

Trends in Policy Consulting in the Philippines: A database analysis of procurement notices for policy consultants

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Abstract

No one can deny the importance of policy advice in the policy process. The fundamental approach to policy advice derives from the recognition that the government requires highly technical and scientific expertise for effective policy making but the actual role played by consultants in such activity is poorly understood and little researched. This is specially so for developing countries where data is scarce. But the better understanding of the nature of policy consulting is contingent on the examining the demand from the public service to outsource policy work. The orthodox belief makes policy consultants as purveyors of specialized knowledge to introduce innovative policy solutions while the public service performs both technical and political tasks but the emergence of a pluralized and contested policy advisory system is unmistakable. Recent literature has established that policy advice in developed countries is observed to be highly externalized, proceduralized and politicized (Howlett, Migone, and Tan 2014, Howlett et al. 2014, Craft and Howlett 2013). Whether these trends apply in developing remains to be seen, an investigation of which will shed a light on the extent on the nature of policy consulting in developing countries.

This paper is an initial attempt at examining the demand for policy consulting in a developing country. It reports on the state of consulting work in the Philippine government based on analysis of a recently made public database of bid notices for consulting services from 2007-2015. The study looks into the nature of policy consulting in terms of whether policy advice dwell on processes instead of strategic concerns by looking at categories of policy advice found in the database. The study partially confirms the proceduralization hypothesis but also surfaced the almost equal importance of strategic policy advice. It also finds evidence to support that policy advice is increasingly externalized but not necessarily politicized in the Philippines.

Keywords: policy consultants, policy advice, externalization

Introduction

No one can deny the importance of policy advice in the policy process. The fundamental approach to policy advice derives from the recognition that the government requires highly technical and scientific expertise for effective policy making but the actual role played by consultants in such activity is poorly understood and little researched. Much of what is known about policy advice relates particularly to evidence-based policy formulation (Nutley, Walter, and Davies 2007) where advice is meant to help match solutions with problems. This characterization of advice has undoubtedly raised questions about its impact on democracy, politics and economic development (Maasen and Weingart 2006, Acemoglu and Robinson 2013). How consultants genuinely fit into this picture is potentially key, as this activity has been thought to be growing in recent years (Saint-Martin 2005, 1998).

Understanding the nature of policy consulting is contingent on the demand from the public service to outsource policy work. The orthodox belief makes policy consultants as purveyors of specialized knowledge to introduce innovative policy solutions while the public service performs both technical and political tasks (Meltsner 1976). As a result, policy consultants are typically linked with successful technology and policy transfers (Prince 2012, Bessant and Rush 1995). But the emergence of a pluralized and contested policy advisory system is unmistakable (Radin 2000, Halligan 1995). The government's appetite for external advisors have grown and transformed so as to challenge this view of a policy consultant solely as provider of strategic advice.

Policy advice in developed countries is also observed to be highly externalized, proceduralized and politicized (Howlett, Migone, and Tan 2014, Howlett et al. 2014, Craft and Howlett 2013). The burgeoning literature on policy advisory systems shows an increasing reliance on external policy advice to complement government's policy work. At the same, process-related work, which is traditionally absorbed by the public service, appears to be increasingly contracted out to external consultants. But this evidence so far has been generated only in English-speaking countries with advanced economies (Canada, Australia, New Zealand and more recently, the USA) with developing countries persisting as a 'black box' in policy consulting literature.

This paper serves to add to this burgeoning literature by examining the demand for policy consulting in a developing country. It reports on the state of consulting work in the Philippine government based on analysis of a recently made public database of bid notices for consulting services from 2007-2015. The Philippines is an ideal case to re-examine the trends in policy consulting as it offers a degree of comparability with the other English-speaking countries because of its American colonial history (Reyes 2011). There is also a mounting clamor to unpack the overwhelming presence of consultants in the government, which is equivalent to PhP 17.49 billion (US\$364.88 million) in 2014. Spending on professional services, which includes costs for hiring consultants, represented the third highest allocation of the government for operational expenses. The Commission on Audit's reports have consistently raised concerns about consultants like hiring of consultants to perform regular tasks, hiring of foreign consultants and hiring of bishops and priests.

The database analysis is the first attempt to re-consider these issues about policy consultants from a general theoretical standpoint in a developing country. It examined the pattern of growth of contracting out policy advice by looking at annual growth trends in the procurement of consulting services and confirmed the observed trend in other countries of increasing externalization. The study also looked into the nature of policy consulting in terms of whether policy advice dwell on processes instead of strategic concerns by looking at categories of policy advice found in the database. The study partially confirmed the proceduralization hypothesis but also surfaced the almost equal importance of strategic policy advice.

