

BUILDING SUPPORT FOR PRIVATISATION

*Key
communications
strategies and
techniques*

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Around the world, public sector reform programmes such as privatisation are often not as effective as they might be because inadequate attention is paid to the communications support necessary to build and maintain coalitions for change. Utility privatisations affect millions of consumers and suppliers, investors and importantly workers who have the strongest reasons to fear change, uncertainty and potential job loss. Civil servants, political leaders and other proponents of reform have learnt that communication makes privatisation easier.

Governments cannot afford to neglect communications. The world's most economically developed countries pay the most attention to communications. The controversy surrounding the political communications of Tony Blair and George Bush demonstrates the central role of communications in their governments. Similar issues arise in other countries, with small governmental majorities, competitive media and astute politicians. Nowadays governments communicate with their stakeholders or they struggle to implement their policy agenda.

Fortunately governments are becoming more aware of communications, and so are their stakeholder audiences. This means that governments are more willing to communicate and more eager to learn how. And it means that audiences are more discerning, less susceptible to propaganda, and better at recognising the truth. There has never been a better time to start communicating honestly and effectively.



Case History – The Cost of Not Talking

In the 1990's the Lesotho government was embarrassed to report the financial losses of its state-owned enterprises. They feared it would reflect badly on government – it shouldn't have done since no government runs businesses well.

They told people that privatisation was 'good for the country' without explaining why it was needed. So nearly everyone believed that the leaders took bribes from foreign Neo-Imperialists, buying up 'the best bits of Lesotho!' Otherwise people wondered, why sell companies which looked healthy and profitable?

Not only was privatisation unpopular, but a vast majority believed their leaders were guilty of treachery. We told the leadership that, similarly, it would be hard to convince anyone to undergo surgery before first explaining that they were sick and that treatment was needed. They changed their approach and told people how SOEs were losing money and were starved of investment capital. They told people that there was nowhere else to turn to rescue these important industries. And people understood. Now Lesotho has a vigorous privatisation programme and the public support to go with it.

Avoiding the Three Deadly Mistakes

In economic reform there are three communications mistakes particularly worth avoiding. The first assumes that not communicating involves fewer risks, since activity is riskier than doing nothing. Your government needs stakeholders to do something, to think or to behave in certain ways, so it is your responsibility to motivate them. So you must take action or behaviour will not change. Communicate or face the consequences.

The Second Deadly Mistake is to think that there is only one communications strategy. The official making this mistake turns to a junior staff person and grandly says, 'Put this out to the public.' In fact in any society there are many publics, not just one. An audience of investors may read English-language newspapers, their employees may read the vernacular press, and illiterate day labourers read nothing but may listen to radio. These are different publics, with different needs, requiring different strategies. Understanding this is the most important part of communications.

The Third Deadly Mistake, closely related to the second one, assumes that marketing policies and marketing products are the same task because they use the same tools – radio, television, print, and so forth. But the psychological strategy of selling fizzy drinks is vastly different than convincing people about something as complicated as economic policy. Misunderstanding this can seriously endanger your reform programme.

So, if you must hire advertising people, hire ones familiar with promoting public policy. If you cannot find an advertising firm with that experience, bring in professionals to work alongside them. And above all, never stop respecting your audience or they will stop respecting you.

Identify Your Audiences

Development professionals use the term stakeholders to mean different groups of people who each have a stake in the process of change, who each have something to gain or to lose, to fear or to long for. Others use the simpler word *audiences*. Each privatisation has eight or ten or more stakeholder groups. All are important but some will wield more power and require more attention. Some of the key audiences affected by privatisation will be the following.

Common Stakeholders for Privatisation

- Workers in the SOE to be privatised;
- Trade Unions;
- SOE customers;
- Potential SOE customers;
- SOE suppliers;
- Potential SOE investors;
- Politicians;
- Civil servants;
- Journalists who report on policy reform.
- Competitors
- The unserved community

You can probably think of others.



Case History: A Massive, Mass-Media Mess

An East African government hired a posh, New York PR firm to promote its privatisations, but the firm was accustomed to promoting commercial products and had little hands-on experience with public policy. They rented most of the billboards in the capitol, and ran quarter-page adverts in every newspaper, five days a week, for six long months. By the end of that time, most of the public hated or feared privatisation as never before.

