

**GLOBALIZATION, EUROPEANIZATION AND
POLICY TRANSFER: A COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF KNOWLEDGE INSTITUTIONS**

STELLA LADI

DPHIL

**UNIVERSITY OF YORK
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS**

SEPTEMBER 2002

Dedicated to my parents

Abstract

Globalization and Europeanization are two of the most commonly used concepts in the social sciences and in popular political discourse. Europeanization is seen as a major challenge to traditional understandings of the nation-state and is often characterized as a consequence or cause of globalization. In addition, the public policy literature has become increasingly concerned with processes of policy transfer and it is assumed that such processes have increased in an era of globalization. At the same time there has been a recognition within political science that understanding governance purely through state-centred institutional approaches is no longer tenable. It is argued that in order to understand domestic governance we must examine the impact of international, transnational, and, where appropriate, global forces on governing structures and processes. However, the extent to which these forces are transforming the nature of state governance remains an empirical question and

thus creates the need for an important reflexive research agenda for closely analysing demonstration effects of increased internationalization in public administration, and, in particular, the role of non-governmental international agents of policy change such as knowledge institutions. This thesis provides an exploration of the dynamic linkages between these phenomena.

A structure and agency framework that emphasises the dialectical interrelationship between the two is used and has a dual purpose. It informs the ontological, epistemological and methodological basis of the thesis by adopting a critical realist approach and it provides a useful framework for presenting a comprehensive understanding of the role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer within a globalized and Europeanised environment. Two main arguments are advanced in the thesis. Firstly, it is contended that policy transfer is a process of globalization and Europeanization that can lead to policy convergence or divergence. Further, that processes of globalization and Europeanization manifest themselves in both policy convergence and divergence. The policy transfer network model (Evans and Davies, 1999) proves to be a useful heuristic device for mapping and comparing processes of policy transfer. Secondly, it is claimed that in an era of globalization knowledge institutions often perform a crucial role as agents of policy transfer.

These claims are substantiated through the research findings from three case-studies that examine the role of knowledge institutions in three separate processes of policy transfer. The first case-study evaluates the role of the Dutch knowledge institution *The International Dialogues Foundation* in a process of transferring youth employment policy programmes within the European Union and also to Arab-Mediterranean countries. The second case-study analyses the transfer of an environmental policy programme, Ecotrans, from Denmark to East Germany and Greece through the assistance of the German knowledge institution *Understandingbus*. The third case-study explores the role of the Greek knowledge institution *Paremvassi* during the transfer of the Ombudsman institution to Greece.

Contents

<i>List of Boxes</i>		<i>i</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>		<i>iii</i>
<i>Abbreviations</i>		<i>iv</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>		<i>vi</i>
Chapter 1	Introduction	1
Part One	Theory and Method	
Chapter 2	The Structure and Agent Problem in Empirical Research	11
Chapter 3	Globalization and Europeanization: The Process of Policy Transfer	32
Chapter 4	The Third Sector and Knowledge Institutions	60
Summary	A Summary to Part One - A 'Structure and	78

	Agent' Approach: the Case of Globalization, Policy Transfer and Knowledge Institutions	
Chapter 5	Methodology	82
Part Two	Empirical Analysis	
Chapter 6	The Transfer of Policy Ideas - the International Dialogues Foundation and Youth Employment Policy	100
Chapter 7	The Transfer of Policy Programmes - Understandingbus and Environmental Policy	138
Chapter 8	The Transfer of Policy Institutions - Paremvassi and the Transfer of the Ombudsman Institution	184
Chapter 9	Comparing the Role of Knowledge Institutions in Processes of Policy Transfer	213
Chapter 10	Conclusions	229
Appendix 1	A List of Interviews Undertaken in the Course of the Study	240
Appendix 2	Sample Questionnaires	243
Bibliography		247

List of Boxes

Box 2.1	The Structure and Agent Relationship	20
Box 3	Comparison of Epistemic Community, Advocacy Coalition and Policy Transfer Network Frameworks	58
Box 4.1	Similar Typologies of Think-Tanks	70
Box 4.2	A Two-Dimensional Typology of Think-Tanks	72
Box 6.1	Relationships of Duality or Dualism between the Structures and Agents Involved in the IDF Case-Study	127
Box 6.2	The Emergence and Development of a Voluntary Transfer Network: the Case of the IDF	134
Box 6.3	The Unsuccessful Transfer of the Projects Developed in Bonn Conference	136
Box 7.1	Relationships of Duality or Dualism between the Structures and Agents Involved in the Understandingbus	176

	Case-Study	
Box 7.2	The Emergence and Development of a Voluntary Policy Transfer Network: the Case of Ecotrans	181
Box 7.3	Successful and Unsuccessful Processes of Policy Transfer: The Case of Ecotrans	182
Box 8.1	Relationships of Duality or Dualism between the Structures Agents Involved in the Paremvasi Case-Study	207
Box 8.2	The Emergence and Development of a Policy Transfer Network: the Case of Paremvasi	211
Box 9.1	Policy Transfer Networks as a Comparative Tool: Pre-Decision Making Stages in the Cases of IDF, Understandingbus and Paremvasi	225
Box 9.2	Policy Transfer Networks as a Comparative Tool: the Emergence of Decision Making Structures in the Cases of IDF, Understandingbus and Paremvasi	227

List of Figures

Figure 2.1	A Definition of Structure and Agent	20
------------	-------------------------------------	----

Abbreviations

ABA: Alexandria Business Association

ACF: Advocacy Coalition Framework

ANDIP: Development Company of the Municipalities of Piraeus

BDTEC: Barnsley and Doncaster Training and Enterprise Council

BEP: Piraeus Chamber for Small and Medium Industries

BNHA: Bradford and Northern Housing Association

BPAI: Body of Public Administration Inspectors

BUESI: Office for the Implementation of European Subsidy Instruments

BVMW: National Association of Medium-Sized Business

CABO: Cambodian Immigrants Organisation*

CNV: National Federation of Christian Trade Unions

CSCE: Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe

CSIC: Central Service for the Investigation of Complaints

DG: Directorate General

EATA: European Association of Turkish Academics

EBEP: Piraeus Industrial Chamber of Commerce
EBSA: European Building Sites Association
ECF: European Cultural Foundation
EEE: Ecology Energy Economy
ESF: European Social Fund
ETUC: European Trade Union Confederation
EVA: Environmentally sustainable projects, Vocational Training, Action in the Community
EU: European Union
FNV: National Federation of Trade Unions
GDR: German Deutsche Republic
IAA: Independent Administrative Authority
IDF: International Dialogues Foundation
ILO: International Labour Organisation
IOI: International Ombudsman Institute
KEK: Centre for Employment Training
LSE: London School of Economics
MEP: Member of the European Parliament
MP: Member of Parliament
ND: New Democracy
NGO: Non Governmental Organisation
OAED: Organisation for the Employment of the Working Force
OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPEK: Organisation for the Modernization of the Society
PASOK: Panhellenic Socialist Movement
RIOP: Research Institute for Oppressed People
SBG: Saechsishe Bildungsgesellechaft fuer Umweltschutz und Chemieberufe
SME: Small and Medium Enterprise
SUN: Studenten Unie Nederland
SYEP: South Yorkshire Environmental Project
TIC: Technological Information Centre
UK: United Kingdom
UN: United Nations
USA: United States of America

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Mark Evans for his encouragement and guidance throughout the process of the research. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Jim Buller for providing me with some valuable comments and useful suggestions on parts of my thesis. I owe a thanks to Dr. Keith Alderman and to the staff in the Department of Politics General Office for being so supportive throughout the period of my study. I would also like to acknowledge the financial support of the ESRC and the Department of Politics, which allowed me to pursue this thesis.

I have had the fortune to enjoy the support of many people during my fieldwork research. From the IDF case-study, I would especially like to thank Edu Willemse for providing me with all the necessary information for the completion of my case study and for his hospitality during my research in Holland. For the Understandingbus case-study, I would like to extend my appreciation to Arthur Grossmann and Peter

Umbesen for ensuring that I had the necessary access to information for my case-study. I would also like to thank Alexis Svap for his hospitality during my staying in Berlin. For the Paremvassi case-study, I would like to express my greatest gratitude to Professor Diamandouros for the information that he made available to me and for his very useful comments on the Greek case-study. I would also like to express my appreciation to all the people that have helped me in my fieldwork and with whom I have conducted interviews.

I am particularly indebted to Georgia Chondroleou. We shared an office and we also shared all the ups and downs of the research process. Without her conducting this thesis would have been a very lonely process. A big thank you to all my friends that have given me so much support during the past three and a half years.

I reserve a special thank you to my parents and my brother to whom I also dedicate this thesis. Without their encouragement, help and love it is very doubtful that I would have completed a DPhil.

1 Introduction

This thesis focuses on the role of European knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer.¹ This focus is informed by the central theoretical and empirical weaknesses in the literature on policy transfer and knowledge institutions. Studies of policy transfer emphasise agents such as policy-makers (e.g. Evans, 1999) or international organisations (e.g. Bomberg and Peterson, 2000) but not enough attention has been paid to non-governmental agents such as knowledge institutions. Indeed Stone (2000) is one of only a few scholars who deal with the role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer. However, she has largely identified an agenda for research that other scholars should pursue through rigorous empirical investigation. This thesis therefore provides a more elaborate

study of the phenomena by offering a multi-level framework based on a structure and agency perspective and by exploring three European case-studies of the role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer. This European dimension adds a further element of originality to the thesis because very few studies focus on European knowledge institutions (e.g. Stone, Denham and Garnett, eds, 1998) and even fewer have a comparative dimension (e.g. Day, 2000).

A further source of originality in this thesis is that in order to study the role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer, it develops a multi-level theoretical framework. As Evans (1999: 30) observes, the concept of policy transfer is used to describe 'a process in which knowledge about institutions, policies or delivery systems at one sector or level of governance is used in the development of institutions, policies or delivery systems at another sector or level of governance'. Recent literature reviews on the study of policy transfer (see: Bennett, 1991 and 1991a; Rose, 1991; Bennett and Howlett, 1992; Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; Evans and Davies, 1999; and, Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000) have rigorously assessed differences in the nature of process, institutional culture, technology, policy content, the role of agents and discourse, from the perspective of a variety of disciplines. Indeed, it is evident that policy transfer has attracted both significant and multi-disciplinary attention. Yet, despite this attention policy transfer analysis remains an area of research that is under theorised and existing approaches are weak in explanatory power. As a case in point the study of policy transfer has revealed a growing academic interest in processes of transfer (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000) that have arisen as a function of the phenomena of globalization (Hay and Marsh, eds, 1999) and Europeanization but although there have been some attempts to map out the theoretical implications of this development (see Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000 and Evans and Davies, 1999), there have been few attempts to combine theoretical with rigorous empirical enquiry.

1. As it is elaborated in chapter 4, Knowledge Institutions are defined as organisations which are distinct from government, which have as an objective to provide advice on a diverse range of policy issues through the use of cognitive and elite mobilisation.

The Research Problem

The thesis focuses on the role of knowledge institutions as agents of policy transfer and thereby exposes a gap in the existing literature; the need for a systematic discussion of knowledge institutions as potential agents of policy change. Moreover, the focus of the empirical study upon the role of *European* knowledge institutions provides an additional source of originality as much of the existing literature is concerned with American think-tanks (see, for example, Stone, 1996). The investigation of this glaring gap in the existing literature constitutes the main subject of this thesis and the basis for the empirical research which explores the relationship between policy transfer and the phenomena of globalization and Europeanization. Finally, the development of a multi-level theoretical framework based on a structure and agency approach offers a map for the study of the structures (e.g. the EU) and the agents (e.g. knowledge institutions) involved as well as their environment (e.g. the discourse of globalization).

The Research Questions

The following propositions are addressed which focus on the role of knowledge institutions as potential agents of policy transfer:

Knowledge institutions are key agents for the dissemination of ideas and thus of policy transfer in the international domain. Hence processes of globalization in public policy are driven by ideas, as well as by factors such as global economic convergence.

Knowledge institutions become influential agents of policy transfer when they succeed in persuading policy makers that they possess policy relevant evidence-based knowledge.²

2. The term 'evidence-based policy' is used in its general meaning to describe 'evidence-influenced' or 'evidence-aware' public policy (Davies, Nutley and Smith, 2000: 11).

Two further propositions provide a measure of the multi-level scope of the theoretical and empirical enquiry to follow:

Lesson drawing, which provides for policy transfer, constitutes a decisive factor in the policy decisions of states. The scope and intensity of this phenomenon has exacerbated due to processes of globalization and Europeanization.

At the same time, policy transfer itself represents an important process of globalization and Europeanization, leading to convergence of institutions, policies and paradigms which provide further opportunities for policy transfer to occur

The Central Thesis

The central thesis of this study is that in order to develop a holistic understanding of policy development, a multi-level structure and agency approach should be adopted. Such an approach allows for the macro, meso and micro levels of analysis to be combined within a single framework. In particular, in this study, processes of globalization and Europeanization that represent the macro-level of analysis, the policy transfer network model that refers to the meso-level of analysis and the role of knowledge institutions that operate primarily at the micro-level analysis, are brought together within an analytical ensemble. Three case-studies of knowledge institutions in the Netherlands, Germany and Greece are explored and compared in order to evaluate and further develop this multi-level framework of analysis.

Methodology

Three case-studies of European knowledge institutions have been selected as they involve three basic forms of policy transfer – ‘ideas’ (the IDF case-study), ‘programmes’ (the Understandibus case-study) and ‘institutions’ (the Paremvasi case-study). Additionally, the case-studies encompass a variety of European countries with different historical backgrounds, different

policy-making processes and different roles for their civil societies. Detailed research propositions evolve from the theoretical part of the study. These propositions are then explored through a comparative case study analysis. A systematic comparative method using the policy transfer network framework as an organising frame for comparative analysis (Evans and Davies, 1999) has been developed to identify differences and similarities between the case-studies. The primary research materials consist mainly of qualitative analysis (participant observation and deep and group interviews with key actors) and documentary analysis. A detailed exposition of the methodological approach deployed in the thesis is presented in Chapter Five.

Empirical Research

The empirical part of the project consists of an inquiry into the influence of three knowledge institutions on three separate processes of policy transfer:

1. *The International Dialogues Foundation (IDF)*, a Dutch knowledge institution seeking to influence the development of youth employment policy;
2. *Understandingbus*, a German knowledge institution seeking to influence the development of policy programmes that combine environmental issues with employment opportunities and,
3. *Paremvassi*, a Greek institution seeking to secure the introduction of an Ombudsman in Greek public administration.

The IDF case-study concentrates on the transfer of policy ideas on youth employment projects both within EU member-states and to Arab-Mediterranean countries. This transfer of ideas was the consequence of an unsuccessful attempt to transfer youth employment policy programmes. The Understandingbus case-study investigates the successful and unsuccessful transfer of environmental employment programmes for Small and Medium Sized Enterprises from Denmark to East Germany and to Greece. Finally, the third case-study explores the hybrid policy transfer of the Ombudsman

institution to Greece. The similarities and differences between these processes of policy transfer are also compared.

In sum these cases have been selected for five main reasons. Firstly, they concern knowledge institutions that function in a typical way as described in the literature on think-tanks and this should allow for the generation of generalisable knowledge claims. Secondly, the three knowledge institutions under study are situated in three different European Union countries and include Northern and Southern examples. Thirdly, the case-studies look at different types of policy transfer such as the transfer of ideas, programmes and institutions. Fourthly, the three knowledge institutions have followed different methodologies of policy transfer such as the organisation of conferences and the publication of studies. And, finally, the author was blessed with excellent access to the target organisations involved in the three case-studies. Furthermore, practical assistance was offered through help with fieldwork expenses and language issues.

Organisational Structure

The thesis is arranged into two parts - Theory and Method and Empirical Analysis. Part One consists of four chapters. Chapter Two presents the framework of analysis through a discussion of the structure and agent problem in empirical research. Firstly, the background of the structure and agency debate in political science is introduced and an attempt to define the terms 'structure' and 'agent' follows. The relationship between structure and agent is then evaluated and an emphasis is placed on the importance of dialectical approaches. Finally, five theoretical propositions are presented within a multi-level framework for conducting empirical research on the impact of processes of globalization and Europeanization on processes of policy transfer.

Chapter Three investigates the structural environment of the thesis. It attempts to integrate the macro and meso-levels of analysis through an analysis of the role of policy transfer as a process of globalization and Europeanization. Firstly, the concepts of globalization and Europeanization are analysed and their multi-dimensionality is emphasised. In order to

further disaggregate the phenomena, globalization and Europeanization are conceptualised in terms of processes of policy convergence and/or divergence. It is then argued that policy transfer can be understood as a process that can lead to policy convergence and/or policy divergence and thus facilitate or constrain the phenomena of globalization and Europeanization. In the next section, the term policy transfer is analysed and a discussion of the literature on the process of policy transfer is offered. Knowledge resources are seen as a central concern in the study of processes of policy transfer and hence the next section discusses a range of frameworks such as advocacy coalitions and epistemic communities that have been used to explain processes of learning. It is argued that the policy transfer network model is the most appropriate approach for comparing the role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer.

Chapter Four focuses on the micro-level of analysis with an emphasis on the third sector and the nature and role of knowledge institutions which are the main agents under study. Firstly, the nature of the third sector is evaluated and the myths related to this sector are identified. The chapter then reviews the literature on think-tanks and some suggestions are made on how to develop a comparative approach to such organisations. A definition and a two-dimensional typology of knowledge institutions is then proposed. Finally, an approach to how to study the influence of knowledge institutions in public policy is offered.

Chapter Five consists of a methodological introduction to the nature of the study. The ontology and epistemology underpinning the study is summarised and then a discussion of the methodological choices that have been made is offered. This includes: a rationale for why qualitative and not quantitative methodology has been used; a presentation of the advantages of a comparative case-study methodology over a single case-study approach; and, a defence of why techniques such as individual and group interviews, participant observation and documentary analysis have been deployed.

In Chapter Six the thesis turns to empirical analysis utilising the policy transfer network model as a heuristic device for organising the case study findings. It begins with a case-study of the transfer of ideas. The aim of the case-study is to assess the role of a Dutch knowledge institution, the IDF,

during the transfer of youth employment policy ideas. Firstly, the discourse of the case-study is considered and then the structures and agents involved in the policy transfer process are identified. In the ensuing section, the relationship between structures and agents is analysed. This includes an evaluation of their interaction during a conference in Bonn and its aftermath. Finally, the theoretical propositions presented in the first part of the thesis are evaluated in the light of the case study findings.

Chapter Seven explores the transfer of policy programmes by focussing on the role of the German knowledge institution Understandingbus during the transfer of Ecotrans; an environmental policy programme. This case-study follows the same structure as the previous one. The discourse is outlined and then the structures and agents involved in the policy transfer process are introduced. Their relationship is analysed by first looking at the Headways research action which preceded the Ecotrans project. The Ecotrans project is then discussed, starting with a presentation of the Danish model that was transferred and continuing with an analysis of the relationship between structures and agents in Saxony, Piraeus and Barnsley which were the target areas for policy change. An evaluation of the results of the Ecotrans project is also offered. Finally, once again the theoretical propositions presented in the first part of the thesis are evaluated in the light of the case study findings.

The third and final case-study is presented in Chapter Eight. It focuses on the transfer of institutions. In particular, the role of the Greek knowledge institution Paremvassi during the transfer of the Ombudsman institution to Greece. The discourse of the case-study as well as the structures and agents involved are considered and the relationship between the structures and agents during the policy transfer process is analysed. Here a historical approach is adopted that evaluates the incremental acceptance of the Ombudsman institution in Greek public administration. The emergence of a hybrid policy transfer in which lessons from several different models were combined in order to design the institution of the Greek Ombudsman is then explored. Finally, the theoretical propositions drawn at the outset of the thesis are contrasted with the empirical findings of the case-study.

Chapter Nine summarises and compares the empirical findings of the three case-studies. Firstly, the relationships between the structures and the agents are compared using the related theoretical propositions as the context of evaluation. A discussion of how processes of globalization and Europeanization have impacted on the three case-studies follows, together with an assessment of whether these cases provide instances of policy convergence or policy divergence. Finally, the policy transfer network model is used in order to compare the role of knowledge institutions during the three different processes of policy transfer.

The thesis concludes with a review of the theoretical and empirical contribution of the thesis to the literature, a sketch of research problems that warrant further analysis and some tentative normative conclusions about the role of European knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer.

Ethical Considerations

There were no particularly thorny ethical issues to consider in the conduct of this research. For example, no requests were made to maintain the confidentiality of the identity of the interviewees or for any of the information obtained. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that all the data that has been collected during the research process has only been used for the purposes of completing the thesis.

The Importance of the Study

Through a combination of theoretical and empirical enquiry this thesis attempts to advance beyond the existing literature in three broad ways. First, it offers the first attempt to organise an empirical, comparative study of policy transfer using a multi-level structure and agent framework. Second, it provides the first systematic study of the role of European knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer. Third, it presents the first rigorous evaluation of the impact of processes of globalisation and Europeanisation on processes of policy transfer.

This exercise should be of interest to a number of audiences. It should make a contribution to the work of two sets of scholars: those of public policy and those of international relations. In addition to its academic value, the project will also be of use to policy practitioners. It will demonstrate to public officials and to knowledge institutions the prerequisites for successful policy transfers, highlight the difficulties in attempting to disseminate policies and ideas between diverse environments and emphasize the importance of finding local solutions to global problems.

Part One:

Theory and Method

2 The Structure and Agent Problem in Empirical Research

Introduction

The 'structure and agent' problem is one of the most controversial issues in contemporary social science. How does policy change take place? Are the actions taken by agents responsible for policy change? Is policy change determined by the structures through which agency is given meaning? Or is it a combination of the possibilities and limitations offered by structures as well as of the actions taken by agents? Every research project within the social sciences confronts these questions. The difference and strength of this thesis is that it acknowledges the centrality of this question and makes a conscious effort to explicitly take a standpoint on the issue. In this chapter, it is argued that an approach that focuses on structure and agency

interaction is intuitively most compelling and different theoretical interpretations of a 'dialectical' approach to this relationship are explored. The purpose of this chapter is twofold. At a theoretical level it aims to provide an explanation of the structure and agent relationship that is useful for public policy analysis. At a more practical level it attempts to produce a framework of analysis that will offer some guidelines for more systematic empirical research. The scope of this chapter is rather limited when compared with the challenges that the issue of structure and agent brings to political science. It merely aims to provide an outline of the relationship between structure and agent in order to define the ontological, epistemological and methodological basis of the thesis. This will allow for a more comprehensive theoretical and empirical study of globalization, of processes of policy transfer and of the role of knowledge institutions within that process. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section explores the question of why the 'structure and agent' problem is important in political science. In the second and third sections the concepts of structure and agent are discussed, and some working definitions are established. The fourth section investigates the most difficult aspect of the problem, the dynamics of the relationship between structure and agent. In the fifth section the empirical utility of a 'structure and agent' framework for understanding public policy is discussed.

The 'Structure and Agent' Problem in Political Science

The 'structure and agent' problem is a central one in social science and philosophy. It is closely related to some other important questions within the social sciences such as the nature of the relationship between the individual and society and between the macro and the micro-levels of society. Layder (1994: 3) describes the individual-society discussion as the most basic one. It has its roots in the political thought of Aristotle where we encounter the first documented theorisation of the relationship between the public (the idea of 'polis' as the highest form of association of individuals) and the private domains. Ever since this first analysis an exhaustive discussion of the issue has emerged from a diverse range of epistemological positions and disciplines generating a plethora of nomenclatures. The second conundrum that has preoccupied contemporary sociological thought is the relationship between the macro and the micro levels of politics. The micro-level concentrates on personal

interactions while the macro-level concentrates on the larger scale activities of organisations, institutions and culture and the problem is to understand the interrelationship between the two (Layder, 1994: 1-3). This chapter draws from both these discussions but uses the terms 'structure and agent' because they are more commonly used in political science. Although it is a vast issue and plenty has been written from sociological and philosophical perspectives, including combinations of both, very little has been said from the perspective of political science and even less from a public policy point of view (see Hay, 1998). Sibeon (1999: 139) correctly argues that the structure-agent problematic requires an interdisciplinary treatment combining knowledge from philosophy, sociology, psychology and political science. In order for theoretical and empirical research in public policy to gain advantage from this debate a focus should be placed on the sociological tradition rather than the philosophical as it lends itself more heavily to empirical research. This section discusses the reasons why the 'structure and agent' problem is important for political science and in particular for public policy.

The most significant reason why the structure and agent debate is so interesting, but at the same time so difficult to tackle, is that it tries to provide an understanding of the distribution of power at a particular historical conjuncture. It embraces the whole social world, and tries to answer the question of who or what is responsible for social change or stasis at a particular moment. The issue of power is central in political science and investigating whether power resources can be identified with agents, structures or a combination of the two is a very important dimension of power analysis. Such a broad question involves ontological, epistemological and methodological considerations that have been of interest to different theorists. Terms like the above are difficult to define because they have different meanings across the social sciences. The definitions that follow relate strongly to the use of the terms in political science. The word ontology literally means the 'study of being' but in political science it is used in a more general way to signify the assumptions about social reality that are made in a given time (Scruton, 1983: 333). For example, it is an ontological assumption for a political system which is based on a religion to accept the existence of God. The word epistemology derives from the Greek words 'episteme', which means 'knowledge about something', and, 'logos', which means 'reason' or 'explanation' and refers to the study of the nature of knowledge and

justification (Audi, 1995: 233). Epistemology is used to describe the ways through which social scientists accumulate knowledge about social reality. So, an approach which is based on positivism will follow a different epistemology to an approach which is based on realism. Methodology is a term closely related to epistemology and is concerned with the methods that social scientists use in order to find and gather the elements that they need to gain knowledge about social reality. For example, a positivist epistemology would easily lead to a quantitative methodology using statistical data as its evidence. The exploration of the 'structure and agent' problem as a source of power analysis has a direct impact on the ontological, epistemological and methodological underpinnings of the thesis.

A further reason why the 'structure and agent' problem is so significant in political science is that the attempt to define the terms 'structure and agent' within any research project leads to a more conscious use of them. So, the theoretical attempt to define what structure and agent means followed by an identification of the particular structures and agents involved in a specific area under study will offer a research project greater clarity. To take this claim further, a linkage between these two major concepts is also important in order to gain a more complete image of social reality. Such an exercise will lead the researcher to the inclusion in the research project of variables and research mechanisms after conscious reasoning about decisions and their justifications. Finally, the application of this theoretical discussion to an empirical study can situate the research project in a broader social context. To summarise the main reason why the 'structure and agent' problem is important for political science and in particular for public policy is because it provides a corrective device to ensure that the researcher raises ontological, epistemological and methodological questions seriously. In the next section a first step towards a more complete discussion of the 'structure and agent' problem is taken by both exploring and attempting to reach a definition, of the term structure.

What is a Structure?

To define what a structure or what an agent is, only deals with the first half of the problem. By this I mean that when we begin the process of making a definition we are already taking a theoretical standpoint which directs us to a particular

understanding of the relationship between the two concepts. At the same time defining structure or agent is a very difficult task because both concepts are quite abstract and they have been used in very diverse ways. In this section a review of some of the ways that the term structure has been used in social theory is made and then a working definition is outlined.

Looking at some of the major theorists that have dealt with the structure and agency problem we can observe quite a variety of interpretations of the meaning of structure. What is of interest to us here is not so much how uni-dimensional approaches advance on the matter, but how the theorists that see an interrelationship between the two concepts, define structure. Giddens (1984: 16-17), before giving his own definition of structure observes that functionalists see structure as a " 'patterning' of social relations or social phenomena" and structuralists as "an intersection of presence and absence; underlying codes (that) have to be interred from surface manifestations". Both of these perceptions are quite general and they don't leave much space for the agent. Giddens distinguishes the structure from the term system and describes structure as an ensemble of formal and habitual rules and resources. His distinction of system and structure has often been seen as artificial by his critics (e.g. Held and Thompson, 1989) and causes a problem in his theory of structuration. Apart from this, his definition of structure is quite useful because it includes the rules and the habits of the institutions and of the actors and so it provides a space for the analysis of the agent. Structures for Giddens are involved in a continuous process of change.

Layder (1994: 155-157), when discussing Giddens' definition of structure in relation to Bourdieu's theory of 'habitus', reveals once more the problem of definition within the social sciences. For Giddens structure is the "external social context of behaviour" (Layder, 1994: 156) and for Bourdieu habitus is "the durable set of dispositions which we carry around in our heads as social actors as a result of our experience in certain kinds of backgrounds and circumstances (class, language, ethnicity, gender and so on)" (Layder, 1994: 157). If we compare the two definitions we realise that what Giddens defines as structure is more or less what Bourdieu defines as 'habitus'. Although the use of different terms with the same meaning by social scientists can be confusing, what is important is to notice how structure and agency is closely interrelated in both cases. This kind of interrelated definition of

structures is quite common among social scientists who explore the duality or the dualism of the two concepts. Layder (1994: 5), for example, defines structure as "the social relationships which provide the social context or conditions under which people act".

Another feature of the definitions which have been offered by theorists is to emphasise the dynamic relationship between structure and agency. Sibeon (1999: 142) claims that structure is the "relatively enduring though not immutable circumstances within which actors operate". In the same vein Cerny (1990: 4) sees structures as "the pattern of constraints and opportunities for action and choice" and notices that once they develop they tend to reproduce themselves, but at the same time to incorporate incremental changes. This kind of emphasis in the definition of structure is very important because sometimes structures are wrongly taken as stable just because they change at a slower pace than agents.

Another important issue in the definition of structure is whether they are broad or narrow. The definitions that we have discussed up to now are almost all quite broad as they refer to structures as 'context', 'set of dispositions', 'social relationships', 'circumstances' or 'patterns'. To add to this list, Sztompka (1993: 213) defines structures as "abstract social wholes of a superindividual sort, representing social reality sui generis (societies, cultures, civilizations, socio-economic formations, social systems etc)". In sum, social structures can be everything that is not an agent. This definition clearly lacks precision as we shall see in the case of collective agencies in the next section. Some writers try to limit what can be included within the term structure. For example, Giddens (1984) differentiates 'structure' from 'system' and Sibeon (1999: 142) distinguishes 'structures' from 'social chance'. Sibeon describes social chance as the outcome of expected or unforeseen instances of action, social patterns or trends such as industrialisation or environmental pollution. Even these approaches are often quite confusing because they try to control the use of language, and this might be easy within a definition but it becomes very complicated as soon as we turn to empirical analysis.

As we can see from the above discussion, to define structure, is a difficult task. Even concentrating upon the public policy field and trying to define structure within that framework does not always make the task any easier. Bulpitt (1995, cited in Buller, 1999) claims that because of the difficulty of the problem we should leave it

to the agents to define what structure is. To a certain extent this claim is a compelling one as what is seen as a structure by an agent, might be seen as a collective agent by a structure. For example, from the point of view of a think-tank the government could be seen as a structure, but from the point of view of an international organisation a government could be also described as a collective agent which exists among others such as other governments or non governmental organisations. Although this observation is useful, Bulpitt's approach is not taken forward because it falls into the trap of intentionalism by completely relying on the agent perception for the definition of structure. By holding a critical realist standpoint, it is argued that there is a social reality that can be observed independently of the agents perceptions which means that structure is real and should be defined (Lewis, 2000). From the moment that we accept that the concept of agent doesn't refer only to individuals an overlapping of concepts is inevitable, even if we accept as a general rule, that there are some broad characteristics that we can attribute to structures. These are: firstly, that structures are dynamic phenomena which change over time, and, secondly, that they always constitute the external environment to the actions of agents. In the next section the term 'agent' is analysed in order to prepare the ground for the discussion of the relationship between the two concepts.

What is an Agent?

The discussion of structure predisposes us towards particular definitions of the term 'agent'. As with structure, agent is a term that has been used in a variety of ways and that is why it is important to be clear about how it is used. In this section some of the possible ways of using the term 'agent' are discussed and then a definition of how it is to be used in the thesis is given.

The most important issue when addressing the term 'agent' is the fact that it has been used in two diametrically different ways by theorists. Some social theorists (e.g. Foucault, 1980) refer to the 'agent' as meaning only the individual and others (e.g. Sztompka, 1993) use the term in a way that means alternatively individuals and groups. The difference is central because it is one thing to investigate the relationship between the individual, its psychological and social world, and social structures, and another thing to study collectivities of individuals which could even be described as

structures.

Layder (1994:5) defines agency as "the ability of human beings to make a difference in the world". He clearly argues that agency refers only to individuals and not to collective actors. For Layder agency is equivalent to action which is a quite common interpretation of the concept. Friedman and Starr (1997: 9-18), are concerned with the issue from an international relations perspective and define agents as the individual international elite. Members of the international elite are individuals that function at an international level and share the same international structures but probably different regional and domestic ones. They study the relationship between structure and agency by understanding agents as equivalent to willingness for action. In this formulation the agents are linked with structures which in turn are seen as equivalent to opportunities for action. Again in this case the agent is seen as the active part of the relationship.

Not all social theorists limit the notion of agents to individuals. Sibeon (1999: 141) states that an agent is "an entity that, in principle has the means of formulating and acting upon decisions". An entity can be either an individual or a social actor such as a government, a department or a trade union. Sibeon agrees with Hindess (1986: 116) that an entity cannot be considered as an agent if it is not able to make decisions. So, a loose entity such as a social class or a social movement does not fall within the definition of an agent. This observation has very important implications for empirical research because it limits collective agents to very concrete entities with specific capacities. Conversely, Sztompka (1993: 213) describes agents as individuals or members of concrete collectivities which can be groups, associations, communities, social movements etc. Although such a broad definition can be useful in a theoretical sense, it is not very practical for empirical research as it makes the study of agents far too complex.

A useful observation on theory building that is important when we try to define 'agent' is drawn by Mouzelis (1995). He makes a distinction between two types of theory. There is theory that operates as a research tool and then there is theory that plays the role of a provisional end-product. Consequently, the type of theory which we intend to develop informs how we define concepts such as an 'agent'. From the perspective of a theory as an end-product, a broad definition like the one given by Sztompka (1993: 213) might be more useful as it allows for better conceptual linkage

with the concept of 'structure'. On the other hand, if the purpose of the definition is to make provisions for empirical research, a more concrete definition like that proposed by Sibeon (1999) or Hindess (1986) may be more appropriate.

For the purposes of public policy research it is argued that the term 'agent' should refer to both individuals and collectivities. Of course, the cases where an individual challenges structures on his or her own are quite rare. Even leaders that play pivotal roles within revolutionary epochs are invariably part of a collective. So, although the 'individual' is accepted as part of the definition, at the level of research the definition should usually be expanded to collectivities. A further caveat is useful here; for an entity to be defined as an agent it should be able to make decisions (Sibeon, 1999; Hindess, 1986). This is a very important condition which has significant implications for empirical research, but it has to be combined with a very loose definition of structures in order to allow for informal networks to be incorporated in the research. So, for example a policy network which includes a number of organisations could be described as an agent if it is able to make common decisions, but would be described as a structure if not.

The heart of the problem is that the concepts of structure and agency are quite fluid because what may be deemed an agent from one point of view can be deemed a structure from another point of view.¹ For example, for an individual that works in an organisation, the organisation represents a structure, but for a government department that deals with the organisation, the organisation is an agent. So, in a way, whether we are dealing with an agent or with a structure depends on the position we are looking at it from. Figure 2.1 provides a schematic representation of this argument and identifies a range of concentric relationships. The individual could be positioned at the centre of the circle and the first circle around him/her is a structure at least from his/her point of view (e.g. the organisation A where he/she works). If the second circle is, the government, for example, all the circles before it (the organisation A in this case) could be conceptualised as agents and all the circles after

1. This statement is influenced by Bulpitt's (1995) claim that the definition of a structure should be left to the agent but it entails a critical realist argument by accepting the existence of structure independently of the agent's perception.

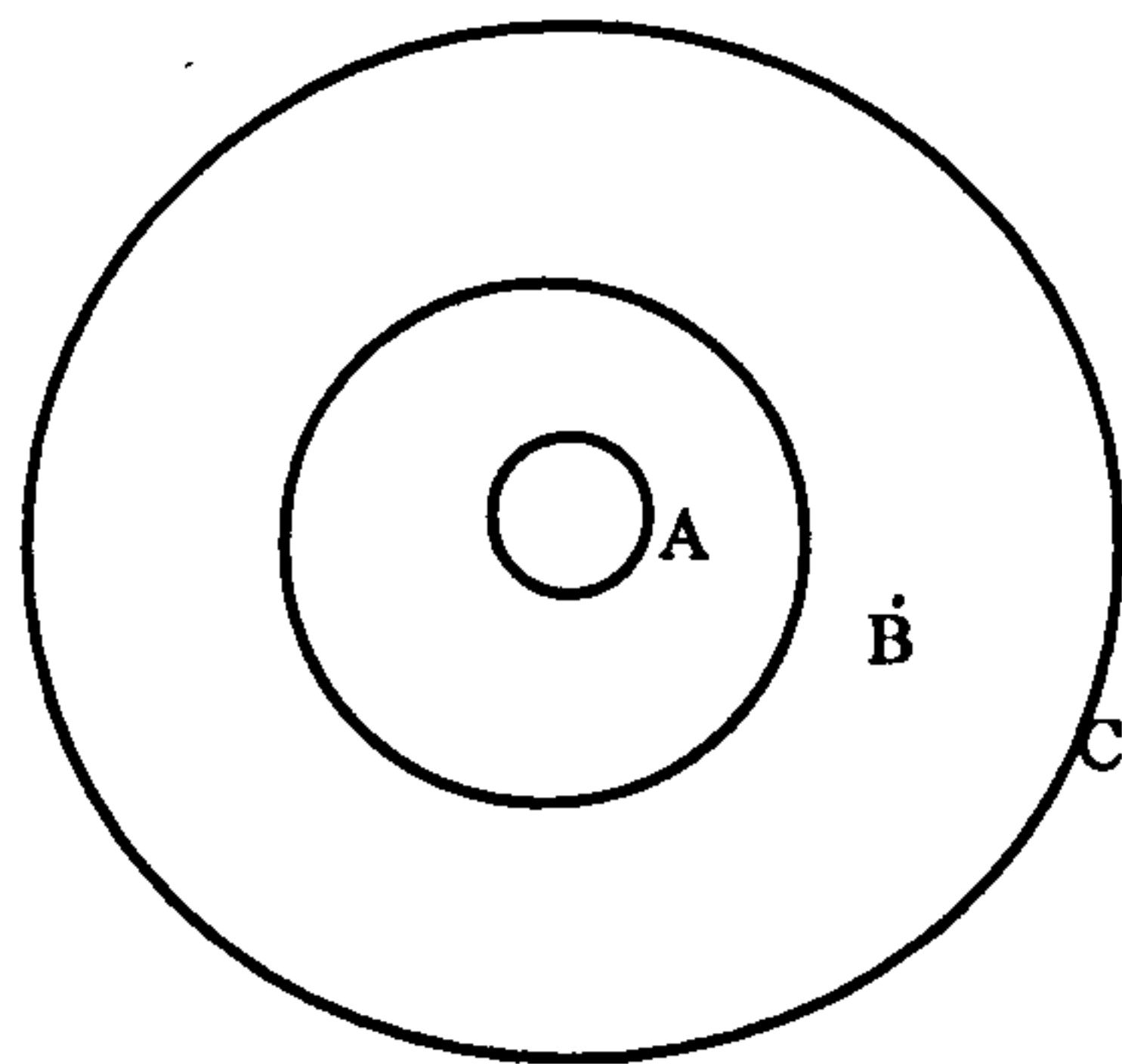


Figure 2.1: A Definition of Structure and Agent

it as structures. Thus it can be observed that from one perspective organisation A can be conceptualised as an agent and from another it can be conceptualised as a structure.

The Relationship between Structure and Agent

The purpose of this section is to explore some of the most influential approaches to the relationship between structure and agency and to establish which is the most useful model for public policy analysis. The difficulty of such a task is that it involves solving a theoretical and an empirical problem at the same time. Layder (1994) in his book *Understanding Social Theory* provides a framework for the different forms that the structure and agency debate has taken. The first two forms are at their extremes quite one-sided and give prominence to either the structure or the agent. Although there is a tendency to move forward from such uni-dimensional explanations of social reality, it is still useful to learn from them and build upon them. These approaches are termed uni-dimensional because they tend to explain social reality by focussing on one dimension of the problem, the structure or the agent (see Box 2.1).

Box 2.1: The Structure and Agent Relationship

<i>Uni-dimensional approaches</i>	<i>Dialectical approaches</i>
Structuralism Functionalism	Structuration theory (e.g. Giddens, 1984)
	Critical realism (e.g. Sztopka, 1993)
Intentionalism	Analytical dualism (e.g. Archer, 1985)
	Co-existence of duality and dualism (e.g. Mouzelis, 1995)

The first group of this kind of theories places an emphasis upon structure, and can be distinguished within the Marxist and the functionalist traditions. The Marxist tradition tends to be structuralist although many of its followers (and indeed Marx himself) recognised some sort of dialectical relationship between structure and agency. Jessop (1990: 260) drawing on Poulantzas' work argues that 'the state is a social relation which can indeed be analysed as the site, the generator and the product of strategies'. Jessop brings structure and agency together but his analysis still allows for a static and strong structure and a dynamic, but less important, agent acting within it. For example, the state can be described as a static and strong structure and the pressure groups acting within it are seen as dynamic but less important agents. Callinicos (1995), in his examination of the issue from the standpoint of orthodox Marxism, sees structure and agency as closely interrelated and claims that "the analysis of structure in terms of their role in determining agent's causal powers allows us to avoid the dead end of structuralism" (Callinicos, 1995: 236). By accepting that agents have the power to influence structure, this approach shows that there is a way of applying an orthodox Marxist approach to the structure and agent problem without falling into problems of structuralism and its assumption that structure is the determinant, rather than one determinant among a range of possibilities. Functionalism also has a tendency to emphasise social wholes at the expense of social participants. A functionalist approach tends to relate the existence of structures with particular functions. Hence, there is a reason for the existence of structures that can help us understand how a society functions. Because of this, an understanding of social reality once again takes structure as a starting point. Sociologists such as Mouzelis (1995), take functionalism as a starting point, reconstitute it and propose a more balanced framework of structure and agency. Mouzelis takes quite an original position, arguing that both agents and structures can exist at both the micro and macro levels and asserts that "inasmuch as all actors are both products and producers of the social world, macro actors (economic, political, social, cultural) are much more producers than products" (Mouzelis, 1995: 147). This point seems quite useful and prompts us to realise that not all structures or all agents have the same amount of power and this is why they are expected to have different impact on social reality.

The second group of uni-dimensional approaches focus on the individual and see the world as a complex of social interactions and as a subjective experience

(Layder, 1994: 8). The symbolic interactionist and the phenomenological approaches in sociology are the most important of this kind. Layder (1994: 89-90) correctly argues that these approaches do not confront the structure and agency problem because they are only interested in the micro level. They try to understand the individual, the way he or she acts in everyday life and they also bring into focus the importance of language and meaning. These approaches have had a great influence in the social sciences and have offered something to the structure and agent debate by taking the focus away from the grand narratives of Marxism and pluralism and by introducing a methodological approach which is more directed to the individual as the focus of research.

A dialectical approach to the structure and agent relationship is more compelling because it recognises the existence of a totality, its current absence, error and incompleteness and the potentiality of a more inclusive totality (Bhaskar, 1997: 146). Embracing a dialectical approach to structure and agency relationship has ontological and epistemological implications because it entails both the existence of a social reality and the importance of subjective interpretation. Hay (1995: 192) argues that social theory which recognises the dialectical relationship between structure and agency can be categorised into two groups: structuration theory, as it has been developed by Giddens (1984) and critical realism (e.g. Bhaskar, 1986, Sztompka, 1993). To these two approaches, Archer's (1996) analytical dualism can be added because it differs from the other two in that it accepts that dualism (the study of structure and agent as separate units), can be useful at an analytical level. Finally, as Sibeon (1999: 140) observes, there is a fourth quite unique approach that analyses the relationship between structure and agency as both duality and dualism depending on the focus of analysis (Mouzelis: 1995). These approaches are now critically analysed in order to establish which is the most useful framework for the purposes of empirical research in public policy.

Structuration theory can certainly be described as the most influential approach to the structure and agency debate. It argues that the dualism in which classical social theories conceptualise the relationship between structure and agency should be replaced with the concept of duality of structure (Giddens, 1984). As Giddens (1984: 25) puts it, 'the constitution of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality'. So, structure and agency are

two sides of the same coin that exist in a duality and are involved in a dialectical relationship, where 'the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organise' (Giddens, 1984: 25). The dialectical exchange doesn't exist in a vacuum, but in a particular space-time relationship where the absent (past and future) agents are also important. Structuration theory has been criticised for being no more than sophisticated intentionalism (Hay, 1995: 198) but it has also been described as a way out of the problem of structure and agency (Layder, 1994: 212). Structuration theory appears to offer useful theoretical tools by sensitising us to the dialectical interrelationship of structure and agency and to the importance of time as an independent variable. From an empirical point of view, how useful structuration theory is, depends upon the case that is being examined because the duality of structure and agency is not always so central to a successful analysis. For example, we can conjecture that processes of globalization and processes of policy transfer co-exist in a duality but whether the notion of duality is useful in order to study a particular organisation that takes part in this process depends on the empirical case we are looking at. Not all organisations respond in the same way to the impact of processes of globalization, so they can either co-exist in a duality or not.

One of the main critiques of Giddens' structuration theory, which also offers a new method for understanding the relationship, is provided by Archer (1985, 1996). Archer argues that the way to study the relationship between structure agency is through analytical dualism which differs from the philosophical dualism attacked by Giddens. By analytical dualism she means that although structure and agency are two aspects of social life, we cannot study them simultaneously because they don't co-exist through time. She proposes the concept of 'morphogenesis' instead of structuration as a method for analysing the processes of changes to structures. The difference between morphogenesis and structuration is that the former is not only a process, but also leads to an end-product, that of structural elaboration. In her words, 'The morphogenetic perspective is not only dualistic but sequential, dealing in endless cycles of structural conditioning/social interaction/structural elaboration - thus unravelling the dialectical interplay between structure and action' (1985: 61). The two approaches, structuration and morphogenesis, seem to lend a great deal from each other, but morphogenesis seems more useful for public policy analysis than

structuration theory because, although it accepts the duality of structure, it allows for a separate analysis of the two, and then their combination through the analysis of structural elaboration.

A third approach, which is of significant interest to public policy, is provided by Stompka (1993) and comes from the critical realism stream. Sztompka, unlike Archer, doesn't accept the justification of analytical dualism and unlike Giddens sees an even closer relationship than that acknowledged by the duality of structure. Structure and agent are 'fused together in one human social world' (Sztompka, 1993: 217) or as Hay remarks (1995: 200), critical realism sees 'structure and agency as two metals in the alloy from which the coin is moulded'. For Sztompka (1993: 215) both structures and agents are self-contained, but structures are functioning within three forms of dynamics: a) the principle of inertia, which says that things are more likely to continue working as they already do; b) the principle of momentum, which says that when a phase is reached it is likely to proceed to the next one; and c) the principle of sequence which claims that there are routines in social life which have to be followed. These principles are suggestive of a deterministic approach to social life. This is not, however, what Sztompka is working towards because as he argues, the actions of the agents do not follow a pattern and the social world is being born through the fusion of the two. The utility of the principles is that they demonstrate the flexibility of agents in contrast with structures. However, the model seems to lose balance at this point because it presupposes that the agents are not limited by the same principles as the structures. It is left to empirical research to justify or to falsify such a claim, but a generalisation of this sort is not sustainable because different conditions allowing or not allowing for flexibility can exist at different times for both structures and agents.

An important strength of the model is that it recognises the significance of the wider context through the concepts of 'nature' and 'consciousness' (Sztompka, 1993: 220-222).² Nature refers to the external natural conditions and the biological constitution of individuals and consciousness refers to 'superindividual relational networks binding ideas, beliefs, concepts in the comprehensive blocks of ideologies, doctrines, creeds, theories, traditions' (Sztompka, 1993: 221). Human praxis, which is the result of the fusion of structure and agency, is surrounded by this environment,

2. The term 'discourse' is also used elsewhere in the thesis instead of the term 'consciousness'

but the environment itself is not static. Both nature and consciousness are both shaping and being shaped by praxis. He proceeds by including time in his model and like Archer, he can see an end-product which is continuously changed through time. He differs from Archer in that for him structure and agency doesn't exist in an analytical dualism, but 'praxis at a certain time moulds the agency at a later time, which is actualised in changed praxis at a still later time, and this process continues unendingly' (Sztompka, 1993:226). He concludes by adding a relativistic tone to his model by stating that even this description of social reality and its development might be true now but it can change in the course of history.

The final approach which I am going to engage with is that developed by Mouzelis (1995) in his book *Sociological Theory: What went wrong?* For Mouzelis both duality and dualism can exist in the relationship between structure and agency. Sibeon (1999: 140) summarises the point by saying that duality will exist when actors reproduce the social structures, and dualism when actors distance themselves from social structures. This kind of theoretical approach is quite useful for the researcher because it doesn't predispose the nature of the relationship, but at the same time it offers some directions for empirical analysis. A further source of originality in Mouzelis's work is that he distinguishes the macro and micro division from the structure and agency one. For him both structures and agencies can be micro as well as macro: 'whether we are dealing with actors/interactions or institutional structures, macro refers to cases where the impact of institutionalised rules (when instantiated) or actors practices stretch widely in time and space; micro applies where this impact is very limited' (Mouzelis, 1995: 155). He continues by saying that the actors, because they want to have an impact, are trying to enter higher hierarchical games by increasing their economic, political, cultural and social capital. This doesn't mean that the actors are producers of the social world. Actors are both producers and products of social structures, but the macro actors are more producers than products (Mouzelis, 1995: 144-147). The strength of Mouzelis's approach is that he offers a theoretical model for empirical research that allows for a variety of agents and structures both to interact with each other and to construct different kinds of relationships.

The dialectical approach that informs the ontological and epistemological

because it is more common and approachable in public policy analysis.

dimensions of this thesis is critical realism. Bhaskar (1997: 139) argues that:

Ideas and ideational connections are part of everything and everything is real. This means that the centrality of ideas and consequently of the agent is accepted but it is seen as an integral part of a social reality that manifests itself in social structures. In order to understand and explain the totality of this social-human world emphasis should be placed on both ideas and structures. At an epistemological level, this thesis rejects both positivism and empiricism because it acknowledges the importance of ideas. This has an immediate impact on the methodology of the thesis that is qualitative rather than quantitative and uses in depth interviewing and participant observation as a mean of observing and understanding the role of ideas in policy-making processes. Although the ontological and epistemological foundation of this thesis is clearly critical realism, to establish one coherent theoretical model which would be useful for public policy empirical research is not an easy task. A fruitful approach to the structure and agency issue should be broad enough to offer flexibility, but at the same time concrete enough to be useful as a framework for empirical research. In order to succeed in that, propositions are drawn from all four dialectical approaches that have been presented.

Structure and agency can instantly exist in a duality or a dualism depending on whether the outcomes of their functions converge or diverge (Mouzelis, 1995). The end-product of their interaction at one time, which Archer (1985) calls 'structural elaboration', will influence the structure and agency relationship at another time. At this point it is important to take into account Mouzelis' claim that macro-actors and macro-structures will have more influence over time. Finally, account should be taken of the environment within which the relationship exists, which includes both nature and consciousness (Sztompka, 1993). It was noted earlier that nature refers to the natural environment that surrounds us and consciousness to an abstract set of ideas, beliefs, traditions and doctrines which are shared within our societies. Both of them influence, and are being influenced, by the structure and agency relationship. In the next section the above claims will be analysed further and evaluated in relation to their value for empirical research.

The Structure and Agent Problem in Empirical Research

The presentation of the structure and agency debate has largely been confined to a conceptual discussion. This section discusses the way that the structure and agency debate can be linked to empirical analysis. A dialectical approach to the structure and agent relationship is accepted as the central thesis and then a mixture of propositions that derives from all four dialectical approaches is put forward in order to be empirically scrutinised. Although vast differences exist between the different approaches such as Archer's acceptance of analytical dualism and Bhaskar's criticism of dualistic or split ontology a mixture of their propositions at an empirical level is justified and is required. The reason for that is the centrality of the dialectical nature of the relationship and the way in which these approaches are learning from each other through criticism and further development. First, five propositions are outlined and related to empirical analysis and then the implications of such a connection are discussed in more detail.

The first proposition which is drawn is that we need a loose definition of both structure and agent because whether we classify an entity as a structure or as an agent depends on where we stand in the system of concentric circles. For empirical research this means that when we enter a research project our first task is to identify the structures and the agents that are involved and are of interest to our research. So, for example, if the research project concerns the role of pressure groups in environmental policy the first question that we have to address is to ascertain whether a pressure group can be conceptualised as a structure or an agent and the same for the other entities involved. In this case a pressure group would be classified as an agent because we are looking at it from the perspective of governmental environmental policy and the influence it has on it.

The second proposition that is drawn is that structure and agent will either exist in a duality or a dualism depending on whether the agents reproduce the structures or distance themselves from them (Mouzelis, 1995). To apply this in empirical analysis means that we have to investigate the relationships between the structures and agents contained in the research project and try to identify existent dualities and/or dualisms. So, if we return to the previous example we could describe the relationship between pressure groups and the government as a duality where

pressure groups advise the government in such a way that the governmental structure is reproduced even if some changes occurred. Or, we could configure the relationship as a dualism where pressure groups distance themselves from government and approach another structure (such an international organisation) or even come out of existence, when they cannot get funding or supporters for their campaigns. Such an analysis provides flexibility for our research and allows for the investigation of the occurrence of various types of relationships between the structures and agents. This form of empirical analysis can lead to further theoretical generalisations of the cases where duality exists and the cases where dualism takes place.

The third proposition that is drawn is that structural elaboration will emerge from the interaction between structure and agent at one time/place and will influence this relationship at another time/place (Archer, 1985). This proposition offers to our research project historical sensitivity. To study the relationship between pressure groups and government in environmental policy making at one time, we need to know about the history of the relationships. In the same vein, an in depth study of pressure group-government relationships can facilitate an understanding about future relationships.

The fourth proposition that is drawn follows from Mouzelis's (1995) distinction between micro and macro actors and structures and his claim that macro actors and structures will have more influence over time. This point is directly related to the previous one about the importance of studying relationships through time but directs our analysis to the distinction between more and less important entities with different levels of influence over time. So, in the previous example we would have to add an investigation of macro and micro actors and structures. For instance, Greenpeace could be described as a macro-level actor because it is a large international environmental pressure group with representations in many different countries. On the other hand a local environmental group with very focussed 'street-level' projects could be described as a micro-level actor. The significance of this proposition is that it leads the researcher to more conscious decisions about the structures and agents to be studied depending on whether they could be classified as micro or macro.

