Key Dynamics of Internationalization of Public Policy in the Context of Policy Transfer

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ABSTRAK

Artikel ini berusaha menguji sejauh mana kebijakan dapat berpindah sebagai sebuah proses dengan kompleksitas tinggi serta bersifat dinamis dalam kerangka internasionalisasi di era globalisasi. Selanjutnya, artikel ini akan memaparkan saluran-saluran penting dalam proses perpindahan ide-ide secara internasional, kebijakan-kebijakan dan praktik-praktik melalui proses pembelajaran kebijakan internasional yang dapat berproses dan membentuk perpindahan kebijakan, adopsi kebijakan, penyebaran kebijakan dan pemusatan kebijakan. Lebih lanjut, penulis meyakini bahwa literatur terkait perpindahan kebijakan semakin terpusat, selaras dengan perkembangan topik – topik terkait dalam studi perbandingan politik dan kebijakan publik. Lebih lanjut, artikel ini meneliti keterlibatan organsasi non-Pemerintah, komunitas masyarakat, dan isu-isu politik dalam mempengaruhi proses pembelajaran Pemerintah tentang apa yang harus mereka lakukan dan apa yang dapat dipelajari dari masalah-masalah bersama. Akhirnya, artikel ini menyimpulkan bahwa era globalisasi telah banyak menantang gagasan sistem negara-berbangsa tunggal dan otonomi negara-berbangsa majemuk yang ditandai adanya perubahan gerak dan dinamika hubungan antarnegara dan elemen-elemen di dalam negara, dalam perspektif perpindahan kebijakan.

Kata Kunci: Perpindahan kebijakan, pembelajaran kebijakan, adopsi kebijakan, pemusatan kebijakan, globalisasi

ABSTRACT

The article aims at examining how policy could be transferred as a complex and dynamic process in terms of internationalization and globalization. In addition, it will explore significant channels for the international movement of ideas, policies, and practices through an international policy learning process formed in policy transfer, lesson drawing, policy diffusion, and policy convergence. Further, it is argued that policy transfer literature is increasingly central, leading to the development of related topics in comparative politics and public policy. This article investigates the involvement of non-government organizations, civil society and political issues in driving the learning process about what government should have done and can be learned with common problems. Finally, the article concludes that globalization has challenged the notion of a nation-state system and the autonomy of nation-states by the velocity of change and the dynamic of interstate and intrastate factors in term of policy transfer.

Keywords: policy transfer, lesson drawing, policy diffusion, policy convergence, globalization

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INTRODUCTION

Every single country has its own unique problems and its own characteristics in terms of population, culture, and politics. Good public policies are sought to solve the problems. We need a solution that can be solved by policy, as one of the aims of public policy is to give solution to the problem (Colander and Kupers 2016). Merely attending a one-week conference or seminar and identically copy the policy would not result in improved problem solving capacity. Rose argues that problems are unique to one country and cannot be generalized (Rose 1991, 3) but policy makers could learn from how their counterparts have responded to specific problems (Rose 1991). Transferring policy is not that simple. Instead, it is complex and needs a strategy where like is being compared to like. However, from best practices there can be an opportunity to apply particular or even the whole idea of a policy to tackle similar problems, which make public policy possibly learned from other countries. Cairney argues that policy transfer tends to be a vague term (Cairney 2008). It is, undoubtedly, the country's authority to either adopt or not to adopt the policy; as Dye explains, public policy is what a government chooses to do or not to do (Dye, in Birkland 2005). Further, the force of globalization may push the country to conduct or adopt one policy.

The founding fathers of policy transfer, Dolowitz and Marsh, describe it as:

> "a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political setting (past or present) is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political setting" (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000, 5).

While Peck and Theodore argue that policy transfers move in selective parts, a synthesized model is not a whole package of policy because the policy has arrived as a 'transformation' rather than a mere 'replica'. Furthermore, the policy has changed within an environment. Policies are:

"developed in a comparative frame with improved consciousness about alternative and complementary policies, as policy peddlers and gurus play their trade on the international conference circuit, as expertise is insourced from think tanks and consultancies, and so on" (Peck and Theodore 2010, 170).

Further, in this article, I will discuss what the key dynamics of internationalization public policy are in policy transfer discourse. The first part will explore the benefits and traits in policy transfer which could be an opportunity or a risk. The second part will discuss the rationale behind the policy transfer and the relation to policy transfer. The third part attempts to explore globalization as one key dynamic of internationalization of public policy. This part will highlight the context of policy transfer, which can be moved or in moving from one to another. This could be among states or intrastate and interstate. This part will also explore how internationalization of public policy spheres can affect and infuse other country's policy systems and explore the involvement of power in the development era.