The PR firm made an interesting mistake. They were accustomed to selling products which generally differ very little from the competition – most cola-drinks taste similar and most soap cleans clothes. So product advertising is based on calling attention to two things. First, it tries to highlight a very small difference between your product and your competitor's product (bright red packaging, or 10 pence off the price of a boxful). In effect project advertising tries to boost market share rather than make people drink cola. Secondly, it tries to make you identify the product with intangible benefits (the other sex will find you attractive). Both demand snappy, often almost meaningless slogans or jingles that stick in the mind. This is a big mistake if you are 'selling' public policy.

Nobody fears that they will drop dead if they drink Coke or Pepsi instead of a local brand. But lots of people fear that privatisation could cost them their jobs, deprive them of a livelihood, give their country's best assets to foreign crooks, etc. Policy affects our lives: products do not.

So by reducing privatisation to a clever little jingle that fitted on a billboard, and by running a shallow, information-free campaign, the PR consultants succeeded in convincing the public only that government spent a fortune in advertising while refusing to offer real information. Obviously, people concluded, privatisation was something truly horrible, promoted by their leaders either due to corruption or through subservience to foreign money-lenders. More than a year later, the government was still trying to repair the damage.

Another audience may be academicians, especially those who write and lecture on policy reform.

Identify Your Audience's Hopes & Fears

Next we must learn what each audience thinks. In a democracy, before asking someone to do something, you need to listen. Understand what they want and only then can you begin the two-way process of effective communications.

For this, you need to try to think about privatisation as a member of each stakeholder group might do. Each will see privatisation as entailing a different risk or benefit, and indeed each will view privatisation as offering different intensities of risk or benefit:

- A worker facing privatisation feels high-intensity risk. He faces losing his job and perhaps years of unemployment or a lifetime of lower-paying jobs. For him, the potential benefit of privatisation may be increased pay, better conditions, and possibly faster promotion. But unemployment is his greatest fear. Potential benefits are moderately low; potential risks seem dangerously high;
- When privatising utilities such as water or electricity, these are essential services so consumers will take an intense interest in the reform. It is much harder to get their attention when privatising a small shoe factory that hardly affects them at all - we cannot live without water, but we can buy shoes almost anywhere;

- A line ministry civil servant (not a SOE manager) sees little benefit in privatisation but slightly greater risk. He may perceive a loss of prestige to his ministry or to the government as a whole. More practically, he may see the government enterprise as a good future assignment. He may wish to use the enterprise's resources, such as cars or guest-houses. He will almost certainly fear for his own advancement if he gets a reputation within the bureaucracy for backing an unpopular policy – or worse yet, if he actively supports a policy which the government might abandon in months to come.

Once you've identified your audiences, think again. As you analyse the needs of each audience, look at what they stand to win or lose, and where their natural allegiances lay. You may find that your analysis was superficial, and there are more groups than you initially guessed.

For example, trade unionists are at least two stakeholder groups, not just one. Low-level union officials in a factory will tend to look at privatisation much as ordinary workers do. Their closest loyalties will be to their colleagues at work. But state-level and national-level trade unionists are more like politicians, interested in policy and power. They have different motivations: they are a different audience.

Make a list of potential stakeholder audiences. Identify their needs. If these groups are too large or contain too many internal differences, then divide them into separate groups.

Research Tools for Audience Analysis

We understand audiences by listening to them, so meet the people involved. Visit the enterprises to be privatised, listen to the trade union representatives, the workers, the middle-managers and the top management – preferably in separate meetings. Listen and do not preach. Such meetings are not scientific but they work well enough for fact-finding journalists and so they will suit us in most cases.

But what about larger groups? You can scarcely sit down comfortably with your state's electricity consumers. Meet with consumer lobbying groups, but do not mistake them for ordinary consumers. They are politicised organisations purporting to represent consumers, and they may do so effectively but they will amplify and magnify consumer concerns and probably will not provide an accurate measure of what consumers think nor of the intensity of their desires.

To find out what large groups of people think, we resort to opinion sampling. There are two types, focus groups and opinion polls, each with distinct advantages and drawbacks.

The focus group puts six or eight similar people into a comfortable room. You might invite eight female middle-managers from the electric company, or eight male sweepers, or eight elderly male householders. Do not mix those people into one group. An

independent person acts as moderator – do not use a government official or people will not talk freely. A moderator poses questions, letting the group talk until thoughts are clear. Then she moves on to another question while her assistant records what was said.