The fifth proposition is that the environment or the nature and the consciousness within which the relationship exists should be taken into account (Sztompka, 1993). In our example the importance of this point can be clearly seen. It

is not enough to study the relationship between pressure groups and the government if we want to develop a deep understanding of policy making in the environment policy arena. A study of the actual natural phenomena on which pressure groups sustain their arguments is needed as well as a discussion of the general belief systems of the society with regard to environmental issues would be necessary.³ This task is not an easy one because 'nature' is not always so central to the policy under study and belief systems are not easily observed because different agents often embrace competitive systems. In any case nature and consciousness should be taken into account in order to ensure that the objectives of a research project take into account general environmental concerns.

So, what are the direct implications of these five propositions for empirical research? The most important one is that the structure and agent discussion brings into focus a number of entities that have to be observed and makes us aware of a number of relationships that are important facets of research in power analysis. Additionally, it calls for a dynamic exploration of the phenomena being analysed, by focussing on the impact of structure and agent over time. At a more practical level, it informs our understanding of what is meant by structure and agent which impacts on the construction of qualitative questionnaires for interviews and it also directs the investigation towards avenues that otherwise could be neglected, such as the study of a particular structure or agent.

In Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to address the structure and agent problem in political science and to suggest some possible ways of linking it to public policy analysis and empirical research. Although this is evidently a very broad project and many different approaches exist, some general conclusions may be reached which will aid the thesis in subsequent chapters.

The first set of findings focus on the reasons why the structure and agent debate

3. It is not implied that environmental problems consist an objective reality. Pressure groups depending on their belief systems select which evidence they will use in order to sustain their position.

is important in political science. In brief, this is because a structure and agent framework attempts to identify the power distribution which informs social, economic and political change. Hence, the approach has a direct implication for the ontological, epistemological and methodological positions adopted in any research endeavour. Additionally, the discussion of the structure and agent problem provides broader linkages into issues of social theory and a more reflexive and conscious use of the terms under study. The ontological, epistemological and methodological basis of this thesis is informed by critical realism because the relationship between the world of ideas and the world of praxis, between structure and agency are understood on a fusion.

The second set of findings refers to the definition of structure and agent. A structure is a dynamic phenomenon which changes over time and constitutes the external environment to the actions of agents. An agent, at least in public policy analysis, refers most of the time to collectivities of individuals that have the ability to make their own decisions. The way in which structure and agent are related to each other is a more complicated issue. Five theoretical propositions may be identified which emerge from this debate and prove particularly useful for empirical research in public policy. These five propositions will impact on my empirical research in four main ways.

- Firstly, terms such as globalization and knowledge institutions have to be classified as either structures or agents depending on where we stand in the system of concentric circles. The possibility of referring to globalization as the environment of the structure and agent relationship also has to be further explored.
- Secondly, the dualities and dualisms present in this project need to be addressed. For example, it is suggested that globalization and knowledge institutions exist in a duality and that policy transfer is one of the processes through which they relate to each other.
- Thirdly, a longitudinal approach is taken throughout the thesis in order to study the impact of structural elaboration on past and future policy changes.
- Finally, micro-level and macro-level agents and structures have to be identified in order to guide the scope of the empirical research.

In the next chapter, the structural and environmental dimensions that inform

agency are operationalised. The macro and meso-levels of analysis are integrated through an analysis of the role of policy transfer as a process of globalization and Europeanization. The policy transfer network model is then introduced as the most appropriate approach for analysing the role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer.

3 Globalization and Europeanization: The Process of Policy Transfer

Introduction

Globalization and Europeanization are two of the most trendy terms that have been applied in both the social sciences and in popular political discourse over the last decade. Everything is caused by globalization and at the same time everything is evidence of globalization. Europeanization is seen as a major challenge to traditional conceptualisations of the nation-state and is often presented as a consequence of, or a constraint on globalization. Additionally, the public policy literature is more and more concerned with processes of policy transfer and it is assumed that such processes have increased in an era of globalization. This chapter provides an exploration of the linkages between the above phenomena and it offers an

operationalisation of the environmental and structural dimension of the structure and agency framework that was developed in the previous chapter. The concepts of globalization and Europeanization are understood as the environment or the discourse within which structures and agents interact. It is further argued that specific manifestations of globalization and Europeanization such as the EU can also be seen as structures in themselves. Finally, it is also claimed that a formal policy transfer network can be described as either a structure or an agent depending on where it stands in the system of concentric circles. If a policy transfer network is informal, it is best described as part of the environment within which structures and agents interact during processes of policy transfer.

There are two main theoretical arguments developed in this chapter. Firstly, it is suggested that processes of globalization and Europeanization manifest themselves in both policy convergence and policy divergence. Moreover, it is contended that policy transfer is a mechanism of these processes. Secondly, the policy transfer network model (Evans and Davies, 1999) is presented as a useful heuristic device for comparing the role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer.

The chapter is organised into two sections. In the first section the concept of globalization and Europeanization are disaggregated and a link is made with the phenomena of policy convergence and divergence as well as with the mechanism of policy transfer. In the second section, the mechanism of policy transfer is further analysed and the policy transfer network model is compared to other approaches in order to be applied later in the thesis.

The Concepts of Globalization and Europeanization

Globalization is a term that is widely used within the social science literature. Each discipline emphasises different aspects of the phenomenon, but there is common agreement across these literatures that further analysis of the phenomenon is required. As Waters (1995: 1) claims “globalization may be the concept of the 1990's, a key idea by which we understand the transition of human society in the third millennium”.

Disaggregating the Concept of Globalization

A debate is ongoing between sociologists who examine the phenomenon of globalization in relation to the concepts of modernity and post-modernity. Robertson (1992) argues that globalization is a major social transformation, which may be viewed as a continuation of modernity. Culture lies at the centre of his analysis, because he considers it a decisive element in the creation of a global consciousness which is to an extent, responsible for the development of globalization as a discourse.

Albrow (1996) prefers to use the term 'globality' as globalization refers to a process of change. For him 'globality' is the historical stage following modernity, distinguished by characteristics such as global environmental problems and the revolution in communications. Conversely, Giddens (1991) sees globalization as a tendency within modernity. He argues that it is a 'dialectical' phenomenon, whereby in conditions of high modernity interlinked transformations occur at two poles of a dialectic, the global and the local. Of special interest in his analysis is the transformation of self-identity through processes of globalization. Finally, Featherstone and Lash (1995: 1-24) present a discussion about modernity and globalization as a successor to the modernity/post-modernity debate. In their discussion, they note a shift in social theory from a focus on time to space, in the sense that the changes we are facing are to be understood through the lens of space compression.

The discussion of globalization in human geography follows the same pattern. For geographers, time and space compression, as a result of the development of transportation and communication, is responsible for the shrinking of the world (Allen and Hamnett, 1995: 1-10). In communication studies special emphasis is given to the consequences of the communication revolution and its relevance to the phenomenon of globalization (Mowlana, 1986; Thompson, 1995).

It is in international relations, political science and economics, where the focus of analysis centres on the role of the state. Some see it as the withering away of the state and as a new form in the organisation of human society (e.g. Held, 1991, 1996).

The existence of common problems (Cleveland, 1990; McKinlay and Little, 1986) forces governments to co-operate and this results in the internationalisation of decision-making and the necessity for a 'cosmopolitan governance', capable of

solving common problems in a global spectrum (Held, 1991, 1996). In opposition to this approach, are the sceptics, who claim that there is nothing new in the process and that the state is not withering away (e.g. Hirst and Thompson, 1996 and Harman, 1996). Their arguments are mainly economically driven and they note that the world economy is not globalized to the extent that some assert, since the number of transnational corporations is not as great as suggested and most trade still takes place between industrial states. Among the sceptics, one can find writers (e.g. Anderson, 1995: 65-106) arguing that we are facing a phenomenon of regionalisation and not of globalization. This is discussed in more detail later in the chapter. Somewhere in the middle stand writers such as Cerny (1996,1997 and 1998) who claim that the state isn't withering away, but its functions and structures are changing in a more globalized world.

This third wave approach to globalization is more sophisticated and allows for an in depth analysis of the phenomena found under this multi-dimensional term. Globalization is seen as a multifaceted process that is both material and ideational. Third wave writers deny the irreversibility of globalization and describe it as a developing process where a number of governmental and non-governmental agents participate and have important roles to play (Higgott, 1999: 23-24). This kind of approach requires two changes in the analysis of globalization. Firstly, the state should be analysed as an agent of equal importance to others, adapting to globalization and at the same time influencing the process. Secondly, no special emphasis should be given to economic globalization but it should be studied as a multidimensional concept where political, economic and cultural factors have a significant role to play (Hay and Marsh, 1999: 9). In short, there is a call to distance ourselves from the structuralism of the globalization thesis (Dearlove, 2000) and to disaggregate it into its elements.

The main question that arises out of these observations is linked to the general discussion of structure and agency and this is whether globalization may be considered a process, a structure or a discourse. Globalization is very often described as a process. For example it has been defined as "*a process (or set of processes) that embodies a transformation in the spatial organisation of social relations and transactions, generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and power*" (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton, 1999: 483). Although, defining globalization as a process can be convenient because a process is

something very general which doesn't limit what can be included within it, it can also be problematic. A process is something abstract that doesn't necessarily explain who or what is responsible for it. This is what has led most of the literature on globalization down a structuralist pathway where processes occur without agents (Hay, 2000).

Globalization can be partially described as a structure. If this is so we should refer to the structure and agency relationship in order to analyse globalization. Depending on the situation, structure and agency are elements in a dialectical relationship either in a duality or a dualism. This means that in order to properly analyse the structural manifestations of globalization we also need to look at the relevant agents. An example of globalization as a structure is that of the European Union (EU). If the EU is to be analysed as a structural trend in globalization both the structures (e.g. institutions) and the agents (e.g. states, pressure groups) involved and their relationship should be studied. Wincott (1999) correctly argues that globalization is not a useful term in any attempt to understand European integration unless we analyse the particular links of cause and effect, and focus on both the structures and agents involved.

Globalization can also be the environment within which structures and agents interact or in other terms a discourse which directs and is being directed by the various agents involved in public policy. Globalization has been described as "a way of thinking about the world" (Kofman and Youngs, 1996: 1) or as "global consciousness" (Robertson, 1992: 183) or as a "discursive formation" in Foucault's terminology (Gill, 1995: 400). The above descriptions of globalization seem to be right but they need to be linked to the structure and agency discussion in order to improve our explanatory capability in relation to social reality. Hay (2000) notices that apart from the structure and agency discussion, there is the ideational/ material pair which tends to be seen as distinct but he argues that the two should be linked. For him the two pairs are interwoven. If we take this argument further, we could say that the discursive dimension of globalization is part of the ideational sphere which could be further analysed as part of the belief systems in which the agents operate. Of course the structural and the ideational dimensions of globalization exist in a dialectical relationship which means that the agents are being influenced by the discourse of globalization but at the same time they are responsible for any movement towards a more globalized environment. In this respect, Rosamond's (1999: 659)

remark that it is not correct to say elites are using globalization as a rhetoric is important because such a view will imply that there is no interaction between the environment and the ideas of the agents. This is why it needs to be broken down into parts and explored with reference to the structure and agency issue.

A note should be made that the terms globalization, internationalisation and transnationalisation are often used interchangeably within the literature. Internationalisation can be used in the same way as globalization, but it can also refer to a previous 'stage' of globalization. Hirst and Thompson (Hirst and Thompson, 1996; Hirst, 1997) argue that the economy is highly internationalised, but not globalized. Gummert, in the introduction to his edited volume *Globalization and Public Policy* (1996: 4), claims that "authors (in this volume) use whichever term seems more appropriate in their context". Transnationalisation is also an elusive concept. McGrew (1992), for example, asserts that "transnational relations describe those networks, associations or interactions, which cut across national societies, creating linkages between individuals, groups, organizations and communities within different nation-states" and he differentiates them from transgovernmental relations which "refer to those networks of direct contacts between departments within different national governments, that are not under complete central control".

The borders between different disciplines of the social sciences are loose, so the above discussion generalises the arguments of a few authors in order to give a structured introduction to the broad theme of globalization. What changes in the above approaches is the focus of analysis and the extent to which each approach accepts that globalization is occurring. Globalization is a complex phenomenon with many diverse and often conflicting consequences and this is why it leaves space for such a variety of approaches and interpretations within the social sciences. The definition adopted is that:

Globalization is just a convenient term for the multi-dimensional processes by which the global system is being made. (Axford, 1995: 26)

In the next section the phenomenon of regionalisation is discussed, as an alternative way of comprehending this changing world.

Globalization versus Regionalisation

An alternative way of understanding the way the world is changing is to study it through the lens of 'regionalisation'. Regionalisation has been described as a trend in the international system of nation-states organising themselves into regional blocks such as the EU (Sideri, 1997: 49). Two main approaches to the relationship between globalization and regionalisation can be distinguished within the literature. The first interprets regionalisation as a response to globalization pressures (e.g. Sideri, 1997; Brook, 1995) and the second sees it as an alternative conceptualisation of reality to that of globalization (e.g. Harman, 1996; Hirst and Thompson, 1996).

Sideri (1997: 38-42) argues that the development of regional blocks is a response to the processes of globalization and can be viewed as an attempt by nation-states to control what they cannot control at the national or the global level because of the international nature of the problems which they face. Contemporary problems exist beyond the borders of nations (Cleveland, 1990) and regional integration, which leads to the harmonisation of national policies, is a rational response to this problematic. In the same vein Brook (1995: 113-150) understands regional arrangements as a part of the process of globalization through which states attempt to protect their interests. Brook is critical of such attempts, because they complicate the system even more. His discussion about the complex nature of the system could be partially true, depending on which aspect of it we are studying. It could be argued that regional blocks are accommodating the system by organising common policies towards common problems. In any case, the main point of interest in this approach lies in the argument that regionalisation is interpreted as part of, and also as a response to the pressures of globalization.

The second approach sees regionalisation as an alternative way of understanding reality. Harman (1996: 7-9), from a Marxist perspective, claims that what is actually described as an internationalisation of capital is in fact a regionalisation of capital, as companies usually invest within their own region. He continues:

This picture suggests we might be faced not with global integration but with regional integration within each of the North American, Japanese and European parts of the advanced industrial world. If that were so, the in-word

'globalization' would have to be replaced by the word 'regionalisation' (Harman, 1996: 9).

Hirst and Thompson (1996: 408-442, 1996) make some similar claims about the rhetoric of globalization, but in a less ideologically loaded way. They challenge writers who claim that the international economy is ungovernable (e.g. Ohmae, 1990) and one of the central arguments they employ is that nation-states are developing new forms of governance through trade blocks such as the EU. By combining the discussions on globalization and regionalisation, the concept of Europeanization is discussed in the next section.

The Concept of Europeanization

Europeanization is a term that made its first appearance in the 1990s (e.g. Ladrech, 1994) in order to describe a process different to European integration and to harmonization that are concepts focusing on the domestic adjustment of the member-states to EU obligations. Europeanization is a concept acknowledging the two way process of policy change between the EU and domestic environments (Featherstone, 2001). Attempting to define Europeanization leads to the same level of complexity as does any attempt to define globalization. Europeanization has been defined as "a process by which domestic policy areas become increasingly subject to European policy-making" (Borzel, 1999:574) but it can also be a structure or a discourse as was the case with globalization. The relationship between globalization and Europeanization, following the discussion on globalization and regionalisation, has been described in three different ways within the literature. Europeanization has been seen as a response to processes of globalization (e.g. Leibfried, 2000), as a facilitator of globalization (Rosamond, 1999) or as a process which is not necessarily connected to globalization (Wincott, 1999).

The three different approaches to the relationship between globalization and Europeanization are connected to the three waves of the globalization literature. The idea that Europeanization is a response to or a facilitator of processes of globalization is directly connected to the thesis of the death of the nation state (e.g. Brook, 1995: 113-150). Because the European Union is the most developed regional block, it has been used as an example of an alternative form of governance to the nation-state. Whether Europeanization is seen as a response to, or as a facilitator of globalization

depends upon whether what is described as globalization is understood as a threat or as a positive challenge to existing structures and institutions. The problem with both approaches is that they tend to be structuralist. They provide links between the two phenomena without really analysing the interrelationship between the structures and the agents involved in great detail and the way that this leads to policy change.

Wincott's (1999) view that Europeanization is not necessarily a consequence of globalization is closer to the third wave literature on globalization. His analysis is a critique of the structuralism of globalization theories and of the voluntarism -focus on the agency- of European integration theories. His argument is more compatible with the idea of globalization being a multi-dimensional concept. It also leaves space for a more in depth investigation of whether or not particular aspects of globalization are connected to phenomena considered under the heading Europeanization. Even more importantly, an approach like this avoids presenting European integration as both evidence for and cause of globalization at the same time; an approach that doesn't explain anything. In conclusion, globalization and Europeanization may or may not be phenomena connected to each other. In order to investigate the relationship between them both of them should be seen as multi-dimensional concepts and specific instances and manifestations should be studied under the lens of a structure and agency approach. Concentrating on instances of policy convergence and divergence is suggested to be the way forward.

Policy Convergence and/or Divergence

The question of whether different societies are converging or diverging is not a new one. Contemporary discussion started in the 1960s, at a more normative level rather than as an interpretation of reality, when social scientists (e.g. Tinbergen, 1959) predicted the socio-economic convergence of the USA and the USSR. Galbraith (1972) for instance, argued that the USA and the USSR would eventually converge, because they were both industrial societies in which large corporations had a central position in their system. He continued by asserting that this convergence would allow them to come to an agreement over the control of nuclear weapons (Galbraith, 1972: 394-95). Rostow (1968) predicted that all industrial societies would follow the same stages of economic growth. Here technology is often identified as the engine of convergence (Kerr et al., 1973). The main idea emerging

here, is that we are facing the 'end of ideology' through the industrialisation of society (Bell, 1960). Kerr et al. (1973) describe how processes of industrialisation are leading both to uniformity and to diversity. They provide a list of different causes for diversity and for uniformity, but their main conclusion is that uniformity draws on economic forces which are leading to the 'one best way' identified by technology, and that diversity draws on cultural and political forces. They predict that economic forces will prove to be more powerful and that industrialised societies will eventually converge.

The question of convergence and divergence continued to preoccupy social scientists throughout the 1970s, but the way that the development of social reality was conceptualised was changing. In 1981 Inkeles discussed the extent to which industrial societies were developing common sociocultural systems through the processes of modernisation. He identified forces for convergence and for divergence but he finally concluded that through the diffusion of new technologies and of rational solutions to common social problems industrial societies were converging toward a common social structure. In recent years the discussion of convergence and divergence has reappeared, but the framework has shifted from industrialisation and modernisation to internationalisation and globalization (e.g. Cerny, 1996, Berger and Dore, 1996 and Unger and Van Waarden, 1995).

Before discussing the development of the question of convergence and divergence in the globalization literature, the two terms should be defined. Inkeles (1981: 13) defines convergence as "moving from different positions toward some common point" and divergence as the "movement away from a given point, common or not, to new points further apart than was the case in the original condition" (Inkeles, 1981: 22). His definitions are broad, as is his analysis which looks at five rather distant elements: modes of production, institutional forms, patterns of social relationships, systems of behaviour and systems of political and economic control (Inkeles, 1981: 8). A useful way to specify the research on convergence and divergence is given by Unger and Van Waarden (1995: 4) through a set of questions. The first question is, what is that converges? They distinguish studies on convergence of the social system in general, of segments of society such as the economy and political or legal structures, and of policies. The second question is, what are the causes of convergence? In order to answer this question they examine the relationship between convergence and globalization and then investigate mechanisms

of convergence, such as lesson-drawing. A significant omission from their study is that they don't discuss divergence as a potential feature of globalization, but otherwise their analysis is a useful starting point.

An interesting revival of the question of convergence and divergence, but this time in the globalization framework, is provided by Cerny (1996,1997, 1998). For him convergence and divergence are two different aspects of globalization. He doesn't specify whether the discussion is about convergence/divergence of the whole society or of certain policies only, but it can be assumed that he refers to changes in society in general by focussing mainly on examples of different policies. His central argument is that the welfare state is being transformed into a 'competition state' through the pressures of globalization. This development is not necessarily translated into convergence, as different states respond in divergent ways to the drive for competitiveness. He illustrates his argument through examples of different policies such as changes in trade policies due to international agreements, or through examples of changing aspects of society such as the decay of the idea of community in a more globalized world. His presentation of the subject is very general and can be contrasted to the discussion of industrialisation and modernization as causes of convergence/divergence. Another problem is that he doesn't discuss the mechanisms through which globalization leads to convergence or divergence in 'competition states'.

Berger and Dore (1996) offer a more focused analysis. They consider the internationalisation of the economy as a cause of convergence. Case studies of different aspects of the economy and from different countries are discussed. Berger and Dore (1996) distinguish three pathways through which internationalisation leads to convergence: market forces, the diffusion of best practice among institutions and choices made through international negotiation or coercion. The importance of domestic factors is also stressed (Berger, 1996: 19). The conclusions of this analysis cannot be generalised as they only concern the field of economic policy, which is quite a particularistic part of national policies. Again, the mechanisms of convergence are not extensively discussed.

Unger and Van Waarden (1995: 19-21) provide a more detailed discussion of the mechanisms or channels of convergence within the framework of globalization, but again their analysis is just part of an introduction to a study of convergence in the field of economic policy. They note that international competition and laws

instigated by supranational organisations are reasons for convergence, but also assert that policy-makers are involved in decisions. Their argument is close to Berger and Dore's claim that domestic factors do matter in the process of convergence, but Unger and Van Waarden go further in investigating the actual mechanisms of convergence. They argue that policy-makers have various options and this is why they wish to acquire knowledge. They refer to Bennett's (1991) typology of policy learning and especially to processes of emulation, elite networking and penetration, as channels of convergence (these concepts are discussed further in a following section). They conclude with a call for further research in that field and especially in the distinction between policy learning and emulation. Although these ideas are referred to in the introduction, their case studies, as is clearly stated, concentrate on market forces, imitation and enforcement as mechanisms of convergence.

It can be seen from the above discussion that although the question of convergence and divergence is an old one, little has been done to investigate these phenomena empirically, and even less has been done in the field of public policy. This chapter focuses on policy convergence and divergence as part of the general discussion on convergence/divergence. Policy convergence, and consequently policy divergence, are understood in Bennett's (1991: 215-233) terms, which means that they include a vast spectrum of outcomes, such as convergence of policy goals, policy content, policy instruments, policy outcomes and policy styles. These possible categories of policy convergence or divergence are seen as guidelines and not as an exhaustive list. Empirical research is needed in order to identify what kind of policy convergence or divergence occurs, why it occurs, and what is its significance. The general discussion on globalization and Europeanization as causes of convergence/divergence is not enough by itself. More should be done in the field in relation to the analysis of actual mechanisms of policy convergence/divergence and one pathway to achieve this is to study the relationship between policy transfer and globalization. The next section provides a sketch of that conceptual relationship.

Globalization, Europeanization and Policy Transfer

Policy transfer is a general framework developed by Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) to include concepts such as policy diffusion, emulation, policy learning and lesson drawing. One of the weaknesses in the existing literature on policy transfer is

the lack of an examination of linkages with the globalization discourse, which is due to the parochialism of public policy analysis. Public policy analysis is not usually interested in international comparisons and it often fails to integrate international relations literature.¹ Dolowitz (1998) makes a rather limited attempt to establish and explore this link. He argues that it is necessary to consider policy transfer processes in relation to globalization literature in order to demonstrate the importance of the role of the state within that framework. His first claim, that the globalization literature doesn't discuss the role of the state, is not true. Cerny (1996,1997 and 1998), for example, discusses the economic, political and cultural effects of globalization on the changing structures and functions of the state. But even if there is a necessity for further research on the political dimension of globalization, the linkage with the policy transfer discussion wouldn't necessarily lead to a conclusion about the importance of the state. The actors involved in policy transfer processes are various and can be independent of the state, as is the case for example with knowledge institutions. The importance of the different actors involved in policy transfer is an empirical question and a linkage with the globalization discussion could offer a broader perspective on the problem, but would not necessarily provide a positive answer on the importance of the state.

A shorter but more profound discussion of the link between globalization and policy transfer is provided by Evans and Davies (1999). They argue that the policy transfer approach operates at the meso-level, but in order to develop valid conclusions, it should be linked with questions at the macro and micro levels. For them the question of policy transfer is a question of structure and agency. Policy transfer should therefore be discussed within the broader framework of globalization. Processes of globalization act as a facilitator of policy transfer because they increase the opportunities for policy transfer. At the same time, however, policy transfer facilitates processes of globalization through the creation of structures such as the EU. If globalization and Europeanization are understood as both convergence and

1. An initiative has been launched by the ESRC under the Future Governance Programme to examine the scope for drawing policy lessons from cross-national experience. Certain of these research projects focus on the issues of Europeanization and globalization (for more information visit <http://www.futuregovernance.ac.uk>)

divergence such processes can be empirically investigated through the study of convergence and divergence.

Cerny (1997: 263-274) describes globalization as a complex “process, practice and discourse”, which is responsible for both convergence and divergence. Convergence can be seen, for example, through the manner in which the ‘competition state’ is organised in order to gain advantages in the global economy in areas such as economic and fiscal policy. At the same time, divergence can be observed because not all states react in the same way to pressures of globalization. The way a state competes depends, for example, on its history and its level of economic development. If Unger’s and Van Waarden’s (1995) argument that policy learning is one of the mechanisms through which convergence occurs is expanded, then policy transfer can be seen as one of many mechanisms through which globalization occurs. For example, it can be seen in terms of developing information and communication networks (Cantwell, 1992) or in terms of global economic integration which has led governments to seek common solutions to common problems - such as the ‘new public management’ (Dunleavy, 1994). Thus, policy transfer may be viewed as a consequence of processes of globalization. However, it may also be viewed as a process of globalization itself in that the dissemination of ideas and programmes between countries and between supra-national institutions may be leading to a convergence at the political landscape. It might be argued that such convergent landscapes then provide opportunities for further policy transfers, resulting in a virtuous, or a vicious circle of cause and effect. On the other hand, if negative lessons are drawn (Rose, 1991; 1993; Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996) then non-transfers may conceivably result in policy divergence of the kind identified by Cerny (1997).

In this section, the concepts of globalization and Europeanization were introduced from a multi-disciplinary standpoint, in order to show that these are convenient short hand terms that are used to describe the multi-dimensional processes taking place in the contemporary global system. The concept of regionalisation was discussed as an alternative conceptualisation of this reality. The idea of convergence and divergence as different aspects of the phenomenon of globalization was analysed in order to provide the framework for the link with the policy transfer literature. This section focuses on the study of policy convergence/ divergence as an aspect of globalization and Europeanization through the study of the policy transfer mechanism. The field of public policy is chosen as it is believed that it can offer a

fruitful basis for empirical research. Policy transfer is analysed, as it is a broad framework which, when it is linked to the macro and micro level, can lead to valid conclusions about different but interrelated mechanisms. In summary, the main hypothesis which is derived from this section and subsequently subjected to empirical investigation is that:

Policy transfer represents a mechanism of globalization and Europeanization, leading to convergence/divergence of institutions, policies and paradigms which provide further opportunities for policy transfer to occur.

In order to specify the domain of enquiry and to empirically test the above hypothesis this chapter places a special emphasis on the way knowledge institutions act as agents of policy transfer in a globalized environment. Their role can be better understood through the lens of globalization literature, where transnational relations and the spread of ideas are more broadly discussed. In the next section the meaning and the origins of the term 'policy transfer' and the usefulness of the policy transfer network model are explored further.

The Policy Transfer Process

Policy transfer is a term closely related to and sometimes used interchangeably with terms like policy learning, lesson drawing, diffusion or emulation. To see different interpretations of similar or even identical phenomena can assist in identifying the exact nature of their roots and causes. First, the term policy transfer and related terms are analysed, and then different aspects of the policy transfer process are discussed in order to clarify the scope of the paper. The policy transfer network is finally introduced as a useful heuristic device for the study of the policy transfer process.

Analysing the Concepts

Diffusion seems to be the broader of the above terms. Eyestone (1977: 441) defines it as "any pattern of successive adoptions of a policy innovation". Four elements are involved in a diffusion process: the person or organisation who has the role of the transmitter, the recipient, the item which is diffused and the channel of

diffusion which is the link between the transmitter and the recipient (McAdam and Rucht, 1993: 59). Bennett (1991: 221) distinguishes diffusion from emulation and says that the diffusion literature concentrates on the structural and socio-economic basis of convergence rather than the actual reasons for diffusion which could, for example, be transnational communication. It is doubtful to what extent transnational communications can be considered as other than socio-economic structures, but even more interesting is to see how other authors (Freeman and Tester, 1996) see the structural approach taken by the diffusion approach as its strength when compared to policy learning which places more emphasis on agency. Another criticism of diffusion studies is that they are more concerned with the process rather than the actual transfer and that they attempt to identify a leading country which is followed by others. Additionally, the assumption that common problems lead them to be addressed in the same way by different countries is technologically deterministic (Rose, 1991: 9), which is a quite unidimensional way of interpreting processes of change.

Emulation is another term used in a similar manner within the literature. Bennett (1991: 220-223) claims that emulation is not a synonym for diffusion, because it is not enough simply to see similar policies in different countries. Emulation is one of the possible reasons for policy convergence. To confirm that emulation has taken place we should have: “a clear exemplar (...); evidence of awareness and utilization of policy evidence from that exemplar; a similarity in the goals, content or instruments of public policy” (Bennett, 1991: 223). There is a degree of similarity between the factors which McAdam and Rucht (1993) identify as determinants of whether diffusion has occurred and those that Bennett (1991) identifies in respect of emulation. In both cases there is a search for a transmitter or an exemplar for an item which is transferred, and for clear evidence that the process has occurred. The main difference is that emulation concentrate on the actual process of lesson drawing.

The concept of policy learning does not have a coherent meaning within the literature. It is often linked to the idea of policy change (Bennett and Howlett, 1992; Parsons, 1995). In order to understand policy change, it is not enough to study social pressures; the role of ideas should also be considered (see Hecllo, 1974, reference in Bennett and Howlett, 1992: 276). This is close to Sabatier's and Jenkins-Smith's (1997:10) concept of policy-oriented learning, within their advocacy coalition

framework, which refers to the change of policy objectives arising from new experiences or information. But just as policy learning can be seen as a factor in policy change, it can also provoke policy learning. Rose (1991) argues that dissatisfaction due to changes in the policy environment or in political values leads policy-makers to attempt to find something new through lesson drawing.

Dolowitz and Marsh (1996: 344) in their review article bring all the concepts under the same framework and argue that:

Policy transfer, emulation and lesson-drawing all refer to a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions etc in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions in another time and or place.

They don't use the terms interchangeably. For Dolowitz and Marsh 'Lesson-drawing' only refers to voluntary transfer because although lesson drawing sometimes occurs, the transfer of a policy does not and they use 'policy transfer' when referring to both voluntary and coercive transfers. Another element which grants the Dolowitz and Marsh definition is the intention of the agent of transfer (Rose, 1991; Evans and Davies, 1999). Policy transfer can be both voluntary or coercive, but it is seen as 'an action oriented intentional activity' (Evans and Davies, 1999: 368) and this differentiates it from other unintentional causes of policy convergence. Even if this definition is accepted, we should still be aware of the interrelationship between policy transfer and policy convergence because policy convergence can be the basis for policy transfer and it also can be responsible for the intensity of policy transfer at certain periods of time. Lesson drawing is not necessarily positive. Rose (1991: 19) remarks that if a country is underperforming in comparison with others, then the lesson drawn will be what *not* to do, rather than what *to* do.

As can be seen from the above discussion all of these terms are closely related and refer to different aspects of the same phenomenon. Central to all of them is the knowledge and spread of information and this places the policy transfer literature close to approaches like policy networks which is a link explicitly made by Evans and Davies (1999), to the advocacy coalition framework (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1997), and to epistemic communities (Haas, 1992). Another common perspective is that policy transfer is claimed to constitute one of the causes of policy convergence or policy divergence. The fact that policy transfer occurs is not surprising. What is

interesting is to understand why it occurs and to evaluate the nature of its impact. To see whether policy convergence/divergence is the outcome or the cause of policy transfer or if their relationship is interdependent, and also to examine their relationship with the phenomenon of globalization and Europeanization. In the next section, different aspects of policy transfer are analysed in order to identify the scope of this paper.

The Process of Policy Transfer

Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) have developed a set of questions, which can be used to structure the discussion of the policy transfer process and to identify the focus of this analysis. The first question that they pose refers to the agents of policy transfer. They distinguish between the following categories of agent: 'elected officials; political parties; bureaucrats/civil servants; pressure groups; policy entrepreneurs/experts; and supra-national institutions' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996: 345). Dolowitz and Marsh are aware of the interaction between the agents and they call for further research on the role of policy entrepreneurs/experts and supra-national institutions. Evans and Davies (1999) developed the policy transfer network approach in order to focus on the role of agents and to evaluate their influence in processes of policy transfer. This thesis focuses on the role of knowledge institutions, an agent close to the category of policy entrepreneurs/experts, but different in that the term 'knowledge institutions' refers to organisations with a much more organised presence in the policy arena rather than individuals. The term 'knowledge institutions' is analysed further in the next chapter in order to establish the role of knowledge institutions in policy transfer, their relationship with other actors such as supra-national organisations particularly the EU, political parties and civil servants.

The next issue that Dolowitz and Marsh (1996: 346-349) discuss is why policy transfer occurs. Their approach to the question is rather limited as they concentrate on different types of policy transfer, such as voluntary or coercive transfer, but they don't discuss analytically what leads to such actions. It is at this point that the link with the micro and macro level of analysis and especially with the globalization literature is necessary in order to better understand the reasons for policy transfer (Evans and Davies, 1999). When policy transfer is seen as a mechanism of globalization which leads to policy convergence/divergence, we are closer to answering the question of why policy transfer occurs, but we should still be aware of

the dynamics operating at the micro-level which can cause policy transfer as well. Dolowitz and Marsh (1996: 347-348) identify dissatisfaction with the status quo, and attempt to legitimise decisions already taken, as causes of voluntary transfer. Direct coercive transfer occurs when a country imposes a policy on another country, but it can also happen when a supra-national organisation pushes for the adoption of a certain policy. It is difficult to sustain this argument because states are at least formally free to decide whether they want to be members of a supra-national organisation and they also take part in its decision-making procedures. It could be argued that coercion is indirect, as states are often economically or politically dependent on the supra-national organisations, but this issue will be further evaluated in the case studies analysis. The last category that Dolowitz and Marsh (1996: 348-349) introduce is that of indirect coercive transfer, which occurs due to the interdependence of the international system and the necessity of co-operation to solve common problems. This thesis, with its focus on knowledge institutions as agents of transfer, concentrates on processes of voluntary and indirect coercive transfer.

Dolowitz and Marsh (1996: 349-351) continue by asking ‘what is transferred?’ and they identify seven options: “policy goals; structure and content; policy instruments or administrative techniques; institutions; ideology; ideas, attitudes and concepts; and negative lessons”. To evaluate the nature of the milieu in which these transfers occur and to say which ones are most likely to take place is an empirical question. The transfer of policy goals seems to depend on the transfer of ideology and both seem less likely to occur, as ideological proximity seems to be necessary for the transfer to occur (e.g. Hoberg, 1991 and Wolman, 1992). The question which follows and is closely related to the object of transfer concerns the different degrees of transfer. Dolowitz and Marsh (1996: 351) use Rose’s (1991) range of options: copying, emulation, hybridization, synthesis and inspiration. For Dolowitz and Marsh, hybridization and synthesis are considered to be one category. It is difficult to identify the object and degree of transfer we have until the implementation of the transfer is studied (Grantham, 1996). Prior to this process, the elements which can be established only reveal the intentions of policy-makers, or more general transfers of ideas or ideologies.

Another question which needs to be answered is, where are lessons drawn from (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996: 351-353)? The first possibility is that the search is taking place within the history of the political system. Not everybody agrees that this is a case of policy transfer, for example Evans and Davies (1998) argue that this is a normal action expected of political officials. Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) claim that

lesson-drawing can take place at the sub-national but also at the international level. Evans and Davies (1998) provide a table with 25 possible pathways for policy transfer between the international, national, transnational, regional and local levels, which must be empirically demonstrated. This thesis concentrates on policy transfer in the transnational domain as a potential step for further transfers at the national level. Attention is also paid to the international level and the role of supra-national organisations.

The final question refers to the constraints on policy transfer (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996: 353-354). The main constraints that they identify, are the complexity of the programmes, the influence of past policies, the proximity of the political ideology of the actors involved and the technological structures of the country wishing to adopt the new programme. These constraints are further discussed in the case studies analysis.

In summary, this thesis concentrates on the role of knowledge institutions as agents of policy transfer. It focuses on voluntary or indirect coercive processes of transfer and looks at the transfer of policy at the transnational level in order to explore the influence of knowledge institutions in the development of public policy. In the next section the policy transfer network approach is introduced and contrasted with other models with the aim of establishing a useful framework for the comparative analysis of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer. The Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) series of questions provide a context of analysis of the policy transfer phenomenon but the policy transfer network model (Evans and Davies, 1999) proves to be a more concrete heuristic device for the empirical research of processes of policy transfer.

Knowledge Communities and Processes of Learning

The discussion of the relationship between knowledge, power and public policy change is old and diverse. Gagnon (1990: 1-18), for example, distinguishes three different pathways within the literature. The first discusses the relationship between knowledge and power as part of a rationalistic paradigm, where the state seeking help turns to 'scientists'. The second sees an indirect relationship between knowledge and power, where knowledge is diffused and influences power centres as part of a 'common wisdom'. The third understands knowledge and power as organically related and tries to explain the emergence of other power centres such as knowledge institutions. A variety of approaches describing networks where possessors of

knowledge participate have been developed. The most relevant models are presented here in order to assess on the utility of the policy transfer network approach. Networks, when formal and able to take decisions can be either described as structures or agents, depending on where they stand in the system of concentric circles. Informal networks are better understood as the environment within which structures and agents interact.

Epistemic Communities

One of the most interesting approaches is that of epistemic communities.

Epistemic communities are:

Networks of specialists with a common world view about cause and effect relationships which relate to their domain of expertise, and common political values about the type of policies to which they should be applied (Haas, 1989: 16).

What brings these specialists together is their belief that a particular form of knowledge can be applicable to policy development. Policymakers turn to experts because of the increasing conditions of uncertainty that they have to face. It is possible that policymakers will only use the knowledge that legitimises their decisions, but Haas also (1992: 16) argues that it is probable that epistemic communities will at some point influence policy makers by providing them with alternatives. The primary resource of epistemic communities is their possession of scientific knowledge. Think tanks are described by Haas (1992) as a 'key location' for epistemic communities.

What is of greatest interest in our discussion of policy transfer is the role of epistemic communities in policy diffusion. Adler and Haas (1992) claim that epistemic communities diffuse their advice from within their national borders through interaction with other specialists during conferences or via publications. When epistemic communities are transnational they are expected to produce convergence of policy preferences through the diffusion of knowledge. Further, Adler and Haas argue that if the diffusion is translated into learning it can mean either the adoption of new practices or new goals. Think tanks play an important role in this process of diffusion as providers of the fora in which the interaction between experts and policy-makers takes place and they can be established by epistemic communities in order to play this role (Stone, 1996: 94-103).

The epistemic community is one of the frameworks which can be used in order to understand the role of agents such as knowledge institutions in the mechanism of policy learning which can lead to convergence between different structures. The problem with the notion of epistemic communities is that it concentrates on knowledge elites which possess scientific expertise, while it is possible to have other kind of agents, for example groups without any kind of special knowledge representing oppressed people, interacting within the same framework. Furthermore, when notions such as epistemic communities are used as explanatory models, one should be aware of counterfactuals which are not related to knowledge, but are still important reasons for convergence, for example the structural power of financial sector markets. Finally, the epistemic communities framework doesn't provide us with an explanation of situations where policy divergence occurs instead of policy convergence.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework

Another framework central to this discussion is the advocacy coalition framework (ACF). It has been developed as an alternative to the policy cycle approach and to the policy networks model, although its analysis is similar to the latter (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1997). Its main contribution is that it tries to explain policy change, not purely as a product of social pressures, but as a process whereby the ideas and beliefs of different agents, active at multiple levels, play a central role (Hann, 1995). An advocacy coalition is defined as:

People from a variety of positions (elected and agency officials, interest groups leaders, researchers) who share a particular belief system - i.e. a set of basic values, causal assumptions and problem perceptions- and who show a non trivial degree of coordinated activity over time (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1997).

There are two main differences between the ACF and the epistemic communities approach. The first is that members of a coalition are not only people who possess scientific knowledge, as in the case of epistemic communities, but also people from diverse societal positions and backgrounds. Consequently, advocacy coalitions are more value-based and epistemic communities are more knowledge-based (Dudley and Richardson, 1996: 69). This can be viewed as less important if we consider knowledge to be subjective and often value-driven, but in this case it is still significant as it determines the nature of the 'glue' that bonds the members of the

coalition or epistemic community. In the ACF common belief systems bind members of a coalition together. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith propose that the belief system underpinning each coalition is organised in a three level hierarchical structure. The first level is that of 'deep-core' beliefs, which are 'basic ontological and normative beliefs', concerning general questions about life which remain unchangeable in all policy areas. The next level is that of 'policy-core' beliefs, which are 'basic normative commitments and causal perceptions across a policy domain' and they constitute the 'glue' of the coalition. Finally, the 'secondary aspects' of a belief system consists in more specific suggestions about policies. The level which is most resistant to change is that of 'deep-core' beliefs. Actors take part in the policy process in order to translate their belief systems into policies. Through that process conflicting strategies proposed by different coalitions appear and they are mediated by another group of actors, the 'policy brokers' (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1997: 7-8). Although the members of an advocacy coalition, as well as the members of an epistemic community are part of the same interest structure and have a common belief about the way policy change should occur, there is a hierarchy of power which is determined by the relevance of their resources to government. For the members of an epistemic community the common resource is knowledge, whereas in an advocacy coalition the resources members possess are diverse but interlinked, depending on the background of the members involved.

In the ACF, one of the main causes of policy change is policy-oriented learning. The members of a coalition desire to understand the world better through policy-oriented learning, but at the same time they tend to resist deliberating on information that suggests that their deep or policy core beliefs are invalid. Therefore, policy oriented learning is expected to be able to change the secondary aspects but not the core beliefs of a coalition. However, this can happen due to important changes in external environmental conditions (e.g. outbreak of a war). At the same time, 'across-coalition learning' can occur as part of the policy-oriented learning process. This learning process between coalitions is facilitated through the existence of successful fora, where the exchange of ideas takes place (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1997: 10-35). Again, think tanks play a significant role as providers of the fora.

Epistemic communities and advocacy coalitions are closely related concepts. The similarity to the epistemic communities approach lies in the emphasis which is placed on the role of ideas and learning as central factors in policy change. A problem with the advocacy coalition approach is that it has not yet been adequately tested. Furthermore, most of the cases that have been studied are American and

limited to specific policy areas such as the environment. This raises questions about the ethnocentric nature of the approach and about the possibility of verifying the ACF's hypotheses in a general context. Moreover, as yet there haven't been any attempts to study and explain cases where learning doesn't occur. Finally, the model sometimes becomes so detailed, that it seems to try to describe the process of policy change, rather than explain it. What can be drawn from both of these approaches is the importance of knowledge institutions as providers of a forum where policy learning and diffusion takes place. This conclusion should be considered at the macro-level if policy change and policy convergence are to be explained. Policy convergence, nevertheless, may be one of the factors which facilitates the creation of the fora where the above phenomena take place. A framework that can be seen as particularly useful in understanding the role of knowledge institutions in a policy transfer process is the policy transfer network approach (Evans and Davies, 1999).

Policy Transfer Network

Policy transfer networks are an ad hoc, action oriented phenomena set up with the specific intention of engineering policy change (Evans and Davies, 1999).

The concept was developed in order to make better sense of the process of policy transfer and the role of agents of transfer. In order to do this, Evans and Davies linked the policy network approach, especially Marsh and Rhodes's (1992) idea of a policy community, to the notion of epistemic communities, and to the policy transfer phenomenon. The main difference between a policy transfer network and a policy community is that the first is an ad hoc, action oriented phenomenon, the latter is a relatively durable decision structure that occupies a permanent position within a particular policy arena. The membership of a policy transfer network is closer to that of an advocacy coalition, as the members of a network are diverse, and do not purely possess scientific knowledge, as in the case of epistemic communities. In this section the role of knowledge institutions in a policy transfer network is discussed as it appears a useful 'heuristic' model, which is empirically tested through the case study.

Evans and Davies (1999) provide an illustrative sequence of stages for a voluntary policy transfer process and a further model, with slight differences, for a coercive transfer. The first stage includes the *recognition* of the existence of a problem in a particular policy area, which requires a prompt response in terms of policy change. There are many reasons why a public organisation engages in policy transfer. These can include problems or dissatisfaction with existing policies or

programmes, cyclical events such as elections, political conflict, fear of being left behind or to legitimate conclusions already reached, among others (see Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000 and Evans and Davies, 1999: 377). The role of knowledge institutions in the recognition stage can be significant if they manage to influence the way in which the problem is defined and persuade decision makers of the necessity to act.

The next putative step for the key agents is to *search* for new ideas which will happen if they feel that the existing ideas are not satisfactory. In a process of coercive transfer the main difference is that the agents who try to impose the transfer, for example a government or the EU, play a very active role in these first stages (Evans and Davies, 1999: 377). The search activity is considered to be central in the policy transfer process and it is very closely related to the next stage which is the *contact* stage (Evans and Davies, 1999: 377). Knowledge institutions can become potential agents of transfer in the policy transfer process at this stage as they possess, or believe they possess, knowledge resources and contacts with the knowledge elites (Stone, 1996: 14-16) which policy-makers are looking for. Think tanks, in their attempt to demonstrate their knowledge resources, may present their information resources through an *information feeder network*, as the fourth stage suggests (Evans and Davies, 1999: 378). If the client is satisfied with the political and technical expertise of the knowledge institution a process of cognition and reception will follow that will ultimately lead to the emergence of a policy transfer network, and this is the *cognition, reception and emergence of the policy transfer network*. The entrance of the knowledge institution into the network doesn't depend so much on its innovative ideas, but more upon its sharing of a common value system with the client. This obviously depends on the case we are looking at. Innovation may be more important in certain context (Evans and Davies, 1999: 378). In the next putative stage, the knowledge institutions will have to provide detailed information about possible transfers. It is here that knowledge institutions will act as safe-keepers to the policy agenda and filter out ideas and programmes that are not compatible with the value system of the network (Evans and Davies, 1999: 378).

The following stage of *interaction* is of particular importance in the case of an agent of transfer such as a knowledge institution: the knowledge institution will organise forums for the exchange of ideas between the relevant actors in the form of conferences, seminars etc. After this stage, the *evaluation* process will start and the objects, degree and prerequisites of the transfer will be decided (Evans and Davies, 1999: 379). The final *decision* on the transfer all depends on the machinations of the policy process as it enters the policy stream (Wolman, 1992). In order to occur it has

to gain the acceptance of political elites (Evans and Davies, 1999: 379). The role of the knowledge institution at this stage is expected to be rather limited, as they would already have lobbied policymakers on the value of their proposals in all the previous stages. The final decision will be made by politicians or bureaucrats. Finally, in order to have a complete study of the policy transfer, the implementation and impact of the adopted policies or programmes should be considered (Evans and Davies, 1999: 379). Even in this final stage of the transfer, knowledge institutions can be significant actors as they can offer their expertise during the establishment and implementation of policies or programmes. The policy transfer network approach thus provides a more exact framework for mapping the process of policy transfer and the role of knowledge institutions within it.

Although this is the case, some of the limitations of the policy transfer network should be taken into account. Three main criticisms can be made. Firstly, the policy transfer network is a new approach and thus far only a few empirical studies have used it and tested it. In this respect this thesis makes an additional contribution to the existing literature. Secondly, for the policy transfer network approach to be effectively used, exceptional access to the policy process is required. This can cause methodological problems related to data collection as it may prove impossible to capture the policy process. Finally, the fact that the policy transfer network is a heuristic device means that the researcher is led to search specific analytical questions. This can mean that the researcher runs the risk of ignoring other aspects of policy analysis. However, this thesis deploys the policy transfer network approach in a particular way. It is used as a comparative framework through which a set of organising categories are used as indices of comparison.

To summarise, in this section different frameworks which place ideas and their transfer at the centre of their analysis of policy change were compared (see Box 3.1). Then, the policy transfer network concept was chosen as the framework which provides a more rigorous account of the role of knowledge institutions in the policy transfer process. This approach will be empirically tested in the ensuing chapters. Thus, the main hypothesis which derives from this section is that:

Knowledge institutions are key agents for the dissemination of ideas thus of policy transfer in the international domain. The 'policy transfer network' conception is a useful heuristic framework for analysing the role of knowledge institutions as agents of policy transfer.

Box 3.1: Comparison of Epistemic Community, Advocacy Coalition and Policy Transfer Network Frameworks

	<i>Epistemic Communities</i>	<i>Advocacy Coalition</i>	<i>Policy Transfer Network</i>
<i>Membership</i>	Specialists	People from a variety of positions	People from a variety of positions
<i>Cohesive factor</i>	Common world view (emphasis on knowledge)	Common belief system (emphasis on values)	A common interest in policy change
<i>Permanency</i>	Permanent or Ad hoc	Permanent	Ad hoc
<i>Resource</i>	Scientific Knowledge	Knowledge from a broad range of perspectives	Broad expertise
<i>Raison d' être</i>	Policy change	Policy change	Policy change
<i>Mechanism</i>	Policy diffusion	Policy-oriented learning	Policy transfer

In Conclusion

In this chapter, the concepts of globalization and Europeanization have been analysed and have been related to the structure and agency framework. Links have been made to the phenomena of policy convergence and divergence as well as to the mechanism of policy transfer. Two main arguments have been advanced. Firstly, policy transfer represents a mechanism of globalization and Europeanization, leading to convergence/divergence of institutions, policies and paradigms which provide further opportunities for policy transfer to occur. Secondly, knowledge institutions are key agents for the dissemination of ideas thus of policy transfer in the international domain. The 'policy transfer network' concept was chosen as the most appropriate framework for organising the analysis of knowledge institutions as agents of policy transfer.

The next chapter focuses on the micro-level of analysis with an emphasis on evaluating the third sector and the nature and role of knowledge institutions; the main agents under study. Firstly, the nature of the third sector is evaluated and the myths

related to this sector are identified. Knowledge institutions are defined and a two-dimensional typology of knowledge institutions is then proposed.

A Summary to Part One - A ‘Structure and Agent’ Approach: the Case of Globalization, Policy Transfer and Knowledge Institutions

The purpose of this section is to link the theoretical propositions outlined in the previous chapters to the specific research questions that this thesis seeks to address empirically. This research project explores policy transfer as a facilitator to processes of globalization and evaluates the role of knowledge institutions in this process. How and why does a structure and agent approach help us in this form of research? The first proposition claims that it is necessary to classify the different entities involved as structures or agents. This is an important first step in order to make sense of the further theoretical propositions on the structure and

agent relationship. More specifically, processes of globalization, which are central phenomena in this research project, can be seen as a structure which also has elements of what was described as the 'environment' in which structures and agents act. The problem here of course is that globalization is a multi-dimensional concept, so some of its manifestations such as international organisations can be clearly conceptualised as structures, but others such as global consciousness can be described as part of the 'environment'. For example, in many of the interviews that have been conducted for this project, globalization has been described as a set of universal values such as democratisation and the protection of human rights that are promoted globally. The role of knowledge institutions within this process presents further problems. Knowledge institutions can be seen as agents able to make their own decisions. Of course, things are not always as clear as this because we often come across formal or informal networks that can either act as collective agents responding to structures such as the state, or as structures from the point of view of the agents involved in them. Policy transfer networks are described as agents or as structures if they are formal and they can make some kind of decisions. If a policy transfer network is completely loose and informal it can only be described as part of the 'environment'.

The second proposition that has to be explored is to establish whether the structures and agents involved exist in a duality or a dualism. There are many relationships involved here and it is often the case that these relationships have different dimensions depending on the position from which we look at them. A related phenomenon to this issue for my research is that of policy transfer. Policy transfer is a process through which structure and agents relate to each other. For example, in one of the case studies discussed later on in the thesis, the International Dialogues Foundation (IDF) is defined as a knowledge institution that promotes the transfer of youth unemployment policies from Holland to Arab-Mediterranean countries. This can also be described as a process of globalization so it can be argued that this knowledge institution and processes of globalization are involved in a relationship of duality and policy transfer is a plausible process through which they are connected. Policy transfer can also be seen as the process through which the structure and agent praxis relates to the environment of globalization. So, it could be argued that the IDF is involved in a process of policy transfer because it functions in a globalized environment. Searching for dualisms in the relationship between knowledge institutions and globalization

brings to the fore the issue of whether it is possible for a knowledge institution to distance itself from the pressures of globalization or whether this would signal its disappearance because of the predominant nature of globalization. All of these issues are further explored in the empirical part of the thesis.

The third proposition refers to temporal issues and how structural elaboration at one historical conjuncture influences what happens at a later historical conjuncture. In order to explore this proposition further a longitudinal approach is adopted in the empirical part of the thesis. Moreover, in the theoretical chapters the concepts have been discussed from a historical perspective which means that the process by which these concepts have been used in different periods has been explored. For example the terms 'internationalisation' and 'modernisation' are in many ways a previous incarnation of the term 'globalization'. Hence, in order to understand what globalization refers to these connections have to be analysed. In addition, in the empirical chapters the role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer is studied through time.

The fourth proposition emphasises the existence of macro and micro actors and structures that have respectively limited or more significant influence over time. The direct implication of this proposition for the thesis is to classify the agents and structures involved as either or both micro and macro level actors. For example, in the case study that is concerned with the transfer of youth unemployment policies, the IDF which is the central knowledge institution organising the process of policy transfer, can be classified as a macro-level actor. On the other hand, an organisation that represents Turkish immigrants and only participates in one particular project can be described as a micro-level actor. These observations provide some clues to the nature of the interview sample which needs to be adopted. Hence, more emphasis should be paid to the IDF because it is a more central agent in the process of policy transfer. Finally, an emphasis should be placed on the environment of the structure and agent relationship. In this particular research project the main issue is whether processes of globalization can be described as 'structures' or as 'environmental' forces.

The second part of the thesis begins with a chapter on the methodology employed. A rationale for why qualitative and not quantitative methodology has been used is offered as well as a presentation of the advantages of a comparative case-study methodology over a single case-study approach and a

defence of why techniques such as individual and group interviews, participant observation and documentary analysis have been deployed.

5 Methodology

Introduction

The methodology that a research project deploys is largely determined by ontological and epistemological decisions based on our view of how social phenomena can be analysed and explained. Ontology refers to a view about the nature of social entities. Epistemology concerns our approach on the most appropriate way to understand social phenomena. Different ontological and epistemological decisions lead to different methodologies (Stoker, 1995: 13-14). As Denzin and Lincoln (1994:11) note:

The gendered, multiculturally situated researcher approaches the world with a set of ideas, a framework (theory, ontology) that specifies a set of questions (epistemology) that are then examined (methodology, analysis) in specific ways.

