see Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1 Increasing the leverage of research for impact – ingredients of research influence



Factors that support research greater impact and influence include:

- 'Sticky messaging' or 'rallying ideas' in the content and processes of knowledge generation and translation that play a role in whether research is acted upon.
- 'Knit-working' or the networking and building of coalitions of 'connectors' and 'champions' around ideas that lead to change.
- 'Strategic opportunism' or the role of mapping contexts to identify windows of opportunity for impact/influence (not forgetting the role of serendipity!).

There is a significant increase in interest in the influence, impact, uptake, or use

of research and how to track it, and it is clear that these matter to both researchers and funders albeit for differing reasons. Research impact/influence can occur in a variety of modalities and there is evidence of tension and anxiety about researching the related issues. First, there is a wide range of meanings, assumptions and methodological approaches that are not comparable, and there is controversy over whether we should seek to trace contributions or attributions. Second, research may influence the powerful (donors, governments or companies) but we have little purchase on whether it improves the lives of the marginalised/poor and/or leads to progressive social change.

There are many areas of moral ambiguity – where we do not know what is 'good' or how researchers are held accountable for getting it wrong – where their work has a bad influence or is misused or misappropriated or misinterpreted.

Where next for research impact/influence debates? These are not new debates. Research on policy processes has considered the role of knowledge in the policy process. What might be the new directions?

i. The ingredients and indicators of influence – researching the complex dynamics of influence

The complex dynamics of knowledge, influence and social change processes are likely to differ in different sectors, political contexts, actor/network configurations and so on. Policy influence is one modality, but there are others. Comparative case studies by sectors, context and type of partnerships or network would offer insight into how research makes a difference and what kinds of difference it makes. Tracking research impact and influence is usefully thought of as demonstrating contribution rather than attribution and ideas from complexity science and from constructivism theories might help us.

ii. The interrogation of influence – researching and reflecting on the politics of influence or the ethics of 'making a difference', whose knowledge counts and differing approaches across disciplines

DS research seeks to influence development policy, practice and discourses and also to improve people's lives. How would we know if it did or did not? Do we even assess the impact of research (enough)? What happens if development researchers don't know what is 'good'? What happens if DS gets it wrong? What happens if DS research is misused or misappropriated or misinterpreted? Researchers can seek to interrogate the politics of influence by challenging orthodoxy and power and by using research to give 'voice' to marginalised groups which signals the central importance of positionality in the evaluation of research impact or influence. This implies a research focus on whose knowledge is valued in what contexts.

Whether research is a success or a failure is perceived differently depending on the perspective from which it is observed. Socio-political positionality is associated with intention and meaning which are related to the institutional context, physical location, demographic group and – most significantly – to time. While some aspects of complexity theory are helpful, the challenge of recognising 'energy' in research communication, means that it has unclear usefulness in this context.

References

Ahmed, A. (1992) *Operational Performance of the Rural Rationing Program in Bangladesh,* Working Paper on Bangladesh 5, Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)

Ahmed, A. and Billah, K. (1994) *Food for Education Program in Bangladesh: An Early Assessment,* Manuscript 62, Bangladesh Food Policy Project, Dhaka: International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)

Antle, J.M. and Pingali, P.L. (1991) 'Pesticides, Farmer Health and Productivity: A Philippine Case Study', paper presented at the International Association of Agricultural Economists, 22–29 August 1991, Tokyo, IRRI Social Sciences Division Paper 91–10, International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), Los Baños, Laguna, the Philippines

Babu, S. (2000) *Impact of IFPRI's Policy Research on Resource Allocation and Food Security in Bangladesh,* Impact Assessment Discussion Paper 13, Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)

Barr, C. (2001) *Banking on Sustainability: Structural Adjustment and Forestry Reform in Post-Soeharto Indonesia,* Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) and WWF-International Macroeconomics for Sustainable Development Program Office: Bogor, Indonesia

