

T01P03 / Transnational Policy Process Research: Issues, Concepts and Cases

Topic : T01 / POLICY PROCESS THEORIES

Chair : Osmany Porto de Oliveira (Universidade Federal de São Paulo)

Second Chair : Michelle Morais de Sa e Silva (The University of Oklahoma)

Third Chair : Gita Steiner-Khamsi (Columbia University)

Fourth Chair : Cecilia Osorio Gonnet (Universidad de Chile)

GENERAL OBJECTIVES, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

Policy Process is related to the “interactions that occur over time between public policies and surrounding actors, events, contexts, and outcomes” (Weible 2018, 2). In the 21st century, policymaking processes have increasingly become transnational. Regardless of this comprehensive definition, mainstream theories of the process have treated domestic policy change in isolation as if developments in other countries, other sectors, or at the global level are of little relevance for domestic policy processes. A growing community of scholars has been dedicated to conceptual developments that address the transnational in policymaking, such as studies on policy transfer, global policy and transnational administration (Stone, Moloney, 2019), international public policies (Petiteville, Smith 2006) and europeanization (Radaelli, 2008).

The transnational Policy Process refers to “the transnational interactions that occur over time between public policies and the surrounding agents, events, contexts and outcomes” (Morais de Sá e Silva, Porto de Oliveira, 2023). Investigations of the global/local nexus and, more broadly, the relational methods of inquiry are perhaps best exemplified in studies that pay close attention to the processes of internationalization of domestic best practices, the localization of global policies, the development of bottom-up civil society led policy instruments, the coordination of national responses to crises, the evaluation of peacekeeping operations, and goal-setting global agendas. Domestic policies can deeply involve transnational dynamics, such as ministries seeking for technical assistance from the OECD or international private consultancies serving as advisors to governments. These are only a few of the examples of public policy processes involving a transnational dimension.

The Panel seeks to advance scholarship on the transnational policy process, both drawing on and further advancing the policy transfer literature and global public policies literatures. We expect to provide answers to questions such as: How can the transnational policy process be further theorized? What concepts are useful in analyzing transnational dimensions in policy making? What are the conceptual challenges in capturing multilevel, multinational, multi-agent processes? Which methodological approaches can be applied to assess policy processes beyond the nation state? What empirical evidence can be used in such studies? Does the transnational policy process vary across policy subsystems and across space?

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CALL FOR PAPERS

Transnational Policy Process refers to the transnational “interactions that occur over time between public policies and the surrounding agents, events, contexts and outcomes” (Morais de Sá e Silva, Porto de Oliveira, 2023). As examples we can consider the processes of internationalization of domestic best practices (e.g., Mexican Oportunidades, Participatory Budgeting and Ciclovía), the localization of global policies (e.g., the Sendai Framework), the development of bottom-up civil society led policy instruments (e.g., food security policies across Latin America), the coordination of national responses to crises (e.g., the WHO role in Covid-19), the evaluation of peacekeeping operations, setting global agendas (such as the SDGs or the Paris Agreement), etc. From a different perspective domestic policies can also involve transnational dynamics, such as ministries seeking for technical assistance from the OECD in specific areas or international private consultancies serving as advisors to governments. These are only a few of the current examples of public policy processes involving a transnational dimension.

The panel continues a discussion that will take place at the Conference On Policy Process Research (Denver, 2022 and Syracuse, 2023) and the International Conference on Public Policy (Toronto, 2023). We expect to receive unpublished original papers to compile a special issue from papers submitted to the panel.

? We invite papers which explore the panel’s overarching questions from a theoretical, methodological, and empirical perspective.

? We welcome innovative and interdisciplinary papers from a range of different disciplines including political science, sociology, international relations, political geography, political demography to understand the transnational policy processes.

? To be selected, the papers will need to focus on the transnational dimensions of the policy process.