For example, a feminist approach often conforms to a qualitative rather than a quantitative methodology (May, 1997). Even when a qualitative methodology is selected a variety of different methods of data collection and analysis of empirical materials such as surveys, interviews, participant observation or indeed a combination of methods can be used. A conscious range of decisions based on the ontology and epistemology underpinning the research as well as practical issues such as access or time and budget constraints need to be made.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an outline of the methodological decisions made in this thesis and to justify their use when compared with other possible alternatives. The methodological choices discussed in this chapter flow from the critical realist ontological and epistemological bases that were analysed in Chapter 2. This chapter is organised into four sections. Firstly, an overview of the nature of the study and the way its ontological and epistemological choices were formed is provided. A discussion of the adoption of a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach follows in the second section. The third section discusses the value of using the comparative method rather than a single case-study approach. The final section focuses on the different methodological techniques used in the thesis including qualitative interviews, participant observation and primary documentary analysis.

An Overview of the Nature of the Study

The main focus and starting point of this study is to investigate the role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer by using a structure and agency framework. Starting from this, the thesis was designed and a choice was made to combine inductive and deductive methodology. The inductive method attempts to make generalizations and to draw patterns through the analysis of empirical investigation (Stoker, 1995: 14). This is both a more subjective and a more flexible method (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994: 13-14). The deductive method on the other hand, is theory-driven and conclusions are drawn through "a process of conceptual analysis and reflection". The advantage of the deductive method is that it is more logical and scientifically grounded. However, the boundaries between the two methods are not always very strict. My study first develops a theoretical framework and sets out a number of theoretical hypotheses and propositions which are then explored through

empirical analysis. The results of the empirical research feed back to the theoretical propositions in order for some empirical but mainly theoretical conclusions to be made.

The ontological, the epistemological and as a consequence the methodological approach adopted in this thesis is based on the structure and agent dialectical relationship that was described in Chapter Two. In summary, uni-dimensional reductionist approaches such as structuralism and functionalism that place an emphasis upon structure or approaches such as intentionalism that place an emphasis upon agents don't seem to be able to provide an adequate framework for developing a holistic view of the social world (Layder, 1994). Dialectical approaches such as structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) but mainly critical realism (Sztompka, 1993) provide a more rigorous understanding of the power distribution that informs social change. The discussion of the structure and agent problem provides a more reflexive and conscious use of the terms under study. The ontological and epistemological basis of the thesis that has its basis in critical realism has an immediate impact on the methodology deployed in the thesis. The fact that the existence of a reality independent of agents perceptions is accepted means that the methodology adopted should allow for the study of social structures and their historical development; for the study of agent's perceptions of social reality as well as for the study of the environment within which the two interact. Strauss and Corbin's (1994: 282) call for empirical research also informs the methodology that is utilised:

Grounded theory methodology insists that no matter how general - how broad in scope or abstract - the theory, it should be developed in that back – and - forth interplay with data that is so central to this methodology.

Studies of the dialectical relationship between structure and agent don't usually include empirical cases (e.g. Giddens, 1984) because they are often too abstract. This thesis outlines the key theoretical propositions underpinning the structure and agent relationship and then further examines them through the analysis of three case-studies of the role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer. The value of combining conceptual theoretical analysis with micro-level empirical research is that there is more chance of moving towards a more valuable conception of social reality.

Chapter Three of the thesis explored the relationship between globalization, Europeanization and policy transfer. The impact of the decision to combine abstract

theoretical concepts with empirical research is once more apparent. The concepts of globalization and Europeanization are used in a very abstract and often conflicting way within social sciences (see, for example, Held, 1996 and Cerny, 1998). In this thesis, they are seen as process, structure and discourse at the same time. This allows for the disaggregation of these two complex phenomena into their constituent elements and enables the conduct of empirical research. In a similar vein, the theoretical proposition that is drawn in the thesis that policy transfer is a mechanism of globalization and/or Europeanization leading to policy convergence and/or divergence can also be empirically explored especially through the application of the policy transfer network model (Evans and Davies, 1999) that focuses on the policy transfer process itself.

Chapter Four concluded the theoretical part of the thesis and was concerned with knowledge institutions which constitute the main agents under study. As was concluded from the literature review, many different types of knowledge institutions with diverse functions exist in different countries. This finding, led me to the decision to compare the role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer in three different European countries in order to allow for some broader generalisations.

Why a Qualitative and not a Quantitative Methodology?

Quantitative and qualitative methods are two diverse ways of coping with research questions developed in social sciences. Quantitative analysis emphasises quantity and its main research question is “How many of them are there?” (Miller, 1995: 154). Qualitative analysis is mainly interested in the way people interpret the social world (Devine, 1995: 137). The two types of analysis are linked to different paradigms in social sciences (Layder, 1988). In general, however, the quantitative approach is closer to positivism, while qualitative approach is closer to interpretive social science (Neuman, 1991: 45-46). The critical realist paradigm could accommodate a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodology but a qualitative methodology is adopted here for the reasons explained in the following discussion.

As it is expected from the different origins of the two approaches, quantitative and qualitative research differs in a number of important ways. Eight main

differences in approach can be identified:

The Role of the Qualitative Research

Quantitative researchers usually find qualitative research useful as a preparatory stage for the main body of their research. It is seen as a way to create some hypotheses which are then tested through quantitative research. Qualitative researchers think that the qualitative analysis can be used autonomously, in order to understand the actions and motivations of individuals and groups (Bryman, 1988: 94-95).

The Relationship between the Researcher and the Subject

In quantitative research the relationship of the researcher with the subject is very distant or doesn't exist at all. On the contrary, in qualitative research, the researcher has a much more intensive relationship with his/her subject as the main purpose of the research is to see the world through the eyes of the subject (Bryman, 1988: 95-96).

The Researcher's Stance on the Subject

The quantitative researcher is an outsider and tries to stay independent from the subject's world, as a scientific observer. By contrast, the qualitative researcher attempts to be an insider and to be as close as possible in order to understand the world from his or her subject's perspective (Bryman, 1988: 95-97).

The Relationship between Theory, Concepts and Research

Quantitative research, usually takes as a starting point a theory and tries to verify it through the study of the available empirical data. The process is usually causal and deductive. In contrast, qualitative analysis has as its goal to discover the probity of the theory step by step during the process of research. In this case, most of the time the process is inductive. This makes the qualitative research more likely to discover unexpected findings and it is possible that the whole analysis will change

direction. Operational concepts also tend to be different in nature, as in the quantitative approach they have the form of distinct variables and in the qualitative approach the form of themes, motifs, generalisations and taxonomies (Neuman, 1991: 323).

Data Collection

In quantitative research the collection of the data is external to the researcher. He or she uses pre-determined and mostly technological tools. By contrast in qualitative research the researcher has to use himself or herself as an instrument in order to approach and collect the data (Brannen, 1992: 4-5).

The Scope of the Findings

The scope of the findings in quantitative research is more nomothetic when compared with qualitative research, which is more ideographic. The first tries to establish general laws which are expected to function independently of time and space. By contrast, the second often examines a specific case study without an attempt to generalise. Hence, the results of this research refer to a specific place and time (Bryman, 1988: 100-101).

The Image of Social Reality

Quantitative research is seen as more static, as it usually examines some variables in a specific time period, without being interested in the changes and in the linkages between the variables, as in qualitative research. Furthermore, quantitative researchers understand the social reality as independent of the actors as they believe in the existence of an underlying pattern to social reality. In contrast, qualitative researchers see social reality as a process of interaction between actors (Bryman, 1988: 101-103).

The Nature of the Data

Quantitative data somewhat strangely given its capacity for manipulation are

viewed as “hard, rigorous and reliable” and consequently they usually gain more support and hence funding from government and policy makers. Qualitative data are described as more “rich and deep”, as they are able to provide us with more detailed information (Bryman, 1988: 103-104).

Although the differences between the two methods are not always so clear cut, qualitative methodology has been selected as the most appropriate for this study. The most significant reason is that following a critical realist ontology and epistemology social reality is seen as an interaction between structures and agents which means that there are no general, static laws, that can be applied independently of time and place. Some general theoretical propositions can be made in order to form themes, motifs, generalisations and taxonomies and qualitative methodology is seen as the best way forward. Moreover, the influence of grounded theory on the research that seeks to empirically investigate complex theoretical propositions calls for a qualitative methodology. The study of processes of policy transfer, of the interrelationship between structures and agents within these processes, as well as the study of abstract phenomena such as globalization and Europeanization can be best studied through the use of a qualitative methodology.

Comparative Case-Study Methodology

Qualitative research can be pursued in various ways such as experiments, surveys, histories or analysis of archival information. Yin (1994: 1-17) argues that the choice of method depends on the type of the research question, being posed, on the control that the researcher has over the events under study and on whether the research is contemporary or historical. Case-studies are preferred when the researcher tries to find out 'how' and 'why' something happened, when the researcher doesn't have control over the events under study and when the research is contemporary. Experiments are more useful when the researcher can control the events and analysis of archival information is more appropriate for historical research. Surveys have a more quantitative character although they can be combined with case-study analysis. The difference is that case-studies don't represent a sample and so they lead to analytic and not to statistical generalisations (Yin, 1994). This research is contemporary and the author doesn't have control over the events under study and so a case-study methodology is an apparent choice. Moreover, the research

questions underpinning the study concern the way knowledge institutions function within processes of policy transfer, why these processes are successful or not and what the impact of globalization and/or Europeanization has been. Only a case-study methodology can provide in-depth materials for the analysis of these phenomena.

After deciding on the use of case-study methodology, the next stage is to assess what kind of case-studies can provide the most relevant empirical basis for evaluating the research questions. In order to do that it is important to be specific about what a case-study is. Ragin (1992: 9-11) identifies four different approaches to the nature of case-studies:

- *Cases are found:* Cases are empirically real and specific but they are identified during the research process (e.g. Harper, 1992: 139-158).
- *Cases are objects:* Cases are empirically real and there is no need to establish them during the research process because they are general and conventionalised unities such as a nation-state or a family (e.g. Vaughan, 1992: 173-202).
- *Cases are made:* Cases are neither empirical or conventional. They are shaped during the research process (e.g. Wieviorka, 1992: 159-172).
- *Cases are conventions:* Cases are general theoretical constructions that emerge through a theoretical interaction between researchers (e.g. Platt, 1992: 21-52).

This thesis adopts the first type that cases are empirically real but they have to be identified during the research process. In this context, a number of knowledge institutions exist in many different countries but in order for a knowledge institution to become fruitful for case-study analysis, a decision has to be made and a process of policy transfer has to be specified.

The next question to be answered is whether a single case-study or a comparison between various case-studies is going to produce the best findings for the research. The comparative method was intuitively selected as the best way forward. Cochrane and Clarke (1993: 1) assert that it is the study of single countries which requires most justification and not, principally, comparative studies. In same vein, Dogan and Pelassy (1990) discuss two reasons for using the comparative method. The first one is to escape from ethnocentrism and the second one to identify some general causes of social and political phenomena. As Dogan and Pelassy (1990: 8) put it:

Comparison is the engine of knowledge. Because the comprehension of a single case is linked to the understanding of many cases, because we perceive

the particular better in the light of generalities, international comparison increase ten fold the possibility of explaining political phenomena

Roberts (1973: 241-44) describes a number of essential requirements for successful comparative analysis. The first step is to define the problem for which the comparative analysis will provide an answer. The definition of the problem directs us to decide what type of comparison is needed, what data we should select and what level of generalisation is appropriate. In order to proceed to the comparison we should clearly define the key terms and concepts of the problem. The next step is to decide which strategy we will use in order to gather data and which theoretical framework we will select to analyse them. Additionally, it is important to consider which units are to be compared. Usually the comparison is between countries, but it is also possible to compare different areas or political phenomena within the same country. Another possibility is to compare a single country/entity across time (Mackie and Marsh, 1995: 173). More specifically, and independently of the unit of analysis, we can identify three major types of comparative analysis: case studies of individual countries in a comparative perspective; systematic comparison of a limited number of cases; and, global statistical analysis (Mackie and Marsh, 1995: 176-180).

Individual Case Studies

The first method used for comparative analysis, individual case studies, is not necessarily comparative, but can be if a set of conclusions are compared with other conclusions from other case studies, or if they test other theories or hypotheses (Mackie and Marsh, 1995: 177). Lijphart (1971: 691-93) claims that single case studies cannot drive us to valid generalisations, but they can significantly contribute to the establishment of general propositions for further research.

Systematic Comparison of a Limited Number of Cases

In this type of comparison we use a small number of cases, which are analysed in less detail than in individual case studies, but their conclusions are easier to generalise. The dominant question in this type is whether we should use 'most similar' or 'most different' units for our comparison (Mackie and Marsh, 1995: 178-79).

In the 'most similar' approach we choose our units of comparison on the basis that they possess many similar elements and by implication it is easy to highlight the real differences. Researchers can concentrate on these differences in order to investigate their utility as explanatory variables. For example in a 'most similar' approach Pereira (2001: 555-574) compares authoritarian regimes in Latin America because of the similarities of their political history. The main problem of this approach is what Collier (1993: 111) calls the problem of 'overdetermination', which refers to its failure to eliminate rival explanations.

The alternative strategy is the 'most different' approach, where the units chosen have significant differences in their main elements which expose their similarities and hence putative explanatory variables (Roberts, 1973: 246-47). An example of this approach is Gow's and Del Carmen Pardo (1999: 527-550) study of different civil services in Canada and in Mexico, where the key similarities are of great significance.

Global Statistical Analysis

The statistical method is closely related to the comparative method. Lijphart (1971: 684) claims that it is also approximate to the experimentation method, but it is not so strong because it can't handle the control problem so well, as it cannot control the effects of all the variables on the problem. There was an expansion of comparative statistical analysis in the 1960's, due to technological development. This didn't last because of four main problems. First, the wide range of data to be compared meant that the researcher could not reach specific conclusions from such a diverse set of units (Dogan, 1994: 64). Second, the validity of these investigations were questioned on the basis that concepts don't always mean the same thing in different cultures (Sartori, 1994). Third, the cost of this kind of research was high. And finally, comparative historical study displaced the interest in statistical global studies (Mackie and Marsh, 1995: 185-86).

The main goal of this thesis is the exploration of the role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer. In order to gain a variety of results that could lead to some interesting generalisations it was concluded that it would be appropriate to study three knowledge institutions functioning in three different national environments and three different types of policy transfer. A systematic

comparison of a limited number of cases and a 'most different' approach were selected as the best option for my research. As a result, the empirical part of the thesis consists of an inquiry into the influence of three knowledge institutions functioning in three different EU countries and participating in either the transfer of ideas, of programmes or of institutions. Namely, the institutions under study are:

- a Dutch knowledge institution - the International Dialogues Foundation (IDF) - on youth employment policy;
- a German institution - Understandingbus - on employment opportunities for unemployed people in the environmental sector; and,
- a Greek institution - Paremvassi - on the introduction of the Ombudsman in Greek public administration.

The IDF's role during a process of transfer of ideas is discussed in Chapter Six. The IDF's programme on youth employment policy is organized into two parts. The first part focuses on migrant youths within the European Union. The second part focuses on Arab/Mediterranean countries, from where many immigrants to Europe originate. This project commenced in 1994 with a conference organised by the IDF in Istanbul, which brought together organisations from the European Union and from the Arab world to discuss the issue of youth employment. A second conference, sponsored by the European Union, was held in Bonn in March 1998. The purpose of the conference was the presentation, discussion and development of youth employment projects 'to find out under which circumstances these projects could be set up in other participating countries' (IDF, 1998). As a result of the conference, organisations from several countries became determined to adopt policy programmes presented by the IDF at the conference and to lobby their countries for policy change.

The empirical research examines events since the first conference in Istanbul and analyses how far programmes approved at the Bonn conference have been implemented and how influential the IDF has proven to be over the period of the project. Consideration is also given to other influences on the development of youth employment policies in these countries so as to ensure that disproportionate weight is not accorded to the IDF.

The second case-study, discussed in Chapter Seven, concerns the transfer of projects. The role of Understandingbus in the implementation of a project named ECOTRANS is explored. ECOTRANS originated from the research action Headways, sponsored by the European Commission, on employment opportunities

for unemployed people in the environmental sector. ECOTRANS has the task 'to transfer good practice of employment in environment from Denmark to objective 1 regions in Eastern Germany and Greece and to an objective 2 region in South Yorkshire (UK) in an exemplary way' (Understandingbus, 1998). A further goal of ECOTRANS is to draw some general conclusions about the problems faced by transnational policy transfer projects in order to develop a general report on that issue. My study concentrates on the role of Understandingbus, the co-ordinator of this project. This case-study differs from the case of the IDF because it only includes European Union countries and has followed a different methodology. Understandingbus didn't start with the organisation of a conference as the IDF did, but through the publication of a compilation of 26 successful case-studies on employment in the environmental sector.

The role of Paremvassi in the policy transfer of an institution, the introduction of the Ombudsman for public administration in Greece is the subject of Chapter Eight. The institution of the Ombudsman in Greece has drawn on case-studies of a variety of European Ombudsmen and it has started functioning in Greece since 1999.

This study concentrates on the role that Paremvassi played through the utilisation of the knowledge of its members, in order to persuade the government to transfer the Ombudsman institution to Greece (Paremvassi, 1998). This case-study is also different in the sense that it refers to the introduction of a new institution and not to the transfer of policy ideas or policy projects as the other two case-studies do. Additionally, the methodology used to transfer the Ombudsman initiative was different than the previous case-studies because it was based and sustained by the knowledge of Greek academics - members of Paremvassi - of the institution of the Ombudsman in other European countries. Hence, in this case-study the search for lessons started from inside the state and the role of the European Union was more limited. A final interesting point about this case study is that the first person who served as an Ombudsman was Professor Diamandouros, one of the founding members of Paremvassi.

In sum then these cases have been selected for five main reasons:

- all three case-studies concern knowledge institutions that function in a typical way as described in the literature on think-tanks and this should allow for the generation of generalisable knowledge claims;
- the three knowledge institutions under study are situated in three different

European Union countries including Northern and Southern examples;

- the case-studies look at different types of policy transfer such as the transfer of ideas, programmes and institutions;
- the three knowledge institutions have followed different methodologies of policy transfer such as the organisation of conferences and the publication of studies; and,
- the three case-studies were blessed with good access to target organisations and individuals and for other practical reasons (e.g. language issues, help with fieldwork expenses). Good access also gave the researcher the opportunity to attempt reflexivity by sending the case-study findings back to the target organisations (e.g. IDF and Understandingbus) and asking for their feedback in relation to her findings.

The policy transfer network approach (Evans and Davies, 1999) is finally used in order to organise a comparison between the three case-studies. The policy transfer network offers a sequence of stages in the policy transfer process that can be used as a framework for comparing the different structure and agent relationships that develop during diverse processes of policy transfer. The model allows for the systematisation of the comparison and for the identification of similarities and differences between the three case-studies.

Techniques for Data Collection: Individual Interviews, Group Interviews, Participant Observation and Documentary Analysis

A variety of techniques were combined in order to collect the necessary information for my research including individual interviews, group interviews, participant observation and documentary analysis. This was informed by the need for triangulation. Triangulation refers to the use of multiple sources in order to avoid one of the main problems with qualitative research which is that subjective views of social reality are often encountered during the collection of data (Huberman and Miles, 1994: 428-444). In order to schematise a relatively objective picture of social reality a combination of different sources was preferred. The chief way that the above techniques were combined was through fieldwork. The author participated in some of the key events of the knowledge institutions under study at which she had the chance to observe the process of policy transfer, to conduct individual and group

interviews and to gather interesting documents. Moreover, during these key events opportunities arose to develop interpersonal contacts and to organise a second-wave of interviews. The different techniques that were deployed are analysed in the following section.

Documentary Analysis

The fieldwork started with the analysis of primary and secondary documents. Denscombe (1998: 158-171) provides a list of different types of documents used in qualitative research including books and journals, web sites, newspapers and magazines, records, letters and memos, diaries, government publications and official statistics. Most of these types of documents were used during the research process.

Secondary Documentary Analysis

The first type of documents that was consulted included secondary materials. Books and journals were studied and literature reviews were formulated in all three case-studies before the organisation of the fieldwork in order to have a general view of the environment in which the three knowledge institutions function. Web sites, newspaper and magazines as well as government and EU publications were also consulted prior to the fieldwork. The access to all these documents was easy because they are open to the public.

Primary Documentary Analysis

During the fieldwork more documents including personal correspondence and memos, reports and publications from knowledge institutions were collected. The access to data was easy in both knowledge institutions and governmental levels because the policy areas under study were not sensitive. The credibility of the sources is seen as relatively high because documents were collected from multiple sources such as governments, the EU, knowledge institutions and client organisations.

Individual Interviews

The second technique that was used for the collection of data was qualitative interviewing. The interviews that were conducted included elites but also less privileged members of the societies under study. The choice of the interviewees was based on a purposive rather than on a random sample as is the case in quantitative research. A purposive sample is conceptually driven and doesn't try to be representative. At the same time it is sequential which means that it evolves during the fieldwork rather than being planned in advance (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 27-34). The IDF case-study was conducted after an initial pilot exercise (Ladi, 2000). This meant that a purposive sample of interviewees was already selected. The snowball effect took place and more interviews emerged through interpersonal networking (Richards, 1996: 199-204). The interviews for the Understandingbus and Paremvasi case-studies followed the same pattern. Additionally, various waves of interviews were organised for each of the case-studies in order to identify changes and patterns through time. Following the norm, semi-structured rather than structured questionnaires were used to allow for a more interactive relationship with the interviewees (Richards, 1996: 199-204).¹

The advantages of interviewing described by Richards (1996: 199-204) were present through the study. The interviews helped the author to interpret documents and reports that had already been studied during the documentary analysis stage. The interviews that were conducted with Artur Grossmann and Peter Umbesen, the main writers of the Headways and the Ecotrans reports, during the Understandingbus case-study, are a good example of this technique. Interviews also allowed me to develop a deeper understanding of the personalities involved in decision-making and to explain the outcome of events. Moreover, they provided me with information which was not yet publicly available. An effort was made to eliminate the problems associated with qualitative interviewing (see Richards, 1996: 199-204). For instance, the most striking problem of access that I encountered was during my research about the Ombudsman and concerned the lack of availability of the MPs of the opposition party in Greece because of their tight time-schedules. Fortunately, their positions were clearly stated in the Parliamentary discussions. The reliability of the interviewees can

1. Some examples of the semi-structured questionnaires that were used to guide the interview sample can be found in Appendix 1.

only be assessed in terms of their institutional memory. They all seemed to be able to recall events clearly and this is because most of the interviews took place near to the time of the policy transfer process. The concept of triangulation was always used in order to ensure the reliability of the data. Even when interviewees were asked the same questions in two different sets of time period they tended to give a similar answer. Finally, although power relations played a role during the interviews the necessary information was extracted. For example, in the IDF case-study, when immigrant organisations were interviewed they tended to feel that the author could help them with their difficulties and thus they offered unnecessary information. The challenge was to direct the discussion to the interesting issues for the research that was the process of policy transfer without offending the interviewees.² An opposite example, can be found in the Paremvasi case-study, where MPs often gave very short answers because of lack of time and interest to the research topic and the researcher had to present the questions in a variety of ways in order to gain more detail.³

Group Interviews

In addition to individual interviews a number of group interviews were also conducted for the three case-studies. Frey and Fontana (1993: 20-34) explain that a group can refer to a dyad but also to an assembly of respondents. In this respect, the concept of a group interview refers to a situation when more than one persons are interviewed simultaneously. Most of the group interviews conducted, included two to five participants. The main advantage of group interviews, compared to individual interviews, was that the interaction between the participants could be observed and spontaneous responses and objections could be stimulated (Morgan, 1988: 17-20). Additionally, group interviews allowed for the verification of data that were collected from individual interviews.

Frey and Fontana (1993: 20-34) describe four dimensions of group interviewing which are, the role of the interviewer that can be active or passive, the structure of the

2. For example interview with Ekrem Karadeniz (Amsterdam, 30/6/1998), Chairman of Studenten Unie Nederland (SUN), The Netherlands.

3. For example interview with A. Loverdos, (Athens, 3/10/00), MP of PASOK and Professor at Panteion University of Athens.

questions that can be structured or semi-structured, the purpose of the interview and finally its setting. Firstly, the author's role varied from passive to active participant. For example, in a group interview conducted for the Understandingbus case-study including a variety of Ecotrans partners, the author's role was quite passive because it was very useful to observe the dialogue between the participants. On the other hand, in the interview with the Greek Ombudsman and one of his Assistants, the author's role was more active because of the attempt to direct the discussion to the topics of interest. Secondly, as it was the case with individual interviews, the questionnaires used were semi-structured. Thirdly, the main purpose of the group interviews was to succeed further triangulation. Finally, the setting of the interviews varied depending on the circumstances of the fieldwork. Transcripts of the group interviews were made after the fieldwork was finished as it was also the case with the individual interviews.

Participant Observation

The final method used for the collection of information was participant observation. The author participated in conferences organised by IDF and Understandingbus, where the transfer of ideas or programmes took place and managed to compose interesting field-notes, collect documents and organise interviews. As Denscombe (1998, 139-157) notes, observation proved to be a more direct method of data collection because it didn't only rely on what people said. Participant rather than systematic observation was chosen because the aim was to collect qualitative and not quantitative data. Systematic observation attempts to record frequency of events at a given point in time, duration of events or sample of people when participant observation aims to get an insight into the events. Hence, the nature and purpose of the research led to the use of participant observation.

Three types of participant observation exist: total participation, participation in the normal setting and participation as observer (Denscombe, 1998: 139-157). The nature of observation that was conducted could be classified as participation in the normal setting because only some gatekeepers such as Edu Willemse from IDF or Peter Umbesen from Understandingbus knew the role of the researcher in the first place and allowed unlimited access to the events. The main goal here was to get an 'overall feel' for the situation that would allow the interpretation of documents and

interview transcripts in more depth. Denscombe (1998: 156) discusses the main problems of participant observation which are access, commitment, danger, reliability and representativeness of the data. These disadvantages were to a large extent avoided during the research. Good access to knowledge institutions was ensured at the early stages of the research, the researcher was committed to successful observation and there was no danger involved. The key hazard is the danger of the researcher becoming institutionalised and losing his/her sense of the bigger picture leading to a partial and biased narration. As a result the data collected are not reliable and representative of the reality. This research tried to avoid this problem through its commitment to the method of triangulation.

In Conclusion

In summary, this research attempts to adopt a holistic approach to the process of policy transfer by analysing the macro, meso and micro-levels through the use of a structure and agency framework that emphasises their dialectical relationship from a critical realist approach. A qualitative and comparative methodology is adopted in order to serve the requirement for an in depth analysis of such an approach. Faithful to the principle of triangulation, a number of techniques for data collection such as primary and secondary documentary analysis, individual and group interviews and participant observation are combined.

The following empirical chapters demonstrate the merits of such an approach and allow us to assess alternative methodologies and to propose further avenues for research in the concluding chapter. In particular, Part Two applies the theoretical and methodological propositions developed in Part One. Chapter Six begins with a study of the role of the Dutch knowledge institution, IDF, in the process of transferring policy ideas from the Netherlands to other European and Arab-Mediterranean countries.

Part Two:

Empirical Analysis

6 The Transfer of Policy Ideas: The International Dialogues Foundation and Youth Employment Policy

Introduction

This chapter explores the role of a Dutch knowledge institution, IDF, in the process of transferring youth employment policy projects from the Netherlands to EU and to Arab-Mediterranean countries. Initially the IDF's activities focused on trying to transfer some policy programmes but it ultimately only managed to transfer certain policy ideas. In this respect, this study of a process of policy transfer can be described as a partial failure or partial success. In order to organise, examine and explain the case-study the theoretical propositions presented in the first part of the thesis are used as a framework for analysis.

The chapter is organised into four parts. To begin, the structures and agents involved in the policy transfer process, as well as the discourse within which they act, are identified. A distinction is then made between micro and macro structures and agents in order to explore if macro structures and agents have more influence over time. The history of the IDF and of the other agents and structures involved are also discussed in order to observe how structural elaboration in one time and place has influenced the relationship between structures and agents at another time and place. Finally, by studying the process of policy transfer, the cases when structure and agent exist in a duality and the cases when they exist in a dualism are identified.

Identifying the Discourse Underpinning the Case-Study

The discourse in which the IDF has acted in its attempt to transfer youth employment policy projects is a multi-level one. The first level that is explored in this section is how globalization as a discourse has affected the actions of the EU, of the Dutch government and of IDF in relation to youth employment policy and on Euro-Mediterranean cooperation more generally. The second level concerns Europeanization as a discourse and how it has affected the Dutch government and the IDF in the above policy areas. Finally, the national discourse and in particular consociationalism are discussed in order to provide a coherent understanding of the discourse as a totality. In this section secondary literature but also interviews with the main actors are used in order to explore the nature of their main belief systems.

Globalization, as it was earlier discussed, can be seen as a discourse within which the structures and agents interact. ILO (1996: 1) in its report on World Employment observes that:

A significant strand of opinion perceives globalization as being an uncontrollable wave of economic and technological change that is causing profound dislocation to communities and to the lives of individuals in many parts of the world

So, whether globalization is a reality or not, can be described as a central discourse within which EU, the Dutch government, IDF and other organisations interact. EU documents describing employment and training initiatives often refer to the challenges of competition and to the necessity for the EU to adapt to the changing environment (e.g. DG V, 1996). For example, Cresson (SOCRATES, 1998:1) in her preface for SOCRATES states "... education has a crucial role to play in building a

united and competitive Europe, characterised by internal solidarity and openness to the world". The same principles apply to the EU-Mediterranean agreements. Regional co-operation in face of the 'threat' of globalization is seen as essential (EU, 1997). Finally, the developments in Dutch employment policy have been described as "a successful response to pressures of globalization" (Jones, 1999: 159). The 'Dutch miracle' of creating jobs and of keeping a high level of welfare state is seen as a trial of the European social model under global pressures (Ministry of Social Affairs, 1997). IDF acts within and reproduces this discourse as it is further discussed in the rest of the chapter.

Europeanization is the second level of the discourse within which the structures and agents under consideration in this case-study interact. Apart from the direct implications of the EU directives to the Dutch employment policy, Europeanisation as a discourse has an important role to play. For example, the National Action Plan for Employment (Ministry of Social Affaires, 1998: 3) starts by declaring that the government takes very seriously the discussion and the decisions of the EU. Dutch NGOs are also highly influenced by the Europeanization discourse. The European Cultural Foundation (ECF), for example works for the European cultural cooperation in order to assist further integration between EU members (ECF, 1997: 4-5). IDF is of course functioning within this discourse, by working in line with the ideas of the EU and by bringing in the process of policy transfer lots of European partners.¹

The third level of the discourse, interesting to the case-study is consociationalism which consists the central national discourse in the Netherlands. Lijphart (1968) in *The Politics of Accommodation* argues that the Netherlands is a consociational democracy. He explains that,

...consociational democracy enhances the democratic stability of a plural society... by explicitly recognizing the segments, by giving segmental organisations a vital formal function in the political system, by subsidizing them on a proportional basis and by encouraging segmental political parties through proportional representation, consociational democracy increases the organisational strength of the segments in a plural society (Lijphart, 1984: 11).

This environment promotes dialogue and co-operation between different organisations in the civil society. IDF is part of this interaction and as the chairman

1. Interview with Peter Idenburg, Director of the IDF, Bonn, 14/3/1998.

of its Board explains "... there is a common attitude to listening to each other...".² Within this discourse, IDF organised the policy transfer of youth employment projects. In the next section, the structures and agents involved in the case-study are discussed in more detail.

Identifying the Structures and Agents of the Case-Study

In the theoretical part of the thesis it was argued that it is difficult to define whether an entity is a structure or an agent because it depends on where it stands in a system of concentric circles. In this case-study the fact that we are studying the role of IDF within processes of policy transfer places the IDF at the centre of the concentric circles system. In this section the structures and agents present in the first instance of the case-study are identified and discussed and a distinction is being made between micro and macro entities in order to provide a focus to our analysis.

Identifying the Structures

The European Union as a Macro-Structure

The European Union (EU) is a central structure for our case-study because it constitutes a set of institutions external to the actions of the IDF. In addition it could be argued that the EU is a macro-structure because it plays a very important role during the policy transfer activities of IDF. This means that the EU is expected to have an influential role in the future activities of the IDF for further policy transfer to occur.

The EU, because of its goals of a common market and of increasing the mobility of its workers, was forced to take action in the field of social policy and particularly employment policy at an early stage in its development. The European Social Fund (ESF) was established in 1957 by the Treaty of Rome and is the main structural funding body of the EU. The deterioration in the employment situation, particularly in respect of young people, led the EU to include unemployed people under 25 as a special category in the amendments which were made to the legal

2. Interview with Dick De Zeeuw, Chairman of the Board of the IDF, Amsterdam, 29/6/1998.

framework of the ESF in 1977. The emphasis of the ESF upon the problem of youth unemployment increased in 1982 when 42 per cent of its beneficiaries were given to programmes for young people, and again in 1984 when 75 per cent of its funds were given for that purpose. The priorities of the Fund were vocational training and the support of the poorest regions of the EU. The adoption of the Single European Act in 1987 instigated a new approach to the problem. There were five objectives of which Objective 3 concerned the long-term unemployed, and Objective 4 unemployed young people. In 1993 the White Paper, which was adopted by the European Council, further targeted young unemployed people together with the problem of social exclusion. For the period 1994-1999 Objectives 3 and 4 were amalgamated into Objective 3 which also included the promotion of opportunities for the socially excluded (EU, March 1998).

In 1994 the new employment Initiative was approved. It is composed of four main strands, which are 'Horizon', 'NOW', 'Youthstart' and 'Integra'. The projects which apply for funding have to fulfil three main criteria; innovation, transnationality and multiple effect: "The objective of transnationality is to facilitate the transfer of expertise and dissemination of good practice between the Member States." (Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment, 1998). Of special interest for this case study is 'Youthstart' which funds projects focusing on the integration of young disadvantaged people into the labour market and 'Integra' which specialises in employment problems faced by immigrants, refugees and other people at risk of exclusion (Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment, 1998). Also of potential interest is the 'Leonardo da Vinci' programme which focuses on vocational training policy; its aim is to enable young people to take advantage of technological changes (DG V, April 1997). This programme is discussed further in the case-study as it constituted one of the potential sponsors for the implementation of the results of the conference in Bonn. The Amsterdam Treaty and the Commission's guidelines that followed it continued emphasising youth. So, it is advised that:

Member States will ensure that every unemployed young person is offered a new start before reaching six months of unemployment in the form of training, retraining, work practice, a job or other employability measures (European Commission, 1997).

Finally, the Commission has announced 'Agenda 2000' which contains its proposals on the topic for the period 2000-2006. The new Objective 3 is not very different

from the previous ones, but it does emphasise the problem of economic and social exclusion resulting from the forthcoming enlargement of the EU (EU, March 1998).

The European Commission has placed special emphasis upon the transnational level of co-operation necessary for facing the problem of youth unemployment. The organisations which are expected to participate in the above programmes are derived from both the public and private sector. Organisations with a potential interest in this issue are of two main types. The first are 'social partners' such as trade unions and employers organisations and the second are NGO's, voluntary organisations and foundations (Social Forum, 19/8/1998). The Commission encourages all of these different organisations to cooperate with other organisations beyond their national borders in order to cope with the problems of unemployment and to learn from each others experiences. As Teague (1999:54) argues, "Europe learning from Europe" is the best way to characterise the new social policy in the EU.

Another element which is of interest for this case study is EU activity in the Mediterranean region. The EU, since 1991, has adopted a new Mediterranean policy with two central objectives: to develop economic ties between the EU and the Mediterranean region, and to promote co-operation between the Mediterranean countries. The Barcelona Declaration advocated three areas of co-operation: political and security co-operation; economic and financial co-operation; and social, cultural and human co-operation with a goal of a regional Free Trade Zone in 2010 (European Commission, 1999). One new approach which the EU is adopting is the promotion of 'Horizontal Cooperation' between different institutions in EU Member States and those of the Mediterranean Countries in a variety of domains. Of particular interest is 'MED-Campus', a programme concerning cooperation between universities in order to develop human resources in the Mediterranean countries, and 'MED-Migration' which concerns the creation of trans-Mediterranean networks among local communities and organisations involving immigrants (EU, 1998).

The Dutch Structures

The Netherlands have been described as the prototype of consociational democracy in Europe (Rokkan, 1975). Geographically, it has always been an important trading area. It has a long tradition of 'mixed religion' and of pluralist values and its political system is a clear example of a multi-party system. Industrialization in the Netherlands came late and urbanization has been a gradual

process (Daalder, 1981). The deep religious and class divisions that can be observed in the Netherlands instead of bringing antagonism as could be expected, have brought consensus and co-operation (Lijphart, 1968). There are two macro-structures important to the case study, in the Netherlands: Dutch civil society and the Dutch government which are sets of institutions external to IDF with an important role at the time of the policy transfer.

a) The Dutch Civil Society as a Macro-Structure

The development of civil society in a country is closely linked to the role that knowledge institutions can play. The Netherlands have a tradition of a strong and well-organised civil society that has allowed for the existence of a variety of knowledge institutions. The strength of the Dutch civil society has its roots in the diversity that traditionally characterises the Netherlands and in the co-operative way by which this diversity has been faced. Within this co-operative environment, a number of policy advisory bodies has flourished but little has been written on them.

Third sector organisations have provided the majority of social services in the Netherlands for the last 150 years (Van der Ploeg, 1992: 190). For example, they work for the relief of the poor, they play a vital role in health care and education and they actively participate in economic policy. As a result it is often difficult to distinguish between public and private organisations and it can be argued that the third sector organisations in the Netherlands are neither public nor private but they are an alternative form of organisation that work in both spheres (Aquina, 1992). The Netherlands are not the exception in the development of myths concerning third sector organisations. Indeed, Aquina (1992) argues that they participate in public policy because they are expected to be the most efficient and most flexible type of organisation and they are also expected to have more 'know-how' and experience on a variety of issues.

This friendly environment has facilitated the development of a large number of 'neutral advisory bodies' which have been set up by legislation and are heavily subsidised by the government (Van Gennip, 1998). Additionally, an important role in policy formulation is played by party think-tanks which might be small in terms of staff and budget but they have access to policy makers and governmental funds (Day, 2000). If the Dutch knowledge institutions are compared to the Anglo-American think-tanks, which are the subject of much of the secondary literature, some

similarities and differences can be observed. Firstly, the Dutch institutions have more of a public legal status than the Anglo-American organisations that are mainly private. Secondly, their funding often comes from the government and not from private sources like in the Anglo-American case. As it is discussed in the theoretical part of the thesis, this doesn't mean that the Dutch institutions are more or less independent than the Anglo-American think-tanks. Finally, in both cases party think-tanks are important and there is significant mobility of staff between think-tanks and government. The key difference is that in the US, for example, think-tanks are a place for politicians to start their career and later retire, while in the Netherlands, knowledge institutions are mainly the starting point for their career.

In brief, it can be argued that within a strong Dutch civil society, knowledge institutions have the chance to flourish. They might be different to the Anglo-American prototype of a think-tank but they still play an equally important role in public policy-making. The study of the IDF will provide us with an inside story of the function and role of knowledge institutions in the Netherlands.

b) The Dutch Government as a Macro-Structure: Employment Policy Development

The Netherlands is the only EU country that has halved its unemployment rate between 1983 and 1998 and its annual growth rate in jobs is four times more than the EU average (Hemerijck, 1999: 103). This development has its roots in policy measures that were put forward in 1982 and in 1994. The unemployment rate has fallen from 11 per cent to 6 per cent in approximately 15 years (Jones, 1999: 160). If we look into this success we can note a few more positive elements. The growth in employment in the Netherlands has not been associated with sharp increases in earning inequalities and there has been a massive entry of women and of young people into the labour market. This Dutch success is often described as the 'Dutch miracle'.

However, despite the fact that the overall situation appears satisfactory there is still a large number of long-term unemployed people in Holland, especially amongst unskilled workers and immigrants. A particular characteristic of the labour market in Holland is that a large number of the available jobs are part-time or temporary (Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, January 1997). Policies are developed in accordance with EU guidelines in order to further limit the unemployment rate (Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, 1997). The problem of youth

unemployment is again less severe in comparison with the rest of Europe, but there is still a lot to be done particularly in respect of young immigrants (Van Vlerken, 12/6/1998).

In Holland there are three main pathways which are followed in order to deal with the problem of youth unemployment.³ The first is the decentralisation of policy-making and the use of opportunities for employment generated at a local level (Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, 1998: 14). The idea is that a decentralised policy will limit the distance between the problem and the policy. The second route is named 'a chance for everyone' and it guarantees that "every unemployed youngster will be offered a job before he has been unemployed for more than six months" (Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, 1998: 8). The rationale being to keep the person within the system. The third pathway is to maintain an interdepartmental approach to the problem. There are projects developed on the issue of youth unemployment in the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport, the Ministry of Internal National Affairs and in the Ministry of Justice (Van Vlerken, 12/6/1998). Additionally, there are a number of more general policies treating the problem of unemployment which have a direct impact on the position of young people. There is an attempt to improve opportunities for lifelong learning and improve the quality of the school system in order to reduce drop-out rates. Finally, an attempt is being made to reduce the administrative burdens placed upon business, especially small enterprises, in order to stimulate the establishment of new ones (Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, 1998: 12-15). Social partners are playing an important role during both the decision-making process and the implementation of the above policies. Dutch politics has a very consensual character which facilitates the integration of different perspectives on the policy process (Van Waarden, 1997: 30-31). In addition, bureaucrats seem to be aware of the importance of having close contacts with target groups, of paying attention to scientifically based knowledge and of being innovative by looking at other projects such as 'Youthstart' (Van Vlerken, 12/6/1998).

In conclusion, there are three macro-structures important for the IDF case-study: the EU, Dutch civil society and the Dutch government. All three of them play an equally significant role in the process of policy transfer. Later in the process the

3. Interview with Anja Van Vlerken, Project Subsidies Adviser in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, The Hague, 29/6/1998.

appearance of a micro-structure can also be observed. In the next section the macro and micro agents involved are discussed.

Identifying Agents in the Case-Study

The IDF as a Macro-Agent: Emergence and Development

The IDF, which was established in 1989, is an independent Dutch non-governmental and non-political organisation. It evolved out of the Research Institute for Oppressed People (RIOP) (IDF, February 1998: 1). Peter Idenburg notes that the difference between the two is that the RIOP was more of an action type organisation than the IDF.⁴ The IDF is supported by voluntary advisors and its finances are derived from project-related grants. Its decision-making body is the General Board, which has recently developed an international character by including members from various European and Arab-Mediterranean countries. The Co-ordinating Board is responsible for the formulation and co-ordination of projects in accordance with the General Board's decisions (IDF, 1998). The IDF, claims in its 'Programmes of Activities' (IDF, February 1998:1) that it "tends to promote public awareness of the issues that it focuses on". Its main aim is to facilitate dialogue in order to encourage international relations. Interviews with key members of IDF show that dialogue, especially between European and Arab countries, consists its main belief system. Its key areas of activity include the organisation of conferences and the publication of documents and reports which mainly concern the Israeli-Palestinian question, the position of the Kurds, children in armed conflicts and more generally the dialogue between Islam and the West (IDF, February, 1998: 1).

One of the central programmes of the IDF is 'Common Values-Common Goals' which was launched at a conference on 'Islamic Revival and the West' which took place in 1994 in the Netherlands. The focus of the programme was the development of a dialogue between the Islamic world and the West (Hoff and Mulder, 1994: 99-102). The programme concerns four target groups: women, young people, local governments and interreligious dialogue groups (Van Oosterzee, 1997: 17-19). For each of these target groups conferences and meetings have been

4. Interview with Peter Idenburg, Director of the IDF, Bonn, 14/3/1998.

organised or planned for the future with representatives from both European and Arab countries (Willemse, 1997: 20-21). The other activities of the IDF include programmes such as: 'Kurds in Turkey' involving the organisation of seminars in Turkey aimed at contributing to the dialogue between Turkey and the EU; 'Peace and Justice in Sudan' that involved workshops on Sudan and the production of relevant reports; and, 'Muslim Women Programme: Shared Responsibility' that emerged through the organisation of a seminar in Brussels with 50 immigrant and refugee women in order to research ways of bringing forward the opinions of disadvantaged women and contribute to their empowerment (IDF, February 1998).

This case study concentrates on the projects developed for the youth target group because it provides more concrete information on IDF's attempt to encourage policy transfer. The first European youth conference was held in 1995 and was entitled 'Intercreation: Islamic Youth in Europe'. There were about 60 participants, representing political youth and migrant organisations from the EU and from Mediterranean countries. The conference, which was held in Istanbul, concentrated on general questions about Islamic and Western societies. A common call from the participants was for the next conference to be more practical. Mohammed Rhanimi, a participant in both conferences, described the conference in Bonn as more efficient and practical because of the projects which were presented "which are I think the core of the whole conference".⁵

The IDF's profile conforms, in general, to the criteria Stone (1996: 14-16) sets out in order to identify a think tank. Firstly, the IDF claims to be an independent organisation and has been in existence for nearly ten years. The claim that it is independent is clearly stated in any form of information leaflet that it publishes (e.g. IDF, February 1998), but its truly independent status is arguable. An element of independence is the nature of its funding resources, which include a number of different bodies and institutes such as the EU and the Dutch government, but also apolitical private organisations. The second characteristic, which is very closely related to the first, is that the IDF tries to determine its own research agenda. As the case study demonstrates, the IDF keeps in mind the policies of the EU and of the government, but this does not mean that it is unable to maintain its own research agenda. Edu Willemse, the project co-ordinator of the IDF states: "a) we are

5. Interview with Mohammed Rhanimi, Moroccan Social Work Camps, Bonn, 15/3/1998.

independent and b) we keep in mind the criteria and the policy lines of our donors".⁶ The reason why IDF doesn't find combining a and b difficult, is because its priorities are not very different from the ones of the EU and the Dutch government. The third characteristic is that the IDF tries to inform and to influence, at least indirectly, the policy process. As both Edu Willemse and Peter Idenburg remark, they don't expect to influence policy directly, but they think that policy-makers at least read the IDF's reports and this can provide them with a new perspective on certain issues.⁷ Fourthly, public purpose forms a crucial part of its rhetoric in the sense that dialogue is viewed as the main way to promote public awareness of issues such as Euro-Arab relations. Fifthly, its advisory board consists of a professional elite. An additional resource that IDF possesses is its good network of communications, which is in a sense even more important than the possession of knowledge, because it facilitates the acquisition of knowledge even from outside the organisation. Finally, the IDF acts through publications and conferences.

So, the IDF falls into the definition of a knowledge institution because it is an organisation which is distinct from government, which has as an objective to provide advice on a diverse range of policy issues through the use of elite and cognitive mobilisation. If we apply the two-dimensional typology of knowledge institutions to the IDF according to its main goal it should be classified as an academic organisation. Its predecessor RIOP was more of an ideological institution and this is where the IDF inherited its ideological elements. As far as the second dimension of the typology is concerned the IDF has a specialised policy focus which is the dialogue between Islam and the West. It is a contract organisation because it gets its funding through projects rather than a general funding. It is difficult to distinguish if it is a 'publishing' or a 'do tank' because it is quite active in both areas. It has a centralised focus because it is not interested in any particular region but in the whole of the Netherlands. Finally, its organisation with a General and a Coordination Board responsible for the implementation of decisions and of projects resemble corporate business more than universities.

As the IDF is a knowledge institution it can also be described as a third sector

6. Interview with Edu Willemse, Project Co-ordinator and Co-ordinator of the Bonn Conference, IDF, Leiden, 2/7/1998.

7. Interviews with Edu Willemse, Project Co-ordinator and Co-ordinator of the Bonn Conference, IDF, Leiden, 2/7/1998 and with Peter Idenburg, Director of the IDF, The Hague, 2/7/1998.

organisation which means that it conforms to the myths concerning this type of organisation. The IDF is expected by its donors to be able to experiment⁸ and to have a network of communications.⁹ The extent to which these expectations should be described as myths or as realities is examined through the proceedings of the Bonn conference and the implementation of the results.

The other Macro-Agents

In 1998 the IDF created a Steering Group for the organisation of a Conference in Bonn. The organisations participating in the Steering Group can be described as macro-agents in the first instance because they appear to be the most important agents for the organisation of the policy transfer at the beginning of the process. A brief introduction to these organisations and their belief systems is offered in this section.

Jong Management is the first macro-agent that can be identified. It is a Dutch organisation of young managers and entrepreneurs affiliated to VNO/NCW confederation of industry and employers. It has its roots in the 'Union of Catholic Employers' which was then developed in 'The Christian Young Employers Union'. Although it has Christian roots it declares that it is open to different religions. So, although it starts from a Christian belief system, tolerance of other religions is also one of its values (Jong Management, 1998). As far as processes of Europeanization and globalization are concerned the Secretary of Jong Management explains that although it is important to look internationally for ideas, the solutions are often national and this is where their members also look. Hence, these two terms do not belong to the core belief system of Jong Management.¹⁰ Jong Management has developed a number of projects for unemployed and for immigrants among which is the project 'Start-Up'. The proximity of 'Start-Up' to IDF's agenda and the possibility of transferring it to Egypt with the co-operation of the Alexandria Business Association is what made Jong Management a member of the Steering Committee

8. Interview with Veronie Willemars, Grants Officer of the European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam, 30/6/1998.

9. Interview with Anja Van Vlerken, Project Subsidies Adviser in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, The Hague, 29/6/1998.

10. Interview with Pieter Litjens, Jong Management VNO-NCW, The Hague, 2/7/1998.

and consequently a macro-agent at the beginning of the process.

CNV Youth Organisation is the second member of the Steering Committee and also a macro-agent in the case study. It is a Dutch trade union for young people affiliated to the National Federation of Christian Trade Unions. As its name suggests, its values are Christian and it tries to find solutions to social issues through justice, solidarity and stewardship. Its leaflet states that "CNV contributes to a collectively supported social economic policy" which suggests that one of its deep belief systems is consociationalism (CNV, 1998). CNV is a member of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) and of other international networks. So, CNV realises that it works in a Europeanized/globalized environment but as one of its unit's managers argues, CNV is mainly a national organisation working for the Dutch youngsters.¹¹ This shows that Europeanization and even more so globalization are not such deep belief systems for CNV as consociationalism. CNV became a macro-agent because it is close to IDF's agenda and because the project 'Continue Learning' which deals with migrant youths that drop out from secondary school, could be transferred to other countries.

There are two more members of the Steering Committee that can be described as macro-agents involved at the beginning of the process. The first one is the European Association for Turkish Academics (EATA) which main belief system is that immigrants should integrate into Europe. So, its main aim is to build a bridge between the Turks in Europe and European Societies. Globalization is seen as a positive development which will increase the opportunities for co-operation between different organisations.¹² The other macro-agent is the Youth Organisation of the National Federation of Trade Unions (FNV) which was expected to play an equally important role to CNV. The importance of both of these organisations diminished during the later stages of the process.

The Micro-Agents of the Case-Study

There is a large number of micro-agents involved in this case-study because of the nature of the study. The process of policy transfer is studied right from its

11. Group Interview with Gerrit Van Rumunde, Unit Manager at CNV Youth Organisation and Marieke Gelissen, Project Manager at CNV Youth Organisation, Utrecht, 1/7/1998.

12. Interview with Levent Aykul, EATA, Amsterdam, 30/6/1998.

inception and it involves lots of exchange of ideas which means that many organisations participate in the process. Some of these micro-agents almost disappear during the process and some others develop into macro-agents. Depending on their importance, a selection of these agents is discussed in this section.

Two of the sponsors could be described as micro-agents: the Office for the Implementation of European Subsidy Instruments (BUESI) of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment and the European Cultural Foundation (ECF). What makes these two organisations micro-agents worth studying is that apart from their capacity as potential sponsors, they also showed an active interest by participating in the Conference. BUESI's task is to bring European funding into operation and its focus is on projects for the training of unemployed people (BUESI, May 1996). BUESI didn't fund IDF's proposal for the Bonn Conference because it didn't fit its framework but it can be described as a potential macro-agent for the implementation of the projects decided in Bonn because of the general interest that it showed. Its main belief system is that Europeanization and globalization play a significant role in the development of national policies. Its Grants Officer argues that "the international perspective contributes to a more comprehensive approach of the combat against youth unemployment".¹³ The ECF is a long-term sponsor of the IDF's activities and it is expected to continue playing this role. Its central belief system is that the integrated Europe should be culturally linked but at the same time it should respect similarities and differences. One of the key priorities of the ECF is the Mediterranean region and the co-operation between Arab and European societies (Magriet, Princess of the Netherlands, 1998). As far as processes of globalization are concerned the ECF's Grants Officer explains that it affects the way they work in both a social and cultural way.¹⁴ Hence, it can be argued that the IDF's belief system is closely related to those of BUESI's and ECF's.

From the rest of the participants of the Bonn Conference, two micro-agents showed practical interest in the process of policy transfer. The first one is the German organisation *Zukunftsbau* that has as its aim full social integration and works in the construction industry with young people that are in a difficult position

13. Interview with Anja Van Vlerken, Project Subsidies Adviser in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, The Hague, 29/6/1998.

14 . Interview with Veronie Willemars, Grants Officer of the European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam, 30/6/1998.

(Zukunftsbau, 2000). It is a member of the European Building Sites Association (EBSA) and European co-operation is the most common way for them to work.¹⁵ The second organisation is the Bradford and Northern Housing Association (BNHA) in the UK. They came in contact with the IDF in order to find European partners and to learn from their experiences. One of the main belief systems of their representative is that globalization brings opportunities as well as threats and that we should look outside our own environment in order to improve our capabilities.¹⁶

A number of other micro-agents participated in the first stages of the policy transfer process with a diverse range of belief systems. The first type of micro-agents are immigrants organisations like the Studenten Unie Nederland (SUN) for young Turks and CABO for young people originating from the Capoverdian islands but living in the Netherlands. Organisations like these see globalization as an abstract and distant term and their main interest is to find ways of helping their people.¹⁷ The second type of micro-agents are political youth organisations that generally show an openness to learning from each other and to international co-operation.¹⁸ The last category of micro agents includes organisations from the Arab-Mediterranean countries. The characteristic of these organisations is that they have more general goals than youth unemployment such as the creation of stable democracy (Turkish Democracy Foundation, 1987), a successful response to economic globalization (Alexandria Business Association, ABA) or the strengthening of civil society (Ibn Khaldun Center for Development, 1998). Having discussed the structures and the agents involved the next section looks into their relationships and investigates cases of structural elaboration.

