



Portfolio Review meeting
October 1, 2014

Preparations for UNGASS 2016
Global Drug Policy Program

A. Summary of this portfolio analysis

This document presents the analysis of a group of grants, advocacy events, and media targeted at preparing for the 2016 UN Special Session on Drugs (UNGASS). Through an analysis of these grantees along the three factors of strategy, collaboration and geography, we concluded that generally these grantees operate at a high level, but may do so at the expense of capacity-building of smaller grantees. We also concluded that these grantees engage in extensive collaboration with one another that is effective to a limited degree, but that does not incorporate a more comprehensive strategy for cooperation and collaboration at this time. Geographically, while these grantees are “global” we recognize that they operate within particular geographical regions with more ease than others and that this strategy may lead to excluding particular regions of import, such as Asia. Finally, this analysis examines our program’s advocacy efforts and media strategy, and reflects upon the lessons learned through our attempts to engage the New York UN missions and others in drug policy as well as take advantage of opportunities to raise public awareness of drug policy issues.

Our Ambitions: This portfolio represents a core plank of GDPP’s current strategy: preparation for the 2016 UNGASS. Recognizing that the a changing political landscape in Latin America around drug policy is fuelling an increased urgency to address the harmful effects of the “war on drugs,” we understood the necessity of supporting our grantees – and particularly our larger, international grantees – in developing a cohesive strategy (or strategies) in order to take full advantage of this session. At the same time, we recognized that with our program’s physical presence in New York, we might leverage opportunities for engaging with UN missions and agencies to educate them on issues and – perhaps – shape the dialogue within the UN through our advocacy. This work was seen by our program to complement grant making and other initiatives targeted at reform at the national level as well as integrate with our other strategies of university-based research and education and support for producers of drugs. A third ambition was that we might use the unique talents of our program’s communications officer to leverage successes into impactful media stories.

Our Place: The totality of global efforts that might influence the UNGASS and the broader debate on drug policy is well beyond our scope of influence. Although OSF is by far the largest funder of drug policy reform advocacy across the globe, our program operates within limitations of national politics, culture, and an often opaque and impenetrable UN system with its own politics and culture. Despite these obstacles, GDPP and OSF are situated as important and unique actors in this movement. We see our role as providing continuity and direction to grantees where we are able, and to assist in providing a big-picture overview of the dynamics of this environment to our grantee partners, external agents such as UN missions and agencies, and within OSF, while incorporating knowledge from other programs and actors into our own understanding.

Our Work: Operating in a complex and changing environment, our grants and activities within this portfolio, including our use of media strategies, have been largely successful. Although there have been notable obstacles, setbacks and challenges, our program has learned from these over the course of this portfolio and is better prepared for the next phase of preparations to UNGASS, which will include an entirely new field of actors through the shared framework collaborations.

B. Definition of the portfolio

The portfolio is defined as grants for globally-focused drug policy organizations, with a particular focus on these organizations’ preparations for the 2016 UNGASS, a series of advocacy events supported by our program, and our media strategy around these issues. As **Table 2** outlines, GDPP awarded grants in this area in the amount of \$2,234,275 in 2012, \$2,936,361 in 2013 and \$1,395,275 in 2014 (to date). Since 2012, the average size of grants in this area has been about \$58,213. Five of

these 26 grants (approximately 20%) were for a term greater than one year. 14 of these grants received co-funding, most often with IHRD and LAP, at approximately 23% of the total value of grants made (\$1,513,530).

C. GDPP's approach

Since entering the drug policy arena, OSF has been the most important source of support for NGOs and universities that now comprise the “field” of drug policy reformers: a field that has emerged very quickly. With GDPP's appearance on the scene in 2008, we, along with other OSF programs, have helped to shape strategies and have worked to ensure networking of the various players. One of the successes of our work has been the emergence of mature organizations whose leadership GDPP trusts to advocate for drug policy reform that respects human rights and reduces the harms to those affected by the “war on drugs,” including Transnational Institute (TNI), Transform, Harm Reduction International (HRI), and the Global Commission on Drug Policy. However, even in those cases, we remain actively involved in helping those organizations shape strategies that are the most effective in a complex environment. Several of the organizations that GDPP have supported through rapid growth are now operating at a global level and recognized as leaders in the reform debates, their expertise often sought out by the media and political leaders.

The grantees in this review are predominantly – although not exclusively – our “field” leaders. Generally speaking, they are established organizations with sophisticated strategies for operating internationally and engaging with multilateral mechanisms, such as the United Nations (UN). Although the overall tactics and strategies employed by these organizations range widely from media advocacy to research to high-level engagement with policymakers - and also readily combine elements of multiple strategies and tactics - each organization approaches drug policy reform with a unique perspective, reputation and expertise.

The work of these grantees typically melds into the three **Concept** strategies of GDPP: 1) drug policy reform advances in key countries, 2) development of university-based research and education for capacity-building and knowledge exchange, and 3) addressing drug policies through a sustainable development lens. For example, global grantees may support our **Concept 1** goals of drug policy debates in key countries, changes in national policy, and eventually leading to national-level changes that influence UN and other multilateral debates through knowledge exchange with organizational networks and capacity building (e.g. International Drug Policy Consortium) and may be influential in bringing particular (and under-represented) voices to national drug policy reform debates (e.g. INPUD and Transform). Support to these grantees has led to a more cohesive and sophisticated approach to international reform that extends beyond the borders of nations and begins to see drug policy on a regional and global perspective.

Grantees working globally to influence the UN process also regularly benefit from the production of quality research that we support through **Concept 2** in their advocacy efforts and frequently repackage existing research into persuasive campaigns (e.g. Transform's *Count the Costs*, Release's *Talking Drugs*, and the Global Commission reports). Our vision with our strategy was that the research and drug policy advocacy education we support would feed into national and international debates. Over the last several years, our grantees have had some notable successes in leveraging such academic work into successful advocacy on an international level (e.g. the recent London School of Economics report, *Ending the Drug Wars*). Our colleagues in these global organizations have also been involved in university teaching, which both enhances their stature in the field and enables the sharing in the classroom of real-life experiences of drug policy reform from the leaders at the front line (e.g. the Global Drug Policy Observatory at Swansea University and HRI).

With respect to our *Concept 3*, the strengthening of links with the development community and advocacy for drug policy that is consistent with poverty reduction and sustainable development, support for our global grantees has meant an integration of rural development issues affecting drug producers and traffickers into national and international debates around alternative development and a harm-reduction approach to drug-supply issues (e.g. TNI).

D. Changes in context; why this portfolio review is important now

Globally, regionally and in many cases nationally, drug policy debates and drug policies themselves are experiencing dynamic change, which we anticipate will become even more pronounced and rapid in the next year and a half leading to the UNGASS. For GDPP, the UNGASS is seen as an important inflection point for our work and has challenged our own thinking about strategies for global change to drug policy. The UNGASS is seen as a logical focal point for many of our grantees, regionally, nationally, and globally who – with our assistance and encouragement – have developed strategies specifically targeted at the UNGASS. With the Global Board approval of the “shared framework” on drug policy on September 9th, the potential of the UNGASS is now on the radars of several OSF programs. Many of these programs – including several with which we have had no previous collaboration - are now articulating their own strategies in collaboration with others, and undertaking a specific body of drug policy work targeted in the context of the UNGASS.