Evidence and Theory in Policy Consulting

Despite the centrality of policy advice in public sector decision-making, too little remains known about policy advising. Advice after-all continues to be a nebulous term and is particularly hard to measure as an input or output of the policy process (Van Dooren et al. 2006, Waller 1992). Policy advice pertains to both the ‘advice’ and its influence on how state power is exercised (Wilson 2006). Traditionally, policy advice relates to the analysis of problems and identification of solutions in such a way that the criticality in identifying its influence on policy making emanates from the frustration over the fact “that efficiency is not exactly the guiding principle in many public sector programmes and organizations” (Bovens, T’Hart, and Peters 2002, 8).

The debate about the nature and sufficiency of policy advice revolves around the concept of a ‘policy advisory system’. This concept acknowledges the multiplicity of sources of policy advice, which is configured in that shapes policy formulation. Sources of advice were originally differentiated according to whether the advice is generated internally, externally or through the public service (Halligan 1995). This locational view of policy advice expanded the initial focus on internal policy analysts underscored by the seminal work of Meltsner (1976) on American policy analysts in the bureaucracy. As a result, the prevailing understanding of a ‘good’ policy advice is triangulated from the three different locations.

Developing countries face a fourth source of advice: foreign donors and international development organizations. These organizations have been found to be a particularly powerful node in a global network of actors facilitative of policy transfer (Stone 2004, Dolowitz and Marsh 2000, Mosley, Harrigan, and Toye 1995). Foreign-funded development projects can include an expert dispatch program that sends technical experts to countries receiving official development assistance (Tejasvi 2010, Furuoka 2009). This is observed by Schneider (2014) who find that international academics in economics and political science are progressively involved in development policy consultancy.

A recent trend observed in policy advisory systems across the world is the increasing ‘externalization’ of policy advice (Bevir, Rhodes, and Weller 2003, Bevir and Rhodes 2001, Howlett and Lindquist 2004). Empirical studies have found growth in both the numbers and expenditures for policy consultants in several jurisdictions, like New Zealand (Boston 1996), Australia (Howard 2006), Canada (Howlett and Migone 2013) and USA (Howlett et al. 2016), to the extent that they have been called the shadow public service (Speers 2007, Macdonald 2011). Most governments justify contracting out of policy advice because of a heightening need for a “well-integrated and competently coordinate servicing capacity” particularly for strategic and operational advice (Boston 1994, 4). But such need is a result of the interplay between lack of internal capacity, prevalence of clientelism and corruption, and openness to contracting out of government services (Vesely 2013). It can also be attributed not only to the intensification of managerialism in the public sector (Dunleavy 1995) but also to expansion of the market for management consulting (Saint-Martin 2005, 2000).

Whether this trend in policy consulting is present in developing countries largely remains unverified owing to scant data and research on the field. It could however be expected for a developing country like the Philippines to similarly externalize policy advice. Identified as the primary reason for the hallowing out of the core of analytical capacity of governments (Dunleavy 1995), elements of New Public Management like quality management system, citizen’s charter and performance-based in the Philippines (Saguin 2013) still permeate public administrative systems in developing countries (Manning 2001). Developing countries also contend with colonial legacy wherein colonizer’s institutions could influence the openness of policy advisory systems. It is reasonable to expect Philippines to share similar level of openness as in the USA (Saint-Martin 2005, Howlett et al. 2016) particularly because of American attempt to professionalize the civil service (Reyes 2011).

The existing studies on externalization of policy advice not only suffer from a geographical bias but also from a fundamental methodological constraint of identifying a policy consultant. Boston (1994) concedes that while separating consultant from implementation and regular social science research is important, distinguishing policy advice with other activities is unlikely to be feasible. Broadly, policy consultants, as defined by Prince (2012, 195), are “non-state, private-sector, profit-driven actors that are nevertheless involved in the policy process through (usually) contractual arrangements with state

agencies”. While the characterisation of profit-driven policy consultants may be contestable, the broad definition situates the consultant in all aspects of the policy process. This is critical because it does not fall into the trap of reducing advice to either ‘policy’ or ‘implementation’. Howard (2006) also suggested using programme content and corporate service as it better captures the central question about the influence of advice on policy. But ultimately, forcibly differentiating policy consulting out of the general trend of public sector contracting may turn out to be a meaningless endeavor because the “activity being undertaken (i.e., analytical and evaluative functions in support of governmental activity and deliberations) is the defining characteristic of policy consulting regardless of the administrative arrangements under which such work is outsourced” (Perl and White 2002, 52).

