

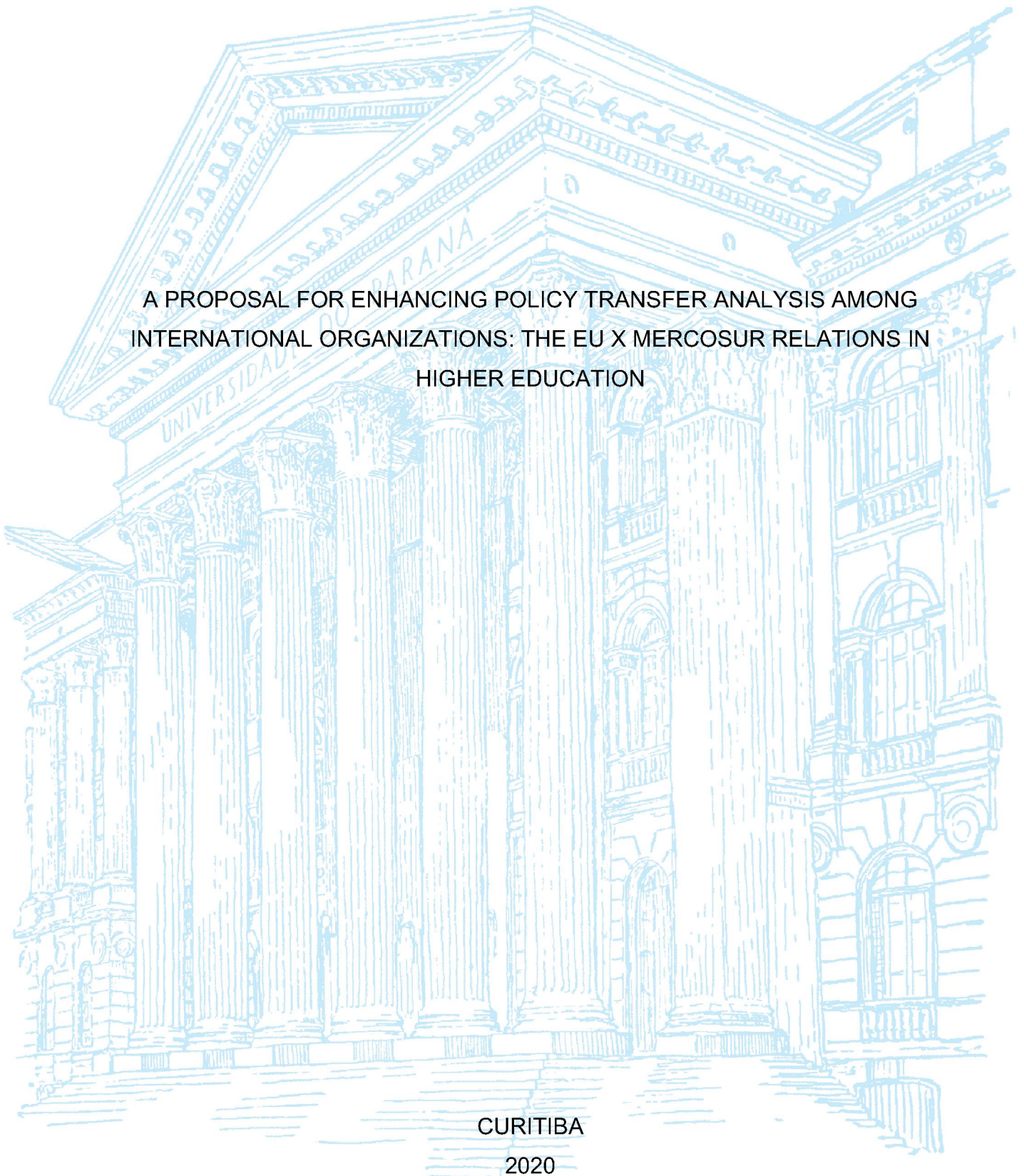
UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO PARANÁ

GLAUCIA JULIÃO BERNARDO

A PROPOSAL FOR ENHANCING POLICY TRANSFER ANALYSIS AMONG  
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: THE EU X MERCOSUR RELATIONS IN  
HIGHER EDUCATION

CURITIBA

2020



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INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: THE EU X MERCOSUR RELATIONS IN  
HIGHER EDUCATION

Tese apresentada ao curso de Pós-Graduação em Políticas Públicas, Setor de Ciências Sociais Aplicadas, Universidade Federal do Paraná, como requisito parcial à obtenção do título de Doutora em Políticas Públicas.

Orientador: Prof. Dr. Alessandro Eugenio Pereira

Coorientadora: Profa. Dra. Madeleine Hosli

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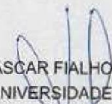
Os membros da Banca Examinadora designada pelo Colegiado do Programa de Pós-Graduação em POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS da Universidade Federal do Paraná foram convocados para realizar a arguição da Tese de Doutorado de **GLAUCIA JULIÃO BERNARDO**, intitulada: **A PROPOSAL FOR ENHANCING POLICY TRANSFER ANALYSIS AMONG INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**, sob orientação do Prof. Dr. ALEXSANDRO EUGENIO PEREIRA, após terem inquirido a aluna e realizado a avaliação do trabalho, são de parecer pela sua APROVAÇÃO no rito de defesa.

A outorga do título de Doutor está sujeita à homologação pelo colegiado, ao atendimento de todas as indicações e correções solicitadas pela banca e ao pleno atendimento das demandas regimentais do Programa de Pós-Graduação.

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## **DECLARAÇÃO**

Declaro, para fins de comprovação, que o título da tese de GLAUCIA JULIÃO BERNARDO foi alterado como sugestão da banca examinadora da tese, formada pelos professores doutores Ana Cláudia Niedhardt Capella (UNESP), Leonardo Mècher (UNINTER), Huáscar Fialho Pessali (UFPR) e por mim. O título alterado, como sugestão da banca, é o seguinte: A PROPOSAL FOR ENHANCING POLICY TRANSFER ANALYSIS AMONG INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: THE EU X MERCOSUR RELATIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION.

Por ser verdade, firmo a presente declaração.

Curitiba, 19 de outubro de 2020.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'Alexandre Eugênio Pereira'.

Prof. Dr. Alexandre Eugênio Pereira  
Orientador e Presidente da Banca

Dedico este trabalho aos meus pais, *Altair e Gerizalda*,  
que acreditaram nos meus sonhos e não mediram esforços  
para que eu conseguisse chegar até aqui.

*Amo vocês!*

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The study of policy transfer appeals to geography and cognate disciplines because it offers a powerful way of conceptualising how policy regimes travel and internationalize.  
(PRINCE, 2010, p.169)

## RESUMO

A aproximação da área de relações internacionais e políticas públicas não é um fenômeno novo quando se trata do debate de transferência de políticas. Entretanto, a maneira pela qual é feita o alinhamento teórico entre as áreas e sua consequente problematização pode trazer novas reflexões. Com o foco no papel que as organizações internacionais desempenham na transferência de políticas públicas, é possível observar que enquanto a área de políticas públicas enfatiza estes órgãos como arenas no processo de transferência, a de relações internacionais está preocupada com o papel que eles podem desempenhar num sistema internacional anárquico. São poucos os estudos que tratam as organizações internacionais como agentes de transferência de políticas públicas. Levando isto em consideração, optou-se nesta tese aprimorar o quadro teórico-metodológico de transferência de políticas públicas usando o neoliberalismo das relações internacionais para explicar a transferência de políticas entre organizações internacionais. Para aprimoramento quadro teórico-metodológico de transferência de políticas públicas, a metodologia utilizada foi revisão sistemática de literatura e meta-análise dos métodos usados nos artigos mais citados da área. Uma vez estabelecida a proposta de aprimoramento com a operacionalização dos conceitos, realizou-se um estudo de caso da transferência de políticas públicas de ensino superior da União Europeia para o Mercosul; a combinação dos métodos indicados no quadro ajudaram a evidenciar o esforço do velho continente em exportar seu modelo para o Cone Sul, o que pode ser confirmado pela síntese de políticas de ensino superior do Mercosul Educacional. Conclui-se quadro teórico-metodológico de transferência de políticas públicas entre organizações internacionais proposto se mostra eficaz para análise do caso em questão. Trata-se de ferramenta útil para aqueles que estão iniciando estudos e necessitam de apoio na operacionalização dos conceitos da área.

Palavras-chave: Transferência de políticas públicas. Neoliberalismo. Metodologia. União Europeia Mercosul.

## **ABSTRACT**

The approximation of international relations and public policy is not a new phenomenon when it comes to the policy transfer debate. However, their theoretical alignment and consequent problematization may bring new reflections. Focusing on international organizations' role in public policy transfer, we observe that while public policy emphasizes these bodies as arenas in the transfer process, international relations are concerned with their role in an anarchic international system. Few studies treat international organizations as public policy transfer agents. Taking this into consideration, in this thesis the author aims to enhance public policy transfer theoretical-methodological framework using international relations' neoliberalism to explain policy transfer among international organizations. In order to improve the theoretical-methodological framework of public policy transfer, we propose a systematic literature review and meta-analysis of the most used methods used in the articles of the area as a methodology. After this, a case study of the higher education public policy transfer from the European Union to Mercosur was conducted. The combination of methods proposed helped to evidence the effort of the ancient continent to export its higher education model to the Southern Cone; this can be confirmed by the synthesis of Mercosurian higher education policies. The theoretical-methodological framework of public policy transfer among international organizations was a useful tool for the case study analysis. It seems to be effective for those who need support in the operationalization of the concepts of the area.

**Keywords:** Public policy transfer. Neoliberalism. Methodology. European Union. Mercosur.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABA	- Andrés Bello Agreement
ARCUSUR	- Sistema de Acreditação Regional de Cursos de Graduação do MERCOSUL / MERCOSUR Regional Accreditation System for Undergraduate Courses.
CAF	- Development Bank of Latin America
CCR	- Comissão Coordenadora Regional / Regional Coordinating Commission
CEFIR	- Training Center for Regional Integration
CG8	- G8 Summit
CIAM	- Ibero-American Summit
CRCES	- Comissão Regional Coordenadora de Educação Superior/ Regional Coordination Commission on Higher Education
CRISCOS	- Council of University Presidents for the Integration of the West-Central Sub-Region of South America
EU	- European Union
IDB	- Inter-American Development Bank
ILO	- International Labour Organization
IO	- International organization
IOM	- International Organization for Migration
IR	- International Relations
LU	- Latin Union
MARCA	- Projeto de Mobilidade Acadêmica Regional de Cursos Autorizados / Regional Academic Mobility Project for Accredited Courses
MERCOSUR	- Mercado Comum do Sul / Southern Common Market
MEXA	- Memorando de Entendimento sobre a implementação do Mecanismo experimental de credenciamento de cursos para o reconhecimento de títulos de graduação universitária nos países do Mercosul/Memorandum of Understanding on the Implementation of an Experimental Course Accreditation

Mechanism for the Recognition of University Degrees in the Countries of Mercosur

- NGO - Non governmental organization
- PMM - Programa de Mobilidade do Mercosul / Mercosur Mobility Program
- OAS - Organization of American States
- OECD - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
- OEI - Organization of Ibero-American States
- RLAM - Latin American Network
- RME - Reunião de Ministros da Educação / Meeting of Ministers of Education
- UN - United Nations
- UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
- WB - World Bank
- WTO - World Trade Organization

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## INTRODUCTION

Policy transfer analysis involves elements of two different areas of knowledge: public policy and international relations (OLIVEIRA, FARIA, 2017; SHARMAN, 2008). Concepts and agents from both disciplines can be useful in explaining the processes in which political-administrative-institutional knowledge about the formulation of a policy of one jurisdiction is used in another (DOLOWITZ, MARSH 1996; DOLOWITZ, 2017). Moreover, much has been discussed about the role of international organizations in public policy transfer (STONE 2004, GONNET 2012, DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 2000).

However, there is still a gap in the discussion on international organizations as agents either in public policy transfer or international relations. On the one hand, from the public policy point of view, there is a tendency of analyzing international organizations as arenas in public policy transfer processes (PRINCE, 2012, MOSSBERGER, WOLMAN, 2003, MCCANN, WARD, SHARMAN, 2008; ZITO, SCHOUT, 2009, DAMRO, MENDEZ, 2003, DOLOWITZ, MARSH 2000). On the other hand, from the international relations perspective, there is a concern to study the role of these institutions in an anarchic international system, leaving aside their capacity to act as public policy transfer agents (WEISS; WILKINSON, 2018).

This thesis proposes an approximation between these two disciplines by problematizing the international organizations as public policy transfer agents. In order to do so, policy transfer theory will be aligned to international relations' neoliberalism with an aim to improve the Dolowitz and Marsh framework (2000) and to design a methodological strategy for this type of analysis.

When proposing a theoretical-methodological refinement for public policy transfer analysis, its application to an empirical case is imperative. The case chosen for this purpose is the higher education public policy transfer from the European Union to Mercosur. Since international educational relations are increasingly present in the regional bloc discussions, it is important to note how the European process of educational integration has triggered a series of changes in other countries and blocs. In fact, it is a clear statement in the Bologna Declaration: "to ensure that the European Higher Education System acquires a world-wide of attraction equal to our extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions" (EUROPEAN UNION, 1999, p.1).

Since then, several studies were developed to demonstrate how the European process may have impacted other jurisdictions: some authors emphasize European traditions and its institutional diversity as sources for North America, Latin American and Asian studies (MARTINS, SILVA, 2015); others are focused on the analysis of the constitution of regional educational arenas as well as possible impacts of European educational policies in Latin America (CABRAL, 2015; AZEVEDO, 2008; SOLANAS, 2014; EIRÓ,2010). All these studies have in common the fact that the European system of higher education is a model for educational integration in other countries. In fact, the system is not only a model for other countries, but also for other regional blocs, since there is evidence that Mercosur has sought inspiration from the European model concerning higher education.

Mercosur makes constant references to the European Union in normative documents of the most diverse areas, including education, as reported by Medeiros, Meunier, and Cockles (2015). While analyzing the meeting reports of the Mercosur Ministers of Education meetings, Culpí and Bernardo (2016) found out that there was approximation between the regional blocs in 1997, which was considered essential for the Southern Cone countries integration and their interaction with the old continent. The authors compare documents such as the Sorbonne Declaration (EUROPEAN UNION, 1998) and Bologna Declaration (EUROPEAN UNION,1999) with the *Memorando de Entendimento sobre a implementação do Mecanismo experimental de credenciamento de cursos para o reconhecimento de títulos de graduação universitária nos países do Mercosul - MEXA* (MERCOSUL,1998) and note that they have certain themes in common, such as the recognition of education as an essential factor for integration, academic mobility, and academic accreditation. Thus, Culpí and Bernardo affirm that this is an indicator of a public policy transfer between the blocs.

By theoretically and methodologically enhancing the public policy transfer framework, we aim to evidence variables that empirically demonstrate higher education public policy transfer from European Union to Mercosur. As this theoretical-methodological enhancement proposal can confirm the empirical case, we can evaluate and discuss its applicability and replicability.

Based on these considerations, the thesis is guided by the following research question: How can the public policy transfer analysis model be improved based on the international relations' neoliberalism theoretical approach? The hypothesis is that by aligning theories of policy transfer to international relations' neoliberalism, international

organizations can be seen as agents in this process. This understanding helps to outline a methodological proposal which may evidence variables of analysis. To test this hypothesis, the methodology and the variables will be applied to higher education public policy transfer from the EU to MERCOSUR.

Such an effort in an enhancement proposal can be justified from a theoretical and a methodological point of view. Regarding theory, Oliveira and Faria (2017) have mentioned that public policy transfer and diffusion in Brazil is still incipient, with few studies developed – there were 88 studies in the Bank of Thesis and Dissertations of CAPES in 2016,, while there were 32 articles in the *Scielo* database; thus, a thesis on this topic can contribute to development of this field in the country. Concerning methodology, when establishing a proposal for public policy transfer aligned to international relations' neoliberalism, it is possible to evidence variables and propose methods.

Therefore, the general objective of the thesis is to enhance the public policy transfer framework using international relations' neoliberalism to explain policy transfer among international organizations. In order to do that, the specific objectives are:

- i. To align public policy transfer to neoliberalism in international relations, focusing on those among international organizations.
- ii. To establish a methodological proposal for public policy transfer among international organizations.
- iii. To map the contact between Educational Mercosur organs and other international organizations – focusing on the European Union – to test the methodological proposal.
- iv. To demonstrate the projects that these international organizations as well as the European Union have helped Educational Mercosur to develop, in order to test the methodological proposal.
- v. To identify the EU strategy for Mercosur in the higher education field.
- vi. To evaluate the public policy transfer framework proposal.

The methodological strategy is different according to each phase of the research: exploratory, descriptive, and analytical. The exploratory phase comprehends the first and the second specific objectives, concerning the enhancement proposal. The descriptive phase is about testing the proposal and encompasses the third, fourth, and fifth specific objectives. The analytical phase is the evaluation of the proposal described in the sixth specific objective.

Considering the exploratory phase, scientific books and database articles were used, in order to conduct a literature review encompassing the main authors and concepts of the theories on policy transfer and international relations. Besides, this stage helps to identify the gaps and to promote the theoretical discussion in order to improve the public policy transfer analysis model according to neoliberalism. Then, a meta-analysis was done to identify the most used methods in the area. The results show that the combination of methodological tools to empirically demonstrate the process is a common approach.

On the descriptive phase, to check the variables listed in the public policy transfer analysis model, the following methodological tools will be adopted in a case study: 1) network analysis; 2) documentary analysis; 3) interviews; and 4) process tracing.

1. Network analysis may evidence the agents involved, as well as the origin of the content transferred.
2. The documentary analysis may indicate the content of the policy adopted by the block and the degree of transfer.
3. Interviews with key agents and scholars can corroborate both network and documentary analysis as well as reveal motivations.
4. The process tracing exercise can help to rebuild the steps of EU x Mercosur relation.

Regarding the analytical phase, the proposal for enhancing policy transfer analysis among international organizations built on previous phases will be evaluated, and so its pertinence or points to be improved. To summarize the thesis methodology, Framework 1 was developed according to the research steps (exploratory, descriptive, and analytical). In the framework, it is possible to observe the alignment of the specific objectives with the development of the chapters, highlighting the method applied to each one as well as its sources and main authors:

### Framework 1 - Theoretical-methodological detailing

	Specific objectives	Thesis' chapter	Analytical Category	Source	Methodological strategy	Main concepts	Main authors/institutions
Exploratory phase	To align public policy transfer to neoliberalism in international relations, focusing on those among international organizations.	1. International organizations in public policy transfer	-	Articles and books	Systematic review of literature.	Global Public Policy, International Organization, Neoliberalism, Policy Transfer.	Amilav Acharya, Andrew Jordan, Anne-Marie Slaughter, Carlos Faria, Cristina Pecqueur, David Benson, David Dolowitz, David Marsh, Diane Stone, Grace Skogstad, Inge Kaul, Joseph Nye, Kim Muloney, Robert Keohane.
	To establish a methodological proposal for public policy transfer among international organizations.	2. Delineating a methodology for policy transfer analysis among international organizations	Demonstration.	Articles ( <i>Web of Science</i> )	Systematic review of literature ( <i>Web of Science</i> ) and meta-analysis.	Theory, Concept, Variable, Indicator, Methodological tools.	Cecilia Gonnert, Christopher Knill, David Dolowitz, David Marsh, Diane Stone, Paulo Rigueira.
	To map the contact between Educational Mercosur and other international organizations – focusing on the European Union – to test the methodological proposal.	3. Agents	Agents, Motivation.	Minutes and other official documents of Mercosur and the European Union. Interview of key agents and scholars.	Network analysis, Interviews.	Agents, Networks, International organizations.	Andrea Bianculli, Anne-Marie Slaughter, Cecilia Gonnert, David Dolowitz, David Marsh, Diane Stone, Peter Haas, MERCOSUR, EU, UN, OEI, OAS.
Descriptive phase	To demonstrate the projects that these international organizations as well as the European Union have helped Educational Mercosur to develop, to test the methodological proposal.	4. Content, motivation and degrees	Origin, Content, Motivation, Degrees.	Minutes and other official documents of Mercosur and the European Union. Interview of key agents and scholars.	Documentary analysis, Interviews.	Policy transfer, Synthesis.	Andrea Bianculli, Anne-Marie Slaughter, Cecilia Gonnert, David Dolowitz, David Marsh, Diane Stone, Laurence Chazournes, Mercedes Boto, MERCOSUR, EU, OEI, OAS, UN.
	To identify the EU strategy for Mercosur in the higher education field.	5. European Union as an agent in this arena	Origin, Degrees.	Minutes and other official documents of Mercosur and the European Union. Interview of key agents and scholars.	Process tracing exercise.	Process Tracing, Multilevel Governance, Policy transfer agents.	Alindra Barlete, Andrea Bianculli, Andrew Bennet, Antonio Severino, David Dolowitz, David Marsh, Eugenia Jimenez, Govani Sartori, Marcelo Medeiros, Stella Ladi, MERCOSUR, EUROPEAN UNION, LATIN AMERICA.
Analytical phase	To evaluate the public policy transfer framework proposal.	6. Enhancement proposal, general discussion and evaluation		Evaluation of the thesis previous chapters.			

Source: Adapted from Lofhagen (2018, p. 30)

## 1 INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN PUBLIC POLICY TRANSFER<sup>1</sup>

If policy transfer has brought together public policy and international relations as Oliveira and Faria (2017) affirm, the expectation was that scholars would promote a discussion about its theoretical or methodological implications. However, to the best of our knowledge, there is little research on aligning policy transfer with international relations theories, aiming at problematizing international organizations as agents<sup>2</sup> in these processes. Thus, this chapter is guided by the problem-question “*which concepts of policy transfer and international relations should be discussed to problematize international organization as policy transfer agents?*”. The aim is to understand how international relations’ neoliberalism (as a macro-theory) can offer explanation about the process in which a public policy or its know-how of one jurisdiction is used in another one (DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 2000).

### 1.1 NEOLIBERALISM

Neoliberalism theory should be explained in order to understand some comments about this point of view that are going to be made during the policy transfer theory presentation. Besides that, it will be easier to comprehend later why other international relations theories were put away.

A possibility of a neoliberalism explanation could be the following: i) to differentiate the theory from social sciences approaches; ii) to present the main characteristics of liberalism in international relations and discuss notable authors concerning the theme of this thesis; and iii) to have the methodological approach in mind.

Regarding the differentiation of the theory from social sciences approaches, we could reflect upon which liberalism serves as a base for the international relations. There are three different social sciences approaches: sociological, rational choice, and historical. Although these three approaches seek an understanding of the role played by institutions in determining social and political outcomes, each one deals with a different point of view. Researchers of the historical perspective focus on the

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<sup>1</sup> A version of this chapter was presented at the 60<sup>th</sup> International Studies Association Conference in March 2019, in Toronto, Canada.

<sup>2</sup> We should explain that international organizations can be both agents and arenas. In this work, due to the theoretical-methodological choice, international organizations will be treated as agents.

institutional organization of the political community and the economic structure. Researches of the rational choice perspective emphasize institutional rules and procedures as a way to reduce transaction costs and provide stability. On the sociological perspective, researches stress the intrinsic relationship between rules and procedures as well as symbols, cognitive schemas, and moral models as guiding factors of action. Based on this, it is necessary to understand that regarding international relations, liberal institutionalism dialogues with the rational choice theory. (HALL, TAYLOR, 2003).

In terms of the main characteristics and relevant authors of neoliberalism, after World War II, specifically in the 1960s, the State and the Power ceases to be the only focus of analysis in international relations. Due to financial and economic matters, social questions, and regional integration initiatives, there is a rise in the number of agents (states, individuals, international organizations, non-governmental organizations, and so on) and themes (commerce, institutionalization, culture, and so on) at the global agenda. This scenario reinforced the dimension of cooperation in international politics, the role of international organizations, and the creation of the liberal regime (RIGUEIRA, 2012). The international relations' liberal regime could be divided into four main approaches, according to Magalhães (2012):

Framework 2 - Theoretical approaches that conceive of overcoming the state of war

Perspectives	References	Analysis level	Means of overcoming the state of war
Political Liberalism	Immanuel Kant	State	Political regime change: democracies do not fight each other.
Economic Liberalism	Joseph Schumpeter Robert Keohane Joseph Nye	Societal	Change in international economic relations: economic interdependence creates anti-war social networks
Institutional Liberalism	Hugo Grotius English School	International (state-centric)	Change in the international order: the strengthening of international law could guarantee peace in international society.

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Sociological Liberalism	Karl Deutsch Functionalism	Societal (statate- centric)	Change in integration between peoples and their identities: security communities eliminate the possibility of war among their members.
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Source: MAGALHAES, 2012, p. 124

Moreover, these liberal notions in international relations were strengthened and became known as “neoliberalism” (JOHNSON, HEISS, 2018, p. 128). While some authors have described the complex interdependence and the role of institutions such as Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, others have highlighted the importance of transnational networks for global governance, as Anne Marie Slaughter<sup>3</sup>.

Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye discussed essential themes as the concept of interdependence and new ideas about types of power. If the nature of world politics is changing as the world becomes increasingly interdependent in economy, communications, and human aspirations, it affects world politics and States behavior. When talking about interdependence, not only agents’ interconnections must be considered but also its effects - benefits and costs - on transactions. Another topic to be considered is that this interdependence can be symmetric and asymmetric, thus affecting inter-state relationships. (KEOHANE, NYE, 2001)

The idea of interdependence and diffusion/transfer appears in Gillardi (2013). The author defines the international interdependence as central to the international relations discipline and promotes the discussion about how it is related to transnational domestic decision making diffusion processes. Besides, the idea of diffusion – and also transfer – is much more associated with a process than an outcome. It is about an interdependent process. (GILLARDI, 2013).