For many globally-focused grantees, substantial pieces of their work are often targeted at the UN in order to generate interest and debate in the public and within the UN itself. For example, in May 2014, the London School of Economics (LSE) launched a report titled, “*Ending the Drug Wars.*” This report, which generated significant media, was supported by five Nobel Prize winners. Danny Quah, Chair of the expert group that wrote the report, stated:

"The UN must recognize its role is to assist states as they pursue best-practice policies based on scientific evidence, not undermine or counteract them. If this alignment occurs, a new and effective international regime can emerge that effectively tackles the global drug problem. If not, states are likely to move ahead unilaterally and the international coordinating opportunities that the UN affords will be lost. This report sets out a roadmap for finally ending the drug wars."

In another example, the Global Commission on Drug Policy recently released its fourth and most impactful report, “*Taking Control*” in New York on September 9th 2014, only one week before the opening of the UN General Assembly. The Commission attracted over 50,000 downloads of its report between midnight, when the press release was issued, and the following morning. There were also 10,000 individuals live-streaming the launch. Following the public launch on the next day, several commissioners held a panel within the UN for mission delegations and others, and held meetings with the Secretary General and Deputy Secretary General in the following days.

These examples demonstrate some of the more obvious ways in which grantees combine products of their work with advocacy directed at the UN or even within the UN system.

Other grantees, such as Release Leads and Transform Drug Policy Foundation, are engaging in strategies aimed at disseminating information to the broader public. For example, Release’s successful and innovative web-based platform for collecting and disseminating information and individual experiences, “*Talking Drugs,*” has, in a single year, received nearly 450,000 page views from over 190 countries and disseminated materials that have had a broad media impact. That website provides information on individual drugs, harm reduction practices, and the intersection of

drugs and race and drugs and women. It is also a source for many other drug policy related issues in 30 languages and has information gathered from around the world. Transform is recognized as a leading authority on regulatory models for drugs that are presented in normative way. They recently released two publications: “*Debating Drugs: How to Make the Case for Legal Regulation*” and “*How to Regulate Cannabis: A Practical Guide.*”

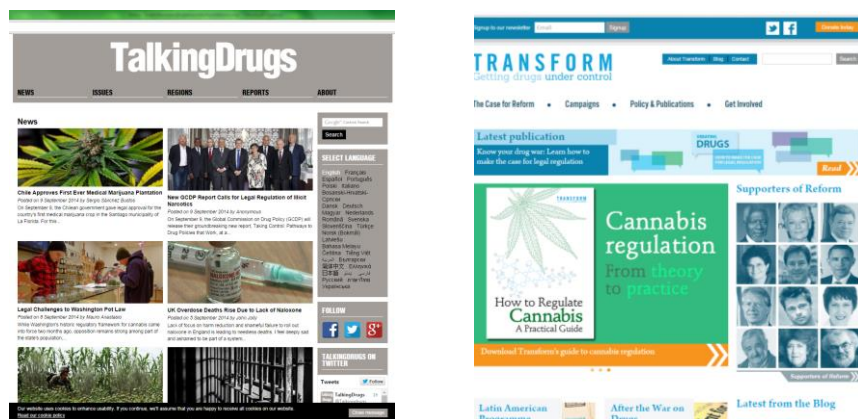


Figure 1. Screenshots from Release Leads and Transform

Lastly, GDPP engages in advocacy activities of our own. As **Table 1** indicates, we engaged in a series of public and private events in various venues, within New York and in other locations. These events were designed for a variety of purposes (e.g. education, influence, knowledge exchange between partners, activism, etc.) and often capitalized on the availability of experts (e.g. the public event on economic development that coincided with our meeting of academic partners) or a timely global event (e.g. the June 26th Day of Action).

Type	Title	Venue	Date	Location
Private Event	2016 UNGASS: Meeting of Grantees (Drug Policy Alliance Conference)	DPA Conference	10/25/2013	Denver, CO
Private Event	Meeting with Caribbean Leaders to discuss UNGASS	Richard Branson	2/6/2014	Moskito Island
Public Event	Banking on Evidence: Drug Policy Experiences in Europe (organized with Czech Republic and Switzerland)	UN Office on Drugs and Crime	3/17/2014	Vienna
Public Event	Talking about drugs at the United Nations: UN General Assembly Special Session on Drugs and Best Practices from Around the World	OSF	3/25/2014	NYC
Private Event	UN Meeting on Drugs and Development	UN WOMEN	6/6/2014	NYC
Public Event	Talking About Drugs at the United Nations: How the War on Drugs Impedes Economic Development	OSF	6/9/2014	NYC
Private Event	Meeting with Academic Partners	OSF	6/9/2014	NYC
Private Event	Drug Policy, Development Objectives and the Millennium Development Goals and the Sustainable Development Goals	New School	6/19/2014	NYC
Public Event	Supporting June 26 Day of Action globally	Global	6/26/2014	Global
Private Event	Improving the Development Impact of Drugs Policy	United Nations	7/15/2014	NYC

Table 1 – List of Advocacy Events

E. The Constellation of GDPP Global UNGASS Grantees: looking at the whole picture

For this portfolio review of some of our larger and more influential grantees, we wished to evaluate their organizations and work along three metrics: 1) strategic approach, 2) inter-grantee collaboration, and 3) geographical focus. These three analytical metrics were identified as some possible characteristics we could use to understand the “big picture” of where these grantees were positioning themselves and focusing their efforts, although they only represent a sampling of the ways in which we might “dissect” our work for analysis.

1. Strategic Approach

The 12 organizations that make up this portfolio’s 26 grants (**Table 2**) are engaged in a diversity of strategies that generally may be categorized along two gradients: 1) **public/grassroots vs. government/high-level strategic target** and 2) **expertise/research focus vs. advocacy as a preferred tactic** (see **Figure 2**).

For example, while the Global Commission has a strong public face, its primary strategic target is the persuasion of high-level UN personnel and heads of state, such as themselves, and they rely upon direct advocacy with these individuals, such as the recent meeting with the Secretary General. This is, of course, a tactic that they are well-suited to utilize in comparison to most other grantees, which do not readily have access to high-level ministers and heads of state. In another example, the Global Drug Policy Observatory focuses primarily on research targeted at policy-makers, and they engage in minimal direct advocacy around their work, relying on others to utilize their research for advocacy. INPUD, while engaging somewhat with government officials such as within UN agencies, is primarily a vehicle for mobilizing the voices of people who use drugs for advocacy, representing a different perspective in the debate.

This analysis reveals that only three of our grantees in this portfolio fall to the left of the division between public/grassroots and government/high-level, demonstrating that for the period of this review, GDPP’s investment favored grantees that had high-level strategic targets rather than employing strategies aimed at mobilizing the public or grassroots partners. For comparison, our national and regional grantees not included in this portfolio are generally engaging in public/grassroots strategies, and are included on the diagram in approximation of where their strategies collectively fall.