POLICY TRANSFER: LEARNING FROM SUCCESS AND FAILURES

Policy is not the goods which can be imported or exported or moved to other countries simply. It is a complex process of policy transfer. It is not an easy copy and paste operation, but instead of that a country can 'emulate from the countries without learning from them or learn not to emulate' (Cairney 2012, 263). Policy transfer can range from one full package of policy, concepts, ideas, innovation and the strategy, to one specific policy in particular policy tools within an extremely complex process (Cairney 2012). Therefore, policy transfer is a general term, which could be a form with a lot of faces. Peck and Theodore argue for:

"metaphors in policy transfer instead of mobility and mutation, rather than transfer, transit, and transaction, policy-making dynamics being conceived in terms of reproduction across and between sites of

innovation or emulation (rather than inter jurisdictional replication"
(Peck and Theodore 2010).

Distinctive contributions of the following collection of literature are
highlighted in the context of an emergent 'policy mobility' approach.
Policy transfer is not the only way to learn from another country's per-
spectives. In other words, otherwise, we could see lot of forms of policy
transfer which could be distinguished into the following table.

Table 1
Forms of Policy Transfer

	Policy transfer	Lesson drawing	Policy diffusion	Policy convergence
Definition	As an umbrella term which catch general term in policy learning (Cairney 2012). It also invokes notions of rational diffusion and best practice replication (Peck and Theodore 2010).	Focusing on lesson learned from success story (Rose 1991).	Attempts to circulate of policies and ideas among countries (Stone 2001).	'representing a crucial counter-factual propositions that allowing similarities developments take place in various nations with or without any direct linkages between them' (Stone 2001).
Transfer Process	Public policy literature tend to be focused on the state (Stone 2001).	The agents are much broader categories of individuals, networks and organizations (Stone 2001).	Started with innovation and focus not only on the process, but the 'spread and speed' of adoption (Walker 1969).	Needs; emulation; harmonization; elite networking and policy communities; penetration (Benett 1991).

Source: *Compiled by author from related sources.*

The likelihood of the success of policy transfer could be determined
by learning how successful the policy was previously implemented in
the origin country, and how suited it was to the political system there
(Cairney 2008). If there was a previous study which would be beneficial
to the transferred country, then this would assist understanding and
prevent further trial and error. The terms and conditions, pre-existing
criteria, resources, budgeting, and public participation need be clear
too. It leads to the next question of transferability of success. Cairney
argues that it would not provide clear information and often did not

do so because the policy was working in 'particular circumstances' and depended on policy implementation; for example, the EU member with the limited power of international organization which encourages other members to adopt the policy puts 'pressure on recalcitrant member states' (Cairney 2013). Abu-Laban pointed out that the European Union traced the relation interstate and intrastate clearly in integration in the EU. From fifteen countries in 2004 further enlargement increasingly showed that members try to affect the EU Policy and, vice versa, how the EU try to influence their members into following its actions in policy agenda (McCormick 1999; Hix 1999).

METHODOLOGY

As explained earlier, this article aims at examining the policy transfer notion as a movement of ideas, practices, and learnings internationally. The study question follows: to gain understanding how policy transfer or policy learning work as process using the theoretical framework of internationalization of public policy. To fulfill the aim, I will use related literatures which chosen with reference of authenticity and credibility. The main literature is written by David P. Dolowitz and David Marsh who has acknowledged as founding fathers of policy transfer terminology. The literature review has brought introduced policy transfer as mechanism of learning process in adaptation of new policy could be learned and moved from one to another.

EMPIRICAL WORK IN POLICY TRANSFER

Moose suggests that the key to the policy problems is that we need to shift from a reductionist analysis that explains by substitution, to look at successful development interventions such as the creation of order through social acts of composition. The coherence attributed to a successful project is never a matter of design of policy but, paradoxically, the order of a successful project rests on disjuncture and contradiction (Moose 2004). We can learn and derive lessons from other countries' problems and how they face it through policy strategy and policy pro-

cess. As for example, I use the empirical work in transfer of policy in poverty alleviation-poverty based on voucher scheme that seeks to be adopted in developing countries which previously introduced in developed country. This will demonstrate this policy transfer process as case studies. Since a policy based on vouchers was first introduced in England, other countries tried to adopt it. The scheme aims at changing the using of cash money and substitute with voucher rather which is believed more valuable and more accountable. However, in South Asia there were still fundamental problems in gathering the data of targeted people for those deserved the scheme; they still needed a database of their people in order to measure and target the project within the program. Further, data on outcomes of targeted people are not yet available, though some evidence is beginning to (Jehan et al. 2012, 142). The policy after being transferred should be modified first so then will suitable to solve the problem. However, no matter successful was the policy; designing the policy is matter because different structure will bring different implementation.