The definitional issues bring to surface another trend in policy consulting: proceduralization of policy advice. Policy consultants appear to be involved in more process-driven work than initially thought (Migone and Howlett 2013, Howlett et al. 2014). Proposed categorization of policy advice reflects this growing expansion in the role ascribed to policy consultants throughout the policy process. Boston (1994) suggested a typology of advice as strategic or operational, which is differentiated along the policy-implementation dichotomy. A content-based typology is offered by Craft and Howlett (2013) and recommended for policy advice to be seen as either procedural or substantive. Using evidence from Canada, Howlett et al. (2014) find consultants to be employing process-related tools instead of substantive ones. Although van den Berg (2016) also found process support to be dominant in the Dutch policy advisory system, he also confirmed the traditional view of policy consultants as principally involved in substantive, strategic advice. Assigning process-oriented work to external policy consultants can also be expected to occur in developing countries like the Philippines where “structural characteristics such as the primacy of politics over technical analysis, the dominance of the elite, and the top-down pattern of governance...have an influence in the pace and direction of decision-making” (Dela Santa and Saporsantos 2016, 66).

One aspect of policy advice that received substantial attention from scholars is politicization but there appears to be contrasting definition of the term. Politicization is originally referred to as the recruitment of political advisers including think tanks perceived to impinge on the objectivity of the public service and to cast doubt on the adequate representation of public interest (Fischer 1991, 1993, Mulgan 2007). This concept of politicization takes into account the brokerage role of policy consultants that may involve integration or gatekeeping of policy advice (Craft 2013). But more recent literature argue for a recognition of what is called administrative politicization (Eichbaum and Shaw 2008). It takes the perspective that politicization can be construed as advice that may have political implication such as electoral or media consequences undertaken as part of the proper fulfillment of public service duties (Weller 1987, 1989). Instead of being fixated about political advisers, politicization can be characterized in terms of control of policy and implementation (Peters and Pierre 2004). Both types of politicization is observed in various jurisdictions but significance variation exists in so far as influence in policy making is concerned (Craft and Howlett 2013, Migone and Howlett 2013, Hustedt and Salomonsen 2014). Politicization can also be expected to be present in developing owing to the deep-rooted corruption and clientelism in governments like the Philippines. As noted by La Palombara (2006), public administrators in developing countries “are in the political limelight because they tend to be injected into policy-making activities... This type of politicization can in turn weaken the capacity of the bureaucracy to perform its long-range developmental tasks”.

Data and Method

The study used data made available under the Open Government Partnership (OGP) launched in 2011. The dataset comes from the Philippine Government Electronic Procurement System (PhilGEPS) open data platform (data.philgeps.gov.ph). In the platform, 32 quarterly and 4 yearly datasets of bid and award notices from 2000-2013 are available for download. The quarterly datasets for 2014-2015 were privately made available upon request of the author. From 2000-2013, a total of 3,684,540 bid notices were posted amounting to Php9,940 billion (equivalent to US\$ 8,826 million). All these notices are categorized into Goods, Civil Works and Consulting.