In order to understand the dynamic of strategic target among these grantees, their relationship to national and regional actors, and ultimately evaluate GDPP’s success in funding as we have been in this area, it is important to recognize the high normative pressure exerted on national and regional policies from the international drug control regime. As national-level policies change (such as those recently in the United States and Uruguay, as well as earlier developments such as in Switzerland and the Netherlands) it has been apparent to us that the international system represents a tremendous barrier to reform. Restrictive readings of the drug control conventions are used by anti-reform actors within the international regulatory system (e.g. INCB and UNODC) to exert pressure on governments to implement draconian policies and to shame those that try something different. This has certainly been the case with progressive policies coming out of the US, Uruguay, Portugal, Switzerland, etc.

GRANTEE	GRANT ID	PROJECT NAME	TERM	AMOUNT 2012	AMOUNT 2013	AMOUNT 2014	AMOUNT OF CO-FUNDING FROM OTHER PROGRAMS	CO-FUNDING PROGRAMS
Transform Drug Policy Foundation	OR2012-36044	Transforming Drug Policy: Counting the Costs and Beyond	1 yr ending Jan 2013	\$204,237			\$91,537	LAP
Transform Drug Policy Foundation	OR2013-04214	Counting the Costs Phase III - Building to UNGASS	1 yr ending Jan 2014		\$99,000			
Transform Drug Policy Foundation	OR2014-14197	Engaging advocates, implementing reform	1 yr ending Feb 2015			\$100,275		
Release Leads Ltd. ("TalkingDrugs")	OR2012-36533	Reaching the public - a global web based platform to increase international capacity	1 yr ending March 2013	\$120,000			\$60,000	YI
Release Leads Ltd. ("TalkingDrugs")	OR2013-02868	Reaching the public – a global web based platform to increase public engagement in drug policy reform	1 yr ending March 2014		\$110,000		\$60,000	YI
Release Leads Ltd. ("TalkingDrugs")	OR2014-12915	Global interactive engagement on drug policy – bringing new voices to the debate	1 yr ending March 2015			\$100,000	\$30,000	YI
Transnational Institute	OR2011-20448	Institutional Development	1 yr ending June 2013	\$400,000			\$100,000	LAP
Transnational Institute	OR2013-06739	TNI D&D core grant 2013-2014	1 yr ending June 2014		\$360,000		\$90,000	LAP
International Drug Policy Consortium	OR2012-36551	Core funding 2012-13	2 yrs ending February 2014	\$400,000	\$400,000			
International Drug Policy Consortium	OR2014-12578	Institutional strengthening for the International Drug Policy Consortium for 2014-2015	1 yr ending March 2015			\$350,000	\$50,000	IHRD
International Drug Policy Consortium	OR2013-05367	European Initiative for Drug Policy Reform and UK political campaign	0.5 yr ending October 2013	\$24,900				
Igarape Institute	OR2013-02528	Global Commission on Drug Policy	1.5 yrs ending August 2014		\$826,540		\$175,000	LAP (100), IHRD (75)
Igarape Institute	OR2014-16418	Global Commission on Drug Policy	1.5 yrs ending March 2016			\$845,000	\$145,000	LAP(65), IHRD (80)
Swansea University	OR2012-37295	Global Observatory on Drug Policy	2 yrs ending March 2015	\$369,096				
International Doctors for Healthy Drug Policies	OR2012-36048	International Doctors for Healthy Drug Policies	1 yr ending March 2013	\$200,000				
International Doctors for Healthy Drug Policies	OR2013-10803	IDHDP Bridging grant	2 months ending December 2013		\$24,987		\$12,493	IHRD
Harm Reduction International	OR2011-20027	Core funding for the human rights programme of the International Harm Reduction Association	1 year ending May 2013	\$199,000			\$99,500	IHRD
Harm Reduction International	OR2013-03623	International Doctors for Healthy Drug Policies	3 months ending June 2013		\$25,000			
Harm Reduction International	OR2013-06656	2013-2015 General Operating Support	2 yrs ending December 2015		\$700,000		\$500,000	IHRD (375), LAHI (125)
London School of Economics	OR2012-22794, OR2012-00594	The International Drug Control System - Reevaluating Its Historical Evolution and the Potential for Reform	0.5 yr ending December 2012	\$44,062				
London School of Economics	OR2013-03757	The Expert Group on the Economics of Drug Policy	1 yr ending June 2014		\$92,034			
INPUD (Hit Projects Ltd.)	OR2012-00557	Sustaining INPUD – Resource Mobilisation, Campaigning Capacity and Secretariat Development	1 yr ending December 2013	\$100,000			\$50,000	IHRD
INPUD (Hit Projects Ltd.)	OR2013-10318	Setting INPUD's global advocacy priorities, charting a new course	1 yr ending December 2014		\$100,000		\$50,000	IHRD
Simon Fraser University	OR2012-36046	Canadian Drug Policy Coalition Development Project Phase 2	1 yr ending June 2013	\$172,980				
Simon Fraser University	OR2013-07075	Canadian Drug Policy Coalition International Program 2013-2014	1.5 yrs ending October 2014		\$150,000			
All-Party Parliamentary Group for Drug Policy Reform	OR2013-08764	European Initiative for Drug Policy Reform and UK political campaign (phase 2)	1 yr ending September 2014		\$48,800			
			TOTALS	\$2,234,275	\$2,936,361	\$1,395,275	\$1,513,530	

