

Table 1. Three Modes of Policy Transfer

	Ideational	Institutional	Networks
Who? Agents of Policy Transfer	Business advocates, think tanks, experts, professional associations	Politicians, international civil servants, state officials	Multi-actor; Trisectoral: NGOs/civil society; state and international agencies; business
What is transferred?	Soft: Ideas, paradigms, lessons. Problem definition and policy interpretation	Hard: Instruments, legislation, policy approaches	Hard and Soft
Authority basis	Epistemic/normative	Political/Bureaucratic', 'de jure'	Collective: pooled responsibility among 'stakeholders'; 'de facto'
When? Factors prompting re-evaluation of policy	Uncertainty, crises. New knowledge	Institutions refract pressures for change; slow to adapt	Intractable cross-border policy problems, absence of national responsibility
Character of search	Rational, Innovative Goal oriented	Path dependent, Incremental	Problem solving, Organic (initially) as goals unclear
Lessons taken from where?	Best exemplars in public sector, market place and civil society	Dominant institutions, Psychologically proximate jurisdictions	Experience of network members; ie. network bounded rationality
Lessons realised where in the policy process?	Problem definition and agenda setting	Decision making; resource allocation; implementation	Implementation, service delivery and monitoring
Lessons applied/ implemented where?	In 'borderless' professional communities and social movements	In nation-states Multilateral venues	Between and above states; Transnationally via networks
Language	Transfer, 'cosmological heritage', norms	Diffusion Mimetic isomorphism	Collective action, Multilateralism
How is change enacted Voluntarily?	Embedded consensual knowledge; paradigm shift	Rules and regulation,	Organised anarchy; fluidity & flexibility; trial & error

Mechanisms	Conferences, professional associations, 'best practice' advocacy	Legislation, regulation, standards setting, war and invasion , aid conditionality	Partnerships and GPPNs Alliances for implementation
Outcomes	Social learning and consensual knowledge	Harmonisation, Convergence and divergence	Shared identity and common preferences through action; social capital
How is change imposed?	Hegemonic power	Structural power	"Network power"
Imposed outcomes	Tactical learning; superficial transfers	Penetration & resistance, Divergent outcomes	Lack of recognition of network authority
Why is change/transfer brought about?	Agency	Structural imperatives	Network mediation between state structures; Constructing new spaces for agency
Why not? Factors preventing transfers	Absence of international community; no consensual knowledge; ideological contest	Lack of institutional 'fit'; discordant policy instruments	Lack of shared vision; network disunion; defection
Causes of Nation-state Convergence	Common norms or ideology among political elite	Exogenous pressures on the political economy	Networks shape the search process and constrain implementation cross-nationally
Reasons for divergence	Learning, negative lessons,	Internal determinants: eg bureaucratic resistance; political inertia	Absence of coordinating and consensus making in networks