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Session 1 Transnational Policy Process: Time, Agents and Arenas

Thursday, July 3rd 16:00 to 18:00 (D7)

Transnational urban climate action: Brazil and the COP28

Osmany Porto de Oliveira (Universidade Federal de São Paulo)

Climate change is a critical global issue, affecting all regions with varying intensities. Over the past decades, there has been a concerted effort to coordinate public policies and monitor climate change, notably through the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the annual Conference of the Parties (COP). COP serves as a primary arena for climate action, bringing together diverse actors to address the global climate agenda. In COP28, urban policy agents emphasized the need for cities to have a stronger voice in global climate governance, a longstanding tension between local governments and international authorities.

This paper examines the transnational role of Brazilian urban agents in global climate policy, particularly at COP28, focusing on their engagement in climate governance. Brazilian cities, such as São Paulo, Curitiba, and Porto Alegre, have been proactive in climate action, forming part of networks like ICLEI and C40. Despite setbacks under the administration of Jair Bolsonaro, Brazilian cities remained resilient in advocating for climate policies, a commitment reinforced when Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva returned to power in 2023, prioritizing climate action. Brazil's proposal to host COP30 in the Amazon region highlights its renewed leadership on the issue.

The following questions are posed: Why urban policy agents use COP as a transnational platform? How did they engage in COP28? What is the modus operandi of this space? Which outcomes were produced in COP28? What was the role of Brazilian city related agents in this context? Drawing on the literature of paradiplomacy and transnational governance, the paper investigates why urban policy agents use COP as a platform, how they engaged in COP28, and what outcomes were produced. It also explores the specific role of Brazilian city-related agents in shaping the global climate agenda. The paper argues that transnational urban organizations play a critical role in amplifying cities' participation in climate governance, advocating for multi-level action, and influencing the global policy agenda. The case of Brazil exemplifies the efforts of governmental and non-governmental agents in advancing urban interests in climate change at the global level, promoting both local actions and the upcoming COP30. This article contributes to the understanding of transnational urban climate action and offers empirical insights into climate governance from the Global South.

Lost in Translation: How Local Policy Ambassadors Influence Transnational Policies - Case of Private Higher Education in Vietnam

Quang Chau (University of Education, Vietnam National University Hanoi)

Ni Nguyen (University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University Ho Chi Minh City)

Since the Communist Party of Vietnam launched its open-door policy called "Đổi Mới" during the late 1980s, private higher education (PHE), a model exogenous to the Socialist Vietnam, was institutionalized and has expanded. However, profit-related policies within this model have undergone significant changes over the past four decades. Initially, private universities (then termed non-public) were mandated to follow collective ownership principles—a Marxist ideological signature close to non-profit model in the West. By the mid-2000s, coinciding with Vietnam's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO), all private

universities were re-modelled after for-profit joint-stock enterprises. In the early 2010s, the non-profit form was explicitly legalized and gradually converged with the global non-profit sector, especially the US' one. This study analyzes how, through policy ambassadors, transnational interactions influenced the profit-related policies within Vietnam's PHE.

Drawing from archived documents and elite interviews with policymakers, we highlight the crucial role of local policy ambassadors in channeling the PHE model, and its profit-related arrangements, into Vietnam. These ambassadors' personal experiences with the model—including narratives and “guided exposure” during study tours and visits—proved decisive in their policy advocacy. Consequently, in many instances, the policies they endorsed did not fully reflect, or even misrepresented, the policy realities in the referenced countries.

By revealing meticulously collected data from nearly five years of fieldwork on a case of transnational policy mobilities, this research enriches studies in policy circulation (particularly the concepts of policy ambassadors) and bridges this field with the Policy Borrowing literature relatively popular in education research. Furthermore, this study discusses how the combination of archival analysis and elite interviews could offer potentially valuable methods to study policy circulation. However, black boxes persist that prevent researchers from drawing definitive conclusions about the policy circulation process.