Table 2 – List of Grants in this Portfolio

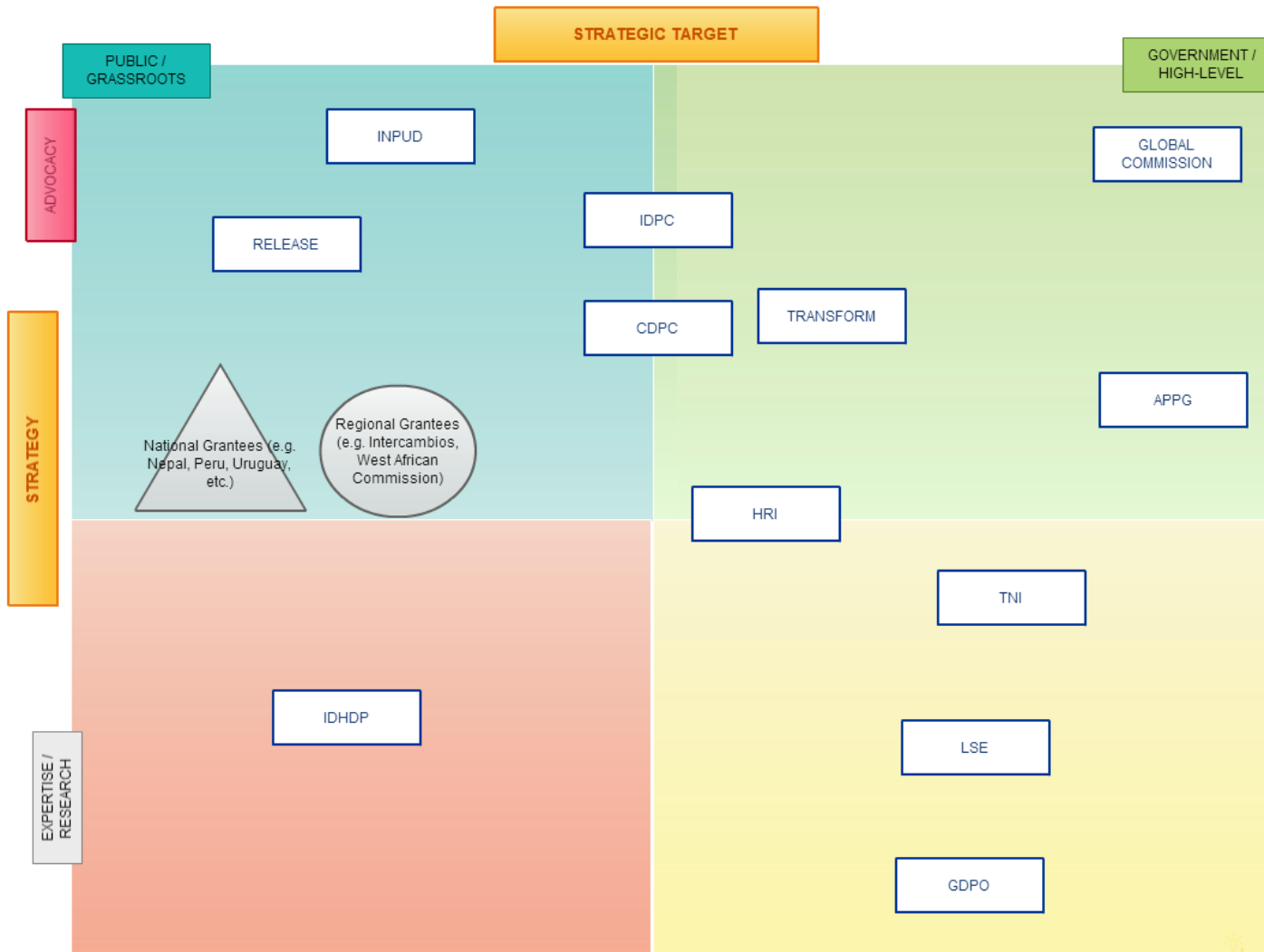


Figure 2. Strategic Approach of Portfolio Grantees

Our grantees within this portfolio are working to clarify the normative framework (i.e., balancing drug control obligations with human rights norms) and to identify potential opportunities to advocate for reforms within the scope of international legal obligations. One such example of how this plays out is Bolivia. When that government withdrew from the 1961 convention and reentered with a reservation on the proscription against the coca leaf, several of our grantees wrote an amicus brief explaining why this was allowable *vis-à-vis* Bolivia's responsibilities under the declaration on indigenous rights. The reservation was eventually approved by the UN General Assembly. Similarly, our grantees have worked closely with UN human rights treaty bodies to clarify how human rights moderate drug control. In short, the work of these global, normative-level actors sets the stage for actions at the local level that may, in fact, take advantage of public mobilization in a way that global grantees cannot.

Another aspect of these global grantees, as representatives of our longest-standing and most established "field" members, is that they are able to endure for the long-run and consistently engage on drug policy reform despite policy fluctuations at the national level. With the inevitable change in national governments and national policies, the work of these grantees in continuing to advocate at an international and high-level, and provide research and advocacy support is exceedingly important in the establishment and maintenance of a global movement. These grantees should – and in many cases do – provide direction for national actors who are poised to take advantage of political opportunity as it presents itself. At a minimum, these grantees articulate the terms of a global debate (often in multiple languages) that can be adapted to suit national circumstances.

Engagement with the public and grassroots NGOs is, of course, a core value of our program (and of OSF), and is seen by us as a necessity for fully taking advantage of the UNGASS. It is a relevant question to ask whether and how this effort is supported through GDPP's granting strategies. Aside from the strategic granting we do outside of this portfolio to national and regional organizations, we recognize that our own program is currently limited in our capacity to directly engage with a large consortium of organizations that potentially have an interest in drug policy reform and the UNGASS (e.g. health, faith, justice, etc. organizations). Our strategy has been to support the larger, global grantees to develop this global network of organizations. Unfortunately, and to our program's frustration at times, this network is not being developed to the degree that we'd like by the grantees in this portfolio. Particularly, we see the role of developing this network sitting with the International Drug Policy Consortium (IDPC), which boasts a membership of over 100 organizations, classified as "partner" and "network" members. While effective at engaging at a high level, documenting international meetings, producing policy briefs targeting specific reforms, and activating their membership for public actions such as the recent June 26th Day of Action, IDPC has been wanting, in our opinion, of a developed strategy to build the capacity of their members to engage as advocates at the UN or within their own capitals. Too often, it appears, knowledge and materials produced by their members flows upward for use by IDPC without much support flowing down. IDPC also failed to develop a coherent strategy around the New York NGO Committee (NYNGOC) or to fund their representative in New York to take on this work, leaving her as an unpaid volunteer Chair of the NYNGOC. These issues are problematic as it remains unclear for us whether our current funding strategy in this portfolio will enable the existing network (or the NYNGOC) to be in a position to engage fully with the UNGASS in 2016, or whether there are additional steps we can take to either develop the capacity of this network ourselves or work with our grantees in this portfolio to enable them to do the job.

While it is easy to lay the blame of inaction at the feet of IDPC, as the organization explicitly taking on the role of consortium-builder, we also note that capacity building of national organizations leading to the UNGASS has not been a great priority or strength of any of these portfolio grantees. We note, though, that HRI does build capacity of smaller organizations on the issues of harm

reduction and human rights around drug policy through development and technical support. This involvement, however, is too limited in scope and scale to be the degree of influence that we believe to be necessary to create global movement for the UNGASS.

Media strategy

All of the grantees in this portfolio employ a media strategy. For some grantees (e.g. Global Commission and IDPC), this is a core component of their overall campaign. For others, engagement with the media is more subtle, taking the form of well-placed op-eds, for example (e.g. HRI). Our own program, though, has had a key role in assisting these grantees with their media as well as taking advantage of media opportunities on our own behalf.

The debate that has been opened by Latin American leaders reflected a breaking of the taboo against challenging what is typically perceived as a monolithic approach to drugs. It has been our program's goal to utilize the media to highlight these divisions by illustrating a diversity of drug policy approaches around the world and shining a light and heat on debates that usually generate little or no public attention. We assumed that doing so would embolden champions for reform and weaken the perceived consensus in favor of prohibition. In addition, these debates provide for us and our grantees a new opportunity to highlight the costs of the drug war to the international community and even generate support for reform. However, we fully understood that beyond a rare set of crises (e.g. Crimea, Syria and Gaza) generating media interest in a UN process is a considerable challenge. Thus, it is often necessary for GDPP and our grantees to create their own media opportunities or exploit existing avenues through our own initiative.

