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National Advocacy Forum

United States Agency for International Development (USAID)

Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE)

July 5, 2001
Marriott Grand Hotel
Bucharest, Romania

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AGENDA
NATIONAL ADVOCACY FORUM
JULY 5, 2001

8:00 a.m.	**Registration Opens**
9:00 a.m.	**Welcome Remarks** Dr. John D. Sullivan Executive Director CIPE Fred Kirschstein Director Private Sector Initiatives USAID
9:15 a.m.	**How Business Can Affect Public Policy** Dr. John Sullivan CIPE
10:00 a.m.	**Overview of the Open Doors Campaign Concept** Despina Pascal Moderator Panelists: Dragos Raducan T-3 Coalition Florin Talpes Tech 21 Coalition Ioana Avadani NGO Representative

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10:35 a.m.	**The Advocacy Environment in Romania** Mark T. McCord Moderator Panelists: Media: Anca Ionita Business Media Group Legal Framework: Ion Georgescu ABA-CEELI Regulatory Framework: Adelina Vestemean IRIS Project
11:10 a.m.	Coffee Break
11:25 a.m.	**A Systems Approach to Advocacy** Edward Priola CIPE Advisor
12:30 p.m.	**Closing Remarks and Invitation to the Media Event** Mark T. McCord, CCE Chief of Party CIPE
12:45p.m.	**Media Conference** **Opening Remarks** Despina Pascal Spokesperson Open Doors Campaign

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Presenters:

Radu Nicosovici
Strategic Alliance of Business Associations
"Open Doors Campaign: Building on Past Success"

Ioan Mante
Cluj-Napoca Chamber of Commerce and Industry
"Importance of the Open Doors Campaign"

Mihai Rajnita
Federation of Romanian Hotel Owners
"The T-3 Coalition Report"

Eugen Preotu
ATIC
"Tech 21 Coalition Report"

Questions and Answers
Despina Pascal
Moderator

Closing Remarks
Despina Pascal

1:30 p.m.	**LUNCHEON**
2:30 p.m.	**Interactive Group Exercise**
4:00 p.m.	**Group Presentations**
5:45 p.m.	**Closing Remarks**

Mark T. McCord, CCE
Chief of Party

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QUALIFICATIONS SUMMARY

Manage international projects to promote business development, market-oriented economic growth and democracy. Experienced in working with indigenous private sector groups. Skilled analyst and public affairs expert with emphasis on grassroots programs. Experienced in institutional development of private sector organizations.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Center for International Private Enterprise (1991-present). Executive Director. Responsible for $8 million foundation affiliated with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and management of a 40 member staff with overseas offices in Russia, Romania, Montenegro, Kosovo, and Egypt. CIPE supports over 50 active programs world wide through grants and in-house projects all designed to promote market-based democratic development. The grants program provides financial, management, and technical assistance to business associations, public policy research institutes, foundations, and universities in Central and Eastern Europe and throughout the developing world. CIPE's web site, the Forum on Economic Freedom, won the *Financial Times* award for best business web site by a non-profit in 1997 and the American Society of Association Executives Honor Roll award in 2001.

George Mason University (Summer program) As an adjunct professor, teach a graduate level seminar titled "Business and Politics In Emerging Markets" in the University School of Public Policy.

International Center for Economic Growth (1989-1990). Director, Washington office. Established network of corresponding research institutes throughout Central and Eastern Europe during 1989 and 1990 involving personal interviews with over 100 new and existing research institutes and academic institutions. Spent nearly 3 months in Central Europe during 1990 providing technical assistance. Liaison with the U.S. Agency for International Development for $3.2 million grant to assist counterpart research centers in developing countries

Center for International Private Enterprise (1984-1989). Program coordinator and director, public and congressional affairs. Produced three international teleconferences on debt, deregulation, and privatization; market economics and democratic governance; and, the role of business in public policy (1988) (with USIA). Directed conference on the informal sector, for 250 leaders from 35 countries (1987) (with U.S. AID). Led major research program on economic reform in developing countries. Established start-up procedures and policies to guide the new organization.

The Democracy Program (1983). Associate Director. Designed private sector legislative initiatives culminating in creation of National Endowment for Democracy passed by act of Congress (November, 1983). Funded annually.

U.S. Chamber of Commerce (1977-1982) Director, business and economic education. Worked with local chambers, corporations, universities, civic groups and others to develop grass roots public affairs programs. Authored a variety of publications on business issues, public affairs, public opinion, and economic education. Provided technical and management assistance to corporations, local chambers, think tanks, and associations on developing their programs.

President Ford Committee (1976) Research staff. Developed campaign strategies, analyzed voter patterns, wrote field staff materials. Responsible for tracking and analyzing polling data.

Institute for Economic Research (1975) Developed policy reports to stimulate minority enterprise under grant from U.S. Department of Commerce, Minority Business Development Agency. Developed a business feasibility study for new firms in South Central Los Angeles and Watts.

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How Business Can Affect Public Policy

by John D. Sullivan

John D. Sullivan is the Executive Director of the Center for International Private Enterprise.

Around the world, countries are undergoing transitions to democracy. Although the pattern of democratic development can vary among countries, the democratization process in each fundamentally changes the relationship between business and government.

For example, in Mexico, the recent liberalization of elections has expanded the opposition parties` representation in parliament, thereby ending the domination of the executive branch over legislation and policy. As a result, small businesses that were often neglected during the process of policy development now have new opportunities to make their voices heard. Mexican firms and their business associations are rethinking the ways they represent their interests to government. Similar changes are also occurring in countries as diverse as Indonesia, Bulgaria and Nigeria.

Over the years, CIPE has worked with a variety of business associations and market-oriented think tanks as they have advanced the political and economic reform process in their countries. These experiences in developing a democratic form of business representation to government can impart lessons to other countries undergoing similar changes. Many of the experiences described below are explored in depth in CIPE`s Web site (http://www.cipe.org).

The interests of business

Business is not a monolith. In every country, there exits a considerable degree of difference in terms of interests and policy goals among various parts of the business community. Small firms have very different interests than large multinationals in areas such as labor relations, tax policy and health care. The degree to which business interests are fragmented into divergent camps based on policy issues, cronyism or other factors is one indicator of the degree of distortion in the underlying market economy.

One basic split divides firms that depend upon import protection from those that engage in international trade. In many countries, decades of protectionism have nurtured "hot-house industries" that cannot compete in world markets but enjoy advantages at home. The influence that bureaucrats enjoy under these arrangements fosters corruption. The result is a form of state socialism whose major beneficiary is a well-connected business elite that excludes genuine entrepreneurs and their employees.