Another central concept on this discussion is regimes, which is defined by Krasner (1982, p. 186) as “sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which agents' expectations converge in a given area of international relation.” Therefore, international regimes are intermediary factors

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<sup>3</sup> Although these authors can be considered part of neoliberalism in general because they recognize the importance of institutions in international relations, one has to reinforce that they belong to different approaches. These different approaches are related to the understanding of institutions; for Keohane and Nye, institutions are formal arrangements such as international organizations, whereas, for Slaughter, they could be informal as non-governmental organizations or epistemic communities.

between the power structure of a global system and the political and economic negotiation that takes place within it; and the structure of the system affects the nature of the scheme. Within this context, States are not exclusive agents in international relations, and the use of force is not politically advantageous. (KEOHANE, NYE, 2001)

Keohane and Nye (2001) defend the relevance of more agents in the international system, and they describe the relationship between governmental and non-governmental elites as well as transnational economic organizations, which they denominate as multiple channels. As a result, the international agenda has become diverse and has extrapolated military issues, which downplays the role of military force/power. Regarding power, due to the profile change of the global agenda, Joseph Nye address new categories: hard power, soft power, and smart power. The first one encompasses tangible forms of power - traditionally linked to realism - such as territory, military power, industrial capacity, boundaries, geographical aspects, and demography. The second is about cooptation and persuasion, for example, economy, health, culture, ideology, and technology. And the third refers to the State's capability of balancing the use of both (PECEQUILO, 2016, p. 121).

Anne Marie Slaughter also contributes to the discussion on neoliberalism with her book "A New World Order" (2004), which focuses on the central role played by transnational networks. In spite of being essential to address global governance problems, she stresses that they are still not recognized as so. The main idea of her book is to present to readers the "new world" they live in, which is not unique but full of networks.

This model of governance based on networks allows each agent to work on its specificity and activity, depending on the expertise and members. The advantages of this model surpass regulatory matters, "allowing national government officials to keep up with corporations, civic organizations, and criminals." Indeed, they corroborate to strengthening the relationship among participants and avoid a bad reputation, which is fundamental for long-term cooperation. Meanwhile, they develop activities such as exchanging information and database of best practices, legal approaches, technical assistance, and others. (SLAUGHTER, 2004, p. 3-4).

In order to understand this world of networks, it is necessary to overcome the idea of international system as a composition of States "subject to rules created by international institutions that are apart from, 'above' these States" (SLAUGHTER, 2004, p. 5). In addition, it is important to imagine a world where governments and its

institutions interact with each other, domestically and internationally, through multiple channels; in other words, States still exist in this new world, but they are “disaggregated”. (SLAUGHTER, 2004, p. 5)

The building blocks of this order would not be states but parts of states: courts, regulatory agencies, ministries, legislatures. The government officials within these various institutions would participate in many different types of networks, creating links across national borders and between national and supranational institutions. (SLAUGHTER, 2004, p. 6)

It may be hard to imagine, but this could be a representation of a new reality. For example, on the Mercosur Higher Education Meetings, the Ministry of Education usually indicates civil servants that are responsible for the area to participate. At the same time that this civil servant is responsible for these subjects domestically, he/she also deals with it internationally. This also happens with many other subjects/problems.

Slaughter (2004, p. 8-9) presents the globalization paradox: on the one hand, there is a need for global institutions to address global problems; on the other hand, the centralization of decision-making power and coercive authority is avoided. Global policy networks seem to be essential elements in global governance. More importantly, the networks collaborate to international cooperation as they provide mechanisms for transferring regulatory approaches that are proving increasingly successful domestically to the international arena.

In conclusion, in terms of methodology, liberalism has a rationalist point of view. If rationalism works as a methodological individualism, it is important to understand some variables in rationalist knowledge building: the role of ideas, norm following agents' motivations, and agents. Regarding the role of ideas/beliefs, rationalism considers them as causal mechanisms. About following norms, academics attribute their explanation to norm utility. Thus, norms may be described as “‘regulative’ of the behavior.” Concerning agents, there is a tendency of arguing on the “‘exogenously given’” rational point of view. (FEARON, WENDT, 2002, p. 79-84).

## 1.2 RISING OF GLOBAL PUBLIC POLICIES

When discussing public goods, States are expected to be the central agents on this topic. This expectation is due to the Westphalian order that puts the State –

sovereign agent – as responsible for the organization of governance and provision of public goods. However, the world has gone under many changes since then (Langenhove; Gatev, 2019).

Relations have become more multifaceted, and States are not the only agents in the national and international system. “Yet ever since Westphalia, the world has transformed into a more complex system where the governance and the provision of public goods is spread across different entities” (Langenhove, Gatev, 2019, p. 275). Although states still have an essential role in the provision of public goods, they are not independent agents anymore.

As a matter of fact, sub-national actions and supranational regionalisms have triggered new ways of thinking and working with public policy. First, many problems and challenges faced by States can be tackled globally. Second, policies that used to be restricted to a State because of its sovereignty and authority over citizens are also now at sub-national and supranational levels. (Langenhove, Gatev, 2019)

As a result, world and regional contexts have to be taken into account when states are dealing with their problems or challenges as well as defining their policy priorities. On the one hand, States have the authority; on the other hand, the causes of the problems and possible solutions can be tackled on other levels - regional, global or transnational (Langenhove, Gatev, 2019).

All things considered, public policy has changed over the years regarding its agents and context. States are now sharing the arena with other States, international organizations, non-governmental organizations, and so on. About the context, what used to be restricted to a certain territory can now be part of a problem or a solution for another; in other words, there is an interdependence between States. There seems to become global public policies.

Stone and Moloney (2019, p. 4-5) point out that there are “similarities and differences” in global and state public policy. A similarity, for instance, is the need of “institutions, organizations, networks, and individuals to help shape and implement global policy tasks”. An example of difference could be the decentralization of “deliberation and authoritative decision-making beyond the nations state into global and regional domains”. This leads to the concept of global public goods.

Conceptually, global public goods could be defined according to Framework 2:

### Framework 3 - Definition of global public goods

Global public goods (GPGs) share with other public goods (PGs) the key property of publicness in consumption: being fully or partially non-rival and non-excludable. What distinguishes them from other PGs is the reach of their publicness in consumption, which: (i) spans several geographic regions or even the globe as a whole; and may also (ii) penetrate into countries, areas beyond national jurisdictions, or both, with variable levels of impact; and (iii) be of long-term duration, affecting, for better or worse, several generations.

Thus, while criterion (i) is the prerequisite for a good to be defined as a GPG, the publicness in consumption of GPGs could potentially comprise three dimensions:

- a *spatial* dimension: being of worldwide span;
- an *impact* dimension: affecting countries and areas beyond national jurisdiction;
- a *temporal* dimension: having long-term effects.

In most cases, global publicness in consumption along any of these three dimensions will not be an innate property of the good but reflect a policy choice or the lack thereof.

In addition to being public in consumption, many GPGs, like other PGs, are also public in provision: their provision involves a large number of actors and compels countries to seek the cooperation of others.

Source: Kaul et al (2006) *apud* Kaul (2019, p. 261)

In spite of the key property of publicness in consumption, it should be highlighted that the main difference between global and national public goods is related to its larger scale. It usually goes beyond national jurisdiction and has long-term effects. As a consequence, it involves many agents and requires cooperation between them.

#### 1.2.1 The role of international organizations in global public policies

As it was mentioned in the previous section, there is a decentralization of the State's authority into global and regional domains. Since we are dealing with global public policy, the constitution of legitimate political authority in the global domain becomes a sensitive and vital subject, and international organizations seem to play an important role in this matter.

If the discussion is about the legitimate authority in the domestic arena, its traditional sources come from electoral practices, respect to accountability and transparency, and "effective policy outcomes". Nonetheless, the dilemma of

constituting a legitimate political authority when dealing with global public policy creates tension in the participatory model as opposed to delegated policymaking (SKOGSTAD, 2019).

Some authors point out a “global polity constituted by multilevel governance,” while others emphasize the need of addressing “cross-jurisdictional problems.” There are three pathways that can be seen as possible manners of constituting a global political authority: international institutions, voluntary horizontal policy diffusion, standard-setting, and market regulation (SKOGSTAD, 2019).

International institutions and voluntary horizontal policy diffusion are essential pathways to be studied in this thesis. Regarding international institutions, their involvement in the policy process can be on the agenda-setting, instrument choice, rules monitoring, mediation, or adjudication of disputes between states. Besides being a hub of negotiation that results in legislation for all members, their policy processes are usually of regional or global scope. Undoubtedly their authority in all these processes comes legally from the delegation they receive from member States as well as morally from their “agreed values and principles” (SKOGSTAD, 2019, p. 28). Considering voluntary horizontal policy diffusion - in other words, the spread of knowledge about the formulation of policies and previous choices across borders condition the policy choice in a jurisdiction – reinforces the role of agents such as “foreign governments, international organizations, epistemic communities, non-governmental organizations, and think tanks, as agents of diffusion”. This is especially true in the case of international organizations that can “transform not only the strategies but even the preferences domestic actors, through mechanisms of transnational communication and learning/socialization”. (SKOGSTAD, 2019, p. 34).

In short, international institutions/organizations are essential in constituting a legitimate authority in global public policy. They are not only agents (pathway of legitimate authority) in these processes but also arenas (voluntary horizontal policy diffusion) where different agents meet. This is the reason why these institutions are the focus of this thesis. With so many fields and concepts involved, global public policy becomes an analytical challenge.

### 1.3 GLOBAL PUBLIC POLICIES: GAPS

As one could read in the previous section, global public policy and international organizations involve, at least, two fields of knowledge that are essential for this analysis: public policy and international relations. In the following subsections, we justify the theoretical choices of the thesis neoliberalism (international relations) and policy transfer (public policy).

#### 1.3.1 International Relations: IOs as agents in domestic level

From the international relations point of view, IOs could be analyzed according to four different perspectives: (neo)realism, (neo)liberalism, constructivism, and critical theories. As a matter of fact, (neo)liberalism perspective is more suitable to analyze international organizations as playing the role of the policy transfer agent.

First, we are going to analyze international organizations through the realist theory. Although there are different approaches, the core assumption of realism is that States are main, rational, and unitary agents in the international system. As a consequence, cooperation through IOs in critical issues such as survival is not probable; when they do cooperate, it is in subjects outside the security domain and if they are of interest to powerful States (DAVIES, 2014, p. 20-23). Likewise, realists believe that although IOs can alter the power of States, they cannot change the basis of the international system (KARNS, MINGST, 2009, p. 46). With such point of view, (neo) realism would neither provide an explanation for policy transfer among IOs nor for the IOs as agents.

Second, the liberal theory has a point of view that reinforces the role of IOs in the international system. For liberals, States are the “most important collective agents in world politics, stressing in particular the importance of individuals that compose them”; and so, IOs are essential in the development of order and justice in the international system (DAVIES, 2014, p. 25). Besides collaborating for States' interaction and solution of common problems, IOs promote negotiation and develop coalitions; the operational activities they conduct is equally important, as well as their participation in international regimes – that can shape the behavior of States. It is interesting to observe that liberals such as Andrew Moravcsik use “liberal theory to show the links between domestic politics within states and intergovernmental cooperation”; in the 1970s liberalism would be reinforced due to an awareness of the

increasing interdependence and become known as neoliberalism or liberal institutionalism (KARNS; MINGST, 2009, p. 37-38). Thus, if liberalism considers IOs important players in the international system and recognizes their links with domestic politics, it could provide a fruitful analysis in policy transfer.

Third, IOs are also important agents for constructivists. In the constructivist approach, the focus is “to identify how and when ideas matter for shaping international politics” (PARK, 2018, p. 146). Moreover, themes like agent-structure, language, social constitutions, institutions, and norms have been the authors' focus (PECEQUILO, 2016, p. 212). Thus, for them, matters/concepts are not taken for granted as in rationalist theories, but socially constructed among agents, whether these being State or non-State (PARK, 2018, p. 146). Constructivism would contribute to international relations as it brings the “social world” to the theoretical debate (ADLER, 2002 *apud* PECEQUILO, 2016, 2016). A central constructivist assumption is that the interactions between objects and agents depend on the meaning that both acquire for them. That is, constructivism does not determine a theory content, it collaborates by delineating our questions about international politics and our answer's approach (WENDT, 2002 *apud* PECEQUILO, 2016). Moreover, ideas are responsible for shaping international politics as they not only “lead to norm following behavior” (regulative norms), but also for reorganizing State and non-State agents' perception on their identities, interest and preferences (constitutive norms). A cycle/pattern is formed in which the norm changes the agent's behavior that also influences the norm, which is why social interaction should be understood as constitutive. (PARK, 2018, p. 147). Therefore, constructivists believe that IOs are capable of not only working with their members but also exercising power and authority independently since they become semi-autonomous agents. (DAVIES, 2014, p. 30). In short, constructivism could help with an explanation on policy transfer or international organizations as agents, but they are more concerned about how knowledge production (ONUF, 2002) and ideas shape these institutions and their interactions (PARK, 2018) instead of working about empirical data collection on decision-making processes.

Fourth, we should also consider how critical theories would explain IOs. As the name implies “critical theories” contest the conventional approaches on international relations; thus, the state is not the main unit of analysis and they have a tendency of denying any normative line. Furthermore, IOs would represent the elite and the perpetuation of a system. (DAVIES, 2014, p. 32; KARNS MINGST 2009, p. 52) This

view would not help in the explanation of a policy transfer or IOs as policy transfer agents.

To sum up, from international relations theories, (neo)liberalism is the perspective that is more suitable for international organizations playing the agent role in the policy transfer. However, one has to be aware that, among all of them, there is a common point: they are only concerned about the behavior of the state in the international arena. This is the reason why a public policy theory to help in the explanation is needed.

### 1.3.2 Public Policy: just domestic agents?

Differently from international relations theories in which we had to explain each approach in order to discard them as a source of explanation for IOs as agents of policy transfer, in public policy this process will be easier. This is because:

the focus of analysis is usually on the interaction between agents and domestic institutions, which as a rule, are seen as circumscribed by a conception of political jurisdiction and national sovereignty, what seems to go against the increasing intertwining of the domestic and the international". (Faria 2018, p. 9, my translation<sup>4</sup>)

That is, there is a tendency of just looking at the domestic arena. In other words, unless the theory recognizes and emphasizes the presence of international agents, IOs would not be considered as agents. Some authors call that tendency "methodological nationalism", in which there is an emphasis on the territorial borders and the idea of the nation-State, leaving aside any institutional formation above or below the national scale (PRINCE, 2012; STONE, 2012).

When dealing with policy transfer, one has to be aware of the different terminology within the fieldwork. A summary can be seen in Figure 1:

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<sup>4</sup> In the original: "o foco das análises normalmente se concentra na interação entre atores e instituições domésticos, os quais, via de regra, são vistos como circunscritos por uma concepção de jurisdição política e de soberania nacional que parece em descompasso com o cada vez maior entrelaçamento entre o doméstico e o internacional" (Faria 2018, p. 9)

Figure 1 - Policy transfer and other related terms



Source: The Author, based on Evans (2019, p.95) and Knill (2005)

Although there might be a variation in terminology – diffusion, learning, convergence and so on – they all refer to the same process: the know-how of one context being used in another one (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 2000).

In a recent publication in Brazil (OLIVEIRA, FARIA, 2017; DOLOWITZ, 2017), three concepts have been stressed transfer, diffusion, and circulation. They will be explained in Framework 3 and completed with some mentioned in Figure 1:

Framework 4 - Conceptual Framework

CONCEPT	DEFINITION (S)	AUTHOR(S)
Policy Diffusion	Occurs when government policy decisions in a given country are systematically conditioned by prior choices made in other countries.	Oliveira and Faria, 2017, p. 19

	How communication channels between neighbouring jurisdictions were involved in the spread of information that led to similarities in policies.	Dolowitz, 2017, p. 36
Policy Transfer	The transfer movement often refers to a displacement of a policy from a government to another.	Oliveira and Faria, 2017, p. 17
	Process where knowledge of how to make things work in one political system is used in the development of similar solutions in another political system.	Dolowitz, 2017, p. 39
Policy Circulation/Mobility	Circulation can be seen as a vast and continuous movement of production of models, emission, appropriation and translation of their contents by multiple actors (individuals or collective, governmental or non-governmental), which have different power resources. This movement is perpetuated by the means of new emissions of the reframed public action instruments to other parts of the world. It is usually a circular process that also involves mutual learning and can go forwards and backwards from a place to another, in a sort of long spiral.	Oliveira and Faria, 2017, p. 22
	The overall goal is to understand how the settings in which policies move transform the policy and influence the impact of what is received and how the policy continues its transformation as it moves toward implementation in the new system.	Dolowitz, 2017, p. 41.
Policy Convergence	The term 'policy convergence' suggests that transfer arises as a consequence of structural forces. It is a macro-level idea to describe a pattern of increasing similarity in economic, social and political organisation between countries that may be driven by industrialisation, globalisation or regionalization	Stone, 2004, p.4
	The definition of policy convergence as the growing similarity of policies over time.	Knill, 2005, p. 776

Policy Learning	'Learning' is also connected with policy transfer, but again, this concept is analytically distinct. Here, the emphasis is on cognition and the redefinition of interests on the basis of new knowledge which affects the fundamental beliefs and ideas behind policy approaches.	Stone, 2004, p.5
	Learning in policy analysis can be defined as a process of exercising a judgement based on an experience or some other kind of input that leads actors to select a different view of how things happen and what courses of action should be taken.	Zito and Shout, 2009, p. 1103
Lesson-drawing	In our view, the term 'lesson drawing' implies that political actors or decision makers in one country draw lessons from one or more other countries, which they then apply to their own political system. This focuses on 'voluntary' policy transfer, which occurs as a result of the free choices of political actors	Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996, p. 344
Isomorphism	The first section below introduces the concepts of policy transfer and isomorphism (the tendency to become alike) (...) The emergence and structuration of an organizational field (...) result in the homogenization of organizations included in the field as well as of new entrants. Two processes lead to greater homogeneity, namely, institutional and competitive isomorphism.	Radaelli, 2000, p. 26-27

Source: Adapted from Bernardo and Pereira (2018)

According to the definitions presented in Framework 3, diffusion has some particular characteristics, such as a significant number of actors and geographical components. There seems to involve a high number of agents since other countries influence their choices. Neighboring jurisdictions have also been pointed out as a conditioning factor of diffusion by some researchers (WEYLAND, 2006). We could say that diffusion refers to an idea of contagion.

Whereas analyzing transfer definitions on Framework 3, a difference concerning diffusion is the limited number of actors and the idea of interaction. Considering the number of agents, the transfer usually involves two jurisdictions. We can assume that there is a contact/interaction between these two actors/agents in which there seems to be an intentional act of one putting itself as a donor and other as a receiver. The idea of intentionality prevails in these interactions of the transfer. (OLIVEIRA, FARIA, 2017, p. 30).

Circulation and mobility have the same argument. In both cases, there is a recognition of the continuous transformation of policies. From this point of view, these processes consider learning not only on the formulation but through the whole policy cycle, since it involves a multiplicity of actors with different resources and knowledge. An idea of movement is predominant when talking about policy circulation or mobility.

Policy convergence seems to be related to the outcome of the transfer process. According to the definitions presented, it has to do with the increasing similarity in policies among jurisdictions. In other words, it is the study of the consequences of the transfer process.

The policy learning concept is also focused on the transfer process, specifically on the perception and changes of interests motivated by a new knowledge that may modify the policy approach's ideas. That is new experiences or knowledge that can change the main idea of the policy.

Lesson-drawing, according to the definition presented in the Framework 3, is also linked to policy transfer. It means a voluntary process or a free choice of the policymaker to observe other jurisdictions' experiences and draw lessons from them; it is related to a rational process.

Isomorphism was clearly described on the Framework 3 and can also be analyzed as the outcome point of view. It is the propensity of an organization to become identical to another one, also due to the policy transfer process. To put things differently, not only the policies or contents, but this similarity can happen in organizational aspects.

Despite being inter-related, these examples above illustrate how all the concepts can demonstrate a different point of view - sometimes even about the same process. The importance of differentiating them is to emphasize that, in this text, the terminology adopted will be policy transfer.

#### 1.4 PROPOSAL: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS + PUBLIC POLICY

States (inter) actions in and international arena can be studied through different theoretical perspectives: Realism and its variations, Liberalism and its variations, Constructivism and Critical Theories. Depending on the theoretical perspective adopted, the focus of analysis might change since each theory considers differently agents, kind of types, creation, and maintenance of institutions, relations between international and domestic factors and so on.

We can also adopt the perspective of foreign policy<sup>5</sup> as public policy, once it represents State and government acting internationally; moreover, foreign policy should be understood as public policy authorized by the State. When working through this viewpoint, one recognizes it as politics, and thus, its formulation and implementation are part of governments' choice dynamics. It involves not only overcoming the idea of separating foreign from domestic policies but accepting that both are even more synergic. (MILANI, PINHEIRO, 2013)

The understanding of foreign policy and international relations as public policy makes it possible to research on policy transfer. In fact, scholars affirm that it "brought together two subdisciplines of political science that, in spite of being complementary in different aspects, had followed each one their own path and development, namely: public policy analysis and international relations" (OLIVEIRA, FARIA, 2017, p. 5). Therefore, this seems to be a promising area that can explain changes in both national and international policies.

As a currently theoretical perspective on international themes, it was expected that scholars would improve the policy transfer framework based on international relations theories. However, how to align policy transfer to the theme of international relations is still an open question. Benson and Jordan (2011, p. 374) recognize the capacity of combining policy transfer with other theoretical toolkits and mention the following examples: social learning, constructivism, governance, and a new institutionalist approach.

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<sup>5</sup> At this point, one should think of foreign policy just as a part of the complex field that is the international relations, since the area goes beyond the states' affairs.

Since theories' limits in international relations are related to agent assumptions on global policy and the kind of interaction between them (RIGUEIRA, 2012), using them as a basis for policy transfer analysis might lead to different explanations. Besides, it may help scholars to delineate a methodological strategy for policy transfer analysis that highlights variables and indicators.

#### 1.4.1 General scenario

There is a consensus among certain authors about the role played by international organizations. Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) point out that these organizations are either a space to share experiences and good practices between their members or that is directly responsible for the engagement in the transfer process. Thomas Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (2018) published a book with contributions from various authors discussing how these institutions corroborate the formation of global governance. Authors also work with international organizations' interactions, especially those with the same purposes that can cooperate with others to reach them (CHAZOURNES, 2017).

The role of international organizations is recognized in both public policies and international relations. However, studies on international relations are focused on their impact in an anarchic international system, while public policy studies view them as policy transfer arenas, according to the analysis of articles listed in Appendix 1<sup>6</sup> (PRINCE, 2012; MOSSBERGER, WOLMAN, 2003; MCCANN, WARD, 2012, SHARMAN, 2008, ZITO, SCHOUT, 2009, DAMRO, MENDEZ, 2003, DOLOWITZ and MARSH 2000). Few studies consider international organizations as agents of public policy transfer (MCCANN, WARD, 2013; OGDEN, WALT, LUSH, 2003; GONNET, 2012; STONE, 2004). Gonnet (2012) draws attention to their technical/monetary resources and authority in various fields, which allows them to produce information on different policy themes and exercise their power over States. Stone (2004) discusses international organizations as critical agents in the processes of public policy transfer, emphasizing the trend towards policy harmonization. Moreover, when they describe

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<sup>6</sup> Appendix 1 is a list of 100 most cited articles on policy transfer at *Web of Science* on July 06<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

international organizations as agents of policy transfer, they do not problematize based on the implications of the international relations (PECK, THEODORE, BRENERNER, 2013, REICH, 2017; DAVIES, 2003).

If there is a gap in problematizing international organizations as public policy transfer agents, there is still an open question of which international relations theory would better contribute to this analysis. Since international relations theories can be divided into four groups (realistic, institutionalist, constructivist and reformist), it can be said that it would be more productive to base the analysis on the neoliberalist perspective.

In other words, different perspectives would not be possible with this analytical bias: i) the realists would defend state sovereignty, subjugating the IOs to inter-state interests and relations (WALTZ, 1979; MEARSHEIMER, 1995); ii) the constructivists might recognize international organizations as agents, but they are more concerned with how knowledge is produced (ONUF, 2002) and how ideas shape these institutions and their interactions (PARK, 2018) rather than working on empirical data collection on decision-making processes and patterns. They tend to see this agent in a more fragmented way (WENDT, 1992); iii) reformists are not concerned with organizations as autonomous agents. They understand them as either a reflex of the international scenario structure or as status quo maintenance. Thus, the enhancement proposal for policy transfer analysis among international organizations, done through the neoliberalism approach, would recognize international organizations as a cohesive agent that plays an essential role in cooperation among States and that could impact their domestic policy.

#### 1.4.2 Policy transfer + neoliberalism

Besides the fact that aligning policy transfer to international relations' neoliberalism would help to understand the role of international organizations as agents, it could also help to evidence variables of analysis. Before proceeding to the framework proposal, therefore, we have to briefly explain both theories.

When analyzing the field literature, Oliveira and Faria (2017, p.17) affirm that the first studies in the area could be dated back to 1889, reinforcing that the idea of transferring policies between jurisdictions has been currently on the debate of public policies and comparative analysis. However, they point out that it is from late 1990s to

mid-2000s that the field has experienced an exponential growth and has attracted the attention of scholars such as economists, sociologists, psychologists, geographers, and urbanists, to only mention a few.

This interest coming from a variety of areas can be related to the possibility of observing how policymakers of other jurisdictions (cities, regional and national governments, international organizations) responded when facing a common problem. Drawing positive or negative lessons help them to deal with their problems, as well as understanding if a policy can be transferred, adapted or even which mistakes should be avoided (ROSE, 1991).

This growth in the number of publications and variety of areas conducting research on the topic can be explained by the fact that public policy is not only taking place in national political systems, but also in a world system. On the one hand, the exchange of ideas and knowledge were facilitated by the development and growth of communication. On the other hand, international organizations play an important role in advocating and enforcing similar policies across diverse countries (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 2000).