With our communications capacity, GDPP has been central to the planning and implementation of these media efforts among our grantees. Our work included assisting grantees with writing press releases, developing media talking points, carrying out media outreach, and executing their strategies. Particular launches included:

- *The 2014 Commission on Narcotic Drugs and Advance Promotion of Debates*: Numerous grantees worked with delegations on UNGASS preparatory documents such as the Joint Ministerial Statement, which would be adopted at a High-Level Meeting in advance of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND). Several wedge issues emerged that we helped our grantees promote including, for example, a robust fight over language condemning the death penalty for drugs and recognition of alternative approaches. While neither of these points made it into the final document, the debates and the issues themselves were reported in a range of media including *The Guardian* (UK), *Reuters*, *Associated Press*, *Forbes*, *The Huffington Post*, *La Repubblica* (Italy), *The Daily Star* (Lebanon), *Reforma/El Norte* (Mexico), and several others. Our grantees and GDPP were featured in many of these pieces. This strategy exemplifies using a UN debate as a platform to generating the media stories that are – perhaps – more effective than the result of the debate itself.
- *Spinning Regional Processes*: Processes such as the 2013 Organization of American States Scenarios Report have been critical inflection points. However, they were potentially missed opportunities, as the density of the report made it very easy to dismiss. To compensate, we collaborated with our network to adopt a quickly digestible spin (“the first time a regional body considered drug law reform”), drafted a release, circulated talking points and briefed media. The result was favorable stories in *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *Reuters*, *Associated Press*, *The Economist*, and many, many others, including regional media. The stories were not only consistent with the spin we had pitched, but OSF and our grantees were also featured in a number of these articles.

- *Exploiting National Developments to Link to International Issues*: One example of this was Nick Clegg's trip to Colombia and his decision to urge the UK government to join the international debate. Due to close relationships Patrick Gallahue, our program's communications officer, has forged with the editor of *The Observer* (the Sunday edition of *The Guardian*), GDPP's director, Kasia Malinowska-Sempruch, was invited to write a commentary on the UNGASS and the importance of national engagement in coordination with the main story on Clegg. The op-ed landed on the front page and Kasia was quoted in the main story.

While it is often a challenge to do so, we learned that if we can produce big enough events, there is media appetite for stories about the UN drug policy debate. Examples of where we or our grantees have been able to create events are:

- *The London School of Economics (LSE) Report, 'Ending the Drug Wars' [2014]*: This was an exceptionally executed grant on the part of LSE IDEAS, however as university press offices can be somewhat sluggish, GDPP led on promotion of this report. Our program worked with the Communications' and the Chairman's offices, to get an op-ed by George Soros welcoming the report, which subsequently ran on the front page of *The Financial Times*. A flood of press followed that media. Our grantee, John Collins, was a regular presence on the BBC, Al Jazeera, CNN and other international broadcasts. In addition, we drafted an op-ed for Mr. Collins that ran in *The New Statesman*, one of the UK's leading current affairs magazines, and edited an op-ed for *The Marks Syndicate*. In addition, the report was covered by Reuters, *Le Monde* (France), *Forbes*, *The Chicago Tribune*, *The Daily Beast*, *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Poland), *The Orlando Sentinel*, *The Hartford Courant*, CNN.com, and numerous others. UNGASS was included in many of these stories and John Collins has remained a media mainstay in the months after the launch, including participating in an event held in conjunction with the recent OAS meeting in Guatemala.
- *June 26 Day of Action [2014]*: IDPC organized a global day of action to call for drug policy reforms on June 26th, recognized as the UN's anti-drugs day. To support the promotion of this event, the Global Commission provided creative assets, such as social media and print ads. GDPP applied for and received Reserve Funds in order to take advantage of this opportunity. We supported grantees on the ground in select cities who organized rallies and demonstrations advocating for drug policy reforms. In addition, we worked with coordinators of the action to strategize events, write the press release, and conduct media outreach. In particular, we worked with Release's *Talking Drugs*, a recipient of Reserve Funds and organizer of the London-based action. We booked a BBC appearance with Release's Executive Director that aired the day before demonstrators took to the streets. Global actions were covered by numerous television programs as well as *The Independent*, *London Evening Standard*, *The Huffington Post* (Front Page on Website), *The Guardian*, *The Mirror*, *Marie Claire* (Italy), *Semana* (Colombia), *El Nuevo Dia* (Puerto Rico), *El Pais* (Spain) and many, many others.

The media increasingly report on reform with a degree of inevitability. That the consensus is fractured is now a widely recognized fact. However, it is unlikely that media coverage has done much to embolden champions or facilitate national reforms in a targeted and coordinated way. We have successfully reached elite, international media like *The Guardian*, *The Economist* and *Financial Times*, but this has not penetrated the national media in some important countries—such as Mexico, Colombia, Guatemala, Switzerland, and Uruguay—in a sustained fashion. While stories may get

picked up in these markets, they fade away fairly quickly without a connection of direct, national importance.

Our program identifies the media capacity of most of our national grantees as under-developed. As a result – and for other more systemic and political reasons – the drugs issue is poorly understood in most national contexts, and not particularly well-covered by most national media. Galvanizing national champions for reform, however, will likely require a national or regional press strategy that complements other advocacy efforts. Such a strategy would need to engage local media in a sustained fashion, requiring press consultants working in certain target countries. This is one activity that was suggested in the charette preceding the “shared framework” approval. Using media consultants based in the office of a grantee, even if only part-time, could be an effective strategy for building the capacity of such groups to work with the media longer-term.

Two notable exceptions, though, are UK-based grantees Release and Transform, both of which have had an influential impact on the media and maintained close contact with political parties in the process. Beginning as national organizations and now considered among our global grantees, these organizations are more established and sophisticated than many of our national grantees, and even participate in advocacy training through our program’s Latin American and West African fellowship initiatives.

2. Inter-grantee Collaboration

Figure 3 documents specific reference by grantees to collaboration with other portfolio grantees on one or more projects, with arrows pointing towards the referenced partner. This diagram reveals that there is extensive collaboration among these grantees, which accords with GDPP’s understanding that collaboration is an important metric for success of this portfolio. Collaboration, of course, brings with it the added benefit of extending the impact of our investment beyond the sum-of-its parts: when organizations choose to pool their resources towards a particular goal, this should naturally free them up to work elsewhere with existing resources.

Nearly every grantee in this portfolio identified at least another grantee in this portfolio that it considers a strategic partner in undertaking some or all of its work. Likewise, grantees collaborate with organizations that work nationally and/or regionally that are not in this portfolio, often to a large extent. In many cases, a grantee will be working in collaboration with four or more of the organizations included in this portfolio over the course of its work. Some examples of collaboration include:

- Quarterly meetings to coordinate work and strategy held in London with HRI, Release, IDPC, Transform, and other organizations working on drug policy (this developed within the last 2 years);
- The same group regularly exchanges media lists and funnels media inquiries to each other;
- Transform and TNI provided expertise and content to the recent Global Commission report (Transform had no connection with previous GC reports);
- Release’s *Talking Drugs* is, by definition, a collaborative endeavor. Regular collaborators on this project around substantive content include IDPC, Transform, HRI, TNI, and the Global Commission;
- TNI and IDPC coordinated a panel at the 55th Commission on Narcotic Drugs featuring Ruth Dreifuss of the Global Commission and Dave Bewley-Taylor of Swansea;
- IDPC is coordinating joint advocacy and communications around the CND and UNGASS with a “core group of international partners” including, Transform, Global Commission, HRI and

TNI, and is an active member of HRI's own group on harm reduction issues in the build-up to UNGASS.

Given the relatively small number of drug policy organizations globally and the trend of these organizations to "stake out" a niche of expertise around subject matter, strategic tactics, and geographical focus, it is not surprising that they will see benefits from collaborating towards common goals.