Major differences also divide firms that remain in the public sector from those that have been privatized, as well as from those that were always private. Firms lingering in the public sector have incentives to continue lobbying for subsidies, protection and cheap credit. They often use their large work forces to exert pressure against reform. Conversely, private firms tend to support a more open and competitive economy and society.

A final type of split often occurs along the formal-informal or legal-extralegal dimension. In many countries, a vast array of firms whose pursuits are wholly respectable must nonetheless function outside the law.

These splits and others have important implications for how business can affect the policy process. In closed or authoritarian political regimes, a closely connected, crony-type firm has a major degree of influence. However, once an authoritarian regime begins to liberalize, the overall business sector may have many more opportunities to participate in the country's democratic process.

Uniting business

Although every country and region is unique, businesses can come together to form a nearly unified position based on national goals and a common strategy. In some Latin American countries, business organizations have drawn their membership base from the small business community, companies engaged in international trade, or business leaders who wanted to invest in new technologies.

In a few countries--Nicaragua and El Salvador, for example--the economic situation had worsened to the extent that nearly all business people joined together in their opposition to the status quo, though they occasionally disagreed concerning their goals for the future. Their challenge was to unite many business persons and others in order to argue for opening the economy, reforming fiscal and tax policies, and implementing other fundamental changes.

In Mexico during the 1980s, COPARMEX, the Mexican employer's association, was one of the few voluntary business associations. It opposed the government's statist economic policies, as well as firms whose business interests were intertwined with the government and the vast machinery of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) which had governed Mexico for more than half a century.

Throughout the 1980s, COPARMEX was one of the few groups that lobbied for Mexico to join the GATT, implement fiscal and tax reform, and carry out a privatization program. Today, COPARMEX is the leader in public educational meetings for business persons concerning the role of business in a democratic society, communicating a public policy agenda, and the need for free enterprise.

As Latin America, the Philippines and other countries have abandoned import substitution and adjusted to the international market economy, business interests have had to adapt as well. According to Hernan Buchi, one of the architects of Chile's economic reform program, some of the strongest opposition to the reforms came from the government-owned enterprises and firms engaged in business with the government. While Chile adjusted to market reforms, however, those firms, too, eventually adapted to the new system.

The public policy interests of business firms are not fixed permanently. Interests can shift dramatically according to changes in the overall economy, trends in domestic and international markets, and the actions of business leaders.

An interesting case of this type of change occurred in India leading up to and following the economic reform program begun under Rajiv Ghandi and deepened later by the innovative finance minister, Manmohan Singh. Several Indian businesses, especially the larger firms, resisted change and clung to benefits brought by the protectionist measures introduced under Nehru. However, some firms--particularly companies interested in entering world markets and dependent upon imports--began to call for change. Over time, the association of these companies began to grow, and, today, this organization is the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII, see Economic Reform Today No. 3 1997).

Tools to affect change

National business agendas. A common tool to affect public policy is a national business agenda. This agenda identifies policy reforms of the highest priority for the busi-ness community in the near term. The agenda specifies the reform in terms of laws and regulations and offers concrete suggestions for vital changes.

The key to the national business agenda is the notion of participation. For example, the Federation of Egyptian Industry is working on its national agenda that involves the following steps:

- Analyzing policies and forming recommendations;
- Meeting with members in open forums to discuss alternatives;
- Publishing in the media to gain input from concerned parties;
- Formulating policy reform programs;
- Publicizing the agenda; and
- Advocacy directed at the government, including the executive and the parliament branches.

Other business associations have used the national business agenda to build a common agenda for reform. The Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines, and Agriculture (NACCIMA) has used its agenda for several years to coordinate economic reform (see ERT No. 4 1998). In 1999, this task has assumed critical importance due to the country's potential to open to democracy. Given the degree of pressure on NACCIMA from both Nigeria's political transition and its continuing economic crisis, developing and publicizing the national business agenda demonstrates NACCIMA's remarkable ability in the face of considerable hardship.

Legislative advisory programs. A legislative advisory program is another tool to advance an economic reform agenda. The Center for Economic Orientation (CEO) in the Dominican Republic launched this program in order to assist parliament's decision-making process. As in other countries, the Dominican Republic's legislators had few resources to analyze legislation: they had no personal staff and only meager committee staff resources.

As a result, the legislature was at the mercy of the government bureaucracy in terms of estimating the economic impact of legislation. CEO tried to overcome the problem of lack of resources by simplifying the language of formal economic cost-benefit analysis and publicizing it among legislators and the general public. The project has been extremely popular with the government and the public.

A number of business associations have adopted a similar type of program including, at various times, the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) in Nicaragua, the Polish Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the Confederation of Private Bolivian Businessmen (CEPB).

The following features can increase the effectiveness of a legislative advisory program:

- **Credibility.** Each legislative advisory program should be based on sound economic analysis, and background papers should be readily available for technocrats and others to study carefully and critique.
- **Simplicity.** Summaries should be written in clear language and stated in terms of the country's general interests, as opposed to the interests of one particular group, such as business or labor.
- **Availability.** Summaries should be printed and disseminated to a broad audience. Where possible, arrangements should be made with the media in order to provide even wider coverage.
- **Policy dialogue with government officials.** In many countries, bureaucracies represent formidable obstacles to reform. In their attempt to affect public policy, business organizations should try to influence government personnel, as well as legislators.

For example, in India, although economic policy changes have been made, in state-level government officials need to be convinced that the reforms will benefit their communities before they will drop their entrenched opposition. The New Delhi-based PHD Chamber of Commerce has organized 31 business-government dialogues throughout northern India to reach state-level government officials, senior business people and academics. The seminars are held in order to:

- instill a "can do" rather than "can't do" attitude among government officials;
- eliminate the "anti-profit" mentality from Indian politics;
- expedite permits and licenses by creating one-stop shops in state offices.

While changing attitudes and mind-sets can only occur over the long term, the PHD Chamber has already reported some successes.

Coalition building. Strategic coalitions are another tool to promote reform. Transitional countries where business sectors are deeply divided have shown considerable interest in this method.

In Romania, the business sector and the business organizations are split along the lines discussed above. The International Center for Entrepreneurial Studies (ICES) developed an innovative program that formed a Strategic Alliance of Business Associations (SABA). During the course of their work, ICES's experts found that most of the major business associations had become captive to either government-owned enterprises or to firms privatized by the former communist nomenclatura during the early days of transition.