A starting point for analyzing policy transfer is Dolowitz and Marsh's framework (2000). This was the first effort to put together all questions and concepts that arise in these analyses. Although scholars, nowadays, show a "consensus that their proposition is no longer sufficient" (OLIVEIRA; FARIA, 2017), it has to be highlighted that Dolowitz and Marsh (2012) had already reinforced that the framework is a heuristic and thus it can – and should – be improved. Our improvement proposal, therefore, is combining their model with international relations' neoliberalism. Before starting the discussion, Framework 4 shows Dolowitz and Marsh proposition:

Framework 5 - Policy Transfer Framework

Why Transfer? Continuum		Have to	Who is involved in transfer?	What is Transferred?	From Where			Degrees of Transfer	Constraints on Transfer	How to Demonstrate Policy Transfer	How Transfer leads to Policy Failure?
Want to	Mixtures				Past Internal	Within a nation	Cross-national				
Voluntary Lesson Drawing (Perfect Rationality)	Lesson Drawing (Bounded Rationality)	Coercive Direct Imposition	Elected Officials	Policies (Goals) (Content) (Instruments)	State Governments	International Organizations	Copying	Policy Complexity (Newspaper) (Magazine) (TV) (Radio)	Media	Uninformed Transfer	
	International Pressures (Image) (Consensus) (Perceptions)		Bureaucrats Civil Servants	Programs	City Governments	Regional State Local Governments	Emulation	Past Policies	Reports (Commissioned) (Uncommissioned)	Incomplete Transfer	
	Externalities Conditionality (Loans) (Conditions Attached to Business Activity) Obligations	Pressure Groups Political Parties	Institutions Ideologies		Local Authorities		Mixtures	Structural Institutional Feasibility (Ideology) (Cultural Proximity) (Technology) (Economic) (Bureaucratic) Language	Conferences Meetings/ Visits	Inappropriate Transfer	
		Policy Entrepreneur/ Experts	Attitudes/ Cultural Values	Negative Lessons		Past Relations	Inspiration		Statements (Written) (Verbal)		

Source: Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, p.9)

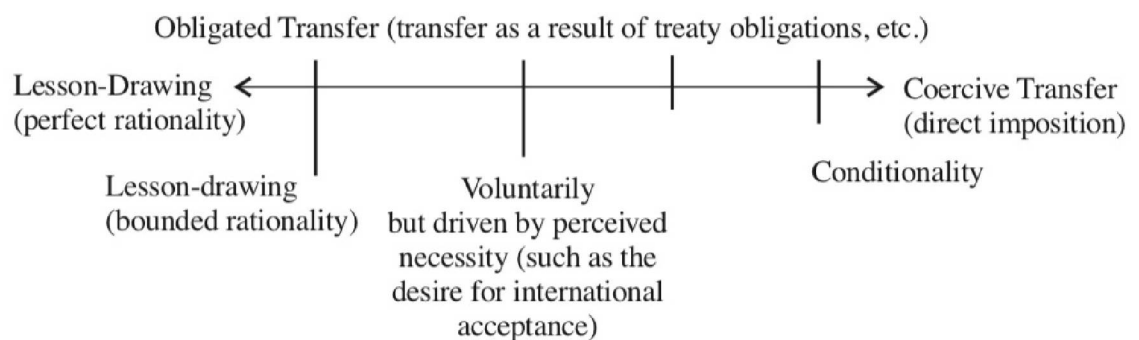
Each column of the Framework 4 can be considered as a variable for investigation: motivation, agents, content, origin, degrees, constraints, demonstration, and reasons for policy transfer failure. In the following sections, each column and its concepts are presented and discussed based on the constructivist and liberal institutional points of view.

#### 1.4.2.1 Motivation

The motivations indicated in Framework 4 are classified as: i) voluntary (when there is dissatisfaction with the status quo), (ii) coercive (when a government imposes a particular policy or action on another), or (iii) mixture (lack of impositions, but the process originates from the interdependence between agents involved, externalities and the consensus on a given problem).

However, this classification is not simple, since policy transfer can involve more than one of these elements, or it may start in one way and end in another. Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) develop a *policy transfer continuum* in their analysis (Figure 2):

Figure 2 - Policy Transfer Continuum



Source: Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, p.13)

The Policy Transfer *Continuum* can illustrate how these processes are not static. From lesson-drawing to coercive transfer, a process “can involve both elements” or vary “between different political units within the same political system” (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 2000, p. 14). Besides, a process can start in a way and end in another; for instance, it can begin as lesson-drawing (the perception of a problem and the search for a solution) and become coercive (if the solution involves lending and conditionalities). The *continuum* allows the reflection on the subtleties of the process.

A policy transfer process could occur anywhere on the continuum. Neoliberals, for instance, believe that when states can be mutually benefited with cooperation, governments tend to build institutions to provide information, reduce transaction costs, make more reliable agreements, establish focal points for operation, and, in general, facilitate the operation (KEOHANE, MARTIN, 1995). It must be considered that Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, p. 14-15) indicate cases in which “transnational organizations and international aid agencies have been able to compel governments to adopt programs and policies against their will” or “national governments can be forced to adopt programs and policies as part of their obligations as members of international regimes and structures”. Another key point to take into consideration is that neoliberalism derives from rational choice, thus presenting an appeal to rationality in actions. In sum, since a neoliberal analysis considers that the process can occur in any point of the *continuum*, this approach is characterized by placing it in extremities.

#### 1.4.2.2 Actors/agents

There are many categories of agents on policy transfer: elected officials, political parties, bureaucrats/civil servants, pressure groups, transnational corporations, think tanks, political experts, supranational institutions, government and non-governmental advisors (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 1996, 2000). However, this kind of process usually involves more than one of the classifications mentioned.

A neoliberal analysis would focus on formal agents such as elected officials, bureaucrats/civil servants, supranational institutions, and government. These are the agents directly linked to international institutions, their rules, and decision-making procedures. Since this approach defends the role of domestic and international institutions, it is expected that the rules/procedures and decision-making process would be highlighted.

In this study, the emphasis will be on international institutions (CHAZOURNES, 2017; GONNET, 2012; STONE, 2004; WEISS, WILKINSON, 2018) and epistemic communities/experts (HAAS, 1992; DUNLOP, 2016). Some authors recognize that they work together: one international institution with another (CHAZOURNES, 2017); and, international institutions with epistemic communities (GONNET, 2012).

Due to their authority - rational-legal, delegated, moral, expert<sup>7</sup>-, international institutions can regulate social world by shaping the behavior of state and non-state agents through incentives. Some of their types of action are monetary loan provisions, technical assistance, mediation activities, exhortation, or to seek policy change (GONNET, 2012, p. 4-5). Punishments should also be considered as a way of shaping the behavior of states as, for example, the World Trade Organization. Exerting authority, shaping states behavior, and having a clear mode of governance might be related to policy transfer.

About international institutions actions and modes of governance, there are two studies concerning the regional organizations focused in this thesis: European Union (BULMER, PADGETT, 2005) and Mercosur (PEREIRA *et al.*, 2018). When studying various European Union's forums, Bulmer and Padgett (2005) establish a link between institutional variables - modes of governance - and transfer outcomes. They divide the modes of governance into three: i) hierarchical, in which the treaties signed by members assure authority and power control to supranational institutions; ii) negotiation, a typical mode of multinational organization in which there is a tendency for a consensus/agreement regarding common rules; and, iii) facilitated unilateralism or voluntary process, that is related to the mode of governance in which "when a sovereign state unilaterally adopts policy from an external source." (BULMER; PADGETT, 2005, p. 105- 106). Based on their study, Pereira *et al.* (2018) adapt their framework about modes of governance and policy transfer outcomes:

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<sup>7</sup> Gonnet (2012, p. 4) points out four types of IO authority: i) rational-legal, because they are constituted as legal authorities in their domain; ii) delegated, as they receive an authority delegation of member-states to act ; iii) moral, since they protect and promote values and principles ; iv) expert, considering the expertise of people involved.

Framework 6 - Modes of Governance and Policy Transfer Outcomes

Mode of governance	Policy transfer outcome
Hierarchy	Emulation – Synthesis
Negotiation	Emulation – Synthesis
Facilitation	Synthesis – Abortive Influence – Abortive

Source: Pereira *et al.* (2018, p. 288)

Thus, Pereira *et al.* (2018) applied this assumption into Mercosur – which will be part of the empirical case of this thesis – to verify which mode of governance and which policy transfer form are predominant. The authors' main findings show the prevalence of facilitated governance in Mercosur, a system that favors influence or synthesis in policy transfer. The reciprocal influence that is characteristic of Mercosur grows "(i) by the incorporation of objectives and treaty directives; and (ii) procedures that oblige states to re-evaluate the performance of their national public policies based on the practices developed by their regional partners" (PEREIRA *et al.*, 2018, p. 298). That is to say that member states preserve their sovereignty while simulating national policies changes if they have a social and political interest. Both examples show how these. Both examples show how these international organizations can conditionate their members' public policy.

Given the fact that a regional organization can condition policy transfer, it is important to discuss if their interaction would have the same effect. Chazournes (2017) published a book emphasizing the relation between universal and regional organizations and analyzing the main aspects and concepts of these interactions. The author emphasizes that universal and regional organizations can promote the reaching of common objectives, and some of the examples mentioned in his book are League of Nations, United Nations, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and World Trade Organization. In other words, regional organizations can formulate policies according to the recommendations of universal organizations.

Medeiros, Cockles and Meunier (2015) illustrate the interactions between international organizations in a paper. Regarding the Mercosur normative, they notice a constant mention of the European Union. For them, this occurs due to a legitimation on the part of not only citizens but also bureaucracy and epistemic communities, as a result of their interactions with EU and expectations of future negotiations

(MEDEIROS, COCKLES E MEUNIER, 2015). This combined work of both international organizations may motivate policy transfer.

Another key point is how international organizations' interact with epistemic communities (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 2000; GONNET, 2012; STONE, 2004). It is well established that policymakers tend to rely on advice of consultants with expertise to develop policies (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 2000; HAAS, 1992). As previously mentioned, international institutions can develop 'mediative actions' (GONNET, 2012), in which they count on epistemic communities to offer this kind of advices in national and international levels. An epistemic community "is a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area" (HAAS, 1992, p.3). Moreover, if international institutions show interest, epistemic communities may participate in their spaces for sharing ideas, guiding and formulating policies.

#### 1.4.2.3 Content

These agents may be involved in transferring eight different contents: "policy goals, policy content, policy instruments, policy programs, institutions, ideologies, ideas and attitudes and negative lessons" (DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 2000, p. 12). As it can be noticed, they deal not only with the final result (the policy itself) but also with the ideas and ideologies behind it. This is related to the differentiation that authors make between "hard" and "soft" transfer (STONE, 2004; BENSON; JORDAN, 2011).

Hard and soft transfers are marked by their coexistence and complementarity (STONE, 2010 *apud* BENSON, JORDAN, 2011, p.370). On the one hand, the hard transfer is about "policy instruments, institutions, and programs" (DOLOWITZ, 2003 *apud* BENSON, JORDAN, 2011, 370; JONES, NEWBURN, 2006 *apud* BENSON, JORDAN, 2011, p. 370). On the other hand, soft transfer concerns the processes in which "ideas, ideologies, and concepts (STONE, 2004 *apud* BENSON, JORDAN, 2011, p. 370). Applying this terminology to Dolowitz and Marsh's framework, the hard transfer encompasses policy goals, policy content, policy instruments, and policy programs, while the soft transfer consists of institutions, ideologies, ideas and attitudes, and negative lessons.

#### 1.4.2.4 Origin

Policymakers usually observe three levels of governance: the international, the national and the local. Thus, a policy transfer process may originate from past experiences, governments - local authorities, municipal and national governments - and even from international organizations (DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 1996, 2000). Framework 4 demonstrates how complex this multi-level source of examples is.

Mèrcher, Bernardo and Silva (2018) present a study that illustrates how a policy transfer process can originate from these three levels. The authors analyze multi-level actions of Mercocities Network's Border Integration Workgroup, in order to demonstrate that absence of national governments' practices may lead local governments to act transnationally to solve their population's demand. While developing their argument, the authors list not only cities initiatives but also their combined actions with national and local governments. For them, Mercocities Network becomes a center in disseminating public policy among South American cities.

Therefore, it must be highlighted that Mercocitites Network is a transnational initiative that was incorporated into Mercosur (international organization). The Mercocitites Network gathers best practices of cities, local governments, national governments, and international experiences. In other words, it illustrates these three levels of governance as originators of content in policy transfer processes.

#### 1.4.2.5 Degrees

There are different grades for public policy transfer processes. The ones from Framework 4, as well as from other authors' definitions, are presented below:

- a. Copy: "involves direct and complete transfer" (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 2000, p. 13).
- b. Emulation: "involves transfer of the ideas behind the policy or program" (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 2000, p. 13).
- c. Synthesis: "involve mixtures of several different policies" (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 2000, p. 13).
- d. Inspiration: "where policy in another jurisdiction may inspire a policy change, but where the final outcome does not actually draw upon the original" (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 2000, p. 13).

- e. Abortive: “where a putative transfer is blocked by veto agents in the borrower jurisdiction” (BULMER, PADGETT, 2005, p. 106)
- f. Localization: “the active construction (through discourse, framing, grafting and cultural selection) of foreign ideas by local agents, which results in the former developing significant congruence with local beliefs and practices” (ACHARYA, 2004, p. 245)

At this point, we want to revisit what was previously presented about international institutions as actors, according to Bulmer and Padgett (2005). As it was mentioned in the actors’ section, these authors make a correlation among modes of governance and policy transfer degrees. For them, the more institutionalized forums, the higher are the chances of having an emulation/copy or synthesis. On the opposite, in forums in which facilitation prevails, there is a tendency of influence/inspirations or abortive degrees of the transfer.

#### 1.4.2.6 Constraints

As in many processes, policy transfer has a significant number of limits if considering Framework 4. They are organized into three main subjects: policy complexity, past policies, structural or institutional feasibility, and language (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 2000). Although the authors do not develop explanations about constraints, a brief contextualization on the topic is developed in the following paragraphs.

On policy complexity, many elements can affect the process of transfer. Depending on the subject of the policy, it might draw media’s attention (newspaper, magazine, tv, radio) to the topic and, through the broadcast of the action, formulation of alternatives and expert’s opinion can interfere on the process. This is just one example of how policy complexity can be a constraint on policy transfer.

Regarding past policies, some previous experiences can discourage policymakers or people engaged in the project. The propensity or tendency to think or act based on previous experiences is common, whether stimuli, contingencies or contexts; this is useful for optimizing, for situations with great availability of information, and for complex cases, as well as in the face of uncertainty, and to make sense of information received in communication (PESSALI, 2015). If the previous policy was not satisfagenty, the policy transfer might be impaired.

About structural or institutional feasibility, it may be related to differences between the donator and the receiver. Different understandings on ideology, culture, technology, economy, and bureaucracy interfere on policy transfer processes; for example, it is difficult to implement a policy when the bureaucratic organization of the receiver is entirely diverse from the donators. These differences can be limitations to policy transfer.

Language can also be a factor of constraint. When discussing the transferability of democratic innovations, Smith (2009) indicates language as a limiting aspect for transnational engagement. The author observed different types of language involved: the “polity’s official language, for example, whereas on cross-national internet discussion forums have tended to expect contributions in English,” and if the forum’s participants do not master English, he/she would be marginalized (SMITH, 2009, p. 183). This may also be true in policy transfer, since the process involves the donator’s and the receiver’s language, and if both lack communication, the process may not occur correctly.

#### 1.4.2.7 Demonstration

Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) point the media, reports, visits, and declarations as sources for demonstrating a public policy transfer. Regarding international relations theories, these sources could be used for a neoliberal analysis, since with a theoretical choice, a methodology strategy could be delineated.

Although Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) map the main concepts of the area and indicate the sources, they do not specify which tool could be used for analyzing this data. This allows researchers to develop their own methodological strategy, and it has been a recurrent concern in studies on policy transfer. In order to deal with the problem of data analysis, and to develop a methodological approach for this thesis, a meta-analysis of 100 articles on policy transfer was conducted (described in Chapter 2), to identify the most used tools.

#### 1.4.2.8 Success or Failure

As all type of processes, policy transfer can fail. There are three kinds of failure according to Framework 4: uninformed transfer, incomplete transfer, and inappropriate

transfer (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 2000). It is important to differentiate these types to avoid confusion with other classifications, such as the degree one.

The failure of policy transfer is connected to information, process' incompleteness, and unawareness of contextual differences. An uninformed transfer is characterized by a receiver that does not have enough information about the policy/institution of the donor, and on how it operates. An incomplete transfer occurs when key elements of policy success are not transferred. An inappropriate transfer occurs when there is unawareness of the differences between the economic, social, political and ideological contexts of the donor and the receiver (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 2000, p. 17).

## 1.5 INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FROM THESE POINTS OF VIEW

The aim of this thesis is to present an analysis of policy transfer among international organizations. All perspectives – public policy, international relations, policy transfer – presented in the previous sections recognize international organizations. However, the difference between them is the focus, which might be underestimated when analyzed separately.

In public policy, international organizations are underestimated due to the “methodological nationalism”, mentioned in the previous sections. In general, the analysis on public policy theories concentrates mainly on domestic agents and institutions (FARIA, 2018). However, policy transfer is an exception.

When considering policy transfer, even if recognizing both domestic and international scenarios, there is a tendency to view international organizations as arenas where the agents meet. In other words, these organizations are more a stage than proper agents. Another theory used is the international relations one, but in this analysis, the impact of international organizations in an anarchic international system is highlighted, and the domestic level is not considered.

However, to enhance the proposal of policy transfer analysis among international organizations, it is necessary to align international relations' neoliberalism to policy transfer. As a result, it is possible to question international organizations' policy transfer agents and reflect upon the implications of international relations. Some points for reflection based on the previous sections:

- IOs are agents with delegated, moral and expert authority.

- IOs are agents that deal with regional or global problems.
- IOs are agents that work together with bureaucrats and experts.
- IOs are agents that have policies and common goals, and that work with their members and others to reach it through the best practices, such as technical assistance and impositions.
- The relationships between members and bureaucrats can be demonstrated mainly by analyzing its documents/minutes, and by interviewing people that worked or is related to the place in any way during the policy implementation.

## 1.6 FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL

Since it is possible to combine neoliberalism and policy transfer, in order to evidence variables and indicators of policy transfer among international organizations, the enhancement proposal is the following:

Framework 7 - IR and policy transfer: operationalizing concepts (part 1)

Theory	→	Concept	→	Variable	→	Indicator
Neoliberalism in International Relations	→	Policy Transfer	→	motivation	→	agreements contracts monetary loans technical aid capacity building best practices statements
				agents		experts bureaucrats politicians NGO
				content		ideas policy instruments programs projects models law
				origin		international organization
				degree		original policy final policy

		constraints	technical advice statements media
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Source: The Author, based on Dolowitz and Marsh (2000), Gonnet (2012, 2018), Stone (2004, 2019), Slaughter (2004).

This section aimed to adequate Dolowitz and Marsh's (2000) framework to neoliberal concepts, as well as to focus on international organizations' practices and daily routines. In the next chapter, the proposal is deepened through the search of methodological tools of policy transfer that could be applied to measure/demonstrate each indicator.

## 2 DELINEATING A METHODOLOGY FOR POLICY TRANSFER<sup>8</sup>

In the previous chapter, the combination of neoliberal international relations with policy transfer evidenced variables of analysis and indicators. However, the methodological strategy recommended to use is still an open question. Since little is known about this topic, the problem-question of this chapter is: *“Taking into consideration the concept and variables presented in the previous chapter, what is the best methodology to apply those variables/indicators in?”*. The objective is to establish a methodological strategy for the analysis of policy transfer among international organizations.

### 2.1 AN AREA OF KNOWLEDGE IN DEVELOPMENT

Policy transfer is an area of knowledge in development and that has potential to explain political changes at national and international levels. An example of study at the national level is Coelho et al. (2016), who address policy diffusion mechanisms in Brazilian’s federal government program *Saúde da Família*. In their article, the authors investigate internal and external determinants to local governments that have determined this health policy diffusion in Brazil. An example of analysis at international level is about World Bank as an international organization, and on its influence on national governments and their policies to fight poverty, especially those related to Conditional Cash Transfer (SILVA, KAUCHAKJE, 2017). This last article illustrates how policy transfer brought together public policy analysis and international relations areas (OLIVEIRA, FARIA, 2017).

As it is an area of knowledge in development, there is a concern about the establishment of theoretical frameworks and conceptual reviews. Some authors focus on differentiating concepts related to policy transfer, such as diffusion, transfer, circulation and others. (DOLOWITZ, 2017; OLIVEIRA, FARIA, 2017). Some have worked on the establishment of a Policy Transfer Framework, in which they observe the elements of a transfer: why, who is involved, what is transferred, from where, degrees, constraints, how to demonstrate, and how transfer leads to policy failure (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 2000). Others are studying the complexity of agents evolved in

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<sup>8</sup> A version of this chapter was presented at the International Conference on Policy Diffusion and Development Cooperation, held in Sao Paulo, Brazil, from 16-19 May 2018.

this type of processes (STONE, 2004; GONNET, 2016). These are just some examples of the variety of theoretical studies on policy transfer.

In addition to theoretical concerns, authors also focus on methods for analyzing these iterative processes. This may be related to the difficulties encountered when aiming to demonstrate a policy transfer process empirically. Considering this methodological approach, it is interesting to mention the Brazilian book *Difusão de Políticas Públicas* (FARIA *et al.*, 2016), which starts with a section on approaches, agents, and processes in which some methodological aspects were approached. On the one hand, Coelho (2016) has shown the main policy transfer approaches – external and internal determinants, mechanisms, coordinated and non-coordinated action, agents, and structural factors – as well as indicated some methodological tools, for example, event history analysis and process tracing. On the other hand, Gonnet (2016) lists some agents that play important roles on policy transfer process and its mechanisms; however, the most interesting part is emphasizing the indicators for the study proposal implementation: diffusion mechanisms, national agent identification, international organizations actions, and epistemic communities. However, few articles on policy transfer studies present this aim.

Since there is a gap in terms of methodological aspects, in this chapter the frequently used tools to empirically demonstrate public policy transfer are identified. For reaching this aim, a list of 100 articles (search term: policy transfer) with the highest impact in the Web of Science database will be analyzed. This mapping indicates the strategies most commonly used by authors and adequate them to the theoretical proposal of this thesis.

## 2.2 METHODOLOGIES OF POLICY TRANSFER STUDIES

First, it is important what is understood as method and a methodology in this study. A method is a specific research tool, such as a tool used for analysis of content and networks. Methodology refers to the organization of methods or techniques used by researchers, which is guided by their ontological and epistemological positioning (RIGUEIRA, 2012, p. 41). In this chapter, the methods most used to develop a methodological strategy based on IR theories that have their own ontology/epistemology are described.

Since the theoretical approach was discussed in previous sections, and the main concepts differentiated, data collection patterns are explained. The choice was for working with the *Web of Science* database, which could provide with citation analysis and references management (ANALYTICS, 2018).

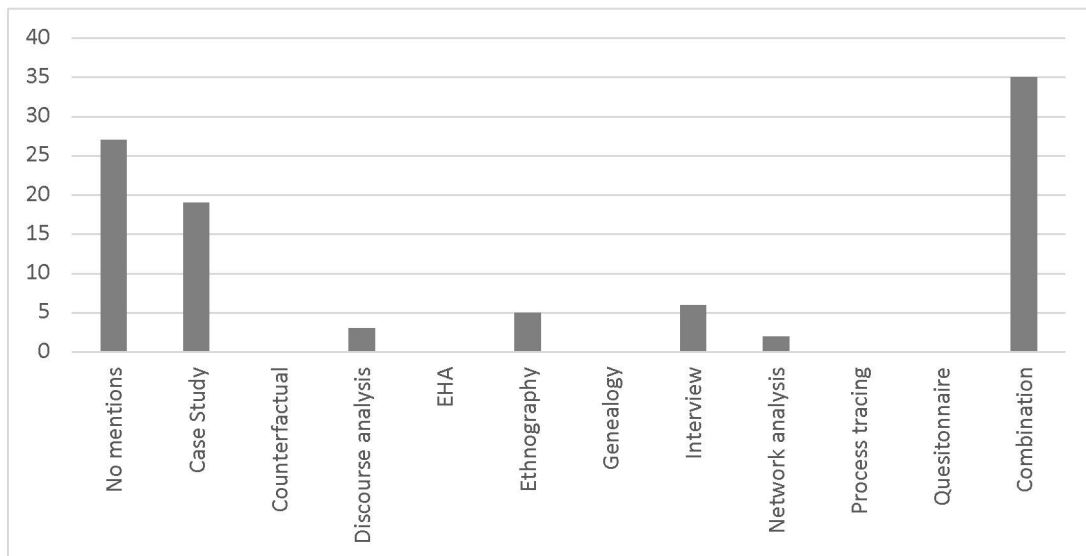
On the Web of Science, we searched for papers with the term policy transfer. From this list, using the citation analysis tools, the papers were organized from the most to the least cited article and selected the first 100. For these, the protocol was: reading the title, the abstracts, and the keywords, in addition to checking if the information sought in the text was unclear. The following topics were highlighted on the papers: mobilized concepts, jurisdiction, theme, and reference to methods described by their authors.

### 2.2.1 Organization of data

In order to reach the objective proposed in this study - to identify what are the tools frequently used to demonstrate the process of public policy transfer empirically – we worked on the concepts and methods specifically. The main difficulty at this point is that the description or indication of the method is not always evident in the article.

The methods considered are case study, content analysis, discourse analysis, ethnography, event history analysis, genealogy, interview, network analysis, questionnaire, and process tracing. In some cases, a combination of methodological tools was found. In these cases, it was not possible to describe each combination that appeared in our study. Graph 1 shows the most used methods:

Graph 1 - Policy Transfer Methods



Source: The Author, based on Appendix 1.

From the 100 papers on policy transfer mentioned in Graph 1, it is possible to observe that 27% of the authors did not mention the method used in their studies. For those who mentioned it, it is interesting to notice that 6% used interviews, 19 % used case studies, and 35% combined methods. Although the combination of methods was the most used, it was not possible to indicate which was the most popular choice.