15. Interview with Cornelia Auklat-Boelk, Zukunftsbau, Berlin, 5/7/00.

16. Interview with Ehjaz Gull, BNHA, York, 17/6/00.

17. Interview with Ekrem Karadeniz, Chairman of Studenten Unie Nederland (SUN), Amsterdam, 30/6/1998.

18. Interview with Mirjam van den Ham, Vice-Chairperson of Young Christian Democrats, Utrecht, 1/7/1998.

Studying the Structures and Agents Relationships

The Bonn Conference

The Bonn conference that was organised by the IDF between the 13 and 15 of March 1998, had as its theme 'Employment for Migrant Youth in Europe and Youth in the Emigration Countries' and was presented as the 'Second Open European Youth Parliament' following the first, which was organised in Istanbul.¹⁹ Edu Willemse, who co-ordinated the conference, said that the choice of youth employment as the subject of the conference was made because it became an important theme at the conference in Istanbul.²⁰ The purpose of the conference, as stated in the invitation letter, was that:

Youth employment projects will be presented and discussed in workshops in order to find under which circumstances these projects could also set up in other participating countries.²¹

The conference was organised into two parts, the first part focussed on migrant youth within the EU, and the second on Arab/Mediterranean countries from where many immigrants originate. In summary, the aim of the conference was two fold: to build alliances between the participating organisations and to exchange experience in setting up youth employment projects.

The conference was sponsored by a range of different bodies, but as Edu Willemse notes, 50 per cent of the whole budget was covered by the EU. It is difficult to get funding from Brussels unless the conference activity meets special criteria. Hence,

For strategic reasons we applied to Brussels for DG I, which is the external affairs of the EU. We applied there and stressed very much the importance of the co-operation between Europe and the North African Mediterranean Countries.²²

19. Personal Correspondence with IDF, 29/1/1998.

20. Interview with Edu Willemse, Project Co-ordinator and Co-ordinator of the Bonn Conference, IDF, Bonn, 15/3/1998.

21. Personal Correspondence with IDF, 29/1/1998.

22. Interview with Edu Willemse, Project Co-ordinator and Co-ordinator of the Bonn Conference, IDF, Bonn, 15/3/1998.

The Dutch Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Dutch European Cultural Foundation, the Dutch Commission for Sustainable Development and Cooperation and the Robert Bosch Foundation which is based in Stuttgart, also provided sponsorship. The main reasons for these institutions providing the IDF with funding are that they consider the solving of problem of youth unemployment to be essential and they approve of the IDF's methods which involve interaction between European and Arab-Mediterranean organisations. It is interesting to note that all of the funding bodies have a public character and that they were spread throughout the EU. The Director of the IDF noted that:

One of the reasons why it works is that our ideas are basically in line with the ideas of the policy of the Dutch government and also of the policy of the EU.²³

There was a broad range of participants at the conference. 75 individuals including a Steering Group and 15 Observers. Of the other 60 participants, 39 were from EU countries and 21 from Arab/Mediterranean countries. There was also an interesting mix of participants from different backgrounds, with similar interests and often conflicting opinions, but with a common purpose of improving the position of less privileged youngsters in society. The reasons why a political party or an immigrant organisation would wish to promote such a policy programme differ, but their common goal brings them together. As Edu Willemse argues:

Although they are very different, I think that all of them are in the same line of feeling the responsibility, the shared responsibility, of finding a solution to the problem of migrant youth unemployment, of colleagues in the same age around Europe, to come in a better position.²⁴

Another thing that all the participants share is a belief that dialogue and learning from each others experiences are the only means of finding solutions for problems such as youth unemployment. This was certainly the case with the majority of my interview sample.²⁵ The conference organised six workshops, the aim of which was to prepare draft proposals for new projects based on proposals presented by the co-ordinators of

23. Interview with Peter Idenburg, Director of the IDF, Bonn, 14/3/1998.

24. Interviews with Edu Willemse, Project Co-ordinator and Co-ordinator of the Bonn Conference, IDF, Leiden, 2/7/1998.

25. e.g. Edu Willemse, 2/7/1998; Pieter Litjens, 2/7/1998; Mirjam van den Ham, 1/7/1998; Gerrit van Rumunde and Marieke Gelissen, 1/7/1998; Gijs von der Fuhr, 30/6/1998.

the workshops. A second aim was to build networks by establishing contacts between the participating organisations. The proposed projects have to be organised by a variety of participating countries depending on whether they are European or Euro-Mediterranean projects (IDF, 5 March 1998: 2). The six workshops were:

1) *Continue Learning*

The aim of this project was to encourage the participation of young migrants in the labour market by focussing upon improving educational resources. The model-project was presented by CNV in co-operation with a Dutch migrant organisation, taking as an example a project which had already been implemented in the Netherlands (CNV, 13 March 1998). After a fruitful discussion involving an examination of examples taken from other organisations such as the EATA, an international variation of the project 'Continue Learning' was drawn up and adopted (Workshop I, 15 March 1998).

2) *Start-Up - Migrant Entrepreneurs in Europe*

The 'Start-Up' project was presented by Jong Management VNO-NCW. The goal of the model-project was to offer people from ethnic minority groups assistance in setting up their own business. The project has already been implemented in the Netherlands (Jong Management, undated), and was adopted almost in its entirety from that proposed by Workshop II (Workshop II, 15 March 1998).

3) *Youth Employment Assistance Company*

The model project seeks to train disadvantaged young people in construction skills in order to integrate them into the labour market in the long-term. The project is already operated in Berlin by the organisation Zukunftsbaue and has partners in seven EU member-states. The project gets funding from various EU initiatives, such as 'Youthstart' and 'Leonardo da Vinci' (Zukunftsbaue, 27 October 1997). During the workshop a useful exchange of experiences occurred with major contributions from the representative of the BNHA and also from Moroccan participants. The outcome was the development of a project for the creation of an international consultancy group concerning issues relating to the labour market and social policy (Workshop III, 13 March 1998).

4) *Young Entrepreneurs*

The proposal for this workshop was presented by the Alexandria Business

Association and the Ibn Khaldoun Centre. The proposal was to set up an international training and technical assistance centre in a Mediterranean country with the aim of helping young people who want to start their own business (Sobhy and Artin, 2 February 1998). The proposed project was adopted by the workshop after some amendments and special emphasis was to be given to the international character of the centre (Workshop IV, 15 March 1998).

5) Work for Students and Academics

The model-project was presented by a representative of the Birzeit University in Palestine. The aim was to enable students in Palestine, facing economic or social problems, to continue their studies in higher education by offering them opportunities for part-time jobs or internships during their studies (Dabbah, 26 February 1998). During the workshop a representative of the Islamic University of Gaza also presented a similar project concerning 'employment of academic youth in the Gaza Strip'. A project which integrated the two presentations was adopted and special emphasis was given to the problem of female drop-outs from higher education in Palestine (Workshop V, 15 March 1998).

6) The Bridge Building Function of New Media

Ruediger Liebrecht, representative of an employers organisation in Germany, gave a presentation on the ways in which possibilities offered by the Internet could be used to enhance the implementation of the youth employment projects developed in other workshops (Buijing, 6 January 1998). The workshop decided to establish an information network for organisations in European and Arab countries, including all of the information necessary for the implementation of the rest of the projects. Priority was given to the supply of necessary equipment to poorer countries, such as Morocco, utilising European funding. It was anticipated that an active role will be played by the Dutch MP, O. Cherribi (Workshop VI, 15 March 1998).

The conference closed with a plenary session, under the title 'Second Open European Youth Parliament', where all the projects were presented and commented on by the MEP, Mr. Bartho Pronk, in terms of their EU feasibility. All the participants had the opportunity to ask questions, comment upon, and express their willingness to participate in the projects. The IDF proposed the institutionalisation of the event and the establishment of an international board responsible for the preparation of the projects and of applications for funding from the EU. Another

responsibility would be the organisation of the next conference. The IDF's proposal was unanimously accepted and it was agreed that the IDF should play a central role in the whole process. Another outcome of the conference was the decision to create a European Migrant Youth Organisations Platform, responsible for co-operation between such organisations in Europe and for the co-ordination of their lobbying activities in EU institutions (Migrant Youth Organisations, 14 March 1998).

The conference in Bonn was a multi-dimensional event with various outcomes. The institutionalisation of the event and the creation of a Youth Platform can be described as instances of structural elaboration that emerged from the interaction between the structures and the agents. In the next section the way structural elaboration influenced the relationship between the structures and the agents is studied through the discussion of the first steps towards the implementation of the above projects and the follow-up activities of the conference.

The Aftermath of the Bonn Conference

In this section the data from the fieldwork which I conducted in Holland in July 1998, the meeting in Veldhoven in February 1999 and its corollaries are analysed. This will provide a more complete account of the current situation regarding policy transfer which will allow for the study of the dualities and dualisms that emerged in the structures and agencies relationships during this process.

In Bonn, it was decided that the IDF was going to organise a permanent European youth platform for employment in order to facilitate the communication between the participant organisations and the implementation of the agreed projects. The IDF expected that the emergence of such a platform would promote the exchange of knowledge and experiences and would bring together potential partners in order to develop transnational projects. The organisations which can take part in the platform are youth organisations or organisations involving activities for young people, organisations concerning the promotion of employment and organisations with special experience of youth activities (IDF, May 1998). The IDF expected organisations to contribute to the platform by implementing projects, by sharing their experience, by mobilising political support, and by making the results known (IDF, May 1998). This formula would also allow organisations such as political parties to

participate and to contribute, in their own way, to the platform.²⁶

The IDF established a Steering Committee which included members from EU and Arab-Mediterranean countries that belong to a diverse range of organisations (IDF, May 1998a). The main tasks of the Steering Committee were to keep the network of organisations in contact, to look at the progress of the programmes decided upon for implementation and to organise the third conference for the Autumn of 1999.²⁷ It is interesting to note that although some of the interested parties are very positive about the idea of a permanent platform as they assume that it will assist the continuity of the project and others are quite critical.²⁸ The sponsors were concerned about how this would be differentiated from existing ones.²⁹ All of the participants, however, are aware of the importance of being linked with existing networks³⁰ and of problems such as time pressure resulting from the organisations other activities.³¹

In February 1999 an experts meeting including the Steering Committee and other key members of the Platform took place in Veldhoven. This meeting revealed a different side of the IDF because it took place at a fringe meeting of the annual congress of the Dutch Democratic Party D66 (IDF, February 1999). Edu Willemse in his opening speech emphasised that the IDF was politically independent although this meeting took place under the auspices of a political party and he also stressed the importance of lobbying the EU. New ideas for policies and projects were exchanged during this meeting but there was no evidence of implementation of the projects decided in Bonn nor of strengthening of the Youth Employment Platform. A series of working groups for potential applications to the EU were established by the end of

26. Interview with Mirjam van den Ham, Vice-Chairperson of Young Christian Democrats, Utrecht, 1/7/1998.

27. Interviews with Edu Willemse, Project Co-ordinator and Co-ordinator of the Bonn Conference, IDF, Leiden, 2/7/1998.

28. Interviews with Levent Aykul, EATA, Amsterdam, 30/6/1998 and with Mirjam van den Ham, Vice-Chairperson of Young Christian Democrats, Utrecht, 1/7/1998.

29. Interviews with Anja Van Vlerken, Project Subsidies Adviser in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, The Hague, 29/6/1998 and with Veronie Willemars, Grants Officer of the European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam, 30/6/1998.

30. Interview with Gihns von der Fuhr, Press Officer of the Amsterdam Centre for Foreigners, Amsterdam, 30/6/1998.

31. Interview with Pieter Litjens, Jong Management VNO-NCW, The Hague, 2/7/1998.

the meeting (IDF, 6 February 1999).

The IDF's main aim was the organisation of the Third Open European Parliament in 2000 in order to evaluate the implementation of the agreed projects and to promote further exchange of ideas and projects. Two applications were made to the EU for the organisation of this event but they were both unsuccessful. After the first rejection, the IDF had meetings with EU officials and due to their suggestions it made some minor alterations to its bid.³² Unfortunately, these changes were not enough for the applications to be successful. The final event that led the IDF to decide to postpone its youth activities was that the project co-ordinator, Edu Willemse, left the IDF for a new career.

More specifically, what has happened with the programmes decided upon in Bonn is to follow:

1) *Continue Learning*

CNV, the Dutch trade union which presented this project, took direct action in order to find funding for the implementation of the international variation of the project. They co-operated with Morna from Portugal and EATA from Germany in order to apply to the EU for funding from the 'Leonardo da Vinci' project. Detailed study of the application shows that it may be viewed as very close to the model project presented by CNV. Firstly, the name of the project stays the same to the one CNV was using by just adding the word 'International'. Secondly, the aim of the project remains the same which is to prevent migrant youth from dropping out of their vocational training. Finally, the activities that they suggest to introduce which are informing, supporting and motivating migrant youth are the same to the ones implemented by CNV in the Netherlands (CNV, 1998). The application was not successful so the actual transfer of the project didn't happen but it can be argued that a transfer of ideas certainly took place.

2) *Start-Up - Migrant Entrepreneurs in Europe and Young Entrepreneurs*

These two projects, one formulated by Jong Management and the other by Alexandria Business Association, were combined, but no action has been taken to find funding for their implementation. Pieter Litjens from the Dutch organisation, Jong Management VNO-NCW, argues that cooperation is useful for both Holland

32. Personal Correspondence with the IDF, 17/2/00.

and Egypt as they can learn from each others experiences.³³ The IDF played a coordinating role in order to bring together the two parties, but no concrete projects were finally transferred. Only a transfer of ideas can be observed.

3) Youth Employment Assistance Company

This project was presented by Zukunftsbaus from Germany and a connection has been made with CNV in Holland and the BNHA in the United Kingdom. After the unsuccessful bid for *Continue Learning*, MORNA, a Portuguese organisation, was also included in this project. The representative of BNHA explains that they found lots in common with Zukunftsbaus and they learned from each other.

We have people that come to us with social problems such as drugs, social abuse or alcohol and we know a little more about how we handle that. Zukunftsbaus on the other hand deals with ethnic minorities and they know more about their problems.

MORNA and CNV, he continues, have more in common so they exchanged experiences on vocational training.³⁴ Zukunftsbaus and BNHA moved a step forward by organising an exchange of young people that work with them, under EU funding, and so more transfer of ideas and experiences took place.³⁵ These four partners proved to be the most active ones so IDF decided to apply in co-operation with them to the EU for the organisation of the conference in Egypt. The application was not approved so no direct transfer of projects took place between the organisations involved.

4) Work for Student and Academics

Edu Willemse described this programme as one of the most difficult to be realised as it was supposed to take place in Palestine, and it was not very clear what its character would be.³⁶ Not very surprisingly, there is no evidence of policy transfer in this case.

33. Interview with Pieter Litjens, Jong Management VNO-NCW, The Hague, 2/7/1998.

34. Interview with Ehjaz Gull, BNHA, York, 17/6/00.

35. Interview with Cornelia Aukslat-Boelk, Zukunftsbaus, Berlin, 5/7/00.

36. Interviews with Edu Willemse, Project Co-ordinator and Co-ordinator of the Bonn Conference, IDF, Leiden, 2/7/1998.

5) The Bridge Building Function of New Media

The Internet project is one of the most concrete proposals, as it will work as an overall programme to facilitate the implementation of the other projects. The IDF has been in close contact with the German provider and an application for funding was made to the EU.³⁷ This project was supposed to have two aspects: firstly a series of virtual meetings between the organisations of the platform and secondly the organisation of a databank of information for the different organisations and projects.³⁸ Due to technical constraints, mainly faced by the Arab-Mediterranean countries, the success of the project was very limited. So, the Internet didn't function as a mean of policy transfer as much as it was expected to.

The two main goals of the conference in Bonn and of the follow-up activities were to exchange knowledge and experience and to bring together potential partners (IDF, May 1998). Both these goals have, to an extent, been realised as knowledge and experiences were exchanged through the presentation and development of projects, and at the same time transnational partnerships were built. The EU played an important role as potentially the main funding body for the implementation of the projects. As a result the structures and the goals of the projects were, to an extent, driven by the formulas established through the applications for funding such as the 'Leonardo da Vinci' project, although most of the bids were not successful.

Case-Study Analysis

The benefit of case-studies is that they offer information which allows us to test our theoretical hypotheses against the reality of policy processes. The conference in Bonn and its follow-up activities provide an excellent example of the role of knowledge institutions in the policy process. In this section the structure and agency framework is applied and the rest of the theoretical hypotheses are tested. The trends of globalization, regionalisation and/or Europeanisation and of policy convergence/divergence in this particular case study are explored. This will enable us to test the hypothesis about policy transfer as a process of globalization. The role of the IDF as a knowledge institution in the policy transfer process is then analysed.

37. Interviews with Edu Willemse, Project Co-ordinator and Co-ordinator of the Bonn Conference, IDF, Leiden, 2/7/1998.

38. Personal correspondence with IDF, 27/8/98.

Finally, an examination of the second hypothesis which includes the application of the policy transfer network framework is provided.

The Structure and Agency Relationship

Three theoretical propositions on structure and agency relationship need to be discussed:

The first proposition follows from Mouzelis (1995) distinction between micro and macro actors and structures and his claim that macro actors and structures will have more influence over time.

In the first instance of the case-study only macro-structures such as the EU, the Dutch civil society and the Dutch government can be observed. The Youth Employment Platform is a micro-structure which makes its appearance later in the case-study. It is apparent from this case study that macro-structures have more influence over time. The EU and the Dutch government are essential for the funding of projects decided in Bonn and for the existence of the Youth Employment Platform. The Dutch civil society which is the set of NGOs where IDF and many of the participants of the Bonn conference belong, is also very important because it is the actual source of projects and of agents willing to proceed with the policy transfer process. The Youth Employment Platform has not been so influential because no real outcomes have originated from its existence. Some transfer of ideas can be observed in its first meeting in Veldhoven but it can be argued that this transfer of ideas could have happened even without the Platform's existence.

As far as the agents involved in the case-study are concerned, the hypothesis that macro-agents have more influence over time is not proved. The IDF played a very influential role during the whole process of policy transfer but some of the other members of the Steering Committee which were described as macro-agents, didn't. For example, FNV and EATA didn't get involved so much as they were expected. On the other hand some of the micro-agents ended up playing a much more significant role. So, Zukunftbau and BNHA were two of the most important agents of the policy transfer process although they were described as micro-agents in the beginning of the case-study. There are two reasons why the degree of influence of macro and micro agents is not so predictable in this case-study. Firstly, we are facing a transfer of ideas and not of programmes or institutions which means that the whole process is much more opaque. Secondly, the nature of the particular policy transfer

process allowed more movement of agents into less or more important roles in different stages of the process. The IDF invited lots of agents to participate in the process without being able to predict the outcome. If a transfer of projects occurs in a later stage it is possible that the distinction between macro and micro-agents and the assumption about the importance of macro-agents will be proved more useful.

The second proposition is that structural elaboration will emerge from the interaction between structure and agent at one time/place and will influence this relationship at another time/place (Archer, 1985).

In order to explore this proposition in depth a longitudinal case-study is needed. In the IDF case-study only one example of structural elaboration can be observed and this is the Youth Employment Platform that emerged from the interaction between structures and agents during the Bonn conference period. The Youth Employment Platform influenced the relationship of structures and agents at another time/place by offering the environment for more policy transfer to occur, but it did so in a minor way. It is possible that because of the limited success of policy transfer in this case there is not a lot that can be observed at the moment concerning this theoretical proposition.

The third proposition is that structure and agent will either exist in a duality or a dualism depending on whether the agents reproduce the structures or distance themselves from them (Mouzelis, 1995).

A sample of different types of agents that participated in the case-study is observed in order to come to some conclusions. Box 6.1 offers a picture of the relationships that exist between the structures and agents during the process of policy transfer. In summary, IDF being the knowledge institution organising the policy transfer exist in a duality with all the structures during the whole process. This means that for a knowledge institution to take action in policy transfer process it is important to exist in a duality with the relevant structures. But, as the case-study showed, this condition is not enough on its own for the policy transfer to be successful. CNV and Jong Management, which can be identified as representative organisations of the Dutch civil society interested in youth employment problems also exist in a duality with all the structures. The relationship between the rest of the European organisations and the structures can also be characterised as a duality. The same is true of the sponsors.

Box 6.1: Relationships of Duality or Dualism between the Structures and Agents involved in the IDF Case-Study

Structures/ Agents	<i>EU</i>	<i>Dutch government</i>	<i>Dutch civil society</i>	<i>Youth Employment Platform</i>
<i>IDF</i>	duality	duality	duality	duality
<i>Jong Management</i>	duality	duality	duality	duality
<i>CNV</i>	duality	duality	duality	duality
<i>BUESI</i>	duality	duality	duality	duality
<i>ECF</i>	duality	duality	duality	dualism
<i>Zukunftbau</i>	duality	duality	duality	duality
<i>BNHA</i>	duality	duality	duality	duality
<i>SUN</i>	dualism	duality	duality	dualism
<i>CABO</i>	dualism	duality	duality	dualism
<i>ABA</i>	dualism	dualism	dualism	dualism
<i>Ibn Khaldun</i>	dualism	dualism	dualism	dualism
<i>Young Christian Democrats</i>	dualism	dualism	dualism	dualism

The cases where dualism can be observed is between the migrant organisations, the EU and the Youth Employment Platform. These organisations find working in a Europeanised environment more difficult and that is why they distance themselves from the structures. The Arab-Mediterranean organisations present an even higher rate of relationships of dualism because they distance themselves from all the structures. The reason for that is that they find working under these conditions even more challenging and difficult. Finally, the political parties distance themselves from the structures during this process of policy transfer because they don't feel there is any particular interest for them to stay involved. In conclusion, it can be said that relationships of dualism take place in two cases: when because of cultural and other constraints the agents find approaching the structures very difficult and when the agents simply don't have an interest in approaching the structures. It is expected though that relationships of duality will re-emerge, because dualism can only be an instant condition. The fact that a few of the agents distanced themselves from the Youth Employment Platform meant that the micro-structure was not reproduced. The same wouldn't happen for macro-structures such as the EU or the Dutch government because they change in a more slow pace and have more influence over time than micro-structures do.

Globalization and Europeanization

There are two ways to approach the issue of globalization which constitutes the structure and agency environment through the case study. The first is to establish to what extent the environment in which the IDF functions has changed and become more globalized, and the second is to analyse the perceptions of the interested parties about globalization and the extent to which these perceptions influence their actions. As can be seen from the case study, the problem of youth unemployment has been largely confronted from an EU perspective. Furthermore, Dutch employment policy is very close to established EU guidelines. Additionally, the EU has developed funding programmes such as 'Leonardo da Vinci', which offer a framework for organisations such as IDF to co-operate at a transnational level and to apply for EU money. The IDF works, and emphasises that it works, in accordance with EU expectations. In the Grant Application for funding of the 'Open European Youth Platform' they state:

The choice of focusing on employment for youth (and of migrant youth in particular) in the EU countries, is completely in line with the general EU policy as formulated in the Treaty of Amsterdam (IDF, 29/6/1998).

It is not easy to maintain that these elements are forces promoting globalization, as this depends on the way reality is conceptualised. As we discussed in the theoretical part of this thesis, the process of Europeanisation can either be translated as a force of globalization or regionalisation depending on one's theoretical perspective. But the way forces are translated is not only a theoretical issue, it can also be politically important. Regionalisation is often seen as the way Western countries exclude or put pressure upon the rest of the world. One way that the EU tries to face such issues is through, for example, the recently established EU-Mediterranean policy which establishes new ways of co-operation between the European and the Arab-Mediterranean countries.

In the first part of the thesis it was concluded that globalization is a complex term used to describe multi-dimensional processes which take place in the world today. This conclusion is given greater force by this case study, especially when one looks at the different conceptualisations of what globalization means for the individuals and organisations involved in the conference in Bonn and of the way that these conceptualisations influence their policy decisions. Two general conclusions can be drawn from the case study here. The first is that people tend to give different

definitions of what globalization is depending on their current occupation or interest, for instance Veronie Willemars sees globalization mainly as the evolution of international communication, as this is what directly influences her work.³⁹ The second is that people tend to evaluate globalization as positive or negative, by referring to particular aspects of it. Globalization has therefore been described by my sample of interviewees as a new term for imperialism⁴⁰ or as a magic word completely distant from every day reality.⁴¹ On the other hand, it has also been seen as a means of establishing closer co-operation between countries,⁴² or as a way to break the boundaries between different cultures.⁴³ Finally it has been seen as a 'container concept'⁴⁴ which can have both positive and negative connotations. Another important point that came out of the discussion about globalization is that many of the participants have the feeling that we are facing a process of regionalisation in the sense that co-operation between countries with a regional and cultural proximity is much easier. Edu Willemse observes that:⁴⁵

It is much more easy to set up European partnerships, than to set up Euro-Arab partnerships. CNV and the Berlin club share the same values and have the same kind of traditions, but that doesn't apply to a Moroccan youth organisation or a Belgian youth organisation. To know each other takes time and you have to be patient and to work on the relationship.

Whether we call the above forces globalization, regionalisation or Europeanisation is not really so important. What is significant for this thesis is to look at the impact of these forces on precipitating policy convergence/divergence and the role that policy transfer plays in this.

39. Interview with Veronie Willemars, Grants Officer of the European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam, 30/6/1998.

40. Interview with Peter Idenburg, Director of the IDF, Bonn, 14/3/1998.

41. Interview with Ekrem Karadeniz, Chairman of Studenten Unie Nederland (SUN), Amsterdam, 30/6/1998.

42. Interview with Karim Sobhy, Programme Officer of Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies in Egypt, Bonn, 16/3/1998.

43. Interview with Mohammed Rhanimi, Moroccan Social Work Camps, Bonn, 15/3/1998.

44. Interview with Anja van Vlerken, Project Subsidies Adviser in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, Bonn, 14/3/1998.

45. Interviews with Edu Willemse, Project Co-ordinator and Co-ordinator of the Bonn Conference, IDF, Leiden, 2/7/1998.

Policy Convergence or Policy Divergence?

Policy convergence and/or divergence have been identified as different aspects of the phenomena of globalization and Europeanisation. Investigating elements of policy convergence and/or divergence through case studies is a way of approaching this vague term 'globalization' and the study of its significance. The case study of the IDF can only inform us about the preliminary stages of policy convergence and divergence, as none of the projects were finally implemented. Whether policy convergence or divergence will happen is an empirical question which cannot be answered through this case study.

The first hypothesis made in the theoretical chapters was that:

Policy transfer represents a mechanism of globalization and Europeanisation leading to convergence/divergence of ideas, institutions, policies and paradigms which provide further opportunities for policy transfer to occur.

The IDF case-study provides an example of the transfer of ideas, so it is not possible to observe concrete instances of policy convergence or divergence. Most of the participants saw the conference in Bonn as an opportunity to get to know each others' cultures and as a forum for the exchange of ideas.⁴⁶ These attitudes could be described as the basis for the occurrence of convergence of ideas. The partnerships which were developed, and the fact that some organisations started working to get funding for the same project to be implemented in different countries (e.g. the CNV application for the 'Leonardo da Vinci' programme) shows a tendency for convergence between European participants. At the same time some tendencies leading towards policy divergence can be observed if we take into account the fact that almost all of the partnerships which were formed were European. The only European-Mediterranean partnership was the one between the Dutch Jong Management organisation and the Alexandria Business Association. Although this partnership was not successful, we cannot make precipitous conclusions about policy divergence as it is likely that it takes more time for organisations from different cultures to establish partnerships and co-operate. A transfer of ideas is apparent.

A few more explanations should be given on the reasons why a transfer of

46. Group Interview with Gerrit Van Rumunde, Unit Manager at CNV Youth Organisation and Marieke Gelissen, Project Manager at CNV Youth Organisation, Utrecht, 1/7/1998.

policy projects didn't occur as it was first intended by IDF. The main reason is that IDF and the participant organisations targeted the EU as the main funding body for the transfer of their projects. Unfortunately, their applications for funding such as Leonardo da Vinci were not successful. If we compare CNV's and Zukunftsbau's applications to a sample of projects that managed to get the Leonardo da Vinci funding some ideas about the reasons of their failure can be drawn. There are two common elements in the successful applications. Firstly, the dissemination of good practice and the transfer of projects is very often present and secondly, concrete products of the projects such as the production of a video, a CD Rom or a handbook are almost always identified (European Commission, 2001). Although the projects that came out of the Bonn Conference were strong as far as it concerns the first element they didn't offer much detail in respect to concrete products. The content of the projects that came out of the Bonn Conference was very close to the EU priorities so this is not the reason why they were not successful with the funding. The failure of the organisations to get the European funding made it very difficult for them to get funding from national sources so they didn't even apply for it. In the case of the EU participants this happened because there is a tendency to apply for national funding once the EU approves a primary funding. In the case of the Arab-Mediterranean participants the partnerships they created were so weak in the first place that they didn't apply neither for EU or for national funding.

As far as the second part of the hypothesis about the convergent policy landscapes creating more opportunities for policy transfer to occur is concerned some evidence is offered from the case-study. The experts meeting that was organised in Veldhoven is a clear manifestation of opportunities for further policy transfer. The meeting included the participants of the Bonn conference that showed a clear tendency for convergence. New ideas and programmes were presented and new partnerships were formed. The Egypt conference was supposed to give a new chance to Arab-Mediterranean organisations to participate in partnerships. The failure of organising this conference can be seen as a result of the divergence tendency showed from the Arab-Mediterranean participants. It can be also argued that in order to have more convergence between European and Arab-Mediterranean participants more time space is needed.

The Role of the IDF in the Policy Transfer Network

The IDF case study enables us to make more concrete conclusions about the mechanism of policy transfer and more specifically about the second hypothesis, which is that:

Knowledge institutions are key agents for the dissemination of ideas thus of policy transfer in the international domain. Evans and Davies (1998) conception of a 'policy transfer network' is a useful heuristic framework for analysing the role of knowledge institutions as agents of policy transfer.

Before discussing the role of the IDF in the 'policy transfer network' some more general comments should be made in relation to the process of policy transfer. These will follow the research questions posed by Dolowitz and Marsh (1996). The first issue is to clarify the kind of agent which is being discussed. This case study mainly looks at the role of the IDF as an agent of policy transfer, but always in relation to structures such as the European Union and the Dutch state. As is also mentioned in relation to the 'policy transfer network', these categories of agents have a very different role to play in the policy transfer process. Another issue to be clarified is whether the policy transfer which developed under the influence of IDF can be classified as voluntary or coercive. In this analysis it is argued that we are facing a case of voluntary transfer as the organisations were free to participate and to form partnerships during the conference, but it should be noted that the nature of the ideas and partnerships that formed were largely influenced by the funding priorities of the EU such as that of Euro-Mediterranean co-operation. It is further argued that the decision to concentrate on the issue of youth unemployment and to include organisations from both Europe and Mediterranean countries was driven by the policy priorities of the EU and of the Dutch government.

The nature of the policy which was transferred is another question which needs to be addressed. The goal of the IDF was to facilitate the transfer of youth employment projects,⁴⁷ but it was mainly ideas that were finally transferred. There is a possibility that a start has been made with reference to the transference of projects but further research will be required to substantiate this development. In any case, it will be difficult to assess the value of the IDF's ideas in the future, when

47. Personal Correspondence with IDF, 29/1/1998.

consideration is taken, of the number of different agents pushing for similar changes in youth employment policies that exist within the European environment. The degree of transfer is also difficult to identify because we are talking about the transfer of ideas but to date the transfer that has occurred can be described as 'inspiration'. Ehjaz Gull in an interview on the evaluation of the results observes:⁴⁸

I think we are doing our own thing, but I think what people say is that they can recognise elements within each others projects of what we are doing.

The level of transfer which occurred during the conference in Bonn was mainly transnational as the organisations that participated were mostly non-governmental ones. A successful transfer at the transnational level is expected to facilitate further transfer at the national level. The main constraints upon policy transfer which were observed during the conference in Bonn were twofold: firstly, the proximity of the cultures of the actors involved, it was easier for European countries to exchange projects between each other rather than with Arab-Mediterranean countries, and secondly the technological ability of the Arab-Mediterranean countries wishing to adopt a programme, this was particularly so in respect of the Internet project.

The first part of the hypothesis, which was that knowledge institutions are important agents for the dissemination of ideas and thus of policy transfer in the international domain, is given some merit through the IDF case study. The IDF provided an international forum, during the Bonn conference, for the exchange of ideas and experience of youth employment projects and the investigation of possible policy transfers. IDF's influence to public policy cannot be easily observed because only ideas were transferred and there was a number of other agents transferring similar ideas at the same time.

Evans and Davies' (1999) concept of a policy transfer network can be applied to the case of the IDF in order to systematise the analysis and to evaluate the validity of the model. In particular, the sequence of the stages of a voluntary policy transfer, as they apply to the IDF case study, are summarised in Box 6.2.

As can be seen, unsurprisingly not all of the stages described by Evans and Davies can be observed in the case of the IDF, but this is anticipated by them when they maintain that they are not making any claims about the rationality of the policy transfer process. What is interesting is that the IDF admits that it took action in the

48. Interview with Ehjaz Gull, BNHA, York, 17/6/00.

field of youth employment policy not only as a result of its own decisions but also because such activity was going to be supported by the EU or national institutions.

Box 6.2: The Emergence and Development of a Voluntary Transfer Network: the Case of the IDF

The Process of Transfer	The Role of the EU or Dutch government	The Role of the IDF
1. Recognition	Recognition of the unemployment problem by the EU and the Dutch government. Recognition by the EU of the necessity of co-operation with Mediterranean countries.	With respect to this stage, as is expected, the IDF does not play an important role.
2. Search	Indirect search by the EU, through the establishment of funding programmes.	The IDF decides to take action in the field of youth employment policy and of Mediterranean co-operation.
3. Contact	EU and the Dutch government were persuaded of the capability of the IDF.	IDF contacts EU for funding. It persuades the EU and the Dutch government that it is capable of action in relation to the problem. It obtains funding for the organisation of the conference in Bonn.
4. Emergence of information feeder network	EU and the Dutch government participate in the Bonn conference, in the experts meeting in Veldhoven and in informal meetings to explore possibilities of policy transfer.	A number of agents interact during the Bonn conference, the Veldhoven meeting and informal meetings and exchange information on possible policy transfers.
5. Cognition, reception and emergence of a transfer network	The EU and the Dutch government decide not to fund IDF's policy transfer initiatives, so the policy transfer network doesn't emerge.	IDF and other agents apply for funding for policy transfer to take place but they are unsuccessful.
6. Elite and cognitive mobilisation	The policy transfer of projects breaks down. Only a transfer of ideas takes place so this stage is not relevant.	The policy transfer of projects breaks down. Only a transfer of ideas takes place so this stage is not relevant.
7. Interaction	This stage does not take place.	This stage does not take place.
8. Evaluation	This stage does not take place.	This stage does not take place.
9. Decision	This stage does not take place.	This stage does not take place.
10. Implementation	This stage does not take place.	This stage does not take place.

Source: Adapted from Evans and Davies (1999).

Another important point must be raised here: some of the stages, such as 'interaction' and 'evaluation', cannot be distinguished in the case of the IDF, but this can be explained by the breaking of the policy transfer process after the emergence of the information feeder network. It's worth noticing that the stages of 'cognition, reception and emergence of a transfer network' up to 'implementation' don't apply to the IDF case where transfer of ideas rather than programmes or institutions is observed. This is an important finding because it shows that the cases where we have a transfer of ideas (soft transfer) are very different to other cases of policy transfer. The policy transfer network framework cannot be applied in the same way because it is difficult to describe concrete products of the transfer process and so it is not possible to apply the various stages. It is argued that the policy transfer network is partially useful for the discussion of transfer of ideas and a more discursive analysis is needed in order to understand such cases. Finally, there are some issues, such as the previous work of the IDF at the Istanbul conference or IDF's attempts to influence the Dutch government and the EU on the importance of youth employment policy and of co-operation with Arab-Mediterranean countries, which are not easily analysed through the application of the policy transfer network model, because they are not part of the actual transfer process.

Box 6.3 offers a close look at the six different projects that were introduced during the Bonn conference and their development through the stages of the policy transfer network framework. In summary, there are two reasons why the policy transfer of projects were not successful in any of the case are two. Firstly, the EU decided not to fund them, and secondly, the difficulty of forming partnerships in the first place. As the box shows, this difficulty was greater in the cases were Arab-Mediterranean countries tried to participate in the partnerships. The policy transfer network framework proves to be a useful tool for mapping the development of the six projects although there are some actions by agents that cannot fit in the framework. For example, the development of a partnership between the participants of the 'Continue Learning' and the 'Youth Employment Assistance Company' projects in a later stage of the process cannot be described through the policy transfer network framework. In conclusion, it can be maintained that the policy transfer network is a useful analytical framework when the particularities of the different agents and cases of policy transfer are taken into account. This is, after all, the role of a heuristic framework such as the policy transfer network approach

Box 6.3: The Unsuccessful Transfer of the Projects Developed in Bonn Conference

	Recognition	Search	Contact	Emergence of information feeder network	Cognition, reception and emergence of a transfer network
Continue Learning	Recognition of the importance of vocational training for the entrance of youth migrants in the labour market by the EU and the Dutch government.	Indirect search by the EU, through the establishment of funding programmes such as 'Leonardo da Vinci'.	IDF contacts its network of organisation in order to find partners interested in policy transfer in the area of vocational training.	A network emerges between CNV-Netherlands, EATA-Germany and Morna-Portugal during the conferences/meetings organised by IDF.	An unsuccessful application for the 'Leonardo da Vinci' funding means that the policy transfer network doesn't emerge.
Start-Up Migrant Entrepreneurs in Europe	Recognition of the importance of entrepreneurship by the EU and the Dutch government.	Indirect search by the EU, through the establishment of funding programmes.	IDF contacts its network of organisation in order to find partners interested in policy transfer in the area of entrepreneurship.	A network emerges between Jong Management-Netherlands and Alexandria Business Association-Egypt during the conferences/meetings organised by IDF.	The policy transfer network doesn't emerge because the two organisations don't even manage to put an application together.
Youth Employment Assistance Company	Recognition of the importance of training for disadvantaged young people by the EU and the Dutch government.	Indirect search by the EU, through the establishment of funding programmes such as 'Youthstart' and 'Leonardo da Vinci'.	IDF contacts its network of organisation in order to find partners interested in policy transfer in the area of training for disadvantaged young people.	A network emerges between Zukunftsbau-Germany and BNHA-UK during the conferences/meetings organised by IDF.	An unsuccessful application for the 'Leonardo da Vinci' funding means that the policy transfer network doesn't emerge.
Young Entrepreneurs	Recognition of the importance of entrepreneurship by the EU and the Dutch government.	Indirect search by the EU, through the establishment of funding programmes.	IDF contacts its network of organisation in order to find partners interested in policy transfer in the area of entrepreneur	A network emerges between Jong Management-Netherlands and Alexandria Business Association-Egypt during the conferences/meetings organised by	The policy transfer network doesn't emerge because the two organisations don't even manage to put an application together.

			ship.	IDF.	
Work for Students and Academics	Recognition of the importance of support for students and academics by Palestinian Universities and NGOs.	There is no search happening and there is no funding available.	IDF contacts its network of organisation in order to find partners interested in policy transfer in the area of support students and academics in Palestine.	There is no emergence of an information feeder network.	There is no emergence of a policy transfer network.
The Bridge Building Function of New Media	Recognition of the importance of the use of New Media for employment purposes by the EU and the Dutch government.	Indirect search by the EU, through the establishment of funding programmes such as 'Leonardo da Vinci'.	The organisations contacted for the other projects are offered the opportunity to discuss the use of the New Media.	There is an emergence of an information feeder network between all the organisations participating in the conferences/meetings organised by IDF	There is no policy transfer network emerging because of technical difficulties faced by the partners.

The case study shows that knowledge institutions can be very important agents of policy transfer, and potentially therefore, a catalyst to policy convergence. The fact that the IDF only managed to transfer some ideas and not concrete projects can be seen as a partial failure but it can also be seen as a preliminary stage in the policy transfer of programmes. The reasons why only ideas were transferred are both organisational and cultural. In the next chapter the role of a German knowledge institution, Understandingbus, in the transfer of environmental policy programmes is discussed

7 The Transfer of Policy Programmes: Understandingbus and Environmental Policy

Introduction

This chapter explores the role of Understandingbus, a German knowledge institution, in the process of transferring an environmental policy programme from Denmark to Eastern Germany and to Greece, namely the ECOTRANS project. It also looks at Barnsley College in South Yorkshire that participated as an observer and potential future recipient of the programme. The striking feature of this case-study is that the policy transfer to Eastern Germany was successful while the policy transfer to Greece was not. This will allow us to compare the conditions of policy success and failure underpinning two processes of policy

transfer and to arrive at some conclusions on the reasons behind these divergent outcomes. The case-study takes place at the local government level and consequently an in depth analysis of the policy transfer networks that emerged is possible. In order to organise, examine and explain the case-study the theoretical propositions presented in the first part of the thesis are applied.

The chapter is organised into three parts. To begin, the structures and agents involved in the policy transfer process, as well as the discourse within which they act, are identified. A distinction is then being made between micro and macro structures and agents in order to explore whether macro structures and agents have had more influence in the case over time. The history of the Understandingbus and of the other agents and structures involved are also evaluated in order to observe how structural elaboration in one time and place has influenced the relationship between structures and agents at another time and place. Finally, by studying the process of policy transfer, the cases when structure and agent exist in a duality and the cases when they exist in a dualism are identified.

Identifying the Discourse Underpinning the Case-Study

In this section the multi-level discourse in which Understandingbus has acted in its attempt to transfer environmental policy programmes across Europe is examined. The first level refers to globalization and sustainable development as a discourse and how it has affected the actions of the EU, of the German government and of Understandingbus in relation to environmental policy programmes. The second level concerns Europeanisation as a discourse and the way in which it has affected the German government and Understandingbus in their actions in the above policy area. Finally, the national discourse and in particular how it is related to environmentalism are introduced in order to provide a coherent understanding of the discourse as a totality.

In the field of environmental policy, globalization and the protection of the environment are often seen as interdependent. The reason for that is that some of the problems such as global warming are objectively global and cannot be dealt within the geographical borders of one country. Additionally, the transnational expansion of production, trade and communication has led to an increased co-operation in environmental policy-making. Environmental NGOs such as Friends

of the Earth and the World Wide Fund for Nature have also played an important role in emphasising the global dimensions of the problem (Yearley, 1996). In the 1990s, and especially after the Earth Summit of Rio in 1992, sustainable development became the most popular framework for dealing with issues of environmental degradation. Although sustainable development is a contested term the following provides an acceptable operational definition:

Sustainable development refers to a form of socioeconomic advancement which can continue indefinitely without exhausting the world's resources or overburdening the ability of natural systems to cope with pollution (Yearley, 1996: 131).

Within this discourse, the EU, the German structures and Understandingbus interact. The *Fifth European Community environment programme: towards sustainability* (European Community, 1998: 4) clearly illustrates the impact of this international dimension:

For a long time, Community environment policy focused mainly on solving problems within the Community. Member states, however, soon came to recognise the global nature of pollution and the need for concerted action at regional and international level...Four major environmental problems call for international action: climate change, ozone layer depletion, biodiversity loss and deforestation.

Globalization and sustainable development are also part of the discourse within which the German Green Party, the government and a strong environmental movement take action. The following extract from an interview with Peter Umbesen from Understandingbus, which is one of the macro-agents for this case-study, illustrates this tendency: "Everywhere you have the problem of ecology and you need regional solutions for a process that is dependent on globalization".¹

This idea of reaching regional solutions to environmental problems leads us to the second level of the discourse within which structures and agents interact which is Europeanization. The Europeanisation of environmental policy also forms an important part of the national discourse (Bluehdorn, Krause and Scharf, 1995: 11-22). Understandingbus (6/4/99: 2), for example, defines its working environment by describing: "Europe as a chance for people to broaden their horizons, this is what we are working for". The third level of the discourse is

1. Group Interview with Arthur Grossmann and Peter Umbesen, Co-ordinators of the Ecotrans Project, Understandingbus, Berlin, 3/7/00.

rooted in national interests. Environmentalism is a strong part of the national discourse as can be seen from the activities of the German government and of German NGOs in this field.

Identifying Structures and the Agents in the Case-Study

Identifying the Structures

The European Union as a Macro-Structure

The EU is a central macro-structure for the case-study because of its environmental policy and of its funding projects in the field of environment and employment. EU environmental policy is seen as one of the most successful areas of European integration (Golub, 1998: 1). Although the Treaty of Rome made no mention of environmental policy, after the UN Conference on Human Environment in 1972, a decision was made to move it to the top of the policy agenda and consequently the first Environment Action Programme was developed. The pressure for initiating environmental regulations came from 'green states' such as Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands. In the 1980s this push was made even more forceful and in 1986 with the Single European Act, a legal basis was given to environmental policy. This reforming energy in environmental policy was confined during the 1990s because of the economic climate and the cost of implementing environmental directives. Germany, which was one of the pioneers in the area became more restricted because of the impact of unification and the social, political and economic pressures that this brought to bear. On the other hand, countries such as the UK that used to be a weak actor in EU environmental policy became more active. Another interesting development was that in order to guarantee its competitiveness in an antagonistic global environment the EU acts as a driving force for the adoption of international agreements for the protection of the environment. Finally, as far as the nature of EU environmental policy is concerned, two changes can be observed. Firstly, the integration of environmental considerations in other sectors such as agricultural policy, and, secondly, the inclusion of the concept of 'sustainable development' in its programmes (Sbragia, 2000: 293-298).

At the heart of these developments is the idea of combining environmental

and employment initiatives. DG V (1999: 49-50) which is responsible for employment and social affairs describes the environmental sector as a growing field for the emergence of new job opportunities for the unemployed. Another observation made by DG V is that most of the employment schemes in the environmental sector are undertaken by or include the participation of a large number of third sector organisations. In this framework, funding was made available for the research action Headways. This is from where Ecotrans originates. Getraud Loewen, a representative from DG V describes the process:²

Headways was a proposal that we received in the context of a call of proposals. In the context of our action research, we had different topics and among them we had local development. We didn't mention the environment or anything more specific and so we received this proposal for Headways which was selected because we thought it was interesting. It was the time when we started to get interested in employment and environment.

This approach has made programmes such as 'Leonardo Da Vinci', potential sources for the funding of environmental projects that try to improve employment opportunities.

The German Structures

The Federal Republic of Germany is one of the most economically powerful countries in the EU. It consists of ten old and five new Laender and it has the second largest population in Europe (James, 1998: 4). Germany's federal tradition goes back to the constitution of 1871 when the country was first unified. Indeed regionalism has been described as a more important bond than class in Germany (Berghahn, 1982: 11). The Weimar Republic between 1919 and 1933 was Germany's first attempt to establish a democratic political system. This was interrupted by Hitler's Third Reich between 1933 and 1945. Modern Germany is characterised by three fundamental concepts: federalism, a democratic republic and a social state with free and fair elections (James, 1998a: 45). After the fall of the Berlin Wall Germany had to deal with the difficulties of unification. A convergence between West and East Germany is necessary for the adaptation to this challenging process (Wallach and Francisco, 1992: 1-9). Two macro

2. Interview with Getraud Loweven, Representative of the GD V of the European Commission, Dessau, 7/7/00.

structures are discussed in the context of this case-study: German civil society and the German government, especially in relation to environmental employment policy and initiatives.

a) The German Civil Society as a Macro-Structure

Since the beginning of the 20th century civil society in Germany had been seen as divided by sectional interests and as a consequence politically unable to take a leading role within the German society. A strong state was placed above civil society in order to take the role of an 'ordering power' and to manage conflict (Kvistad, 1999:14). Even though the state was always strong in Germany, since the 1960s politics became more open and social movements gained ground. The emergence of social movements played an important role in the democratisation of West Germany and at a later stage in bringing West and East Germany together. West Germany is now considered to be the country where new social movements flourished the most. Two waves can be observed in the development of social movements. The first wave took place in the 1960s and was characterised by radical organisations that would even fall into terrorist violence in order to make their presence felt. The second wave, during the 1980s, gave rise to more institutionalised and professional organisations (Koopmans, 1995: 1-5).

The development of the environmental movement is a good example of the transformation of NGOs in Germany. In the first phase thousands of local grass-roots initiatives can be observed and it was not until the 1980s that bigger organisations such as Greenpeace-Germany appeared. An interesting change to note here is that the relationship between environmental groups and political actors as well as industry itself has become more co-operative. NGOs are seen as scientific experts in their field of action and they often take part in parliamentary committees (Brand, 1999: 37-56).

The situation between East and West Germany is still unequal because of the different levels of economic, social and political development in the two regions. Intermediary organisations such as trade unions, employer's organisations as well as citizen's movements were formulated during the last weeks of the GDR but they were more like 'organisational shells' rather than powerful and autonomous organisations (Boll, 1994: 114). Social movements in East Germany were marginalised for two reasons. Firstly, the inability of state

socialism to adapt to sudden shifts and pressures for policy change made by social movements, and, secondly, the interference of West German professionals in the running of social movements' organisations that alienated from their people (Kamenitsa, 1998: 313-314). The problems that they are presently facing include declining membership and a limited finances. As Boll (1994: 127) argues, "The behavioural patterns of pluralist interests have yet to emerge in new German Laender".

Within this active civil society, knowledge institutions have emerged and flourished. Two types of knowledge institutions can be identified in Germany. The first type includes academic knowledge institutions. The oldest institute falling into this category was founded in 1908 in Hamburg. The leading knowledge institutions in Germany are academic and they are fully or partially financed by the federal or state government. The second type is the ideological knowledge institutions such as the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation which are closely linked to political parties (Day, 2000: 116-117). Thunert (1998: 21-29) in his study of German knowledge institutions argues that they are characterised by a search for unideological pragmatism because consensus and impartial research are preferred in Germany. He also observes that most of the advisory work takes place at the lower level at the policy cycle during policy implementation rather than during policy development. In this chapter, these observations will be further explored through an in-depth study of the role of Understandingbus during the policy transfer process.

b) The German Government as a Macro-Structure: Environmental Policy and Employment Initiatives

Germany has gradually developed into one of the most influential countries in environmental policy in Europe. In the 1970s the government had to deal with the first intensive pressures from social movements who were fighting for the environment and challenging the established political order. Although there was not so much development in the 1970s because of the oil embargo, high unemployment and the cold war, in the 1980s the Green Party was formulated. Since then,

Germany has been at the forefront of technological improvements that seek to achieve cleaner industrial production processes and limit the damage

done by mass consumption (Bluehdorn, Krause and Scharf, 1995: 12).

In the early 1990s there was a depression in green politics because of the economic and political pressures of the unification but in the 1994 elections the Green Party was resurrected and is now the third political force in Germany. In East Germany the Green Party is not as powerful but as the Federal Environment Minister (Klaus Toepfer, 1993) states:

It is our objective to make the new federal states in Germany a model site for the most modern environmental technology (Rothkirch, 1995: 69).

The German government has recognised its responsibility to develop a proactive environmental policy because Germany is a densely populated country with a high level of 'land consumption' including 2.7 per cent of the whole world's use of energy. The goal of the government is to achieve economic effectiveness and at the same time protect the environment. Environmental policy in Germany follows three principles:

- *the precautionary principle* which means that strict legislation should be adopted in order to prevent environmental damage;
- *the polluter pays principle* which means that the agents responsible for the pollution of the environment should pay for its rehabilitation; and,
- *the principle of co-operation* which aims at securing industry's co-operation to prevent damage and to develop innovation in environmental technology.

The results of this policy have been positive up to now. Germany has managed to increase its GDP and at the same time reduce the amount of pollution (Rothkirch, 1995: 65-69).

Industry has up to a point accepted the government's environmental policy but there is a lot of discussion about international competitiveness and the environmental protection requirements making Germany a less attractive location for investment. It is argued that harmonisation between EU countries would at least limit the competition within the EU but environmental protection should have a global dimension in order to be fair for industry. In relation to this argument, industry often makes the point that in order to cope with these difficult circumstances reduction in staff and less emphasis on innovation is imperative (Knabe, 1995: 93-99). Braun (1998: 253-263) argues that even if this is partially true for big industry, SMEs in Germany don't relocate because of the strict environmental laws. It can also be argued that environmental protection means an

increase in employment opportunities. For example, in Germany between 1990 and 2000 there was a 65 per cent increase in employment because of jobs related to the environment. The strong relationship between the environment and employment can be seen in a statement from the German Trade Union Association in which it states that: "Only jobs that are ecologically sound are jobs which are permanently secure" (Heuter, 1995: 102). This is a particularly environmentally radical sentiment for a trade union to express.

The Micro-Structures

Micro-structures play a significant role in the Ecotrans case-study. Some of them have a transnational and some others have a national character. For example, EVA which stands for Environmentally sustainable projects, Vocational training and Action in the community and involves a network of 28 institutions operating in 10 EU countries with its base in Berlin. It was established in 1994 and one of its founding members was Understandingbus. Its aim is to promote training and employment in the environmental sector and as it is stated in its statute that the exchange of good practice is one of the key means of achieving this aim (EVA, 15/2/01). Another micro-structure which is based in Berlin and is central to the Ecotrans case-study, is Ecology Energy Economy (EEE). EEE is a Consortium between two of the key agents in this case-study - Understandingbus and KirchBauhof. The aim of EEE is providing for the long-term unemployed and unskilled people through training schemes (EEE, 2000).

In East Germany two micro-structures played a central role in Ecotrans - the Saxon branch of the National Association of Medium-sized Business (BVMW) and the Dresden Environmental Centre. These two organisations have been described as the "driving forces of the transference project" in the area (Grossmann, July 2000: 47-48). BVMW is a federation of SMEs that coordinates regional SMEs and the Environmental Centre is a network of environmental NGOs with a knowledge of the environmental and labour conditions of the region (Grossmann, July 2000: 62-63).

A significant micro-structure in the Piraeus area is the Development Company of the Municipalities of Piraeus (ANDIP). ANDIP is a network of the municipalities of the Piraeus area functioning under private law in order to overcome the lack of flexibility of the public sector. Its aim is to support local

government and promote the development of the area by taking action on housing, the environment and the productivity of the SMEs (ANDIP, 2000). Karanikolaou, a representative of ANDIP shows the discourse in which it functions by describing globalization as a challenge for SMEs and by emphasising the importance of learning from other countries but also stressing the difficulty of implementing projects in Greece.³

In Denmark, there is one micro-structure that plays a model role during the policy transfer process: the Technological Information Centres of Denmark (TIC). TIC is a network of non-profit consultancy organisations in Denmark. Its purpose is to encourage the development of trade and industry in Denmark and it is especially interested in SMEs. It can be described as a "'broker' between the different sources of knowledge and SMEs" (TIC Denmark, December 1998: 3). The transfer of know-how and competence is part of its method of work and it participates in a number of international networks.