Consequently, ICES began to work with individual entrepreneurs and found that several sectoral associations--such as software--and small business associations located in outlying areas of Romania were pushing for a market economy. However, they were individually weak and unaware of each other's efforts. During a training program on management, the associations began to coalesce into a group of like-minded organizations with a common purpose. Today, SABA's members are implementing a detailed legislative advisory program.

Making the case

How business crafts its case for reform can affect the likelihood of future success. Business must define issues within a broad theme that will attract popular attention. Job creation and economic growth are two examples. Currently, there are other highly visible issues--such as corporate governance and combating corruption--which attract a large following both among business persons and the public.

Corporate governance refers to the body of laws and regulations that defines the obligations and responsibilities of corporations' governing bodies. (See the articles by Stephen Davis and Institutional Shareholder Service in this issue for a more detailed discussion of the corporate governance.)

The concept of corporate governance has recently gained new visibility due to the convergence of several factors. In the United States, highly publicized failures in the savings and loan industry prompted demands for reforming boards of directors. In addition, the growing importance of institutional investors, such as pension funds, coupled with the increase in mergers and acquisitions, led to a new level of scrutiny of the performance of CEOs and outside directors. Finally, as more corporations began to realize the need to diversify their boards in order to reflect the changing role of women and minorities in society, they started to pay more attention to a host of issues related to recruitment and director roles.

However, it was the Asian and Russian economic crises that raised corporate governance to the first rank of public policy issues. The interlocking relationships among companies in South Korea, Indonesia and other Asian countries, coupled with the lack of standards and requirement for disclosure, were key factors that contributed to the Asian crisis.

The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, international investors, and domestic constituencies are currently demanding change. Business organizations in many countries have a unique opportunity to step in and promote reform in order to help reshape the structure of their business environments. If they fail to do so, the environment may be reshaped around them in adverse ways.

Another strategy to advance economic reform is to combat corruption. Transparency International, an international nonprofit organization, is mobilizing a broad constituency behind efforts to reform government procurement systems by advocating a code of conduct for government purchases.

Other nonprofit groups are fighting corruption in their own countries. For example, the Ecuadorian Association of Businessmen (ANDE) recently launched an anti-corruption program that focused on the root causes of corruption. A survey of existing laws and regulations found that many of them were contradictory and overlapping. However, since Ecuador uses code law, courts were not empowered to revise or review laws. Furthermore, the use of court precedents in other cases is quite limited.

Therefore, ANDE proposed the creation of a new court by amending the constitution. It was successful in this effort due to strong public support for combating corruption. The new court is empowered to reconcile or revoke laws that contain conflicts and duplications.

To the extent that business organizations embrace efforts to combat corruption, they can find ways to advance significant policy reforms. The long-term cures for corruption must be found, in large part, by reducing the discretionary power of government officials.

The decisions that business leaders make concerning participating in and shaping the development of democratic institutions have far-reaching consequences. National business agendas, think tanks and other business groups can become major forces in establishing a pro-reform agenda that will shape their countries' business environment for the future.

Different strategies

ANDE's anti-corruption program and PHD Chamber's promotion of local-level reform will benefit their members as well as the next generation of business. Each firm and business association will decide on strategies and tactics in response to the kinds of challenges in its own country. As additional countries enter the global market and undergo transitions to democracy, it is becoming increasingly imperative that business leaders respond to these challenges.

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EDWARD J. PRIOLA

Edward Priola is a specialist in public relations and public policy advocacy with over twenty years experience in developing and implementing advocacy campaigns. Throughout his extensive career, he has held several policy-related positions, including that of National Field Director for the National Taxpayers Union and for U.S. Term Limits.

He has also worked with organizations such as the Foundation for Free Markets, the Strategic Alliance, and Arno Political Consultants. His extensive knowledge of the development of issue-based campaigns has gained national notoriety. In addition, he has consulted on individual political campaigns, including the Reagan/Bush Campaign in 1979-80 and the Bush/Quayle Campaign in 1988.

Mr. Priola has an undergraduate degree in political science from the State University of New York at New Platz, and a master's degree in organizational communications from Bowie State University in Maryland.

ADVOCACY AS A COMMUNICATION SYSTEM

CONTENTS:

A. Introduction

B. Advocacy Campaign Overview

C. Advocacy: Conventional Wisdom

D. Advocacy Campaigns as a Communication System

E. Motivations of Policy Decision Makers

F. Decision Makers and Advocacy Campaigns

G. Strategic Planning

H. Legal Channel

I. Direct Lobby

J. Mass Media

K. Grassroots

Exhibits:

Florida State Tax Campaign

Product Campaign

Romanian Business Association Plan

Advocacy System Chart

Advocacy Campaign Chart

EXAMPLE: END OF SESSION REPORT

A) INTRODUCTON

To the casual observer the notion of what "advocacy" is appears simple enough. Clearly, advocacy refers to someone wishing to convince someone somewhere that they should support an idea about something. A message is sent and a message is received. Interestingly enough, this is the most basic model of communication used by behavioral scientists.

Clearly we need to know more. The main point of advocacy is that it involves promoting an issue or cause that we care about. Many people understand this to mean lobbying public officials about this issue. That would be true to an extent. But again, we need to know more because advocacy involves much more than the direct lobbying of public officials.

This presentation recommends a conceptual framework that uses a basic model of human communication as a system to guide understanding of advocacy as process and to assist managers of "advocacy campaigns" to successful outcomes.

We will close the circle of a message-sent-and-received and consider the response of the receiver of the message as well. Expanding the basic model this way allows us to view the communication as an ongoing process or as an "advocacy system". Of course it will help to explain just what we mean when we use refer to "advocacy campaigns".

In this context our application of the term "advocacy" becomes even more specific. This is the first point that newcomers to "advocacy campaigns" often tend to forget. In short an advocacy campaign is directly associated with a decision by a policy makers about specific legislation. **If your actions are not directed toward advancing or defeating specific legislation or regulations you are not engaged in an "advocacy campaign."**

Legislation is the most relevant measure of ultimate success in the public policy arena and should be the first point of reference for every action taken in an "advocacy campaign". It clarifies the mission of the organization and focuses the expenditure of limited resources upon the key decision makers.