As Latour notes (1996, 78), 'If we say that a successful project existed from the beginning because it was well conceived and that a failed project went aground because it was badly conceived, we are saying nothing, we are only repeating the words 'success' and 'failure', while placing the cause of both at the beginning of the project, at its conception'. Peck and Theodore have two points of view of what a successful policy is. First, the successful policy has become an object of emulation and learning rationally as the orthodox literature is predominantly concerned with ex-post facto evaluations of 'successful' transfers, which are typically judged according to surface identical or likeness in 'policy designs, scripts, and rationales' (Peck and Theodore 2010). Secondly, policy transfer is not aiming to reduce the efficient process for transmitting best or even better practices, but is described as a field of adaptive connections, deeply structured by enduring power relations and shifting ideological alignments (Peck and Theodore 2010). Simply said, policy transfer is an intrinsic politic which is rarely just about transferring knowledge and technology from A to B (Peck and Theodore 2010).

Policy transfer could be risky if not well prepared. The worst scenario is that policy transfer could be mal-practiced, ineffective, inefficient, wasteful, and 'maladaptive'. The resources could be barriers because the importer of the policy may not have the expertise or the enormous budget to copy the 'pilot project'.

POLITICS: KEY DYNAMIC OF POLICY TRANSFER

Policies are actively moving and new forms of policy-making and mobility can be seen from across the critical social sciences, including a new round of diffusion studies and learning processes (Levi-Faur 2005; Weyland 2006; Simmons et al. 2008; Peck and Theodore 2010). In the rational-actor environment perspective, policy transfers are stylized as a distinctively conspicuous category of 'boundary-crossing practice', the occurrence of which could be implicitly or explicitly traced to superior performance in exporting jurisdictions (Peck and Theodore 2010). Policy mobility believes that when a new policy is released, it would often 'mutate and hybridize' unexpectedly (Ong 2006; Ferguson 2009). In contrast to policy transfer's critical approach to policy mobility, instead of focusing on best practice replication, it focuses 'on open- ended and politicized processes of networking and mutation across shifting social landscapes' (Peck and Theodore 2010, 173). It might be followed by neoliberal patterns in following years.

Cairney (2012) said the key problem in policy transfer is who or what is the main force behind the policy transfer. It might be from the powerful agencies such as countries, international organizations, communities, foundations or from the country itself that wants and needs to emulate the policy and learn both from the benefits and the failures so that they can improve and fix it. Farazmand suggest that International Organizations could possibly leverage the globalization in a westernization process (Farazmand 2004). The force between policy transfer sometimes depends on the power of powerful actors that may range from international organizations, international policy communities, agencies based on research and donor countries. As Ferguson once said 'Development's effects occur, behind the backs or against

the wills of even the most powerful actors' (Ferguson 1994, 18). It can be coercive, as with the powerful country over the less powerful. Cairney also has another perspective to the selling power of 'entrepreneur policy' which may lead to improved public opinion. This may have followed a neoliberal patterning in recent years, though this too has been associated with an evolving, experimental policy repertoire, beset by contradictions, as opposed to some fixed blueprint (Cairney 2012). Currently, political science interest is in the strongest focus in policy transfer (Cairney 2012).

The international political system can help the transfer, who could be economic, political, socially, or cultural aspects supported with communication technologies (Cairney 2012). Transferring policy is not as easy as transferring money. With money there are basically just the giver and the receiver. Policy transfer involves a much more complicated process between the importer and exporter. In addition, Moose argues that development practice is not quite driven by 'good policy', which legitimizes and mobilizes political support; the un-implementable policy is caused by chosen institutions. Development practice is driven by a multi-layered complex of relationships and the culture of organizations rather than policy (Moose 2004).

Policy transfer could be forced either by conditionality or be entirely voluntary (Cairney 2012; Sheppard and Leitner 2006). In addition, policy transfer works within a policy network, which the system connects and distributes the idea or resource of political knowledge for the decision maker in both private and public sectors (Kenis and Schneider 1991). Cairney explains that the force of policy transfer can be pressured by the power of international organizations in giving funds or technical assistance in a developing country. A case in example is the World Bank with its Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) with the privatization of public enterprise companies due to their neo-liberalism agenda in Sub-Saharan Countries. The countries may not even have many choices except to just passively receive the policy as terms and conditions apply for the grant or aid to be given. The enforcement from the World Bank through loan conditionality and policy-based-lending has hardly been

abandoned although the discursive in power has not faded away (Peck and Theodore 2010). Sheppard and Leitner assume in understanding the development thinking, the shifting from structural adjustment to decentralized governance amongst the Washington Consensus agencies masks significant continuities in the locus of power and expertise (Sheppard and Leitner 2007).