—— (2000) *Profits on Paper: The Political Economy of Fiber, Finance and Debt in Indonesia's Pulp and Paper Industries,* Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) and WWF-International Macroeconomics for Sustainable Development Program Office: Bogor, Indonesia

Behrman, J.R. (2007) *Policy-oriented Research Impact Assessment (PORIA) Case Study on the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and the Mexican PROGRESA Anti-poverty and Human Resource Investment Conditional Cash Transfer Program,* IFPRI Impact Assessment Discussion Paper 27,Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)

Boaz, A. and Ashby, D. (2003) *Fit for Purpose? Assessing Research Quality for Evidence Based Policy and Practice,* ESRC UK, Centre for Evidence Based Policy and Practice, Working Paper 11, London: ESRC UK and Queen Mary, University of London: Centre for Evidence Based Policy and Practice

Caplan, N. (1979) 'The Two Communities Theory and Knowledge Utilization', *American Behavioural Scientist* 22: 459–70

Carden, F. (2004) *Issues in Assessing the Policy Influence/Impact of Research,* Paris: UNESCO

CGIAR (CGIAR Science Council) (2008) *Impact Assessment of Policy-Oriented Research in the CGIAR: Evidence and Insights from Case Studies,* a study commissioned by the Science Council Standing Panel on Impact Assessment, Rome, CGIAR Science Council Secretariat

Cialdini, R. (1984) *Influence: The Psychology of Persuasion,* New York: William Morrow

Coe, J.; Luetchford, M. and Kingham, T. (2002) *id21: Tracking Routes Towards Impact,* Brighton: IDS

Corbridge, S. (2005) 'Queuing, Complaining, and Photocopying: Notes on the (Im)possibility of Development Studies', paper presented at the Development Studies Association Annual Conference, Milton Keynes, UK, www.devstud.org.uk (accessed 25 August 2009)

Court, J.; Hovland, I. and Young, J. (eds) (2005) *Bridging Research and Policy in International Development: Evidence and the Changing Process,* London: Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG)

Crewe, E. and Young, J. (2002) *Bridging Research and Policy: Context, Evidence and Links,* ODI Working Paper 173, London: Overseas Development Institute

Davies, R. (2003) 'Network Perspectives in the Evaluation of Development Interventions: More Than A Metaphor', EDAIS Conference 24–25 November 2003, New Directions in Impact Assessment for Development: Methods and Practice

Davies, H.; Nutley, S. and Walter, S. (2005) 'Assessing the Impact of Social Science Research: Conceptual, Methodological and Practical Issues', a background discussion paper for ESRC Symposium on Assessing Non-Academic Impact of Research, May 2005

de Janvry, A. and Subramanian, S. (1993) 'The Politics and Economics of Food and Nutrition Policies and Programs: An Interpretation', in Per Pinstrup-Anderson (ed.), *The Political Economy of Food and Nutrition Policies,* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press for the International Food Policy Research Institute

DFID (2008) *DFID Research Strategy 2008–2013,* Working Paper Series: Research Communication

Dinello, N. and Squire, L. (2002) *Survey of Policy Makers,* Global Research Project: Bridging Research and Policy, Washington, DC: Global Development Network

Douthwaite, B.; Alvarez, S.; Cook, S.; Davies, R.; George, P.; Howell, J.; Mackay, R. and Rubiano, J. (2007a) 'The Impact Pathways Approach: A Practical Application of Program Theory in Research-for-Development', *Canadian Journal of Program Evaulation*

Douthwaite, B.; Schulz, S.; Olanrewaju, A. S. and Ellis-Jones, J. (2007b) 'Impact Pathway Evaluation of an Integrated Striga Hermonthica Control Project in Northern Nigeria', *Agricultural Systems* 92: 201–22

EADI (2006) *European Development Research Survey 2006,* Bonn: European Association of Development Institutes