The considerable challenge of being effective and efficient in the often grossly chaotic public policy arena requires this kind of organizational focus. In practice, the need for critical campaign choices comes swiftly and requires disciplined methodological implementation. Even the most well funded organizations find themselves in hot water and fail maintain a competitive advantage over policy opponents when they forget this point.

The practice of advocacy campaigning is constantly changing. What worked one-day will often not work the next. Nothing said can be carved in stone. The only limits are imagination and technology. We must all remain students of change. Having said this there are some procedures and general conventions that work better than others. I can share with you today a couple of decades of personal experience and dialogue with experts who have practiced advocacy campaigning around the globe. I hope you can take what works for you in the context of your own experience.

B) ADVOCACY CAMPAIGN OVERVIEW

In simple terms typical advocacy campaigns may be viewed in three fundamental phases: **1) Plans, 2) Actions, and 3) Measurements.**

Because advocacy campaigns are directed toward specific policy proposals (legislation) they can fit neatly in the cycle of each legislative session. This provides a specific timeline for analysis and opportunity for strategy corrections, message refinement so that the system of communication produces the desired result.

The most successful advocacy campaigns are developed as part of a strategic program over a substantial period of time. The investment of resources in advance in the form of a program ensures that when the need for a campaign arises it will be of a strategically proactive model as opposed to a reactive model to the initiative of policy opponents.

Though advocacy campaigns all have distinct scenarios there are common attributes that the best ones share.

> **First**, in the best advocacy campaign scenarios the cultivation of many individual and organizational relationships both within the traditional circle of friends and beyond are fostered well in advance of their need.
>
> **Second**, among other forms of communications, an ideal campaign would commonly generate a substantial quantity of personal letters phone calls, and visits, from voters that explain to a decision maker the impact of potential legislative actions.
>
> **Third**, these campaigns have the capabilities of enveloping decision makers with well-researched and documented information and input about specific legislation supported by a wide array of sources. Generating a team of well-versed team of speakers who can provide compelling expert and political information regarding the impact of potential decisions is of significant value
>
> **Fourth**, media stories, letters to the editor, guest editorials, and paid advertising would bring the issue to public attention and into public debate that facilitates a sympathetic public atmosphere.

We will expand upon these attributes further in the presentation.

C) ADVOCACY: CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

Before moving to examine advocacy campaigns, as communication systems there are some basic tenets of conventional wisdom held by most expert practitioners that will serve well to keep in mind:

1. The technology of advocacy is political neutral. Anyone can use it.

2. The medium is the message

3. Perception is often reality.

   One survey shows that as few as seven apparently seven spontaneous letters on and issue will cause a state legislator in the US to assign an aide to the issue. The letters serve as a gauge of sentiment for millions in some districts.

4. Accurate and timely information is power.

5. Advocacy works best as a collaborative process.

6. Though political systems are different they all have the common threads of human nature in the decision making process.

7. To participate in policy decisions you have to be in the room. You may not win every legislative battle, but opponents will realize that there is a cost if you are not included.

8. Advocacy is as much art as it is science (Imagination, skill and practice)

9. Even most well executed strategy will fail at times.

10. Always love your mother.

D) ADVOCACY CAMPAIGN: A COMMUNICATION SYSTEM

What is a system? A system is a collection of elements that function together to achieve some objective. Comparable to a manufacturing plant, it is a process that includes:

- Inputs
- Outputs
- Feedback

The fact that the same activities are repeated to produce a product provides an opportunity for refinement of the manufacturing process and trend comparisons over set periods.

So then, what are the elements of an advocacy system? The basic elements of an advocacy system are the same as a communication system and can be classified in one of four areas:

- Parts: Humans and organizations.
- Actions: Process, moves, resource usage.
- Resources: Staff, equipment, working time, money.
- Controls: Legal restraints, process, plans, timelines, policies.
- Information channels.

A communication system is essentially the same. A was stated in the introduction, a communication system begins with observation of between:

- Sender
- Channel (Medium)
- Receiver
- Feedback

To the basic model we have added a response of the receiver to the original message. The response in the form of **feedback** to clarify or modify what the desired output should be. This keeps the system flexible to change.

The real-life system becomes more complex. Advocacy campaigns incorporate a myriad of communication channels. These channels fit neatly within the scheme of a communication system.

Divided into four categories, these channels provide advocacy campaign managers with an abundant array of potential strategies and tactics and breakdown of the topics to come in the presentation:

1. **Legal Channels (Out of scope).**

2. **Direct Lobbying.**

3. **Mass Media.**
    a. **Earned media**
    b. **Paid media**
    c. **Interactive media**

4. **Grassroots Organization.**

When the system is working it produces the desired output. In self-governing arrangements voters ideally determine what the desired outputs should be. When voters get what they desire the system is by definition working. If they don't get what they desire then they have to adjust and refine the system until they do. They do this by interactive communication with decision makers (Feedback).

Problems arise when other voters compete with alternate policy choices or when the message to the decision makers is distorted or obscured with the clutter of other messages from other sources. Either our message would need adjustment to get notice or we would need to consider adjustment our method (channel) of delivery. In essence we need to tinker with the system.

This is the benefit to analyzing advocacy campaigns as a communication system. Because we have a way of always improving our capabilities to communicate and performance of delivery: in the form of reduced costs per cycle, effective, ratios of response rates, lead-time, feedback time, more effective alerts in less time.

13.

E) MOTIVATIONS OF POLICY DECISION MAKERS

The primary audience of an advocacy campaign is the decision maker. It serves to focus upon what motivates their process of decision-making.

So ask yourself, if you were a policy decision maker (politician) what interests you most when you chose policy alternatives?

- Who do you listen to?
- Which group do you listen to more?
- Will this bring me money or votes?

1. There is a basic unanimity among advocacy experts that the essential motivations of elected policy makers are the same. Namely, "When politicians feel the heat they tend to see the light".
2. Even elected officials with the best intentions have to face this formula of decision-making, put differently; "Before you can the world you have to save your seat".
3. In any clash between the facts (substance) and votes (politics), the votes will win.
4. The bottom-line premise of motivation for policy makers rests on two rules articulated by one of the most resilient politicians in American history, Russell Long, the former Governor of the state of Louisiana, "The first goal is to get re-elected. The second goal is never to forget the first goal." The same is true with political parties; even more so because the maintenance of power is their complete reason for existence.

One of the best examples of the success of the advocacy system working has been the dismembering the American congressional seniority system. Before the advent of effective advocacy campaigns, powerful party leaders maintained control positions of power the United States Congress based merely upon their time served in office. This system only permitted those with access to these few to have influence.