This shows us what each group thinks in detail. Here we often learn things we never dreamt of – that workers may prefer private sector employment, or how deeply they detest the corruption inside their company, or that consumers do not fear foreign investors. But their answers are not statistically reliable. After talking to a focus group, you cannot say with any authority that '80 percent demand privatisation.' That requires an opinion poll. An opinion poll is expensive, but can yield statistically valid data not available from focus groups.

An opinion poll is expensive. It requires asking questions of at least 1,000 people who must demographically represent the larger body of people whom you wish to question – X percent rural, Y percent urban, X percent male, Y percent female, etc. At the end you can say with fair certainty that '16 percent are satisfied with current electricity service, 80 percent are unsatisfied and 4 percent do not know.'

Where focus groups are deep, polls are shallow. Focus groups ask general questions and in the following conversation get surprising answers. Polls ask

simplified questions and deliver simple answers – is it good or bad, yes or no. If a poll asks ill-informed questions you get useless information. So before you begin expensive polling, ask the following:

Questions to Ask Before Polling

- Is there any reason to think that the general public knows anything about privatisation? If not, perhaps you had better educate them before polling them;
- Does it really matter if you know the answers to very basic questions with statistical certainty? Or is it sufficient to have a good, general estimate of how deeply people feel? If so, try focus groups;
- Do you know what questions to ask people in a poll? Do you really know how they view all the complicated sides of a complex issue like privatisation? If not, you need a few focus groups to learn, in depth, what people think before you design the questionnaire for the big, expensive poll.

Most large countries have several companies capable of reliable polling. Skilled university demographers can do similar work. In a country with many languages it is imperative that people conducting focus-groups are fluent in the vernacular. But a PR-person familiar with the stakeholders and the policy must help draft the questions.

Case History: Door-man Stops Privatisation!

Ten years ago, Bangladesh tried to privatise a coastal warehouse. Government avoided contact with the workers and unions, fearing protests or even *hartals* (violent strikes). On the brink of a sale, they brought a wealthy Singaporean industrialist to Chittagong. As the limo reached the gate, the potential investor was met by an ancient security guard, who apparently spoke no more than four words of English. The guard told him, 'We will kill you.' The horrified investor rushed back to Singapore and was never heard from again.

Had government talked to workers, explaining the steps involved in privatisation and the retrenchment policy, it is unlikely that one employee would have stopped the entire privatisation, which then took some years more to complete.

Prioritise Your Audiences

Next we need to prioritise our audiences, asking who is most important and why. Make a list of the less important audiences that can be dealt with later:

- If you are privatising small enterprises, put a low priority on notifying potential international investors since the likely bidders will be from your own country or region;
- Academicians may already be very politicised and polarised, and may be a full generation behind the times;
- Utility consumers (often synonymous with the voting public) are a high priority audience for privatising water, power or telecommunications. These services are essential, so they have a strong stake in the outcome. For small privatisations, the public is often less interested, so they are less important as stakeholders - unless there is a mitigating reason, such as impending elections where privatisation is a major government policy.

These stakeholders are still important, and you will address them eventually, but meanwhile many will learn about privatisation through the mass media. Depending on circumstances, consider giving top priority to the following:

- Workers are a top priority for two reasons. They have the most to lose and the most to fear, and after they have given years of their lives

to a state-owned enterprise, we have a moral obligation to keep them informed. Secondly, they can often stop a privatisation dead, so secure their understanding and, hopefully, their cooperation;

- Civil servants are also a key audience. Your success depends on their compliance;
- Politicians are a core constituency. You want the pro-government politicians to become effective and eloquent advocates of privatisation. You want to encourage wavering opposition politicians to support you, and you want to convince your opponents that they have no chance of stopping you.
- Journalists are perhaps the most important audience of all, since they influence almost all other stakeholder groups. You want them to understand privatisation so that they can explain it correctly and so that they are less likely to fall prey to charges levelled by your opponents.

Make up your own priority lists of audiences. Of course if you are privatising state-wide utilities, move consumers up near the top of your list.

Prepare Your Messages

Once you know what your audiences think, design messages to grab their attention and motivate them. Generally, you can assume the following.