### 2.2.2 An enhancement proposal

As it was observed, the analysis of policy transfer is a complex task, since it involves many agents and variables. Although researchers have successfully indicated these variables, they are unclear regarding how to treat data in order to demonstrate them empirically. We believe that by focusing on a specific agent (international organizations) and adopting an international relation theory (liberal institutionalism), a methodological strategy can be developed to point out which would be the best method to evidence each variable. The aim is to establish an enhancement proposal for policy transfer analysis among international organizations that could be replicable to other studies.

Framework 7 is developed from Framework 6, and shows methodological tools that could be applied to that indicators:

Framework 8 - IR and policy transfer: operationalizing concepts (part 2)

Theory	→	Concept	→	Variable	→	Indicator	→	Methodological tool
Neoliberalism in International Relations	→	Policy Transfer	→	motivation	→	agreements contracts monetary loans technical aid capacity building best practices statements	→	process tracing interview event history analysis discourse analysis
				actors		experts bureaucrats politicians NGO		network analysis genealogy ethnography documentary analysis
				content		ideas policy instruments programs projects models law		comparative analysis documentary analysis
				origin		international organization		genealogy ethnography documentary analysis interview
				degree		original policy final policy		comparative analysis documentary analysis
				constraints		technical advice statements media		interview counterfactual discourse analysis documentary analysis

Source: The Author, based on Dolowitz and Marsh (2000), Gonnet (2012, 2018), Stone (2004, 2019), Slaughter (2004).

Framework 7 is a way of operationalizing concepts of policy transfer based on the international relations' neoliberal theory. In other words, when combining theories, it is possible to specify a methodological tool to measure/evidence each indicator/variable of analysis.

### 2.2.3 Transfer means contact between agents and similarity of contents

As observed in Graph 1, it is common that researches combine methods to demonstrate a policy transfer process empirically. This may occur due to the complexity and the number of variables/indicators involved. This combination depends

on the focus of analysis that the researcher has. However, it is relevant to observe Framework 8:

Framework 9 - Policy convergence and related concepts

	<b>Policy convergence</b>	<b>Isomorphism</b>	<b>Policy transfer</b>	<b>Policy diffusion</b>
<b>Analytical focus</b>	Effects	Effects	Process	Process
<b>Empirical focus</b>	Policy characteristics	Organizational structures	Policy characteristics	Policy characteristics
<b>Dependent variable</b>	Similarity change	Similarity change	Transfer content Transfer process	Adoption pattern

Source: Knill (2005, p. 768)

Framework 8 was developed by Christopher Knill (2005) in order to differentiate analytical focus, empirical focus and dependent variable regarding the study of these similar concepts. In this thesis, we focus on the case of policy transfer.

In policy transfer, the analytical focus is the process; that is, it is almost impossible to isolate indicators/variables. The empirical focus is on policy characteristics; in other words, researchers have to find similarities in the policy or its know-how. While the dependent variables are content and process.

Maybe this is the reason for applying Framework 7 and demonstrating a policy transfer process empirically: to show the similarity in content (transfer content) and the contact between agents (transfer process). Any methodological choice able to show the content and the contact can evidence a policy transfer process. In the next subsection, the aim is to apply this logic to a case.

Finally, another topic has to be emphasized regarding policy transfer: intentionality. Evans (2009, p. 244) describes this element as essential in both voluntary and coercive process. In other words, it is necessary to know who are involved and what are their beliefs, what kind of resources are used, their role in the processes and the nature of the transfer they are searching.

## 2.3 CASE STUDY

To test Framework 7 suggestions, we demonstrate empirically the higher education public policy transfer from European Union to Mercosur. The proposal is described in chapters 3, 4, and 5. A final discussion – on chapter 6 – is needed to verify if the test was successful as well as to consider the advantages and disadvantages.

### 2.3.1 Chosen case: EU x Mercosur

The relationship between EU and Mercosur has recently gained media attention due to its final reaching agreement on trade. Besides consolidating “a strategic political and economic partnership and create significant opportunities for sustainable growth on both sides”, the agreement considers sensible subjects such as “migration, digital economy, research and education, human rights, including the rights of indigenous people, corporate and social responsibility, environment protection, ocean governance, (...) terrorism, money laundering and cybercrime” (EUROPEAN UNION, 2019).

There are so many cases to observe policy transfer, but the empirical case chosen for testing the proposal is higher education public policy transfer from the European Union to Mercosur. The educational field was chosen due to its importance on introducing and reinforcing cultural norms. Mintrom (2018, p. 179) considers that one of the traditional functions of teaching environments is to “introduce children to the predominant culture of their society, a crucial goal in highly multicultural societies.” This can also be applied to higher education, which can be considered a strategic area regarding the promotion movement of people movement, the circulation of ideas and values.

The focus on EU – Mercosur relation is due to scholars’ statements about the development of public policies in Mercosur based not only on experience among member-states but also on happens in other regional blocs like the European Union (MEDEIROS, MEUNIER & COCKLES, 2015; CULPI, BERNARDO, 2016). The idea is to check indications of policy transfer in higher education, specifically about Bologna Process and its related programs.

We insist on the transfer concept to analyze the empirical case because of the intentionality issues. This intentional action can be observed in Bologna’s Declaration

and its impetus that “European higher education system acquires a world-wide degree of attraction equal to our extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions” (EUROPEAN UNION, 1999). By affirming their will to have an appealing and attractive higher education system, the European Ministers of Education put it as a model for the rest of the world. This position can indicate the idea of intentionality described previously in this text, which leads us to the option of working with policy transfer on this research.

The following categories of analysis, based on Dolowitz and Marsh (2000), are addressed: reasons / motivations, actors, content, origin, degrees of transfer, constraints, demonstration.

### 2.3.2 Case and data processing

In this section, we present the case and explain the following chapters division. In addition, data source and treatment are presented. The focus of the chapters is to demonstrate empirically the higher education public policy transfer from European Union to Mercosur, with the use of Framework 7, to show similarity in content (transfer content) and contact between agents (transfer process).

In the third chapter, the aims were to map the contact between Educational Mercosur and other international organizations, focusing on the European Union. Based on the enhancement proposal, we adopted a network analysis as well as interviews to identify which agents – international institutions – are being highlighted for following educational organs of the regional bloc: Meeting of Ministers of Education, Regional Coordinating Committee, Regional Coordination Commission on Higher Education. With this, it was possible to observe that EU plays a vital role in educational public policy design; however, it was not the only agent involved in the process.

In the fourth chapter, the aim is to demonstrate the projects that these international organizations, one of those with the European Union, have helped Educational Mercosur to develop. Through interviews with key agents and a documentary analysis of the Mercosurian *actas*, as it was recommended on Framework 7, the projects on higher education were analyzed to identify its content, origin, and a probable degree of transfer.

In the fifth chapter, the objective is to identify the EU strategy for Mercosur in the higher education field. According to the Framework 7 and sources such as Mercosurian, European documents and interviews with key agents, a process-tracing

exercise was done for identification of how the EU acts towards Mercosur and Latin America concerning higher education.

The sixth and last chapter evaluate the public policy transfer framework proposal. Testing of the model during chapters 3, 4, and 5 allowed for reflection upon it and its usability. It may have positive and negative aspects; the point is if the affirmative aspects outweigh the adverse ones, and how the latter can be resolved.

### 3 AGENTS<sup>9</sup>

There are many agents involved in policy transfer processes, divided through nine categories, as described in previous chapters. Since this case focus on Mercosur relations on higher education, especially those with other international institutions, the problem-question of this chapter was: “What were the international institutions that worked with Educational Mercosur?”. The objective was to map the contact between Educational Mercosur and other international organizations – focusing on the European Union.

#### 3.1 FOCUS ON AGENTS AND ORIGIN

Mercosur has recognized education as playing a central role in regional integration, as it is possible to observe in its documents. In the first documents of bloc’s Ministry of Education meetings in 1992, they affirm that education should follow the regional integration process to face, as a geocultural block, challenges in production, scientific, and technological advances and democratic consolidation.

The role of education in the regional integration process is recognized as a tool for reaching economic, social, scientific-technological, and cultural development of the region. The ministers also expressed their appreciation for the support of international organizations (IOs) – such as UNESCO, OEA, OEI – and their interest in participating in exchanging activities with the European Economic Community in the context of cooperation and educational integration.

One the one hand, education is also considered a strategic area that deals with the circulation of ideas and values. On the other hand, Mercosur is an arena for sharing both and promoting the synthesis and dissemination of programs among member States (PEREIRA et al., 2018). Therefore, policy transfer theory and neoliberalism seem to be a possible choice for analyzing it.

The object of diffusion or transfer is not only a policy (content, goals, and instruments) but also institutions, ideologies, attitudes, concepts, and negative lessons. Especially in Mercosur's educational area, it is common for governments to

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<sup>9</sup> A version of this chapter was presented on FLACSO-ISA Joint Conference in July 2018, in Quito, Ecuador. Another one at I Seminário de Pós Graduação em Políticas Públicas in 2016, in Curitiba, Brazil.

search for higher education best practices examples (MERCOSUL 2020a, b, c). Higher education is taken into consideration for this work as a public good.

Public policies should be treated as investments. In the case of schooling and education, it is expected that “when individuals receive good schooling, the odds are raised that they will go on to be productively employed, taxpaying citizens who make limited demands on government services” (MINTROM, 2018, p.14). Continuing the discussion on the value of higher education, he points out that by attending a university and holding a degree, not only will the student have benefits but also the society as a whole. The reasons for that is the knowledge produced in a various areas – industry, products, market, management, customer relations, and others, as well as the payoff for obtaining an academic degree and aggregation of social value in work.

Education – and we add here higher education – on regional integration acquires a more important role since it is when the predominant culture of a society is introduced (MINTROM, 2018). “Furthermore, raising educational and training levels is deemed crucial to assure its irreversibility, and to strengthening the regional integration Project” (BIANCULLI, 2018a, p. 8). Moreover, education can help with many other regional integration questions such as identity, culture, reciprocity, interculturality, and respect for diversity (BIANCULLI, 2018a).

It is on higher education that one has contact with another culture, science, great authors from different areas, and a profession and knowledge that accompany us throughout our lives. In this context, we should understand where our educational models are coming from. According to the policy transfer theory, these examples/objects can have as origin past experiences, governments - local authorities, municipal and national governments - and even international organizations (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 1996, 2000).

This chapter focuses on agents, specifically on international organizations (GONNET 2016; STONE 2004) and countries that might be serving as an example for Mercosur higher education policies. On the one hand, there is a tendency of public policy to focus on state and in relation to transfer to its official actors such as bureaucrats, politicians, and state agencies (STONE, 2004). On the other hand, one should stress the importance of IOs in the diffusion of ideas and normative models (GONNET, 2016).

### 3.1.1 Theoretical background

The role of international organizations as agents was already stressed in the first chapter of the thesis. Bernardo and Pereira (2018) even reinforce that they can offer technical support in some areas or resources to put into practice some policies. As they administrate technical and monetary resources and produce information on different areas of public policy, IOs can model social reality (GONNET, 2016). They mention Gonnet's framework for identifying IOs actions through which they exercise their power: i) monetary loans; ii) formal and informal technical support to policy development; iii) mediation of research and discussion on international trends and national policies; iv) best practices (GONNET, 2016, p .92).

As policy transfer agents, international organizations are capable of transfer norms and principles for States and other IOs (STONE, 2003, p. 12). As a collective agent, international organizations collaborate to build consensus on a political paradigm. In this last point, the performance of epistemic communities stands out. (GONNET, 2012, p. 4).

Epistemic communities arise in a context of uncertainties and concerns caused by the increasing complexity of world problems and agents' diversity when international policy coordination becomes more complicated and necessary. In this scenario, to have control over knowledge and information becomes a dimension of power in the diffusion of new ideas and information that can lead to patterns of behavior. (HAAS, 1992)

The characteristics of epistemic communities, according to Haas (1992), are:

i) a shared set of normative beliefs and principles: foundation based on values for social action;

ii) casual beliefs: related to practical analyzes that collaborate to outline the policy relations and expected results;

iii) notions of validity: criteria for weighing and validating knowledge within a domain;

iv) common entrepreneurial policy: practical application, considering its professional competence, to a set of problems.

The epistemic communities approach requires the observation of these characteristics to differentiate them from other political groups. It is not just about

defending an idea but about knowledge, practice, and validity; this gives them the authority to act within a domain and make them particular concerning other groups. This notion allows differentiation of groups within the analyzed international organizations - the European Union and Mercosur, which will be observed in the next section, focused on mapping the agents.

Considering that information is the product of human interpretations of physical and social phenomena, epistemic communities can be considered sources for this type of information and consultancy. Moreover, as these networks consolidate their power within organizations, they tend to institutionalize and expand their influence. These specialists become important in assisting decision-makers as they collaborate to reduce uncertainties and understand current problems and future trends since there is a wide range of issues on the agenda. (HAAS, 1992)

When dealing with uncertainties and new situations, there is a conditioning role of previous beliefs and established procedures; in this condition, there is a tendency to identify and interpret problems according to past frameworks and protocols, trying to solve them with the same methods in similar cases (HAAS, 1992). There would be a habit of propensity or tendency to think, or act based on previous experiences, whether due to stimuli, contingencies or contexts (PESSALI, 2015). For example, politicians "confronted with intractable problems will consider, as a matter of routine, the policy strategies and political-management techniques utilized in other countries, especially where there are pre-existing cultural, political, and linguistic affinities" (PECK, THEODORE, 2001 p. 430). By reflecting upon the perspective adopted in this thesis, as it is in a negotiation with a regional bloc with longer development time, including in the educational one, Mercosur representatives tend to value the partner's successful experiences. Perhaps this construction of consensus and diffusion of successful experience is already the result of work by epistemic communities/networks.

Epistemic communities play a prominent role in building international policy consensus and coordination. For Haas (1992), to deal with a specific problem together, governments need to reach an understanding and consensus about nature and scope as well as possible implications for others in the same area. In addition to this consensus building, they can influence national and international governments, through the occupation of specific niches in regulatory and advisory bodies.

We could infer that the epistemic communities are part of the “New World Order” described by Anne Marie Slaughter (2004). Maybe these professionals - with a shared set of normative and casual beliefs, the notion of validity and common entrepreneurial policy – are those civil servants with technical expertise that represent the government in international organizations. For instance, when there is a Higher Education Meeting in Mercosur, the member-States do not send someone from the Foreign Office, but rather someone from the Ministry of Education.

This “New World Order” would be “an intricate three-dimensional web of links between disaggregated state institutions” (SLAUGHTER, 2004, p. 15). The States would be the basis, the international system would be above them as well as international organizations – but the latter “apart from and above” their member States. The international organizations are seen as establishing this global order or international bureaucracy, which might function as the same as the domestic level. At the same time, while civil servants are developing their activities nationally, they “are also reaching out to their foreign counterparts to help address the governance problems that arise when national agents and issues spill beyond their borders.” (SLAUGHTER, 2004, p. 16)

For Slaughter (2004), there are vertical and horizontal networks in this world order. The vertical networks are less numerous and are those supranational entities since they can be “far more effective in performing the functions States charge them with if they can link up directly with national government institutions” (SLAUGHTER, 2004, p. 20). The horizontal networks are the ones that “exchange information and to collect and distill best practices. This information exchange can also take place through technical assistance and training programs provided by one country’s officials to another” (SLAUGHTER, 2004, p. 19).

That is why we have mentioned the proximity of the epistemic community (HAAS, 1992) to horizontal networks (SLAUGHTER, 2004). In both cases, there is the idea of knowledge, technical assistance, and the possibility of dealing with the practical application of a policy. These are somehow international organizations who can act as agents by hiring and bringing together these professionals to pursue their values and norms.

The networking logic considerably changes processes of production, experience, power, and culture; one of the examples is the growing interest in the concept of ‘transnational policy networks.’ Although being applied for contexts such

as European Union, it refers to the processes where the States do not have the monopoly over policymaking; instead, it is just another agent, among others (LANGENHOVE; GATEV, 2019, p. 276). In the present context, it is just another agent together with international organizations, epistemic communities, vertical networks, horizontal networks.

### 3.2 METHODOLOGY: NUMBER OF MENTIONS AND NETWORK ANALYSIS

To develop this network analysis, it is required to use the epistemic community approach and the concept of horizontal networks. When thinking about establishing an analysis methodology for policy change, about epistemic communities, it is necessary to observe the considerations brought by Haas (1992): i) level of analysis and area of study; ii) factors that influence political change; iii) mechanisms and effects of change; iv) primary agents.

First, we need to observe the level of analysis and area of study. The level of analysis could be transnational, state administrators, and international institutions. Furthermore, the level of analysis is an international institutional: Mercosur; and, its interaction with others. For that, we would concentrate on the area of study, which is education. It is specifically in higher education which leads to the analysis of all forums related to it: Meeting of Ministers of Education, Regional Coordinating Committee, Regional Coordination Commission on Higher Education.

Second, an analysis of the factors that influence political change takes place. These criteria are pointed out by Haas (1992) as those that influence political change: knowledge, causal beliefs, and principles. In this sense, the factors that stand out in the Mercosur with European Union relationship and other international institutions are the knowledge and belief in cooperation in education as relevant to the regional integration process.

Third, we need to reflect on the mechanisms and effects of change. Haas (1992) points out the diffusion of information and learning as mechanisms of effect and change. These concepts are not only aligned but also represent one of the main discussions of public policy transfer theories, as they can indicate the reasons for engaging in a process (voluntary, coercive, or mixed). Mercosur always makes references to international institutions on its *actas*; there is even a study about European Union references (MEDEIROS, COCKLES, MEUNIER, 2015).

Fourth, the identification of the primary agents occurs. It is interesting to note that there are types of the sphere in question, according to what Haas (1992) exposes. On the one hand, there is a political group related to the representation of States within the blocs; in the case of Mercosur, that would be the Meeting of Ministers of Education. On the other hand, there are specialized forums on the subject of higher education, linked to the elaboration and proposition of policies within this sphere; in the case of Mercosur, that would be the Regional Coordinating Committee, and the Regional Coordination Commission on Higher Education. The author also points out that it is the combination of the common set of beliefs and causal principles with a consensual knowledge base and the common political initiative that distinguishes epistemic communities from several other groups.

After all, the next stage consists in proceeding to two exercises: the number of mentions and network analysis. A number of mentions would help verify which are the States or organizations that are frequent in the organs' discussions. At the same time, network analysis would show which organ tends to observe each organization. Both exercises can be carried out by exploring the Mercosur Educational documents in general and collecting all available reports/actas of the following decision-making organs, which were organized according to the list in Appendix 2<sup>10</sup>.

In the case of the number of mentions, we started to organize the data, following Alves, Figueiredo Filho e Henrique (2015). These 773 documents – reports and their attachments – were uploaded to *Nvivo* database, and we have divided the work into two parts: identification of countries and identification of IOs. In the identification of countries, for verifying the word frequency at *Nvivo*, we have searched each country's name of the list available in Appendix 3<sup>11</sup> and set each one as a category/node. By the end of it, we had the list of how many times each country/organization (category/node) was mentioned in each document.

In the case of the network analysis, the process requires manual identification in the reports/*actas* of how many times each organ was mentioned – the line width illustrates that. We could have an idea of each international institution more observed as an example or have developed joint projects with Mercosur members.

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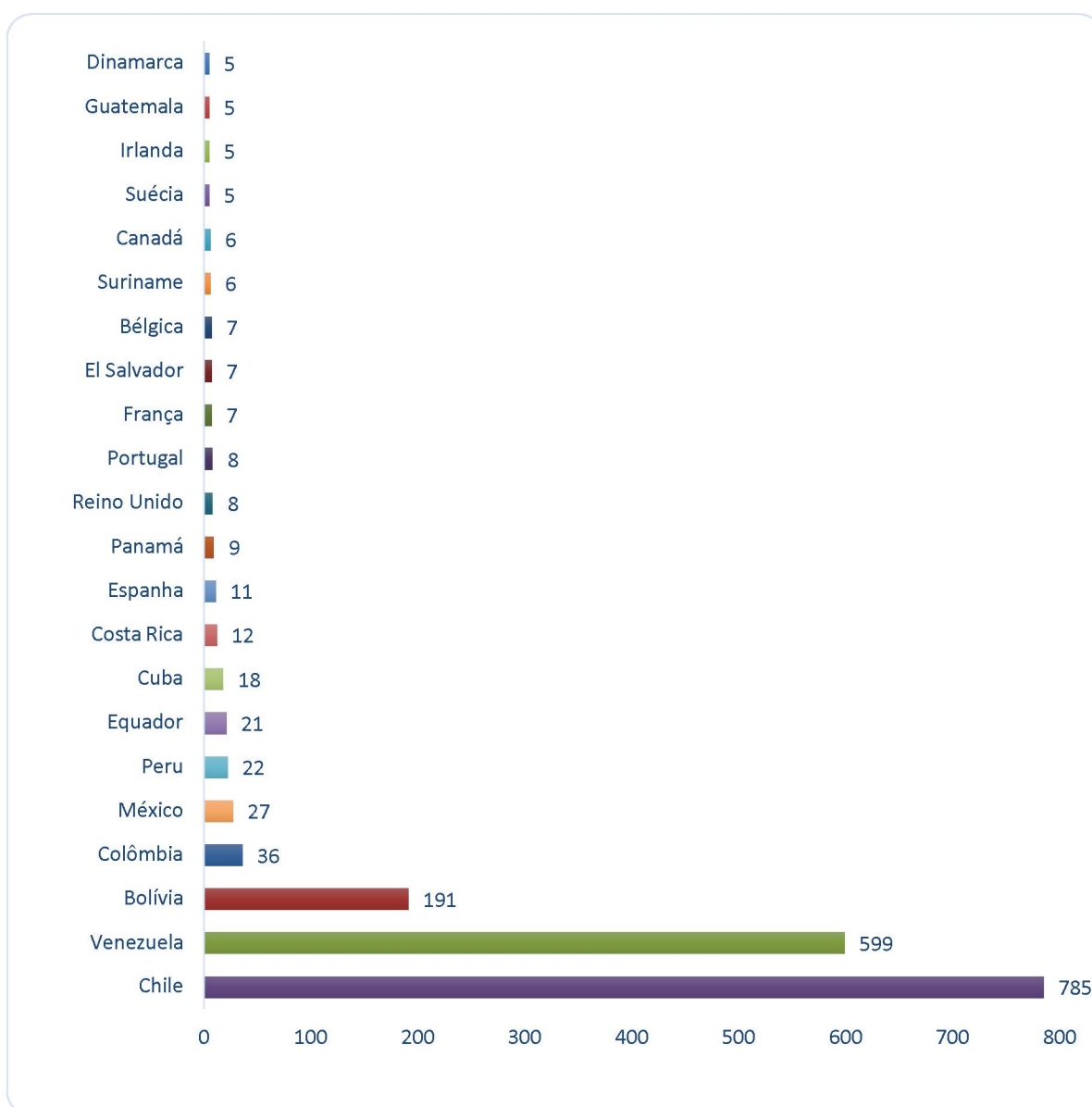
<sup>10</sup> Appendix 2 is a list of Mercosur's availability of documents per educational organ and year.

<sup>11</sup> Appendix 3 is a list of countries set as categories/nodes at *NVivo*.

### 3.3 MAIN AGENTS: UN, OAS, OIE, EU

Although countries are not the focus of this thesis, it is worth observing the most mentioned the countries most mentioned (at least five times) on the reports apart from Mercosur original members:

Graph 2 - Countries most mentioned on the reports of Appendix 1, apart from Mercosur original members



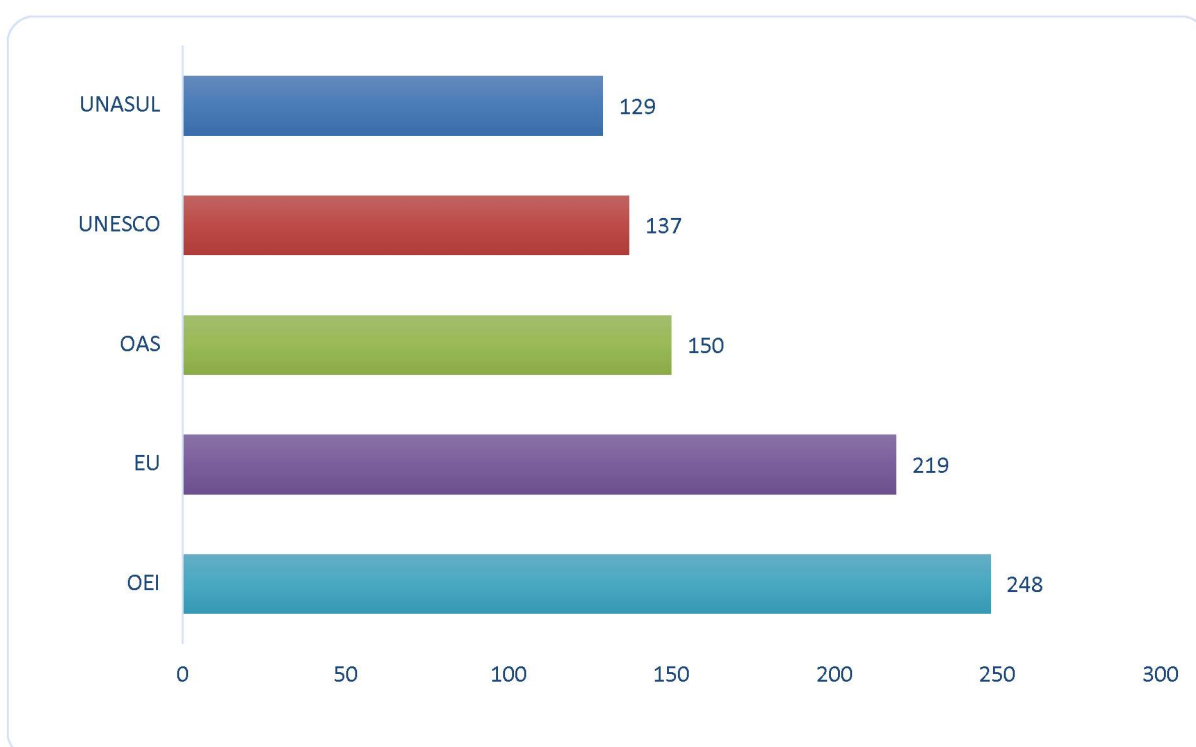
Source: Mercosul (2020a,b, c)

It was expected that associate states such as Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, and other Latin American countries, had a significant number of mentions; at last, they are part of the reality Mercosur is in. The impressive is that European countries (Spain,

the United Kingdom, Portugal, France, Belgium, Sweden, Ireland, and Denmark) are also on this list. Another interesting point to be noticed about North American countries is that Canada appears on this list while the United States is not much mentioned on Mercosur documents.