Identifying Agents in the Case-Study

Understandingbus as a Macro-Agent: Emergence and Development

Understandingbus is a non-governmental organisation that has been established as a foundation under German law in 1988. Its main belief is that the European integration is a chance for everybody to broaden their horizons and that's what they are working for. More specifically, they have three main goals: intercultural communication, greater mobility within Europe and fostering transnational networks (Understandingbus, 6/4/99). Peter Umbesen, a founding member of Understandingbus, explains that the initial idea was a response to the need to develop new communication skills as the process of European integration progressed. The target group for their work, Arthur Grossman continues, in the beginning was young people but it then included their trainers and later companies and public bodies.⁴ There are three main areas in which Understandingbus works. The first is called 'Working and Studying in Europe' and it involves work

3. Interview with Mr. Karanikolaou, Representative of ANDIP, Piraeus, 12/9/00.

4. Group Interview with Arthur Grossmann and Peter Umbesen, Co-ordinators of the Ecotrans Project, Understandingbus, Berlin, 3/7/00.

placements, study visits, youths exchanges and language courses in European countries. The second area is 'Media Development and Research Action' and it concentrates more on the development of materials such as data bases, multimedia for language teaching, case studies and area analysis for the transfer of know-how. Finally, the third strand of work is 'Managing co-operation throughout Europe' and it entails the design, management and evaluation of projects as well as providing advice in order to facilitate projects particularly those with a transnational character (Understandingbus, 9/2/01).

Another important activity of Understandingbus was the foundation of the EVA network which has been defined as a micro-structure in this case-study. The EVA network was founded in 1994 and Understandingbus was one of its founding members.⁵ The close connection between Understandingbus and the EVA network is obvious also from the fact that its' Secretariat is in Understandingbus' building and the administrative and technical support is in reality offered by Understandingbus. The significance of this relationship for this case-study lies in their co-operation during the research action HEADWAYS. HEADWAYS is a research project that was carried out by 28 partners in the EVA network during 1997 and 1998 and was funded by the DG V of the EU Commission. In the final report of HEADWAYS (Grossmann, Umbsen and Furth, 1998: 6) it is stated that:

The main goal of the research action was to identify and further good practice in inserting unemployed people and similar disadvantaged groups into the labour force in the environmental sector.

28 environment-related local projects were studied and in-depth case-studies were conducted in 12 of these projects. A set of criteria of what consists good practice was first agreed between the EVA members and a final report was published as a reference point for transfer possibilities. The ECOTRANS project, which is the main focus of this case-study, originated from HEADWAYS. Understandingbus was one of the main partners for this project. In particular, Arthur Grossmann and Peter Umbsen who are the ECOTRANS co-ordinators are two of the writers of the HEADWAYS final report.

The organisational profile of Understandingbus generally complies with Stone's (1996: 14-16) criteria of what a think tank is. Firstly, Understandingbus

5. Group Interview with Arthur Grossmann and Peter Umbsen, Co-ordinators of the Ecotrans Project, Understandingbus, Berlin, 3/7/00.

claims to be an independent organisation with limited influence on the German government and the EU due to its small size. It can be argued that an interrelationship exists between Understandingbus and the German government and the EU where Understandingbus is influenced by them and to a lesser extent they are influenced by Understandingbus. From this follows the second characteristic which concerns Understandingbus' research agenda. Arthur Grossmann claims that:⁶

The research agenda is selected independently, according to the competence and interests of its staff, but within the framework of available EU and German funding schemes in our areas of interest (international training, employment and research projects).

So, Understandingbus, as it is expected, doesn't decide on its research agenda completely independently from the structures that it is related with. The third characteristic of a think-tank is to inform and influence the policy process. Understandingbus clearly has this intention. In its statement of activities it observes that:

Understandingbus detects "blind spots" in European communication. The outcome of several model projects has shed light on what could be done (Understandingbus, 6/4/99)

An example is HEADWAYS where one of the aims was to raise awareness of job potential in the environmental sector "among those responsible for labour market policy-making at regional, national and supranational level" (Grossmann, Umbesen and Furth, 1998: 6). Fourthly, its main motivation is to have public purpose. For Understandingbus the public is Europe as a whole and they see European unification as a chance for people to improve their quality of life and to achieve their ambitions. Its job is to facilitate this process.

Understandingbus can be described as a knowledge institution because it is an organisation which is distinct from government and which has as its key objective the aim of providing advice on policy issues through the use of elite and cognitive mobilisation. It is difficult to apply the two-dimensional typology of knowledge institutions to Understandingbus because it is an organisation with a number of diverse functions and activities. Understandingbus can best be described as an academic-oriented organisation if ECOTRANS is taken into

6. Personal Correspondence with Arthur Grossmann, 9/3/01.

account. If we are aiming at a more general classification Understandingbus should be placed somewhere between an academic-oriented and an ideologically-oriented organisation. As far as the second dimension of the typology is concerned Understandingbus has a general policy focus because it is working in a variety of areas such as the environment, education and unemployment. It used to be a more specialised organisation when it focused on communication skills, and, in particular, developing media for learning languages, but in recent years it has extended its activities. It is also a contract organisation because it gets funding through projects rather than a general funding and is active both in 'publishing' terms as well as a 'do tank' organisation so it is difficult to classify it as one of the two. Although it has a centralised focus and it is interested in the whole of Germany or even more accurately in the whole of Europe, it has a tendency to work at the regional level. Finally, it is organised more like a business than a university.

Understandingbus may also be described as a third sector organisation which means that it conforms to the myths concerning this type of organisation. For example, Getraud Loewen, a representative of the European Commission describes it as an organisation committed to the cause that has the know how.⁷ In the next section the extent to which these expectations should be described as myths or realities is further examined.

The other Macro-Agents

The partners in ECOTRANS are the macro-agents of this case-study because they are the most important agents in the process of policy transfer. Apart from Understandingbus which is the main organiser, one macro-agent can be identified in each of the participant countries. In this section, these organisations and their main belief systems are briefly evaluated.

The partner Saechsishe Bildungsgesellschaft fuer Umweltschutz und Chemieberufe Dresden (SBG) can be described as the macro-agent in Dresden which is one of the cities that the policy transfer process aimed at. SBG is a leading Saxonian training institution in the areas of chemical industry and water provision occupations in Saxony. It has a staff of 80 people and it has been active

7. Interview with Getraud Loweven, Representative of the GD V of the European Commission, Dessau, 7/7/00.

in the fields of vocational training and training for the unemployed and employed people. It has been quite active in participating in European projects such as ADAPT and LEONARDO (Understandingbus, 5/11/98). One of SBG's core belief systems is the importance of the protection of the environment. They see the EU mainly as a source for funding although they recognise the importance of learning from each other and they see globalization and Europeanization as facilitators of this process.⁸

In Greece the macro-agent is the Department for Maritime Studies at the University of Piraeus which was the co-ordinator of the process of policy transfer in Piraeus. The University of Piraeus was founded in 1938 but the Department of Maritime Studies was founded in 1989. In its statement of activities the Department emphasises its participation in EU programmes (University of Piraeus, 10/3/98). The Department has also been active with unemployed university graduates and since 1995 it offers them further training on industry and environmental issues (Understandingbus, 5/11/98). Globalization and Europeanization is the framework within which the University of Piraeus functions, aiming at providing the necessary skills to its graduates in order to integrate them into a competitive international marketplace.

The third macro-agent for this case-study is Barnsley College which has acted as an observer and potential recipient of policy transfer. It is the major provider of further education in the Barnsley Borough in South Yorkshire. It works closely with SMEs, local authorities and other institutions in the area in order to provide training in future-oriented fields of employment. It also has an active Environmental Science Department (Understandingbus, 5/11/98). Interviews with its representatives show that the main belief system underpinning Barnsley's College is pro-European and that the protection of the environment is seen as quite significant.⁹ In its mission statement it is evident that partnership building is its preferred way of working.

The final agent that is described as a macro-agent in this case-study is

8. Group Interview with Sigmar Kuehl, Representative of SBG Dresden and Israel Juergen, Representative of UNROS Zwickau with the participation of Darren Lilleker, Ecotrans Researcher of Barnsley College and Christiane Reinsch, Representative of Understandingbus, Dessau, 7/7/00.

9. Interviews with Darren Lilleker, Ecotrans Researcher, Barnsley College, York, 14/6/00 and Keith Brock, International Relations Officer, Barnsley College, Barnsley, 13/7/00.

Viborg Amt. Viborg Amt is the regional authority of a rural, low-populated region of Denmark. It has run environmentally oriented employment projects since 1992 and it has a long experience in processes of policy transfer.¹⁰ Viborg Amt is the source of the project that is being transferred through the ECOTRANS programme. They have been working with European programmes for a long time and as their international affairs co-ordinator explains they see the EU as an opportunity for processes of policy transfer. More emphasis is being put on Europeanisation that is seen as a challenge for the future rather than globalization which is described as just an increase in the flow of information. It is argued that there is a need for real meetings between people that actually happens at the European level, for policy transfer to occur.¹¹

The Micro-Agents of the Case-Study

The number of micro-agents involved in this case-study is quite large because one of the aims of the ECOTRANS project is the development of networks of organisations in each region for the implementation of the project. A selection of the most important micro-agents is discussed in each of the regions in order to have a more complete image of the dynamics operating between the agents during the process of policy transfer.

In Berlin where Understandingbus is based the number of micro-agents is very limited. This is due to Understandingbus' role as the co-ordinator of the policy transfer process. As there is no attempt to introduce similar projects in the Berlin area there is no need for the creation of a network. The only micro-agent that can be identified is KirchBauhof GmbH which is a member of the EEE Consortium. KirchBauhof is a non profit employment and training organisation interested in environmental projects. It is not a significant actor in the ECOTRANS case-study but it is a potential agent of further policy transfer (Understandingbus, 6-8/7/00).

A vast number of micro-agents can be identified in Saxonia, both in Zwickau and in Dresden where the policy transfer process took place. The

10. Telephone Interview with Uwe Lorenzen, International Affairs Officer, Viborg Amt,13/2/01.

11. Telephone Interview with Uwe Lorenzen, International Affairs Officer, Viborg Amt,13/2/01.

organisations that show a continuity of participation and become macro-agents in a later stage of the policy transfer are discussed here. In Zwickau special attention should be paid to two public micro-agencies, the Department of Economic Promotion of the City of Zwickau and the Department of Economic Promotion of the District of Zwickau-Land. Both of these public bodies were active from the beginning of the process and they have as their main aim to improve the promotion of SMEs. The development of collaborative activities through networks is their preferred working method. Another important micro-agent in the Zwickau area is the Breeding and Technology Centre for Renewable Resources which was represented during the whole process. This is a private agency with strong environmental beliefs aimed at the creation of jobs in the area of renewable materials and energies as well as the creation of a regional network for environmental protection and employment. In Dresden Local Agenda 21 for Dresden is one of the most active micro-agents. This is an organisation that works as a mediator between administration, politicians, enterprises and citizens. As its name suggests sustainable development is a central belief for this micro-agent (Grossmann, July 2000: 62-63).

In Piraeus, which was the second target area of the policy transfer process a number of micro-agents can be identified. The first micro-agent worth mentioning is OAED Piraeus which is a public body working on the Labour Administration of Piraeus. OAED is working on a number of training projects but it is a very centralised organisation, unable to make decisions at a local level. Its representative recognised the need for the modernisation and Europeanisation of the organisation (University of Piraeus, May 1999: 45). Two other central micro-agents are the Piraeus Industrial Chamber of Commerce (EBEP) and the Piraeus Chamber of Small and Medium Industries (BEP). Both of these organisations funded the Development Workshop organised in Piraeus in May 1999. The president of BEP in his plenary speech during this meeting emphasised the challenges of globalization and the need for modernization, two themes that are often met in the belief systems of the agents involved in the Piraeus case-study (University of Piraeus, May 1999: 3). The representatives of EBEP also refer to the competition that globalization brings to SMEs and of their responsibility to facilitate the modernisation process.¹² Finally, another micro-agent active in the

12. Interviews with Poli Albataki, Head of the Small Industry Department, Piraeus Chamber of Small and Medium Sized Enterprises, Piraeus, 18/9/00 and E. Mytilinaios,

ECOTRANS project is KEK Apopsi which is a training institution working on advanced vocational training with an interest in environmental issues. Adapting to the new environment of globalization is one part of its representatives rhetoric.¹³

Micro-agents cannot be easily identified in the third target area which is Barnsley because its role was that of an observer. In the dissemination seminar that was organised in Barnsley one of the participant organisations can be identified as a micro-agent. The Barnsley and Doncaster Training and Enterprise Council (BDTEC) which co-ordinates the South Yorkshire Environmental Project (SYEP) aiming at the provision of low-cost or no-cost support to SMEs (SYEP, 2000). SYEP is very close to the way the Danish model work and that's why it is expected that BDTEC could even develop into a macro-agent if the policy transfer takes place in the Barnsley area.

Finally, in Viborg, where the project originated from, the micro-agents are two training and educational centres, the Centre for Further Education for Adults (Center for Efteruddannelse) and the AMU Center Midtjylland, and the regional Chamber of Commerce. All of these micro-agents were part of the Viborg network for the implementation of the 'Environmental Economics-Competitive Advantages' project (Grossmann, July 2000). None of these micro-agents played a significant role during the transnational phase of the project. The next section looks into the relationship between the structures and agents which have been analysed thus far.

Studying the Structure and Agent Relationship

The Headways Research Action

The first interaction which took place between the structures and agents involved in this case-study occurred in the Headways Research Action on opening employment opportunities for unemployed people in the environmental sector. Understandingbus undertook this research action in co-operation with the EVA network and with the financial support of the European Commission and in

Chairman of the Piraeus Chamber of Small and Medium Sized Enterprises, Piraeus, 28/9/00.

13. Interview with Mr. Zafeiropoulos, Representative of KEK 'Apopsi', Piraeus, 12/9/00.

particular of DG V (Understandingbus, 5/11/98). Getraud Loewen explains that Headways was a proposal that they received in the context of a call for proposals on local development. Environment and employment were not mentioned in the call for proposals but the European Commission found the proposal made by Understandingbus interesting as it came at a time when they were starting to get interested in the issue.¹⁴ The goal was a "research action of an experimental nature aimed at promoting exchange of experience, good practice and know-how in selected priority fields of employment policy at Community level" (European Commission, 1996).

Understandingbus proceeded through organising the research of 28 environment-related local projects from which 12 in-depth case-studies were selected for further analysis because of their innovative character. The main goal was "to identify and further good practice" in creating jobs for unemployed people in the environmental sector. Some parallel goals were to enable the participants to evaluate the transferability of their projects, to disseminate successful concepts for training and employment and to raise the policy-makers awareness on the issue at regional, national and supranational level (Grossmann, Umbesen and Furth, 1998: 6). In the first meeting of the participant organisations a set of criteria for measuring good practice was agreed. The first criterion was to combine environmental and employment aims which was seen as a priority for sustainable development, one of the central discourses in which the EVA network operates. The second criterion related to the level of governance at which the project had to take place and it was agreed that it had to be the local or regional economic system. The final criterion was that there had to be a good understanding between the participants throughout the project. The 12 cases that were studied in depth were selected on the basis of using of these criteria and by trying to achieve a balance between the different branches of industry and between the different EU regions represented (Grossmann, Umbesen and Furth, 1998: 8-10).

Headways identified good practice in combining ecology and sustainable development with initiatives for helping disadvantaged groups both socially and professionally in three areas:

- employment and training projects as part of governmental labour policies (e.g. Atlantis, a solar energy project in Berlin that provided opportunities

14. Interview with Getraud Loweven, Representative of the GD V of the European Commission, Dessau, 7/7/00.

for vocational training in solar energy and for dissemination of this new technology. The project was put forward by Kreuzberg local council in response to the strategy for sustainable urban development pursued by Berlin's regional government).

- self-help initiatives for employment and ecology (e.g. LAPEMAIA, a social co-operative in Rome that promotes the emancipation of people with special needs through their work of collecting, sorting out, reprocessing and reselling recyclable materials).
- employment and training initiatives as part of an overall conception of an ecologically-sound local development (e.g. TADER which is a multi-faceted project for regional development run by a regional development agency in Sierra de Segura, Andalucia. It includes activities such as sponsoring ecological olive growth, training young unemployed people on issues of ecologically-sound farming and food processing and supporting new green firms).

The set of 'good practices' that were observed in all case-studies were three. Firstly, all projects linked social issues such as job creation to environmental concerns. Secondly, the projects functioned through the use of regional networks of key players and thirdly, the organisations that were running the environmentally-oriented employment projects were working in a very professional way (Grossmann, Umbesen and Furth, 1998).

With the completion of the in-depth case-studies a discussion started about transferring some examples of good practice. Headways had as a primary aim to present good practice and a new project would have to be organised in order to take over the transference process. Although this was the case, the participants agreed a three-point approach to the transfer of the projects. The approach was that firstly, meetings with experts had to take place in order to exchange know-how. Secondly, in specific target regions workshops had to be organised involving all the interested agents and thirdly, the innovative projects providing employment opportunities in the environmental sector had to be subsidised. A possible scenario for a transfer project was abstracted from a project in Viborg in Denmark which was called the 'Environmental Economics-Competitive Advantages' (Grossmann, Umbesen and Furth, 1998: 178-182). In the next section Ecotrans which aimed at the transfer of the Viborg model and was a follow-up activity from the Headways research action is discussed.

The Ecotrans Project

The Headways research action was the starting point for the development of the relationships between the structures and agents involved in this case-study following a successful application to DG V of the European Commission for funding. The project had a double aim:

1. to transfer good practice of employment in environment from Denmark to objective 1 regions in Eastern Germany and Greece and to an objective 2 region in South Yorkshire (UK) in an exemplary way,
2. To draw some general conclusions concerning the problems faced by transnational transfer projects and to develop and test suitable methods to overcome these obstacles.

The application to the European Commission clearly stated that the Ecotrans project was inspired by the Headways research action. The logic behind it was that SMEs can play an important role as job creators in the environmental sector and that training institutions have increasingly started to include ecological themes in their training agenda for unemployed people. Headways has shown that bringing together SMEs and non governmental training institutions is a very effective way for promoting sustainable development. The Viborg project was selected by Ecotrans as a model for transfer in the environmental sector (Understandingbus, 5/11/98).

The process of policy transfer was organised in to three phases and Understandingbus was responsible to act as a facilitator of the transfer process. The first phase, described as the launching phase, lasted 5 months and the purpose was for the partners to study the possibilities for transfer, to develop a strategy and working methods. During this phase visits of experts were organised in Dresden, Piraeus and Viborg in order to gather information on the model. The second phase was titled 'specific research, information exchange and implementation' and lasted approximately 10 months. Under the co-ordination of Understandingbus, the partners in Dresden and in Piraeus aimed at the development of regional networks. In order to achieve that, development workshops were organised in Piraeus and in Dresden and research was carried out in Barnsley. During the second phase, Understandingbus was also developing, testing and documenting transfer methods and tools. The concluding phase was described as phase of national and transnational dissemination and lasted for three

months. The partners disseminated the results of Ecotrans in an evaluation symposium in Dessau and also at regional and national levels (Understandingbus, 5/11/98: 4-6).

The Danish Model

The county of Viborg where the project 'Environmental Economics-Competitive Advantages' originates from is the fourth largest county in Denmark but it has a very low density of population. The business structure of the county is varied. To the north the largest sectors are fishery and agriculture and to the south a large number of small and medium enterprises can be found. During the last few decades the County has experienced a considerable industrial growth in particular in the timber, furniture and metallurgical industries (County of Viborg, 1997). In the 1990s the unemployment rate was about 10% and at the same time SMEs were complaining about a lack of highly qualified employees.

The discourse within which the County of Viborg takes action is clearly that of globalization and Europeanization. The perception is that its industry "depends on the fluctuations of the international and European markets" (Grossmann, Umbsen and Furth, 1998: 53). The County is active in both the European and the international fields by participating in a number of networks such as the North Sea Commission and by implementing European programmes such as ADAPT (County of Viborg, 1997). Uwe Lorenzen, the international relations officer for the County of Viborg, emphasises the importance of the flow of information between countries and of training visits for the promotion of processes of policy transfer.¹⁵

At the national level, environmental awareness is an influential part of the discourse. In the early 1990s concepts such as environmental economics, lasting technologies and standards of environmental protection became central to the public debate (Grossmann, Umbsen and Furth, 1998: 53). Danish companies are considered as pioneers in this field but it is primarily the largest companies that have most of the experience. The County of Viborg, taking into account the large number of SMEs placed in its territory as well as the need for environmental projects, took action by launching its first environmental programme named

15. Telephone Interview with Uwe Lorenzen, International Affairs Officer, Viborg Amt, 13/2/01.

'Introduction to Cleaner Technology in SMEs in the County of Viborg 1992-1994' (Viborg County, 1996: 1).

The programme took place in co-operation with the Technological Information Centre (TIC) in Viborg and included 82 projects mainly in the area of development and the introduction of cleaner technology in manufacturing processes but also general environmental assessments, environmental management and projects on market analysis. These companies are very aware of environmental problems but they don't have enough experience of the financial implications and possible economic advantages of dealing with these problems. It was concluded that there is a need for the development of programmes focusing on the training of the managers and the employees of the SMEs and also the provision of expert knowledge in the companies. A final point about the programme is that it took place through a network of co-operation between Viborg County, the TIC, over 60 firms of consultants and a number of training and educational institutions. The network functioned in a very effective way which means that such a method of working can be adopted again in the future (Viborg County, 1996: 3-5).

A new 3-year programme called 'Environmental Economics-Competitive Advantages' was launched in 1996 as a follow-up activity. Two services were offered to the SMEs. Firstly, the conduct of a specific environmental analysis in order to prioritise the environmental development projects to be undertaken by the SME. Secondly, external consultancy for the implementation of the development projects (Viborg County, 1996: 5). Another aspect of the programme was the creation of job opportunities in the environmental sector. In particular, the enterprises were given the chance to employ qualified unemployed people for six months without any financial implications. 'Environmental Economics-Competitive Advantages' was chosen by the Headways research action as an example of good practice for a variety of reasons. The first reason was that it enabled the creation of a regional network working on employment and the environment. The second reason was that 70% of the participants found a job in the company where they did their practical training. Thirdly, it proved to be profitable for the SMEs who were involved. Finally, it was evaluated as a model that can be transferred not only to other Danish regions but also to European regions (Grossmann, Umbesen and Furth, 1998: 55-58).

In March 1999 the agents involved in the Ecotrans project were brought

together for the first time at a study visit in Viborg. The aim of this meeting was to present to the partners the most relevant aspects of the Viborg model that could plausibly be transferred elsewhere. The first stage of the meeting involved gathering information and visiting the members of the Viborg network at their work places. This included meetings with representatives from Viborg County, from TIC, from training institutions and from SMEs. The second stage of the meeting involved the implementation of two parallel transfer planning workshops for analysing the transferability of the Viborg project to Dresden and to Piraeus (Grossmann, July 2000: 17-23). In the following sections the findings of these workshops and the attempt to implement their conclusions is further discussed.

The Policy Transfer Process in Piraeus

The prefecture of Piraeus was the first target area for the Ecotrans project. Piraeus is the port of Athens and it is an area that has experienced major structural changes during the last two decades. Shipping industry which was one of the main areas of activities for the area has declined significantly and Piraeus has now a 28% unemployment rate which is one of the highest in Greece. A shift to the service industry and to the sectors of textiles, tobacco, transport, chemicals, wood, paper and metallurgy can be observed which has as a result led to the need for training for employees. At the same time Piraeus is an area of traffic overload, which means that the pollution of the environment in the area is quite high (University of Piraeus, May 1999: 35-41).

Globalization and Europeanization are part of the discourse of the Greek political and economic environment. Globalization is seen as a challenge for the SMEs that have to deal with open markets and competition. Moreover, the modernization of the methods of production and of competitiveness are often seen as the way forward for the SMEs of Piraeus (Piraeus Chamber of SMEs, 2000). It is interesting to note that globalization is not only seen as a problem faced by the SMEs but also as something positive:

Globalization for the Greek SMEs means competition with more powerful economies, but it also means a challenge for economic development and modernization by taking advantage of the opportunities for policy transfer coming from the EU.¹⁶

16. Interview with Poli Albataki, Head of the Small Industry Department, Piraeus Chamber of Small and Medium Sized Enterprises, Piraeus, 18/9/00.

So, globalization and Europeanization are most of the times seen as closely linked and Europe is seen as the natural environment for Piraeus to look for ideas and partnerships in order to deal with its problems (University of Piraeus, May 1999). However, environmental awareness, does not form part of the discourse in Piraeus. Indeed, the opposite is true. Although the law concerning the environment and the activities of companies is strict, in reality many companies are functioning illegally and the environment is a low priority (Grossmann, July 2000: 15).

The first phase of the policy transfer process involved an expert visit that took place in Piraeus in February 1999. The team that participated in the meeting consisted of Uwe Lorenzen from Viborg County and Peter Umbesen and Arthur Grossmann from Understandingbus. The fact finding visit included meetings with various agents and had as its goal the exploration of the conditions for the introduction of environmental employment projects in Piraeus and the identification of potential participants for the creation of a regional network for the implementation of Ecotrans. Public institutions such as OAED Piraeus, semi-public organisations such as the University of Piraeus and ANDIP and private institutions such as Walter Fissaber and Associates were among the organisations that were visited by the research team. The results from the visit of experts were encouraging but a few problems were also highlighted. The first positive element was that quite a few of the organisations have experience with European co-operation and projects. For example, ANDIP had been involved in a programme with the county of Viborg for the exchange of experience on waste management and recycling. The second point was that many of the organisations observed that it was a good time for projects focusing on employment and training because of the big unemployment problem at the region. Finally, ANDIP in particular had already set up a 'SMEs and Employment Support Centre' which had very similar functions to the Danish TIC's and could prove helpful in the implementation of the Ecotrans project. There were a few problems that were identified at this early stage of the policy transfer process. The first observation concerns the lack of environmental awareness in the Greek socio-political system. Although some of the potential partners have experience with environmental projects they all stressed that environmental issues are a low priority in Greece. The second problem is that the public sector including organisations such as OAED is very

centralised which means that decision-making and implementation of projects at local and regional levels is quite problematic. The final problem is that an overlap of activities can be observed between different organisations which makes it difficult to select the responsible agent for every activity. Moreover, co-operation between the different organisations is poor. The outcome of the experts visit in Piraeus was that the Greek partners agreed to draw-up a list of participants for the regional network. There was also an agreement between the Danish and the Greek partners to submit a quite ambitious proposal to the Leonardo project for the "adaptation and dissemination of a Danish tool for educational planning in Greece and Cyprus" (Understandingbus, 1/3/99).

A few months later, in May 1999, the first development workshop was organised in Piraeus. The workshop had a dual purpose. On the first day there was a meeting for organisations familiar with the Ecotrans project that was aiming at finding ways to improve the consulting and training schemes offered to SMEs on the same lines as the Viborg model. On the second day, the Ecotrans project was presented to the SMEs in order to ascertain their reaction. The local chambers of commerce and industry supported this activity and invited 400 SMEs. Unfortunately, the turnout was much lower including no more than 10 SMEs, possibly because the SMEs in Piraeus are quite small and don't have enough staff or time for meetings that don't lead to direct economic benefits. The ensuing discussion showed that the situation in Piraeus was a difficult one. The multitude of organisations and of programmes for SMEs and the complexity that this causes was once more emphasised. As a result the participants decided that a priority must be placed on co-operation and the possible integration of these organisations. Another outcome of the workshop was the establishment of a list which identified the most important problems that the SMEs felt they confronted. These included access to funding and technical information, opportunities for consultation about technical and financial aspects, environmental issues and effective vocational training. It was decided that the most important task at that moment was to establish a steering group that would meet regularly and be responsible for the implementation of the Ecotrans project. A follow-up workshop was organised for November 1999 and a working plan was developed. The University of Piraeus was made responsible for developing a proposal about further training for academics and their incorporation into SMEs and ANDIP was charged with providing a proposal about the consulting and training programmes

required by SMEs. The supervising team would make suggestions on job placements for unemployed people and outline possible areas of cooperation with OAED, on the improvement of the political framework and on the creation of a regional workshop (University of Piraeus, May 1999). Vassilis Tseledis, the coordinator from the University of Piraeus, in an interview evaluating the workshop said that he was satisfied with the outcome taking into consideration that these organisations met for the first time and that there is a lack of structures of co-operation in Piraeus.¹⁷ The presence of the Danish and German partners was described as catalytic for the success of the workshop.

The follow-up meeting took place in November 1999 although the Greek partners wanted to postpone it because they didn't have any results to present and they were afraid of the public impression that this would give. An agreement was finally reached to have an informal meeting. The first thing to observe from this process is that the participants at this meeting differ to the ones that met in May. The EEP Chamber of Commerce and the Office for Industrial Reform, in the prefecture of Piraeus were represented for the first time. At the same time some agents that played central roles during the May workshop, such as BEP, Walter Fissaber consultants and OAED Piraeus were absent. BEP was too busy with other responsibilities, Walter Fissaber consultants decided that the project was not profitable for them and OAED Piraeus had problems of sending a representative because of difficulties of co-operation with its central administration. The change of participants caused lack of continuity and inability of implementing decisions already taken. The second observation is that the spectrum of the problems that the Greek partners hoped to tackle through the Ecotrans project was far too broad and this was obvious from the beginning of the meeting. For example, they aimed at co-operating with OAED at the regional level to integrate a variety of regional and national agents into their initiative which would mean fighting against centralisation tendencies of the Greek public administration. Unfortunately, aims like these were beyond the scope of Ecotrans and were targeting more general structural problems of the Greek political system. Because of these irreparable factors at the beginning the meeting was going in different directions. Understandingbus tried to establish a more realistic agenda by proposing three themes for discussion: the development of a policy transfer network, the

17. Interview with Vassilis Tseledis, Deputy Professor, Department of Maritime Studies, University of Piraeus, Piraeus, 3/9/99.

discussion of possible projects for the effective support of SMEs and the development of projects for the effective training and job placement of unemployed graduates. Because of lack of time only the third theme was discussed and the Careers Office of the University of Piraeus presented some proposals. It was agreed that the goal of the project would be to develop training that takes into account the needs of SMEs. To start with a focus would be placed on the shipping services sector and the environmental dimension was left out of the project. The first actions to be taken would be the gathering of relevant information and the generation of applications to European projects such as Leonardo and Equal for further funding of the policy transfer process from Denmark. The network that was formed consisted of ANDIP, the chambers of commerce, the University of Piraeus and KEK Apopsi and different roles were allocated between them. Understandingbus in the evaluation of the meeting said that although the atmosphere was not relaxed and the participants were not very willing to make their ideas public, a project was finally agreed and a network had emerged (Grossmann, July 2000: 27-30).

The results of the policy transfer process in Piraeus cannot be described as a success. The Viborg model was not transferred to Piraeus and there is nothing to suggest that this will happen at the moment. In its final report, the University of Piraeus (June 2000) identifies only one area in which the project was successful - which is the organisation of meetings that brought together SMEs support institutions for the first time and introduced them to the idea of networking.

A variety of problems led to the failure of transferring the Viborg model in Piraeus (Grossmann, July 2000: 41-45). Firstly, there were problems related with the Greek political system and the particularities of the Greek society. The centralisation of public administration was a major problem. There is no autonomous regional policy which makes the implementation of a regional project very difficult. Arthur Grossmann explains that agencies that were essential for the project simply do not exist in Greece, for example a regional economic promotion department or a regional labour office.¹⁸ Mrs Getraud Loewen claims that the decentralisation of Greek public administration is the most important task for Greece at the moment.¹⁹ A consequence of centralised public administration is

18. Group Interview with Arthur Grossmann and Peter Umbesen, Co-ordinators of the Ecotrans Project, Understandingbus, Berlin, 3/7/00.

19. Interview with Getraud Loweven, Representative of the GD V of the European

that there is a lack of experience of working within networks in Greece. As far as it concerns Ecotrans, the first problem is that there is competition between the different training agencies so the chances for co-operation were very slim.²⁰ The second problem is that SMEs in Piraeus are very small and centrally managed which means that they didn't have staff available for participating in a network (Grossmann, July 2000: 44). Finally, there were problems with the SMEs. The SMEs in Piraeus have more basic problems than the SMEs in Viborg. A lot of them are unregistered and operate with legal as well as environmental and health and safety problems (University of Piraeus, June 2000). There is a lack of staff which is trained and available to participate in projects such as Ecotrans and there is also a lack of sufficient information on European projects and funding possibilities.²¹

The second set of problems was related to the organisation of the Ecotrans problem in particular. There was a time constraint. The 20 months period for the transfer of the Viborg model to Piraeus was not enough. Because of the previous three factors there was need for more time for the creation of a network and for the search of alternative methods for the implementation of the Viborg model. There was also a budget constraint. Because of the lack of staff at the SMEs and at the rest of the agencies involved there was a need for more money in order to employ temporary staff to run the Ecotrans project.²² Finally, there was a problem of co-ordination. The University of Piraeus which was the co-ordinator in Piraeus was not the right kind of organisation to run such a project. Although the University is interested in working close with SMEs in order to improve the training that it offers and the employability of its graduates, it doesn't have the necessary experience.²³ Additionally, too much pressure and work load was directed to only one person, Vassilis Tseledis, who also has many other

Commission, Dessau, 7/7/00.

20. Group Interview with Arthur Grossmann and Peter Umben, Co-ordinators of the Ecotrans Project, Understandingbus, Berlin, 3/7/00.

21. Interview with Panayiotis Vogas, Partner of the SME Toner Artist, Piraeus, 18/9/00.

22. Interview with Vassilis Tseledis, Head of the Maritime Studies Department, University of Piraeus, Athens, 20/9/00.

23. Group Interview with Arthur Grossmann and Peter Umben, Co-ordinators of the Ecotrans Project, Understandingbus, Berlin, 3/7/00 and interview with Panayiotis Vogas, Partner of the SME Toner Artist, Piraeus, 18/9/00.

responsibilities in the University. Other organisations should have been involved from the beginning of the process, for example by participating in the visit in Viborg (Grossmann, July 2000: 44).

The Policy Transfer Process in Dresden

The second target area for the Ecotrans project was Saxony in East Germany and in particular Dresden and Zwickau. Dresden is a historical but also a technological city of 480,000 inhabitants. SMEs are not very strong apart from the ones in the chemical sector and the city's focus is on attracting large investments. The unemployment rate in the area is quite high (14.7 per cent in April 2001) and training is one of its priorities. Zwickau is a district consisting of 5 regions with a total population of 140,000. The district has a strong industrial sector which is mainly made up of SMEs. The unemployment rate is high and the measures taken up to now have not been effective because of their short-term nature (Grossmann, July 2000: 10-13). Globalization and Europeanization are part of the discourse within which policy change takes place in East Germany. Sigmar Kuehl described globalization as a significant factor for policy decisions and emphasised the importance of EU funding for the implementation of projects. Finally, as far as it concerns ecology and sustainable development as part of the discourse both Sigmar Kuehl and Juergen Israel agreed that they play a much more important role than in other European countries.²⁴ Combining environmental and labour market policies is something that is already working and seems to be the way forward for the future.

The first part of the policy transfer process involved visits to Dresden and to Zwickau in February 1999 and in March and July 1999. The participants at the Dresden meeting were the representatives from Understandingbus and from Viborg, SBG and a number of labour and environmental policy makers. The meeting took the form of a roundtable discussion at which the situation in Dresden was presented. Two main problems were identified. The first problem was that the focus of the Saxon regional government was on large-scale industry and not enough attention was given to SMEs which meant that it was felt that an

24. Group Interview with Sigmar Kuehl, Representative of SBG Dresden and Israel Juergen, Representative of UNROS Zwickau with the participation of Darren Lilleker, Ecotrans Researcher of Barnsley College and Christiane Reinsch, Representative of Understandingbus, Dessau, 7/7/00.

effort should be made to convince policy-makers for the importance of SMEs. The second problem was related to the lack of consultants that the SMEs could have easy and cheap access to. Taking into consideration the above, two major decisions were made. The first decision was to start the process by transferring the Danish TIC publicly financed consulting organisation. The second decision concerned the field of action of ECOTRANS and it was agreed that it should be broadened to include other areas apart from the environment such as quality management, marketing and information technologies. In Zwickau, the problems identified were quite similar but there was also a worry about the creation and the sustainability of a regional network. A similar decision reached was that the focus of Ecotrans should not purely be on the environment but it should also include at least information technology (Grossmann, July 2000: 10-14).

The next phase of the policy transfer process, which was similar the Piraeus case-study, was the organisation of a development workshop in July 1999. This took the form of a roundtable discussion and in the first place the SMEs were not invited. The goal of the workshop was to build an employment and environment network following the Viborg model and to develop a plan of action. The meeting was organised into three phases titled the 'inspiration', the 'criticism' and the 'fantasy' phase. The 'inspiration' phase consisted of a detailed presentation of the Viborg model. The 'criticism' phase involved a discussion of the advantages and the problems of the implementation of a project like that in Saxony. A variety of problems were identified during this phase. The problem with local public administration was identified. Important agencies such as the employment office of Zwickau didn't participate and lacked organisational, networking and promotion skills. In addition, there were funding limitations in local communities and districts. Other problems included the lack of consulting institutions and the incapacity of the SMEs to conduct training and environmental auditing or to build networks because of the day to day struggle for survival. In the 'fantasy' phase decisions for the development of regional networks were made. In Zwickau, an agreement was reached to include a network co-ordinator in the budget because of the unsuccessful experience of creating a network in 1994. The conclusion of the meeting was that regional networks should be developed in both Zwickau and Dresden and concrete programmes should be designed in order to approach the authorities and to bid for EU funding (Grossmann, July 2000: 31-35).

In January 2000 the next stage of the policy transfer process took place in

Dresden in the form of an information meeting for SMEs. In the period between the two meetings efforts were made to find partners for the regional network. The meeting was a success because of its vast attendance with the participation of 100 representatives of SMEs, economic promoters and training institutions. The Viborg model was for the first time presented to a vast audience and useful contacts were established. On the next day the core participants, the Danish partners and Understandingbus had a follow-up meeting in order to plan their action. Several issues were identified including the lack of a co-ordinator in Zwickau able to run the Ecotrans project. In the Dresden region a decision was reached to continue with the transfer process, to assess the various players and to approach the SMEs with concrete offers. SBG and Understandingbus were allocated the responsibility of applying to the EU's Leonardo programme in order to continue exchanging experiences with Viborg.

The policy transfer process to Saxony has been described as a success by a variety of agents, including the organisers, the Greek partners and the observers from Barnsley.²⁵ One of the most important results is that through the Ecotrans project a better understanding of the SMEs and their problems was obtained. In Zwickau, in particular, there was a clear interest in the development of a regional network for the support of SMEs. There are still obstacles such as the absence of the Employment Office from the network and the problem of persuading the regional authorities of the importance of Ecotrans. By the end of the official timetable for the Ecotrans project the plan was to persuade the regional authorities to support Ecotrans, to set up a counselling centre in the form of the Danish TIC, and, finally, to bring the SMEs into the network. In Dresden, Ecotrans was again a success. The agreement by the end of the official Ecotrans period was that a focus should be placed on the training aspect of Ecotrans through further studies of the support structures for SME's and through improving their counselling, training and funding services and by continuing the transfer process from Denmark. Three projects were identified in order to emulate the Danish model. The first project involved research on the economic situation and needs of the

25. Group Interview with Arthur Grossmann and Peter Umbesen, Co-ordinators of the Ecotrans Project, Understandingbus, Berlin, 3/7/00; Interview with Vassilis Tseledis, Deputy Professor, Department of Maritime Studies, University of Piraeus, Piraeus, 3/9/99 and interview with Keith Brock, International Relations Officer, Barnsley College, Barnsley, 13/7/00.

SMEs in order to design the necessary support programmes in accordance with the Viborg model (Grossmann, July 2000: 46-50) and it has been concluded. The second project involved the training of Saxon instructors and counsellors in Viborg, through Leonardo Da Vinci funding. The focus of the visit was low-level training advice, and need-oriented educational planning and offerings in order to fully incorporate the Danish model (European Commission, 27/3/00). The project was completed in summer 2001. The third project concerned the establishment of a support network for ecologically oriented enterprises in the Dresden area and is on-going. This project involved the co-ordination of a funding mechanism oriented towards the needs of the SMEs, the establishment of what they called the 'one-door principle' for the dissemination of information to the SMEs, the development of a counselling structure in accordance with the Danish TIC and the linking of the economic development to the principle of sustainability (Grossmann, July 2000: 46-50).

In summary, there were two main reasons for the perceived success of the Ecotrans project in Saxony. Firstly, the familiarity of the Saxon organisations with the idea of working within a network. Secondly, the good co-ordination and communication with policy makers. Other factors such as the familiarity of the Saxon partners with environmental issues, the decentralised organisation of the public administration in Germany as well as the urgency of finding new solutions to the training needs of SMEs also fostered the implementation of the Ecotrans project in Saxony.

The Policy Transfer Process in Barnsley

The third area of interest to the Ecotrans project was Barnsley in South Yorkshire, UK. In this context, Barnsley College was given the role of an observer in order to study the possibility of transferring the Viborg model to Barnsley. The Barnsley region is characterised by a decline in traditional industry, in coal mining which has resulted in a growth of SMEs but also in high structural unemployment and neglect of the environment. Unemployment is concentrated among the uneducated and unskilled. SMEs face many difficulties such as finding markets for their products and being internationally competitive (Lilleker, 2000: 6-7). The discourses of globalization, Europeanization and sustainable development are closely linked to the idea of the regional regeneration of

Barnsley. The EU is seen as a source of models for policy transfer that will lead to sustainable development (Lilleker, 2000a). The EU is also seen as particularly important for its funding opportunities.²⁶ Although, environmental issues are seen as important and the British government has taken action since 1997, the SMEs of the region cannot see a direct link between ecology and economic advantages (Lilleker, 2000: 8-15).

Barnsley College had the role of an observer at the Ecotrans project. It participated in the first visit to Viborg and then kept a passive role awaiting the results of the policy transfer process in Piraeus and in Dresden. The only major activity that took place in Barnsley was a dissemination seminar in July 2000. A variety of agents including members of local partnerships, local government, governmental and non governmental organisations were invited but at the end only a few NGOs participated in the meeting. A representative of Understandingbus was also present which in itself was considered to be a beneficial factor.²⁷ Ecotrans and the Viborg model were presented and then, organisations such as SYEP outlined their relevant activities. One of the first things that was observed, was that the environmental element could not be a priority for the area in the first place and that a focus should be placed on the economic advantages of the model. There were indications that a local network existed which could be used as the basis for the transference of the Viborg model. The seminar was incorrectly evaluated as a success although attendance was low and the follow-up activities were not clearly stated (Grossmann, July 2000: 38-40).

The most important outcome of the Ecotrans project for Barnsley was the research that was undertaken on the transferability of the Viborg model to South Yorkshire. The conclusion was that in order for the model to be transferred and to be useful for the region, it should be adapted. Two central changes had to be made. Firstly, an emphasis should be placed on regional economic development and not on the environment, and, secondly, the training schemes needed to focus on both the unskilled and the skilled because of the differences of the nature of the unemployment in Barnsley. The major contribution of the Ecotrans project is

26. Interview with Keith Brock, International Relations Officer, Barnsley College, Barnsley, 13/7/00.

27. Interview with Keith Brock, International Relations Officer, Barnsley College, Barnsley, 13/7/00.

highlighted on the report (Lilleker, 2000: 14):

At present, employment, economic growth and the environment are all seen as concerns for the future, but in no planning document are they combined, thus a strategy to provide a single solution, as opposed to several individual solutions, does not seem to have been considered. Introducing just such a strategy would be a key role for the Ecotrans project.

The major obstacle to the implementation of Ecotrans is predicted to be the limited financial autonomy enjoyed at the local level. In addition, other alternative problems such as selling the project in the market place need to be considered together with a need to change the attitude towards environmental issues in Britain (Lilleker, 2000).

Evaluation and Results of the Ecotrans Project

The Evaluation of the Ecotrans Project

The Ecotrans project was discussed and evaluated during a meeting organised by Understandingbus in Dessau, East Germany in July 2000. The meeting took place parallel to the EVA network annual general assembly and had two phases. During the first phase the project was discussed between the Ecotrans partners and during the second phase it was presented to and discussed by the EVA network members. Unfortunately, the partner from Piraeus was not able to participate and consequently the evaluation concentrated on the experiences of the other partners. After a brief discussion of the developments in the three target areas the session concentrated on the general qualifications offered by Ecotrans to the partners. Both the partners from Dresden and from Barnsley outlined what they had learned in relation to networking which was one of the most important aspect of the project. For example, they learned how to deal with conflict between members of the network. Another important aspect was the importance of the correct timing for introducing a new project and of having the necessary personal contacts. The partner from Viborg emphasised the significance of knowing how to be a consultant and accepting the work involved around it in order to facilitate the transfer of your own model. Finally, Understandingbus elaborated on its own experience as a moderator of the policy transfer process (Ladi, 6/7/00).

The second phase of the evaluation was combined with the EVA network general assembly and focused on the possibilities for further policy transfer to occur. After the presentation of the results of the Ecotrans project, the participant organisations outlined what they considered as their exemplary projects for transfer in order to plan further funding applications to the EU. Working groups were then organised, and specific ideas were put forward. It is quite possible that further policy transfer will occur between, for example, XARXA local from Spain and SBG from Saxony on a project on environmental support centres for SMEs (Understandingbus, 25/8/00) but nothing has happened yet.

In summary, the evaluation of the Ecotrans project concluded with some specific points. Firstly, the 20 months period that was allocated for the transfer of the project to both Piraeus and Dresden was very short. The successful transfer in Dresden was facilitated by the fact that it was easy for Understandingbus in terms of language, distance and cultural proximity to the situation to constantly help Dresden at the implementation stage of the project. Secondly, the greater the economic, political, administrative and cultural differences between the target areas to the Viborg region, the greater the problems with the transfer process. For example, the centralisation of the Greek public administration and the lack of experience in working with networks were major constraints on the successful transfer of policy to Piraeus. Finally, educational institutions proved co-ordinating instruments successfully bringing different organisations together in the first place but specialist organisations needed to take over the process in the later phases of transfer (Grossmann, July 2000: 55-56).

The Methodological Implications of the Ecotrans Project

Apart from the practical goal of transferring the Viborg model to Dresden and Piraeus the Ecotrans project also had a second goal - to compose a methodological manual on processes of policy transfer drawing on the above experience. The materials that Understandingbus developed concentrate on three areas. Firstly, on some general points regarding processes of policy transfer. Secondly, on specific practical suggestions on the policy transfer process. And, finally, on a list of useful contacts and EU projects that could fund a policy transfer process.

As far as the first area is concerned, the central argument is that for policy

transfer to be successful the model project needs to be adjusted according to the local political and cultural conditions. As it is stated in the *Transfer Handbook* (Grossmann and Umbsen, June 2000: 1.1):

Experience gathered from a whole series of co-operation projects subsidised by the EU has shown a number of successful approaches to be doomed to failure if transferred without further adjustment to the specific context of a different region.

Three more necessary preconditions for a successful transfer are outlined by Understandingbus:

- *The necessity for material incentives:* there should be a budget that will pay for the consultants from the model region, for the local co-ordinators of the region that is transferring the model and for the transnational organiser (e.g. Understandingbus).
- *The necessity for time:* the preparation of the policy transfer and the adaptation and implementation of the model is a long-term process that will take at least two years.
- *The requirement for professional networks and facilitators:* institutions with expertise in searching for best practice, organising and evaluating a policy transfer process are important (Grossmann and Umbsen, June 2000).

In relation to practical suggestions for a successful transfer, Understandingbus has developed detailed information on transfer planning, implementation and evaluation. Grossmann and Umbsen (2000) identify the central actors of a transfer process and also describe the stages that should be followed. They argue that there are two main stages, the preparation and the realisation which are then divided to many other sub-stages. The activities that should take place during each sub-stage as well as the methods and instruments to be used and the outcomes to be expected are also outlined. Finally, the third area that Understandingbus focuses is to provide information on sources for good practice in environment and employment which includes a number of relevant European networks. A discussion of EU funding schemes such as EQUAL and LEONARDO that are described as "funding sources for transfer projects", is also provided (Grossmann and Umbsen, June 2000: Annex).

Case-Study Analysis

The Ecotrans project provides a telling illustration of the role of knowledge institutions in successful and unsuccessful processes of policy transfer. In this section the structure and agency framework is applied to the case-study and its main theoretical hypotheses are tested. Then, the hypothesis about policy transfer as a process of globalization and/or Europeanization is discussed and the role of Understandingbus during the process is analysed. An application of the policy transfer network framework to the Ecotrans case-study then follows.

The Structure and Agency Relationship

Three theoretical propositions on the structure and agency relationship need to be explored:

The first proposition follows from Mouzelis (1995) distinction between micro and macro actors and structures and his claim that macro actors and structures will have more influence over time.

The case-study shows that as far as it concerns structures this proposition can only be partially verified. Macro-structures such as the EU and the German civil society do play an important role but others such as the German government don't. This is due to the level that the Ecotrans project takes place which is the local rather than the national. As far as it concerns micro-structures, again an inconsistency can be observed. So, the EVA network is a micro-structure which plays a central role during the case-study, being the source of the Ecotrans partners. On the other hand, other micro-structures such as ANDIP in Piraeus which are expected to have a significant input to the Ecotrans project, finally have a very passive role. The proposition seems to work better as far as it concerns agents. Macro-agents which are the Ecotrans partners do have more influence over time. It could be argued that the difficulty with this proposition is the way in which micro and macro-structures as well as micro and macro agents are identified within a case-study. The boundaries between micro and macro are not so strict and it could be a possibility that a structure such as the EVA network could be described as macro-structure rather than as micro-structure. However, the validity of this proposition seems to be more important from an organisational rather than an analytical perspective.

The second proposition is that structural elaboration will emerge from the interaction between structure and agent at one time/place and will influence this relationship at another time/place (Archer, 1985).

In the Ecotrans case-study structural elaboration can only be observed in the successful part of the policy transfer process to Saxony. The creation of an organisation similar to the Danish TIC took place in Saxony during the implementation phase. In Piraeus, where the policy transfer process was unsuccessful no structural elaboration can be observed. The way that structural elaboration in Saxony will influence the structure and agency relationship in the future cannot be still identified. A longitudinal analysis is needed in order to have some meaningful conclusions as far as it concerns this part of the proposition. It is speculated, though, that if the TIC institution is successful in Saxony, more opportunities for further policy transfer to occur will arise. In general, it can be argued that when a policy transfer process is successful, structural elaboration is more likely to happen rather than when a policy transfer failure occurs.

The third proposition is that structure and agent will either exist in a duality or a dualism depending on whether the agents reproduce the structures or distance themselves from them (Mouzelis, 1995).

Box 7.1 summarises the relationships between macro-structures and macro-agents during the Ecotrans project. The EVA network is also included in the analysis because although it is a micro-structure, it plays a significant role. As Understandingbus is the knowledge institution organising the policy transfer process it exists in a duality with all the structures during the whole process. This condition, though, was not enough on its own for policy transfer to be successful. SBG which is the central macro-agent in Saxony, exists in a duality with all the structures while University of Piraeus and Barnsley College don't. It could be argued that when policy transfer doesn't occur relationships of dualism are more likely to exist. Viborg Amt, the macro-agent in Denmark where the project originated from, also exists in a duality with all the structures. It can be concluded that relationships of duality between structures and agents and successful policy transfer are two conditions that are closely interlinked.

Box 7.1: Relationships of Duality or Dualism between the Structures and Agents Involved in the Understandingbus Case-Study

Structures/ Agents	<i>EU</i>	<i>German government</i>	<i>German civil society</i>	<i>EVA network</i>
<i>Understandingbus</i>	duality	duality	duality	duality
<i>SBG</i>	Duality	duality	duality	duality
<i>University of Piraeus</i>	Duality	dualism	dualism	duality
<i>Barnsley College</i>	duality	dualism	dualism	duality
<i>Viborg Amt</i>	duality	duality	duality	duality

Globalization and Europeanization

In order to explore the issue of globalization and Europeanization during the development of the structure and agency relationship throughout the case-study two factors are important. Firstly, the extent to which the environment in which Understandingbus functions has changed and become more globalized and/or Europeanized and secondly, the perceptions of the different agents about globalization and Europeanization and the way they influence their decisions. It has become evident through this case-study that environmental problems are seen as global and they are confronted at a European or a global level. The idea of combining environmental and employment solutions is in accordance with the concept of sustainable development which is central in the European and global discourse. Furthermore, the German environmental policy is interrelated to the EU policy. Finally, organisations such as Understandingbus are always welcome to apply for EU funding, especially if they share the same belief system. For example, in the Ecotrans case-study the fact that Understandingbus also supported the idea of sustainable development enabled it to get funding for the Headways research action. A tendency for international co-operation can be abstracted out from this case-study but whether it is described as a process of globalization or of Europeanization is a theoretical as well as a political issue as it is analysed in the first part of the thesis.

If we now turn to the different conceptualisations of globalization for the different agents involved and the way it affects their decisions, the theoretical conclusion about the multi-dimensionality of the concept comes to the fore. An interesting point that can be made here is that people define globalization

according to their current occupation or interest. SMEs and organisations working for the support of SMEs see globalization as open competition and as a challenge for the future. For example, P. Vogas states that:

At a professional level, which means at a company level, globalization means open market, many opportunities for the transfer of know-how; it means many prospects. At a personal and social level, there is more fear.²⁸

In her discussion of globalization Getraud Loewen mentions the same challenges but characteristically says that "the aim is to protect Europe".²⁹ Finally, Arthur Grossmann who is more interested in policy transfer claims that:³⁰

Globalization helps transfer projects in a certain way, in so far as it puts many agents under pressure to change and to introduce innovation in order to keep pace with the general social development.

It can be argued that the difficulties that one encounters at a theoretical level when trying to define globalization are a projection of the diversity of perceptions that exist at a practical level. A more central issue for this thesis is the impact of these forces on policy convergence and/or divergence and the role of policy transfer during these processes.

Policy Convergence or Policy Divergence?

The hypothesis that has been presented in relation to policy convergence/divergence is that:

Policy transfer represents a mechanism of globalization and Europeanization leading to convergence/divergence of ideas, institutions, policies and paradigms which provide further opportunities for policy transfer to occur.