In the past, though, some of these organizations have expressed an inability or unwillingness to collaborate with other organizations, particularly when they saw their own "territory" at risk. One notable example of this has been the tension around the promotion of the "Hey, we need to talk about drugs" media materials that had been donated by an advertising agency to the Global Commission to coincide with the June 26th global day of action around drug policy reform (<http://needtotalkaboutdrugs.com/>). Despite the fact that these unbranded images were provided to organizations with the ability to customize them to suit their own branding and needs, this was seen by IDPC as a usurping of their campaign "Support, Don't Punish," which had its focus as the same date. (For its part, Support, Don't Punish attracts its own criticism from other actors who see the message as unclear). In the end, the Global Commission's materials were multi-branded and included in a larger global campaign and even featured on the IDPC website (<http://idpc.net/alerts/2014/06/global-commission-on-drug-policy-joins-day-of-action-calling-for-an-end-to-criminalization-of-drug-use>). From a larger perspective, though, these riffs are the exception to the rule. Where synergies naturally occur – for example, combining TNI's expertise and credentials around content with IDPC's savvy around UN engagement – we see repeated collaborations over the course of the year.

However, despite this seemingly dense web of collaboration, what **Figure 2** does not indicate is whether these collaborations are strategically effective or not. Our assessment is that on a case-by-case basis (as noted in the examples above) collaboration is highly effective in bringing together organizations whose skills complement each other for a specific end, but there is much need for improvement around developing strategies that synergize amongst some or all of the grantees in this portfolio around day-to-day work and operations. In one example, following high-level meetings with government by the Global Commissioners, there were no efforts made to engage any other actors in follow-up to that meeting. Optimally, these organizations would work in tandem to capitalize on each organization's specific assets, with a clear plan for activity of several groups around one interaction or issue. While this type of big-picture coordination is no doubt difficult to implement, enough of these types of missed opportunities have occurred to alert us to the need for this type of mega-strategizing around UNGASS. Whether GDPP is the proper facilitator for this type of strategic planning between grantees and organizations that are not our grantees but relevant to the UNGASS (e.g. NYNGOC and VNGOC), or if this role is better suited to a grantee or another organization, is currently unclear to our program, but under consideration by us.

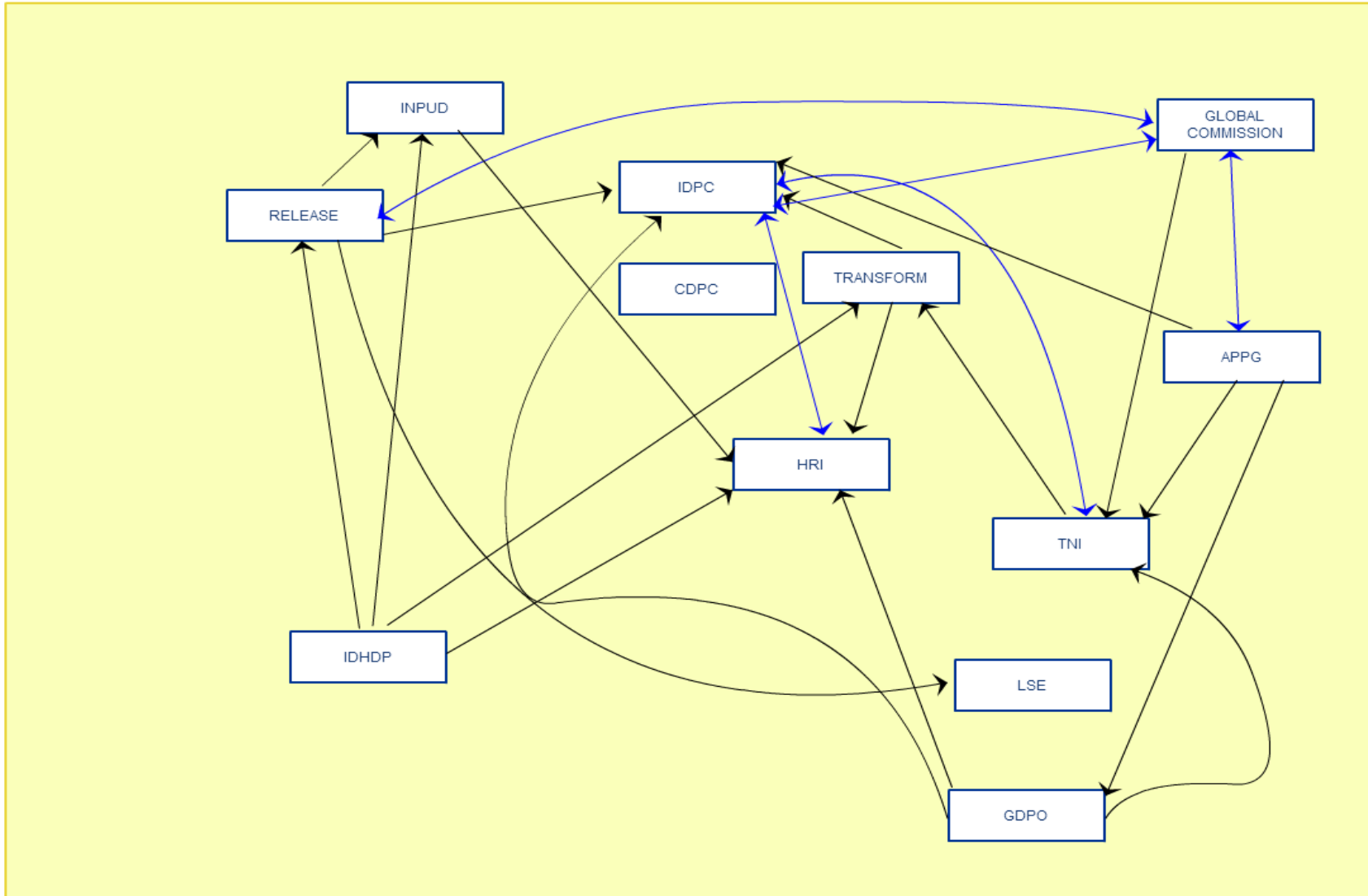


Figure 3. Collaboration among Portfolio Grantees

3. Geographical focus

Although we consider all of the grantees in this portfolio “global” to some extent, as their impact transcends a particular geography, it is also apparent that the focus of *actual* work by these grantees falls upon a particular region or regions. For example, IDPC is a coalition of over 100 drug policy organizations from around the world and engages with UN missions from many nations. They work to move the global debate. However, they also specifically commit time and effort within Europe, Africa and Southeast Asia. As **Figure 4** demonstrates, there is a concentration of work of these grantees around the UK (where a large number of them are headquartered), Europe, and Latin America.

In some respects attention is paid by these grantees where change is the most likely. For example, three grantees – HRI, the All Party Parliamentary Group, and the Global Commission - directly engage with regional European coalitions (including, but not limited to the EU) around drug policy reform. European governments often emerge as leaders on the international stage, and on the domestic front, some of the world’s most progressive drug policies originated in Europe.