It is no coincidence that in the last 30 years there has been an estimated creation of up to 70% of the 2 million NGOs existing in the United States or that NGOs operating in three or more countries has quadrupled.

When an advocacy campaigns are run properly they are amazingly effective. They are comparable to the orchestration of a symphony of music. Alternatively, without diligent planning they can frequently sound like fingers on a chalkboard.

F) DECISION MAKERS AND ADVOCACY CAMPAIGNS

Don't be overly concerned with policy decision makers who think they have figured it out that you are waging a campaign. What did they figure out?

- We want them to know there is a campaign
- We want them to know what to expect.
- We are making no attempt to mislead or deceive.
- We want them to know we desire a collaborative effort.
- We want them to know that this can be of benefit to them.
    - Free expert advice.
    - A quick way to communicate with a sector of voters.
    - When warranted, a group ready to support its allies.
- We want them to know that these are issues we feel are important and we are willing to take the time and effort.
- We want them to know that we are willing to be fair but aggressive.

15

G) STRATEGIC PLANNING

RESEARCH THE ISSUE

Three questions are essential for advocacy research:

1) Research validity from the perspective of the "end user"
2) Economic and social impact.
3) Who are the decision makers?

Decide what you want and put it in the form of legislation/regulation:
Take the time necessary to develop a fully researched document.
Circulate the document widely and seek critique and review by experts.
Obtain the written support of as many interested social factions as possible.

Once the general concept of a desired legislative initiative is established, a plan to implement the strategy to support this as our mission. This is when we begin to consider the different phases of the PLAN-ACT-MEASURE framework.

Scrutinize the legal controls at this point and be certain you are within the limits of the law. Be sure to investigate if you can accomplish your advocacy goals with much more cost-effective litigation or other such actions.

WHEN TO BUDGET

There is an often-repeated rule of organizational behavior: form follows function. Consequently, planners should wait until completing a fully developed strategic plan before deciding what budget will be necessary. Ascertain the logistical and strategic requirements in a realistic way prior to finding financial resources. This will give planners the opportunity to calculate whether the challenge ought to be postponed.

ANALYSIS OF THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

Before beginning to plan your campaign think about all the aspects of the social and political environment.

Use the SWOT method:

- **Strengths**
- **Weaknesses**
- **Opportunities**
- **Threats**

Consider who are likely to be your policy allies and who are likely to be your opponents. What target groups or individuals are likely to join you in your efforts?

When drafting the items during the planning phase it is wise to keep a number of considerations in mind regarding your likely opponents and allies. Among the most important concerns is the organizational culture of the individuals and groups that are likely to be involved.

List potential partners (Quality and Quantity).

For example, trade associations often work with a mixture of corporate cultures and it is critical that planners keep in mind that the senior management of each of those organizations fully endorses this process to ensure cohesion avoid confusion about the mission.

CRISIS PLAN
Start with some forward-looking crisis analysis. What can go wrong will go wrong in a campaign. During your brainstorming sessions reflect on what would happen with a variety of scenarios, for example; when an ally becomes disenchanted with your efforts. What would be the potential likely fallout? What would be the problems if a disgruntled associate released inside information about the advocacy campaign? Spend some time but don't get bogged down in this phase of planning.

- Spend some time focusing on the unexpected and develop a crisis plan or procedure for dealing with urgent situations.
- When a crisis occurs focus efforts on the solution not the problem
- Don't hide it, fix it and move on.

BASIC MESSAGE DEVELOPMENT
Three important questions are:
- Who are the gatekeepers and decision makers?
- Is this a behaviorally effective message?
- Will the audience respond in a positive way?

Strategic planning should incorporate review of issues regarding communication of the basic, message, mission and strategies. Advocacy campaigns must be concerned with.

1. Communication of the basic mission message, and its:
   a. Delivery
   b. Timeliness
   c. Authority
2. The campaign message must grab attention, and be:
   a. Compelling
   b. Understandable
   c. Credible
3. Campaigns must develop communications regarding the mission that are audience and media-customer-driven:
   a. Relevance
   b. Usefulness
   c. Attitudinally effective
   d. Commitment effective

DRAFTING THE PLAN
Most approaches to advocacy campaign planning incorporate these seven steps. Walk through the details several times to ensure that you have a fully integrated plan that uses all the communication channels that make sense:

1. Statement of Philosophy
2. Campaign Mission Statement
3. Campaign Goals
4. Strategies
5. Objectives and Tactics
6. Measurements

Step 1) Planning begins by drafting of a **Statement of Philosophy**. This is general thinking of the campaign organizers in one simple declarative sentence.

> **For example**: The XYZ Advocacy Campaign has been created to promote issues of importance to improving the national legislative process and to increasing the participation of trade associations.

Step 2) Defining the **Campaign's Mission Statement** is the next significant task of the planning phase. This helps define what is the expected result of the advocacy campaign system and what will be the essential measure of success.

The mission statement should say in general terms what the campaign expects to accomplish. Every action planned by the campaign from the point of adopting the mission statement should flow from the statement. The mission statement determines what will be the intended measure of success.

> **For example**: The XYZ Advocacy Campaign work to improve the national legislative process and increase the participation of trade associations by working for passage of the XYZ Trade Association Education Law before the end of the year.

Because the mission of an advocacy campaign may change each legislative cycle there is a greater need to consistently review the mission in relation to the Statement of Philosophy. Unlike many forms of organizations the mission of an advocacy campaign must remain relatively dynamic not static over the course of time and the inevitable changes in the political environment.

Step 3) Advocacy **Campaign Goals** should flow naturally from the mission statement and remain consistent with the statement of philosophy.

For example: The goals of the XYZ Advocacy Campaign are:

1. To work find sufficient numbers of legislators to support passage of the New Trade Association Education Law before the legislative session begins.
2. To raise sufficient financial resources before the beginning of the legislative session to wage a national advocacy campaign.
3. To recruit a qualified campaign staff and have them in place before the end of this legislative session.

Step 4) The **Campaign Strategies** to accomplish the Campaign Goals must also remain consistent with the Mission and Philosophy Statements. The strategies state simply how the goals will be accomplished.

For example:

1. The XYZ Advocacy Campaign will form a coalition with like-minded trade associations to identify and recruit a sufficient number of legislators to introduce and pass the New Trade Association Law.
2. The XYZ Advocacy Campaign will build a list of NGO's and businesses that also support passage of the New Trade Association Education Law.
3. The XYZ Advocacy Campaign will organize a volunteer campaign from citizens that also support passage of the New Trade Association Education Law and who would be willing to volunteer to help it pass.