Earl, S.; Carden, F. and Smutylo, T. (2001) *Outcome Mapping: Building Learning and Reflection into Development Programs,* Ottawa: IDRC

El-Hajj, K.; Saade M. and Meda, L. (1990) *Economic Analysis for Fertilizer Allocation Strategies in Syria: Fertilizers Requirement and Allocation Strategies of Main Crops in Syria,* (in Arabic), Aleppo, Syrian Arab Republic: International Center for Agricultural Research in the Dry Areas (ICARDA)

Emmerij, E.; Jolly, Richard and Weiss, Thomas G. (2001) *Ahead of the Curve?: UN Ideas and Global Challenges,* Bloomington: Indiana University Press

Etzioni, A. (1976) 'Mixed Scanning: a Third Approach to Decision Making', *Public Administration Review* 27: 385–92

Eyben, R. (ed.) (2006) *Relationships for Aid,* London: Earthscan

Fischer, F. and Forester, J. (1993) *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning,* Durham, NC: Duke University Press

Gardner (2006) *Changing Minds,* Boston: Harvard Business Press

Garrett, J. (1999) *Research that Matters: The Impact of IFPRI's Policy Research,* Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)

Gladwell, M. (2000) *Tipping Point,* New York: Little, Brown and Co.

Goletti, F. and Minot, N. (1997) 'From Famine to Surplus: Past Trends and Future Challenges of the Rice Economy of Viet Nam', paper prepared for a book manuscript for the International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, DC

Gotor, E.; Caracciolo, F. and Watts, J. (2008) 'The Impact of the In-Trust Agreements on CGIAR Germplasm Exchange and the Role of Bioversity International in Establishing the Agreements', in CGIAR Science Council, *Impact Assessment of Policy-Oriented Research in the CGIAR: Evidence and Insights from Case Studies,* a study commissioned by the Science Council Standing Panel on Impact Assessment, Rome: CGIAR Science Council Secretariat

Grayson, L. (2002) *Evidence Based Policy and the Quality of Evidence: Rethinking Peer Review,* ESRC UK Centre for Evidence Based Policy and Practice Working Paper Number 7, London: Queen Mary, University of London

Grindle, M. and Thomas, J. (1991) *Public Choices and Public Change,* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press

Guijt, I. (2008) *Critical Readings on Assessing and Learning for Social Change: A Review,* Development Bibliography 21, Brighton, IDS

—— (2007) *Assessing and Learning for Social Change: A Discussion Paper,* Brighton: IDS

Hanney, S. (2005) 'Personal Interaction with Researchers or Detached Synthesis of the Evidence: Modelling the Health Policy Paradox', *Evaluation and Research in Education* 18, 72–82

Heath, C. and Heath, D. (2007) *Made to Stick,* London: Random House

Hovland, I. (2007) *Making a Difference: M&E of Policy Research,* Working Paper 281, London: ODI

—— (2005) 'Communication of Research for Poverty Reduction: a Literature Review', presentation to Forum 9, 12–16 September 2005

IDRC (2004) *A Strategic Evaluation of the Influence/Impact of Research on Public Policy,* Ottawa: IDRC

IFPRI (International Food Policy Research Institute) (1996) 'Rice Market Monitoring and Policy Options Study', paper prepared as End-of-Assignment Report to the Asian Development Bank for TA No. 2224–VIE, December

Jolly, R.; Emmerij L. and Weiss, T.G. (2005) *The Power of UN Ideas – Lessons from the First 60 Years,* United National Intellectual History Project Series, New York: UN

Jones, N. (2005) *Reflection on Young Lives 2000–2005: Bridging Research, Policy Analysis and Advocacy to Tackle Childhood Poverty,* Working Paper 17, London: Young Lives, Save the Children UK

Jones, N. and Sumner, A. (forthcoming) *Children, Knowledge and Policy,* Bristol: Policy Press