The Ecotrans case-study is an example of a policy programme transfer where both policy convergence and divergence can be identified. Policy convergence took

28. Interview with Panayiotis Vogas, Partner of the SME Toner Artist, Piraeus, 18/9/00.

29. Interview with Getraud Loweven, Representative of the GD V of the European Commission, Dessau, 7/7/00.

30. Group Interview with Arthur Grossmann and Peter Umbesen, Co-ordinators of the Ecotrans Project, Understandingbus, Berlin, 3/7/00.

place between the target region of East Germany and the Danish model region when it was decided to transfer the Danish programme 'Environmental Economics-Competitive Advantages' to Dresden. An important reason for the success of the policy transfer process in this case was that institutional and policy similarities between Denmark and Germany already existed. For example, institutional arrangements are similar, with decentralisation playing an important role in the administrative systems of both countries. Moreover, environmental awareness and policies between the two countries have lots in common and policy styles such as the idea of networking are also alike. The role of Understandingbus was also significant for the success of the policy transfer to Dresden. The representatives from Understandingbus explain that the geographical proximity between Saxony and Berlin as well as the common language and the ability of understanding the administrative and cultural characteristics of Saxony in depth, meant that close attention was paid to the problems encountered during the policy transfer process and direct action towards their solution was taken.³¹

The introduction of the Viborg model to Piraeus was not successful which means that we cannot observe a concrete convergence of the Danish and Greek institutions, policies and paradigms. At the same time there was no policy change to suggest a divergence between the two regions. What can be observed is a transfer of ideas such as the necessity for the Greek public administration to be decentralised or the possibility of creating jobs in the environmental sector. A convergence between Denmark and Greece is possible in the long term when these ideas become more mature but not through the Ecotrans project. One set of reasons for why it was so difficult to transfer the Viborg model to Piraeus is related to broader problems relating to the nature of the Greek political system such as the centralisation of public administration causing a lack of autonomy for regional structures and a lack of experience of working through and with networks. A second set of problems can be identified in relation to specific problems in the Piraeus region such as those confronting the SMEs in Piraeus. Finally, the third set of problems is closely linked to the particularities of the Ecotrans project such as the timing of the process and budget constraints of the project itself as well as the problems of co-ordination in the Piraeus area.

The case-study provides some evidence in support of the second part of the

31. Group Interview with Arthur Grossmann and Peter Umbesen, Co-ordinators of the Ecotrans Project, Understandingbus, Berlin, 3/7/00.

hypothesis; that convergent policy landscapes can create more opportunities for policy transfer to occur. The fact that all the organisations are part of the EVA network and they meet annually under the direction of Understandingbus shows that possibilities for further policy transfer exist. It is interesting that policy transfer is not expected to happen only in the case of Viborg and Dresden where we already had a successful experience but also in the case of Piraeus by learning from the present mistakes and also in the case of Barnsley by acquiring knowledge from the two other regions.³²

The Role of Understandingbus in the Policy Transfer Network

Some interesting conclusions can be drawn from the Ecotrans case-study about the second hypothesis, that:

Knowledge institutions are key agents for the dissemination of ideas and thus of policy transfer in the international domain. Evans and Davies (1999) conception of a 'policy transfer network' is a useful heuristic framework for analysing the role of knowledge institutions as agents of policy transfer.

The study of the role of Understandingbus in a policy transfer process gives merit to the hypothesis that knowledge institutions are key agents for the dissemination of ideas and thus of policy transfer in the international domain. As a founding member of the EVA network Understandingbus provided an international forum for the exchange of ideas. It also offered its experience in applying for EU funding and organising the Headways research action which was the starting point of the Ecotrans project. In brief, Understandingbus disseminated the idea of combining employment and environmental strategies and organised a policy transfer process.

The first issue to be explored in relation to the policy transfer process in the case of Ecotrans is whether it involved a coercive or voluntary process (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996). It is argued that in these instances we are confronted by a voluntary process of policy transfer. Of course, the nature of the project that was attempted to be transferred was heavily influenced by the priorities of the EU and of Understandingbus but the process can still be described as voluntary because

32. Group Interview with Arthur Grossmann and Peter Umben, Co-ordinators of the Ecotrans Project, Understandingbus, Berlin, 3/7/00.

the target regions were not forced to implement the project. So, the project was implemented in Saxony but it was not in Piraeus and only introductory steps were taken in Barnsley. The Evans and Davies (1999) concept of a voluntary policy transfer network can be applied in the case of Understandingbus in order to systematise the analysis and to evaluate the validity of the model. The sequence of stages underpinning the emergence and development of the policy transfer network is summarised in Box 7.2. The framework proves to be useful for the organisation of the case-study but there are some problems with it. The logic of the policy transfer stages is not always useful. For example, in the case of Ecotrans there is no clear cut boundary between the stages of search and of contact or of evaluation and decision, at least when the roles of the EU and of Understandingbus are observed. Additionally, there are some issues such as the previous work of Understandingbus with the EVA network on environmental issues which are not easily analysed through the application of the policy transfer network model. This is because they are not part of the actual transfer process.

A further exploration of the utility of the model is offered through the analysis of the developments in the three target regions through the application of the policy transfer network concept (Box 7.3). The framework proves to be a useful tool for mapping the development of the policy transfer process in the three target areas but there are some actions of the agents that cannot fit in the model. For example, in Barnsley the most important part of the policy transfer process was a research that was undertaken on the transferability of the Viborg model in South Yorkshire, which will be the base of whatever follows the Ecotrans project. Another problem is that some stages that cannot be distinguished from one another and some other stages could be possibly broken up even more. For example, trying to analyse the implementation of the Viborg model in Dresden by using the policy transfer framework is not easy because many different sub-stages, such as the application to the EU for Leonardo funding take place. Additionally, taking initiative from the policy transfer failure part of the case-study, it is argued that the policy transfer network seems to be able to systematise the analysis up to the point that the policy transfer process breaks. In the case of Piraeus this is the decision-making stage. In conclusion, it can be maintained that the policy transfer network framework is a useful heuristic device but there is space for some

Box 7.2: The Emergence and Development of a Voluntary Policy Transfer Network: the Case of Ecotrans

The Process of Transfer	The Role of the EU and of the German government	The Role of Understandingbus
1. Recognition	The EU and the German government recognise the importance of environmental problems.	Understandingbus is active in combining environmental with employment solutions.
2. Search	The EU searches indirectly for relevant agents and ideas through the establishment of funding programmes.	Understandingbus follows the funding developments in the EU.
3. Contact	The EU funds the Headways research action.	Understandingbus contacts the EU for the funding of Headways.
4. Emergence of information feeder network	The EU observes Understandingbus' actions.	Headways takes place through the use of the existing EVA network.
5. Cognition, reception and emergence of a transfer network	Funding for the Ecotrans project is obtained from the EU.	The Danish project is chosen as 'best practice' by the EVA network. A policy transfer of the Danish model to Piraeus and to Dresden named Ecotrans is organised by Understandingbus.
6. Elite and cognitive mobilisation	The EU is passive.	Understandingbus communicates with its contacts in all the regions to start the policy transfer process.
7. Interaction	The EU is passive.	Understandingbus organises an experts visit in Viborg where representatives of all the regions involved interact.
8. Evaluation	The EU is not formally active.	Understandingbus is not formally active.
9. Decision	The EU is not formally active.	Understandingbus is not formally active.
10. Implementation	The EU funds follow-up projects in order to encourage the implementation.	Understandingbus encourages the implementation of the project.

Source: Adapted from Evans and Davies (1999).

adaptations to be made in order to accommodate for cases of policy failure. A perfect match between the stages described in the policy transfer network and the stages of the case-studies cannot be achieved and should not be expected because this is not the role of a heuristic device.

Box 7.3: Successful and Unsuccessful Processes of Policy Transfer: the Case of Ecotrans

	Piraeus	Saxony	Barnsley
1. Recognition	The University of Piraeus and other agencies recognise the severity of the problem of unemployment in the region.	SBG Dresden and other agencies recognise the severity of the unemployment problem in the region and the possibility of combining environmental with employment solutions.	Barnsley College and other agencies recognise the severity of the problem of unemployment in the region. The British government recognises the importance of the environment.
2. Search	The regional agents are looking for European programmes that they could apply for.	The regional agents are looking for European programmes that they could apply for.	The regional agents are looking for European programmes that they could apply for.
3. Contact	The regional agents are passive.	The regional agents are passive.	The regional agents are passive.
4. Emergence of information feeder network	The University of Piraeus participates as a member of the EVA network.	SBG Dresden participates as a member of the EVA network.	Barnsley College participates as a member of the EVA network.
5. Cognition, reception and emergence of a transfer network	A fact finding visit takes place in Piraeus.	A fact finding visit takes place in Saxony.	There is no action in Barnsley because it acts as an observer.
6. Elite and cognitive mobilisation	The Development Workshop organised in Piraeus brings together the regional agents, the Danish partners and Understanding bus.	The Development Workshop organised in Saxony brings together the regional agents, the Danish partners and Understandingbus.	A Dissemination Seminar is organised in Barnsley bringing regional agents and Understandingbus together.

7. Interaction	Meetings with various agents take place. A follow-up meeting that brings together all the regional agents takes place.	An informational meeting for the regional SMEs and other actors takes place.	There is no action in Barnsley because it acts as an observer.
8. Evaluation	Conflict between the different agents in their attempt to create a regional network. Agreement on the importance of the employment aspect of the project and on living the environmental side out.	Problems in Zwickau but active interest in Dresden.	There is no action in Barnsley because it acts as an observer.
9. Decision	A decision is made to implement a similar to the Viborg model project.	A decision is made to implement a similar to the Viborg model project in Dresden.	There is no action in Barnsley because it acts as an observer.
10. Implementation	The implementation of the project does not take place.	Study visit of regional agents to Viborg. Beginning of the implementation phase.	There is no action in Barnsley because it acts as an observer.

The case-study, like the previous one, shows that knowledge institutions can be important agents of policy transfer, and potentially therefore, a catalyst to policy convergence. The fact that policy transfer was successful in Saxony but it was only partially successful in Piraeus if we accept that a transfer of ideas took place, shows that knowledge institutions have a multiple role to play in processes of policy transfer. In the next chapter the role of a Greek knowledge institution, Paremvassi, active during the transfer of the Ombudsman institution to Greece, is discussed.

8 The Transfer of Policy Institutions: Paremvassi and the Transfer of the Ombudsman Institution

Introduction

This chapter explores the process of policy transfer of the Ombudsman institution from a variety of Western European countries such as France, Britain and Sweden to Greece. It places particular attention on the role of Paremvassi, a Greek knowledge institution, during the policy transfer process. This case-study is interesting for three main reasons. Firstly, the adoption of the Ombudsman institution in Greece was a long term process and consequently its key features can be studied and compared with the short term processes offered by the other case-studies. Secondly, the Ombudsman institution in Greece can be described as a hybrid

case of policy transfer and the particularities of the process can be investigated in detail. Finally, civil society in Greece is weak and as a consequence Paremvassi plays a different role during the policy transfer process to that of the other cases.

The chapter is organised into three parts. The discourse as well as the structures and agents involved are first identified and a distinction between micro and macro agents and structures is made. The relationship between the structures and agents during the policy transfer process is then discussed. Finally, in an analysis section the theoretical propositions outlined in the first part of the thesis are explored and the policy transfer network model is applied in order to allow for comparisons to be made in the next chapter.

Identifying the Discourse Underpinning the Case-Study

The discourse through which the Ombudsman institution has been transferred to Greece is a multi-level one. The first level may be identified as globalizing pressures and the way in which they have affected the actions of the EU, of the Greek government and of the other national agents in relation to the transfer of the Ombudsman institution. The second level concerns Europeanisation and the way in which it has affected the Greek government and the other national agents in their policy transfer effort. Finally, the national discourse of modernization praises the third level of the multi-level discourse affecting the transfer of the Ombudsman institution.

The Ombudsman institution is a good example of the global spread of an idea. The rise of the welfare state has led to a growth of national bureaucracies and as a consequence the emergence of the necessity to protect citizens rights from maladministration. Although the existing literature on the Ombudsman institution doesn't make clear links with the globalization thesis, it often refers to the 'global' spread of the Ombudsman institution (e.g. Gellhorn, 1967 and Rowat, 1985). Indeed it can be argued that the globalization of the idea of the protection of citizens against maladministration has also signified the globalization of the Ombudsman institution. In 1978 the International Ombudsman Institute (IOI) was established and had as one of its primary purposes, "the promotion of the concept of Ombudsman and the encouragement of its development throughout the world" (IOI, 11/6/01: 4). Rowat (1985: 183) offers an international definition of the Ombudsman institution which is in accordance with IOI's description:

- 1) it is an independent and non-partisan office of the legislature, provided for in the constitution or by law, which supervises the administration;
- 2) it deals with specific complaints from the public against administrative injustice and maladministration; and,
- 3) it has the power to investigate, criticise and publicise, but not to reverse, administrative action.

The institution first appeared in Sweden in 1809 and has since then spread all around the world including the majority of EU countries. In the case of Greece, representatives from the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization participated in the conferences organised by the IOI and the fact that the institution already existed all around the world meant that:

There was a general pressure from the rest of the world for Greece that had already delayed the introduction of the institution, to proceed with the establishment of the Ombudsman.¹

Although an awareness of the international environment existed, globalization was only a part of the discourse that influenced Greece and it played an equivalent role to Europeanization.

In the Greek political discourse, when globalization is defined as something more than an economic process, it is closely linked to Europeanization. For example Professor Papoulias, in the Greek Sunday newspaper *To Bima* (14/1/01) states that,

The choices that integrate our country within the EU, are the choices that push her towards globalization.

The Preamble (Papadopoulos and Papadoniou, 7/2/97: 2) of the Ombudsman legislation brings these two concepts together once more:

Today, in conditions of globalization of the market and facing the direct prospect of European unification, with economical structures being more and more comparable, the quality of public services and of their relationship with the citizens constitutes a fundamental factor which will signal the difference and create the comparative advantage in the development effort. Institutions, such as the Ombudsman, which will activate society in its attempt for the improvement of structures, of processes and of services, will play a leading

1. Interview with Mr. Sarafiano, Legal Adviser for the Introduction of the Ombudsman Institution in the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization, Athens, 22/9/00.

role.

As far as the introduction of the Ombudsman institution in Greece is concerned, Europeanization was one of the two main discourses within which it developed. Mrs Foteinopoulou explains that:²

Because of the EU and of the international obligations that all states have to adapt their institutions and their legislation, Greece had to create an institution like all other European countries...Basically, all European countries, one after the other, created their own Ombudsman. The European Ombudsman was also put into action and so we followed, like we always do, we adopt whatever good happens within the EU.

Europeanization has always been closely linked to modernization within the Greek political discourse. Lavdas (1997: 252-254) argues that since the 1960's modernization provided clear linkages between domestic change and adjustment and European integration. What was meant by modernization was a synchronization of developments in Greece and in Western Europe and a rationalisation of public policy. The Ombudsman institution fitted this discourse perfectly. Mouzelis and Vassilopoulos (2000: 22), who are both founding members of Paremvassi state that:

We considered it (the Ombudsman) and we still consider it as a basic precondition for the democratic modernization of the country within the European integration framework.

Spanou explains that:³

The general climate of Greece being in a phase of showing a more European profile sustained the introduction of an institution which is seen as a symbol of democratic modernization.

In the next section the structures and the agents that formed and interacted within this multi-level discourse are introduced.

2. Interview with Mrs Foteinopoulou, Director of the State-Citizen Relationship Department of the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization, Athens, 3/10/00.

3. Interview with Mrs Spanou, Associate Professor in the University of Athens and informal consultant during the planning of the Ombudsman institution, Athens, 3/10/00.

Identifying Structures in the Case-Study

The Macro-Structures

The European Union as a Macro-Structure

The EU is the central macro-structure for the case study, especially after 1995 when the European Ombudsman was established, for two main reasons. Firstly, it created an indirect pressure for Greece to follow the European example and to introduce the Ombudsman institution and secondly, the European Ombudsman played the role of one of the central institutional models for Greece. The Ombudsman institution has a long tradition in the member-states of the EU. It originated in Sweden and at the moment all but one of EU member-states have national, regional or local Ombudsmen offices. Naturally, the idea of an Ombudsman for the EU was developed. In 1979, the European Parliament for the first time adopted a resolution calling for the establishment of an Ombudsman. The idea of a European Ombudsman was closely linked to the idea of European citizenship and an agreement was finally reached to include the institution in the Maastricht Treaty of 1992. The first European Ombudsman was formally appointed by the European Parliament in 1995 (The European Ombudsman, 1996: 1-2).

Most of the agents involved in the introduction of the Ombudsman institution in Greece describe the emergence of the European Ombudsman as a significant moment for the process in Greece. As Mr. Sarafianos characteristically states:⁴

I believe that the creation of the European Ombudsman was very important for Greece because it created a pressure within the European framework because Greece was one of the few countries in the EU that didn't have an Ombudsman office.

In 1996 Professor Makrydimitris edited a book on the Ombudsman institution and organised a book presentation where the European and Cypriot Ombudsmen were invited speakers and a number of ministers and government officials were also present.⁵ During this book presentation, Jacob Söderman (11/11/96), the European

4. Interview with Mr. Sarafiano, Legal Adviser for the Introduction of the Ombudsman Institution in the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization, Athens, 22/9/00.

5. Interview with Professor Makrydimitris, University of Athens and informal consultant

Ombudsman expressed his wish for such an institution to be created in Greece:

For the Greece of today, no European can believe that there is an urgent need for Greece to set up an Ombudsman as a symbolic act. Still, the establishment of a national Parliamentary Ombudsman will be welcomed as a clear step forward for the democratic and human ideals that we share in Europe, and also for the promotion of European citizens' rights. Many of us Europeans always look upon Greece and Greek philosophy as the cradle of western culture, which has produced many of the basic democratic principles and ideas of our common heritage. Thus we appreciate such a decision even more.

The European Ombudsman is appointed by the European Parliament and the duration of his/her mandate is five years, the same as members of the European Parliament. Any citizen or legal entity of the EU can directly or through a member of the European Parliament refer a complaint to the Ombudsman in respect of maladministration by a European institution (The European Ombudsman, 1994). Chryssanthakis (1996: 83-87) argues that one of its main weaknesses is that it doesn't have the right to act against national authorities that are implementing EU responsibilities. The Ombudsman also has the right to conduct enquiries following its own initiative. After the end of its enquiries the Ombudsman informs the body concerned about its findings and outlines its recommendations. However, as it is expected from the nature of the institution, the Ombudsman doesn't have the power to force European institutions to any changes or to penalise them for their actions. Besides, this is the case with most national Ombudsmen. At the end of each year it submits a report to the European Parliament. Finally, the Ombudsman has to perform his or her duties with complete independence (The European Ombudsman, 1994). The European Ombudsman was one of the models that determined the form of the Greek Ombudsman.

The Greek Structures

Greece is a country at the periphery of the EU and economically it is the weakest member-state. It gained its independence in 1830, much later than most European states, and at the beginning the new state comprised of only a small fraction of the territory it now possesses. Indeed, it was only after World War II that Greece took the form that it has now with the inclusion of the Dodecanese islands in

during the planning of the Ombudsman institution, Athens, 26/9/00.

its territory. Greek political life can be described as tormented because of the civil war that followed World War II and because of the waves of political authoritarianism (Clogg, 1979). Democracy was restored in 1974 and Greece joined the EC in 1981. The Greek political system is highly centralised and dominated by the political party in power which at the moment is the socialist party, PASOK. There is a low degree of legitimacy and institutionalisation of public policy and clientelism is common practice (Spanou, 1998: 473-474). The relationship between Greece and its neighbouring country Turkey is also turbulent and it means that Greece has at the moment the highest per capital defence budget in the EU.⁶ Two macro-structures are discussed in the context of this case study: Greek civil society and the Greek administrative system in relation to independent authorities and to administrative mediation mechanisms prior to the establishment of the Ombudsman office.

a) Greek Civil Society as a Macro-Structure

Civil society in Greece is usually described as weak compared with other West European countries (see Mouzelis, 1999: 40-52 and Tsoukalas, 1993: 9-52, Diamandouros, 2001). The reasons behind this are related to the processes underpinning the creation of the Greek state. The Ottoman Empire was not organised like the regimes of Western Europe where there was a balance between the monarch and the aristocracy which had as a result the formation of autonomous 'intermediate bodies'. The authority of the empire was absolute and this is why there is no appearance of 'intermediate bodies' between the Sultan and the people as in the rest of Western Europe. State elites and not the workers themselves are responsible for the creation of interest groups in Greece. In reality their aim is to increase their power base. In the second half of the 19th century, clientelistic relationships between the powerful local elites and the agricultural stratum can be observed. Clientelism led to a weak civil society and also because it allowed for the inclusion of only a part of the population and the means for participation were unorthodox (Mouzelis, 1999: 40-52). After the establishment of the third Greek modern republic in 1974 the relationship between central government and civil society remained an authoritarian

6. It consists the 8.14% of the general budget and the 3.17% of the country's GNP (Ministry of National Defence, 2000).

one. The centralisation of the Greek state allowed governments to attempt the control of farmer's movements, labour unions and associations of public employees. It can be argued though that it is not just the centralised Greek state but also the development of powerful political parties that was responsible for the weakness of Greek civil society (see Sotiropoulos, 1995, Mavrogordatos, 1998).⁷ Consequently most of the intermediate bodies or 'independent' organisations that are created are in reality closely linked to political parties or the institutions of the state. Indeed, even third sector organisations such as the 'Home for Blind People' that started off as private non profit organisations were ultimately nationalised (Tsakraklidou, 1999: 71-78).

Although this general agreement on the weakness of Greek civil society exists it can be argued that a broad range of non economic organisations such as environmental and feminist groups can be observed (Sotiropoulos, 1995 and Tsakraklidou, 1999: 71-78). Sotiropoulos (1995) argues that although trade unions are closely linked to political parties, this is not the case for new social movements. For example, although in 1974 the peace and feminist movements were organised by political parties, in the 1980s, the dominance of political parties faded and new independent organisations appeared. Another example is the environmental movement that now includes branches of international organisations and local groups.

The development of knowledge institutions has also been limited following the general pattern of Greek civil society. Since the 1980s a small number of non profit organisations aiming at advising and influencing the government have emerged. These include organisations such as the Hellenic Foundation for European and International Affairs (ELIAMEP) which was created in 1988, the Maragopoulou Institute and the Institute for Mediterranean Studies. An emphasis has been placed on foreign affairs related issues with organisations working on areas such as minorities, the relationship with the Balkans and international economic affairs (Day, 2000: 121-122). What has been particularly interesting is that most of these institutes are closely linked to universities and attract governmental funding. As is the case in Italy, their staff is mainly academics that are also paid by universities and their institutional affiliation is essential (Radaelli and Martini, 1998: 59-81). Political

7. For a more detailed discussion see the special issue on civil society in the Greek journal '*Civil Society*', 5, Winter 2000, where a variety of academics and politicians analyse the theme of strong political parties versus weak civil society.

parties also create research institutes to support their work in a similar way to German political parties.⁸ The latest development has been the emergence of a variety of organisations such as the Organisation for the Modernization of the Society (OPEK) in the 1990s. Ideologically they belong to the centre-left and they aim at assisting the government to modernise the country (Lakopoulos, 16/7/00: 10-11). The in-depth study of the role of Paremvassi in the policy transfer process of the Ombudsman institution will allow for some conclusions on the role and influence of knowledge institutions in Greece.

b) The Greek Administrative System: Independent Authorities and Administrative Mediation Mechanisms

Two aspects of the Greek administrative system are important for the study of the policy transfer of the Ombudsman institution. Firstly, the emergence of independent authorities (IAs) in the end of the 1980s in the Greek political system (Simou, 2000: 56-62) and secondly, the various mechanisms for the protection of citizens against maladministration that preceded the introduction of the Ombudsman.

In 1989 the creation of the National Radio and Television Council signified the introduction of IAs in the Greek political system. Greek IAs have been mainly inspired by the French 'Autorites Administratives Independantes' and the American 'Independent Regulatory Agencies' (Koulouris, 1993: 1140-1183). Certain British quangos and the Scandinavian Ombudsmen were also important sources of inspiration. IAs have three key characteristics. Firstly, they are, in theory, independent from government. Secondly, they often have the authority to introduce regulations and to impose fines. And thirdly, their members have specialist expertise compared to their prototypes particularly in relation to their claims of independence and their regulatory capacity. This is reflected in the tendency of ministers to participate in the selection of their personnel thus placing clear limit on their independence. Additionally, their regulatory capacity in the sense that they do not have extensive right of imposing fines is very limited. The importance of the introduction of IAs for the study of the Ombudsman institution lies in the fact that the

8. The majority of the information included in this paragraph is the result of informal meetings and discussions with knowledge institutions directors and researchers in Athens in September 2000.

Ombudsman has been described as the most successful independent authority in Greek administrative history.⁹

The institutions for the protection of citizens against maladministration that existed before the creation of the Ombudsman cannot be described as independent administrative authorities. In 1959, the Central Service for the Investigation of Complaints (CSIC) was created. CSIC units existed in each ministry and in each prefecture with an additional central service in the Prime minister's office. Public administration authorities had the duty to provide all necessary information for investigations and the CSIC had to investigate the problem, and if appropriate and desirable make proposals for the improvement of public administration (Ballas, 2000: 5). The CSIC was not independent because it was both too close to central government and dominated by the Prime Minister's office. It was ultimately abolished by the Military Regime in 1967 at which time a new institution called 'Commissioner of the Administration' was created by the colonels. The law concerning the Commissioner looked very progressive and was inspired by international models but in reality the new institution was a puppet of the military regime aimed at supervising public servants.

In 1987 one more attempt was made to create a mechanism for the protection of citizens against maladministration by public organisations. This was the Corps of Public Administration Inspectors (CPAI) which was a semi-autonomous board responsible for dealing with individual cases of maladministration and also for proposing ways of improving public services. The Inspectors were public servants who worked on detachment for the CPAI. The CPAI's work excluded the activities of the courts, the police, the army and the ministry of foreign affairs because they were considered as issues important for public security. In a similar vein to the CSIC, the CPAI was too close to central government to be independent. The 1987 Act also created the 'Mediator of the Administration' which was an institution very different to the international type of Ombudsman. Instead of being a mediator between the citizens and public administration, this institution was a mediator between the government and the CPAI (Oikonomou, 1996: 99-162). Additionally, both of these institutions were internal mechanisms of control enclosed within the Ministry of Interior, in contrast with the international type of Ombudsman, which is

9. Observation made during a day-conference organised by the journal *Applications of Public Law* on "Independent Administrative Authorities: Problems and Prospects", Athens, 19th September 2000.

an independent authority. Both the CPAI and the 'Mediator of the Administration' were abolished in 1997 and replaced by the Corps of Supervisors-Inspectors of Public Administration and of the Ombudsman.

The Micro-Structures

One of the micro-structures that played a significant role in preparing the ground for the introduction of the Ombudsman institution in Greece was the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).¹⁰ The OECD is described as a micro-structure and not as a macro-structure because it didn't play an important role during the final stage of the policy transfer process. The OECD has 30 member countries but it also has active relationships with about 70 other countries and with many NGOs. It is committed to democratic government and the market economy and it plays a prominent role in promoting good governance in public services. OECD's method is to identify what it calls 'policies that work' and to then disseminate them through 'dialogue, consensus and peer pressure' or in other words through mechanisms of voluntary and indirectly coercive policy transfer (OECD, 18/1/02). In that framework, the OECD has always played a role as advocate of the modernization of the Greek political and administrative system and it continues to play that role in the case of Ombudsman institution (Spanou, 1996: 100).

The second important micro-structure that played a role in the transfer of the Ombudsman institution to Greece was the International Ombudsman Institute (IOI) which is based in Canada. The IOI was established in 1978 and is an international non-profit organisation of ombudsman offices. One of its main aims is the:

promotion of the concept of ombudsman and the encouragement of its development throughout the world (IOI, 11/6/01).

In order to succeed in this aim it organises international conferences every four years and it encourages the exchange of information between ombudsmen throughout the world as well as the development of educational programmes and the conduct of research on the Ombudsman institution. It also engages in publications of reports and yearbooks.

10. Interview with Mrs Spanou, Associate Professor in the University of Athens and informal consultant during the planning of the Ombudsman institution, Athens, 3/10/00.

The Micro-Agents

None of the agents involved in this case-study can be described as a macro-agent as the transfer of the Ombudsman institution to Greece was not the result of a macro-agent actions but was due to an incremental process in which the political system matured and became receptive to the idea. Paremvassi may be identified as a significant micro-agent in this case-study because of its close support for the Ombudsman institution. Apart from Paremvassi, other important micro-agents included the Prime minister, individual MPs and academics who are discussed later in the analysis of the process of policy transfer.

Paremvassi as a Micro-Agent

Paremvassi is a non-profit, non-governmental organisation that was established in 1995. Its full name is the Citizens Association for 'Paremvassi' which means 'intervention'. What it stands for is that Greece has to proceed with its modernization process within the EU framework and that the only way forward is to support and strengthen Greece's weak civil society. As a result, one of the most important factors for Paremvassi's actions is the promotion of citizen's protection mechanisms against the state (Paremvassi, 1999). As Vassilopoulos explains:¹¹

It was an attempt to say that there is a way out and that Greece has to complete its modernization process... We don't want to be part of a political party, we want to help Greece in a consensual, European way.

Paremvassi has three main goals. Firstly, to create and to disseminate original proposals and solutions for Greece's social and political problems. Secondly, to contribute to the dissemination of substantial and accurate information to the citizens on issues of public concern. And thirdly, to promote the protection of citizens against the state through the support of institutions such as the Ombudsman. Its key activities include conferences, workshops, meetings with politicians, publications in the daily press and, since 1999, the publication of the journal 'Civil Society' (Paremvassi, 1999). Paremvassi has been active in a variety of areas in its few years of existence. It has put forward proposals on a range of policies such as education (Kathimerini, 9/3/97), foreign policy (Tsatsis, 29/3/97) and the relationship between

11. Interview with P. Vassilopoulos, Director of Paremvassi, Athens, 4/9/00.

the state and the church (Eleutherotypia, 27/5/98).

Paremvassi generally complies with Stone's (1996: 14-16) definition of a think-tank which involves these criteria. Paremvassi claims to be an independent organisation acting in Greek political life. Its members clearly believe in its independence as their statements during the 2000 General Assembly illustrate:

Paremvassi has to sustain its independence by supporting substantial modernization of the country regardless of the side of the political spectrum that it comes from (Vernikos in Paremvassi, 12/12/2000).

In contrast with other organisations that have a strong ideological direction towards the centre-left ..., Paremvassi has to avoid any participation in political party processes of any kind (Maraveyias in Paremvassi, 12/12/2000).

According to Stone's second criterion, Paremvassi creates its own research agenda by responding to the crucial issues of Greek political life (Mouzelis and Vassilopoulos, 1999: 2). Looking at the work that Paremvassi has done up to now it can be argued that this is true. The third criterion is that a think-tank has to inform and influence the policy process. Paremvassi claims that it manages to influence the Greek government irrespective of its size. At the same time the generation of expert information is part of its goals. Vassilopoulos describes it as 'informal political influence' but this will be further discussed in relation to the introduction of the Ombudsman institution. Fourthly, a think-tank's main motivation has to be public purpose. Mouzelis and Vassilopoulos (1999: 2) explain that Paremvassi should have an impact on:¹²

The democratic modernization of the country through the strengthening of the weak civil society.

Fifthly, although Paremvassi doesn't have a research staff in the way that traditional think-tanks have, it does have 300 members including mainly academics, journalists or highly educated and respected people with a broad range of expertise that play a significant role in securing Paremvassi an impressive reputation.¹³ Finally, Paremvassi's main activities (conferences, publications) comply with Stone's final characteristic. For example, Paremvassi has organised public meetings on the

12. Mouzelis is Professor of Sociology at LSE and President of Paremvassi and Vassilopoulos is journalist and Director of Paremvassi.

modernization of the Greek public administration and publishes the journal *Civil Society*.

Paremvassi complies with the definition of a knowledge institution because it is an organisation which is distinct from government and which has as its key objective the aim of providing advice on policy issues through the use of elite and cognitive mobilisation. As far as the two-dimensional typology of knowledge institutions that was mapped out in Chapter Four is concerned and in a similar vein to the two other case-studies, it is not easily applied. Paremvassi can be best described as an ideological knowledge institution because it concentrates on supporting the modernization of Greek society within the EU framework. In terms of the second dimension of the typology, Paremvassi has a general focus because it works on a variety of policy areas. It gets its funding from its members and through contracts rather than through general funding. Indeed it is more of a 'do-tank' although it does publish some research. Vassilopoulos explains that:

We thought that we wanted to be a think-tank but we also wanted to be activists.

Paremvassi is a centralised organisation although at the last general assembly there was a call for more regional activities (Lalotis in Paremvassi, 12/12/2000). Finally, it is not organised as a business or as a university. It is a small organisation highly personalised with different committees working on different projects but with a close co-operation between its active members.

Paremvassi may also be described as a third sector organisation which means that it conforms to the myths concerning this type of organisation. Indeed, Paremvassi's statements are very close to this discourse:

Apart from the state and the political parties, the organised civil society exists and it has its own responsibilities and duties for the progress of the country (Delvinioti, 31/1/1997).

Statements like this are particularly powerful in the Greek political environment where there exists a profound disaffection for political parties. In the next section the role of Paremvassi is explored in more depth through the study of the case of the Ombudsman institution.

13. Interview with P. Vassilopoulos, Director of Paremvassi, Athens, 4/9/00.

Studying the Structure and Agent Relationship

The Maturing of the Political System

There are two main questions concerning the introduction of the Ombudsman institution in Greece. Firstly, why was it introduced at this particular moment in time? Secondly, why did it take this particular institutional form? In this section the first question will be dealt with.

A discussion on the introduction of the Ombudsman institution in Greece had started as early as 1990, although it was seven years before the institution was finally introduced. Mrs Foteinopoulou argues that:¹⁴

Generally, the development of institutions in Greek public administration has a slower pace than in other countries where the state was formulated much earlier... As it was expected, the same thing happened with the Ombudsman.

Makrydimitris (1996: 66-71) notes that the first time the idea to introduce the Ombudsman to Greece appeared in an official document was in a report from the Ministry of the Presidency of the Government (1990: 62) which said that there was a:

...possibility to import to our country the Ombudsman institution which is of Swedish origin and it has been exported to other European countries such as Britain and France that have developed a parliamentary form of the institution.

The idea for the introduction of the institution originates though in the interaction of Greek bureaucrats with international organisations and Ombudsmen in other countries at international conferences. The two most significant organisations were the OECD and the IOI as the following two extracts from my interview sample suggest:

The OECD played a significant role, just for example at the level in which Mrs Koutsoumari and the whole department (State-Citizen Relationship Department) were interacting with OECD and its programmes.¹⁵ They were

14. Interview with Mrs Foteinopoulou, Director of the State-Citizen Relationship Department of the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization, Athens, 3/10/00.

15. Mrs Koutsoumari was the General Director of the State-Citizen Relationship Department of the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization and is now one of the four Assistant Ombudsmen.

participating in meetings on this subject with other countries, they heard what was happening, they saw examples of other Ombudsmen and they realised the fact that we don' have a similar institution.¹⁶

The thoughts for the introduction of the Ombudsman came much earlier. Greece participated in international conferences that dealt with the Ombudsman institution. The International Ombudsman Institute organised conferences which Greek officials regularly attended on the topic in preparation for the introduction of a Greek Ombudsman.¹⁷

It is also interesting to note that the Ministry of the Presidency of the Government and in particular the Department of State-Citizen Relationship in 1990 translated an OECD report on public administration and its relationship with citizens into Greek in order to promote the idea of the Ombudsman institution (Makrydimitris, 1996: 67-68). This shows a tendency to transfer the institution as early as 1990.

While this exchange of ideas was taking place, a report from the Ministry of the Presidency (1992) on *Public Administration towards 2000* made its appearance and once more proposed the introduction of the Ombudsman institution. Although the climate was a positive one, the Governmental Programme of Administrative Modernization, 1993-1995, only called for a study of the institution rather than its introduction (Makrydimitris, 1996: 69-71). The first draft law of the Ombudsman institution was completed when Kastanidis was deputy minister of the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization (Papatolias, 2001). He argues that:

The first attempt and the first complete draft law of the Ombudsman took place when I was in the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization. I was Deputy Minister back then. It was then that a complete draft law was created. Later, other colleagues of mine got the responsibility to present it to Parliament, but I have to say with much fewer functions and responsibilities to the ones included in the first draft.¹⁸

At this point various academics started to play an informal consultative role. For

16. Interview with Mrs Spanou, Associate Professor at the University of Athens. Mrs Spanou acted as an informal consultant during the planning of the Ombudsman institution, Athens, 3/10/00.

17. Interview with Mr. Sarafianos, Legal Adviser for the Introduction of the Ombudsman Institution in the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization, Athens, 22/9/00.

18. Interview with Mr. Kastanidis, MP of PASOK and former deputy minister of the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization, Athens, 27/9/00.

example, as Mrs Spanou explains:¹⁹

Before Papadopoulos,²⁰ Kastanidis after an informal chat asked me to send him comments on the first draft law. This draft law didn't go very far because Kastanidis left the government and Papadopoulos took charge after the 1996 elections. It was a key legacy of the ministry.

Additionally, in 1995 the European Ombudsman started functioning and tried to organise a range of co-operative activities with national Ombudsmen, an institution which was still not established in Greece (Besila-Makridi, 1998 and Makrydimitris, 1996). It has been argued that this was the catalyst to the introduction of the Ombudsman in Greece. For instance, Diamandouros argues:²¹

After 1995 and the introduction of the European Ombudsman the pressure for change became more overt. Most EU countries had national offices and even Eastern European countries had started creating national Ombudsmen. Greece started to feel that it was a laggard.

Between 1996 and 1997 when the Ombudsman was finally introduced a consensus for its establishment existed between the two main political parties (PASOK and ND). Both of the main political parties, the ND in 1996 and the PASOK in 1997, proposed draft laws for the establishment of the Ombudsman (Besila-Makridi, 1998 and Makrydimitris, 1996). However it is also evident that the personal intervention of the Prime Minister made all the difference in moving the draft laws forward. Diamadouros notes:²²

In this particular case, it happened that the Prime Minister was particularly interested in this institution and that's why the Ombudsman was given the chance to start with a better infrastructure than most other independent administrative authorities.

In 1996 Paremvasi also became active in the promotion of the Ombudsman idea. After a year in which Paremvasi had tried to assist citizens against maladministration through its own means via the use of the judicial system, it

19. Interview with Mrs Spanou, Associate Professor in the University of Athens and informal consultant during the planning of the Ombudsman institution, Athens, 3/10/00.

20. Papadopoulos was the Minister of the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization when the Ombudsman was finally introduced.

21. Interview with Professor Diamandouros, Ombudsman, Athens, 28/9/00.

22. Interview with Professor Diamadouros, Ombudsman, Athens, 28/9/00.

decided that it had to focus its activities on achieving the creation of an Ombudsman institution in Greece.²³ This was pursued through the publication of articles in the daily press, public discussions on the argument in support of such institutions and personal visits from its president and director with politicians in order to persuade them of the importance of the Ombudsman (Paremvassi, 24/9/98). Whether Paremvassi was influential during the policy transfer of the Ombudsman is a difficult question to tackle. Certainly it was not during the early stages because it was only created in 1995. It could be argued though that Paremvassi probably managed to precipitate the process by pushing the Prime Minister to act. Vassilopoulos provides a measure of Paremvassi's influence:²⁴

We had meetings with Simitis and also with Papadopoulos. Mouzelis and I went to see them...I think that although the state was planning it we played an informal role. We've pushed some ideas forward... The fact that Diamadourous who is now the Ombudsman used to be the General Secretary of Paremvassi says something.

In the next section the study of the model that was finally adopted and its origins are further explored.

The Greek Ombudsman: the Emergence of a Hybrid Policy Transfer

The Greek Ombudsman was established in 1997 as an independent administrative authority.²⁵ It has a triple role which is to protect the citizens' rights, to combat maladministration and to contribute to the observance of the rule of law. Its method of work is to mediate between public authorities and citizens. Although it also has interrogative competencies, its performance up to now has highlighted its mediation role (Sotiropoulos, 2000: 53-55). With the revision of the Constitution of the 6th of April 2001 the Ombudsman institution is constitutionally safeguarded. Additionally, with the amendments made in the Parliament Statute on the 6th of

23. Interview with P. Vassilopoulos, Director of Paremvassi, Athens, 4/9/00.

24. Interview with P. Vassilopoulos, Director of Paremvassi, Athens, 4/9/00.

25. Law No 2477, 18th April 1997, Government Gazette No 59.

December 2001, its democratic election is affirmed. The Ombudsman is selected by the Presidents' Conference, which is a highly respected committee of the Parliament, either unanimously or with the consensus of the 4/5 of its members. The Ombudsman selects four Assistant Ombudsmen that are responsible for particular areas of work. The Ombudsman and his Assistants are appointed for five years and they cannot be re-appointed (Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization, 28/8/00). The Ombudsman institution is divided into four divisions and each of the Assistant Ombudsmen is responsible for one division. These are human rights, social protection, quality of life and state-citizens relations (Greek Ombudsman, 1998: 19-22).

The Ombudsman can take action either after he/she receives a written request or on his/her own initiative in cases involving the public interest. He/She is qualified to judge cases related to public authorities, local government, entities under public law and public services such as electricity and water companies and transport. The following areas are exempt from the scrutiny of the Ombudsman:

- The political actions of the Ministers,
- the ecclesiastical institutions,
- the courts,
- the military services for issues that concern national defence and security,
- the national information service,
- the ministry of foreign affairs for issues that concern foreign policy and international affairs,
- other independent administrative authorities, and,
- issues that concern the position of civil servants in their organisation.

The complaint to the Ombudsman has to be made within six months from the date that the problem occurs. Research takes place and the citizen is informed about his/her case. The Ombudsman can ask the public authority to take action to solve the problem and he/she can also set a deadline. If the public authority doesn't try to improve the situation, the Ombudsman has the right to publicise the situation. He/She also has the right to initiate processes for prosecution of the responsible civil servant if there is evidence of committing a criminal offence. Every March the Ombudsman submits an annual report to the Prime Minister and to the President of the Parliament including suggestions for the improvement of public administration and a discussion at the Parliament follows (Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization, 28/8/00).

Trying to investigate the origins of the Greek model is not an easy task. Most of the agents involved in the creation of the model mention a different country or combination of countries as the origin of the Greek Ombudsman. For example, Loverdos argues that:²⁶

We looked closely at the French model, we looked of course at the Scandinavian model where the idea originates from, we looked at the Parliamentary Commissioner in Britain, we looked at the European Ombudsman and we concluded at this scheme and name.

It could be argued that the Greek model can be best described as a hybrid. As Makrydimitris explains there are three sources that inspired the Greek model: the Scandinavian model, the Anglo-French model and the intermediate model which includes countries such as the Netherlands, Austria and Spain.²⁷

As far as the Scandinavian model is concerned quite a few of the agents involved in the policy transfer process refer to the Swedish and to the Danish models as the most compelling prototypes for Greece. Sweden was the first country to appoint an Ombudsman in 1809 and its institution is the prototype that the rest of the countries always consult (Stacey, 1978: 1-17). The main differences between the two models are that the Swedish Ombudsman is elected by the Parliament and he/she has a wider jurisdiction than the Greek Ombudsman, as well as the right to prosecute the responsible civil servants or to institute disciplinary proceedings. He/She also has the responsibility to oversee the courts. A similarity with the Greek model is that the Swedish Chief Ombudsman co-ordinates four Ombudsmen that are allocated different duties (Stacey, 1978: 1-17). The Danish Ombudsman that was created in 1954 also has a greater range of powers than the Greek institution as far as it concerns his/her election by the Parliament and his/her extended areas of responsibility (Hurwitz, 1961). The influence of the Scandinavian model in Greece was particularly significant because this is from where the institution originates. Kastanidis argues that:²⁸

I would say that most of the ideas are taken from the Scandinavian model

26. Interview with Professor A. Loverdos, MP of PASOK, former Secretary General of the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization and Professor of Constitutional Law at Panteion University of Athens, Athens, 3/10/00.

27. Interview with Professor Makrydimitris, University of Athens and informal consultant during the planning of the Ombudsman institution, Athens, 26/9/00.

28. Interview with Mr. Kastanidi, MP of PASOK and former deputy minister of the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization, Athens, 27/9/00.

which forms the prototype and was adapted to the Greek context.

The second category of Ombudsmen institutions that were interesting for Greece were the French Mediateur and the British Parliamentary Commissioner for the Administration. The main similarity between Britain and France and indeed their main difference from Greece, is that in these countries the citizen can only put forward a complaint to the Ombudsman via an MP. The MP judges whether the Ombudsman has the jurisdiction to investigate the complaint and only if the answer is positive does he/she pass it to the Ombudsman. Another weakness of the Ombudsman institution in both France and Britain and a difference with Greece is that the Ombudsman doesn't have the right to investigate a case on his/her own initiative. Moreover, the British and French Ombudsmen have a more limited range of competencies than in the Scandinavian case, in a similar vein to Greece (Seneviratne, 1994: 17-58 and Koulouris, 1996: 163-190). Although there are significant differences between the Greek model and the French and British models, many of the legal aspects and the wording used in the law for the Greek Ombudsman, have been transferred from the French Mediateur (Koulouris, 1996: 163-190 and Besila-Makridi, 1998). The long tradition of consulting the French administrative system continued in the case of the introduction of the Greek Ombudsman. Koutsoumari describes the process:²⁹

It is mainly the French model... France has the same legal framework as we do... There are many similarities between the two countries such as a centralised system and a large number of municipalities... I visited the Mediateur in France personally and we then collected laws from other countries and finally concluded on this model.

The third set of institutions, described as the intermediate model, which has influenced Greece includes Ombudsmen offices of countries such as Spain, Portugal, Austria and the Netherlands. Portugal and Spain are two countries that Greece is always looking to because of the historical similarity deriving from late democratization. Both of these countries have used the same sources that Greece used for the development of their institutions. The main difference between these models and the Greek institution is that their Ombudsmen are elected directly by the Parliament (Provedor de Justica, 9/7/01 and Retuerto Buades, 1994: 43-52). Another

29. Interview with Mrs Koutsoumari, Deputy Ombudswoman and former General Director of the State-Citizen Relationship Department of the Ministry of the Interior, Public

important difference between Spain and Greece is that in Spain there exist regional Ombudsmen that co-operate with the national Ombudsman. Although, there is a consideration for such a development in Greece, this is quite difficult because of the centralisation of the Greek political system. The Dutch institution that started working in 1982 was also inspired by the same sources and has many similarities to the Greek Ombudsman. For example, similar to the Greek institution, he/she has the right to start an examination on his/her own initiative (Dutch Ombudsman, 9/7/01) and he/she doesn't need to receive a complaint. Finally, the Austrian model inspired the Greek model, in so far as its collective nature is concerned. In Austria instead of having one Ombudsman, an Ombudsman Board with three members exists. Although the Greek Ombudsman is a one-person authority, its four thematic divisions and the way responsibilities are divided between Assistant Ombudsmen reminds us of the Austrian model. A big difference is that in Austria the whole Board is elected by the Parliament (The Austrian Ombudsman Board, 9/7/01).

The European Ombudsman was also a source of inspiration for Greece. Koutsoumari explains that:³⁰

The European Ombudsman really influenced us. If you compare its organisation, some pieces are completely taken from there. For example, the five years service that cannot be renewed is taken from there.

In summary, it can be argued that the Greek Ombudsman is a hybrid inspired from many different models that played an equally important role in its creation.

Case-Study Analysis

The introduction of the Ombudsman institution in Greece provides a telling example of a policy transfer process and the limited role knowledge institutions play in the transfer of policy in Greece. In this section the structure and agency

Administration and Decentralization, Athens, 28/9/00.

30. Interview with Mrs Koutsoumari, Deputy Ombudswoman and former General Director of the State-Citizen Relationship Department of the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization, Athens, 28/9/00).

framework is applied to the case-study and its main theoretical hypotheses are tested. Firstly, the propositions concerning the structure and agency relationship during the policy transfer process are discussed. Secondly, the hypotheses about policy transfer as a process of globalization and/or Europeanization is analysed and then the role of Paremvassi during the process is explored. An application of the policy transfer network to the Ombudsman case-study then follows in order to allow for comparisons with the other case-studies to be made.

The Structure and Agency Relationship

Three theoretical propositions on the structure and agency relationship need to be explored:

The first proposition follows from Mouzelis's (1995) distinction between micro and macro actors and structures and his claim that macro actors and structures will have more influence over time.

The case-study shows that as far as structures are concerned this proposition is to a large extent verified. Macro structures such as the EU and the Greek government do play an important role but the Greek civil society does not. This could be because of the traditionally weak position of civil society in the Greek political system. What is interesting is that the OECD and the IOI that are described as micro-structures are actually playing a more significant role than Greek civil society. The reason for this could be that Greek government is more susceptible for international consultants compared with domestic consultants. As far as agents are concerned, it is even more difficult to come to a positive conclusion about this proposition. No macro-agents can be identified in the case-study and Paremvassi, the only micro-agent that could have played a role during the policy transfer process, seems to have had a minor influence for the same reasons that civil society as a whole doesn't play a significant role. What is interesting is that a closer look at the micro-agents that were important during the policy transfer process shows that particular MPs such as Kastanidis, the Prime Minister could be described as agents of transfer for the introduction of the Ombudsman institution.³¹ It can be argued that if these individuals act as macro and micro agents, the balance of influence between macro and micro structures and agents changes, showing agents to be more powerful than structures.

31. Both of them founding members of Paremvassi.

The second proposition is that structural elaboration will emerge from the interaction between structure and agent at one time/place and will influence this relationship at another time/place (Archer, 1985).

This proposition is justified by the case-study. For example, the relationship of structures and agents in the 1980s led to the creation of the Corps of Public Administration Inspectors and the Mediator of the Administration in 1987. This structural elaboration influenced the relationship between the structures and agents involved, and led to the creation of the Ombudsman institution. Another example of structural elaboration at one place that influenced the relationship of structures and agents at another place is the creation of the European Ombudsman that accelerated the policy transfer of the Ombudsman to Greece.

The third proposition is that structure and agent will either exist in a duality or a dualism depending on whether the agents reproduce the structures or distance themselves from them (Mouzelis, 1995).

Box 8.1 summarises the relationship between the structures and agents involved in the Greek Ombudsman case-study. Paremvassi exists in a duality with the Greek administrative system and the Greek civil society but has no relationship at all with the EU or the other micro-structures. The reason for that is that Paremvassi is a new organisation and has not still developed its international relations. Discursively, though, Paremvassi supports the European orientation of the Greek government so a relationship of duality is expected to be developed between Paremvassi, EU and the other micro-structures. What is interesting is that although Paremvassi exists in a duality with the macro-structures, its influence during the policy transfer process is limited. This is important because it can be concluded that relationships of duality and influence during a policy transfer process are not two interlinked conditions.

Box 8.1: Relationships of Duality or Dualism between the Structures and Agents Involved in the Case of Paremvassi

Structures/ Agents	<i>EU</i>	<i>Greek Administrative System</i>	<i>Greek Civil Society</i>	<i>Micro- Structures</i>
<i>Paremvassi</i>	no relationship	duality	duality	no relationship

Globalization and Europeanization

Two factors are important for the exploration of the issue of globalization and Europeanization during the development of the structure and agency relationship throughout the case-study. Firstly, the extent to which the environment in which the policy transfer process took place has changed and become more globalized and/or Europeanized, and, secondly, the perceptions of the different agents about globalization and Europeanization and the way they influence their decisions. The establishment of Ombudsmen institutions has taken place at both a European and at an international level. International organisations such as the EU, the OECD and the IOI have promoted the global spread of the Ombudsman idea. This spread is taking place since 1809 when the Ombudsman institution emerged in Sweden and it continues with the introduction of the Ombudsman in Finland in 1920 and in Denmark in 1954. It therefore cannot be described as a new phenomenon related to processes of globalization and Europeanization. On the other hand processes of globalization of democratic institutions but mainly processes of Europeanization and in particular the establishment of the European Ombudsman have accelerated the process of policy transfer to Greece. Finally, organisations such as Paremvassi promote the idea that due to globalization and Europeanization, processes of policy transfer of institutions such as the Ombudsman need to be increased.

It can be argued that globalization and Europeanization play a more important role as a discourse rather than as a formal constraint in this case-study. If we turn to the different conceptualisations of globalization and Europeanisation for the different agents involved and the way it affects their decisions the theoretical conclusion about the multi-dimensionality of the concept becomes evident. For example, Kastanidis argues that:³²

32. Interview with Mr. Kastanidi, MP of PASOK and former deputy minister of the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization, Athens, 27/9/00.

Both in the academic literature and in the political discourse many myths around the concept of globalization exist. First of all there is not only one meaning of globalization. Secondly, not everybody agree that globalization exists. I am one of those that doubt whether globalization exists and especially whether globalization exists in practice... Many governments around the world use globalization to justify their own weakness to do something about their country... Unfortunately, we are also users of this myth.

Another important conceptual issue for discussion in this case-study is to evaluate whether the discourses of modernization, Europeanization and globalization are always closely linked in the perceptions of agents and are connected to the push for policy change in Greece. As in the case of the other case-studies, the diversity of perceptions that exists at a practical level explains the difficulty of defining globalization and Europeanization at a theoretical level.

Policy convergence or policy divergence?

The hypothesis that has been presented in relation to the issue of policy convergence and/or divergence and policy transfer is that:

Policy transfer represents a mechanism of globalization and Europeanization leading to convergence/divergence of ideas, institutions, policies and paradigms which provide further opportunities for policy transfer to occur.

The policy transfer of the Ombudsman institution to Greece provides an example of the convergence of institutions. There are two interesting themes that emerge from this case-study: the issues of policy convergence and timing. As has been seen throughout the case study, the spread of different forms of the Ombudsman institution is an international phenomenon and as Greece is a member of the international and European systems, it was encouraged to follow the example of the other states and to transfer the Ombudsman institution into its political system.

But why did it take so much longer for Greece to introduce the Ombudsman institution and to converge with the other countries? As Foteinopoulou argues:³³

The establishment of all institutions in Greek public administration has a slower pace than in other countries that the state had been formed much earlier. When for example, the Ombudsman institution was established in

33. Interview with Mrs Foteinopoulou, Director of the State-Citizen Relationship Department of the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization, Athens, 3/10/00.

Sweden in 1809, in Greece we couldn't even talk about the existence of a state.

An important domestic reason for the delay of the Ombudsman institution was the bad reputation that the institution gained because of its misuse by the Colonels Regime.³⁴ Three reasons can be extracted from the case-study as far as it concerns the delayed convergence of Greece. Firstly, Greece had an informal obligation towards the EU and the international community to converge with the other developed countries as far as the protection of citizens against maladministration was concerned, in its attempt to meet the challenges of political and social modernization. Secondly, the necessity to transfer the Ombudsman institution to Greece became even more evident after the European Ombudsman started functioning in 1995. And finally, after 1995 and because of the two previous reasons, a consensus between the two main political parties and civil society can be observed to introduce the Ombudsman institution to Greece.

The case-study also provides evidence in support of the second part of the hypothesis; that convergent policy landscapes can create more opportunities for policy transfer to occur. The fact that Greece is a member of the EU, the OECD and other international organisations and policy convergence with regard to a number of policy and institutional transfers can be observed, means that a convergent landscape pre-existed the transfer and helped to facilitate the further transfer of the Ombudsman institution. On the other hand, the policy transfer of the Ombudsman institution has meant that this convergent landscape has been extended and further opportunities for policy transfer occur.