What Audiences Really Need to Know

- Workers in the enterprise to be privatised need to know the likelihood of job losses, what redundancy payments are on offer, and if there will be retraining programmes or other Social Safety Net schemes. They need to know that promotions will come quicker, that salaries will be paid on time, that other workers have survived privatisation and that they will too;
- Local trade unionists need to know that privatisation cannot be stopped or postponed, so they must play important roles in helping their colleagues adapt to change;
- State or national trade unionists need to know that privatisation cannot be stopped, that government respects them and is willing to talk to them, and that trade unions can play an important role in the private sector as they commonly do in state-owned industry;
- Customers of the enterprise need to know that privatisation will bring them better goods and services at lower prices than before;
- Potential customers of the enterprise need to know that with privatisation, the sector can expand, so that they will no longer have to wait and wait for service;
- Suppliers of the enterprise need to know that privatisation will ensure that they will be paid on

time, and that the sector will expand giving them greater opportunity for sales;

- Potential buyers of the enterprise must know that this privatisation is not a unique experience and that your government is determined to build a modern, growing, market-economy in the long run, and that in the short run there is benefit to be had from investing in privatised enterprises. They need to know that the privatisation procedures will be quick, fair and transparent.
- Politicians need to know that the short-term hardships of privatisation are politically preferable to the long-term economic disease of insolvency. They need to know that social safety net programmes will offer protection to many of the workers who lose their jobs and that privatisation will free up government funds needed for welfare and infrastructure projects. They need to know that privatisation will not fail, that it works well elsewhere, and that the political risks are minimal. If you are privatising utilities, it is imperative that they understand the proper role and structure of regulatory agencies.
- Civil servants need to know that government will not retreat from its policies, and that those bureaucrats who take risks in supporting privatisation will be recognised and rewarded. They need to know that non-compliance will not be treated lightly;

- Journalists need to know that privatisation is safe and well-proven worldwide, that government takes a serious interest in the welfare of SOE workers, and that privatisation's opponents are either misguided or profiteering politically from a crisis that deserves a dependable and fair solution.

Research will improve these general messages. But you will never convert everybody, although you can make your allies more effective and your enemies weaker or more hesitant.

Target Your Audiences

How do we hit each target? It requires a final piece of stakeholder analysis. Each audience consumes different media, so we need to determine which medium (or which mix of various media) works best.

Different Audiences Need Different Media: Examples from India

- A potential investor may read a different newspaper than a senior civil servant does;
- A shop keeper listens to different radio programmes than a university professor does;
- A potential investor probably uses the internet, a middle-manager in a state-owned spinning mill probably reads a vernacular newspaper, and an illiterate spinning mill worker reads no newspapers at all.

Case Study:

Desperate & Dangerous Tea-Pluckers?

The Nepalese Ministry of Finance was eager to privatise its tea estates, but feared worker opposition. The area was said to be under the control of potentially violent trade unions attached to the opposition party.

ASI prepared a short educational film and screened it first to the local union representatives from all parties. Since privatisation seemed unstoppable, they knew that this information would benefit their colleagues and so they helped us arrange the screenings. It was shown to 800 workers in groups of 100 at a time (80% of the work force). A ministry official came along (reluctantly) to answer questions and take comments in face-to-face meetings with workers.

The most frequent comment was how impressed the workers were that someone from the ministry, in far-off Kathmandu, cared enough to talk to them. The simple appearance of an official was a prime factor in reducing their fears. 'We know that this will be difficult,' said one 70-year-old lady tea-picker, 'but since the government cares enough to come here, we know that we'll survive it together.' You can't achieve that with a newsletter!

Be creative and flexible – there are more media than newspapers, radio and television, such as:

- An SOE company newsletter;
- Posters where workers pick up their pay;
- Reaching utility consumers by slipping letters into their utility bills;
- Writing letters to workers and their families;
- Comic books which are easily read by the semi-literate;
- Unexpected stunts: ASI got months of free television publicity in Tanzania for the government's reform programme by hiring a popular entertainer to produce a pop video on privatisation;
- Free worldwide publicity for a privatisation by placing a feature story in one of the Internet or print-media magazines devoted to that sector (a sugar industry magazine, a hydroelectric newsletter, etc);
- Making short video documentaries for specialist audiences like SOE workers or senior civil servants. Documentary-making is inexpensive and this can be the most powerful tool in your communications arsenal.

And never forget face-to-face meetings. If a SOE has only two thousand workers, your people can meet with all of them, in 100-worker groups, in only twenty meetings over five days or less.

Now you are ready to launch your messages. And throughout the following weeks and months

continue to reassess your strategy every few days.

Establishing Video Credibility

Nowadays everybody is more sophisticated when it comes to video, and anything that implies propaganda turns people off. A narrator tells viewers what the movie-makers want them to hear, not necessarily the truth. So at ASI we rarely use narrators, preferring to film real stakeholders using their own words. What they say is convincing because their testimony is honest and vivid.