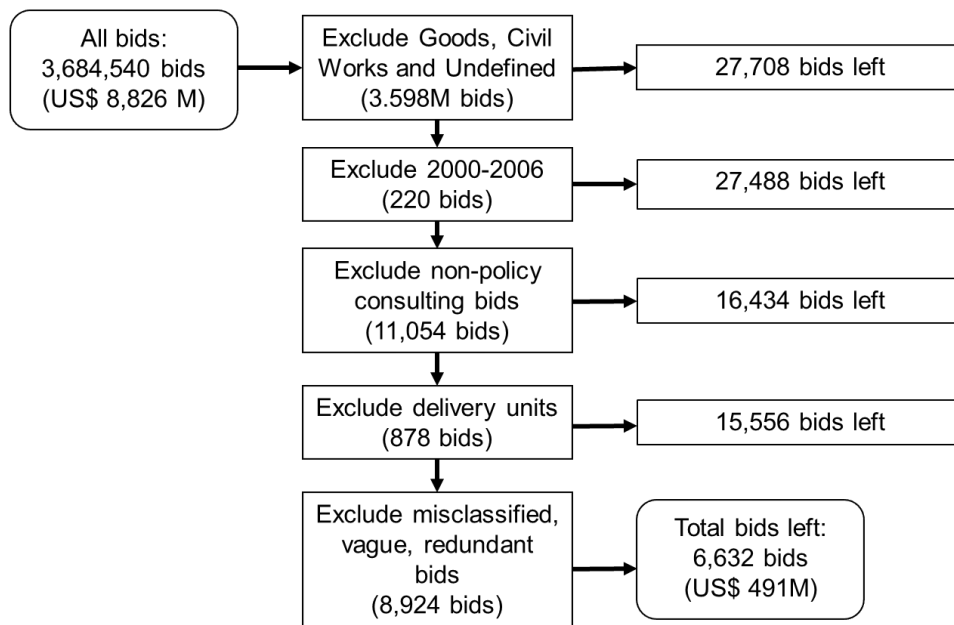
Although the notice database of PhilGEPS have been on pilot since 2000, a law (Republic Act No. 9184) enacted in 2007 mandated all government agencies to post their notices in PhilGEPS regardless of price. As a result, a validity threat arises because analysing the procurement notice database can produce results that measure better compliance to the enactment of a law in 2007 instead of the actual demand of agencies for policy consulting. Another threat is that while award notices can be a more valid measure of demand in terms of contractual agreements between policy consultants and the government, awards of contracts were only published for 20% of the bid notices. To address these threats, only bid notices after 2007 were analysed because awards notices may be more biased and bid notice can adequately reflect an expressed need by the procuring entity for policy consulting regardless of whether an award of the contract was made.

This paper adopts a similar method of database analysis used by Howlett et al. (2016) on US federal procurement data. The database has the following fields for the bid notices: i) Organization Name, ii) Reference No., iii) Bid Notice Title, iv) Publish Date, v) Classification, vi) Notice Type, vii) Business Category, ix) Funding Source, x) Procurement Mode, xi) Trade Agreement and xii) Approved Budget. Unfortunately, the Philippine government only uses running numbers to determine the reference number of each bid so a similar method of identifying policy consulting to that used by Howlett et al. (2016) is not feasible. To identify policy consulting bids, a systematic exclusion of irrelevant bids is performed using the information contained in the database. First, only bids under the Classification of Consulting are chosen to remove bids for Goods and Civil Works. The Procurement Act (RA 9184) define consulting as services “requiring adequate external technical and professional expertise that are beyond the capability and/or capacity of the government to undertake such”. Under the law, consulting services can either be (i) advisory and review services; (ii) pre-investment or feasibility studies; (iii) design; (iv) construction supervision; (v) management and related services; and (vi) other technical services or special studies. Advisory and review services for planning, system and implementation design, financial, fiscal, legal and other professional services, as well as management, production, inspection, testing and quality control. Management and related services include services for sector policy and regional development studies, planning and sociological studies, and general management consultancy. Other technical services include tasks relating to economic and financial studies.

Since the dataset has a business category field that include consulting and services, all other categories¹ have been dropped because consultation with PhilGEPS data manager reveal that consulting and services may capture all policy consulting bids. At this point after dropping all non-consulting bids and pre-2007 bids, there are a total of 16,434 bids equivalent left. A total of about 878 bid have been excluded from delivery units such as schools, hospitals, water districts and universities. As per PhilGEPS website, the law differentiates between what type of procurement can be performed through a threshold but all bid notices are expected to be published since the law (RA 9184) is silent about the limitations on what can be published. Thus, even procurements conducted through shopping, which is for procurements PHP 50,000 (US\$1,043) and below are posted in the website.

¹ Other business categories include laboratory supplies, garments, advertising, air-conditioning services. A complete list is included in the Appendix.

Figure 1 Systematic Exclusion of Bids



To further sift through the remaining bids, a textual analysis was performed to remove irrelevant bids through keyword search using Bid Notice Titles. The titles contain sufficient information for analysis of titles but a few vaguely stated titles have been removed². To the extent possible, information found in award title or award description is used as a substitute for bid title. Other excluded bids include misclassified bids and other non-policy relevant bids such as engineering design, construction supervision, hauling, and basketball referees. To further improve the validity of the analysis, only bids with unique reference numbers were included. Specifically, removing duplication in the bids were made to ensure that the amount is not overestimated since there is a practice of adding new bids for each component under a mother bid notice but the approved budget is the same. Unfortunately, the bid reference numbers are only running numbers so re-bids and failed biddings cannot be linked back to the original bid.