Transnational policy entrepreneurship: Influencing policy changes across borders

Jakov Bojovic (European University Institute)

The policy studies literature has established that much of today's policymaking happens across borders and with active involvement of non-governmental actors (Morais de Sá e Silva, Porto de Oliveira, 2023). Traditional frameworks from policy studies such as the policy cycle (Lasswell, 1956) or the multiple streams (Kingdon, 1995) were developed to explain policy stability and change at the national level. Literatures on policy diffusion and policy transfer have brought a transnational dimension into policy studies (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996; Stone, 2001).

This article makes the claim that, beyond the idea of facilitating the spread of good policy practices across borders, transnational policy entrepreneurs (Zeigermann, 2020; Stone, 2019) play an active role in shaping policies at the different levels and different stages in the policy cycle. The research question is thus, under what conditions can transnational policy entrepreneurs become change agents at the different stages of the policy cycle and across different levels of governance (local, regional, and global)? The article adds to our understanding of the global agenda dynamics and the role that transnational actors play in a variety of policy areas.

The literature on policy entrepreneurs generally focuses on individuals – change agents – operating in national, sub-national, or transnational policy settings. Analyses have looked at the characteristics of these individuals as charismatic advocates, knowledge brokers, or political mavericks. The policy entrepreneur can appear too “heroic” with the focus on the individual rather than those actors surrounding and supporting them (Nay, 2012). This often appears to be the case in global or regional settings where political leaders, NGO executives, foundation directors and reform advocates seek to take the lead on, and credit for, policy solutions in areas as diverse as climate change mitigation, peace and security initiatives, or human trafficking (e.g. Carter & Childs, 2018). By de-centering the individual, this article takes transnational organizations as units of analysis, highlighting the interplay between entrepreneurial individuals and organizational settings and networks that empower and support them.

Becoming a policy entrepreneur in a transnational context indeed demands skills, habits, and strategies, which have traditionally not been expected of non-political policy actors (Cairney 2021; Brouwer & Huitema 2018). The characteristics of transnational policy problems necessitates that policy entrepreneurs have a cross-national collaborative approach, an agile policy communication strategy, skills for complex network management, and capacities for inter-organizational and inter-cultural sensitivities.

This article will bring in case studies of transnational organizations, which attempt to influence policy from outside the decision-making circles. Empirically, this paper benefits from the insights of executive training sessions on policy entrepreneurship and policy communication organized at the European University Institute. For concept development, the paper draws from policy studies (multiple streams, network approaches, and the policy entrepreneurship literature) and combines it with International Relations perspectives (the transnational advocacy network framework) and diplomatic studies (new diplomatic actors and forms of diplomatic communication).

(Virtual) The tempo of transnational policy diffusion: Accelerating factors and drivers

Gita Steiner-Khamsi (Columbia University)

Research Questions

The presentation presents factors that accelerate transnational policy transfer. It investigates both the drivers and the adopters of global diffusion processes. The analysis of drivers highlights the role of the OECD and the World Bank as movers of the last few global public administration reforms. The two intergovernmental organizations (IOs) do not only legitimize, and in the case of the World Bank, fund policy transfer, but they also accelerate the diffusion through target-setting. The perspective on adopters, in turn, calls for an investigation into the sequence of policy reception: does policy feedback from early to late adopters, and vice-versa, occur? Does it matter which governments are the early adopters of reform for the pace of global diffusion?

Interpretive Framework

Three bodies of research have informed this line of work: First, it brings into focus the temporal dimension that has been understudied both in policy transfer and diffusion of innovation research (Strassheim, 2016; Morais de Sá e Silva & Porto de Oliveira, 2023; Steiner-Khamsi, 2025). Second, it draws on the interesting debate on “promissory legitimacy” (Beckert, 2020) and “anticipatory governance” (Berten & Kranke, 2022) of global actors. Finally, it points to the relevance of relational research questions: the relationship between local and global actors and between early and late adopters of global reforms. Even though sequence analysis is widespread in the social sciences (Abbott, 1995) and policy feedback is a burgeoning area of research (Béland, Campbell & Weaver, 2022), the two important debates are rarely seen as complementary, helping us advance our thinking on the global/local nexus in public policy.