If you cannot take a thousand workers to visit a successfully privatised factory, take four of them and film them on their tour, talking to managers, workers and union officials about life after privatisation. Get a good editor and cut the documentary with almost no narration, letting workers tell the story. Then bring some of the same workers to the screenings in the factory, so that they can answer questions afterwards. Then nobody can doubt that your message is honest.

Free Publicity – Dealing with Reporters

No matter how much advertising you buy, the news media reaches more people than you do. So cultivate good relations with reporters and consider the following.

- Try to run the most open, accessible, transparent and 'journalist-friendly' department

in your government. Treat them with respect. Return their phone calls promptly and courteously. Do not keep them waiting outside your office for hours. Even if they ask a question that you have no intention of answering, appear to be as pleasant and helpful as possible. Their good will can count for a lot;

Two Case Histories: Fighting Journalistic Malpractice

CASE HISTORY ONE: In an East African country, one of the major newspaper publishing houses persistently published slanderous articles against the privatisation of a state bank, unjustly accusing the government of all sorts of incompetence and corruption. The owner/publisher had enormous, secret, outstanding debts to the state bank which he did not wish to repay. His political cronies were now powerless to cancel his debts, and he had a strong personal reason to hate privatisation. There was not much to do about it other than continue to defend reform.

CASE HISTORY TWO: When a political client was persistently misrepresented by The Washington Post, a Washington DC public relations man demanded an 'editorial board meeting' with the editor and the reporter involved. The Post continued with its intensely negative press coverage but always printed his reaction in the same article. Not perfect, but it was an improvement.

- Never tell a lie. You will be caught;
- Issue press releases often. Report on every step in the process, not only when a transaction nears completion. This increases transparency, better informs reporters of the privatisation process, and will help kill off the foul rumours spread by your opponents to try and derail the privatisation process;
- Put quotes into your press releases, telling reporters why this matter is important. They might not know otherwise;
- Do not bribe journalists. Educate them, put on seminars and conferences, take them on road trips to privatised industries or buy them lunch and discuss the issues openly.

And beware of press conferences. Hold them if the issue is so complicated that it cannot be explained in a press release. Otherwise they risk unanticipated questions damaging to your campaign.

Another important issue is how to deal with persistently unfair media coverage. This does not include

negative coverage. It is unfair only if a journalist or a newspaper has a persistent record of reporting negative charges, from opposition people or from unsourced 'inside informers' – and he or she gives you no chance to respond prior to printing those charges. So reason with the reporter, then talk to the editor or publisher. If that does not work, give your best leaks and stories to their chief competitor. And if possible in some cases exclude bad newspapers from your advertising budget.

Publicity – Broadcast Advertising

In large countries with widespread broadcast media you need to have an advertising budget to reach millions of consumers or voters. If budgets are a concern, use television only when you must.

Consider the intensity of stakeholder concerns. Ordinarily, do not spend a lot broadcasting on state-wide television if you are privatising a factory with only a few thousand stakeholders. If it is a tiny SOE, nobody cares except for those immediately involved. But if you are involved in large-scale privatisation that demands broadcast advertising, consider the following:

- Use your political leaders as much as you can for news coverage, not advertising. Your President or Prime Minister can get you coverage better than anyone else in your country. Have him or her make speeches and grant interviews on privatisation as often as possible.

Case History: Using Comedy to Privatisise Utilities

Tanzanian utility privatisation needed an effective campaign. We hired the country's best-loved comedian to make six 45-second radio ads. The first 15-20 seconds of each contained a little comic drama where he suffered the same utility problems as all other consumers – electrical 'load-shedding,' water shortages, dead telephone lines, poor customer service, etc. In the latter portion of each advert, an announcer explained how privatisation would solve these problems through investment, expertise and competition.

In no case did we ever refer to corruption or vilify SOE employees. Everyone knew about those problems already. Instead we attributed the problems of SOE utilities to under-funding, lack of training, etc. The ads were a big hit with the general public.

- If you have the budget for television or radio campaigns, boost effectiveness by running ads before or after a popular programme such as the news. It will cost more than running the ads at 3 a.m., but more people will be awake;

- Television and radio advertisements work best with repetition. Unfortunately this is costly;

- Make your radio or television adverts interesting and amusing. Hire good advertising people. Boring or simplistic ads can reduce popular support for privatisation, or make audiences think that you are trying to trick them. Be as interesting as possible in order to grab and hold peoples' attention.