Kaitibie, S.; Omore, A.; Rich, K.; Salasya, B.; Hooten, N.; Mwero, D. and Kristjanson, P. (2008) 'Policy Change in Dairy Marketing in Kenya: Economic Impact and Pathways to Influence from Research', in CGIAR Science Council, *Impact Assessment of Policy-Oriented Research in the CGIAR: Evidence and Insights from Case Studies,* a study commissioned by the Science Council Standing Panel on Impact Assessment, Rome, CGIAR Science Council Secretariat

Keeley, J. and Scoones, I. (2006) *Understanding Environmental Policy Processes,* IDS Working Paper 89, Brighton: IDS

Kingdon, J. (1984) *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies,* Boston, MA: Little Brown

Knott, J. and Wildavsky, A. (1980)' If Dissemination is the Solution, What is the Problem?', *Knowledge: Creation, Diffusion, Utilization* 1.3: 537–78

KNOTS (2006) *Understanding Policy Processes: A Review of IDS Research on the Environment,* Brighton: IDS

Krastev, I. (2000) 'Post-Communist Think-Tanks: Making and Faking Influence/Impact', in Diane Stone (ed.), *Banking on Knowledge. The Genesis of the Global Development Network,* London/New York: Routledge

Kuhn, T. (1962) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Lasswell, H.D. (1951) 'The Policy Orientation' in Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell (eds), *The Policy Sciences,* Stanford CA: Stanford University Press

Lather, P. (1988) 'Feminist Perspectives on Empowering Research Methodologies', *Women's Studies International Forum* 11.6: 569–81

Leksmono, C.; Young, J.; Hooton, N.; Muriuki, H. and Romney, D. (2006) *Informal Traders Lock Horns with the Formal Milk Industry: The Role of Research in Pro-Poor Dairy Policy Shift in Kenya,* ODI Working Paper 266, London, UK: Overseas Development Institute (ODI) and Nairobi, Kenya: International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI)

Lindblom, C. (1979) 'Still Muddling, not yet Through', *Public Administration Review* 39: 97–106

March, J. and Olsen, J. (1976) *Ambiguity and Choice in Organizations,* Bergen, Norway: Universitetsforlaget

Márquez, C.B.; Pingali, P.L.; Palis, F.G.; Rodriguez, V.C. and Ramos, M.G.P. (1990) 'Evaluation of the Health Effects of Pesticide Use among Laguna Farmers' in *Proceedings of the Workshop on Environmental and Health Impacts of Pesticide Use in Rice Culture*, 28–30 March 1990, Los Baños, the Philippines: International Rice Research Institute (IRRI)

Maxwell, S. (2003) *4x Policy Entrepreneurs,* www.odi.org.uk/rapid/Tools/Entrepreneurship.html (accessed 26 August 2009)

McNeill, D. (2006) 'The Diffusion of Ideas in Development Theory and Policy', *Global Social Policy* 6: 334–40

Mehta, L.; Haug, R. and Haddad, L. (2006) 'Reinventing Development Research', *Forum for Development Studies* 33.1: 1–6

Meinzen-Dick, R.; Adato, M.; Haddad L. and Hazell, P. (2004) *Science and Poverty: An Interdisciplinary Assessment of the Impact of Agricultural Research, Food Policy Report,* Washington: IFPRI

—— (2003) *Impacts of Agricultural Research on Poverty: Findings of an Integrated Economic and Social Analysis,* EPTD Discussion Paper 111, FCND Discussion Paper 164, Washington: IFPRI

Molas-Gallart, J. and Tang, P. (2007) *Policy and Practice Impacts of ESRC Funded Research – Case Study of the ESRC Centre for Business Research,* ESRC

Molteberg E. and Bergstrøm C. (2000) *Our Common Discourse: Diversity and Paradigms in Development Studies,* Working Paper 20, Centre for International Environment and Development Studies, Agricultural University of Norway (NORAGRIC), Ås, Norway: NORAGRIC