Methodological Note

The data for the analysis derives from qualitative case studies carried out on the school reform package labeled “School Autonomy with Accountability” (SAWA), which spread globally over the period 1993 – 2008 (Bromley et al., 2022).

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Funnel capital from Beijing: the role of transnational state-business alliance and the decision-making of Chinese infrastructure lending in Africa

Tianyi Wu (University of Oxford)

This paper seeks to explain variations in the degree of fragmentation in Chinese infrastructure lending decision-making across African countries. In particular, it examines how some African borrowers receive

infrastructure financing solely from Chinese policy banks, while others secure a wider array of commercial creditors alongside policy banks from a policy process perspective. This inquiry unpacks the diverse nature of Chinese lending engagements on the continent and the transnational decision-making processes through which state, parastatal, business, and non-state actors in both China and Africa influence lending outcomes.

The paper argues that these decision-making processes can be conceptualized as a “two-contract” mechanism in which transnational state–business alliances among Chinese contractors, borrowing agencies, and African project owners mobilize finance from Chinese lenders while simultaneously seeking regulatory approval and political endorsement. Moreover, the proliferation of different creditors arises from both the “holdout” strategies of Chinese policy banks and the pursuit of rapid credit disbursement by transnational state–business alliances looking to capitalize on electoral or business opportunities.

Empirical findings challenge existing decision-making theories that depict Chinese lending processes as either “fragmented and decentralized” (bottom-up) or “institutionalized and hierarchical” (top-down). Instead, I advance an argument for a polycentric development finance model. In this model, various actors—despite operational complexity—self-coordinate and build coalitions around explicitly defined goals through a non-linear process of finance mobilization and lending assessments.

Methodologically, this paper relies on a comparative case study and process tracing approach. Data sources include the Chinese Loan in Africa dataset (2024), AidData (2023), and 143 semi-structured interviews on loan-origination processes conducted in Ghana, Zambia, Nigeria, Kenya, and China. The findings underscore the importance of understanding how transnational coalitions form and operate in shaping the structure of Chinese lending in Africa.

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Session 2 Transnational Policy Process in Latin America

Friday, July 4th 08:00 to 10:00 (D7)

Transnational Policy Process in Latin America

Cecilia Osorio Gonnet (Universidad de Chile)

Michelle Morais de Sa e Silva (The University of Oklahoma)

Policy Process is related to the “interactions that occur over time between public policies and surrounding actors, events, contexts, and outcomes” (Weible 2018, 2). In the 21st century, policymaking processes have increasingly become transnational. Regardless of this comprehensive definition, mainstream theories of the process have treated domestic policy change in isolation as if developments in other countries, other sectors, or the global level are of little relevance for domestic policy processes. A growing community of scholars has been dedicated to conceptual developments that address the transnational in policymaking, such as studies on policy transfer, global policy and transnational administration (Stone, Moloney, 2019), international public policies (Petiteville, Smith 2006) and europeanization (Radaelli, 2008).

The transnational Policy Process refers to “the transnational interactions that occur over time between public policies and the surrounding agents, events, contexts, and outcomes” (Morais de Sá e Silva, Porto de Oliveira, 2023). As examples, we can consider the processes of internationalization of domestic best practices (e.g., Mexican Oportunidades, Brazilian Participatory Budgeting and Colombian Ciclovía), the localization of global policies (e.g., the Sendai Framework), the development of bottom-up civil society led policy instruments (e.g., food security policies across Latin America countries, such as Brazil, Uruguay, Chile and Argentina), the coordination of national responses to crises (e.g., the WHO and OPAS role in Covid-19), the evaluation of peacekeeping operations (e.g., Minustah in Haiti), setting global agendas (such as the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs, after Rio +20 Conference, in 2012, or the New Urban Agenda after the Habitat III in Quito, 2016), etc. Domestic policies can deeply involve transnational dynamics, such as ministries seeking technical assistance from the OECD (which now includes different Latin American countries), international private consultancies serving as advisors to governments or epistemic communities contributing to the circulation of policy ideas (Osorio, 2020). These are only a few examples of public policy processes involving a transnational dimension.