Despite not being the focus of the thesis, observing the countries was important to give us a hint to the next step: IOs. In the identification of IOs, we have opted for running a query of the 1000 most mentioned words on the documents. Then, manually we have separated the names of IOs that have appeared on the list (UNASUL, UNESCO, OEA, UE, OEI). Graphic 3 shows the results:

Graph 3 - IOS most mentioned on the reports of Appendix 1



Source: Mercosul (2020a, b, c)

An important point to be analyzed is that the EU has more references on Mercosur's documents than UNESCO and OAS. It is not a surprise that regional organizations of Latin America and a universal organization such as UNESCO, which is part of the UN, would appear in the research. However, it should be stressed that another region's organization seems to be playing a relevant role in higher education public policy design.

Having accessed these results and as a curiosity, we have decided to combine both countries' and IOs number of mentions in a word cloud. The result is presented in Figure 3:

Figure 3 - Most mentioned agents on Mercosur reports/actas



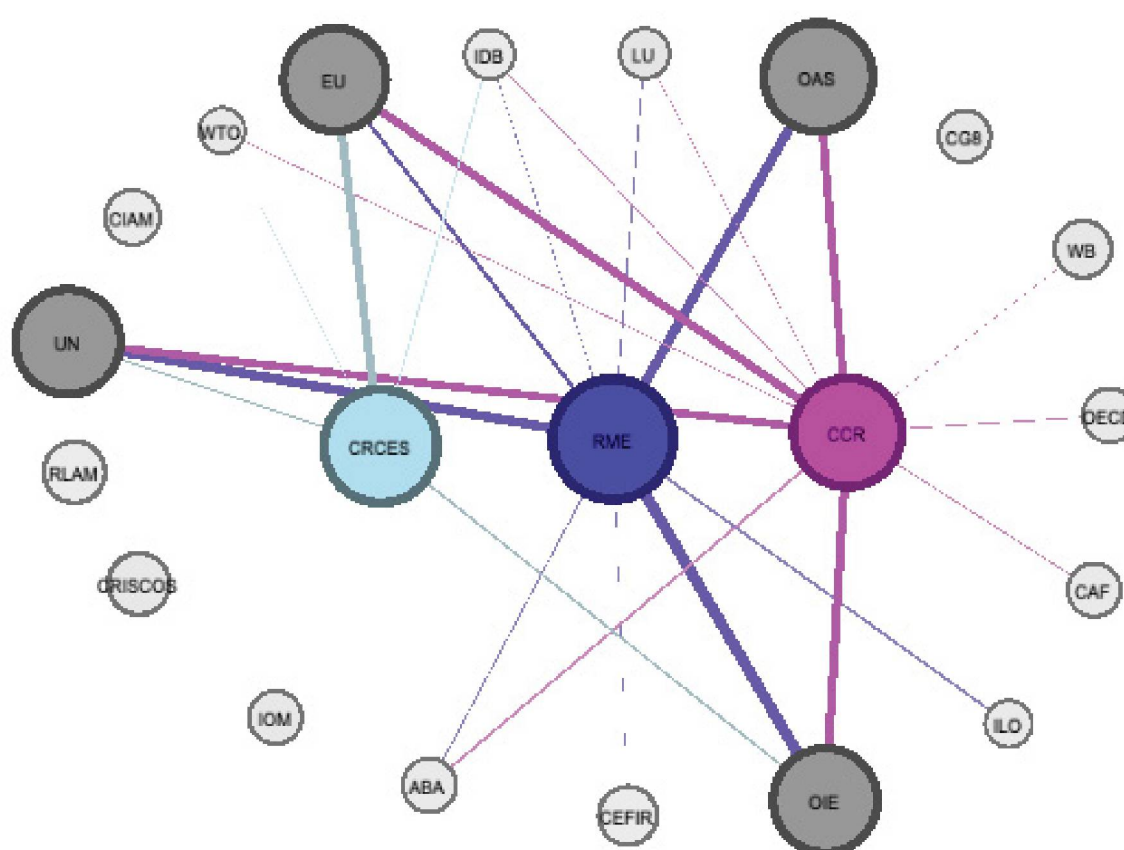
Source: Mercosul (2020a, b, c)

In this case, countries have also been considered. By observing it, is the fact that some IOs are mentioned as many times as some member States stands out. For example, EU, OAS, and OEI seem to be at the same level as Uruguay and Paraguay and a higher level than associate States such as Peru and Bolivia. By recalling that Mercosur is a space of promoting the synthesis and dissemination of policies and programs (BERNARDO, 2015), these organizations may be conditioning the design of the IO's higher education policy design.

Until this moment, there are just some mentions, but what does that mean? That gives us a hint to the next step, and to avoid probable doubts, we decided to proceed

to network analysis and give meaning to the results found. Since this thesis is about international organizations as agents, we excluded the States and just left for the next exercise the international organizations and the international institutions. Graph 4 shows the result:

Graph 4 - Network graph of IOs mentions in Mercosur reports



EU	European Union	CEFIR	Training Center for Regional Integration
OAS	Organization of American States	ABA	Andrés Bello Agreement
UN	United Nations	IOM	International Organization for Migration
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank	CRISCOS	Council of Rectors for the Integration of the Central West Sub-region of South America
LU	Latin Union	RLAM	Latin American Network
CG8	G8 Summit	CIAM	Ibero-American Summit
WB	World Bank	WTO	World Trade Organization
CAF	Andean Development Corporation	CRCES	Regional Coordination Commission on Higher Education
ILO	International Labour Organization	RME	Meeting of Ministers of Education
OEI	Organization of Ibero-American States	CCR	Regional Coordinating Commission

Source: Mercosul (2020a, b, c)

This network analysis shows a strong link between the three Mercosurian organs – RME, CCR, and CRCES – to OIE, OAS, EU, UN. By following the Haas division, it is possible to observe that the political group, or Meeting of Ministers of Education, is more linked to institutions like the UN, OAS, and OIE. The epistemic community, or the horizontal network, which would be the Regional Coordination Commission on Higher Education, is more related to the EU.

These results also illustrate what Chazournes (2017) postulates about the interaction between universal and regional organizations when they have a common goal that is higher education. There is an interaction of a global, two regional organizations in America and a regional organization of Europe working towards integration in education.

All these organizations might indicate that education might be reaching a global concern and could be considered a global public good. It can comprise the spatial, impact, and temporal dimension, especially when dealing with a whole region negotiation/agreement. Bologna Process is an example of an education action that has impacted all three aspects.

Actually, the internationalization of higher education is not a new fact. At the beginning the use of education as a global public good used to assure international presence, visibility, cooperation; currently, the transnationalization of education brought new challenges regarding globalization of markets and development of new educational technologies. (BOTTO, 2016, p.166)

As a conclusion, the main point of this chapter was mapping the contact between Educational Mercosur and other international institutions/organizations. We expected that the EU had a central role in the higher education public policy transfer. Instead, other organizations - apparently - were just as important. Through the network analysis, it was possible to confirm that Mercosur has worked together with OIE, OAS, EU, UN. This is the first step to talk about a policy transfer process; the next is a similarity in content.

## 4 MOTIVATION, CONTENT AND DEGREES

As previously mentioned, the first challenge about showing a policy transfer process is demonstrating the contact between parts, which was approached in the previous chapter. However, it is still an open question to prove the similarities in content. As so, the problem-question of this chapter is “what are the similarities in contents to evidence the policy transfer process as well as its degree?”. The objective to demonstrate the projects that these international organizations, as well as the European Union, have helped Educational Mercosur to develop.

### 4.1 FOCUS ON MOTIVATION, CONTENT AND DEGREES

Perhaps these three variables are inter-related. That is particularly true when there is a consensus about the importance of the subject as it happens with education; that is, a new global public good.

To illustrate the importance of education as a global public good, one of the questions posed for some key agents in this policy transfer process was about the relation between education and regional integration. Van der Hijden (2019) affirms that it “is the basis for people’s identity, their success as a citizen and as a worker, so it is very basic for every citizen.” For instance, when asked about the same question, Koetsenruijter (2019a) emphasized it as a “key competence for the development of societies and social development and even economic development” since there would be a relation in terms of education and understanding of general society, history, geography, relations between countries.

These answers reveal how the three variables could be inter-related. There is this idea of consensus, interdependence, preoccupation with the status quo.

#### 4.1.1 Theoretical Background

As previously explained in this thesis, the reasons for a jurisdiction to engage in a policy transfer can be voluntary, coercive, or a mixture. The process is voluntary when there is dissatisfaction with the status quo, and a seek for a change. A coercive transfer happens if a jurisdiction imposes a model for another one. A mixture is a result of the interdependence between those involved or a consensus on a problem.

In the case of higher education, there was probably a mixture since education is mentioned in Mercosur agreements as essential for regional integration (MERCOSUL 2020a, b, c). There is also the interdependence between the following international organizations: OIE, OAS, EU, UN; or, maybe they were interacting for reaching a common goal, as Chazournes (2017) postulates. In any way, there is a consensus of education as a global concern.

This brings another concept: content. We do not consider only the policy itself as a content but also but also with the ideas and ideologies related to it (DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 2000). When referring to hard transfer it is about policy goals, policy content, policy instruments, policy programs; while soft transfer is institutions, ideologies, ideas and attitudes, and negative lessons (DOLOWITZ, 2003; STONE, 2004 *apud* BENSON, JORDAN, 2011, p. 370).

After observing the content, it is possible specify the degree. In summary, they are: i) copy: everything in the policy is transferred; ii) emulation: the idea of the policy is the object of transfer; iii) synthesis: there is a combination of policies; iv) inspiration: the policy of other jurisdiction instigates a policy change, but the outcome is not necessarily the same (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 2000, p. 13); v) abortive: “where a putative transfer is blocked by veto actors in the borrower jurisdiction” (BULMER, PADGETT, 2005, p. 106); vi) localization: “the active construction (...) of foreign ideas by local actors (...)” (ACHARYA, 2004, p. 245).

As there is more than one international organization involved, it seems that Mercosur has observed and has used it as the basis for its policies more than one model. In other words, there would probably be a synthesis. And if it is a synthesis, there are many contents involved. However, we should follow the methodology of Framework 7 for that and verify it.

## 4.2 METHODOLOGY: DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS AND INTERVIEWS

The Framework 7 suggests for motivation, content and degrees a set of methodological tools among which are documentary analysis and interviews. These both might be enough to evidence the variables and demonstrate empirically the policy transfer process, since the contact with international organizations has already been proved.

Considering the interviews, some key agents/actors and scholars<sup>12</sup> have been mapped together with the supervisors and received a presentation letter<sup>13</sup>. Once they have accepted to be interviewee, they received a consent term<sup>14</sup>, and after its explanation and signature, the interview was conducted<sup>15</sup>. Each interview was transcribed and submitted for the interviewee's approval; just after that, the text could be used in the thesis.

About the documentary analysis, it is crucial to remember that policy transfer considers as a source to demonstrate these processes: media, reports, conferences, meetings (DOLOWITZ, MARSH, 1996, 2000). Taking it into consideration, the documents that will be analyzed are the ones related to the decision making in the specific area of higher education, where the "horizontal networks" meet: Regional Coordination Commission on Higher Education.

Framework 9 can guide the documentary analysis since it explains the activities and characteristics of some policy transfer agents. By knowing the activities of international organizations, it is possible to identify how OIE, OAS, EU and UN are interacting with Mercosur.

#### Framework 10 - Indicators of National Agents and IOs

Indicators for the national actors identification		
<b>Bureaucrats:</b> refers to the actors who belong to the public administration staff. Among them, it is necessary to distinguish between career officials who arrive at a certain position by a trust appointment.		
Characteristics	Attributions of position: managerial or medium position, functions and resources.	CCR, CRCES (horizontal network)
	Characteristics of the institutions to which these actors belong (Ministry or Secretariats): it refers to accumulated knowledge, characteristics of the organization (such as openness to innovation, resources, organization).	
	Contacts with other actors such as NGOs, interest groups, multilateral organizations, academia and financial institutions (national or international). Meetings, assistance to seminars, exchange of documents, among others.	

<sup>12</sup> In Appendix 8, there is a list of interviewees as well as the category they represent and the reason for being chosen.

<sup>13</sup> In Appendix 4, there is a model of the presentation letter.

<sup>14</sup> In Appendix 5, there is a model of the consent term.

<sup>15</sup> In Appendix 6 and 7, there are the questions posed for EU policymakers and scholars, respectively.

Indicators for the national actors identification		
<b>Politicians:</b> refers to the actors that are part of the executive and legislative power that the positions of popular representation (President, Parliamentarians). In addition, the positions appointed by the executive branch as a burden of trust for specific jobs (Ministers, directors of other organizations, advisers).		
Characteristics	Preferences regarding the components of the programs.	RME (political group)
	Attributions of position: managerial or medium position, functions and resources	
	Characteristics of the institutions to which these actors belong (Ministries, Secretariats, assessors group and Congress): it refers to accumulated knowledge, characteristics of the organization (such as openness to innovation, resources and organization).	
	Contacts with other actors such as NGOs, interest groups, multilateral organizations, academia and financial institutions (national or international). Meetings, assistance to seminars, exchange of documents, among others.	
Indicators for the International Organization Actions		
Kind of activities	Monetary loans	MERCOSUR, OIE, OAS, EU, UN
	Formal and informal technical aids that are requested by governments to support the development of policies.	
	Mediating activities that involve research and discussion of international tendencies and national policies. These organizations would function as "spaces where all kinds of experiences and ideas can be transmitted, generated and shared", and the means of action are discussed. Mediation activities involve the hiring of experts to guide the dialogue and deliver recommendations to the bureaucrats and politicians.	
	Exhortation activities that seek a policy change. Their mediation activities' ideas and lessons are organized in plans. Actions and recommendations that look for knowledge transfer and specific policies promotion.	

Source: Adapted from Gonnet (2016, p. 90-92), Haas (1992), Slaughter (2004)

A parallel could be established between bureaucrats and horizontal networks, especially in the case of Mercosur. Mayal (2017) explains the international organizational way of working in the educational area; each beginning of the semester, there is a demand from the CCR representative to the country in charge of the presidency pro tempore to circulate an agenda proposal until a consensus is reached. He states that "MERCOSUR does not have its structure; it has only groups within each national structure. MERCOSUR rules, as far as I know, require consensus or nothing. If no consensus is reached on a decision, the decision is usually postponed."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> In the original: "O MERCOSUL não tem estrutura própria, apenas grupos dentro de cada estrutura nacional. As regras do MERCOSUL, até onde sei, demandam consenso geral ou nada. Se não se chega a um consenso sobre uma decisão, normalmente adia-se a decisão."

### 4.3 A POLICY SYNTHESIS

The result of the documentary analysis is presented in the Framework 10, which shows how other international organizations interact with Educational Mercosur in the higher education field.

Framework 11 - International organizations' actions on Mercosur's higher education

International organization	Programs/Projects developed	Means/tools
Organization of American States (OAS)	ESPOL: Graduate Program in Public Policy	Monetary loans/ Financing
	Training Young Entrepreneurs Project in Universities to Strengthen the Link with the Productive and Technological Sector	Monetary loans/ Financing
Organization of Ibero-American States (OEI)	Academic Exchange and Mobility Program (PIMA)	Best practice (observation)
	Regional Academic Mobility Program for Courses Accredited by the Experimental Undergraduate Course Accreditation Mechanism in MERCOSUR	Mercosur invitation to representatives/experts
European Union (EU)	Mobility in the EU-LAC Common Higher Education Area	Discussion and document improvement
	Comparative study of the mobility programs of Latin America and the European Union	Best practice (observation)
	2002-2004 Action Plan for the UEALC Area. Revision of the first version of the project's guiding principles, which will be classified as "general" and "related to mobility".	Discussion and document improvement

	Projects "International Seminar on Higher Education Quality Assessment and Accreditation" and "UEALC Information Forum on Quality Assurance in Higher Education"	Joint projects supported by the IDB.
	European Union Support Project for MERCOSUR Mobility Program	Monetary loans/ Financing (DCI – ALA number/ 2006/18-586)  EU Experts
<b>United Nations (UN)</b>	MERCOSUR Seminar on Quality in Higher Education	International best practice (observation)  UNESCO Experts
	Regional Conference on Higher Education	Best practice (observation)

Source: The Author 2020, based on Mercosul (2020a, b, c)

Framework 10 proves the synthesis of policies in higher education policy transfer in Mercosur. At least four international organizations are acting together in the educational field:

- Organization of American States (OAS)
- Organization of Ibero-American States (OEI)
- United Nations (UN)
- European Union (EU)

The interaction between universal and regional organizations have been discussed in an international law perspective (CHAZOURNES, 2017), a policy transfer approach (GONNET, 2016) and from the international relations point of view (HERZ, 2017). In common, it is reinforced that both institutions interact when they share the same interests and goals.

Dealing with a legal perspective, regional organizations can participate in the implementations of universal organizations objectives and goals. The universal organizations tend to develop a sphere of influence in their relationship with regional

organizations, and especially after 1945, it is possible to observe a mutual influence between both in a variety of areas (CHAZOURNES, 2017). This is noticeable in the educational field of Mercosur (regional organization) in which UN (universal organization) is relevantly mentioned; the presence of UN is also highlighted in Bianculli (2018b) and Serikawa (2013). Another point is the interaction of regional organizations such as OAS, OEI and EU in the same subject.

From the policy transfer approach, universal and regional IOs can act in various themes and in those that share the same objectives and interests, they can converge and defend particular policies and programs by different actions. As it was previously mentioned IOs power can be exercised by monetary loans, technical support, mediation of research a discussion about policies as well as best practices (GONNET, 2016). IOs also promotes a space for sharing experiences and best practices, and together with the actions of epistemic communities, that might result in the transfer process (DOLOWTIZ; MARSH, 2000). Their actions were clearly illustrated on Framework 10 with the OAS, OEI, UN and EU's use of best practices, monetary loans, presence of experts, to build consensus, joint projects development, models in a variety of contents as it was listed.

About the international relations point of view, concerning global and regional governance, Herz (2018) points out the new functions of IOs and the interconnections of their projects for cooperation. Since UNESCO is a part of UN dealing with the educational theme, it is expected that its projects would be interconnected to Mercosur's ones.

It happens with all other international organizations; it is part of global governance in the field of education. As Waldow (2009, p. 480), the similarity in policies is not only a result of direct borrowing. 'International discursive currents,' 'intra and supra-national bodies (such as international organizations),' are also taking part in these processes of forming consensus, observation, and imitation.

There is an international benchmarking on some sectors, and it might have an impact on national officials and the design and choice of policies; taking into consideration the educational field, besides UN actions, other examples are Programme International Student Assessment (PISA) rankings (on education achievements), World Bank Education (RAADSCHELDERS; VERHEIJEN, 2019, p. 50). And so that happens with the Mercosur Mobility Program supported by the European Union, this "Europeanized PMM discards the accumulated experience in

Mercosur on the basis of implementation (learning) of ‘best practices’ based on indicators, benchmarking and models from the European core” (AZEVEDO, 2014, p. 11).

All things considered, the motivation of this policy transfer process is a mixture, as there is an interdependence between countries. Botto (2016, p. 167) affirms that:

Both internationalization and transnationalization are conceptual stylizations which belong to the world of ideas. In practice, these two dynamics rather co-exist. In the case of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the internationalization of HE has traditionally prevailed through the promotion of interuniversity cooperation programs (...) On the opposite side of the debate, the World Trade Organization (WTO) promoted the transnationalization of HE in the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)

This shows how universal organizations have been working with the theme: through the promotion of interuniversity cooperation programs and transnationalization of higher education. In other words, there is a consensus on how to deal with this global public good, based on agreements and understandings promoted by universal international organizations.

Botto (2016, p. 167) also points out that “this global debate also arrived at the regional level through so-called new regionalism (...), in the 1990s, reflect the processes of transnationalization occurring at the global level, within the framework of the WTO.” Although there are just a few mentions concerning WTO in Graph 4, which is the reason one has not to deepen the research about it for Framework 10, this can also be proved by the robust presence of the EU and its strong push in the higher education.

At this point, we used to believe that the European model would be predominant in Mercosurian policies. However, network analysis has proved that it was not the only one. Actually, according to Bianculli (2019), “in this respect the EU would support what is already going on at Mercosur, for example regional cooperation in education.” For the researcher, the European Union and its models/strategies were only one of the models the Mercosur took into account when reflecting /elaborating their own. After all, the EU puts their higher education project as an example for the rest of the world as we can observe at the Bologna Declaration text:

the vitality and efficiency of any civilization can be measured by the appeal that its culture has for other countries. We need to ensure that the European higher education system acquires a world-wide degree of attraction equal to our extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions. (EUROPEAN UNION, 1998)

In fact, Bologna Declaration is just a writing of the work they have been developing for over thirty years. Although it is not originally a process from European Union – since there are members who do not belong to the regional organization –, it is an essential tool for them not only in terms of European Citizenship but in terms of “soft power”.

With regard to the idea of European Citizenship, Gutierrez (2019), while answering this researcher about education as a key component to regional integration, declared that “the EU the action that the European Commission did in education were crucial in this feeling of European citizenship (...)This has achieved through mobility and through cooperation in the higher education level” .

About the idea of soft power, Azevedo (2014, p. 3) sustains that it “amplifies the ‘soft power’ (Nye, 2002) of the EU, because other regions and non-European countries have sought to establish cooperation agreements and engage in reforms which converge with it”. In other words, this degree of attraction is the soft power they aim to have.

Van der Hijden (2019), when asked about the advances of the Bologna Process in terms of European integration, explains that “it has brought us on the continent a useful light standardization, not total uniformization but a light standardization.” He believes that it is a very straightforward process, and it is not colonialism. They support those who want to learn with their experience through dialogue and projects, what we can observe on Framework 10. Koetsenruijter (2019a) also points out as a manner of supporting participation in workshops and setting up programs that specifically target those countries.

However, presenting themselves as an example and having Mercosur benefiting from their programs does not mean that the Southern Cone Countries are not aware of the differences and the kind of process, they might be engaging in. Paulo Mayal (2017) who used to be a Mercosur representative ponders about observing other international organizations such as European Union “MERCOSUR has projects

financed by the European Union, and by the Organization of Iberoamerican States, so it is natural that they study these blocks, even so, I would not say that it is something they are used to”<sup>17</sup>.

To sum up, this chapter aimed to identify the motivation, the content, and the degree of policy transfer. We have followed the agents defined in the previous section, OIE, OAS, EU, and UN. As motivation, a mixture was evidenced due to the international consensus in the higher education field as well as the interdependence between parts. As content, we have identified mobility projects, action plans, quality standards documents. As a degree, it is clear that it is a synthesis; actually, this confirms the Educational Mercosur is a stage for formulating and promoting the synthesis and dissemination of programs among member States (BERNARDO, 2015; PEREIRA et al., 2018; MARIN, 2011).

Notwithstanding the role of various international organizations in the development of Mercosurian higher education policies, we would like to drop some lines about the European Union. The research for this thesis started looking for pieces of evidence of the inspiration of Mercosur from the European Union's policies. Then, we had two surprises: i) Mercosur has observed more IOs, and ii) European Union's actions towards Mercosur and Latin America. As a matter of fact, the European Union's efforts deserve a chapter – the next chapter.

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<sup>17</sup> In the original: “O MERCOSUL tem projetos financiados pela União Européia, e pela Organização dos Estados Iberoamericanos, então é natural que estudem esses blocos, mesmo assim, não diria que é um costume”

## 5 EUROPEAN UNION AS AN AGENT IN THIS ARENA<sup>18</sup>

According to chapters 3, 4 and 5, we could demonstrate empirically the policy process transfer process from IOs - OIE, OAS, EU, UN - to Mercosur. They have provided a synthesis of higher education policies to the Southern Cone. However, we should remember that this thesis started focusing on the role of European Union in the process, which is still an open question. Since little is known about it, the problem-question of this chapter is *“What was the EU strategy towards Mercosur?”*. The objective is to identify the EU strategy for Mercosur in higher education field.

### 5.1 FOCUS ON EU X MERCOSUR AND LATIN AMERICA

With regard to the relation EU X MERCOSUR, or maybe EU X Latin America, the analysis could be about IO to IO or region to region relations. But the point here is why the discussion has been expanded from Mercosur to Latin America. Some findings, from interviewing key agents, led to the conclusion of ‘EU multilevel action.’

In terms of countries, authors such as Azevedo (2014) state the European Union’s interference in national policies of Brazil and Argentina. Regarding international organizations, this thesis demonstrates the relation between European Union and Mercosur. However, when interviewing a police officer from the European Union the actions towards Latin American region started to receive more attention, which has also been studied by Barlete (2019).

Moreover, higher education is becoming an essential element in these multilevel relations:

Higher education is today, more than ever, a key component of any strategy aiming at sustainable development. In a growing global economy that relies heavily on qualified human capital, research and innovation, higher education and the mobility of researchers across borders and sectors are tools to enhance competitiveness, attract and add value to investments and businesses. The quality of higher education systems and research also determines the capacity of any given country to effectively face its challenges and collectively shape its own future. As such, higher education and research cooperation is becoming part of international relations. (EUROPEAN COMMISSION/EACEA/EURYDICE, 2015, p. 16)

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<sup>18</sup> Since we are writing exclusively about the EU, one explanation is essential. As all data collection for the thesis and interviews were made until January 31th, 2020, the United Kingdom is considered part of the EU. Officially it was the United Kingdom’s last day at the EU.