After systematically excluding the unrelated bids, a total of 6,761 bids amounting to a total of PhP 23.768 billion (US\$ 491 million) are left for analysis. This is equivalent to 751 bids and 2.64 billion (US\$ 54.5 million) a year. A little over 50% of the bids come from departments while 13% are from local government units (LGUs). The rest of the bids are from other government agencies including financial institutions and government corporations. In the subsequent analysis, the number of bids and amount of bids will be used and presented if they have contrasting findings. It could be expected for their trends in terms of growth to be particularly the same. But when proportions are reported, the number of bids here captures the frequency of the need for policy advice while the amount measures the scale of the advice.

The database includes information about status of bids whether active, cancelled, closed, failed, or awarded. In terms of status, a majority of bids were closed (37%) or failed (33%). There is a threat that failed bids may be driving the trends observed, which will return a biased result. However, subsequent robustness checks revealed that trends observed did not significantly change when failed bids are taken out. They are kept particularly since the bid titles offer analytical value for the textual analysis.

² Examples of these titles are “Invitation to Bid”, “Request for Expression of Interest”, “Consulting Services”, “Job Order”.

Table 1 Coding Frame for Categorizing Policy Advice

Code	Definition	Sample Keywords	Example
Policy advice	'Policy determining' input delivered either through systematic generation of evidence or expert advice	Study, Feasibility, Plan, Strategic/strategy Analysis, Assessment, Specialist	Consulting Services for Technical Inspection and Safety Assessment of the Philippine National Railways' Tracks and Bridges
Policy implementation	Design and delivery of services and policy outputs	Implementation, project management, project coordination, manager, coordinator	Consultancy Services for the Implementation of the <i>Loboc Furniture Development Program</i>
Policy evaluation	Estimation of outputs and outcomes of implemented project/programs	Impact evaluation, monitoring, endline	Conduct of Endline Survey for the Second Women's Health and Safe Motherhood Project 2 (WHSMP2) under CS CF WB 01 2013
Process support	Services and products meant to help in the delivery of policy outputs through process improvements	Human resource management, IEC materials, plan, computerization, quality management system	Contract of Service for Public Relation Outfit & Media Consultancy Consultancy Services PNOC Rationalization Plan
Training and other capacity development	Delivery of and attendance to one-off training programs, and executive education courses	Seminar, training, trainer/trainor, course, workshop, resource person	Seminar Workshop on Building a Culture of Service Excellence Consulting Services Conduct of Livelihood Training in the 6 mun of the 1st dist of Albay HVCC ABAKADA
Political affairs	Advice on political affairs and engagement of stakeholders through media and public relations	Stakeholder, political, politics, consultation, barangay affairs, community, communications, media	Services of a Management Company for the Activation of Multimedia Platform and Concept Development for the Promotional Campaign of the <i>Pinoy Homecoming Program</i>

To facilitate the analysis of the nature of policy consulting, the bid notices were coding according to an initial coding framework based on the different proposed categorization of policy advice (van den Berg 2016, Howlett et al. 2014). Codes were constantly compared to refine and expand the definition of the code. A new category to capture training and other capacity building activities and political affairs emerged on top of the initial framework because these categories were particularly evident, requiring further analysis (see **Table 1**). Coding was performed through keyword searches. To reduce the likelihood of double coding, coded bids were automatically removed from the coding pool in subsequent keyword searches.

Findings

Growth in Policy Consulting

The trend of the number of posted bid notices confirms the hypothesis of externalization of policy advice (see **Table 2**). The demand for external policy advice has been growing on an average rate of 38% for the past nine years. Expenditures, while more erratic, follow a similar growth rate at 35% for the same period. The trend is found to be consistent across all unit of governments with national governments posting the highest growth of 59%. The fact that LGUs only comprise of 13% of the total bids can be attributed to the Philippines a unitary state with a top-heavy bureaucracy (Mangahas and Sonco 2011).

Several reasons could account for externalization to be found in the Philippines. First, NPM measures have been belatedly introduced as administrative reforms to improve efficiency of a ‘bloated bureaucracy’ (Domingo and Reyes 2011). Despite the waning popularity of NPM, developing countries like the Philippines are still in the process of selectively adopting reforms based on its principles such as quality management system, citizen’s charters and performance-based pay (Saguin 2013). Relatedly, the regular rationalization and reorganization of the bureaucracy have likely taken its toll in the internal capacity of the government particularly because of the “widening scope and increasing specialization of government concerns” (Cola 1993, 415). The post-1986 government was engrossed to de-Marcosify the bureaucracy with of personnel being ‘purged’ estimated to somewhere between 30,000 to 300,000 (Carino 1990). Subsequent efforts to rationalize the bureaucracy also involved freeze hiring of permanent staff, prompting agencies to rely on consultants.