The Role of Paremvassi in the Policy Transfer Network

Some conclusions can also be drawn in relation to the hypothesis concerning knowledge institutions and their role in a policy transfer network. The hypothesis that was made was that:

Knowledge institutions are key agents for the dissemination of ideas and thus of policy transfer in the international domain. Evans and Davies conception of a 'policy transfer network' is a useful heuristic framework for analysing the role of knowledge institutions as agents of policy transfer.

34. Informal Interview with Professor Diamandouros, Athens, 2/1/2002

Box 8.2: The Emergence and Development of a Policy Transfer Network: the Case of Paremvasi

The Process of Transfer	The Role of International Organisations and of the Greek Government	The Role of Paremvasi
1. Recognition	In 1990 the Greek government recognises the importance of the creation of an independent mechanism for the protection of citizens against maladministration.	Paremvasi doesn't exist.
2. Search	The Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization starts searching for ideas in the 1990s.	Paremvasi doesn't exist.
3. Contact	The Ministry contacts international organisations and the French Mediateur. EU, OECD and IOI contact countries that don't have an Ombudsman in order to disseminate the idea.	Paremvasi doesn't exist.
4. Emergence of information feeder network	An information feeder network emerges. The Ministry participates in relevant international conferences. Academics comment on draft laws.	Paremvasi is created in 1995.
5. Cognition, reception and emergence of a transfer network	A decision is made to transfer the Ombudsman institution and a transfer network with the participation of bureaucrats, political parties and academics emerges.	Paremvasi starts pushing for the introduction of the Ombudsman institution.
6. Elite and cognitive mobilisation	The bureaucrats and politicians consult academics for the proposed laws.	Paremvasi organises public meetings with the participation of academics and politicians.
7. Interaction	A discussion starts in the Parliament between the political parties.	Paremvasi visits the Prime Minister and other politicians and pushes for an immediate introduction.
8. Evaluation	After consultation a hybrid is arrived at as the best option.	Paremvasi doesn't push for a particular model.
9. Decision	A decision is made in the Parliament and a law passes in 1997.	Paremvasi publishes articles in the daily press in support of the new institution.
10. Implementation	The new office is created and the new law is directly implemented.	Paremvasi openly supports the new institution. The General Secretary and founding member of Paremvasi becomes the first Greek Ombudsman.

Source: Adapted from Evans and Davies, 1999

The study of the role of Paremvasi does not justify the hypothesis that knowledge institutions are key agents in the dissemination of ideas and thus of policy

transfer in the international domain. Paremvassi did support the idea of the introduction of the Ombudsman institution to Greece but it cannot be argued that it was responsible for the emergence of this idea and for the policy transfer of the institution to the Greek political system. Other agents such as academics and bureaucrats were equally or even more important and this can be seen through the whole process of policy transfer. This can be explained by the traditionally weak Greek civil society and the novelty of organisations such as Paremvassi.

As far as the nature of the process of the policy transfer is concerned, the first issue to be explored is whether it involved a coercive or a voluntary process (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996). It is argued that the introduction of the Ombudsman institution to Greece can be described as a process of voluntary transfer. Of course, the policy transfer was clearly encouraged by international organisations such as the EU, the OECD and the IOI but Greece was not forced to accelerate the process or indeed to introduce the institution. Evans and Davies (1999) concept of a voluntary policy transfer network can be applied in the case of the Greek Ombudsman in order to systematise the analysis and to draw comparisons with the other case-studies and to evaluate the validity of the model. The sequence of stages of the policy transfer network is summarised in Box 8.2. The policy transfer network proves to be useful for the organisation of the case-study.

This case-study, unlike the previous two does not show that knowledge institutions play a significant role in processes of policy transfer in Greece. A comparison of the three case-studies follows with the aim of generating a set of broader analytical conclusions.

9 Comparing the Role of Knowledge Institutions in Processes of Policy Transfer

Introduction

It has become increasingly evident in recent years that knowledge institutions play a key role in the diffusion of policy ideas and the construction of international policy agendas (see Stone, 1996). What has been less clear is how and why these organisations have grown in influence in instances of policy change. The aim of this chapter is to compare three case-studies of the role of European knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer. The three case-studies offer an insight into the processes underpinning the transfer of ideas, programmes and institutions

within different EU countries and their neighbours. The chapter identifies cases of both policy convergence and policy divergence and argues that exogenous factors such as globalization and Europeanization play an influential role in these areas of policy development. The common and distinctive features of each policy process are highlighted and explained before proceeding to some generalisations.

The aim of this chapter is to bring together the findings from the three case-studies in a comparative framework in order to assess the role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer. The chapter is organised into four sections. Firstly, the findings concerning the three theoretical propositions on the structure and agency relationship are compared. Secondly, the role of exogenous forces such as globalization and Europeanization during the three processes of policy transfer is analysed. Thirdly, the reasons for policy convergence and policy divergence as well as policy failure and policy success in the three case-studies are explored. Finally, the actual processes of policy transfer are compared through the use of the policy transfer network framework and the role of knowledge institutions during the process is evaluated.

Comparing the Structure and Agency Relationship in Processes of Policy Transfer

As Evans and Davies (1999: 383) observe:

The process of transfer must be analysed within a three dimensional frame which encompasses global, international and transnational levels; the macro-state level and the interorganisational level.

Analysing the policy transfer process through a structure and agency perspective gives the research a framework of analysis which incorporates exogenous and endogenous factors into a unified scheme. Exogenous and endogenous forces are not treated as a list of independent variables but are understood as a unity of factors that exist in an interrelationship. By implication the approach has a direct impact on the ontological, epistemological and methodological positions adopted in the thesis which lies in the critical realism arena. Additionally, the discussion of the structure and agent problematic provides broader linkages into issues of social theory and lead to a more reflexive and conscious use of the terms under study. In this section the empirical findings from the three case-studies, generated from the application of three

theoretical propositions on the structure-agent relationship which were presented in the first part of the thesis, are compared.

Proposition 1: Micro and macro structures and agents

A distinction between micro and macro agents and structures should be made because macro actors and structures have more influence over time.

The findings of the three case-studies concerning macro-entities having more influence over time are not consistent. During the IDF case-study macro-structures seem to have more influence over time but this is not the case for macro-agents. Only the IDF can be described as an influential agent over time. During the Understandingbus case-study, some macro-structures have more influence but not all of them. For example, the German government cannot be described as influential. As far as macro-agents are concerned, they do have an influential role over time. Finally, during the Paremvassi case-study some macro-structures are important but some others such as Greek civil society are excluded. None of the agents in the last case-study can be identified as a macro-agent. A common pattern emerges from this analysis; the EU is a macro-structure that has influence over time in all three case-studies. Apart from the EU, the influence of macro-structures varies according to the national environment and the nature of the policy transfer process. In Germany, civil society is important but not the German government because of the regional nature of the programmes transferred. In Greece, on the other hand, the government is influential but not Greek civil society. This is partly because a national institution is being transferred but also because Greek civil society is traditionally weak. As far as macro-agents are concerned, knowledge institutions are central for the case-studies apart from the case of Paremvassi which is linked to the lack of influence of the Greek civil society.

It can be concluded that although the distinction between macro and micro structures and agents has a value in terms of the organisation of empirical research, it doesn't offer much to the analysis. By distinguishing between macro and micro entities, a decision can be made about placing more emphasis on some entities both during the fieldwork and during the analysis of the data. The validity of the proposition stops there. No pattern can be observed between the three case-studies and this is due to two reasons. Firstly, the borders between macro and micro entities are not very concrete and their definition as either macro or micro is quite subjective.

Secondly, the policy transfer process is complex and it is not always possible to attribute influence to one structure or agent rather than another one. Policy transfer is more a matter of interaction and close interrelationships between different entities rather than the result of the influence of a single entity. This argument will become clearer as we evaluate the credibility of the following two propositions.

Proposition 2: Structural elaboration

Structural elaboration will emerge from the interaction between structure and agent at one time/place and will influence this relationship at another time/place.

All three case-studies sustain this proposition. In the IDF case-study, the interaction between the structures and agents involved in the policy transfer process led to the creation of the Youth Employment Platform that is expected to influence the structure and agency relationship later in the policy transfer process. Further evidence in support of this proposition can be drawn from the Understandingbus case-study. Structural elaboration can be observed in Saxony in the form of the creation of a TIC similar to the Danish organisation. In Piraeus, where the policy transfer process was not successful, no structural elaboration can be observed. The way in which the creation of the TIC in Saxony would influence the structure and agency relationship at another time and/or place could be only identified after a few years. A longitudinal approach was adopted in the Greek case-study. The structure and agency interaction in the 1980s led to the creation of a variety of institutions such as the Body of Public Administration Inspectors and the Mediator of the Administration that influenced the structure and agency relationship in the 1990s and led to the creation of the Greek Ombudsman institution. Structural elaboration at one place - the creation of the European Ombudsman - also influenced the relationship between structures and agents during the introduction of the Ombudsman institution in Greece.

Four main observations can be made in relation to this proposition. Firstly, it can be argued that policy transfer is an area where structural elaboration and its consequences can be observed and studied and that is why this proposition is valuable for both the study of policy transfer and the study of the structure and agency relationship. Policy transfer mainly manifests itself through the introduction of new institutions, policies or programmes that almost always include instances of structural elaboration. Secondly, a link can be made between this proposition and the hypothesis on policy transfer that claims that the convergence of ideas, institutions,

policies and paradigms will provide further opportunities for policy transfer to occur. Structural elaboration that happens due to policy transfer is a manifestation of convergence. The relationship of structures and agents is influenced by this development and provides the opportunity for further policy transfer to occur. Thirdly, in order to study this proposition adequately there is a need for longitudinal analysis. This will also help to avoid the lack of concrete conclusions on the impact, success or failure of certain processes of policy transfer which emerged in the IDF case-study. Finally, as the Understandingbus case-study and the different results in Saxony and in Piraeus demonstrated, it can be argued that when a policy transfer process is successful, structural elaboration is more likely to happen rather than when a policy transfer fails.

Proposition 3: Relationship of duality or dualism

Structure and agent will either exist in a duality or a dualism depending on whether the agents reproduce the structures or distance themselves from them.

A common feature of all the case-studies is that the knowledge institutions that are either central to or are organising the policy transfer process exist in a duality with the structures that support the transfer. The IDF exists in a duality with the EU, the Dutch government and Dutch civil society. Understandingbus and Paremvasi also exist in a duality with all the macro-structures during the case-study. On the other hand, agents that do not finally manage to transfer the programmes or institutions exist in a dualism relationship with the macro-structures. For example, the Arab-Mediterranean organisations during the IDF case-study exist in a dualism with the macro-structures. University of Piraeus also exists in a dualism relationship with the German structures during the Understandingbus case-study. Relationships of dualism tend to occur when the agents find it difficult to approach the structures as was the case with some of the Arab-Mediterranean organisations during the IDF case-study or with the University of Piraeus during the Understandingbus case-study. Another explanation of relationships of dualism is that the agents do not wish or do not have an interest in approaching the structures. For example, it is possible that the Arab-Mediterranean organisation during the IDF case-study did not wish to approach structures such as the EU or the Dutch government because the benefits from such an action would be more limited than the losses. In any case, it is expected that relationships of dualism are only instant because a dialectical relationship between

structure and agent means that a tendency towards duality should exist.

Finally, some linkages can be made between this theoretical proposition and other hypotheses made in this thesis. There is a connection between duality relationships and instances of structural elaboration. It can be argued that when structures and agents exist in a duality, policy transfer and thus convergence which is manifested in structural elaboration are more likely to occur. On the other hand, in cases where dualism relationships are encountered, policy transfer is less likely to occur and thus divergence of policies and institutions is more probable. A final observation is that the existence of an agent in a duality relationship with a structure does not necessarily mean that this agent is influential during the policy transfer process. For example, although Paremvassi exists in a duality with the Greek structures, its influence on policy development was relatively limited.

Comparing the Environment of the Case-Studies: Globalization and Europeanization

The interaction between structure and agency during processes of policy transfer takes place within a dynamic environment. In this section the findings of the three case-studies are compared in relation to two central issues. Firstly, it will be evaluated whether the environment within which knowledge institutions interact with other structures and agents in order to transfer policies and ideas has changed and become more globalized and/or Europeanized. Secondly, perceptions of the different agents of transfer on globalization and Europeanization and the way they have influenced the policy transfer process will be compared and analysed.

Trying to establish whether the environment of the three case-studies has changed through time is not an easy task. It is often argued that globalization has always existed and there is nothing new about the contemporary situation (Hirst and Thompson, 1996). At an empirical level, the issue is whether the case-studies can offer some evidence to suggest that this is not the case. As far as globalization is concerned, the multi-dimensionality and vagueness of the concept makes it difficult to illuminate specific evidence from the case-studies that suggest some concrete changes. A common feature of all the case studies, which can be characterised as evidence of a more globalized environment, is the existence of international organisations and the way they facilitate the interaction between national structures

and agents and as a consequence processes of policy transfer. In the IDF case-study, the EU plays a crucial role in funding events to bring together transnational agents, in promoting ideas on youth employment policy and in making funding available for the organisation of the transfer of projects. The EU also plays a central role in the Understandingbus case-study for exactly the same reasons. The situation is different in the Greek case-study where the OECD and IOI as well as the EU are important structures for the promotion of the Ombudsman idea and the funding of conferences with that aim. If we accept that international organisations and the way they influence policy change has increased, it can be argued that structures and agents currently interact in a more globalized environment.

It is easier to claim that the environment within which structures and agents interact has become more Europeanised as the evidence for this is more concrete. In both the IDF and Understandingbus case-studies the EU is crucial in the provision of ideas, support and funding during the policy transfer process. It can be argued that without EU support the Ecotrans project would not have even existed. Although the funding for the policy transfer in the Greek case-study didn't come from the EU, some of the organisational characteristics of the Ombudsman, such as the five years service, were copied from the European Ombudsman. The influence of the EU in the transfer of ideas can certainly be observed throughout all three case-studies. As the theoretical part of this thesis notes, Europeanization is part of the globalization processes and that means that a more Europeanized environment is also evidence for the existence of a more globalized environment.

An understanding of the belief systems that agents of transfer hold with regard to globalization and Europeanization is clearly crucial in order to evaluate their influence on the discourse within which the policy transfer process takes place. It can be observed that in all three case-studies the central agents of transfer have a positive approach towards Europeanization and globalization. In the IDF case study, the IDF, as well as all the agents that presented possible projects for transference, had a positive view of both Europeanization and globalization. In a way they chose to emphasise the positive elements of globalization and Europeanization in their discussions. A similar approach was adopted by Understandingbus in the German case-study. In the Greek case-study, the transfer agents such as MPs and bureaucrats from the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization also acted as agents of globalization. In particular, they had an instrumental attitude

towards Europeanization and saw the transference of the Ombudsman institution as Greece's natural path in policy development. On the other hand, some negative or more constrained attitudes towards globalization and Europeanization can be observed in the Dutch and German case-studies. In the Dutch case-study, the immigrant organisations in the Netherlands, and some of the Arab-Mediterranean organisations, emphasised the negative aspects of the two phenomena. In the German case-study, the East German agents were also more constrained in their views of globalization and Europeanization but this didn't prevent them from completing a successful policy transfer process. It can be concluded that although positive attitudes of the agents of transfer towards globalization and Europeanization facilitate policy transfer processes, the opposite doesn't necessarily happen. A more constrained or even a negative attitude towards the two phenomena can be an obstacle to the process but the transfer of ideas or even projects ultimately occurs.¹

Policy Convergence or Policy Divergence?

It has been argued in this thesis that one way of being able to generate more concrete observations on the vague concepts of globalization and Europeanization is to approach them in terms of the concepts of policy convergence and divergence. This brings us to the next theoretical proposition that requires evaluation.

Proposition 4: Policy transfer as a mechanism of globalization/ Europeanization

Policy transfer represents a mechanism of globalization and Europeanization leading to convergence/divergence of ideas, institutions, policies and paradigms which provide further opportunities for policy transfer to occur.

The three case-studies offer empirical insights into three different levels of policy transfer which help us to establish whether they lead to policy convergence or divergence. The IDF case-study discusses the transfer of ideas, the Understandingbus case-study the transfer of programmes and the Paremvassi case-study the transfer of

1. There is no attempt here to generalize the claim that negative attitudes cannot stop policy change. A claim like that would be deterministic and would assume a teleological view of the policy process, which is not what the author is aiming at.

institutions. Although there is evidence that a transfer of ideas took place in the IDF case-study no concrete conclusions can be made about policy convergence or divergence. A tendency for convergence between European organisations can be observed because they formed partnerships aiming at the future transfer of programmes. Although there was only one partnership between an Arab-Mediterranean organisation and a European organisation it cannot be argued that divergence took place. It could be that more time is needed for such partnerships to develop and for convergence to start taking place. In the Understandingbus case-study a transfer of a policy programme from Denmark to Saxony can be observed and as a consequence it can be argued that policy convergence is taking place. The failure of transferring the same policy programme to Piraeus does not necessarily mean that policy divergence is occurring because more time is needed for the programme to be transferred. In the Paremvassi case-study, the transfer of the Ombudsman institution provides evidence of policy convergence but the long gestation time in which this policy transfer process took place is also a significant occurrence. These sorts of findings are a consequence of engaging in the study of 'in-process transfer' rather than 'perfect-fit' transfer analysis. In summary, a process of policy convergence can be observed in all three case-studies but there is no evidence of policy divergence. Two factors are important for the policy convergence process: the time and the geography of the transfer. A moment in time when structures and agents are ready for policy change has to be identified as well as an exemplar and a transfer facilitator that are in some way proximate to the structures and agents under change.

In order to further explore the above factors the reasons for success and failure of the policy transfer in the three case-studies should be analysed. The first observation is that what might seem to be a policy transfer failure at one time can merely be a delay in the process and that is why the boundaries between policy transfer failure and success are not so stark. Only a transfer of ideas took place in the IDF case-study because the transfer agents were unsuccessful in their applications for funding in the EU. The applications were not successful because the product of the transfer process was not always concrete and the partnerships were not strong enough. This was a particular problem in the Euro-Arab partnership where cultural, political, administrative and other differences stopped the policy transfer process.²

2. It would be deterministic to make a claim on whether the IDF policy transfer process has been terminated or not. The different stages of a policy transfer network can break and the

This contrasts with the Understandingbus case-study in which the partnership between the organisations was strong due to the EVA network and the Headways research action co-operation. Funding from the EU was awarded but the policy transfer process was more successful in Saxony than in Piraeus. The success of the policy transfer in Saxony was due to administrative and institutional similarities between Denmark and Germany such as decentralisation, similar policy styles, knowledge of working within networks and common levels of environmental awareness. The geographical proximity of Berlin, where Understandingbus is based, to Saxony as well as the common language and Understandingbus' ability to understand Saxony's cultural and administrative characteristics in depth, also helped. On the other hand, the centralisation of the Greek political system, the lack of experience of working within networks, limited environmental awareness, as well as enough time and the budget constraints of the Ecotrans project only allowed for a transfer of ideas in the Piraeus region. In the Paremvasi case the transfer of the Ombudsman institution was successful but because of administrative constraints was delayed. It can be concluded from all three case-studies that policy transfer is more likely to occur when similarities exist between the donor and the recipient of the transfer and when there is the political willingness to push the transfer forward. It can also be claimed that policy transfer failure doesn't necessarily mean policy divergence because it could be that the process is slow and policy transfer success will occur at a later juncture.

All three case-studies show that convergent landscapes will offer more opportunities for policy transfer to occur. In the IDF case-study, the transfer of ideas led to the planning and organisation of more meetings and conferences and the establishment of the Employment Youth Platform that offered the opportunity for further policy transfer to take place. In the Understandingbus case-study, the existence of the EVA network as well as the policy transfer to Dresden can be described as the starting point for further policy transfer to take place at least in Piraeus and in Dresden. Finally, in the Paremvasi case-study, it can be argued that a convergent landscape pre-existed as Greece is a member of the EU and the OECD and policy transfer is common practice within Greek public administration. In conclusion, convergent landscapes do create opportunities for further policy transfer

process can follow different patterns of development that cannot be predicted. Further research is needed at a later juncture in order to evaluate the failure or success of the IDF's

to occur and this finding is linked to the proposition that structural elaboration emerges from the interaction between structure and agent at one time/place and influences this relationship at another time/place.

Comparing the Role of Knowledge Institutions in Policy Transfer Networks

Proposition 5: Knowledge institutions as key agents of policy transfer

Knowledge institutions are key agents for the dissemination of ideas thus of policy transfer in the international domain. Evans and Davies (1999) conception of a 'policy transfer network' is a useful heuristic framework for analysing the role of knowledge institutions as agents of policy transfer.

Firstly, some general comments about the process of transfer in the three case-studies will be presented following Dolowitz and Marsh's (1996) scheme. All three case-studies can be described as processes of voluntary policy transfer as the agents are free to participate in the policy transfer processes and can decide whether they will proceed or not with the policy transfer. For example, in the IDF case-study and in the Piraeus part of the Understandingbus case-study the agents didn't proceed with the transfer, while in the Paremvasi case-study, there was a long delay before the final decision was finally made. Of course, although the process is voluntary, structures such as the EU significantly influence their priorities and directions.

Within this framework of voluntary processes of policy transfer, knowledge institutions play different roles within different national environments. The IDF played a central role in the organisation of the policy transfer process in the IDF case-study. However, it is not easy to claim that it influenced public policy as only ideas were transferred and there were also other structures and agents influencing the process at the same time. Understandingbus also played an influential role by providing the forum for the exchange of ideas and lending its experience to its clients in helping them in the application process for EU funding. Its influence in the Dresden part of the case-study is more concrete because a project was actually transferred while in the Piraeus case-study only ideas were transferred. Paremvasi's role during the transfer process was minor when compared with other agents such as politicians, academics and bureaucrats. Two main conclusions can be drawn here. Firstly, that in order to study the influence of knowledge institutions, the transfer of

attempt to influence policy transfer.

Firstly, that at a methodological level, in order to study the influence of knowledge institutions, the transfer of programmes and institutions should be emphasised rather than ideas. Although the transfer of ideas is very important and often provides the first step towards the transfer of programmes or institutions, the process is not tangible enough at an empirical level, to allow for more general conclusions. Secondly, the case-studies show that knowledge institutions play a more influential role in countries with strong civil societies such as Germany and the Netherlands, than in countries with weak civil societies such as Greece. Although the policy transfer process was not successful in the Netherlands, IDF did manage to play an active role in the political scene and to attract funding for the promotion of its ideas. Further empirical research that will look at a variety of weak and strong civil societies and the influence of knowledge institutions within them is needed in order to be able to generalise this claim.

The processes of policy transfer that underpinned the three case-studies and the different roles of knowledge institutions can be further compared through the application of the policy transfer network framework. This allows for the systematisation of the case-study findings and also for an evaluation of the practical use of the model. The heuristic stages of a voluntary policy transfer network, as they apply to the three case-studies, are summarised in Boxes 9.1 and 9.2. Box 9.1 shows the pre-decision making stages and Box 9.2 describes the emergence of decision structures.

A comparison between the different stages of the three case-studies enables the observation of similarities and differences of the role of knowledge institutions in three different processes of policy transfer and in three different national environments. At the *recognition* stage, as expected, knowledge institutions don't play an important role. The governments and the EU mainly set the agenda of problem recognition and knowledge institutions only have a role in proposing a more innovative way of conceptualising the problem as in the case of Understandingbus which proposed a combination of environmental with employment solutions.

Box 9.1: Policy Transfer Networks as a Comparative Tool: Pre-Decision Making Stages in the Cases of IDF, Understandingbus and Paremvassi

The Process of Transfer	The Role of the EU and of the National Governments	The Role of Knowledge Institutions
1. Recognition	A. Recognition of the unemployment problem and of the need of co-operation with Mediterranean countries.	A. IDF does not play an important role.
	B. Recognition of environmental problems.	B. Understandingbus is active in combining environmental with employment solutions.
	C. Recognition of the necessity to create an independent mechanism for the protection of citizens against maladministration.	C. Paremvassi doesn't exist.
2. Search	A. Indirect search through existing funding programmes.	A. IDF decides to take action in the field of youth employment policy and Mediterranean co-operation.
	B. Indirect search through existing funding programmes.	B. It follows the funding developments in the EU.
	C. The Ministry of Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization searches for ideas.	C. At this time Paremvassi did not exist.
3. Contact	A. IDF persuades EU and Dutch government of its capabilities.	A. IDF contacts EU and the Dutch government for funding and obtains it for the organisation of the Bonn conference.
	B. The EU funds the Headways research action.	B. It contacts the EU for the funding of Headways.
	C. The Ministry contacts international organisations and the French Mediateur. The EU, the OECD and the IOI contact countries that do not have an Ombudsman in order to disseminate the idea.	C. At this time Paremvassi did not exist.
4. The Emergence of an information feeder network	A. Participation in the network during conferences and meetings organised by IDF.	A. A number of agents interact during the conference and exchange ideas of potential policy transfers.
	B. No active role at this stage.	B. Headways take place through the use of the existing EVA network.
	C. The Ministry participates in international conferences. Academics comment on draft laws.	C. Paremvassi is created in 1995.

Key - A: IDF Case Study, B: Understandingbus Case-Study, C: Paremvassi Case-Study

At the *search* stage national governments and the EU search for ideas which praises the scope for agents to facilitate a policy transfer process. This is achieved either directly or indirectly through calls for funding applications. Knowledge institutions are active in deciding whether they will offer their expertise or not. It could be argued that because of difficulties in finding funding, knowledge institutions would normally adapt their expertise to EU and governmental priorities and participate in the process. At the *contact* stage knowledge institutions contact the EU and national governments to offer their know-how and to get funding.

What follows is the emergence of an *information feeder network*. Knowledge institutions play an important role at this stage by offering a forum for the development of the network. This can occur either through a conference such as the one organised in Bonn by the IDF, or a research action like Headways, as in the case of Understandingbus. If knowledge institutions manage to get more funding a *transfer network* emerges. In the IDF case the transfer of projects started to breakdown at this stage but in the Understandingbus case the transfer network emerged. This was a direct corollary of IDF's inability to win the war of ideas and engage in successful elite and cognitive mobilisation. Of course a transfer network can emerge even if knowledge institutions don't play a central role as in the case of Paremvassi. The next stage is *elite and cognitive mobilisation*. In the IDF case, only ideas were transferred and the process of transfer reached a standstill. In the other two cases knowledge institutions played an important role in mobilising their contacts in order to facilitate the policy transfer process. At the *interaction* stage the exchange of ideas and organisation of the transfer continued and knowledge institutions influenced the process by providing a policy transfer forum, as in the case of Understandingbus, or by pushing government for immediate action, as in the case of Paremvassi. The role of each of the knowledge institutions was very different at this stage for two main reasons.

Firstly, it could be argued that knowledge institutions play a more central role when programmes are transferred rather than institutions. In this sense Understandingbus had a more central role during the policy transfer process than Paremvassi. Secondly, it could be claimed, more plausibly, that the difference in Paremvassi's role was due to the differences in both the political system and civil society that predominate in Greece.

Box 9.2: Policy Transfer Networks as a Comparative Tool: The Emergence of Decision Making Structures in the Cases of IDF, Understandingbus and Paremvasi

The Process of Transfer	The Role of the EU and of the National Governments	The Role of Knowledge Institutions
5. Cognition, reception and the emergence of a transfer network	A. No funding is made available for the IDF's policy transfer initiatives and the policy transfer network doesn't emerge.	A. Unsuccessful applications for funding prevent the emergence of a transfer network.
	B. Funding for the Ecotrans project is obtained from the EU.	B. The Danish project is chosen as 'best practice'. A policy transfer of the Danish model to Piraeus and to Dresden named Ecotrans is initiated.
	C. A decision is made to transfer the Ombudsman institution. A transfer network with the participation of bureaucrats, political parties and academics emerges.	C. Paremvasi pushes for the introduction of the Ombudsman institution.
6. Elite and cognitive mobilisation	A. The policy transfer of projects breaks down. Only a transfer of ideas takes place.	A. The policy transfer of projects breaks down. Only a transfer of ideas takes place.
	B. Passive role.	B. Understandingbus communicates with its contacts in all the regions and the policy transfer process is initiated.
	C. Consultation of academics for the proposed laws.	C. Paremvasi organises public meetings with the participation of academics and politicians.
7. Interaction	A. This stage does not take place.	A. This stage does not take place.
	B. Passive role.	B. It organises an experts' visit in Viborg where representatives of all the regions involved interact.
	C. A discussion starts in the Parliament between the political parties.	C. Paremvasi visits the Prime Minister and other politicians and pushes for immediate action.
8. Evaluation	A. This stage doesn't take place.	A. This stage does not take place.
	B. Passive role.	B. Understandingbus is passive.
	C. A hybrid policy transfer is evaluated as the best option.	C. Paremvasi does not push for a particular model.
9. Decision	A. This stage does not take place.	A. This stage does not take place.
	B. Passive role.	B. Understandingbus is passive.
	C. A decision is made in the Parliament and a law passes in 1997.	C. Paremvasi publishes articles in the daily press in support of the new institution.
10. Implementation	A. This stage does not take place.	A. This stage does not take place.
	B. The EU funds follow-up projects in order to encourage the implementation.	B. Understandingbus encourages the implementation of the project.

	C. The new office is created and the new law is directly implemented.	C. The General Secretary and founding member of Paremvassi becomes the first Greek Ombudsman.
--	---	---

Key - A: IDF Case Study, B: Understandingbus Case-Study, C: Paremvassi Case-Study

At the *evaluation* stage, knowledge institutions are not active as in these cases it was bureaucrats and politicians that evaluated what is the best transfer option. At the *decision* stage, knowledge institutions were once again passive and could only exercise their lobbying skills to push for quick decisions as in the case of Paremvassi. Finally, at the *implementation* stage the role of knowledge institutions was also limited in the three case-studies. Understandingbus encouraged the implementation of the projects by offering advice and support while Paremvassi provided greater input by virtue of its general secretary becoming the first Greek Ombudsman.

The policy transfer network framework allows for a close examination of the policy transfer process and of the role of knowledge institutions within it. Some general conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, it can be argued that the role of knowledge institutions during the policy transfer process varies depending on the political and administrative system under study as well as on the maturity of the civil society in which it takes place. Secondly, although knowledge institutions perform different roles in different systems a common element can be identified in so far as they exist in a duality with the EU and the national governments. The respective governments and the EU needed knowledge institutions for their expertise and knowledge institutions needed the governments and the EU for their funding sources. Thirdly, in the three case-studies it is evident that the knowledge institutions were motivated more by idealistic than pragmatic concerns. The reason why they participate in the policy transfer process is because they want to influence the process towards what they think is the right policy direction rather than merely trying to make money out of the process.

The final chapter offers a review of the theoretical and empirical contribution of the thesis to the literature, a sketch of research problems that warrant further analysis and some tentative normative conclusions about the role of European knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer.

10 In Conclusion

Introduction

The study of policy transfer has become an exciting area of enquiry for political scientists who are interested in making sense of the increasing complexity and uncertainty that underpins modern governance. Processes of globalization and Europeanization have created new opportunity structures for policy transfer and knowledge institutions are increasingly found to be at the centre of these structures. In the introduction to this thesis four propositions were advanced:

Lesson drawing, which provides for policy transfer, constitutes a decisive factor in the policy decisions of states. The scope and intensity of this phenomenon has exacerbated due to processes of globalization and Europeanization.

At the same time, policy transfer itself represents an important process of

globalization and Europeanization, leading to convergence of institutions, policies and paradigms which provide further opportunities for policy transfer to occur.

Knowledge institutions are key agents for the dissemination of ideas and thus of policy transfer in the international domain. Hence processes of globalization in public policy are driven by ideas, as well as by factors such as global economic convergence.

Knowledge institutions become influential agents of policy transfer when they succeed in persuading policy makers that they possess policy relevant evidence-based knowledge.

The purpose of this thesis has been to unpack these general propositions and to explore their credibility. In order to gain a holistic view of social reality a structure and agency framework that emphasises the dialectical relationship between the two has been adopted. A critical realist approach to the structure and agency relationship has been embraced as the ontological, epistemological and methodological foundation of the thesis. The theoretical concepts of globalization and Europeanization have been disaggregated and analysed in relation to the operational concepts of policy convergence and divergence. Special emphasis has been placed on the study of policy transfer which is viewed as one of the key mechanisms for diffusing processes of globalization and Europeanization. The successful or unsuccessful movement of knowledge from one country to another is an important factor within the analysis of policy transfer and consequently is of significant importance in the study of policy convergence or divergence. This is why the role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer has been so closely studied and the policy transfer network model used in order to compare their role in three different European countries.

This concluding chapter is divided into four sections. The first section discusses the theoretical and methodological findings that emerge from the thesis. The second section summarises the empirical findings that arise from the case-study analysis. In the third section an overview of the strengths and weaknesses of the thesis is presented. Finally, the fourth section outlines some important future avenues for research.

Theoretical and Methodological Findings

The Utility of the Structure and Agency Framework

The ontological, epistemological and methodological implications of a structure and agency approach are central to the thesis. The acceptance of a critical realist approach accepting that social reality and the word of ideas are fused together means that equal emphasis has to be placed on both structures and agents and that their dialectical interrelationship has to be outlined. At a more practical level, firstly, terms such as policy networks and knowledge institutions have to be classified as either structures or agents depending on where they stand in the system of concentric circles. This leads to a more conscious use of terms and to a more focused design of the empirical research. Secondly, a structure and agency approach calls for a longitudinal perspective in order to study the impact of structural elaboration on past and future policy changes. Finally, micro-level and macro-level agents and structures can be identified in order to provide guidance for empirical research.

The first theoretical finding is that a structure and agency framework that emphasises the dialectical interrelationship between the two is a useful framework for providing a comprehensive understanding of the role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer. Four main conclusions arise from this finding. Firstly, it can be argued that it is more useful to adopt a loose definition of both structure and agency because whether an entity is classified as a structure or as an agent depends on the researcher's position in the system of concentric circles that is presented in Chapter Two. For example, if the researcher is interested in the way different ministries interact in order to develop public policy, each ministry will be seen as a different agent. If, on the other hand, the focus is on the external relationships of a country, it is possible to conceive the government as a single agent. A second important conclusion is that in order to provide a deeper understanding of the structure and agency interrelationship, the discourse and the environment within which they interact needs to be observed. In this sense, the discourses of Europeanization and globalization, as well as consociationalism in the Dutch case-study, or modernization in the Greek case-study, are important as a basis for understanding the structure and agency interrelationship.

A third conclusion that may be drawn is that it can be methodologically and

organisationally useful to distinguish between micro and macro structures and agents depending on their influence over time. The utility of this distinction is that the structures and agents upon which emphasis will be placed can be selected through the use of these criteria. However, the three case-studies have demonstrated that the analytical utility of distinguishing between macro and micro entities is limited. The implication of this finding for further research is that a distinction between macro and micro entities can be useful for organising the research but no patterns or generalisations about the influence of macro or micro entities can be expected. The main reason for that is that the boundaries between macro and micro entities are clearly demarcated. A fourth conclusion is that structural elaboration that emerges at one time/place will influence the structure and agency relationship at another time/place. It is argued that when policy transfer is successful, structural elaboration is more likely to happen rather than when policy transfer failure occurs. This finding links into the final conclusion on the use of a structure and agency approach. It is claimed that when structures and agents exist in a duality, policy transfer and thus convergence which is manifested in structural elaboration are more likely to occur. On the other hand, in cases when relationships of dualism are encountered, policy transfer is less likely to occur and thus divergent outcomes in terms of policies and institutions are more possible.

Policy Transfer as a Mechanism of Globalization and Europeanization

A central conceptual conclusion of this thesis is that both globalization and Europeanization have to be understood as processes, structures and discourses at the same time. This kind of approach offers a matrix for mapping the multi-dimensionality of the terms and allows for the exploration of concrete links between the two phenomena. It was further shown in the thesis that policy transfer represents one of the mechanisms for facilitating processes of globalization and Europeanization leading to convergence and/or divergence of ideas, institutions, policies and paradigms which provide further opportunities for policy transfer to occur. Within an EU framework, instances of policy convergence are more likely to be observed than instances of policy divergence. It is more likely for policy transfer to occur when similarities exist between the donor and the recipient and when there is political willingness to push the policy transfer forward. It is speculated and further research

is needed in order to demonstrate this point that within the EU context even when policy transfer fails, it is more likely to reflect a delay in the process rather than policy divergence. Convergent landscapes, such as those that emerge in the EU, do provide further opportunities for policy transfer to occur.

The Role of Knowledge Institutions within Policy Transfer Networks

There are four main conclusions that may be drawn here. The first relates to definitional and classificatory issues. In particular, the meaning of the term 'knowledge institution' that was adopted in the thesis and the resultant design of a knowledge institution typology. The term 'knowledge institution' is used to describe organisations which are distinct from government, which have as an objective to provide advice on a diverse range of policy issues through a strategy of cognitive and elite mobilisation. The term 'knowledge institution' is preferred to the term 'think-tank' because it can better describe cross-national variations of this type of organisation and it is preferable for a comparative study. A weakness of the term 'knowledge institution' is that in its attempt to include a variety of international examples, it is too broad and makes it difficult to conclude to some general statements about the role of such type of organisations. The two-dimensional typology of knowledge institutions that was developed offered little benefit over existing typologies, but this does not mean it is necessarily flawed. Further research is needed in order to assess the general usefulness of typologies in the study of knowledge institutions and the usefulness of this two-dimensional typology in particular. In summary, the first dimension concerns the main goal of knowledge institutions and the second dimension refers to the organisational characteristics of knowledge institutions. As far as the first dimension is concerned, knowledge institutions can be divided into academic and ideological organisations. Academic and ideological knowledge institutions can be further divided into different types such as specialist or generalist organisations by using the second dimension of the criteria.

Secondly, it is argued that knowledge institutions are key agents for the dissemination of ideas and thus of policy transfer in the international domain. Although this statement is generally accurate, the influence of knowledge institutions does vary depending on the political and administrative system, as well as the

maturity of the civil society within which the policy transfer takes place. For example, in Greece where civil society is not very developed, the role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer is more limited. Thirdly, another element that should be taken into account in order to assess the influence of knowledge institutions is whether ideas, programmes or institutions are transferred. The findings of the case studies suggest that knowledge institutions are more influential when policy ideas or programmes rather than institutions are transferred but in order to generalise from this finding further research needs to be completed.¹ Finally, it is argued that the policy transfer network is a useful heuristic framework for analysing and comparing the role of knowledge institutions as agents of policy transfer. For it offers a way of organising the empirical analysis and it directs the researcher towards specific observable variables that can be compared in a variety of case-studies.

Empirical Findings

The first case-study evaluated the role of the Dutch knowledge institution *The International Dialogues Foundation* in a process of transferring youth employment policy programmes within the European Union and also to Arab-Mediterranean countries. There were two striking features of this case-study. Firstly, it took place at the transnational level. Secondly, the transfer of programmes was not successful but a transfer of youth employment policy ideas took place. The reason for the failure of the transfer of programmes is attributable to the IDF's lack of organisational experience and limited awareness of how to apply for funding to the EU. A further reason was the weakness of the transfer partnerships that were established because of the lack of past co-operation and because of the diversity of the participating organisations. The transfer of programmes to the Arab-Mediterranean countries was even more difficult because of problems of political, administrative, cultural and technological proximity. The IDF's failure to transfer programmes but its success in

1. More empirical research is needed in order to sustain the claim that knowledge institutions are not usually influential when institutions are transferred because at the moment this argument is only based on Paremvassi's lack of influence during the process of the Ombudsman transfer.

transferring ideas can be viewed as a preliminary stage in the policy transfer of youth employment projects.

The second case-study examined the transfer of an environmental policy programme, Ecotrans, from Denmark to East Germany and Greece through the assistance of the German knowledge institution *Understandingbus*. The significance of this case-study was two fold. Firstly, it took place at the regional level. Secondly, it involved both failed and successful processes of policy transfer. The transfer of policy programmes to Saxony in East Germany was successful while the transfer to Piraeus in Greece was unsuccessful. The success of the policy transfer to Saxony was due to the similarities between the two regions. Additionally, the contribution of *Understandingbus* was influential because it shared a common language, geographical proximity and the ability to understand Saxony's administrative and cultural characteristics. The failure to transfer Ecotrans to Greece was due to political and administrative differences such as the centralisation of Greek public administration, and limited regional autonomy and experience of working within networks. Other problems, such as the SMEs structure in Piraeus, as well as the time and budget constraints that underpinned the Ecotrans, project contributed to the failure of the policy transfer to Piraeus. In a similar way to the IDF case-study, the transfer of ideas did take place. For example, in this case the need for Greek public administration to become more decentralised. Hence, it is possible that a transfer similar to the Ecotrans policy programme will take place at a later date.

The third case-study explored the role of *Paremvassi* during the transfer of the Ombudsman institution to Greece. The significance of this case-study was two fold. Firstly, it took place at the national level. Secondly, it dealt with the successful transfer of an institution. It took a decade for the Greek political and administrative system to mature and for the policy transfer of the Ombudsman institution to occur. This case-study demonstrates the importance of the timing of policy transfer because this transfer took place only after the European Ombudsman was established and the Prime Minister realised the necessity for such an institution to be introduced in Greece. *Paremvassi's* role was more limited than that of the knowledge institutions in the other case-studies because of the structure of the Greek political system and of the weak position of civil society in Greece. Another interesting feature of this case-study was that the institution that was finally introduced in Greece was a hybrid organisation combining characteristics of a variety of European institutions in order

to accommodate the Greek political and administrative system. A transfer of ideas took place many years before the transfer of the Ombudsman institution succeeded.

The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Approach

It is argued that the main strength of this thesis has been its ability to demonstrate the utility of its theoretical and methodological framework. As Evans and Davies (1999) argue, the main weakness of the policy transfer approach is that it cannot explain policy change unless it is combined with the micro and macro levels of analysis. Adopting a structure and agency framework which integrates the macro-level by looking at processes of globalization and Europeanization, the meso-level by analysing the process of policy transfer and finally the micro-level by focussing on the role of knowledge institutions, offers a holistic multi-level framework for understanding policy development. However, this strength can also be perceived as a weakness because the scope of the thesis does not always allow for in-depth analysis of all the phenomena that were encountered in the process of research. For example, a more analytical discussion of the concept of discourse and its relationship with the structure and agency debate could have been offered.

At an empirical level, the main strength of the thesis lies in the diversity of the case-studies and the application of the policy transfer network concept in a comparative study. The role of knowledge institutions in processes of policy transfer in three different European countries - the Netherlands, Germany and Greece - are studied and three different types of policy transfer - the transfer of ideas, programmes and institutions - are evaluated. This form of empirical research is unique. There are a few studies of European knowledge institutions and no existing studies of their role in processes of policy transfer. Additionally, the policy transfer network model has not previously been applied to a comparative study. The diversity of the case-studies allowed for a greater range of knowledge claims to be generated. A weakness of such diverse case-study analysis is that once again the nature of the study doesn't always offer in-depth analysis. For example, a historical institutionalist account of the case-studies could have been developed to provide a more insightful longitudinal examination.²

2. It would have been useful, for example, to take into account other agents on the global scene with policies and programmes similar to the knowledge institutions under study.

However, the key weakness of the research at the empirical level lies in the emphasis that is placed on knowledge institutions within the processes of policy transfer. Not enough attention has been paid to other members of the policy transfer networks. Additionally, one of the problems of the policy transfer network approach and of any analysis of policy influence, is that it is very difficult to demonstrate that one agent had more influence than another during a policy transfer process. For example, in the IDF case-study a more detailed study of the EU dimension of policy development and the reasons for why funding for the IDF projects was not approved could offer an important insight into why the policy transfer failed. The lack of a detailed analysis of all the agents participating in policy transfer networks is also a function of the broad comparative scope of the analysis. A second weakness of the research, which is again due to the broad scope of the analysis and its focus on knowledge institutions, is the superficial evaluation of the agents' belief systems. The development of a theoretical framework that focuses on discourse and a more detailed empirical investigation of the construction of agents belief systems would be a way to deal with this problem.

A final weakness at the empirical level, is that there was very little data on the implementation phase because the cases of policy transfer that were studied were 'in-process' and the implementation phases have yet to be completed. This weakness limited the ability of the research project to develop an implementation perspective and to reach concrete generalisations about the failure and success of policy transfer. On the other hand, 'in-process' case-studies of policy transfer offer greater insight into the process of policy transfer itself in the sense that we gain greater knowledge of the way that policy is developed and in particular the role of agents of policy transfer. Conversely, 'perfect fit' case-studies that only focus on successful processes of policy transfer remain limited in their utility both for academicians of the policy process and for the world of practice. The use of 'in-process' case-studies is another source of originality of this thesis because much of the policy transfer literature is pre-occupied with 'perfect-fit' case-studies and lack the agency perspective of 'in-process' case study analysis.

Avenues for Further Research

This study has made two main contributions to the existing literature. Firstly, it

has made a theoretical contribution through the development of a holistic, multi-level framework for understanding policy transfer. Secondly, it has produced a range of original empirical case studies that broaden knowledge of the process of policy transfer. During the research process a range of avenues for further research arose. At a theoretical level more work has to be done in combining propositions on structure and agency with the literature on policy change and in particular with the literature on policy transfer. A specific area that needs further theoretical development is that of the relationship of discourse analysis with the structure and agency problematic in order to generate further theoretical propositions that could be used in the research on processes of policy transfer. A particularly interesting area would be the study of the agents' misperceptions of structures and the impact that they have on policy transfer success and/or failure. More work has to be done in combining the micro, meso and macro levels of analysis in order to determine why policy transfer is important (or not) for domestic public policy, which type of agents have an input during processes of policy transfer and under what circumstances policy transfer succeeds or fails.

At an empirical level further research is required on the role of European knowledge institutions of different types during processes of policy transfer. At the same time different types of policy transfer need to be studied. These two research endeavours will allow for the application of the policy transfer network model to a greater variety of contexts and as a result greater knowledge claims could be generated. More emphasis should be placed on the implementation phase of the policy transfer process in order to better understand what failure and success in policy transfer means.

An interesting finding that came out of the research is that policy transfer occurs even when agents have negative attitudes towards globalization and Europeanization. Further research needs to be conducted on this issue. Do ideas matter or is policy transfer one more arena where realism wins the war of ideas? Do knowledge institutions and NGOs have the ability to influence the process or do they only disseminate pre-existing ideas? And finally, is policy transfer a voluntary process or is it an indirectly coercive process reflecting EU pressures for policy convergence?

In an era in which the forces of globalization are increasingly blamed for the failure of our political, economic and social systems, the demystification of the term

has become vital. Multi-level policy transfer analysis provides political scientists with the tools for achieving this aim. For policy transfer is one of the central mechanisms for promoting and facilitating processes of globalization and this is why it has become such a crucial unit of analysis both for identifying international policy entrepreneurs such as knowledge institutions and for illuminating important policy developments in domestic and world politics.

Appendix 1 A List of Interviews Undertaken in the Course of the Study

ALBATAKI, P., (Piraeus, 18/9/00), Head of the Small Industry Department, Piraeus Chamber of Small and Medium Sized Enterprises, Greece.

AUKSLAT-BOELK, C.; THUNEKA, I., Responsible for European Co-ordination and CLARKE, L., Assistant, (Berlin, 5/7/2000), Zukunftbau, Germany.

AYKUL, L. (Amsterdam, 30/6/1998), EATA, The Netherlands.

BROCK, K., (Barnsley, 13/7/00), International Relations Officer, Barnsley College, UK.

DE ZEEUW, D. (Amsterdam, 29/6/1998), Chairman of the Board of IDF, The Netherlands.

DIAMANDOUROS, N., Professor in the University of Athens and Ombudsman and KOUTSOUMARI, Former director of the State-Citizen Relationship Department of

the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization and Assistant Ombudswoman, (Athens, 28/9/00), Greece.

FOTEINOPOULOU, (Athens, 3/10/00), Director of the State-Citizen Relationship Department of the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization, Greece.

GELISSEN, M., Unit Manager at CNV Youth Organisation and VAN RUMUNDE, G., Project Manager at CNV Youth Organisation, (Utrecht, 1/7/1998), The Netherlands.

GROSSMANN, A, and UMBSEN, P., (Berlin, 3/7/00), Co-ordinators of the Ecotrans Project, Understandingbus, Germany.

GULL, E., (York, 17/6/00), BNHA, UK.

IDENBURG, P. (Bonn, 14/3/1998), Director of IDF, The Netherlands.

IDENBURG, P. (The Hague, 2/7/1998), Director of IDF, The Netherlands.

KARADENIZ, E. (Amsterdam, 30/6/1998), Chairman of Studenten Unie Nederland (SUN), The Netherlands.

KARANIKOLAOU, (Piraeus, 12/9/00), Representative of ANDIP, ANDIP, Greece.

KASTANIDIS, CH., (Athens, 27/9/00), MP of PASOK and former deputy minister of the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization, Greece.

KUEHL, S., Representative of SBG Dresden, Germany and JUERGEN I., Representative of UNROS Zwickau, Germany (Dessau, 7/7/00) with the participation of LILLEKER, D., Ecotrans Researcher of Barnsley College, UK and REINSCH, C., Representative of Understandingbus, Germany.

LILLEKER, D., (York, 14/6/00), Ecotrans Researcher, Barnsley College, UK.

LITJENS, P. (The Hague, 2/7/1998), Jong Management VNO-NCW, The Netherlands.

LOEWEN, G., (Dessau, 7/7/00), Representative of the GD V of the European Commission.

LORENZEN, U., (Telephone Interview, 13/2/01), International Affairs Officer, Viborg Amt, Denmark.

LOPES, R. (Bonn, 14/3/1998), CABO Organisation, The Netherlands.

LOVERDOS, A., (Athens, 3/10/00), MP of PASOK and Professor at Panteion University of Athens, Greece.

MAKRYDIMITRIS, A. (Athens, 26/9/00), Professor in the University of Athens and informal consultant during the planning of the Ombudsman institution, Greece.

MYTILINAIOS, E. (Piraeus, 28/9/00), Chairman of the Piraeus Chamber of Small and Medium Sized Enterprises, Greece.

RHANIMI, M. (Bonn, 15/3/1998), Moroccan Social Work Camps, Morocco.

SARAFIANOS, (Athens, 22/9/00), Legal Adviser for the Introduction of the Ombudsman Institution in the Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralization, Greece.

SOBHY, K. (Bonn, 16/3/1998), Programme Officer of Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies, Egypt.

SPANOU, K., (Athens, 3/10/00), Associate Professor in the University of Athens and informal consultant during the planning of the Ombudsman institution, Greece.

TSELEDIS, V., (Athens, 20/9/00), Head of the Maritime Studies Department, University of Piraeus, Greece.

TSELEDIS, V., (Piraeus, 3/9/99), Deputy Professor, Department of Maritime Studies, University of Piraeus, Greece.

VOGAS, P., (Piraeus, 18/9/00), Partner of the SME Toner Artist, Greece.

VAN DEN HAM, M. (Utrecht, 1/7/1998), Vice-Chairperson of Young Christian Democrats, The Netherlands.

VAN VLERKEN, A. (Bonn, 14/3/1998), Project Subsidies Adviser in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, The Netherlands.

VAN VLERKEN, A. (The Hague, 29/6/1998), Project Subsidies Adviser in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, The Netherlands.

VASSILOPOULOS, P., (Athens, 4/9/00), Journalist and Director of Paremvassi, Greece.

VON DER FUHR, G. (Amsterdam, 30/6/1998), Press Officer of the Amsterdam Centre for Foreigners, The Netherlands.

URBAN, P. (Berlin, 11/7/00), Training Manager and Head of the European Union Unit, Zukunftsbau, Germany.

WILLEMARS, V. (Amsterdam, 30/6/1998), Grants Officer of the European Cultural Foundation, The Netherlands.

WILLEMSE, E. (Bonn, 15/3/1998), Project Co-ordinator and Co-ordinator of the Bonn Conference, IDF, The Netherlands.

WILLEMSE, E. (Leiden, 2/7/1998), Project Co-ordinator and Co-ordinator of the Bonn Conference, IDF, The Netherlands.

ZAFEIROPOULOS, (Piraeus, 12/9/00), Representative of KEK 'Apopsi', Greece.

Appendix 2 Sample Questionnaires

This Appendix contains three representative sample questionnaires, one for each case-study. The samples are broadly indicative of the types of questions asked in all the interviews, although sometimes questionnaires differed according to prior knowledge from documentary analysis and according to the expertise and particular position of each individual. The questions put to Ehjaz Gull, representative of the Bradford and Northern Housing Association (IDF case-study), Uve Lorenzen, International Affairs Officer, Viborg Amt, Denmark (Understandingbus case-study) and A. Loverdos, MP of PASOK and Professor at Panteion University of Athens (Paremvassi case-study) are enclosed.

Questionnaire for Ehjaz Gull, Representative of BNHA, UK (York, 17/6/00)

How did you and Bradford and Northern Housing Association get involved with IDF and their work on youth employment policy?

What is the role of your organisation in this process and especially in the Vocational Training project?

What does your organisation have to offer to this youth network and to the Vocational Training project in particular?

Do you think that the model that was presented from CNV is useful for Bradford? Would it be transferred here? Would it be transferred in any other country? (Depending on the answer I can ask about similarities/differences of the projects)

What facilitates and what constraints the transfer of projects from one country to another?

Which organisations are more willing to learn from each other and are more flexible to introduce new models? (governmental, private, NGO's)

Which organisations are the most influential in this process?

What do you think is the role of IDF in this whole process?

What do you think about the youth employment platform? Do you think it will allow more learning to occur?

What is the role of the EU in this process of learning? Do you think that because of the EU there is an increase in processes of learning?

What do you think globalization is? How does it influence processes of policy learning?

**Questionnaire for Uwe Lorenzen, International Affairs Officer, Viborg Amt,
(Telephone Interview, 13/2/01).**

Could you tell me a few things about Viborg Amt and your position there?

Could you tell me a few things about the Viborg project and why do you think it was selected as a model project?

How did the Ecotrans project started and how and why did Viborg Amt got involved?

How do you see the role of Understandingbus in this process?

What is your opinion about processes of policy transfer? Do you think that the countries involved have to be similar or not?

What do you think about Dresden's, Piraeus' and Barnsley's ability to transfer the Viborg model and what has happened up to now?

How close is what has happened in Dresden to the Viborg model?

Which organisations are more flexible and more willing to introduce a new model (governmental, private, NGOs)?

Which organisations/agents are the most influential in this process of policy transfer?

What is the role of the EU in this policy transfer process? Do you think that because of the EU there is an increase in processes of policy transfer?

Do you think that if the policy transfer of the Viborg model is successful this will mean opportunities for further policy transfer between these countries?

What do you think globalization is? How does it influence processes of policy transfer?

Questionnaire for A. Loverdos, MP of PASOK and Professor at Panteion University of Athens, Greece (Athens, 3/10/00)

Why was the Ombudsman institution introduced in Greece at this particular time?

Which agents played a significant role during the introduction of this institution in Greece?

Which agents were against such a change in Greek public administration?

What direct or indirect role did the EU play during the introduction of the Ombudsman institution?