While Latin American policies are still somewhat lagging, the region has emerged as a critical player in recent years. Given the profound effects of the drug war on Latin America and the recent movement towards reform in that region, it is not surprising that several of these grantees see that region as an important focal point for their work. For example, TNI, which has a long history of engagement in the region, produces research aimed at understanding the relationship of drug markets and violence in Latin America, advocates for human rights based approaches to development, and is coordinating knowledge exchange between Latin American nations and Caribbean nations through their “dialogues” series.

Outside of these main areas, we see only limited engagement within Africa (e.g. IDPC engaging with the West African Commission on Drugs to build on the momentum of the recent report release). However, this is an emerging areas of focus for which we are now seeing the benefits of our attention. The West Africa Commission has emerged as a thought leader on drug policy in the region and their report was even presented at the CND in Vienna. The WACD’s report garnered considerable attention from political figures as well as regional and international media such as the BBC, Reuters, Associated Press, *The Washington Post* and many others. There are currently discussions underway about how the experiences of the WACD might be translated for East and Southern Africa.

Although Asia has received less focus from GDPP to date, our counterparts at IHRD work more extensively in the region. We see this as a sensible division of work in that many governments in Asia are reluctant to push for broad policy changes that would apply to the whole supply chain, but are open to discuss health services including harm reduction. The pattern of governments warming first to health services before being ready to engage in drug policy reform is a familiar one to us, and is now being played out in Africa as well.

It is notable to us that all of the organizations in this portfolio are situated in the Global North (the Global Commission being something of an anomaly with respect to that generalization), regardless of whether they are working in the South or not. GDPP funds several national organizations in the Global South, but none of them operate at a global level. From a related perspective, a vast majority of these organizations are situated in England. Language translation issues and the time necessary to develop capacity to operate on a global level may explain these phenomena, but it is an issue that GDPP is alive to and seeking to remedy if possible, seeking out potential Global South partners with the capacity to engage beyond their own borders.

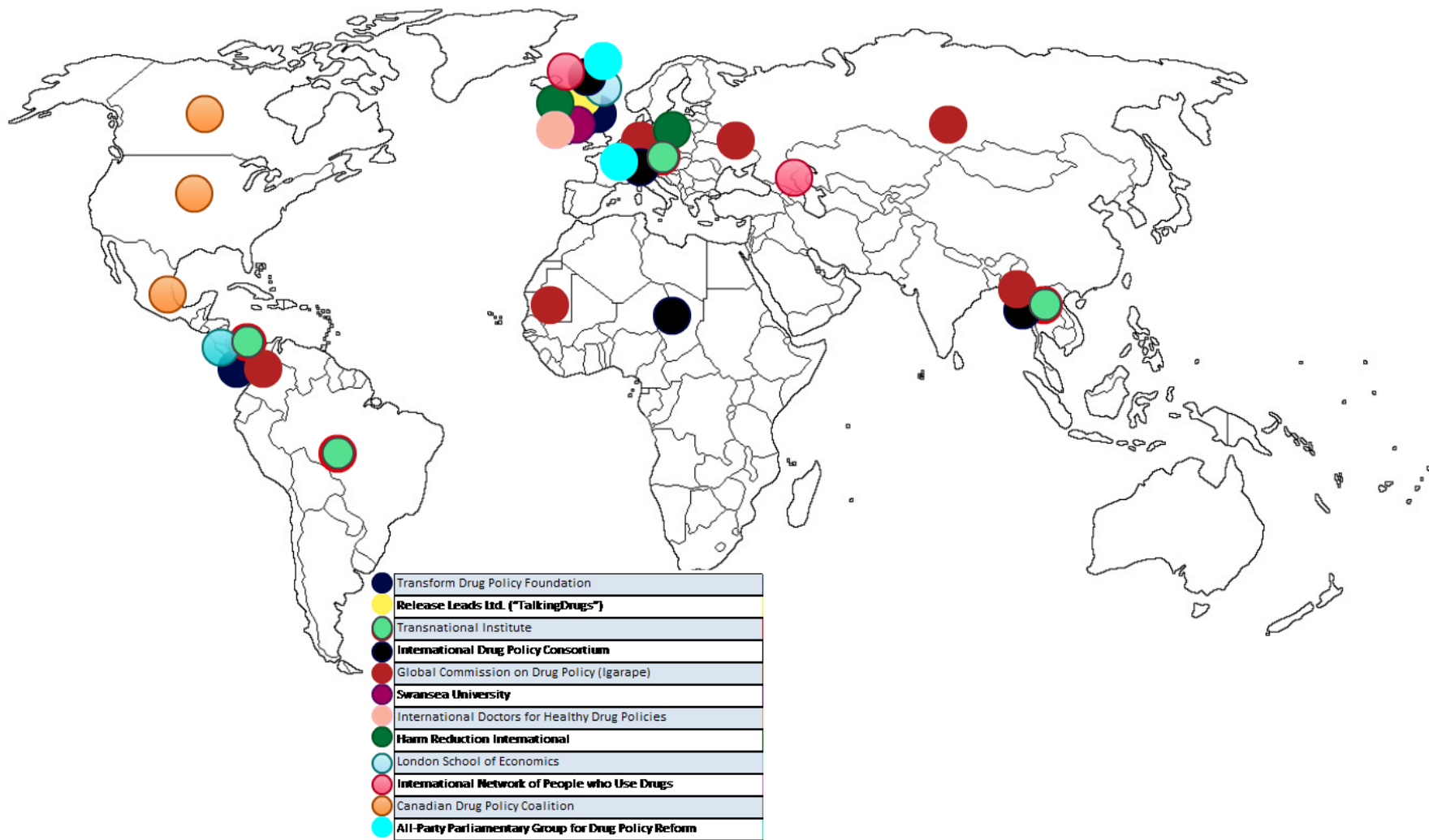


Figure 4. Geographical Focus of Portfolio Grantees

F. Advances and setbacks /challenges

The following section highlights some examples of advances and setbacks/challenges that our program has identified.

Advances

- Igarape / Global Commission – on September 9th, the Global Commission on Drug Policy launched its most recent report, *Taking Control: Pathways to Drug Policies that Work*. This report is notable in that it is the first high-level call for reform of the drug control treaties and regulation of all drugs. These recommendations, in fact, move the goalposts for the dialogue on drug policy, including among our own grantees, who had taken positions less progressive than the Commission staked out. The report release was also quite successful, with the report having been downloaded hundreds of thousands of times and over 10,000 people live streaming the launch. The Global Commission remains a unique and influential partner in our portfolio and fills a niche that is not taken up by any other organization that we support.
- London School of Economics (LSE) – In a very short time, LSE IDEAS has emerged as a thought leader on drug policy. The think tank has leveraged the LSE brand into attaining high level endorsements for reform, such as five Nobel Prize-winning economists as well as Paul Collier and Jeffrey Sachs. Since the launch of the report, John Collins, has been a steady presence in media. In addition, he has engaged in regional launches that have attained similarly positive results in the press and in engaging high level figures, including at the OAS.
- Transnational Institute (TNI) – TNI has been a consistent force in the drug policy reform field for many years, since the inception of its “Drugs and Democracy” initiative in the mid-1990s. However, in the lead-up to the UNGASS, their role in transforming the drug policy landscape has been even more apparent. As an organization, TNI maintains good relationships with governments, which is important to its strategy of engaging in informal dialogues, such as with governments in Europe, Latin America, and Southeast Asia (with future plans for India, Spain, Colombia, Jamaica and Mexico). The organization has a high-level of expertise in the area of drugs and development, and their research fuels the efforts of other organizations that engage in more direct advocacy.
- All Party Parliamentary Group – this organization, headed by Baroness Molly Meacher, is actually a sub-group of the UK Parliament. As such, it is well-placed to engage with governments around drug policy reform. This group has been influential in shaping the debate within the UK Parliament, and continues to work to develop a network of like-minded European countries.
- Transform - Led by Transform, *Count the Costs* is a collaborative project between a range of organizations with a diverse range of expertise and viewpoints that share a desire to reduce the unintended costs of the war on drugs. *Count the Costs* has been endorsed by leading nongovernmental organizations including Human Rights Watch, Health Poverty Action, the International HIV/AIDS Alliance, the Prison Governors Association (the UK prison wardens union), Penal Reform International, and the Child Rights International Network. Each major endorsement has presented a media opportunity that Transform has expertly utilized. GDPP intends to work with Transform to continue to promote this impressive coalition.
- International Drug Policy Consortium (IDPC) has consistently emerged as one of our chief allies in communicating with the wide range of groups working on drug policy. When we sought to harmonize our messaging on the launch of the Organization of American States report, we