Table 2 Total Number of Bids, 2007-2015

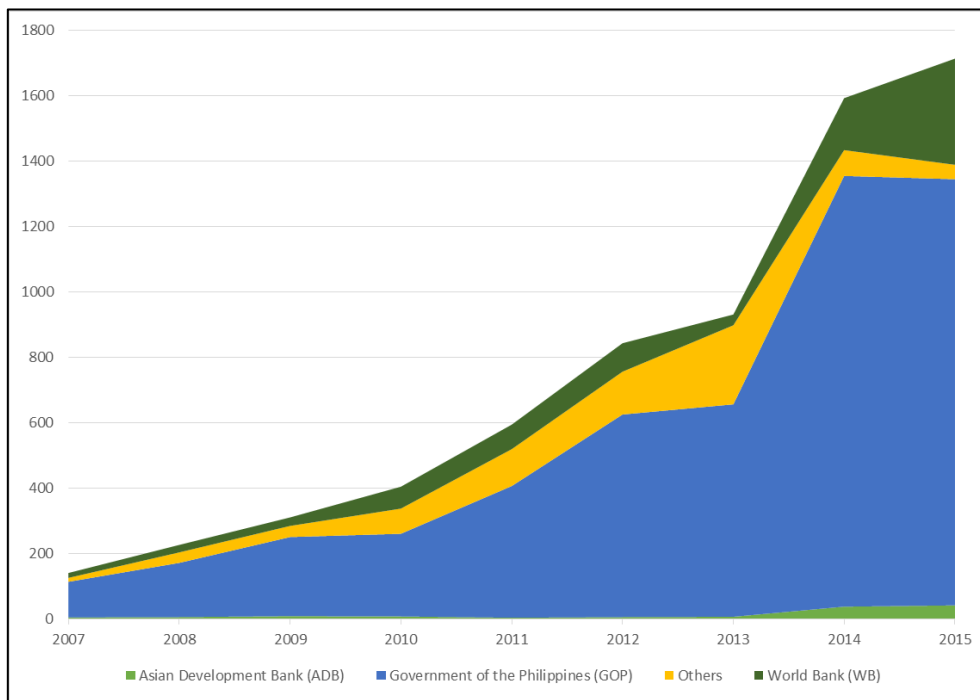
Units of Government	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
National agencies	39	98	143	195	252	446	375	904	969	3,421
Local government	20	39	53	59	103	152	165	141	161	893
Other national agencies	81	89	114	150	241	246	392	549	585	2,447
Total Number of Bids	140	226	310	404	596	844	932	1,594	1,715	6761

If policy consulting bids increase at the same rate with total bids and other consulting bids, we can expect that such growth can be attributed only to the increasing compliance to the law. But this is not the case. For the same period total bids have grown at 18% on average while all consulting bids have risen by an average of 31%. Moreover, the growth in consulting is probably problematic if it is driven chiefly by failed bids. When the failed bids were taken out, average growth rate of policy consulting bids only went down to 35%, a figure higher than the general growth trend for all consulting bids.

Another possible rival explanation is that the demand for policy consulting rises as a function of an expanding bureaucracy. But the number of civil servants did not increase in 2 years where the size of bureaucracy only grew by 232 personnel from 1,313,538 in 2008 to 1,313,770 in 2010 (Civil Service Commission 2010). This reinforces the finding that while expenditure and tasks grew, the bureaucracy is not able to adjust thereby relying on consultants to perform policy-related tasks.

The growth could very well be attributed to an intensifying investment of foreign aid donors into policy consulting. This explanation is plausible because several scholars have attributed the introduction of administrative reforms because of consultants brought in by foreign donor agencies (Llanto 2007, Gonzalez 2007). But three-fourths of the total number of bids are actually funded by the Government while about 12% come from the World Bank. In fact, government funded bids have consistently increased at a much higher rate of 40% than foreign-funded bids. Foreign donors not accounting for the demand for policy consultants can be explained partly by decreasing official development assistance received by the Philippines. Net ODA received as a percent of GNI, a measure of dependency on foreign aid, has generally been declining from 0.326 in 2007 to -0.068 in 2011 but loans picked up again albeit marginally to about 0.196 in 2014.