Step 5) The **Objectives and Tactics** steps become the day-to-day working guide for the people performing the work of the campaign (staff and volunteers). It should be routinely reviewed to ensure that the timelines and procedures are consistent with the Mission and Philosophy Statements. It should also be used to gage whether progress is made toward the goals. It is important that the tactics and goals are quantified so that they can be analyzed against a well-detailed timeline.

Examples:

1. First objective: staff will contact legislators 30 days before the session. Tactics: 1) Send letters, 2) Follow-up with phone calls, 3) Have supporting legislators contact their comrades.

2. Second objective: staff will hold four open meetings for NGO's and individuals interested in finding out more about New Trade Association Education Law.
   Tactics: Once ascertaining the interest of participants in the open meetings staff will focus on recruitment of those NGO representatives and individuals who are most likely to join the campaign.

Step 6) Quantifiable measurements of indicators are critical for eventual success of the campaign and future campaigns. This allows an organization to learn what is working and what has not worked over a period of time with a given set of resources. This permits cost-benefit analysis of different actions and provides a baseline for improved future performance.

Examples:
1. What was the ratio of letters sent to the number of legislators actually recruited?
2. What was the ratio of letters that resulted in legislators being recruited when a shorter version of the letter was used?
3. What was the ratio of telephone calls made to the number of legislators recruited during the set period of calling?

EXAMPLE: END OF SESSION REPORT

H) LEGAL CHANNELS
The first communication channel available to advocacy campaigns is concerned with actions usually centered on court actions.

The use of these legal mechanisms falls outside the scope of this presentation but be sure not to forget and investigate available remedies with qualified legal professionals:

- Be sure they have significant legislative backgrounds.

- Be sure they are not working for another client with a conflicting interest.

- Be sure that if you pay them they guarantee to put their documented findings in writing.

I) DIRECT LOBBYING

The second communication channel available to advocacy campaigns is generally well known. Most people are familiar with the term "lobbying". It originated from people with policy interests in particular legislation waiting in the lobbies of a lawmaking building offices for a chance to persuade decision makers to vote one way or another. Today the term "lobbyist" refers to a professional or volunteer that is primarily involved in this direct form of contact with decision makers regarding a particular issues.

In past years, the task of the lobbyist was to influence decision makers through direct contact, pressure, and negotiations. This rightly conjures up images of smoke filled back room deals and devious plots. It is less often the role of lobbyists today.

In the context of modern advocacy campaigns, the lobbyist has a role that is much broader. In addition to direct negotiation with decision makers, the lobbyist provides matchless expert information to them. Simultaneously, the lobbyist also provides vital strategic information to advocacy campaign managers during each step of the lawmaking process that helps direct employment of resources. The reception of the lobbyist and the information he provides is often a key factor in determining which decision maker gets more or less attention from the campaign. The lobbyist is responsible for assessing the legislative situation and advising on possible strategies and tactics based on other information gathered from independent sources as well, such as: other lobbyists, other legislators, media representatives, and legislative staff.

The lobbyist continually updates information on: identifying decision makers who are opponents or supporters, the effect of other campaign tactics on decision makers, tracking legislation and keeping informed on amendments, and provides expert information to lawmakers and staff. Because legislation and politicians are always moving targets the lobbyist is the eyes and ears of the operation.

Whether an appointed amateur or a paid professional, the most important function of a lobbyist remains to engage in honest personal relationships with elected and appointed officials and their key staff. The lobbyist also closely pays attention to the list of individuals important to the legislator:

MORE

- Family and close friends
- Volunteers and contributors for the elected official
- Voters for the elected official
- Other voters
- Non-voters

LESS

STRATEGIC COALITIONS

Why use coalitions?

1. They are easier to demonstrate the "Public interest" with other voices: Consumer groups, civic or community groups, fraternal organizations, other businesses, environmental groups, minority or ethnic groups, labor organizations, and academics.

2. They are a win-win choice for elected officials who have a choice between competing interest groups. More defensible choice for policy decision makers.

3. Though politics makes strange bedfellows it often creates solid credibility. The same is true of coalitions. Lets agree up front that we disagree about everything else.

4. They are more entrepreneurial and move quickly to seize opportunities and head off attacks. Established ground rules but don't tend to get too bureaucratic. An Ad-hoc approach works well because it is flexible

5. Credible spokesman. Public face. Look and sound as little like a CEO as possible. Business associations viewed as special interests by the media. Like in the old west, circle the wagons.

6. They are easier to build from the top and build from the front. This makes easier to utilize.
7. They serve as an excellent source for a truth squad. Constantly challenge the other side.

Several cautions:

1. Constantly remind yourself that your coalition partners don't look and act like you and that is good thing.

2. No matter how well intentioned you will be accused of being a front group. Be prepared to demonstrate the broad base of support.

3. Anticipate what happens when partners drop out of coalition. Materials revised. The most effective coalition is collaborative and not owned.

22

J) MASS MEDIA

The third communication channel available to advocacy campaigns is the well-known mass media. This is not a channel that is typically used to have direct impact on decision makers (There are some exceptions when advertisements are directed toward decision makers).

Mass media is more frequently used as a conduit to introduce issues voters and educate them on the impact of potential legislative actions, and gain credibility and public support.

This communication channel works best when there is an immediate goal or imminent threat in a legislative or regulatory arena as opposed to mere program maintenance.

- Create strategic communication goals supporting the objectives of the other communication channels. This will help avoid a reactive and impulsive posture
- Clear concise and memorable messages are essential.
- Repetition is essential.
- Media is both an audience and a conduit.

  EXAMPLE: END OF SESSION REPORT

- Media relations important shape the nature of the coverage and editorials.
- Frame the issue so that you claim the high ground, identify with the public interest, and stay on the, "Side of the Angles".

This communication channel is characteristically different from the other three channels in that is communication that originates from a single point to multiple points.