collaborated closely with IDPC to draft press releases and talking points for the network. This consistency in messaging helped us dictate the narrative in the media and to ensure that the reform goals were prominent in the reporting. We work closely in advance of similar events such as the Commission on Narcotic Drugs and the June 26 day of action.

Setbacks/challenges

- International Doctors for Health Drug Policies (IDHDP) - In theory, the formation of a coalition of doctors supporting drug policy reform seems natural. However, we have struggled with this organization's management and execution of projects. IDHDP is now emerging from a period of leadership conflict that prevented the organization from achieving its goals over a number of years. Although that particular issue is now resolved, and we have a solid degree of faith in the new executive director based on his past leadership, we remain uncertain whether this organization has the capacity to be an effective voice in the debate.
- International Network of People Who Use Drugs (INPUD) - Although this organization is not new on the scene, we see capacity gaps that limit its effectiveness overall. Our assessment is that this organization often lacks strategic direction and tactical expertise to achieve its goals, and has an inability to demonstrate to us the impact that it makes. However, as the only organization representing drug users voices in the reform debate that we fund, it is important for us to work to increase the capacity of INPUD.
- IDPC – This organization simultaneously takes a role as one of our program's "stars" and also one of our challenges. There is no question that the organization has been influential in the drug policy debate. However, IDPC consistently raises concerns with us through their territoriality on engagement and even attribution on media materials. We are also concerned that their specific efforts to build capacity of their large membership of over 100 drug policy organizations is lacking.
- Generally, we see as one major challenge to our work the fact that there remains a limited pool of organizations engaging in drug policy that we are able fund. Because of limited resources and the inability of many organizations to engage in a broad, global campaign as many of these grantees do, newcomer organizations are likely "locked out" of the funding pool. This is a challenge for us, as we are interested in building the capacity of new organizations, particularly in new global regions and around new issues, but not necessarily at the expense of these established organizations that are known, experienced, and effective. Occasionally, GDPP has looked beyond the fairly narrow drug policy sector to encourage more mainstream NGOs to engage on the issue. This has had mixed results. On the one hand, these groups bring a level of *gravitas* to our issue. On the other, we are frequently underwhelmed by their contributions, for a variety of reasons. For example, some groups, such as the WACD, begin their engagement with drug policy with a lack of nuanced understanding of the issue. In order to succeed in our goals, our program is required to expend a great deal of time to build capacity for such an organization, although to date such efforts certainly have been worth the input.
- Our engagement with events – public and private – has been a mixed experience. Over the last year, we have been experimenting with different partners and venues to best engage UN missions and agencies in discussions about drug policy. Some of these efforts, such as the public events with Ruth Dreifuss in both Vienna and New York, have been successful and have drawn representatives of the organizations we were targeting. As a worst case example, a meeting we organized through a consultant on development issues at UNWOMEN proved to be a

battleground for UNODC, which forced its way into the conversation. In all, we are learning from these experiences about the way that GDPP / OSF can and should engage in these fora and with these actors. One key lesson that we've drawn from the UNODC experience is that our participation within the UN system must be "covert" and done through an established and reputable organization that retains control over the meeting (e.g. UN University). Despite these few setbacks, we have developed some key relationships within the UN community.

G. Role of GDPP/OSF and other actors in these developments and significance of these developments

As this account suggests, the role of GDPP and OSF partner programs is dominant because there are few other actors supporting drug policy reform, particularly organizations endeavoring to affect decisions on a global level. We would summarize the significance of these developments and of GDPP's role as follows:

- We understand that international / global / regional efforts are important, but also recognize that change is often reliant on national champions and state actors. From the perspective of our funding strategy, it is important that we maintain a portfolio not only diverse within our strategies, but also with respect to the organizations' strengths and niches as well.
- Our efforts at funding these organizations over the last years has led to a maturing of the field of drug policy reform globally. Organizations that knew little of UN and government engagement now participate in these meetings with ease and savvy, and even work to pass on their expertise to other organizations. Our support has directly led to these organizations being in an influential role leading up to the UNGASS.
- OSF support has also allowed these organizations to develop individual niches of expertise and engage in sophisticated collaboration with each other and other NGO actors. Again, this collaboration is an important added value to the investment we make in these organizations and should be supported by us when opportunities arise to do so.

H. Recalibrating

We note areas for "recalibration" as questions for further discussion in the portfolio review meeting.

- 1) **What are the gaps in global organization support in the lead-up to the UNGASS?** This review has placed a relatively small number of organizations in their particular landscape. What is apparent, though, is that the majority of these organizations that we are supporting can be classified as "elite" or "top-heavy." From discussions at the shared framework charette, though, there is a consensus (at least among OSF program representatives) that top-focused efforts at the UN will not have much impact, but that "hearts-and-minds" efforts could bring about change.
- 2) **What big political opportunities are there for exploiting this issue?** How can GDPP prepare its network for engaging on those? It is likely that there will be smaller inflection points leading up to and following the UNGASS. How can we best identify these and coordinate efforts with our grantees to take the best advantage of this.
- 3) **How can we help our global grantees better integrate their activities with national organizations?** For a number of reasons (interest, expertise, resources, etc.) some organizations

fail to engage and collaborate closely with national-based organizations. Optimally, we would like to see efforts of the national organizations amplified by the global organizations and that the savvy global organizations engage in building capacity of the smaller ones. We have had some success in this area, but need to explore other strategies for improving this.

- 4) **What steps can GDPP take to bring new donors into the field of drug policy?** Many of our organizations hit the barrier of the one-third threshold and have difficulty generating support beyond OSF. What steps can we take to remedy this situation?

- 5) **How can we deal with geographical disparity across the globe?** For example, Africa remains very early in the debate, while discussion in Latin America is evolving and becoming more complex, leading to an expansion of our engagement around producers and growers. Asia continues to pursue a highly punitive approach with little reform discussion at all. Is the situation of a wide disparity of debate something that we might influence? Is this an expected outcome of South-South exchange, or is that likely too ambitious of an expectation?