Figure 2 Total Number of Policy Consulting Bids by Funding Source, 2007-2015



Nature of Policy Advice

The results of the analysis show a partial confirmation of the proceduralization hypothesis, which remain consistent even when failed bids were taken out. While external consultants provide policy advice for 29% of the bids, the Philippine government mostly engage policy consultants in providing process-oriented support (35%). But the continual growth of process support bids demonstrate a relegation of process-oriented jobs regularly performed by the public services as a tasked to be outsourced. The result is consistent with existing literature (Howlett et al. 2014) and is further corroborated by the response of the Philippine Department of Trade and Industry to adverse audit findings on their ‘unjustified hiring of consultants’ as a result of “lack of personnel...to do the job”. Policy consultants are brought in chiefly to provide ancilliary support on human resource, financial and organizational management.

But the prominence of strategic advice together with process support in the database is interesting and is probably similar to the bi-modal distribution found by van den Berg (2016) in the Netherlands. There are several reasons that can account for this. First, the legal prescription for hiring consultants limited the consultants’ role to those that are beyond the capacity of internal staff. Second, policy consultants possess a legitimizing power to the work of the bureaucracy. As argued by Teehankee, Ramirez, and Malbarosa (2011), think tanks and policy institutes in the Philippines are arguably a ‘political enterprise’ produced by bouts of nationalism, increasing liberalization and greater concentration of power.

Figure 3 Number of Policy Consulting Bids by Type of Advice, 2007-2015

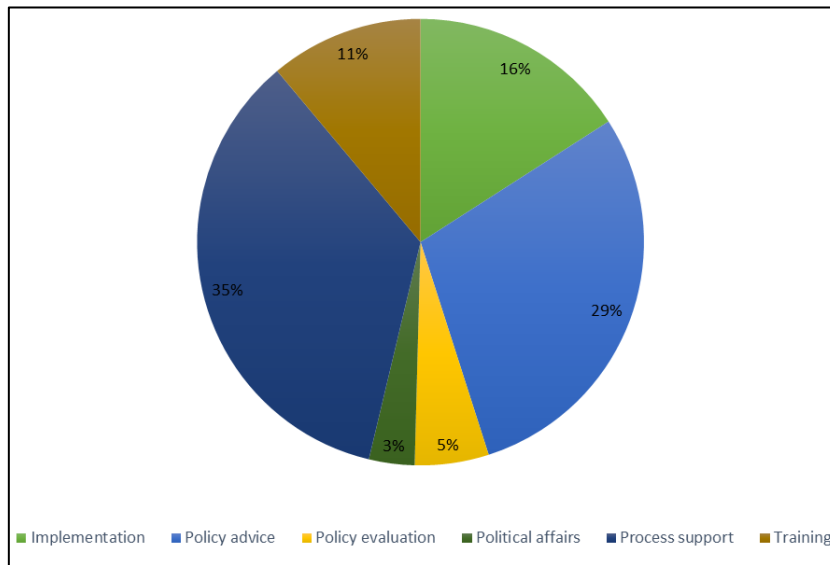
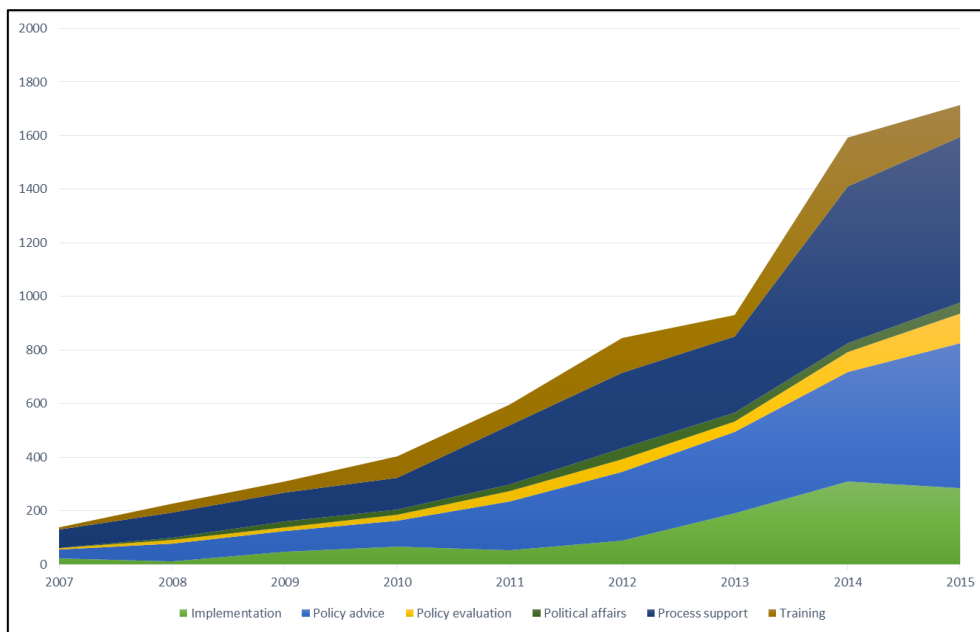