The paper seeks to advance scholarship on the transnational policy process in Latin America, drawing on and further advancing the policy transfer literature and global public policies literature. We expect to provide insights into questions such as: How can the transnational policy process be further theorized? What concepts are useful in analyzing transnational dimensions in policymaking? What are the conceptual challenges in capturing multilevel, multinational, multi-agent processes? Which methodological approaches can be applied to assess policy processes beyond the nation-state? What empirical evidence can be used in such studies? Does the transnational policy process vary across policy subsystems and space? The paper will provide not only a theoretical and conceptual overview of this emerging niche of studies, but also discuss different empirical examples from Latin America.

Leveraging International Arenas to Resist Policy Dismantling in Times of Democratic Backsliding: The Brazilian Combating Hunger and Poverty Agenda

Marina Lazarotto de Andrade (Universidade de Brasília)

As democratic backsliding spreads globally, policy dismantling has become a central feature of the political

landscape, particularly in areas such as social rights, environmental protection, and food security. In response, domestic actors—including bureaucrats, civil society groups, international organizations, and transnational networks—have increasingly turned to international arenas to resist the rollback of policies (Andrade et al., 2024; Waisbich, 2024; Milhorange et al., 2024; Morais de Sá e Silva & de Oliveira, 2023; Morais de Sá e Silva, 2021). This research explores how actors in countries experiencing democratic backsliding utilize transnational policy processes—such as international advocacy networks, global governance mechanisms, and policy transfer initiatives—to safeguard progressive policies under threat. It places particular focus on the use of international arenas by formal and informal networks to resist policy dismantling.

Building on previous research in policy dismantling and resilience (Andrade et al., 2024; Milhorange et al., 2024; Lotta et al., Bezerra et al., 2024; Bauer et al., 2021; Almeida, 2020), this study examines the international strategies employed by Brazilian policy actors to maintain policies in contexts of democratic backsliding. The literature highlights the international embeddedness that some domestic policies and institutions have within global frameworks. Brazil's past trajectory in international cooperation, particularly South-South cooperation, has developed tools and networks that facilitate exchanges between national and international spheres. This embeddedness may provide domestic actors with resources to resist policy changes introduced by illiberal governments (Morais de Sá e Silva & de Oliveira, 2023). In this context, domestic actors leveraged international partnerships to raise awareness, mobilize resources, and exert pressure on the national administration (Waisbich, 2024).

This research aims to contribute to the panel's goals by further investigating how policy actors have utilized international arenas to oppose national policy dismantling. It addresses the following question: How have domestic actors from Brazil's combat hunger and poverty agenda navigated transnational policy processes to resist policy dismantling during democratic backsliding (2015 to 2022)? The research design is based on a comparative within-case analysis of four programs (Bolsa Família, National School Feeding Program, Food Acquisition Program, and the Cistern Program) and it employs process tracing. Data were collected between 2023 and 2025 through an analysis of official documents, participant observation, and 80 in-depth semi-structured interviews with policymakers, international organization staff, and civil society actors.

Incorporating the theoretical framework of agency-based policy resilience and examining the role of international arenas in bolstering resistance movements, the results reveal two types of strategies based on the actors: bureaucrat-driven embeddedness and civil society-driven embeddedness. The potentialities and limitations of each approach are explored in the context of the aforementioned programs. The findings suggest that prior decisions to participate in transnational policy processes and institutionalize mechanisms within the programs strengthened network capacity during periods of democratic backsliding. Furthermore, informal networks proved crucial for civil society actors in raising resources and implementing programs while bypassing the federal government.

Not all that is transnational converges: policies of repatriation and international evacuation from harmful contexts.