1. Paid Advertising
2. Generated (earned) News
3. Interactive Technology
    - Speed before papers at the loading dock.
    - Narrowcast
    - Internet: One to millions...millions to millions
    - 4,925 newspapers online worldwide
    - Research (online documents), opponent tracking

Example: Ventura Campaign

MEDIA MIX CHOICES

Examples: Paid Media

- Radio
- Television
- Web-Banners
- Printed Advertisements
- Signs

Examples: Earned Media

- Talk Shows
- Events
- Press Release
- Press Conference
- Testimonials
- Surveys
- Polls
- Studies

NOTE: END OF SESSION REPORT

MEDIA MIX STRATEGIES

Strategy: Beneath the Radar

Bypass gatekeepers in media

- Direct Mail
- Bulk E-mail
- Predictive dialing calling
- Blast Fax

Strategy: Above the Radar

- Op-ed
- Independent Studies
- Surveys
- Polls
- Press Conferences

Strategy: Narrowcast

- Cable Television
- Direct mail
- E-mail
- Satellite Link
- Unique publication advertisements.

Strategy: Broadcast

- Radio
- Transmitted Television
- Daily newspaper advertisement.

Crafting the message: Frame the issue first and on your own terms

- Issue Particulars
- Idea Ideology
- Localize the context when possible

Evoke values important in their lives:

- Health
- Family
- Faith

- Employment
- Education for Children
- Home
- Leisure time
- Retirement
- Positive, honest and relative to you audience

Technology Communication Advances:

- Conference calls
- Patch through calls
- Telegrams
- Electronic Post card campaigns to friends or legislators
- Online meetings with decision makers.

K) GRASSROOTS

What are the Grassroots? They are the "angles" we just asked about in the mass media section? They are the average people: real people, real employees, retirees, shareholders, vendors, suppliers, and customers.

- "All politics is local". Harness local enlightened voters' self-interest
- Grassroots messages are delivered one-to-one
- Grassroots messages are generated on two levels.
  1. Between the organization and the volunteer.
  2. Between the volunteer and the decision maker.
- Grassroots are simply individual citizens who seek to influence the passage or defeat of legislation or regulations by working with advocacy organizations.
- The value of grassroots contacts is that they are one-to-one from single individuals to the policy decision maker. The lasting impression upon the policy decision maker is that one personal contact represents other similar sentiment within the voting public. Advocacy campaigns can educate the voting public and leverage this credible support.
- Often grassroots coalitions are formed. They are different from business and trade association coalitions, in as much as they are grown blade-by-blade. They are assembled from different perspectives, philosophies, and social strata, business and non-business. People who disagree on other issues will serve well to balance a grassroots coalition.
- There is a need for concentrated recruitment in grassroots efforts. They are labor intensive. Hence, they are better organized through a program versus campaign. Relationships Like a garden Cultivate: Plant before you harvest.
- The emphasis is on the expertise of the citizen to a subject not to the policy maker.
- They must know they are Advocates and they know the program
- When businesses are working on grassroots campaigns it is critical that the senior management endorses and participates.
- Balance between, hot Issue and keeping informed, and calling and too much.

Grassroots volunteer actions are best directed with the following priorities in mind:

HIGH

- Personal visits in Capitol office
- Personal visit in home office
- Personal letter
- Phone call (To identified legislative staff person in charge)
- Fax (Personal Signature)
- E-mail (Address or Phone)
- Petition
- Mass mail

LOW

Volunteer Information
Arm your volunteers with enough information to enable them to express their positions in laymen's terms and to be able to substantiate their positions with conviction based on personal experience.

Provide supporters with balanced information so they don't feel you are trying to brainwash them (Not same space but fair mention).

Rely on a few "Key-Contacts" to be the "detail" advocates. This isn't an insider's game based on back-room strategies and calling in favors. The key-contact person will have an identifiable relationship to the issue. High impact and relevant information on a timely basis is essential.

In an integrated program grassroots actions are amplified by broadcast medium. They are ideally delivered by those recruited on a person-to-person basis and who feel a sense of commitment and a sense of participation.

Make sure your program includes:

- Action Alerts/Broadcast system
- Standard fact sheets with sufficient to provide basic impact information.
- How-to training sessions. Role-playing.
- Recognition, feedback, and thank you letters.

VOLUNTEER ACTIONS
Establish a pattern of communication and action with all volunteers. This serves well when quick activation is needed for critical issues! Practice working with volunteers to carry out the following grassroots actions periodically:

- Phone calls to policy officials.
- "Write now, Right Now!"
  - Letters to officials
  - Letters to the editor
  - Direct mail
- Petitions
- Fax's
- E-mail
- Face-to-face meetings
- Forums
- Rallies
- Action Alerts
- Voter Guides
- Web-site
- Distribution of how-to Volunteer kits
- Visit editorial boards
- Leaflets distributions
- Phone banks.
- Key-Contacts Program training.

This again is where a lobbyist provides field operations with needed intelligence. Legislation is always a moving target. Legislators are often moving target as well. Pledges need to be reinforced. Supporters need to be praised.

Here too technology is playing a significant role. Relational databases are organized to show a relationship between items of information; a database in which information between two or more files to create a third file.

Data Base Lives and Breaths

- Tracking and monitoring.
- Communication in a ready state.
- Identify supporters and opponents trends
- Match contacts with decision makers
- Currency of Advocacy; Protect it.

DATA-BASE FIELDS

PSYCHOGRAPHIC:

- Level of agreement
- Level of commitment
- Potential to become involved
- Potential to participate and in what way
- Preferred method of future contact from the organization.

DEMOGRAPHIC:

- First Name
- Middle Name
- Last Name
- Suffix
- Salutation
- First Line Address
- Second line Address
- City
- Zip Code
- County Code
- Telephone
- Fax Number
- E-Mail Address
- Web Site URL
- Company Name
- List Source
- Mobilization Grade
- Method of Contact
- Contact Dates
- Additional Comments

Important to merge and purge and remove duplicates routinely. Saves money and irritation.

The trick is to move the grassroots organization merely beyond the point that they are seen as reactive tools to policy crisis. It should be viewed as a vital outreach tool to the community.

Ideally, any "Call to Action" should provide:

- A reiteration of the important issue.
- A compelling description of the issue's potential consequences
- Exactly what the volunteer should do to help.
- A means to report what has been done.
- Talking points.

Your advocates need to know they are advocates. You have empowered them and motivated them. Educated in the issues and process and who the players are. Routine communication. Called to action limited. Go to the well. But called at least once a quarter year.

GRASSROOTS FOR BUSINESSES AND TRADE ASSOCIATIONS

Grassroots programs are ideally suited for business and trade associations. They bridge the communication between the interest of one company and its extended family of: patients, suppliers, other businesses, wholesalers, distributors, retirees, patients, and customers.

Viewed as concentric circles; the further outside the more credibility.