What was the role of NGOs and think-tanks during this process? More specifically, what was the role of Paremvassi?

What was the role of the academic community during the process?

Can we observe the formation of an informal policy network that pushed for the introduction of the Ombudsman in Greece?

Has the Greek version of the Ombudsman institution been influenced by another European model? If yes, from which one and why has it been influenced from this particular model?

What do you think about processes of policy transfer? Do you think that the countries that participate in such a process have to be similar or can they be different?

What does globalization mean for you? Did it influence the introduction of the Ombudsman institution? More generally, what is its relationship with processes of policy transfer?

Do you think that the Ombudsman institution has been successful up to now? Especially, if we compare it with the models from which it was inspired?

Bibliography

ABELSON, D. and CARBERRY, CH. (1998), "Following Suit or Falling Behind? A Comparative analysis of Think-Tanks in Canada and the United States", *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 31. 3: 525-555.

ABERCROMBIE, N., HILL, S. and TURNER, B. (eds.), (1984), *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd.

ABZUG, R. and TURNHEIM, J. (1998), "Bandwagon or Band-Aid? A Model of Nonprofit Incorporation by State", *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 27. 3: 300-322.

ADLER, E. and HAAS, P. (1992), "Conclusions: Epistemic Communities, World Order, and the Creation of a Reflective Research Program", *International Organisation* 46.1: 367-390.

ALBROW, M. (1996), *The Global Age*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

ALEXANDRIA BUSINESS ASSOCIATION (undated), *Information Leaflet*.

ALLEN, J. and HAMNETT, Ch. (eds.), (1995), *A Shrinking World*, Oxford: Oxford

University Press and The Open University.

ANDERSON, J., BROOK, Ch. and COCHRANE, A. (eds.), (1995), *A Global World? Re-ordering Political Space*, Oxford: Oxford University Press and The Open University.

ANDERSON, J. (1995), "The Exaggerated Death of the Nation-State" in J. Anderson, Ch. Brook and A. Cochrane (eds.), *A Global World? Re-ordering Political Space*, Oxford: Oxford University Press and The Open University: 65-106.

ANDIP, (2000), *Τεύχος Πληροφοριακών Στοιχείων* (Information Issue), Keratsini: ANDIP.

ANHEIER, H. and SEIBEL, W. (1990), "The Third Sector in Comparative Perspective: Four Propositions" in H. Anheier and W. Seibel (eds.), *The Third Sector Comparative Studies of Nonprofit Organisations*, Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter: 379-387.

ANHEIER, H. (1992), "An Elaborate Network: Profiling the Third Sector in Germany" in B. Gidron, R. Kramer and L. Salamon (eds.), *Government and the Third Sector*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers: 31-56.

AQUINA, H. (1992), "A Partnership Between Government and Voluntary Organisations: Changing Relationships in Dutch Society" in B. Gidron, R. Kramer and L. Salamon (eds.), *Government and the Third Sector*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers: 57-74.

ARCHER, M. (1985), "Structuration versus Morphogenesis" in S. N. Eisenstadt and H. J. Helle (eds.), *Macro-Sociological Theory*, Vol. 1, Newbery Park, CA: SAGE Publications: 58-88.

ARCHER, M. (1996), *Culture and Agency*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

AUDI, R. (ed.), (1995), *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

AXFORD, B. (1995), *The Global System*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

BALLAS, N. (2000), *Ελεγκτικοί Θεσμοί στην Ελλάδα* (Administrative Mediation Mechanisms in Greece), National Centre for Public Administration, Training Institute.

BELL, D. (1960), *The End of Ideology*, New York: Free Press.

BENNETT, C. and HOWLETT, M. (1992), "The Lessons of Learning: Reconciling Theories of Policy Learning and Policy Change", *Policy Sciences* 25: 275-294.

BENNETT, C. (1991), "Review Article: What is Policy Convergence and What Causes it?" *British Journal of Political Science* 21: 215-233.

- BENNETT, C. (1991a), "How States Utilize Foreign Evidence" *Journal of Public Policy*, 2. 1: 31-54.
- BERGER, S. and DORE, R. (eds.), (1996), *National Diversity and Global Capitalism*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- BERGER, S. (1996), "Introduction", in S. Berger and R. Dore (eds.), *National Diversity and Global Capitalism*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press: 1-25.
- BERGHAHN, W. R. (1982), *Modern Germany*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BESILA-MAKRIDI, E. (1998), *Το Δικαίωμα Αναφοράς στις Αρχές και ο Συνήγορος του Πολίτη* (Right of Petition to the Authorities and the Ombudsman), Thessaloniki: Sakkoulas.
- BHASKAR, R. (1980-84), "Scientific Explanation and Human Emancipation", *Radical Philosophy* 25-36: 16-28.
- BHASKAR, R. (1986), *Scientific Realism and Human Emancipation*, New York and London: Verso.
- BHASKAR, R. (1997), "On the Ontological Status of Ideas", *Journal of the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 27. 2/3: 139-147.
- BLUEHDORN, IN., KRAUSE, F. and SCHARF, TH. (1995), "Introduction" in In. Bluehdorn, F. Krause and Th. Scharf (eds.), *The Green Agenda*, Keele: Keele University Press: 11-22.
- BOLL, B. (1994), "Interest Organisation and Intermediation in the New Laender", *German Politics* 3. 1: 114-128.
- BOMBERG, E. and PETERSON, J. (2000), "Policy Transfer and Europeanization", paper in *Political Studies Association Annual Conference*, London, 10-13 April 2000.
- BORZEL, T. (1999), "Towards Convergence in Europe? Institutional Adaptation to Europeanization in Germany and Spain", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37. 4: 573-96.
- BOURDIEU, P. (1977), *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BRAND, K.-W. (1999), "Dialectics of Institutionalisation: The Transformation of the Environmental Movement in Germany", *Environmental Politics* 8. 1: 35-58.
- BRANNEN, J. (1992), "Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches: an Overview" in J. Brannen (ed.), *Mixing Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Research*, Hants, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Limited: 3-37.
- BRAUN, B. (1998), "Locational Response of German Manufacturers to

- Environmental Standards”, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 89. 3: 253-263.
- BROOK, CH. (1995), “The Drive to Global Regions?” in J. Anderson, Ch. Brook and A. Cochrane (eds.), *A Global World? Re-ordering Political Space*, Oxford: Oxford University Press and The Open University: 113-150.
- BRYMAN, A. (1988), *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*, London: Routledge.
- BUESI (May 1996), *Information Booklet*.
- BUIJING, H. (6 January 1998), *Workshop: The Bridge Building function of New Media*.
- BULLER, J. (1999), “A Critical Appraisal of the State-Craft Interpretation”, *Public Administration*, 77. 4: 691-712.
- BULPITT, J. (1995), “Historical Politics: Macro In-Time, Governing Regime Analysis” in J. Lovenduski and J. Stanyer (eds.), *Contemporary Political Studies*, vol. 2, Belfast: PSA: 510-520.
- CALLINICOS, A. (1995), *Making History*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- CANTWELL, J. (1992), “The Internationalisation of Technological Activity and its Implications for Competitiveness” in O. Granstand, L. Hakanson and S. Sjolander (eds.), *Technology Management and International Business*, Chichester: Wiley.
- CARLSNAES, W. (1992), “The Agency-Structure Problem in Foreign Policy Analysis”, *International Studies Quarterly* 36: 245-270.
- CERNY, P. G. (1990), *The Changing Architecture of Politics*, London: SAGE Publications.
- CERNY, P. G. (1996) “Globalization and Other Stories: The Search for a New Paradigm for International Relations” *International Journal* 51. 4: 617-37.
- CERNY, P. G. (1997), “Paradoxes of the Competition State: the Dynamics of Political Globalization”, *Government and Opposition* 32. 2: 251-274.
- CERNY, P. G. (1998), “Globalization, Governance and Complexity” in J. Hart and A. Prakash (eds.), *Globalization and Governance* (to be published).
- CHRYSSANTHAKIS, CH., (1996), «Πτυχές Προστασίας του Πολίτη στην Κοινοτική και την Ελληνική Έννομη Τάξη: Από τον Ευρωπαϊκό Διαμεσολαβητή στον Έλληνα Μεσολαβητή» (Facets of Citizens Protection in European Community and Greek Law: From the European Ombudsman to the Greek Ombudsman), in Α. Makrydimitris, N.D. Koulouris, Ch. Crysanthakis and ΑΙ. Oikonomou, *“Ombudsman”: Ο Έλεγχος της Κακοδιοίκησης στην Ελλάδα και στην Ευρώπη* (“Ombudsman”: The Control of Maladministration in Greece and in Europe), Athens-

Komotini: Sakkoulas: 79-97.

CNV (13 March 1998), *Workshop: Continue Learning*.

CNV (1998), *Application for the 'Leonardo da Vinci' Programme for 'Continue Learning'*, Utrecht.

CLEVELAND, H. (1990), *The Global Commons: Policy for the Planet*, Lanham and London: The Aspen Institute and University Press of America.

CLOGG, R. (1979), *A Short History of Modern Greece*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

COHRANE, A. and CLARKE, J. (eds.), (1993), *Comparing Welfare States*, London: Sage Publications.

COLLIER, D. (1993), "The Comparative Method" in A. Finifter (ed.), *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, Washington DC: American Political Science Association.

CORNFORD, J. (1990), "Performing Fleas: Reflections from a Think Tank", *Policy Studies* 11. 4: 22-30.

COSTON, J. (1998), "A Model and Typology of Government NGO Relationship" *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 27. 3: 358-382.

COUNTY OF VIBORG, (1997), *Information Leaflet*.

DAALDER, H. (1981), "Consociationalism, Center and Periphery in the Netherlands" in P. Torsvik (ed.), *Mobilization Center-Periphery Structures and Nation-Building*, Bergen: Universitetsforlaget: 181-240.

DABBAH, A. (26 February 1998), *A Work-Study Program: Palestine*, Palestine: Birzeit University.

DAHL, R. (1982), *Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

DAVIES, H., NUTLEY, S. and SMITH, P. (2000), "Introducing Evidence-Based Policy and Practice in Public Services" in H. Davies, S. Nutley. and P. Smith (eds.), *What Works?*, Bristol: The Polity Press: 1-11.

DAVIES, J. and EVANS, M. (1997), "Unpacking Policy Transfer Analysis: The Case of Local Agenda 21", *Working Paper No. 13*, Department of Politics, University of York.

DAY, A. (2000), "Think-Tanks in Western Europe" in J. McGann and K. Weaver (eds.), *Think-Tanks and Civil Societies: Catalysts for Ideas and Action*, New Brunswick and New Jersey: Transaction Publishers: 103-138.

DEARLOVE, J. (2000), "Globalization and the Study of British Politics", *Politics*

20. 2: 111-118.

DELVINIOTI, EL. (31/1/97) «'Φούλ' του Εκσυγχρονισμού» (Full Modernization), *Ελευθεροτυπία* (Eleutherotypia Daily Newspaper).

DENHAM, A. and GARNETT, M. (1996), "The Nature and Impact of Think Tanks in Contemporary Britain" in M. D. Kandiah and A. Seldon (eds.), *Ideas and Think Tanks in Contemporary Britain*, London: Frank Cass: 43-61.

DENHAM, A. and GARNETT, M. (1998), *British Think-Tanks and the Climate of Opinion*, London: UCL Press.

DENSCOMBE, M. (1998), *The Good Research Guide*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

DENZIN, N. and LINCOLN, Y. (1994), "Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research" in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks, London and New Dehli: SAGE Publications: 1-17.

DEPARTMENT OF ENTERPRISE, TRADE AND EMPLOYMENT, (1998), *Employment Initiative* (<http://www.iol.ie/EMPLOYMENT/round.html>), Ireland.

DESSLER, D. (1989), "What's at Stake in the Agent/Structure Debate?", *International Organisation* 41. 3.

DEVINE, F. (1995), "Qualitative Analysis" in D. Marsh and G. Stoker (eds.), *Theory and Methods in Political Science*, London: Macmillan: 137-153.

DG V (1996), *Integration of Young People into the Labour Market*, Working Document.

DG V (1999), *Action Research in Employment*, Brussels: European Commission.

DIAMANDOUROS, N. (2001), «Κοινωνία Πολιτών» (Civil Society), (to be published).

DiMAGGIO, P. and ANHEIER, H. (1990), "The Sociology of Nonprofit Organisations and Sectors", *Annual Review of Sociology* 16: 137-159.

DOGAN, M. and PELASSY, D. (1990), *How to Compare Nations?*, Chatham, New Jersey: Chatham Publishers Inc.

DOGAN, M. (1994), "Limits to Quantification in Comparative Politics: The Gap between Substance and Method", in M. Dogan and A. Kazancigil (eds.), *Comparing Nations: Concepts, Strategies, Substance*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell: 35-71.

DOLOWITZ, D. and MARSH, D. (1996), "Who Learns from Whom?", *Political Studies* XLVI: 343-357.

DOLOWITZ, D. and MARSH, D. (2000), "Learning from Abroad: the Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy Making", *Governance* 13. 1: 5-24.

- DOLOWITZ, D. (1998), "Where's the State? The Political Process of Globalization", in C. Hay and D. Marsh (eds.), *Globalization and Governance*, London: Macmillan.
- DOUGLAS, J. (1987), "Political Theories of Nonprofit Organisations" in W. Powell (ed.), *The Nonprofit Sector*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press: 43-54.
- DROR, Y. (1987), "Conclusions" in W. Plowden, *Advising the Rulers*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell: 184-215.
- DUDLEY, G. and RICHARDSON, J. (1996), "Why does Policy Change over Time? Adversarial Policy Communities, Alternative Policy Arenas and British Trunk Roads Policy, 1945-95", *Journal of European Public Policy* 3: 63-83.
- DUNLEAVY, P. and O' LEARY, B. (1987), *Theories of the State*, London: Macmillan.
- DUNLEAVY, P. (1994), "The Globalization of Public Services Production: Can Government be 'Best in World'?", *Public Policy and Administration* 9. 2, Summer: 36-65.
- DUTCH OMBUDSMAN (9/7/01), http://www.ombudsman.nl/brochure_uk/.
- ECF (1997), *Annual Report*.
- EEE (2000), *Information Leaflet*, Berlin: EEE.
- ELEUTHEROTYPIA (Daily Newspaper), (29/3/97), «Ζητούν Θετική Απάντηση» (They Ask for a Positive Answer).
- EVA (15/2/01), <http://www.understandingbus.de/evanet/>.
- EVANS, M. and DAVIES, J. (1999), "Understanding Policy Transfer: A Multi-level, Multi-disciplinary Perspective", *Public Administration* 77. 2: 361-386.
- EVANS, M. (1999), "Policy Transfer Networks and Collaborative Government: The Case of Social Security Fraud", *Public Policy and Administration* 14. 2: 30-48.
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION (1996), Call 96/C 114/10.
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION (1997), *Policy Guidelines for 1998*, Luxembourg.
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION (1999), *Evaluation of the MEDA Regulation*.
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION (27/3/00), *Leonardo Da Vinci: Das Gemeinschaftliche Aktionsprogramm in der Berufsbildung*, Brussels: European Commission.
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2001), *Leonardo Da Vinci* (<http://europa.eu.int/comm/dg22>).
- EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (1998), *Fifth European Community Environment Programme: Towards Sustainability*, Decision No 2179/98/EC.
- EU (March 1998), *The European Social Fund: an Overview of the Programming Period 1994-99* (<http://europa.eu.int/en...blic/overview/chap1.htm>).

- EU (1997), *Grants and Loans from the European Union* (<http://www.europa.eu.int/>).
- EYESTONE, R. (1977), "Confusion, Diffusion and Innovation", *American Political Science Review*: 441-453.
- FEATHERSTONE, K. (2001), "Europeanisation in Southern Europe", lecture in *European Workshop 2001*, University of Crete, 10-15 September 2001.
- FEATHERSTONE, M. and LASH, S. (1995), "Globalization, Modernity and the Spatialization of Social Theory: An Introduction" in M. Featherstone, S. Lash and R. Robertson (eds.), *Global Modernities*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications: 1-24.
- FEATHERSTONE, M. (ed.), (1990), *Global Culture*, London: Sage Publications.
- FIESCHI, C. and GAFFNEY, J. (1998), "French Think-Tanks in Comparative Perspective" in D. Stone, A. Denham and M. Garnett (eds.), *Think-Tanks Across Nations*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press: 42-58.
- FISCHER, F. (1993), "Policy Discourse and the Politics of Washington Think-Tanks" in F. Fisher and J. Forester (eds.), *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*, Durham and London: Duke University Press: 23-42.
- FODDY, W. (1993), *Constructing Questions for Interviews and Questionnaires*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- FOUCAULT, M. (1980), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- FREEMAN, R. and TESTER, S. (1996), *Social Policy Diffusion 3. 2*.
- FREY, J. and FONTANA, A. (1993), "The Group Interview in Social Research" in D. Morgan (ed.), *Successful Focus Groups*, Newbury Park, London and New Delhi: SAGE Publications: 20-34.
- FRIEDMAN, G. and STARR, H. (1997), *Agency, Structure and International Politics*, London and New York: Routledge.
- GAGNON, A.-G. (1990), "The Influence of Social Scientists on Public Policy" in S. Brooks and A.-G. Gagnon (eds.), *Social Scientists, Policy and the State*, New York: Praeger: 1-18.
- GALBRAITH, J. (1972), *The New Industrial State*, London: Andre Deutsch.
- GELLHORN, W. (1967), *Ombudsmen and Others*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- GIDDENS, A. (1984), *The Constitution of Society*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- GIDDENS, A. (1991), *Modernity and Self-Identity*, Cambridge: Polity.
- GIDRON, B., KRAMER, R. and SALAMON, L. (eds.), (1992), *Government and the*

Third Sector, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

GILL, S. (1995), "Globalization, Market Civilisation and Disciplinary Neoliberalism", *Millenium* 24. 3: 399-423.

GOLUB, J. (1998), "Global Competition and EU Environmental Policy" in J. Golub (ed.), *Global Competition and EU Environmental Policy*, London: Routledge: 1-33.

GORDON, C. (ed.), (1980), *Foucault: Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

GOW, J. and DEL CARMEN PARDO, M. (1999), "Comparing Different Civil Services: the Advantages of a Multi-Level Analysis for Comparing Canada with Mexico", *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 65. 4: 527-550.

GRANT, W. (1995), *Pressure Groups, Politics and Democracy in Britain*, New York: Harvester Wheatsheat.

GRANTHAM, A. (1996), "Why the Process of Policy Implementation is Important to the Policy Transfer Debate", paper presented in *Policy Transfer Conference: The Global Spread of Ideas, Policies and Institutions*, University of Birmingham, 26-27 October 1996.

GRAY, C. (1978), "'Think Tanks' and Public Policy", *International Journal* 33. 1: 177-194.

GREEK OMBUDSMAN, (1998), Ετήσια Έκθεση (Annual Report), Athens: National Printing-House.

GROSSMANN, A. and UMBSSEN, P. (June 2000), *Transfer Handbook*, Berlin: Understandingbus.

GROSSMANN, A., UMBSSEN, P. and FURTH, R. (1998), *HEADWAYS Opening Employment Opportunities for Unemployed People in the Environmental Sector*, Berlin: Understandingbus e.V.

GROSSMANN, A. (July 2000), *Transfer Project Ecotrans: Final Report*, Berlin: Understandingbus e. V.

GROSSMANN, A. (1/3/99), *Report on the Fact Finding Visit in Piraeus on February 15th to 21st 1999*, Berlin: Understandingbus e. V.

GUMMETT, P. (ed), (1996), *Globalization and Public Policy*, Cheltenham, Brookfield: Edward Elgar.

HAAS, P. M. (1989), "Do Regimes Matter? Epistemic Communities and Evolving

- Policies to Control Mediterranean Pollution”, *International Organisation* 43. 33: 377-403.
- HAAS, P. M. (1992), “Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination”, *International Organization* 46: 1-36.
- HAMES, T. and FEASEY, R. (1994), “Anglo-American Think-Tanks under Reagan and Thatcher” in A. Adonis and T. Hames (eds.), *A Conservative Revolution?*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press: 215-237.
- HANN, A. (1995), “Sharpening up Sabatier: Belief Systems and Public Policy”, *Politics* 15. 1: 19-26.
- HANSMANN, H. (1987), “Economic Theories of Nonprofit Organisations” in W. Powell (ed.), *The Nonprofit Sector*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press: 27-42.
- HARMAN, C. (1996), “Globalization: a Critique of New Orthodoxy”, *International Socialism* 73: 3-33.
- HARPER, D. (1992), “Small N's and Community Case Studies” in Ch. Ragin and H. Becker (eds.), *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 139-158.
- HAY, C. and MARSH, D. (eds.), (1999), *Demystifying Globalization*, New York: St. Martin's Press.
- HAY, C. and MARSH, D. (1999), “Introduction: Towards a New (International) Political Economy?”, *New Political Economy* 4. 1: 5-22.
- HAY, C. (1995), “Structure and Agency” in D. Marsh and G. Stoker (eds.), *Theory and Methods in Political Science*, London: Macmillan Press: 189-206.
- HAY, C. (1998), “The Tangled Webs we Weave: the Discourse, Strategy and Practice of Networking” in D. Marsh (ed.), *Comparing Policy Networks*, Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press: 33-51.
- HAY, C. (2000), “What Place for Ideas in the Structure-Agency Debate? Globalization as a 'Process without a Subject'”, paper presented to the *ESRC/JUC Research Training Residential School*, University of York, 25-26 March 2000.
- HECLO, H. (1974), *Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- HELD, D. and MCGREW, A. with GOLDBLATT, D. and PERRATON, J. (1999), “Globalization”, *Global Governance* 5: 483-496.

- HELD, D. (1991), "Democracy and the Global System" in D. Held (ed.), *Political Theory Today*, Cambridge: Polity Press: 197-235.
- HELD, D. (1996), *Models of Democracy*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- HELD, P. and THOMPSON, J. B. (eds.), (1989), *Social Theory and Modern Societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HEMERIJCK, A. (1999), "The Dutch Model: An Obvious Candidate for the 'Third Way'?", *Archives Europeenes de Sociologie* XL. 1: 103-121.
- HEUTER, H. (1995), "Full-Employment, Social Justice and Sustainable Development: the Environmental Policy of the German Trade Union Association (DGB)" in In. Bluehdorn, F. Krause and Th. Scharf (eds.), *The Green Agenda*, Keele: Keele University Press: 101-110.
- HIGGOTT, R. (1999), "Economic, Politics and (International) Political Economy: The Need for a Balanced Diet in an Era of Globalization", *New Political Economy* 4. 1: 24-36.
- HINDESS, B. (1986), "Actors and Social Relations" in M. Wardell and S. Turner (eds.), *Sociological Theory in Transition*, Boston: Allen and Unwin.
- HIRST, P. and THOMPSON G. (1996), *Globalization in Question*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- HIRST, P. (1997), "The Global Market and the Possibilities of Governance", paper presented in *Globalization-Critical Perspectives*, University of Birmingham, 14-16 March 1997.
- HOBERG, G. (1991), "Sleeping with an Elephant: The American Influence on Canadian Environmental Regulation", *Journal of Public Policy* 2. 1: 107-32.
- HOFF, R. and MULDER, H. (eds.), (1994), *Islamic Revival and the West*, The Hague: IDF.
- HOLLIS, M. and SMITH, S. (1994), "Two Stories about Structure and Agency", *Review of International Studies* 20: 241-251.
- HUBERMAN, M. and MILES, M. (1994), "Data Management and Analysis Methods" in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks, London and New Dehli: SAGE Publications: 428-444.
- HURWITZ, S. (1961), *The Ombudsman*, Copenhagen: Det Danske Selskab.
- IBN KHALDUN CENTER FOR DEVELOPMENT (1998), *Information Leaflet*.
- IDF (undated), The Hague.
- IDF (1998), *List of New Board and Advisory Council IDF*.
- IDF (29 January 1998), The Hague.

- IDF (February 1998), *Programme of Activities*, The Hague.
- IDF (5 March 1998), *Workshop Procedures & Rules of Plenary Parliament Session*, The Hague.
- IDF (10 March 1998), *List of Participants*, The Hague.
- IDF (May 1998), *Open European Youth Platform for Employment Project Outline*, The Hague.
- IDF (May 1998a), *Open European Youth Platform for Employment-Draft Member List for the Steering Committee*, The Hague.
- IDF (29 June 1998), *Grant Application for the 'Open European Youth Platform for Employment'*, The Hague.
- IDF (27 August 1998), The Hague.
- IDF (September 1998), *Second Open European Youth Parliament*, The Hague.
- IDF (February 1999), *Open European Youth Platform: Employment for Migrant Youth in Europe and Youth in the Emigration Countries, Expert Meeting*, Veldhoven, The Netherlands.
- INKELES, A. (1981), "Convergence and Divergence in Industrial Societies" in M. Attir, B. Holzner and Z. Suda (eds.), *Directions of Change*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press: 3-38.
- INTERNATIONAL OMBUDSMAN INSTITUTE (11/6/01), *Information Booklet*, (<http://www.law.ualberta.ca/centres/ioi/brochure.htm>).
- JABRI, V. and CHAN, S. (1996), "The Ontologist Always Rings Twice: two more Stories about Structure and Agency in Reply to Hollis and Smith", *Review of International Studies*, 22: 107-110.
- JAMES, E. (1987), "The Nonprofit Sector in Comparative Perspective" in W. Powell (ed.), *The Nonprofit Sector*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press: 397-415.
- JAMES, P. (1998), "The New Germany Eight Years on" in P. James (ed.), *Modern Germany*, London and New York: Routledge: 1-12.
- JAMES, P. (1998), "Government and the Political Parties" in P. James (ed.), *Modern Germany*, London and New York: Routledge: 45-67.
- JAMES, S. (1993), "The Idea Brokers: the Impact of Think-Tanks on British Government", *Public Administration* 71: 491-506.
- JENKINS, C. (1987), "Nonprofit Organisations and Policy Advocacy" in W. Powell (ed.), *The Nonprofit Sector*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press: 296-318.

- JESSOP, B. (1990), *State Theory: Putting The Capitalist State in its Place*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- JONES, E. (1999), "Is 'Competitive' Corporatism an Adequate Response to Globalization? Evidence from the Low Countries", *West European Politics* 22. 3: 159-181.
- JONG MANAGEMENT (undated), *'Start Up'*.
- JONG MANAGEMENT (1998), *Information Leaflet*.
- JORDAN, A. and RICHARDSON, J. (1983), "Policy Communities: the British and European Policy Style", *Policy Studies Journal* 11. 4: 603-615.
- JORDON, G., MALONEY, W. and McLAUGHLIN, A. (1992), *What is Studied when Pressure Groups are Studied?*, ESRC and University of Aberdeen: British Interest Group Project.
- KAMENITSA, L. (1998), "The Process of Political Marginalization: East German Social Movements after the Wall", *Comparative Politics* 30. 3: 313-333.
- KATHIMERINI (Daily Newspaper), (9/3/97), «Προτάσεις από Διανοητές» (Proposals from Thinkers).
- KAY, C. (ed.), (1997), *Globalization, Competitiveness and Human Security*, London and Portland, Or: Frank Cass.
- KERR, C., DUNLOP, J., HARBISON, F. and MYERS, CH. (1973), *Industrialism and Industrial Man*, Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- KHOO, S. (1998), "Think-Tanks and Intellectual Participation in Malaysian Discourses of Development" in D. Stone, A. Denham and M. Garnett (eds.), *Think-Tanks Across Nations*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press: 166-187.
- KNABE, L. (1995), "Environmental Policy in Times of Recession: Germany Industry's View" in In. Bluehdorn, F. Krause and Th. Scharf (eds.), *The Green Agenda*, Keele: Keele University Press: 93-99.
- KOFMAN, E. and YOUNGS, G., (eds.), (1996), *Globalization: Theory and Practice*, New York: Pinter.
- KOOPMANS, R. (1995), *Democracy from Below: New Social Movements and the Political System in West Germany*, Boulder: Westview Press.
- KOULOOURIS, N. D. (1993), «Οι 'Ανεξάρτητες Διοικητικές Αρχές': Τα Αλλοδαπά Πρότυπα και τα Ημεδαπά Κακέκτυπα» ('Independent Administrative Authorities': Foreign Patterns and Domestic Misprints), *Διοικητική Δικονομία* (Administrative Procedure) 5: 1140-1183.

- KOULOURIS, N. D. (1996), «Ο Γάλλος 'Mediateur' ως πρότυπο για τον Έλληνα Επίτροπο Διοικήσεως» (The French 'Mediateur' as a Pattern for the Greek 'Administrative Commissioner') in A. Makrydimitris, N.D. Koulouris, Ch. Crysanthakis and Al. Oikonomou, *"Ombudsman": Ο Έλεγχος της Κακοδιοίκησης στην Ελλάδα και στην Ευρώπη* ("Ombudsman": The Control of Maladministration in Greece and in Europe), Athens-Komotini: Sakkoulas: 163-190.
- KRAMER, R. (1981), *Voluntary Agencies in the Welfare State*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.
- KVISTAD, C. (1999), *The Rise and Demise of German Statism*, Providence and Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- LADI, S. (6/7/00), *Informal Meeting of Evaluation of Ecotrans*, Dessau, Notes.
- LADI, S. (2000), "Globalization, Think-Tanks and Policy Transfer" in D. Stone (ed.) *Banking on Knowledge: The Genesis of the GDN*, London: Routledge: 203-220.
- LADRECH, R. (1994), "Europeanization of Domestic Politics and Institutions: The Case of France", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 32. 1: 69-88.
- LAKOPOULOS, G. (16/7/00), «Το Αρχιπέλαγος της Κεντροαριστεράς» (The Archipelago of Centre-Left), *To Βήμα* (To Bima, Newspaper): 10-11.
- LAVDAS, K. (1997), *The Europeanization of Greece: Interest Politics and the Crisis of Integration*, Basingstoke: MacMillan.
- LAYDER, D. (1988), "The Relation of Theory and Method: Causal Relatedness, Historical Contingency and Beyond", *Sociological Review* 36. 3: 441-463.
- LAYDER, D. (1994), *Understanding Social Theory*, London: SAGE Publications.
- LEIBFRIED, S. (2000), "National Welfare States, European Integration and Globalization: A Perspective for the Next Century", *Social Policy and Administration* 34. 1: 44-63.
- LEWIS, P. (2000), "Realism, Causality and the Problem of Social Structure", *Journal of the Theory of Social Behaviour* 30. 3: 249-268.
- LIJPHART, A. (1968), *The Politics of Accommodation*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- LIJPHART, A. (1971), "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method", *American Political Science Review* 65. 3: 682-693.
- LIJPHART, A. (1984), "Time Politics of Accommodation: Reflections-Fifteen Years Later", *Acta Politica* 19: 9-18.
- LILLEKER, D. (2000), *Environmental Economics-Clear Competitive Advantages: Transference and the Barnsley Region*, Barnsley: Barnsley College.

- LILLEKER, D. (2000a), *The Trials of Transference: Can Europe ever Really Converge?*, Barnsley: Barnsley College.
- MACKIE, T. and MARSH, D. (1995), "The Comparative Method" in D. Marsh and G. Stoker (eds.), *Theories and Methods in Political Science*, London: Macmillan: 173-188.
- MAKRYDIMITRIS, A. (1996), «'Το Έλατο στην Άμμο': ο Ombudsman στην Ελλάδα» ('Pine Tree in the Sand' or Ombudsman in Greece) in A. Makrydimitris, N.D. Koulouris, Ch. Crysanthakis and Al. Oikonomou, *"Ombudsman": Ο Έλεγχος της Κακοδιοίκησης στην Ελλάδα και στην Ευρώπη* ("Ombudsman": The Control of Maladministration in Greece and in Europe), Athens-Komotini: Sakkoulas: 13-78.
- MARSH, D. and RHODES, R. (1992), *Policy Networks in British Government*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- MARSH, D. (1998), "The Development of the Policy Network Approach" in D. Marsh (ed.), *Comparing Policy Networks*, Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press: 3-17.
- MAY, R. (1997), *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*, Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- McADAM, D. and RUCHT, D. (1993), "The Cross-National Diffusion of Movement Ideas", *Annals AAPS*, 528, July: 56-74.
- McGREW, A. G. (1992), "Conceptualizing Global Politics" in A. McGrew and P. Lewis (eds.), *Global Politics*, Cambridge: Polity Press: 1-28.
- McKINLAY, R. and LITTLE, R. (1986), *Global Problems and World Order*, London: Frances Pinter.
- McGANN, J. (1992), "Academics to Ideologues: A Brief History of the Public Policy Research Industry", *PS Political Science and Politics* 25. 4: 733-740.
- McGANN, J. (1995), *The Competition for Dollars, Scholars and Influence in the Public Policy Research Industry*, Lanham: University Press of America.
- McGANN, J. and WEAVER, K. (2000), *Think Tanks and Civil Societies*, New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers.
- MELTSNER, A. (1976), *Policy Analysts in the Bureaucracy*, California: University of California Press.
- MIGRANT YOUTH ORGANISATIONS (14 March 1998), *Memorandum of Understanding of European Migrant Youth Organisations*, Bonn.
- MILES, M. and HUBERMAN, M. (1994), *Qualitative Data Analysis*, Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

- MILLER, W. L. (1995), "Quantitative Method" in D. Marsh and G. Stoker (eds.), *Theory and Methods in Political Science*, London: Macmillan: 154-188.
- MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENCE (2000), *White Paper of the Hellenic Armed Forces 1998-1999*, Athens: Ministry of National Defence.
- MINISTRY OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND EMPLOYMENT (January 1997), *Social and Economic Aspects of the Netherlands 2*, The Hague: Information, Library and Documentation Directorate.
- MINISTRY OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND EMPLOYMENT (1997), *Info on the Employment Policy Pursued in the Netherlands*, The Hague: Information, Library and Documentation Directorate.
- MINISTRY OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND EMPLOYMENT (1998), *National Action Plan Employment 1998*, The Hague: Information, Library and Documentation Directorate.
- MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR, PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND DECENTRALIZATION (28/8/00), Ο Συνήγορος του Πολίτη (The Ombudsman), (<http://www.ypes.gr/thesmoi/ombudsma.html>)
- MINISTRY OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE GOVERNMENT (1990), *Έκθεση για τη Μεταρρύθμιση και τον Εκσυγχρονισμό της Δημόσιας Διοίκησης* (Report for the Reform and Modernization of Public Administration), Athens.
- MINISTRY OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE GOVERNMENT (1992), *Ελληνική Διοίκηση 2000, Έκθεση Επιτροπής Δεκλερή* (Public Administration towards 2000, Report of the Decleri Committee), Athens.
- MORGAN, D. (1988), *Focus Groups as Qualitative Research*, Newbury Park, London and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- MOUZELIS, N. and VASSILOPOULOS, P. (1999), «Ένωση Πολιτών για την Παρέμβαση: Τι είναι και τι θέλει» (Citizens Association for Paremvassi: What is it and what does it want?), *Κοινωνία Πολιτών* (Civil Society) 1: 2.
- MOUZELIS, N. and VASSILOPOULOS, P. (2000), «Ένωση Πολιτών για την Παρέμβαση - Συνήγορος του Πολίτη: Μια Στενή Συγγένια» (Citizens Association for Paremvassi-Ombudsman: A Close Relation), in D. Sotiropoulos (ed.) *Ο Συνήγορος του Πολίτη: Η Δημοκρατία σε Βάθος* (Ombudsman: Democracy in Depth), Athens: Papazisis: 21-23.
- MOUZELIS, N. (1995), *Sociological Theory: What went Wrong?*, London and New York: Routledge.
- MOUZELIS, N. (1999), «Νεωτερικότητα, Ύστερη Ανάπτυξη και Κοινωνία των

Πολιτών» (Modernity, Late Development and Civil Society), *Κοινωνία Πολιτών* (Civil Society), 1: 40-52.

MOWLANA, H. (1986), *Global Information and World Communication*, New York: Longman.

NEUMAN, L. (1991), *Social Research Methods*, Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon.

OHMAE, K. (1990), *The Borderless World*, London, New York: Collins.

OIKONOMOU, AL. (1996), «Ο Θεσμός της Διοικητικής Μεσολάβησης και το Σώμα Ελεγκτών Δημόσιας Διοίκησης» (Administrative Mediation Institutions and the Body of Public Administrator Inspectors), in A. Makrydimitris, N.D. Koulouris, Ch. Crysanthakis and Al. Oikonomou *"Ombudsman": Ο Έλεγχος της Κακοδιοίκησης στην Ελλάδα και στην Ευρώπη* ("Ombudsman": The Control of Maladministration in Greece and in Europe), Athens-Komotini: Sakkoulas: 99-162.

OECD, (18/1/02), *General Information* (<http://www.oecd.org/>).

OSBORNE, D. and GAEBLER, T. (1992), *Reinventing Government*, Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

PAPADOPOULOS, A. and PAPADONIOU, G. (7/2/97), Εισηγητική Έκθεση στο Σχέδιο Νόμου «Ο Συνήγορος του Πολίτη και το Σώμα Επιθεωρητών – Ελεγκτών Δημόσιας Διοίκησης» (Preamble of the Ombudsman and Body of Supervisors-Inspectors of Public Administration Draft Legislation), Athens.

PAPATOLIAS, A. (2001), «Συνταγματική Κατοχύρωση του Συνήγορου του Πολίτη ως Ανεξάρτητης Αρχής» (Constitutional Fortification of the Ombudsman as an Independent Authority) in Papadimitriou, G. (ed.) (to be published).

PAPOULIAS, D. (14/1/01), «Η Συνταγή του Εκσυγχρονισμού» (The Recipe of Modernization), *Το Βήμα* (To Bima, Newspaper): 16-17.

PAREMVASSI (24/9/98), *Ο 'Συνήγορος του Πολίτη' Κεντρικός Στόχος της Ένωσης Πολιτών για την Παρέμβαση* (The 'Ombudsman' as a Central Goal of the Citizens Association Paremvasi), Athens.

PAREMVASSI (1999), *Ενημερωτικό Φυλλάδιο* (Information Leaflet), Athens.

PAREMVASSI (12/12/00), *Σύνοψη και Συμπεράσματα Ετήσιας Γενικής Συνέλευσης* (Summary and Conclusions of the Annual General Assembly), Athens.

PARSONS, W. (1995), *Public Policy*, Cheltenham and Lyme: Edward Elgar.

PEREIRA, A. (2001), "Virtual legality: authoritarian legacies and the reform of military justice in Brazil, the Southern Cone, and Mexico", *Comparative Political Studies* 34. 5: 555- 574.

PETERS, G. and BARKER, A. (1993), "Introduction: Governments, Information,

- Advice and Policy Making" in G. Peters and A. Barker (eds.), *Advising West European Governments*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press: 1-19.
- PIRAEUS CHAMBER OF SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZED ENTERPRISES (2000), *Information Leaflet*.
- PLATT, J. (1992), "Cases of Cases...of Cases", in Ch. Ragin and H. Becker (eds.), *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 21-52.
- POWELL, W. and DiMAGGIO, P. (eds.), (1991), *The New Institutionalism in Organisational Analysis*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- PROVEDOR DE JUSTICA, (9/7/01), <http://www.provedor-jus.pt/Ingles/>.
- RADAELLI, C. and MARTINI, A. (1998), "Think-Tanks, Advocacy Coalitions and Policy Change: the Italian Case" in D. Stone, A. Denham and M. Garnett (eds.), *Think-Tanks Across Nations*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press: 59-81.
- RAGIN, CH. (1992), "Introduction: Cases of 'What is a Case?'" in Ch. Ragin and H. Becker (eds.), *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1-17.
- RETUERTO BUADES, M. (1994), "Le Mediateur de l'Espagne", in M. Epaminondess, *The European Ombudsman*, Maastricht: European Institute of Public Administration: 43-52.
- RICCI, D. (1993), *The Transformation of American Politics*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- RICHARDS, D. (1996), "Elite Interviewing: Approaches and Pitfalls", *Politics* 16. 3: 199-204.
- ROBERTS, G. K. (1973), "Comparative Politics: Strategies and Theories", in P. Lewis and D. Potter (eds.), *The Practice of Comparative Politics*, London: Longman and The Open University Press: 241-260.
- ROBERTSON, R. (1992), *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- ROKKAN, S. (1975), "Dimensions of State Formation and Nation-Building: a Possible Paradigm for Research on Variations within Europe" in Ch. Tilly (ed.), *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press: 562-600.
- ROSAMOND, B. (1999), "Discourses of Globalization and the Social Construction of European Identities", *Journal of European Public Policy* 6. 4: 652-668.

- ROSE, R. (1991), "What is Lesson-Drawing?", *Journal of Public Policy* 2. 1: 3-30.
- ROSE, R. (1993), *Lesson Drawing in Public Policy A Guide to Learning Across Time and Space*, Chatham House.
- ROSTOW, W. (1968), *The Stages of Economic Growth*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ROTHKIRCH, U. (1995), "The Environmental Policy of Federal Government in Germany" in In. Bluehdorn, F. Krause and Th. Scharf (eds.), *The Green Agenda*, Keele: Keele University Press: 65-69.
- ROWAT, D. (1985), *The Ombudsman Plan: The Worldwide Spread of an Idea*, Lanham and London: University Press of America.
- SABATIER, A. and JENKINS-SMITH, H. (1997), "The Advocacy Coalition Framework: An Assessment", paper presented at the Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam.
- SALAMON, L. and ANHEIER, H. (1994), *The Emerging Sector*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Institute for Policy Studies.
- SALAMON, L. (1994), "The Rise of the Nonprofit Sector", *Foreign Affairs* 73. 4: 109-129.
- SALAMON, L. (1995), *Partners in Public Service*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- SARTORI, G. (1994), "Compare Why and How: Comparing, Miscomparing and the Comparative Method", in M. Dogan and A. Kazancigil (eds.), *Comparing Nations: Concepts, Strategies, Substance*, London: Basil Blackwell.
- SBRAGIA, A. (2000), "Environmental Policy" in H. Wallace and W. Wallace (eds.), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 293-316.
- SCHMITTER, P. C. (1974), "Still the Century of Corporatism?", *Review of Politics* 36: 85-131.
- SCRUTON, R. (1983), *A Dictionary of Political Thought*, London: Macmillan Press.
- SENEVIRATNE, M. (1994), *Ombudsmen in the Public Sector*, Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- SIBEON, R. (1999), "Agency, Structure, and Social Change as Cross-Disciplinary Concepts", *Politics* 19. 3: 139-144.
- SIDERI, S. (1997), "Globalization and Regional Integration" in C. Kay (ed.), *Globalization, Competitiveness and Human Security*, London and Portland, Or: Frank Cass: 38-82.
- SIMOU, A. (2000), «Ανεξάρτητες Διοικητικές Αρχές: Ελπίδα για τον Πολίτη ή

- Consumption Goods", *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 78: 471-77.
- WEISS, C. (1992), "Helping Government Think: Functions and Consequences of Policy Analysis Organizations" in C. Weiss (ed.), *Organisations for Policy Analysis*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications: 1-18.
- WENDT, A. (1987), "The Agency-Structure Problem in International Relations", *International Organisation* 41: 335-70.
- WIEVIORKA, M. (1992), "Case Studies: History or Sociology?", in Ch. Ragin and H. Becker (eds.), *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 159-172.
- WILLEMSE, E. (1997), "Ead, Now and in the Near Future", *Partners in Dialogue*, IDF: 20-21.
- WILSON, J. (1981), "'Policy Intellectuals' and Public Policy", *The Public Interest* 64: 31-46.
- WINCOTT, D. (1999), "Globalization and European Integration" in C. Hay and D. Marsh (eds.), *Demystifying Globalization*, London: Macmillan: 168-190.
- WOLMAN, H. (1992), "Understanding Cross National Policy Transfers: The Case of Britain and the US", *Governance* 5. 1: 27-45.
- WORKSHOP I (15 March 1998), *Proposal by the Participants of the Workshop "Continue Learning"*, Bonn.
- WORKSHOP II (15 March 1998), *Start Up Project*, Bonn.
- WORKSHOP III (13 March 1998), *Workshop No. 3: Youth Assistance Employment Company*, Bonn.
- WORKSHOP IV (15 March 1998), *A Model for Stimulating Young People to Start their own Business*, Bonn.
- WORKSHOP V (15 March 1998), *Report of Working Group 5: Work Study Program in Palestine*, Bonn.
- WORKSHOP VI (15 March 1998), *Report of Working Group 6: New Media*, Bonn.
- WYSZOMIRSKI, M. (1989), "Administrative Agents, Policy Partners, and Political Catalysts: A Structural Perspective on the Interactions of Governmental and Nonprofit Organisations", *Teaching Political Science* 16. 3: 122-130.
- YEARLEY, S. (1996), *Sociology, Environmentalism, Globalization*, London: SAGE Publications.
- YIN, R. (1994), *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Thousand Oaks, London and New Dehli: SAGE Publications.
- ZUKUNFTSBAU (27 October 1997), *Zukunftsbaue and the*

“Jugendberufshilfebetrieb”.

ZUKUNFTSBAU (2000), *The Organisation.*

University of Piraeus.

UNIVERSITY OF PIRAEUS (June, 2000), *Final Report*, Piraeus: University of Piraeus.

VAN DER PLOEG, T. J. (1992), "Changing Relationships Between Private Organizations and Government in the Netherlands" in K. McCarthy, V. Hodkinson, R. Sumariwalle and Associates (eds.), *The Nonprofit Sector in the Global Community*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers: 190-203.

VAN GENNIP, J. J. A. M. (1998), "Democracy in the Lowlands: The Role of Religion and Politics", paper presented in *Think-Tanks and Civil Societies: Catalysts for Ideas and Action*, Barcelona, 29 June-1 July 1998.

VAN OOSTERZEE, J. (1997), "Ead, Now and in the Near Future", *Partners in Dialogue*, IDF: 17-19.

VAN VLERKEN, A. (12/6/1998), *Bridging the Gab between School Life and Working Life for All Young Men and Women*, The Hague: Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, Internal paper.

VAN WAARDEN, F. (1997), *Institutions of Socio-economic Coordination: a European Style?*, The Hague: Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, Information, Library and Documentation Directorate.

VAUGHAN, D. (1992), "Theory Elaboration: the Heuristics of Case Analysis", in Ch. Ragin and H. Becker (eds.), *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 173-202.

VIBORG COUNTY (1996), *Environmental Economics-Competitive Advantages*, Viborg: Viborg County.

UENO, M. (1998), "Think-Tanks in Japan: Towards a More Democratic Society" in D. Stone, A. Denham and M. Garnett (eds.), *Think-Tanks Across Nations*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press: 188-201.

WALLACE, W. (1994), "Between two Worlds: Think-Tanks and Foreign Policy" in Ch. Hill and P. Beshoff (eds.), *Two Worlds of International Relations*, London and New York: Routledge: 139-163.

WALLACH, P. and FRANCISCO, R. (1992), *United Germany: The Past, Politics, Prospects*, Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger.

WATERS, M. (1995), *Globalization*, London, New York: Routledge.

WEAVER, K. (1989), "The Changing World of Think-Tanks", *Political Science & Politics*, 27. 3.

WEISBROD, B. (1964), "Collective-Consumption Services of Individual-

Πήγμα στο Δημοκρατικό Κράτος;» (Independent Administrative Authorities: Hope for the Citizen or a Crack in the Democratic State), *Κοινωνία Πολιτών* (Civil Society) 5: 56-62.

SMITH, B. (1977), "The Non-Governmental Policy Analysis Organisation", *Public Administration Review* 3: 253-258.

SMITH, J. (1991), *Idea Brokers*, New York: The Free Press.

SMITH, R. and LIPSKY, M. (1993), *Nonprofit for Hire: The Welfare State in the Age of Contracting*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

SMITH, T. (1994), "Post-Modern Politics and the Case for Constitutional Renewal", *Political Quarterly* 3. 1: 128-137.

SOBHY, K. and ARTIN, T. (2 February 1998), *Proposed Outline of a Workshop Presentation. A Model for Stimulating Young People to Start their own Business*, Cairo: Ibn Khaldoun Center and Alexandria: Alexandria Business Association.

SOCIAL FORUM (19/8/1998), *Workshop 3: Promoting Participation and Citizenship*.

SOCRATES (1998), *Guidelines for Applicants 1998*.

SOEDERMAN, J. (11/11/96), *The Ombudsman Concept and Types of Control of Maladministration in Greece and Europe*, University of Athens (<http://www.euro-ombudsman.eu.int/speeches/en/athens1.htm>).

SOTIROPOULOS, D. (1995), *The Remains of Authoritarianism: Bureaucracy and Civil Society in Post-Authoritarian Greece*, Estudio/Working Paper 66, Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones.

SOTIROPOULOS, D. (2000), «Ο Συνήγορος του Πολίτη στην Ελληνική Πραγματικότητα» (The Ombudsman in Greek Reality), *Κοινωνία Πολιτών* (Civil Society) 5: 53-55.

SPANOU, C. (1996), "Penelope's Suitors: Administrative Modernisation and Party Competition in Greece", *West European Politics* 19. 1: 97-124.

SPANOU, C. (1998), "European Integration in Administrative Terms: a Framework for Analysis and the Greek Case", *Journal of European Public Policy* 5. 3: 467-484.

STACEY, F. (1978), *Ombudsmen Compared*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

STOKER, G. (1995), "Introduction" in D. Marsh and G. Stoker (eds.), *Theory and Methods in Political Science*, Hampshire and London: Macmillan: 1-16.

STONE, D., DENHAM, A. and GARNETT, M. (eds.), (1998), *Think-Tanks Across Nations*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.

STONE, D. and GARNETT, M. (1998), "Think-Tanks, Policy Advice and

- Government" in D. Stone, A. Denham and M. Garnett (eds.), *Think-Tanks Across Nations*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press: 1-20.
- STONE, D. (1996), *Capturing the Political Imagination*, London: Frank Cass.
- STONE, D. (1998), "The Development and Discourse of Australian Think-Tanks" in D. Stone, A. Denham and M. Garnett (eds.), *Think-Tanks Across Nations*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press: 145-165.
- STONE, D. (1999), "Think-Tanks Transnationalisation and the International Market for Non-Profit Analysis, Advice and Advocacy", paper presented in *Think-Tanks: the Role of Non-State Policy Research Institutes in Policy Making*, International Studies Association 1999 Annual Convention.
- STONE, D. (2000), "Non-Governmental Policy Transfer: The Strategies of Independent Policy Institutes", *Governance* 13. 1: 45-62.
- STRAUSS, A. and CORBIN, J. (1994), "Grounded Theory Methodology" in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks, London and New Dehli: SAGE Publications: 273-285.
- SYEP, (2000), *Information Leaflet*.
- SZTOMPKA, P. (1993), *The Sociology of Social Change*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- TAYLOR, M. (1992), "The Changing Role of the Nonprofit Sector in Britain: Moving Toward the Market" in B. Gidron, R. Kramer and L. Salamon (eds.), *Government and the Third Sector*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers: 147-175.
- TEAGUE, P. (1999), "Reshaping Employment Regimes in Europe: Policy Shifts Alongside Boundary Change", *Journal of Public Policy* 19. 1: 33-62.
- TIC DENMARK (December 1998), *The Technological Information Centres of Denmark*, Aarhus: TIC.
- TINBERGEN, J. (1959), *The Theory of the Optimum Regime*, North Holland, Amsterdam.
- THE AUSTRIAN OMBUDSMAN BOARD (9/7/01)
(<http://www.volkasnw.gv.at/english.htm>).
- THE EUROPEAN OMBUDSMAN (1994), *Decision of the European Parliament on the Regulations and General Conditions Governing the Performance of the Ombudsman's Duties*, Strasbourg (<http://www.euro-ombudsman.eu.int/lbasis/en/statute/htm>).
- THE EUROPEAN OMBUDSMAN, (1996), *Report for the Year 1995*, (http://www.euro-ombudsman.eu.int/report95/en/rep95_1.htm).
- THOMPSON, J. (1995), *The Media and Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

- THUNERT, M. (1998), "Think-Tanks and the Politics of Ideas", paper presented in *ECPR 26th Joint Session of Workshops*, University of Warwick, 23-28 March 1998.
- TSAKRAKLIDOU, S. (1999), «Προς μια Νέα Αντίληψη της Ελληνικής Κοινωνίας των Πολιτών» (Towards a new Perception of Greek Civil Society), *Κοινωνία Πολιτών (Civil Society)* 1: 71-78.
- TSATSIS, TH. (27/5/98), «Πασχαλίδης: Η Ελληνική Κοινωνία είναι κατά του Χωρισμού Κράτους-Εκκλησίας» (Paschalidis: Greek Society is against the State-Church Division), *Ελευθεροτυπία (Eleutherotypia Daily Newspaper)*.
- TSELEDIS, B. (June 2000), *Ecotrans: Final Report*, Piraeus: University of Piraeus.
- TSOUKALAS, C. (1993), «Τζαμπατζήδες στη Χώρα των Θαυμάτων: περί Ελλήνων στην Ελλάδα» (Free-riders in a Miracle Land: On Greeks in Greece), *Ελληνική Επιθεώρηση Πολιτικής Επιστήμης (Greek Review of Political Science)* 1: 9-52.
- TURKISH DEMOCRACY FOUNDATION (1987), *Information Leaflet*.
- UENO, M. (1998), "Think-Tanks in Japan: Towards a More Democratic Society" in D. Stone, A. Denham and M. Garnett (eds.), *Think-Tanks Across Nations*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press: 188-201.
- UNDERSTANDINGBUS (5/11/98), *Subsidy Application to the EU-Commission GD 5*, Berlin: Understandingbus e.V.
- UNDERSTANDINGBUS (1/3/99), *Report of the Fact Finding Visit in Piraeus on February 15th to 21st 1999*, Berlin: Understandingbus.
- UNDERSTANDINGBUS (6/4/99), <http://www.understandingbus.de/>.
- UNDERSTANDINGBUS (6-8/7/00), *Participants of the European Symposium of the EVA Network "Ecotrans"*, Dessau: Understandingbus.
- UNDERSTANDINGBUS (25/8/00), *Minutes of the Project Development Workshop and General Assembly of the EVAnet in Dessau in July 7th and 8th, 2000*, Berlin: Understandingbus.
- UNDERSTANDINGBUS (9/2/01), <http://www.understandingbus.de/>.
- UNGER, B. and VAN WAARDEN, F. (eds.), (1995), *Convergence or Diversity?* Aldershot: Avebury.
- UNGER, B. and VAN WAARDEN, F. (1995), "Introduction: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Convergence" in B. Unger and F. Van Waarden (eds.), *Convergence or Diversity?* Aldershot: Avebury: 1-35.
- UNIVERSITY OF PIRAEUS (10/3/98), http://www.unipi.gr/english/general_info/.
- UNIVERSITY OF PIRAEUS, (May 1999), *Πρακτικά Συναντήσεων για το Πρόγραμμα Ecotrans (Minutes of the Meeting for the Ecotrans Project)*, Piraeus:

**MISSING
PAGES ARE
UNAVAILABLE**