Figure 4 Total Number of Policy Consulting Bids by Types of Advice, 2007-2015



It is also important to note that administrative politicization is less evident in the bids. Only 3% of the bids are for political affairs, stakeholder management and public relations with policy implementation (16%) and training (11%) significantly accounting for a greater number of the bids. The lack of clear evidence of politicization could indicate the bureaucracy itself to be inherently politicized, one that is able to generate political advice from within (Guzman, Alex B. Brillantes, and Pacho 1988, Cola 1993, Mangahas and Sonco 2011).

Conclusion

This study's findings show that the trends in policy consulting when refracted through the lens of a developing country appear to be largely contemporary with other well-studied developed countries. The demand for policy consultants is also growing, which validates the assertion of externalization of policy advice in the Philippines. External policy advice is also mainly sought as a complementary support to

the public service. But a slight variation in the nature of policy work of external consultants is the almost equal demand for strategic advice. The implications for developing countries are profound. The government's appetite for policy consulting is remarkably increasing at all levels of the government. This trend highlights the concerns over the possible influence of policy consultants in policy making and questions the control of the state over its own decision-making processes, one that is incessantly perceived to be subject to external control.

As regards the concept of policy consulting, the meaningful differentiation between policy consultants and other consultants continues to escape existing analysis and might not be fruitful endeavor (Howard 1996, Perl and White 2002). One possible way forward is to distinguish not in terms of location or content of advice but rather on the individual capacities to be developed (Ramesh, Howlett, and Saguin 2016). This idea harps on complementarity argument between internal and external policy analysts whereby capacities that the public service does not have will eventually be outsourced to policy consultants.

Future research can look into the different factors that contribute to these trends in policy consulting within the context of developing countries. To what extent is this brought about by the "hollowing out of the state" (Rhodes 1994)? Or is it a function of increasingly weaker state where the bureaucracy is organizationally incapacitated (Mann 1984)? Within the larger framework of Sustainable Development Goals, how will advisory systems fit in? And will this result in greater financing of policy consultants in the government by international development organizations? A research agenda for policy consulting in developing countries can include a more comprehensive examination of demand for contracting out policy advice by looking into cross-sectoral differences. An analysis of procurement plans and supplier's registry is also warranted to provide a better picture of the profile of consultants based on awarded contracts. Other inquiry on the subject can examine the role of policy consultants relative to internal policy analysts in developing countries wherein the findings indicate an augmentation motivation for engaging policy consultants.

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Appendix: List of Business Categories

Advertising Agency Services
Agricultural Machinery and Equipment
Agricultural Products (Seeds, Seedlings, Plants..)
Airconditioning and Airconditioning Systems
Airconditioning Maintenance Services
Appliances
Architectural Design
Audio and Visual Equipment
Cargo Forwarding and Hauling Services
Catering Services
Communication Equipment & Parts and Accessories
Computer Furniture
Construction Equipment
Construction Management Services
Construction Materials and Supplies
Construction Projects
Consulting Services
Diagnostic and Laboratory Services
Drugs and Medicines
Editorial, Design, Graphic and Fine Art Services
Electrical Supplies
Electrical Systems and Lighting Components
Environmental Health/Safety Equipment
Events Management
Fertilizers
Food Stuff
Fuels/Fuel Additives & Lubricants & Anti Corrosive
Furniture
Garments
General Contractor
General Engineering Services
General Merchandise
Geotechnical Instrumentation
Hardware and Construction Supplies
Hospital / Medical Equipment Services
Information Technology
Information Technology Parts & Accessories & Perip
Internet Services
Janitorial Equipment
Laboratory Supplies and Equipment
Lease and Rental of Property or Building
Market Research Services
Medical and Dental Equipment
Medical Supplies and Laboratory Instrument
Mining Equipment and Supplies
Musical Instruments
Office Equipment Supplies and Consumables
Office Supplies and Devices
Pest Control Services
Photographic Parts, Supplies and Accessories
Print and Broadcast and Aerial Advertising
Printing Services
Public Relations Programs or Services

Security Services
Services
Surveying Services
Telecommunications Provider
Travel, Food, Lodging and Entertainment Services
Vehicle Parts and Accessories
Vehicle Repair and Maintenance
Vehicles
Water and Waste Water Treatment Supply & Disposal
Water Service Connection Materials/Fittings