Michelle Morais de Sa e Silva (The University of Oklahoma)

Edgardo Diaz Vega (University of Hawaii at Manoa)

Following extreme climate events and the onset of armed conflict, countries have adopted a diverse mix of policies regarding the evacuation and repatriation of their nationals. Such a diverse and almost divergent mix of policies comes in contraction with the growing body of literature on policy diffusion and the supposed effects of globalization in creating global policy convergence. To examine this apparent contradiction, this article is based on primary data on whether and how countries respond to hazardous situations involving their nationals abroad. What insights does the existing mix of policies offer to the growing body of scholarship on the transnational policy process? In a policy subsystem as transnational as this, characterized by multiple cross-border dynamics and impacts, policy convergence might be expected. However, is this truly the case? This article presents the first comprehensive review of repatriation and international evacuation policies of 45 countries, addressing issues of terminology, policy features, and global norms. Building on this extensive empirical dataset, it introduces the concepts of transnational density and transnational intensity, borrowing from the related concepts by Bauer and Knill (2012).

(Virtual) Analysis of public policy transfer in Latin America: The case of the “Chile Crece Contigo” and “Uruguay Crece Contigo” programs (2007 to 2015)

Carlos Ruz-Fuenzalida (FLACSO Argentina)

In Latin America, there has been a wide range of academic literature in recent decades on experiences of

exchanges and transfers of public policies in various sectors, such as public management, health, social policies, among others. Without a doubt, we have accumulated knowledge and practices that lead us to study in greater depth both processes and the transfers themselves carried out between our countries in the region.

The understanding of the processes of transfer of public policies today gives way to a more explanatory approach that allows us to address questions such as: What was transferred? How was it transferred? Who transferred? and Why was the transfer in a certain way and not another? These questions reflect a search to investigate in greater depth the interactions between agents, their resources and the institutional framework from which the transfer itself is carried out. It is precisely in this line that this doctoral research addresses the question of clarifying and problematizing the transfer of policy between two programs in ??social policies, "Chile Crece Contigo" and "Uruguay Crece Contigo" between 2007 and 2015.

For this research, which is part of the doctoral work at FLACSO Argentina, the work methodology integrates a mixed and innovative approach. With a flexible design, it considers case study as a methodological aspect, together with the process tracing method. Thirty interviews are considered equitable between both countries, with a broad and extended categorization of actors, which accounts for the diversity and richness of participants in the policy transfer process. Integrating semi-structured interviews, content analysis and the use of decisional network analysis, it allows for a deep and analytical look at the process between both countries.

This research is currently in development, so its results are not yet available. However, based on the progress of the research in its theoretical and methodological fields, it is possible to provide some relevant points in terms of problematizing the same transfer action. In this sense, a political and ideological context is noted that it was essential for the articulation between the different bureaucratic agents of both countries, as well as others that belonged to the private sector, international institutions and universities. Likewise, the technical work scenario was favored by political similarities, together with similar bureaucratic sizes and administrative efficiency.

This study, as a doctoral thesis research, seeks to contribute both theory and empiricism to the discussion on public policy transfer processes, in addition to contributing to the understanding and analytical work of social policies, integrating innovative and diverse tools in the treatment of the discussion on how ideas, concepts and institutions are exchanged between governments and political communities, in this case, in Latin America.

Undoubtedly, research of this type becomes fundamental to advance a better understanding of phenomena associated with the transfer of public policies, both from the political and economic perspective, as well as from the academic contribution that our region can make to the discipline in ??policy analysis.

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Session 3 Transnational Policy Process Across Sectors

Friday, July 4th 10:15 to 12:15 (D7)

(Virtual) The policy framing of social sustainability at the national scale: The role of the Italian Alliance for Sustainable Development (ASviS)

Stella Santos (UnitelmaSapienza University of Rome)