This statement of the European Commission illustrates exactly some characteristics of neoliberalism: the rise of actors (EU is of actor and dialogues with regions, which can be considered another example) and new themes in global agenda (education becomes part of international relations).

### 5.1.1 Theoretical Background

The European Union has been the most studied international organization due to its specific characteristics – such as supranationality – and the impact of its policies and its institutions upon its members and the rest of the world. This has been conceptualized as Europeanization. The analysis of the EU provides a toolkit of concepts and frameworks that can be adapted to global policy or transnational administration point of view since this organ has a structure that is impossible to characterize or explain its way of functioning in a simple manner. (LADI, 2019, p. 293-294)

One approach to deal with this complexity is multilevel governance. Multilevel governance is the term used to define “highly dispersed policy-making activity and the participation of multiple individual and institutional actors at various political and territorial levels (from the supranational to the local level)” (LADI, 2019, p. 295). Moreover, there is no superiority relation between levels, but interdependence among policymaking activities. In other words, the State becomes just another agent in the policymaking process and shares the international arena with agents from subnational and supranational as well as new networks with similar interests. (LANGENHOVE; GATEV, 2019, p. 276-277) Actually, this idea of networks resembles the “New World Order” of Slaughter (2004).

Despite being a first and successful example in terms of governance and regional integration, the policy parallels and lessons from the EU do not need to be followed by the rest of the world; the more efforts the EU does for exporting its model, the more probably borrowers tend to be skeptical about it (STONE; MOLONEY, 2019, p. 10). Nonetheless it was not always that way.

Some authors have pointed out the European Union’s normative power. Following the values described on treaties, ‘Normative Europe’ promotes itself and its

values as a model. Additionally, the diffusion perspective helps for the understanding of this EU's global role. "Diffusion moves beyond both structural and actor-centred explanations of policy change and helps us elaborate the opportunity and presence dimensions of EU actorness." It permits one to understand the motivations for internationalizing a policy and the EU actions to do it together with other international organizations. (LADI, 2019, p. 303-304)

The relation between two regional organizations has been increasing its relevance since the 1990s; this has been the core of the EU's external policies since then. Among these relations, the EU-Mercosur partnership is one of the most developed cases, involving technical assistance, epistemic networks to support institutionalization. So much so that "scholars have acknowledged and assessed the EU's continuous political and economic efforts to promote its own model in the region." (BIANCULLI, 2016, p. 4)

Moreover, there is an effort from the EU to promote its model both in the region and beyond the area. The farther it goes, the more skepticism there is about the dissemination of the EU policies or Europeanization. Despite European efforts to condition institutional change, Latin American, Asian and African countries tend to adapt the policies to their realities and needs. Because of that authors consider Europeanization a kind of diffusion. (BORZEL; RISSE, 2012, p. 290-291)

Medeiros (2019) explains that the EU has always had an interest in favoring the world's regionalization process, not only through discourse but also with concrete actions from the European Commission. He justifies the others' interest in the bloc as a laboratory; in other words, with due precautions, we can observe their experiences and apply considering our context. It is as if the EU is ahead in terms of regional integration experience and can alert the others.

### *Europeanization, Education and Bologna Process*

It is fundamental to start this section by reinforcing that the Bologna is not exclusively a European Union process – it has members from outside. Of course, the European Commission started to use it as one of its central policies – and model to be exported – and has a strong push on that. It is a successful policy and a powerful tool regarding citizenship feeling.

Necessarily, the European actions in higher education and Bologna Process are inter-related. When Erasmus was launched 30 years ago, there was a need to strengthen and organize the cooperation among European higher education institutions, so that universities became partners and promoted student mobility as part of their curricula. “As the demand for student mobility grew rapidly, it became clear how difficult it was for single institutions to recognise periods of study across different national higher education systems, with divergent degree structures and different academic traditions.” (EUROPEAN COMMISSION/EACEA/EURYDICE 2018, p. 6)

In the interview *EU-Mercosur relations and the policy transfer variables of analysis*, Gutierrez (2019) said that at Erasmus launching in 1987 there was no legal provision in treaties for higher education. By that time, only vocation training was mentioned in the treaty, and the Commission claimed for higher education to be assured as vocational education.

In the 1990s, the EU had already pioneering actions in the educational area and even aimed to exchange their experiences with other regional blocs. In Framework 11, there is an example of EU international cooperation actions in higher education before the Bologna Process:

#### Framework 12 - Actions before Bologna

The European Commission, before having the Bologna Process, also had successful experiences to share, such as:

- educational and training information networks, especially EURYDICE;
- mutual recognition of diplomas and titles of professional and academic effects (NARIC network centers);
- the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS);
- ERASMUS - type higher education cooperation programs, both in terms of mobility and related to the development of thematic networks;
- cooperation in vocational training and technical education;
- training of trainers;
- language teaching.

This example came from a roundtable with Mercosur.

Source: Jimenez (1998)

This example comes from a roundtable with Mercosur in which the Southern Cone bloc demonstrates interest in observing the EU's expertise in those programs mentioned. There is already a dialogue between regional organizations.

By the end of the 1990s, the Bologna Process comes as national governments' answer to the problems resulting from the student mobility. "Many higher education ministers agreed to pursue the convergence of their systems in order to facilitate institutional student exchanges and the mutual recognition of degrees and periods of study in Europe" EUROPEAN COMMISSION/EACEA/EURYDICE 2018, p. 6). The national governments and higher education ministers respond to a public good problem that reached a larger scale and might have long-term effects, that is, a global public good.

And so, they have developed a series of actions that started with the Sorbonne Declaration to promote standardization of the system:

Figure 4 - The Bologna Process: from Sorbonne to Yerevan, 1998-2015

Mobility of students and teachers	Mobility also for researchers and administrative staff	Social dimension of mobility	Portability of loans and grants	Attention to visa and work permits	Attention also to pension systems and recognition	Benchmark of 20 % by 2020 for student mobility	Explore path to automatic recognition of academic qualifications	Implementation of key commitments
A common two-cycle degree system	Easily readable and comparable degrees	Fair recognition Development of joint degrees	Inclusion of doctoral level as third cycle	QF-EHEA adopted National Qualifications Frameworks (NQFs) launched	NQFs by 2010	NQFs by 2012	Roadmaps for countries without NQF	Implementation of key commitments
		<b>Social dimension</b>	Equal access	Reinforcement of the social dimension	Commitment to national action plans	National targets for the social dimension to be measured by 2020	Widening access and completion rates	Social inclusion
		<b>Lifelong learning (LLL)</b>	Alignment of national LLL policies Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL)	Flexible learning paths	Partnerships to improve employability	LLL as a public responsibility Focus on employability	Enhance employability, LLL and entrepreneurial skills through cooperation with employers	Employability
Use of credits	A system of credits (ECTS)	ECTS and Diploma Supplement (DS)	ECTS for credit accumulation		Coherent use of tools and recognition practices	Implementation of Bologna tools	Ensure that Bologna tools are based on learning outcomes	Adoption of ECTS Users Guide
	<b>European cooperation in quality assurance (QA)</b>	Cooperation between QA and recognition professionals	QA at institutional, national and European level	European Standards and Guidelines for quality assurance (ESG) adopted	Creation of the European Quality Assurance Register (EQAR)	Quality as an overarching focus for EHEA	Allow EQAR registered agencies to perform their activities across the EHEA	Adoption of revised ESG and European Approach to QA of joint programmes
Europe of Knowledge	European dimensions in higher education	Attractiveness of the EHEA	Links between higher education and research areas	International cooperation on the basis of values and sustainable development	Strategy to improve the global dimension of the Bologna Process adopted	Enhance global policy dialogue through Bologna Policy Fora	Evaluate implementation of 2007 global dimension strategy	
								<b>Learning and Teaching: Relevance and quality</b>
1998	1999	2001	2003	2005	2007	2009	2012	2015
Sorbonne Declaration	Bologna Declaration	Prague Communiqué	Berlin Communiqué	Bergen Communiqué	London Communiqué	Leuven/ Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué	Bucharest Communiqué	Yerevan Communiqué

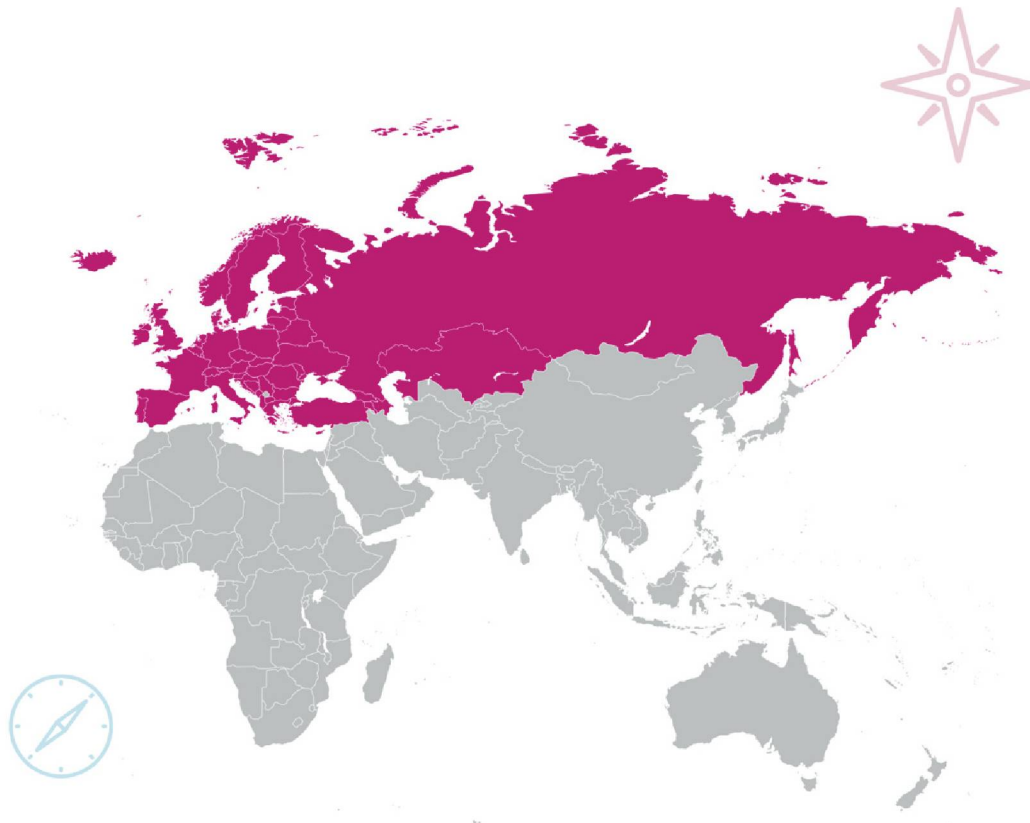
Source: EUROPEAN COMMISSION/EACEA/EURYDICE (2018, p.15)

Figure 4 illustrates the development of the Bologna Process that, in the beginning, started focusing on the mobility of students and teachers, a two-cycle degree system, the use of credits, and the Europe of Knowledge within the EU members. Nowadays, it is a much more complex system that goes beyond the EU members. According to Gutierrez (2019), although the EU has no power to intervene over the national policies of education, it does provide means and tools to improve those systems.

This policymaker mentioned above emphasized the European Commission's correct action towards education, which promoted the feeling of European citizenship. For him, it is not only about belonging to Spain or Germany but being European; and so, he concludes that it was a smart act because the European Commission focused at the same time at the weakest and the strongest: the student. The students are the weakest in terms of power, whereas the strongest with regards to numbers.

In addition to integrating students, the Bologna Process has integrated Europe. As it was mentioned, it goes beyond the European Union. It goes beyond the EU because it has Non-EU members and also because it serves as a model in international cooperation with other regions. A Policy Officer of the European Commission (2019) states its leading role; despite not having only EU members, the European Commission gives a strong push on the process. Figure 5 brings an illustration of a map with Bologna Process members:

Figure 5 - European Higher Education Area (EHEA) members: 48 countries and the European Commission



Source: EUROPEAN COMMISSION/EACEA/EURYDICE (2018, p. 9)

























It is impressive to observe that countries from Asia, such as Russia, or others from the Middle East, such as Turkey, are also part of the Bologna Process. This is the reason why this catches the world's attention. Koetsenruijter (2019a) reflects upon the challenge that it represents so many different countries:

with different backgrounds and different languages. (...) And we have been able to set up to a unit an education system that is attractive to students from anywhere, from Greece to Sweden, and from the rest of the world. (...) It is interesting for anyone else if you look at the program off into university cooperation also at the level of the curricula and the professors who have exchange programs you see that is very successful.

In order to have an idea about how many members there are on the Bologna Process and which are the ones that belong or not to the EU, we have prepared Framework 12:

## Framework 13 - EHEA x EU Members

		<b>EHEA Member</b>	<b>Since</b>
EU Member		Austria	1999
		Belgium	1999
		Bulgaria	1999
		Croatia	2001
		Cyprus	2001
		Czech Republic	1999
		Denmark	1999
		Estonia	1999
		European Commission	1999
		Finland	1999
		France	1999
		Germany	1999
		Greece	1999
		Hungary	1999
		Ireland	1999
		Italy	1999
		Latvia	1999
		Lithuania	1999
		Luxembourg	1999
		Malta	1999
		Netherlands	1999
		Poland	1999
		Portugal	1999
		Romania	1999
		Slovak Republic	1999
		Slovenia	1999

		Spain	1999
		Sweden	1999
		United Kingdom	1999
		United Kingdom (Scotland)	1999
Non EU Member		Albania	2003
		Andorra	2003
		Armenia	2005
		Azerbaijan	2005
		Belarus	2015
		Bosnia and Herzegovina	2003
		Georgia	2005
		Holy See	2003
		Iceland	1999
		Kazakhstan	2010
		Liechtenstein	1999
		Moldova	2005
		Montenegro	2007
		North Macedonia	2003
		Norway	1999
		Russian Federation	2003
		Serbia	2003
		Switzerland	1999
		Turkey	2001
		Ukraine	2005

Source: The Author, based on European Higher Education Area (2020) and European Union (2020)

It is a plural group with many different countries as members; however, one member in special catches our attention: the European Commission. At the same time, the EU countries are members, and the Commission also has the same role. Moreover, in spite of having Non-Eu members, it is impossible to detach the EU and the Commission from a central role in the process.

The Policy Officer (2019) had already mentioned the European Commission's strong push in the process. Van der Hijden (2019) is more incisive about it:

Contrary to popular belief, Bologna is part of the EU. Formally Bologna is in the governmental but look at the presidency of Bologna: it's the same troika, plus the non-EU countries. Still, it is the same troika that meets with the Commission every week, so very close. (...) The EC is a voting member in Bologna, together with member states, the Commission funds all the projects, even the conferences of the ministers, the Commission funds ten times more money than all neighboring countries (...) So people who try to put something in this marriage, or try to separate EU and Bologna: they will fail, it's my thesis.

The power exerted by the European Commission in the Bologna Process through this point of view is undeniable; the organ can vote aligned with the EU-members and give a strong push in terms of financing and technical aid. However, as it was previously presented, their power goes beyond because this process serves as a model in international cooperation with other regions. For instance, the Policy Officer (2019) mentions their cooperation with Latin America and activities developed based on the Erasmus model. Education also became a tool of Europeanization.

## 5.2 METHODOLOGY: DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS, PROCESS TRACING, INTERVIEWS

As a methodology for the observation of this relation, Framework 7 will be followed, and a process tracing adopted. For Bennet (2008, p. 704),

In other words, process tracing seeks a *historical explanation* of an individual case, and this explanation may or may not provide a theoretical explanation relevant to the wider phenomenon of which the case is an instance. Process tracing thus has both inductive (or theory-generating) and deductive (theory-testing) elements.

Thus, based on the documentary analysis as well as the interviews explained in the previous chapters and a literature review, the use of a process-tracing exercise will be attempted to observe in a general way how the relation of the EU towards Mercosur and Latin America was.

The proposal is to evidence the multi-level action of the EU towards Mercosur and Latin America. Evans (2009, p. 254) explains that these approaches “are characterized by a concern with understanding outcomes of policy transfer through combining macro and micro (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996, 2000), or, macro, meso and micro (Evans and Davies 1999, Common 2001, Evans 2004b) levels of enquiry”.

Based on Framework 13, the process-tracing will be conducted since the official policy and positioning of the EU:

#### Framework 14 - EU's approach

EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy (2016)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Security and defense</li> <li>- Resilience in South &amp; East of the EU</li> <li>- Conflicts and Crisis Integrated Approach</li> <li>- <b>Regional Orders promotion and support</b></li> <li>- <b>Global Governance based on international law</b></li> </ul>
EU's Integrated Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Diplomacy</b></li> <li>- Humanitarian Assistance</li> <li>- <b>Development Cooperation</b></li> <li>- Sanctions</li> <li>- Common Security and Defense Policy</li> <li>- Conflict prevention measures</li> <li>- <b>Financial Assistance</b></li> <li>- Trade</li> <li>- <b>Political Dialogue</b></li> </ul>

Fonte: Koetsenruijter (2019b)

### 5.3 MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE

The result of the process tracing exercise is present in the form of a timeline. This timeline maps the relations EU towards Mercosur and Latin America, involving the approach of Framework 10 and trying to understand these “waves” between IO and region. Figure 6 demonstrates multilevel governance/actions as the main EU strategy:

Figure 6 - EU x Mercosur &amp; LAC Relations Timeline

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF EU X MERCOSUR & LAC RELATIONS

**Multilevel action** is the main strategy of EU for Mercosur as well as Latin America and Caribe in higher education field. Here's a brief history of these relations.

**MAY 1992**

The EU and the MERCOSUR sign an Interinstitutional Agreement that includes information exchange, training on integration issues, institutional support, and technical assistance.

**APRIL 1994**

In São Paulo, EU Foreign Ministers, meeting with MERCOSUR Ministers, agree to "intensify cooperation towards more ambitious objectives".

**JUNE 1994**

The European Council confirms "the EU's intention to strengthen relations with MERCOSUR and invites the Council and the Commission to examine the issue".

**OCTOBER 1994**

The Commission endorses a strategy aimed at establishing a future EU/MERCOSUR interregional association and the short-term conclusion of an interregional agreement on trade and economic cooperation with MERCOSUR.

**OCTOBER 1994**

"Basic document on EU relations with Latin America and the Caribbean" (...) "We consider the strengthening of cultural ties with our partners and the increasing exchange at all levels as a task of essential political importance. We insist on the idea of cultural cooperation with a spirit of equitable collaboration (...). We still expect close cooperation in education, science and technology."

**DECEMBER 1994**

The Council of the European Union and the European Commission, on the one hand, and the member countries of Mercosur, on the other, sign a solemn declaration in which both sides express their keen interest in a strategy whose ultimate goal is to promote an interregional association of political and economic nature.

**APRIL 1995**

Council Recommendation authorizing the Commission to negotiate the interregional agreement, the Councils call for the exchange of experiences on integration and the closest possible relation to economic, trade, industrial, scientific, institutional, and economic integration to implement the regional association. Also, "(...) the Commission expresses its concern about the high social and environmental costs of the integration process. At the same time, the Commission points out that the MERCOSUR Treaty does not include reference to a social dimension."

**OCTOBER 1995**

Communication from the European Commission to the Council and the European Parliament: "(...) The Economic and Social Committee states: Particular importance is given to cooperation in the field of education and training of citizens. The ALFA (Latin America - Academic Higher Education) program could make an important contribution (...)."

**DECEMBER 1995**

The interregional agreement was signed in Madrid. (...) In TITLE VI (other areas of cooperation), article 20 refers to cooperation in the field of training and education: the means needed to improve education and teaching in the field of integration; youth and vocational training; inter-university and inter-company cooperation; technical resources and exchange of experiences among other topics.

**NOVEMBER 1997**

European Commission, MERCOSUR and Chile Round Table on education and training. MERCOSUR representatives expressed interest in the initiatives and experiences developed and acquired by the EU in cooperation and training policies aimed at encouraging exchange and sharing, especially in the areas of: - educational and training information networks, especially EURYDICE; - mutual recognition of diplomas and titles of professional and academic effects (NARIC network centers); - the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS); - ERASMUS-type higher education cooperation programs, both in terms of mobility and related to the development of thematic networks; - cooperation in vocational training and technical education; - training of trainers; - language teaching.

**1999**

The Higher Education project can be seen as a response to the 1999 EU-LAC Rio de Janeiro Meeting, which took place two weeks after the signature of the Bologna Process.

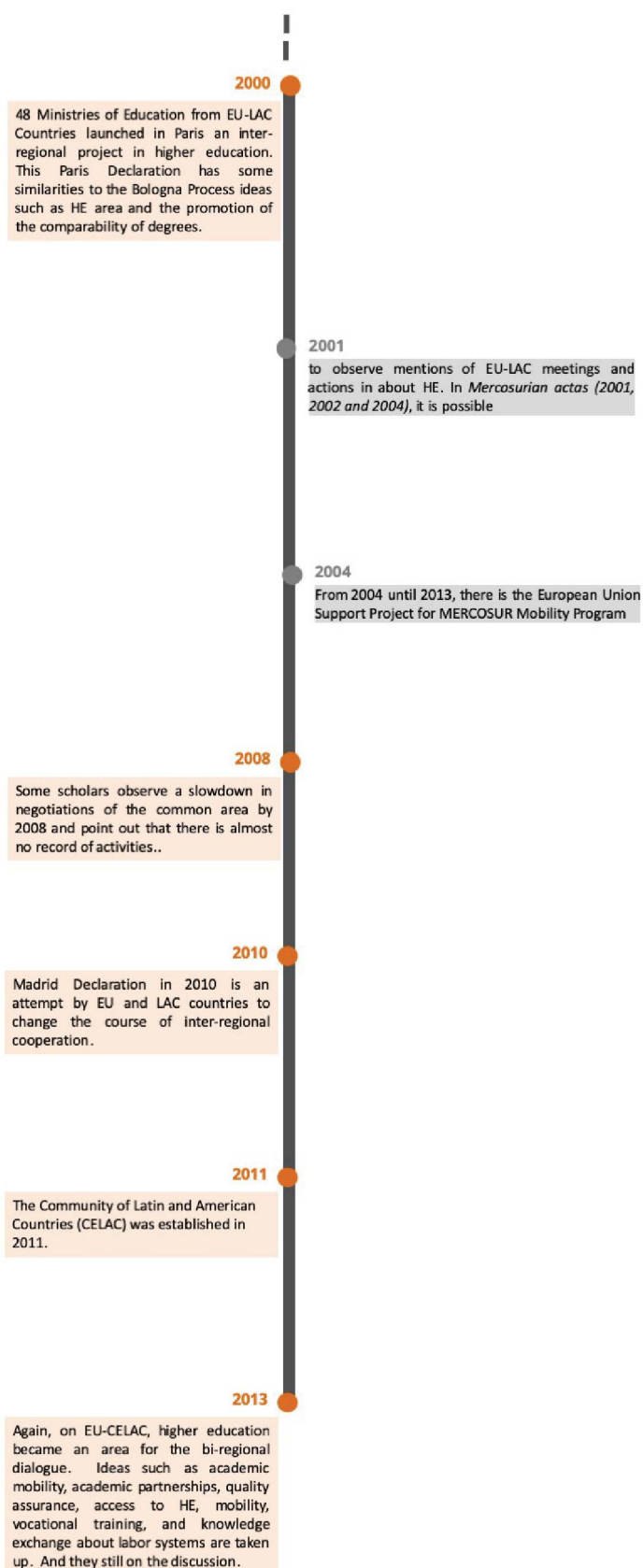


Figure 6 describes the EU's relationship with Mercosur and Latin America with regard to higher education since the creation of forums dedicated to discussing the topic over the years. The left side is dedicated to the Latin America dimension in which we should emphasize in 1994 the beginning of the inter-regional dialogue; then, in 2000, the Ministries of Education launched the EU-LAC inter-regional higher education project with similarities to Bologna Process. After a slowdown in negotiations, by 2010, the rounds of negotiations intensify again, and higher education became to be the center of the bi-regional dialogue and still be.

The right side of Figure 6 corresponds to the Mercosur dimension in which we highlight the presence of the EU since its beginning. In 1994, there is also an interest in strengthening relations through a future inter-regional association. In order to do so, EU institutions point out many concerns about Southern Cone Block in which we would like to emphasize the social side as expressed in 1995. In 1997 there is a roundtable that EU shares their experience in the higher education area, and Mercosur manifests an interest in learning specific projects – coincidence or not, Mercosur launched a year after the MEXA. From 2001 to 2004, Mercosur observes and discussed participation and support to EU-LAC. And from 2004-2014, there is support from the EU to the Mercosur Mobility Program or PMM.

It is normal that the European advances in the area of education attract attention and end up serving as a model for other jurisdictions. In the same interview, Medeiros (2019) affirms that for a long time the EU has been seen as a model, considering it a pioneer in regionalism. Consequently, integration processes after that have a tendency to look at it as a model, maybe learning through translation. The scholar remembers what bank calls the 'Normative Europe' to illustrate the European interest in exporting its model to its partners; according to him, this is very clear in negotiations and not only with Mercosur, but with regionalisms in general.

In the case of Mercosur, besides this thesis, previous studies have demonstrated this close relationship between Mercosur and European Union. Bianculli (2019) states that in the relationship developed with Mercosur, the EU supported what was already going on in the block; in her studies, she demonstrates that looking back to the Meeting of Ministers of Education in 1991 there was already initiatives in education, so the EU was pushing an agenda that Mercosur was already leading (BIACULLI, 2018 a, b). But Mercosur could have looked at EU as one of its sources. Medeiros, Meunier e Cockles (2015) analyzed Mercosur frequent mentions to

European Union on its normative documents, which included educational field. Culpi and Bernardo (2016) also studied the reports of Mercosur's Ministers of Education Meeting in which they notice an approximation to EU in 1997 as well as similarities on both bloc's documents in higher education. The analysis of this article confirms what these authors have been stating. This close relationship to EU is the action of putting itself as an example and financing projects in the regional bloc of the South Countries.