- Only use celebrities in your advertisements if they are respected in their own right. A sports star can talk about running shoes or fizzy drinks, but does he know anything about policy? If you want to use a celebrity, get one that people respect for brainpower.

Conclusion

An effective communications plan is a critical bedrock of a successful privatisation programme. In most countries policy communications, from central, regional and local government, is not nearly as effective as it should be.

There is much to do, and plenty of talent with which to do it. So get good people, get good advice, and get going. And above all, remember that good communication starts by listening to your audience.

ASI's Communications Experience

ASI have helped governments from more than 120 countries. Some of our communication experience follows:

Orissa, India: Government wanted rice farmers to take physical and financial responsibility for 6,000 lift irrigation sights and pumps. Advertising research from the 1920s proved that when issues are important, stakeholders will read much more information so we wrote a short-story about a fictionalised Orriya farm family coping with this problem. Similar research showed that ads using human faces attract twenty or more times the attention of other ads, so we had a Calcutta fashion photographer light and shoot a farming couple with their baby daughter. The ad was a hit, and farmers realised how the reform made good sense.

Tanzania: colleagues in Tanzanian television complained about a shortage of east African pop-music videos. They said everything good came from the Congo, and that a Kiswahili-language pop-video would probably get six months' free air-time or even a whole year. We found a bright, Maasai rap-singer who wrote and recorded a song poking fun at antiquated, loss-making government enterprises and the need for modernisation. We shot the video and the client got months of nationwide publicity for a pittance.

Bangladesh: videotape is cheap, so we made long interviews hunting for concise, punchy soundbites. After 40 minutes, the 30-year-old co-owner of a privatised bicycle factory explained the chief difference before and after privatisation: ‘When we got here, we discovered that 60% of the employees were clerks. My brother asked: ‘Hey, what would happen if some of them made a bicycle now and then?’” The quote resonated with any worker in Bangladesh’s bureaucracy-ridden government-owned factories.

Central Government, India: A small strike at the massive BALCO aluminium plant became the focal point for nationwide opposition. Only weeks later we came in to film the aftermath of the strike for a government-sponsored documentary on BALCO and other, peaceful and prosperous privatisations. Workers and managers were eager to talk about BALCO before and after the strike, but not about the strike itself because it was simply too traumatic. Without some credible person – not a narrator – talking about the strike, the documentary would miss a key ingredient. We went to a local high-school, interviewed young people and got the footage needed. The film was broadcast to 200 million people on Indian national television.

Lesotho: The (then) sole national radio station in little Lesotho was swamped by better television and radio broadcasting from wealthy South Africa – which was much too expensive for our advertising budget. We knew that public health campaigns (such as anti-smoking programmes) often get schoolchildren to educate their

elders. So we hired a popular Basutho cartoonist and made comic strips and comic booklets explaining how privatisation works, then distributed them in the schools. We reached rural audiences that would have been almost impossible to approach otherwise.

Guyana: Trying to avoid foreseeable disagreements ahead, ASI encouraged the Guyanese government and the mining trade unions to set up a jointly-run information centre to educate the public on the privatisation of a bauxite mine. As we expected, the immediate need to cooperate kept both parties from growing apart, and kept the public informed of a successful cooperative effort.

Afghanistan: ASI and the Finance Ministry thought that most people would welcome new currency since the largest old note was worth about ten UK pence. But the change-over was risky. We asked 25 university students to undertake an opinion poll on the streets of Kabul the morning after President Hamid Karzai announced the new money. And we got NGO clinics to survey patients waiting for treatment across the country. In an impassable and often still violent country this gave us the informal data we needed. It was not a statistically reliable poll, but it reported that the new money was popular. And it was.

The Adam Smith Institute has built upon the original ideas of Adam Smith as these apply to policy and practice in modern economic development and government reform. The practical policy reforms advanced by the Institute to

promote the benefits of competition and individual liberty have been central to the social and economic success of many societies and their governments throughout the world.

Our focus is on the provision of cutting edge economic and governance thinking underpinned by practical support for ministers, officials, managers and citizens at all levels. We work with governments, enterprises and aid agencies on a short or long term project basis, or through tailor-made training programmes.

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- Enterprise restructuring and corporate governance
- Public administration and governance reform
- Utility restructuring and regulation
- Infrastructure privatisation policy and execution
- Trade reform
- Intergovernmental negotiations support and conflict resolution management

Should you wish to receive further information on development communications, wish to discuss communications challenges you are facing or wish to contact our team of communications advisors please contact Matthew Uzzell at:

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