The debate concerning the social dimension of sustainability, which mainly refers to transactional agendas, has generated different interpretations without reaching a standard definition (Åhman, 2013; Shirazi & Keivani, 2019). The "ambiguity" of the social dimension of sustainability encourages the development of multiple interpretations and opens space for discussion among different actors and ideas in policymaking. The public policy literature analyzes the role of actors in different stages of the policy development process, highlighting their influence in the transfer of ideas. This research then focused on analyzing the framing of social sustainability in Italy, with particular attention to the role covered by a network of experts: the Italian Alliance for Sustainable Development (ASviS). The knowledge network, created by civil society, was established to translate the goals of the UN Agenda into policy proposals for Italy through various actions, including supporting the development of national and local policy strategies. The questions guiding the research are: What are ASviS' normative and cognitive ideas about social sustainability? How does ASviS translate these ideas into policies on a national scale? What strategies does it employ to disseminate them and influence policy framing on social sustainability? The research draws on the literature on policy transfer (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; Oliveira & Pal, 2018; Stone, 2017) and the socio-political analysis of the role of experts in policymaking, such as epistemic communities (Haas, 1992; Cross, 2013; Dunlop, 2017), knowledge networks (Stone, 2003, 2013) and think tanks (Ladi, 2005; Diletti, 2017). The methodology adopted is qualitative and applies a discursive analysis based on several artifacts collected between 2021 and 2023: materials produced by the expert network, interviews and focus groups with ASviS members, and field notes derived from observations of participant and non-participant sessions. Artifact analysis combined two approaches: discursive neo-institutionalism (Schmidt, 2008, 2011) and grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The research identified eight normative ideas in the ASviS discourse on social sustainability: social justice, intergenerational equity, social cohesion, sustainable culture, One Health, participation, accountability, and peace. In addition, three diffusion mechanisms were identified that support the work of ASviS, demonstrating its role as a transfer agent in the field of sustainability policy. Finally, a nexus emerged between the values promoted, particularly intergenerational equity, sustainable culture, social cohesion and participation, and four national policy solutions (outcomes) adopted at the national scale. This research tries to contribute to advancing policy transfer and global public policy literature, and the case offers empirical insights into how transnational policies are translated at the national scale by highlighting actions promoted by non-institutional and expert actors. The analysis of the ASviS case highlights the discursive and diffusion mechanisms through which global agendas are translated by highlighting the capacity for agency in transnational policy processes and the influence of expertise on policy framing.

Transnational Policy Borrowing as a Response to Changing Demographic Structures: Establishment of European Public Schools in Luxembourg

Elif Gezer (University of Luxembourg)

Luxembourg is a highly diverse country regarding the socio-economic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds of its inhabitants (Eurydice, 2024; MENJE, 2024). This diversity, while an asset, leads to educational inequalities, as the trilingual public education system is no longer adapted to the changing population (e.g.,

Hadjar et al., 2018; Hornung et al., 2021). After decades without major structural changes, comprehensive reforms in 2009 and 2013 diversified the educational landscape (MENJE, 2024), paving the way for the creation of European Public Schools (EPS).

Originally created for students affiliated with EU institutions, the first European School offering multilingual education was established in Luxembourg in 1953. Over time, schools implementing the European Curriculum mushroomed in other countries, and in 2005, the model expanded to national schools in EU Member States. Thus, what once seemed to be a school for the “elite” became more open and accessible. Decades later, the curriculum returned to its home country as an additional public school offer (Office of the Secretary-General of the European Schools, 2023), partly as a result of European-level interactions. Although the European school system is considered exportable and replicable (Leaton Gray et al., 2018), EPS’ establishment marks a significant structural change in the education system, raising numerous questions.

This study explores the rationale and outcomes of EPS’s establishment by examining public discourses and transnational policy borrowing process. To this end, it employs a content analysis of policy and public debates, newspapers, and union newsletters, as well as semi-structured interviews with policymakers, education scientists, union representatives, and school principals. The analysis is guided by an extension of the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) (Kingdon, 1984) by considering Steiner-Khamsi’s (2016) criticism that MSF does not account for transnational policy borrowing processes. Thus, the problem, policy, and politics streams that influenced the establishment of EPS in Luxembourg were examined through a globalization lens. Furthermore, the study examined how global education models, such as the European Curriculum, were selected, planned, and adapted to Luxembourg’s context through processes of reception and translation (Robertson, 1994; Steiner-Khamsi, 2014, 2016).