Neilson, S. (2001) *IDRC-supported Research and its Influence/Impact on Public Policy – Knowledge Utilization and Public Policy Processes: A Literature Review,* Evaluation Unit, Ottawa: IDRC

ODI RAPID (various publications) www.odi.org.uk/RAPID/Publications/Index.html (accessed 23 Aug 2009)

Pems, D.E.; Seidel-Lass, L.; White, J.L. and Ahmed, M.M. (2008) 'Community-based Fisheries Management Project in Bangladesh' in CGIAR Science Council, *Impact Assessment of Policy-Oriented Research in the CGIAR: Evidence and*

Insights from Case Studies, a study commissioned by the Science Council Standing Panel on Impact Assessment, Rome, Italy: CGIAR Science Council Secretariat

Perkins, N. *et al.* (eds) (2006) *Proving our Worth: Developing Capacity for the Monitoring and Evaluation of Communicating Research in Development,* Programme Summary Report: Research Communication Monitoring and Evaluation Group

Pingali, P.L. and Palis, F.G. (1990) 'Impact of Pesticides on the Environment and Human Health: a Preliminary Assessment in the Philippines', paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, New Orleans, LA, USA, 22–25 Feb 1990, Los Baños, the Philippines: International Rice Research Institute (IRRI)

Pingali, P.L. and Roger, P.A. (eds) (1995) *Impact of Pesticides on Farmers' Health and the Rice Environment,* Norwell, Massachusetts, USA: Kluwer Academic Publishers and Los Baños, the Philippines: International Rice Research Institute (IRRI)

Pingali, P.L.; Palis, F.G. and Rodriguez, V. (1989) 'Pesticide Externalities in Asian Rice Production: Progress Report' in *Proceedings of the Progress Reports Meeting on the Environmental Costs of Chemical Input Use in Southeast Asian Rice Production,* 31 October 1989, Los Baños, Laguna, the Philippines: International Rice Research Institute (IRRI)

Pingali, P.L.; Márquez, C.B.; Palis, F.G.; and Rola, A.C. (1995) 'The Impact of Pesticides on Farmer Health: A Medical and Economic Analysis in the Philippines', in P.L. Pingali and P.A. Roger (eds), *Impact of Pesticides on Farmers' Health and the Rice Environment,* Norwell, Massachusetts, USA: Kluwer Academic Publishers and Los Baños, the Philippines: International Rice Research Institute (IRRI): 344–60

Rahnema, M. (1997) 'Towards Post-Development: Searching for Signposts, a New Language and New Paradigms' in M. Rahnema and V. Bawtree (eds), *The Post-Development Reader,* London: Zed

Raitzer, D.A. (2008) *Assessing the Impact of CIFOR's Influence on Policy and Practice in the Indonesian Pulp and Paper Sector,* Impact Assessment Paper, Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR): Bogor, Indonesia

Ramalingam, B.; Jones, H.; Reba, T. and Young, J. (2008) *Exploring the Science of Complexity: Ideas and Implications for Development and Humanitarian Efforts,* Working Paper 285, London: Overseas Development Institute

Rihani, S (2002) *Complex Systems Theory and Development Practice: Understanding Non-Linear Realities,* London: Zed Books

Ryan, J.G. (1999a) *Assessing the Impact of Rice Policy Changes in Vietnam and Contribution of Policy Research,* Impact Assessment Discussion Paper 8, Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)

—— (1999b) *Assessing the Impact of Policy Research and Capacity Building by IFPRI in Malawi,* Impact Assessment Discussion Paper 11, Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)

Ryan, J.G. and Garrett, J.L. (2003) *The Impact of Economic Policy Research: Lessons on Attribution and Evaluation from IFPRI,* Impact Assessment Discussion Paper 20, Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)

Ryan, J.G. and Kelley, T.G. (2008) 'Introduction' in CGIAR Science Council, *Impact Assessment of Policy-Oriented Research in the CGIAR: Evidence and Insights from Case Studies,* a study commissioned by the Science Council Standing Panel on Impact Assessment, Rome, Italy: CGIAR Science Council Secretariat