Bianculli (2019) ponders, in the interview *EU-Mercosur relations and the policy transfer variables of analysis*, about the uniqueness of the bloc in terms of accomplishments, supranationality, policy areas and governance. The scholar also stresses the European actions to promote itself and develop a 'cohesive model of regional integration' and says that:

The region-to-region dialogue has been a strategy of the EU as a way of 'selling' its model of regional integration. We can also say we have been very supportive of regional blocs, so the EU-Mercosur relations and this inter-regionalism has been portrayed as the most advanced, to some extent. Mercosur comes at a time when the EU is reinforcing the strategy, and the EU has been very supportive in financial terms, in institutional terms, in terms of capacity building etc.

Putting itself as a model involves a dialogue with other international organizations, regional organizations, and regions. In other words, the EU strategy has been to use multilevel governance in its favor. In the case of Mercosur and Latin America, there are two kinds of interaction: with an international, regional organization and a region. We can notice that there are waves of action to Mercosur and Latin America. There are times when the European Union is focused on dialogue with Mercosur, and times when it is focused on dialogue with the region of Latin America as a whole.

Their Policy Officer explains the European Commission's way of working and "pendulum" between region (Latin America) and sub-region (Mercosur). Regarding the European Commission's way of working, in general, it involves funding for universities and higher education institutions for which they apply and have to follow specific conditions and rules; in this context, Latin America has particular rules and priorities as well as a separate budget. According to this policymaker, "this is already a way to push policy-making because regional integration is a priority for Latin America. So they have certain conditions that force or incentive in higher education" (POLICY OFFICER,

2019). Concerning the geographical partner, the explanation is that they prefer to work with the region, which is CELAC. The EU's aspiration is regional; however, Latin America's problem is that regional institutions are short-lived, and Mercosur seems to be more stable. Maybe this is the reason we observe a pendulum in the timeline (Figure 6).

For instance, the relation with Mercosur appears strongly from 1991-1997 and then from 2004-2013. In this first part, it was the beginning of Mercosur in which the EU immensely supported the bloc. The second part coincides with the start of the ALCUE project, and what is interesting about it is that, even though the EU was supporting the project with Latin America, it was usually mentioned in the Mercosur *actas*; these mentions were made by Brazil, which represented the group in the Latin America meetings. While reading the documents, it seems that Mercosur would be a diffusion agent in the region (MERCOSUR, 2018 a, b, c)

In the Latin America relationship, for example, it is possible to observe it intensely from 1999-2004 and from 2008 on. In the first part the EU played more the role of observer while in this second it became 'an active mediator and funder for the inter-regional cooperation' (BARLETE, 2019, p. 15). So that the enthusiasm about the future projects with the region is not surprising in the interview with a Policy Officer of the European Commission (2019).

In the interview *EU-Mercosur relations and the policy transfer variables of analysis*, this Policy Officer of the European Commission (2019) reminded that although Bologna is not part of the European Commission officially, the organ gives a strong push. It can be used as a model and now the European Commission is starting 'policy dialogues (...) to create a Euro-Latin American and Caribbean higher-education area'. As the Officer affirms, it goes beyond Mercosur; nowadays, they have meetings if there is an opportunity, but the EU's dialogue and aspiration is regional.

Koetsenruijter (2019a) also reinforces this regional aspiration and how it works. The policymaker says that the EU has an active promotion of its action. If a region decides to learn, they work together through workshops to which they are invited to participate. Another possibility is even developing specific programs with those countries. Successful examples mentioned by him are the research and technology development programs, particularly Brazil and Argentina, to promote research between universities and the world.

Maybe one of these programs is ULISES. According to the European Commission (EUROPEAN COMMISSION/EACEA/EURYDICE, 2015, p. 52), the ULISES involves the following members:

- OBREAL, Spain (Coordinator)
- Universidad de la Republica, Uruguay
- Agencia Nacional de Evaluacion de la Calidad y Acreditacion, Spain
- Asociacion de Universidades Grupo Montevideo, Uruguay
- Universidade Federal de Sao Carlos, Brazil
- Universidad Nacional de Chilecito, Argentina
- Tilburg University, Netherlands
- Universita degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza", Italy
- Universite de Montpellier 1, France

Despite the plurality of members, the focus is on strengthening the relationship between the EU and Mercosur through connecting research, universities, and industries. Framework 14 describes in detailing the program:

Framework 15 - ULISES: University Linking Initiatives and Synergies in Europe and South America

ULISES seeks to contribute to the development of the Common Area of Higher Education of Latin America, Caribbean and European Union (ALCUE). It involves academic staff, policy makers, decision makers, managers and administrators. The multiplying effects of the project will benefit other stakeholders such as higher education inspectors and advisors as well as research and industry community in both regions.

Specifically, ULISES aims **at consolidating the long term partnership between EU and MERCOSUR and promoting joint efforts to generate links between research, universities and industries in the MERCOSUR sub-region** by:

- Improving the accreditation mechanism in the region and discussing bi-regional accreditation schemes;
- Advancing the discussions about the impact of the Erasmus Mundus programme in the region and its relation with the mobility schemes operating in the region;
- Increasing discussions between industry and university in the region;

- Contributing to the interdisciplinary policy debate in furtherance of increased participation and mutual understanding among different stakeholders of both regions;
- Ensuring sustainable means of multiplying and disseminating successful experiences of EU-MERCOSUR joint actions.

In terms of outcomes, ULISES envisages carrying out research papers, focus groups, round-tables, debates, forums, workshops and seminars, a dynamic website portal and an updated on-line bulletin to foster active participation and debate among all stakeholders.

Source: EUROPEAN COMMISSION/EACEA/EURYDICE (2015, p. 52)

The process tracing and documentary analysis showed that despite presenting different names, the logic of programs and actions is the same in Latin America and Mercosur. While in Latin America, they talk about credit and degree mobility, in Mercosur, the discussions are concerning ETCS and Erasmus. When negotiating with Latin America, there is a focus on capacity building related to the modernization and internationalization of higher education. In contrast, in Mercosur EU, it is investing in seminars on quality assessment, assurance, accreditation, and mobility, which would also mean capacity building. Another point to be observed is the mobility of researcher's programs defended on Latin America that may be linked to initiatives such as the Mercosur Mobility Program. It was a mobility program - funded by the EU - in higher education, which consisted of training programs for teachers and university staff to exchange students, teachers, and researchers. (EUROPEAN COMMISSION/EACEA/EURYDICE, 2015; JIMENEZ, 1998; MERCOSUL 2020a, b, c; MAYAL, 2019)

We might reflect about the reason for changing focus; maybe it is related to the skepticism and difficulty to "export" a model. From the Mercosur point of view, Mayal (2017), who used to be a Mercosur representative, explained about Mercosur's principle of respect for diversity among countries, when interviewed about the relationship with Europe and other international organizations. As so, they do not believe in ready solutions and every solution is built case by case. They eventually study cases from other blocs, but this action can cause suspicion in those who represent other countries at the meetings. Mayal (2019) even points out another example of skepticism about the EU. As for academic mobility, there was some

influence, mainly because of the EU funding at the beginning. However, MERCOSUR was resistant to the concepts of the Bologna Process and the structure of the Erasmus Program. Some can point ideological issues, but the main thing, in his opinion, was the issue of monthly fees.

Although such difficulty exists, Azevedo (2014, p.3 - 9) states that “The Bologna model has come to Mercosur directly via agreements with the EU and, indirectly, through appropriation by universities located in Mercosur”. The author’s analysis is that Bologna process enlarges Europe’s ‘soft power’ since the reforms are extended ‘spheres of influence to other parts of the world’. That is what happened to Mercosur and member-states.

From the EU policymakers’ point of view, there is an optimism about this region to region and even region to sub-region dialogues. Concerning the region to sub-region interaction, or Europe x Mercosur, the new agreement’s conclusion opens new opportunities and brings closer Mercosurian countries to the EU and its institutions (KOETSEN RUIJTER, 2019a). Concerning the region to region dialogue, that is Europe x Latin America, there is still an effort to promote Bologna as a model, and the will is to create a Euro-Latin American and Caribbean higher-education area (POLICY OFFICER, 2019).

Moreover, we have observed that education and Bologna Process are powerful tools of Europeanization / transfer:

Since 2009 the Bologna Policy Forum has been the main arena for countries outside the European Higher Education Area to get information about the Bologna Process. The Forum has helped regions such as South East Asia, Africa, the Southern Mediterranean and Latin America take steps towards the development of regional associations or instruments that strengthen intraregional recognition and mobility. There is a strong international dimension to the funding opportunities provided by Erasmus+, particularly in the area of higher education. Strengthening internationalisation is at the heart of cooperation and mobility projects which include Bologna members from outside the EU. All parties face very similar issues to those already addressed under the Bologna Process, including common approaches for recognition, accreditation and quality assurance. (EUROPEAN COMMISSION/EACEA/EURYDICE, 2018, 26)

This citation clearly demonstrates the EU’s intention about the internationalization of the Bologna Process and the kinds of contents that they work on. After all, reflecting from the Framework point of view and focusing exclusively on the EU x Mercosur and Latin America relationship, the process tracing and

documentary analysis has brought a slightly different result. Observing motivations, indicators such as monetary loans, technical aid, capacity building indicate a mixture. Analyzing actors and origins, we are dealing with international organizations. About the content and degrees, we are talking about the inspiration of other blocs in EU programs like Erasmus and policy as Bologna Process.

We must make a reservation before closing this chapter. Much has been said about public policy transfer from the European Union, but it may not be clear how it happened. In other words, it is still necessary to dedicate a few paragraphs to explain how the elaboration of public policies based on the EU influence occurred in Mercosur. To discuss this, we should return to a specific point to explain Figure 6 and our previous works.

The starting point for that is around 1997 when there is a roundtable where the EU shares Mercosur experiences as described in Framework 11 and Figure 6. Those experiences are the basis for the Bologna Process that starts with the Sorbonne Declaration in 1998. Coincidentally or not, Mercosur launched in 1998 the Memorandum of Understanding on the Implementation of the Experimental Course Accreditation Mechanism for the Recognition of University Degrees in Mercosur Countries (MEXA), which reproduces some of the ideas behind the Bologna Process.

Culpi and Bernardo (2016) demonstrate the inspiration by comparing MEXA's preamble with the Bologna Declaration. This part of the Mercosurian document accurately reflects the main aspects observed in the European declaration, that is, education as the key to the integration process, the encouragement of mobility, and the formation of an accreditation system:

Framework 16 - Higher education public policy transfer from the EU to Mercosur

Principle/Idea	Bologna Process (English version)	MEXA (Translated Version)	Mercosur Programs (Presence of this principle)
Education as key for advancing the integration process and regional citizenship	It emphasised the creation of the European area of higher education as a <i>keyway to promote citizens' mobility and employability and the Continent's overall development.</i>	The educational quality improvement constitutes a substantive element for the <i>consolidation of the regional integration process</i>	MEXA
	Promotion of the necessary European dimensions in higher education, particularly with regards to curricular development, inter-institutional cooperation, mobility schemes and integrated programmes of study, training and research.	The educational quality improvement constitutes a substantive element for the <i>consolidation of the regional integration process</i>	

Formation of accreditation systems and comparable degrees.	Adoption of a system of <i>easily readable and comparable</i> degrees	A system of carrier accreditation, as a mechanism for the recognition of degrees, (...), <i>favoring the comparability of the training processes in terms of academic quality.</i>	MEXA => ARCUSUR
	Promotion of European cooperation in <i>quality assurance</i> with a view to developing comparable criteria and methodologies	A system of carrier accreditation, as a mechanism for the recognition of degrees, (...), <i>and will tend to stimulate educational quality, favoring the comparability of the training processes in terms of academic quality.</i>	
Mobility encouragement	Promotion of mobility by overcoming obstacles to the effective exercise of free movement with particular attention to: students and teachers	A system of carrier accreditation, as a mechanism for the recognition of degrees, (...) will facilitate the transfer of people between the countries of the region and will tend to stimulate educational quality.	MEXA => MARCA

Source: The Author (2020), based on Culpi and Bernardo (2016); European Union (1999); Mercosur (1998)

Framework 15 demonstrates the Bologna Process's main principles that are present at the Memorandum of Understanding on the Implementation of the Experimental Course Accreditation Mechanism for the Recognition of University Degrees in Mercosur Countries (MEXA). MEXA, as the name indicates, is an experimental action signed in 1998 by Mercosurian countries, and whose implementation was completed in 2002.

Once the mechanism was established, in 2004, the discussion about mobility regarding courses that were already accredited resulted in: i) the responsibility of the Regional Commission for Higher Education Coordination for implementing the Regional Academic Mobility Project for Accredited Courses – MARCA; ii) the first stage of the mobility project destined to Agronomy courses already accredited by MEXA. (BERNARDO, 2015)

The MARCA project encompassed for teachers, students, and researchers and had as its starting date 2005. As in 2006, in the Meeting of Ministers of Education, there was a recognition of MEXA and MARCA's performance, it is requested a definitive accreditation project be designed, which in the transformation of MEXA into MERCOSUR Regional Accreditation System for Undergraduate Courses (ARCUSUR). (BERNARDO, 2015)

We could even say that this is one of the most advanced steps in the educational integration process compared to other agreements. ARCUSUR was signed in 2008,

reinforcing the idea of easing citizens' movement between the countries of the bloc and support for regional segments of recognition of titles. This agreement helps in the training processes in terms of academic quality since it fosters evaluation culture. (BERNARDO, 2015)

Culpi and Bernardo (2016) classify the MEXA process as inspiration in relation to Bologna because although the policy principles are adopted, there is an adaptation to the Southern Cone reality. This is also true concerning ARCUSUR, which is a MEXA's development. And this is reinforced by the extracts of Paulo Mayal's interview on this thesis: there was a tendency to build a proper solution to Mercosur reality and resistance to European policies – that, in his opinion, was due to fees.

Since we have already shown an example of how the EU has inspired Mercosur policies, another reservation has to be made. This thesis is about policy transfer among international organizations, but we must remember that Mercosur does not base its policies only on other IOs, much comes from its member states. Mercosur is a space for synthesis and dissemination of public policies between the members. Whether having as origin a member state or an IO, the bloc will promote the discussions and incorporate the member's suggestions, synthesizing the proposals and taking them to the general approval (BERNARDO, 2015). The findings of the thesis also confirm this logic, since it was mentioned during the interviews how important is reaching a consensus for the bloc.

In short, this chapter was a process-tracing exercise to demonstrate the relationship between the European Union and Mercosur, which was extended to Latin America. The timeline summarized the waves in the relations between them that focused initially on Mercosur, then on the creation of ALCUE, then back to Mercosur and finally focusing again on UE-LAC. The common elements we observed were the multilevel action of the EU, the promotion of itself as a model, a 'Normative Europe'. Another important point is that in the region as well as in sub-region, there is an effort to promote their values and programs of higher education; in other words, being a donor.

## 6 ENHANCEMENT PROPOSAL: DISCUSSION AND EVALUATION

After having developed an enhancement proposal for policy transfer analysis among international organizations and having applied that to an empirical case, the thesis could not end without promoting a discussion about it. As so, the problem-question of this chapter is: “Is this model helpful? Does it work?”. The objective is to evaluate the public policy transfer framework proposal.

### 6.1 WHAT WAS THE POINT OF HAVING THIS PROPOSAL?

When we had started to work on an enhancement proposal was due to the methodological difficulties the researchers found to empirically evidence a policy transfer process. Then, aligning policy transfer theory to international relations' neoliberalism would improve the Dolowitz and Marsh framework (2000) and design a methodological strategy for this kind of analysis.

Besides that, there was a theoretical challenge which was problematizing the international organizations as public policy transfer agents<sup>19</sup>. Policy transfer studies, in general, tend to observe international organizations as arenas (PRINCE, 2012; MCCANN, WARD, 2012, SHARMAN, 2008 DOLOWITZ; MARSH 2000), just a few recognize their role as agents (GONNET, 2012; STONE, 2004), although the latter do not problematize based on international relations.

Consequently, the general objective of the thesis is to enhance the public policy transfer framework using international relations' neoliberalism to explain policy transfer among international organizations. This work had to be divided into many steps: i) theoretical review for aligning public policy transfer to neoliberalism in international relations; ii) delineating a methodological strategy focused on public policy transfer among international organizations; iii) application to an empirical case in which we should map the contacts between international organizations, show the projects they have developed together, identify strategies of action; and iv) evaluating the proposal.

This is the last step of the research that is dedicated to reflecting upon the application of the framework and its usability. It is time to show its advantages as well

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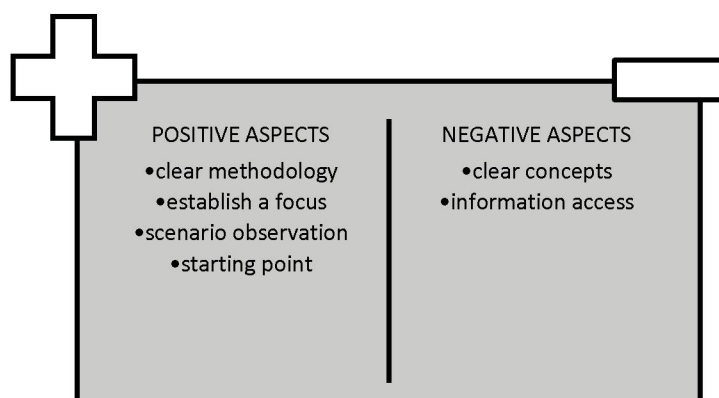
<sup>19</sup> We reinforce here that the choice for analysing international organizations as public policy transfer agents are related to neoliberalism theory in international relations. It does not mean that “agents” are the unique roles they play; they could also, depending on theoretical choice, be seen as arenas.

as recognize its limitation. In short, we should ponder if it could represent an advance to the area.

## 6.2 IS THERE AN ADVANCE? LIMITATIONS AND ADVANTAGES?

If the idea of the chapter is to evaluate the model and its application, a way to start it is to list the positive and the negative aspects of the proposal. By doing so, everyone could easily find this figure on the “List of Figures” and make up his/her mind quickly about using or not this model. That is the reason why we have developed Figure 7:

Figure 7 - Proposal's positive and negative aspects



Source: The Author (2020)

We could start with the limitations or negative aspects of the proposal, which are clear concepts and information access. Although just two, they are sensible points that anyone who wants to develop research on policy transfer has to be aware of. Both of them might end up with any investigation.

The first point is a clear concept. As demonstrated in Figure 1, there is a variation in terminology that refers to the same process: transfer, diffusion, lesson-drawing, emulation, convergence, and so on. In spite of relating to the same processes, their analytical focus, empirical focus, and dependent variable may change as it was possible to observe in Framework 7. And, then, the problems with applying the proposal might start.

For instance, we will exemplify with transfer and diffusion. Specifically, how Newmark develops a Framework:

Framework 17 - Comparison: Policy Transfer and Diffusion

	<b>Policy Transfer</b>	<b>Diffusion</b>
Cases	Few cases	Many cases
Methodology	Qualitative	Quantitative
Generalizability	Low degree	High degree
Modeling	Little	Complex Mathematical
Prediction	None	High degree

Source: Newmark (2002, p. 160)

From Framework 8, the difference between policy transfer and policy diffusion was about the dependent variable; while the first was about content and process, the latter was about the adoption pattern. However, if we also take Framework 11 into consideration, it is probable that this difference in the dependent variable leads the researcher to a completely different methodology. Transfer cases would focus more on qualitative methods, which is the case of this thesis. In contrast, diffusion would emphasize quantitative methods, because the aim is to explain the adoption pattern, and it deals with many cases. That is the reason why we have to be clear about the case and about the concept before deciding to apply this or any research proposal.

The second and last negative aspect is information access. To begin with, dealing with policy transfer involves studying, besides all theoretical parts, at least two different cases: the donor and the receptor. Depending on the deadline for research and the amount of information needed, it is better to change the topic. This thesis was possible because the author has previously studied this subject (BERNARDO, 2015), thus part of data collection – about Mercosur – was already done. However, we have to admit that the European Union data was a challenge. The opportunity of being in a Ph.D. Sandwich and a United Nations institution enabled to access data and key agents that brought different results from those expected.

For instance, the chance of doing interviews was different as being part of a United Nations institution. In the beginning, as a regular student, while sending emails

to the European Commission, there was no answer, but when participating in a United Nations activity at the European Commission and asking Mr. Adrianus Koetsenruijter about the possibility of interviewing him the perspective changed. The interview processes became a snowball with one interviewee indicating another.

Moreover, this information/interviewee access was essential to the development of the thesis. On the one hand, we could confirm or contrast the data found from the interviewees' point of view and try to find possible explanations for that. On the other hand, it was unexpected to find out such multilevel action towards Mercosur and Latin America. Originally, this thesis would finish on chapter five, but, observing how the European Union had 'waves' in action towards Mercosur and Latin America, we have got so restless that a sixth chapter with a process-tracing exercise was needed to try to understand it.

In terms of positive aspects, they overcame the number of negatives. They are a transparent methodology, an establishing of focus, a scenario observation, a starting point. These four points made the application and testing the policy transfer analysis enhancement proposal worthwhile.

The first positive aspect about the enhancement proposal is its transparent methodology. If we compare to other studies in the area, none of them operationalized a concept from the theory to the methodological tools. Below (Framework 17) is a list of some of the most cited studies in policy transfer:

Framework 18 - Other proposals in policy transfer

Author	Name	Kind
Dolowitz and Marsh (2000)	Policy Transfer Framework	Conceptual/Theoretical
Stone (2003)	Three Modes of Policy Transfer	Conceptual/Theoretical
Borzel and Risse (2012)	Theoretical Framework	Dependent variable and Mechanism of diffusion
Evans (2009)	A logical framework for assessing the utility of policy transfer research for public action	Conceptual/Theoretical/Reflection
Gonnet (2016)	Indicators for National Actors and the International Organization Actions	Indicators

Knill (2005)	Policy convergence and related concepts	Empirical focus and variables
Newmark (2002)	Comparison: Policy Transfer and Diffusion	Comparison in cases, methodology, modeling.

Source: Dolowitz and Marsh (2000), Knill (2005), Gonnet (2016), Newmark (2002), Evans (2009), Borzel and Risse (2012), Stone (2003).

Some of these studies give the reader a conceptual framework of the area. There is one that observes the empirical focus. Others point out some possible variables. Another discusses the methodology. One describes indicators. However, none of them have operationalized a concept from the policy transfer theory to the methodological tools.

This study even has the specificity of being aligned to an international relations theory to help delineate the methodological strategy. And the methodological tools indicated are the ones that are being used in policy transfer studies, according to the meta-analysis of chapter two.

A second positive aspect concerns the establishment of a focus in research. In order to recall some points already discussed in the thesis, policy transfer involves at least studying the theory, two different cases as well as identifying many different variables: motivations, agents, content, degree, origins and constraints. With so much information in mind, the proposed framework helps to be focused. It is about international organizations as agents, as a result, the work becomes easier.

For instance, we can mention the network analysis developed in chapter three. The enhancement proposal was already established, but we still had doubts about how to proceed and which data collect to link as agents/nodes in the *Gephi*. After meetings and discussions with supervisors and reading chapters one and two again, we realized that the main agents in the proposal are international organizations, and it was the contact between them that should be mapped. With this example, one wants to reinforce the importance of having a focus on research, and Framework 6 is useful for this.

A third positive aspect is that following Framework 7 one could have a clear scenario observation. Policy transfer is a tricky process and one can easily mislead while analyzing it. In a policy transfer case, this is easy to happen because there is a tendency to observe only the donor and the receptor, and one may forget other important agents. An example of this misleading could be how one has conducted the

empirical case. Without having Framework 7 established, the study was focused on the relationship between the European Union and Mercosur, and from that point of view, Mercosur and Latin America inspired its policies in the European Union. However, after applying Framework 7, we had to take a step back to analyze the scenario and found out that there were many organizations involved; as so, Mercosurian policies were not a result of inspiration in European policies but a synthesis of many IOs policies.

The fourth and last positive aspect is that it could be a starting point. For those who had never been in contact with policy transfer area and need to learn how to operationalize a research, this could be a starting point. One has theory, variables, indicators and even methodological tools to develop the research. The only point is being aware of the negative aspects!

### 6.3 INDICATIONS OF FUTURE AGENDA

It is not an easy task to indicate a future agenda in a developing area. There are so many studies, concepts and methodologies to be established. Yet, based on the thesis, three themes come to mind in terms of future agendas: applicability to other cases, international relations theories alignment to policy transfer, and neoliberalism alignment to policy transfer inter-related concepts.

Applicability to other cases is undoubtedly an indication of future agenda. An enhancement proposal for policy transfer analysis among international organizations has worked for evidencing variables and empirically demonstrating the higher education public policy transfer from EU and other IOs to Mercosur. However, it is still an open question, if one overcome the negative aspects, the Framework could be applied and work for other empirical cases.

One of the points mentioned as negative could be developed in a future study. We have pointed out that, there is a variation in terminology in the policy transfer area – diffusion, emulation, convergence – that refers to the same process. They are points of view of the same processes, but their analytical focus, empirical focus, and dependent variable can change. And so, a possibility of future agenda would be developing Framework 7 or even another one taking into consideration these differences in those policy transfer inter-related concepts.

Finally, another possibility of future research is trying to align another international relations theory to the policy transfer framework. In this case, we had interest in focusing on international organizations as policy transfer agents and this is the reason for choosing neoliberalism. Nevertheless, the researcher's interest could be, for example, focusing on the role of agents and use for that constructivism? The analysis might be completely different, and we propose just a quick reflection on it.