Preliminary findings indicated that EPS’s establishment was driven by the need for a more inclusive/diverse educational environment, ensuring equal opportunities for students. Although there are different solutions to a problem, the choice of a particular solution is crucial (Kingdon, 2010), and stakeholders emphasized that policymakers chose the European Curriculum because it was already well-known in Luxembourg, was not-for-profit, and offered multilingual education suited to the country’s needs. The establishment of EPS was perceived positively by many stakeholders as the curriculum was localized to fit the demographic compositions of the country, helped non-Luxembourgish residents to better integrate, and supported students who struggled in the Luxembourgish curriculum. These favorable outcomes also led to a spillover effect, resulting in curricular changes in the Luxembourgish traditional school system.

The case of Luxembourg presents an example to discuss educational transformations in response to current challenges/demands and offers a framework to analyze how global education models are adapted and legitimized in diverse contexts to suit to the local needs.

The Transnational Dynamics of the US-China Tech War: A Two-Level Game Analysis of Policy Processes and Global Technological Rivalry

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The intensifying technological rivalry between the United States and China exemplifies the growing significance of transnational dynamics in shaping contemporary policy processes. This study addresses the research question: *How can we understand the dynamics and mechanisms driving the evolution and development of the US-China tech war, and what might its future trajectories entail?* Drawing on Putnam’s **Two-Level Game Theory**, the paper examines the interplay between domestic policy processes and transnational interactions, emphasizing how domestic actors—such as industry stakeholders, policymakers, and interest groups—shape national strategies while simultaneously responding to international constraints and opportunities. By analyzing the recursive feedback loops between domestic and transnational levels, the study highlights key mechanisms such as policy transfer, global governance influences, and the localization of international norms. It also explores how transnational policy processes, including the coordination of national responses to technological competition and the role of international organizations in shaping domestic agendas, contribute to the evolution of the tech war. The paper contributes to the broader literature on transnational policy processes by offering a conceptual framework for analyzing multilevel, multinational, and multi-agent interactions in the context of global technological rivalry. It also provides empirical insights into how transnational dynamics influence domestic policy change and vice versa, offering a nuanced understanding of the US-China tech war as a case study of transnational policy processes. The findings advance scholarly debates on policy transfer, global public policies, and the challenges of theorizing and analyzing transnational dimensions in policymaking.

Keywords: US-China tech war, transnational policy process, Two-Level Game Theory, policy transfer, global

governance, technological rivalry, multilevel policymaking.

The Puzzle of International Norm and Policy Transfer: Exploration of Women's Rights Recommendations

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While accentuating the need for a localization process, in which local agents reconstruct the norms to enhance the appeal to the society's prior institutions (Acharya, 2004), this paper analyzes the impact of cooperative activities between international organizations (IOs) –mainly the UN; UNOG and the OHCHR– and local civil society actors, specifically NGOs on the transfer of global gender equality norms and policies, and the gender-sensitive institutional change, which I define as the domestic implementation of Universal Periodic Review (UPR) and CEDAW recommendations related to the women's rights.

With a specific focus on the UPR and CEDAW reporting processes and actors involved at the international level, I answer the following question: "How do the interactions between the structural, institutional, and agential dynamics affect the formation and domestic implementation of UPR and CEDAW recommendations related to women's human rights?". The principal analysis includes the issuing of the UPR and CEDAW recommendations to the States, modalities of those meetings, and various actors involved, which shed important light on the dynamics affecting the functioning of global mechanisms such as the UN human rights mechanisms and as a result, the transfer of international gender equality norms. Regarding the research design, I focus on what happens in Geneva (the human rights hub of the UN) through a participant observation period at the United Nations Office in Geneva (UNOG) and analysis of various interviews carried out with the representatives of UN agencies, international NGOs (INGOs) and domestic NGOs (DNGOs) and State delegations, by benefiting from the Structure, Institution, and Agency (SIA) framework or analysis.