Shideed, K.; Mazid, A.; Ahmed, M.A.M. and Zahir, Z. (2008) 'Policy Influence and Returns to Policy-oriented Agricultural Research: The Case of Barley Fertilization in Syria', unprocessed manuscript, International Center for Agricultural Research in the Dry Areas (ICARDA) and the Syrian Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform (SMAAR): Aleppo and Damascus, Syrian Arab Republic

Siebeck, W. and Barton, J. (1992) 'The Implications of Applying the Legal Concept of Trust to Germplasm Collections at CGIAR Research Centres', *Diversity* 8.3: 29–35

Simon, H. (1957) *Administrative Behaviour,* New York, NY: Macmillan

Solesbury, W.; Nutley, S. and Percy-Smith, J. (2003) *Models of Research Impact: A Cross-sector Review of Literature and Practice, Building Effective Research: 4*, Research Report, London: LSRC

Sumner, A. and Harpham, T. (2008) 'The Market for "Evidence" in Policy Processes: The Case of Child Health in Andhra Pradesh, India and Viet Nam', *European Journal of Development Research*

Sumner A. and Tribe, M. (2008) *International Development Studies,* London: Sage

Sumner, A.; Lindstrom, J. and Haddad, L. (2007) *Greater DFID and EC Leadership on Chronic Malnutrition,* Brighton: IDS

Sumner, A.; Masset, E. and Mulmi, R. (forthcoming) *Assessing The Policy Impact Of Policy Research in Agriculture*

Surr, M.; Barnett, A.; Duncan, A.; Speight, M.; Bradley, D.; Rew, A. and Toye, J. (2002) *Research for Poverty Reduction,* Department for International Development, Research Policy Paper, London: DFID

Templeton, D. and Jamora, N. (2008) 'Economic Assessment of Policy-orientated Research on the Private Health Costs of Pesticide Use in the Philippines' in CGIAR Science Council, *Impact Assessment of Policy-Oriented Research in the CGIAR: Evidence and Insights from Case Studies,* a study commissioned by the Science Council Standing Panel on Impact Assessment, Rome: CGIAR Science Council Secretariat

Timmer, C.P. (1998) *Adding Value Through Policy-oriented Research: Reflections of a Scholar-practitioner,* Impact Assessment Discussion Paper 4, Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)

Webber, David J. (1991) 'The Distribution and Use of Policy Knowledge in the Policy Process', *Knowledge and Policy* 4.4: 6–35

Weiss, C.B. (1980) 'Knowledge Creep and Decision Accretion', *Knowledge: Creation, Diffusion, Utilization* 1.3: 381–404

Weiss, C.H. (1979) 'Many Meanings of Research Utilization', *Public Administration Review* 39.5: 426–31

—— (1977) *Using Social Research in Public Policy Making,* Lexington, MA: Heath

Wheeler, Joanna (2007) *Creating Spaces for Engagement: Understanding Research and Social Change,* Citizenship DRC Synthesis Paper, Brighton: IDS

White, H. (2006) *Impact Evaluation – The Experience of the Independent Evaluation Group of the World Bank,* MPRA Paper 1111, Washington, DC: World Bank

Wiggins, S.; Fioretti, E.; Keane, J.; Khwaja, Y.; McDonald, S.; Levy, S. and Srinivasan, C.S. (2008) *Review of the Indirect Effects of Biofuels: Economic Benefits and Food Insecurity,* London: Overseas Development Institute

Wooding, S.; Nason, E.; Klautzer, L.; Rubin, J.; Hanney, S. and Grant J. (2007), *Policy and Practice Impacts of Research Funded by the Economic and Social Research Council – A Case Study of the Future of Work Programme, Approach and Analysis,* technical report, Cambridge: Rand Europe