In the 1990s, a new theoretical debate has shaken the international relations scene. The rise of social constructivism started to challenge liberalism as well as other rational tenets. From this new perspective, actors in international affairs “are socialized and influenced by their surroundings, and therefore their proclivities toward conflict or cooperation are collectively constructed” (JOHNSON, HEISS, 2018, p. 130). In the development of constructivism, which is a plural concept from the start, nowadays, it is possible to identify at least two main genera: critical and contemporary. Both focus on a “cognition that emphasizes knowing through an awareness of the co-constitution of agents and structure,” there is a difference concerning the kind of cognition behind them (PELTONEN, 2017, p. 2, 12). On the one hand, critical scholars defend an intrinsic relation between social and material realities, and so they reject the positivist approach. On the other hand, contemporary constructivist scholars do not reject positivist approaches: they even try to build a bridge between them. Taking into consideration these genera, one is using, for example, the contemporary approach, since it is the mainstream cognition (PELTONEN, 2017).

In the constructivist approach, the focus is “to identify how and when ideas matter for shaping international politics” (PARK, 2018, p. 146). Moreover, themes like agent-structure, language, social constitutions, institutions, and norms have been the focus of the author's discussion (PECEQUILO, 2016, p. 212). And so, for them, things/concepts are not taken for granted - like in rationalist theories - but socially constructed among actors, whether state or non-state (PARK, 2018, p. 146). Constructivism would contribute to international relations as it brings “social world” to the theoretical debate (ADLER, 2002 apud PECEQUILO), 2016. Since a central constructivist assumption is that people interactions with objects and actors depend on the sense that both acquire for them, constructivism does not determine a theory content but collaborate in delineating our questions about international politics and our answer's approach (WENDT, 2002 apud PECEQUILO, 2016).

Moreover, ideas are responsible for shaping international politics as they not only “lead to norm following behavior” (regulative norms), but also for reorganize state and non-state actors’ identities’ perceptions regarding interest and preferences (constitutive norms). A cycle/pattern is formed in which the norm changes the actor's behavior that also influences the norm, which is why social interaction should be understood as constitutive. (PARK, 2018, p. 147).

Concerning the role of language, norms, and institutions, although belonging to the more critical genera of constructivism, it is interesting to bring Onuf's explanation. The author defends three basic constructivist assumptions: i) the co-constitution of agents and their worlds, in other words, everything is socially constructed; ii) this co-constitution takes happens through “discourse and its derivatives (rules, policies)”, and so, language is a mean for expressing it as well as desires and objectives; iii) and the rules convert materials into resources, which “ creates asymmetric opportunities for asymmetric control and distribution of goods” (ONUF, 2002 apud PECEQUILO, 2016, p. 209).

Constructivism seems to be on the opposite side of the rationalist knowledge building. Instead of following a recipe for a separate action and take things/concepts for granted, constructivism believes that everything is socially constructed. Constructivism could be summarized into four characteristics: i) its concern and recognition of the role of ideas in social construction; ii) agents and subjects are also socially constructed; iii) a methodological holism research strategy; iv) “what ties the three foregoing points together is a concern with constitutive as opposed to just causal explanations”. (FEARON, WENDT, 2002, p. 75-76).

Therefore, we should explain how constructivism understands some variables in its knowledge building - as opposed to rationalism: the role of ideas, norm following actors’ motivations, and actors. First, about ideas, constructivists defend their constitutive. Second, considering the norm following, scholars argue that it is due to people's motivation and belief in its legitimacy. Third, concerning actors’ motivations, norms are intrinsic to their identities and interests, which has implications in their discourse and behavior. Finally, actors’ explanations in constructivism tend to be endogenized (FEARON, WENDT, 2002, p. 79-84). When comparing these characteristics to the rationalism of liberalism, we can observe that while constructivism has a holistic point of view, liberalism deals with methodological individualism.

After a brief presentation of constructivism and observing the liberal concepts adopted in this research, it should be observed that by aligning these two different theories to policy transfer, the analysis variables might be different. Liberalism concern is how “domestic and international institutions play central roles in facilitating cooperation and peace between states” (JOHNSON, HEISS, 2018, p. 123). Constructivism in international relations seeks “to identify how and when ideas matter for shaping international politics” (PARK, 2018, p. 146). In other words, while one is concerned about the agency, the other is about the structure, and this might change the focus of analysis – consequently, its variables and methodologies – in policy transfer.

And this was a hypothetical exercise with constructivism. It could be with any other international relation theory. If one thinks about working with the coercive transfer; why not aligning international relations realism to policy transfer?

To sum up, this chapter had the aim of evaluating the application of the policy transfer enhancement proposal. Instead of being theoretical, conceptual, or methodological, this last chapter needed sincerity as researcher to discuss the feasibilities and strengths of the thesis/model. Yet, this is the most important part, since one recognizes that there are feasibilities, of which others who think about applying it can be aware and do it successfully.

## FINAL REMARKS

Improving the public policy transfer analysis model based on the international relations' neoliberalism theoretical approach was the problem posed to be answered during this thesis. And the key point for this improvement was understanding international organizations as policy transfer agents. Based on this, the general objective of the thesis is to enhance public policy transfer framework using international relations' neoliberalism to explain policy transfer among international organizations.

In the first chapter, we have pointed out the rising of global public policies and the role of international organizations as legitimate authority in international arena to participate in the policy process. Moreover, there is an analytical challenge when dealing with international policy processes that could be solved by aligning international relations' neoliberalism to policy transfer theory. Through this alignment international organizations could be analyzed as policy transfer agents. Also, we could improve the policy transfer framework focusing international organizations as main agents and pointing out indicators to be analyzed in a process.

The second chapter is the development of the framework presented on the first one. After identifying a gap in terms of methodological aspects, we have proceeded to a metanalysis of the most cited articles of the *Web of Science* database. The idea was detecting what the most common methodological tools used by authors to demonstrate empirically a process transfer process were. As a result, we have observed that a combination of methodological tools was the most common solution applied by the authors. This may be due to the complexity of the processes; we believe that in order to evidence a transfer it is necessary to at least show a similarity in content and the contact between agents. With the methodological tools list, we completed the enhancement proposal, which was tested on chapters three, four, five and six. The case choice for that was higher education public policies transfer from the EU to MERCOSUR.

In the third chapter, the focus was on demonstrating contact between agents. To do so, a network analysis, based on Mercosurian documents, was the right decision. Following this methodological tool, we could observe that the European Union was not the main agent in Mercosur relations, there were many other IOs with whom the Southern Cone organization interacted with. OIE, OAS, and UN have also played an important role. Considering the idea that to prove a policy transfer we should

demonstrate a similarity in content and the contact between parts, one of the steps was already proved.

The fourth chapter aimed to demonstrate the projects of these international organizations, as well as analyze the degree of transfer and probable motivations. The projects developed concerned quality in higher education, mobility program, action plans, inter-regional dialogue, mean monetary loans, best practices, presence of experts; all this leads to the conclusion that it is about a synthesis. The reason for Mercosur to be engaged in this kind of process is a mixture and it has to do with the interdependence between parts (members/IOs) as well as a consensus about what and how projects in higher education should be developed. And at this point the relation of EU towards Mercosur and Latin America was surprising.

The fifth chapter was dedicated to analyzing the relation of EU towards Mercosur and Latin America. We decided to extend the chapter for also observing Latin America because European Union has been working in a multilevel way. A process-tracing exercise was realized, and its summary was framed in a timeline where it is possible to observe the “approach waves” to Mercosur (in its creation and a calm moment of ALCUE) and to Latin America (its creation and from 2008 on). However, what we can notice in both relations is the multilevel action of the EU, the promotion of itself as a model, a ‘Normative Europe’.

In the sixth and last chapter, the “Policy transfer among international organizations – Enhancement Proposal” was evaluated. The positive aspects were a transparent methodology, an establishing of focus, a scenario observation, a starting point; as opposed to the negative we such as clear concepts and information access. In a general way, we could say that the positive aspects overcame the negative ones. And since it was possible to point out these feasibilities anyone who wants to replicate the model is able to do it.

After having summarized the thesis script, it is possible to say that the proposal of enhancing public policy transfer framework using international relations' neoliberalism to explain policy transfer among international organizations worked. And this is the main contribution to the area: besides putting together theoretically international relations and public policy, this thesis also helped in methodological terms. As it was previously mentioned, other studies have tried to present some frameworks, but none of them have made such operationalization of concepts.

Lastly, when thinking about a future agenda in the area, which has a lot to be done, we have three suggestions: other cases applicability, international relations theories alignment to policy transfer, and neoliberalism alignment to policy transfer inter-related concepts.

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**APPENDIX 1**  
**LIST OF 100 MOST CITED ARTICLES ON POLICY TRANSFER AT**  
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**APPENDIX 2**  
**LIST OF MERCOSUR'S AVAILABILITY OF DOCUMENTS PER YEAR**

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>ME</b>	<b>CCR</b>	<b>CRCES</b>
1992	available	-	-
1993	available	-	-
1994	available	-	-
1995	available	-	-
1996	available	-	-
1997	available	-	-
1998	available	-	-
1999	available	-	-
2000	available	-	-
2001	available	available	available
2002	available	available	available
2003	available	available	-
2004	available	available	available
2005	available	available	available
2006	available	available	available
2007	available	available	available
2008	available	available	available
2009	available	available	available
2010	available	available	available
2011	available	available	available
2012	available	available	available
2013	available	available	available
2014	available	available	available
2015	available	available	available
2016	-	available	-
2017	-	available	available

Source:

MERCOSUL EDUCACIONAL. **Documentos: Atas de Reunião.** Available in < <http://edu.mercosur.int/pt-BR/atas-de-reunioes-do-setor-educacional-do-mercosul-cmc/viewcategory/8-atas-de-reuniao-actas-de-reunion.html>> Accessed on 07 jan 2020

**APPENDIX 3**  
**LIST OF COUNTRIES (CATEGORIES)**

<b>Country name</b>	<b>Nome do País</b>	<b>Nombre del país</b>
Afghanistan	Afeganistão	Afganistán
Albania	Albânia	Albania
Algeria	Argélia	Argelia
Andorra	Andorra	Andorra
Angola	Angola	Angola
Antigua and Barbuda	Antígua e Barbuda	Antigua y Barbuda
Argentina	Argentina	Argentina
Armenia	Armênia	Armenia
Australia	Austrália	Australia
Austria	Áustria	Austria
Azerbaijan	Azerbaijão	Azerbaiyán
The Bahamas	As Bahamas	Las Bahamas
Bahrain	Bahrain	Bahrein
Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh
Barbados	Barbados	Barbados
Belarus	Belarus	Belarús
Belgium	Bélgica	Bélgica
Belize	Belize	Belice
Benin	Benin	Benín
Bhutan	Butão	Bhután
Bolivia	Bolívia	Bolivia
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Bósnia e Herzegovina	Bosnia y Herzegovina
Botswana	Botsuana	Botswana
Brazil	Brasil	Brasil
Brunei	Brunei	Brunei
Bulgaria	Bulgária	Bulgaria
Burkina Faso	Burkina Faso	Burkina Faso
Burundi	Burundi	Burundi
Cambodia	Camboja	Camboya
Cameroon	Camarões	Camerún
Canada	Canadá	Canadá
Cape Verde	cabo Verde	Cabo Verde
Central African Republic	República Centro-Africana	República Centroafricana

Chad	Chade	Chad
Chile	Chile	Chile
China	China	China
Colombia	Colômbia	Colombia
Comoros	Comores	Comoras
Republic of the Congo	República do Congo	República del Congo
Democratic Republic of the Congo	República Democrática do Congo	República Democrática del Congo
Costa Rica	Costa Rica	Costa Rica
Cote d'Ivoire	Costa do Marfim	Costa de Marfil
Croatia	Croácia	Croacia
Cuba	Cuba	Cuba
Cyprus	Chipre	Chipre
Czech Republic	República Checa	República Checa
Denmark	Dinamarca	Dinamarca
Djibouti	Djibouti	Djibouti
Dominica	Dominica	Dominica
Dominican Republic	República Dominicana	República Dominicana
East Timor	Timor Leste	Timor Oriental
Ecuador	Equador	Ecuador
Egypt	Egito	Egipto
El Salvador	El Salvador	El Salvador
Equatorial Guinea	Guiné Equatorial	Guinea Ecuatorial
Eritrea	Eritréia	Eritrea
Estonia	Estônia	Estonia
Ethiopia	Etiópia	Etiópia
Fiji	Fiji	Fiji
Finland	Finlândia	Finlandia
France	França	Francia
Gabon	Gabão	Gabón
The Gambia	Gâmbia	Gambia
Georgia	Geórgia	Georgia
Germany	Alemanha	Alemania
Ghana	Gana	Ghana
Greece	Grécia	Grecia
Grenada	Granada	Granada
Guatemala	Guatemala	Guatemala
Guinea	Guiné	Guinea
Guinea-Bissau	Guiné-Bissau	Guinea-Bissau

Guyana	Guiana	Guayana
Haiti	Haiti	Haití
Honduras	Honduras	Honduras
Hungary	Hungria	Hungría
Iceland	Islândia	Islandia
India	Índia	India
Indonesia	Indonésia	Indonesia
Iran	Irã	Corrí
Iraq	Iraque	Irak
Ireland	Irlanda	Irlanda
Israel	Israel	Israel
Italy	Itália	Italia
Jamaica	Jamaica	Jamaica
Japan	Japão	Japón
Jordan	Jordânia	Jordán
Kazakhstan	Cazaquistão	Kazakhstan
Kenya	Quênia	Kenia
Kiribati	Kiribati	Kiribati
Korea, North	Coreia do Norte	Corea del Norte
Korea, South	Coreia do Sul	Corea del Sur
Kuwait	Kuwait	Kuwait
Kyrgyzstan	Quirguistão	Kirguistán
Laos	Laos	Laos
Latvia	Letônia	Letonia
Lebanon	Líbano	Líbano
Lesotho	Lesoto	Lesoto
Liberia	Libéria	Liberia
Libya	Líbia	Libia
Liechtenstein	Liechtenstein	Liechtenstein
Lithuania	Lituânia	Lituania
Luxembourg	Luxemburgo	Luxemburgo
Macedonia	Macedônia	Macedonia
Madagascar	Madagáscar	Madagascar
Malawi	Malawi	Malawi
Malaysia	Malásia	Malasia
Maldives	Maldivas	Maldivas
Mali	Mali	Mali
Malta	Malta	Malta
Marshall Islands	Ilhas Marshall	Islas Marshall

Mauritania	Mauritânia	Mauritania
Mauritius	Maurício	Mauricio
Mexico	México	Méjico
Micronesia, Federated States of	Micronésia, Estados Federados da	Micronesia, Estados Federados
Moldova	Moldávia	Moldavia
Monaco	Mônaco	Mónaco
Mongolia	Mongólia	Mongolia
Montenegro	Montenegro	Montenegro
Morocco	Marrocos	Marruecos
Mozambique	Moçambique	Mozambique
Myanmar (Burma)	Mianmar (Birmânia)	Myanmar (Birmania)
Namibia	Namíbia	Namibia
Nauru	Nauru	Nauru
Nepal	Nepal	Nepal
Netherlands	Países Baixos	Países Bajos
New Zealand	Nova Zelândia	Nueva Zelanda
Nicaragua	Nicarágua	Nicaragua
Niger	Níger	Níger
Nigeria	Nigéria	Nigeria
Norway	Noruega	Noruega
Oman	Omã	Omán
Pakistan	Paquistão	Pakistán
Palau	Palau	Palau
Panama	Panamá	Panamá
Papua New Guinea	Papua Nova Guiné	Papúa Nueva Guinea
Paraguay	Paraguai	Paraguay
Peru	Peru	Perú
Philippines	Filipinas	Filipinas
Poland	Polónia	Polonia
Portugal	Portugal	Portugal
Qatar	Catar	Katar
Romania	Romania	Rumania
Russia	Rússia	Rusia
Rwanda	Ruanda	Ruanda
Saint Kitts and Nevis	São Cristóvão e Nevis	San Cristóbal y Nieves
Saint Lucia	Santa Lúcia	Santa Lucía
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	São Vicente e Granadinas	San Vicente y las Granadinas

Samoa	Samoa	Samoa
San Marino	San Marino	San Marino
Sao Tome and Principe	São Tomé e Príncipe	Santo Tomé y Príncipe
Saudi Arabia	Arábia Saudita	Arabia Saudita
Senegal	Senegal	Senegal
Serbia	Sérvia	Serbia
Seychelles	Seychelles	Seychelles
Sierra Leone	Serra Leoa	Sierra Leona
Singapore	Cingapura	Singapur
Slovakia	Eslováquia	Eslovaquia
Slovenia	Eslovênia	Eslovenia
Solomon Islands	Ilhas Salomão	Islas Salomón
Somalia	Somália	Somalia
South Africa	África do Sul	Sudáfrica
South Sudan	Sudão do Sul	Sudán del Sur
Spain	Espanha	España
Sri Lanka	Sri Lanka	Sri Lanka
Sudan	Sudão	Sudán
Suriname	Suriname	Suriname
Swaziland	Suazilândia	Swazilandia
Sweden	Suécia	Suecia
Switzerland	Suíça	Suíza
Syria	Síria	Síria
Tajikistan	Tajiquistão	Tayikistán
Tanzania	Tanzânia	Tanzania
Thailand	Tailândia	Tailandia
Togo	Togo	Togo
Tonga	Tonga	Tonga
Trinidad and Tobago	Trinidad e Tobago	Trinidad y Tobago
Tunisia	Tunísia	Túnez
Turkey	Turquia	Turquía
Turkmenistan	Turcomenistão	Turkmenistán
Tuvalu	Tuvalu	Tuvalu
Uganda	Uganda	Uganda
Ukraine	Ucrânia	Ucrania
United Arab Emirates	Emirados Árabes Unidos	Emiratos Árabes Unidos
United Kingdom	Reino Unido	Reino Unido
United States of America	Estados Unidos da America	Estados Unidos de America
Uruguay	Uruguai	Uruguay

Uzbekistan	Uzbequistão	Uzbekistán
Vanuatu	Vanuatu	Vanuatu
Venezuela	Venezuela	Venezuela
Vietnam	Vietnã	Vietnam
Yemen	Iémen	Yemen
Zambia	Zâmbia	Zambia
Zimbabwe	Zimbábue	Zimbabue

Source:

UNITED NATIONS. **Member States**. Available in: < <http://www.un.org/en/member-states/>> Accessed on 31 jan 2020.

**APPENDIX 4**  
**MODEL OF INTERVIEW PRESENTATION LETTER**  
**(ADAPTED WHETHER POLICY MAKER OR SCHOLAR)**

Dear \_\_\_\_\_,

I am Glaucia Bernardo, a Visiting PhD Scholar at the United Nations University Institute on Comparative Regional Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS), developing research on public policy transfer among international organizations, under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Madeleine Hosli. Specifically, my thesis topic is about higher education public policy transfer from the European Union to Mercosur.

In my dissertation, I am seeking to observe how 'Educational Mercosur' provides a space for the synthesis and dissemination of public policies. In the pursuit of this objective I have noticed how significant the European Union has been for the development of Mercosur policies.

I would like to investigate this dynamic further by conducting interviews with key stakeholders and scholars.  (adaptation space) . The interview will address EU-Mercosur relations and the policy transfer variables of analysis, which are: motivations, actors, content, degree, origins and constraints. If you accept, you could choose to participate by skype or receiving by email the consent term and questions (and answer by email). I look forward to hearing your response on this matter.

Thank you in advance.

Yours sincerely,

Glaucia Bernardo

## APPENDIX 5

### MODEL OF CONSENT TERM

#### *Interview Informed Consent Form*

Research project title: "An enhancement proposal for *policy transfer analysis* among international organizations"

Research investigator: Glauca Julião Bernardo ([gbernardo@cris.unu.edu](mailto:gbernardo@cris.unu.edu) / [glaubernardo@gmail.com](mailto:glaubernardo@gmail.com))

Research supervisor: Prof. Dr. Madeleine Hosli (UNU-CRIS / [mhosli@cris.unu.edu](mailto:mhosli@cris.unu.edu)) and prof. Dr. Alessandro Pereira (UFPR / [alexsep@uol.com.br](mailto:alexsep@uol.com.br))

I declare that I am willing to participate in this research on EU-Mercosur relations, specifically on higher education and its unfolding since the Sorbonne and Bologna Declarations. Documentation of both blocs indicates there might be a policy transfer relation between them and my participation is essential for understanding its variables of analysis.

I am aware that the interview will take about 20 minutes and will address the following policy transfer variables of analysis, which are: motivations, actors, content, degree, origins, constraints. I understand that my participation in this interview is completely voluntary, and I don't have to answer any questions I don't want to. If I want to stop the interview at any time, I may. I also know that I can choose whether to be identified or not:

Yes, I can be identified (my name can be mentioned) in the final research and its related results.

No, I prefer not being identified (my name cannot be mentioned) in the final research and its related results.

Since there is a large amount of information to be gathered, this interview will be recorded and transcribed. Should you wish, you are entitled to receive a copy of the interview transcription for approval:

Yes, I would like to receive a copy of the transcripts for approval.

No, I am happy to give my prior consent and do not need to see a copy of the transcripts.

I understand that the transcripts will be analyzed by the researcher and supervisor, as well as other collaborators linked to the project. In the case that the interviewee has chosen not to be identified, the collaborators will only have access to a coded version. The recordings will be stored in a secure, digitally encrypted research file. As part of the academic research, it is possible that a summary of the interview content and direct quotations will be published in the final thesis; they may also be used in papers / articles / speeches / websites or other media directly related to the research. In case of any variation of the conditions above, the researcher will ask for your explicit approval.

By signing this form, I indicate that I have fully read the form and have been given the chance to ask any arising questions. I hereby agree with all the information presented and to participate voluntarily in the interview without expecting any benefit or payment for it.

Place and date: \_\_\_\_\_

Research participant name and signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Research participant's email: \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX 6

### EU POLICY MAKERS INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

<p><b>Specific Objectives:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. To map the contact between Educational Mercosur and other international organizations – focusing on the European Union – to test the methodological proposal.</li> <li>4. To demonstrate the projects that these international organizations as well as the European Union have helped Educational Mercosur to develop, to test the methodological proposal.</li> </ol>	
Variables:	Questions:
Motivation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Why do you believe education is a key component of regional integration?</li> <li>2. Do you believe the Bologna process represents an advance in European Integration?</li> <li>3. Was the EU Commission influential in the policy making process?</li> <li>4. As an advanced example of regional integration in the field of education do you believe the European Higher Education Area could be used as a model for other blocs?</li> <li>5. If yes, how do you propose supporting organizations that want to learn from the European experience in Education?</li> </ol>
Origin	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. What is the state of EU-Mercosur relations in this field?</li> </ol>
Actors	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Which European countries or actors seem to have led the Bologna process? Do they also lead partnerships with other regional blocs in this policy area?</li> <li>8. Which Mercosur countries are more involved in this partnership development process?</li> <li>9. If possible, can you detail who participated in these meetings?</li> </ol>
Degree / Content	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>10. Can you describe which higher education projects you helped develop? In what ways?</li> </ol>
Constraints	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>11. What were/ are the difficulties/challenges faced in Europe regards the implementation of the Bologna process? And what about Mercosur and its higher education projects?</li> <li>12. Is the Bologna process still as important as it was in the 2000's?</li> </ol>

## APPENDIX 7 SCHOLARS INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

<p><b>Specific Objectives:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. To map the contact between Educational Mercosur and other international organizations – focusing on the European Union – to test the methodological proposal.</li> <li>4. To demonstrate the projects that these international organizations as well as the European Union have helped Educational Mercosur to develop, to test the methodological proposal.</li> </ol>	
<b>Variables:</b>	<b>Questions:</b>
Motivation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Why is there a tendency – in terms of policies - to look at the EU when talking about regional integration?</li> <li>2. Do you believe the EU takes advantage of this position?</li> </ol>
Origin	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Do you believe the EU has tried to influence Mercosur Integration Processes? Also, in terms of higher education?</li> </ol>
Actors	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Would it be possible to map the main actors of this interaction with regard to higher education? Who is involved in the process?</li> </ol>
Degree / Content	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Regarding EU-Mercosur relations in terms of higher education, do you believe:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Blocs have worked to implement the same policies as the EU in Mercosur?</li> <li>b) Blocs have worked to adapt the EU's policies to the differing reality within Mercosur?</li> <li>c) The EU's policies were one of the sources Mercosur used to formulate its policies; there are others.</li> <li>d) That in the case of education the EU inspired Mercosur, but there was not a lack of interest within Mercosur to replicate the EU model.</li> <li>e) That EU policies have nothing to do with Mercosur's ones.</li> <li>f) None of the previous.</li> </ol> </li> <li>6. In which area do you think EU-Mercosur relations are more easily observed?</li> </ol>
Constraints	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. What are the difficulties/challenges Mercosur has faced in looking to the EU as a model? If you believe this was the case.</li> </ol>

## APPENDIX 8

### LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Name	Category	Reason
Andrea Bianculli	Scholar	Assistant Professor at the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI). Recently, she has published the following article Bianculli, Andrea C. .2018. From free market to social policies? Mapping regulatory cooperation in education and health in MERCOSUR. <i>Global Social Policy</i> .
Adriano Koetsenruijter	EU Policy Maker	Advisor at the European External Action Service. At the time, he was a diplomat responsible for relations with Latin America
Jose Guterrez	EU Policy Maker	Head of Sector at Erasmus+: Sport, Youth, EU Aid Volunteers and European Solidarity Corps from the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency of the European Commission.
Paulo Mayal	MERCOSUR Policy Maker	He started dealing with MERCOSUR in 2005, when he started working in the of the Secretariat of Higher Education' International Advisory Office of the Ministry of Education (AAI / SESu / MEC). He worked as an advisor and as a Brazilian representative in the Regional Coordinating Commission for Higher Education (CRCES) of the Education Sector of MERCOSUR (SEM).
Peter Van der Hijden	EU Policy Maker	Peter van der Hijden is a higher education expert who has worked on and helped to develop the Erasmus programme, the European Higher Education Area (Bologna Process) and the EU Modernisation Agenda for Higher Education. <sup>20</sup>
Policy Officer 1*	EU Policy Maker	A policy officer at European Commission who has experience in this field. However, this person has chosen not to be identified.

<sup>20</sup> EURASHE. **Peter Van der Hijden**. Available in <https://www.eurashe.eu/about/experts/van-der-hijden-2/>. Accessed on 07 jan. 2020.