- Buy-in from the top down vital.
- Long-term commitments buoy the organization in good times and bad.
- Controls the message and what to say and not to say.
- All are volunteers. This should be a collegial buy in; partners.
- Regardless of rank in business of trade association; it sends a profound message to the rank and file. This enhances peer-to-peer recruitment as well.
    - Highly informed staff.
    - Host tours of officials to plant or area with high impact.
- Provides local information network and advisory group.
- Raises labor resources.
- A hand full of contacts will have a significant impact in a given media market and election area.
- Public policy points of contact.
- Creates stakeholders: when integrated into employee performance evaluation as everyone's job factoring and promotion (not a job guarantee or a reason for termination)
- Election leverage involvement (GOTV)
- Political involvement: builds capabilities inventory, talent, spirit, self-esteem, job security, employee benefits, promotions, raises, bonuses, profit sharing, stock dividends, and pensions.
- Never cry wolf about a plant closing or layoff unless it is a real threat.

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

- Advocacy campaigns three fundamental phases:
- Plans, 2) Actions, and 3) Measurements.

- The most successful advocacy campaigns are developed as part of a strategic program over a substantial period of time.

- This program can be viewed as a system with which quantitative and qualitative can be used to improve performance.

- Strategic planning provides a proactive model as opposed to a reactive model.

- Though advocacy campaigns all have distinct scenarios there are common attributes that the best ones share.

- Cultivates individual and organizational relationships both within the traditional circle of friends and beyond are fostered well in advance of their need.

- A substantial quantity of personal letters phone calls, and visits, from voters that explain to a decision maker the impact of potential legislative actions.

- Produces well-researched and documented information and input about specific legislation supported by a wide array of sources.

- Builds a team of well-versed team of speakers who can provide compelling expert and political information.

- Generates media that will foster a sympathetic public atmosphere.

NOTE: END OF SESSION REPORT

ROMANIAN BUSINESS ASSOCIATION PLAN

STEP ONE: Create Credibility and Political Validity
Assemble Work Group/s: Gross information
Forum
Fax/E-mail
Executive Committee: Distill information
Document
Consensus (move ahead)
Distribute Work Product for Feedback:
Deliver

STEP TWO: Establish Communication and Rapport
Round Table Reception
Short Presentation
Legislative Presentation
Advocacy Program
Social
Break the ice
Have fun

STEP THREE: Deliver information
Formal delivery
Go on Record

STEP FOUR: Publicize
Local
National

STEP FIVE: Build Network (Real Volunteers)
Local Contacts
Focus on Decision Makers

STEP SIX: Build Capabilities
Seminar

STEP SEVEN: Follow-up

STEP EIGHT: Monitor

STEP NINE: Report

STEP TEN: Analysis

NOTE: END OF SESSION REPORT

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Regulatory Reform in Romania and its importance to the creation of a strong business environment

Introduction

IRIS, the Center for Institutional Reform and the Informal Sector, is a non-profit organization affiliated with the University of Maryland in the United States. IRIS provides advisory assistance on changes to legal and economic policies that encourage economic growth and the development of democratic institutions.

In Romania, IRIS implements a technical assistance project to improve the business environment for small and medium-sized enterprises. IRIS analyzes legal, regulatory and bureaucratic processes, recommends appropriate reforms, and works with numerous local public and private counterparts to effect change. Overall, the objective of the project is to streamline the legal and administrative processes required for a Romanian enterprise to register and operate. IRIS is fully funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to carry out these activities in Romania.

Regulation is a necessary part of any business environment. Regulations are needed to protect social welfare including such things as workplace safety, food and drug creation, building codes. Regulations are also used to protect common goods such as the environment Regulations are also used to protect common goods such as the environment. Regulations in Romania far exceed these basic fundamental areas.

Most importantly, the cost of compliance with regulations should not outweigh the intended benefit of that regulation. Regulations are not justified if they (i) restrict market competition (ii) induce people to evade the law, (iii) promote the self interest of governmental authorities and (iv) create unproductive and unnecessary jobs. Additionally the time and money spent on complying with these excessive regulations is a cost, in terms of time and opportunity, incurred by the firms. Each regulatory or bureaucratic barrier is an implicit tax in terms of either time or money.

IRIS' Red Tape Analysis

The Red Tape Analysis, completed in My 2000, specifically documents the numerous approvals and permits necessary for business operation in Romania.
During 1999, a typical firm was required to obtain between 23 and 29 different approvals, authorizations, licenses and permits from a range of national and local agencies. These

approvals cost the typical firm somewhere between 11,050,000 and 64,090,000 lei. To complete the necessary paperwork, the typical firm spent between 49 and 102 employee days and waited 34 to 101 days for responses.

The Red Tape Analysis is built upon 250 questionnaires coming out from 34 cities all over Romania. Small and Medium Sized Businesses were interviewed concerning all administrative barriers that stop their activity. We tried to have interviews all both Romanian and foreign companies operating in Romania, in order to give the same opportunities to both Romanian and foreign investors at that moment.

The Red Tape Ananlysis was done between October 1999 and May 2000 and officially launched by Press Conference hosted by the American Ambassador James Rosapepe on August 31st 2000.

The Red Tape covers different aspects of the life of a company, small or medium, as relationships with audit institutions, with the Banks, Trade Registry, Notaries, customs and all public institutions involved in licenses, approvals, authorizations and permits delivery at the national and local level.

Many interviewed firms consistently cited the four following problems about legal framework:

1. The number of laws, regulations, ordinances and other types of legislation is too high and increases every year. Many firms decide not to keep up with the legislation, as doing so would require hiring full time person for this purpose.
2. The legal system and process are not stable. The law for SME (s) issued - with the mention "no changing for 5 years". Several months after publication - the government blocked its implementation and announced that the law will be modified.
3. Legislation is subject to various interpretations and is frequently in conflict with other legislation. Laws are poorly drafted and ambiguous. Inspectors and businesses differently interpret regulations.
4. The implementation norms are published late, sometimes after several months.
5. Sometimes, regulation issued by Ministries is unpublished.

Examples: Ordinance 99 /2000 and its situation.
Emergency ordinance 76/2001 - presentation.

IRIS activity and proposals

- Presentation of "Simple and Fast" project - in order to emphasize the local response to the project and the regulatory reform steps within the project.
- Presentation of the Ordinance 76 IRIS proposals at the regulatory level
- Presentation of Labor project and its value at the level of reducing bureaucracy
- Presentation of the Transparency project

33

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35