The 'global governance' notion, where framing and organizing normative consensus to bear the imprint of what Sheppard and Leitner call a 'developmentalist socio-spatial imaginary' which' pre-emptively legitimizes first- world expertise and which combines a stagiest teleology with an essentially neoliberal vision of competitive leveling' (Peck and Theodore 2010, 171). Consequently, those global public policies traveling in socio-technical models and development models, such as micro finance and conditional cash transfer schemes, selectively adopt from decentralized governance into development models and practices (Rankin 2001; Mitchell 2009; Peck and Theodor 2010). However, concerning the 'stylish' global policy, Peck and Theodor argue it is not necessarily the original idea which comes from the international organization itself, but is "selectively harvested from the fields of decentralized governance, refined into development models and (best) practices, and purposefully re-circulated through global networks" (Peck and Theodor 2010, 174).

GLOBALIZATION: KEY DYNAMIC OF POLICY TRANSFER

Globalization is not about the geographical but only needs to 'grapple with the spatial implications of 'globalization' (Castles 1996; Harvey 2001). In the political science view, the state has been the center and focus of political science and the notion of development has been deepening our understanding the twentieth century (Laban and Adam 1982). The globalization term could move through the 'social, technological, cultural, economic, and political and might not be something new recently because the 'agents of the world' moved the changes simultaneously across human borders and political barriers (Roniger 1995, 260).

Globalization is supported by the rise of information and communication and may lead to a fast track to learning in the policy world (Orsini and Smith 2007). In addition, global problems, which have been rooted for decades, cannot be tackled by one country. That is why we need collaboration among states and countries to have the shared perspectives and to find solutions together. Global warming needs global attention. That is why we need to conduct global policy, and apply it in every country. Together is better because policy could transfer interstate; horizontal transfers between states, or intrastate; policy transfers can occur vertically between states, and international organizations or between trans-national non-state actors (Stone 2001).

It is not only government but also non-government actors play important role in transferring public policy. Non-government actors possibly acting as 'policy entrepreneurs' who play an important role in interaction with the governments and international organizations in spreading and developing the ideas and information (Stone 2001). Entrepreneur refers to the people with strong marketing skills and selling knowledge and making it attractive so that every country is interested in adopting it, from the past or from the recent problem. Policy transfer could be an arena and also an opportunity for expertise in a particular policy from where the policy originated or developed and enable working as an expert professional offering higher salary with greater benefits in developing countries. For example, a World Bank Consultant who has higher salary compared to local consultants and is given lots of benefits in developing countries (Guardian 2016).

The learning process has grown rapidly because of globalization which is relatively open for those who want to explore. Sharing the knowledge became common in informing and giving insight to others within the spreading of information, ideas, and power (Stone 2001). Not only has the idea or policy can flourish in copying the policy but also in generating better policy. But unsuitable policy may harm and endanger and have adverse effects on government and people. International Policy transfer could be affected globally but also locally; it can be examined from central government transferred to local government.

International organizations such as the World Bank have been criticized as their policies and conditionality can be seen as a 'Development Gateway', a common portal and one-stop shop for development knowledge on the internet with the one objective to 'harmonize' multiple different databases on development activity (King 2002).

Globalization is defined as 'the transition to a knowledge-based economy' (Orsini and Smith 2007, 1). The impact of globalization spurred on new ideas, such as neo-liberalism in policy making, trade and union, and it has been effective. The birth of free trade agreements is about to expand resulting in borderless interstate territories and to encourage an improvement in the economic relationship in supply-demand and in creating equilibrium.

Behind the movement of policy, there are people who take vital roles in delivering and transferring the policy. They are called 'the policy entrepreneur' or 'policy broker'. Stone explains that these could be international organizations, think tanks, consultancies, law firms and banks (Stone 2001). They contribute in conducting new policy arrangements through transferring the ideas, spreading the norms and consensus on behalf of global governance (Stone 2001). Policy actors are not conceptualized as lone learners, but as embodied members of 'epistemic, expert, and practice communities' (Peck and Theodore 2010). They are complex actors, shifting in international organization and political fields. Often they do not operate alone; they operate in fields of practice that are heavily connected, interrelated, not least by a range of interests in the policy transfer 'business' such as consultants, advocates, evaluators, gurus, and critics, that is why we called it 'policy entrepreneur' (Peck and Theodore 2010). Their involvement could either be useful or chaotic.

The trans-national network is the important vehicle for policy transfer (Stone 2003). Meanwhile Mahon considered that policy network is 'mechanism' for the political resources moved, distributed and dispersed among decision makers, program formulators, and implementers (Mahon et. al. 2007). Globalization is the dynamic key to support the transnational network; the consequence of policy transfer within its

complexity means that policy transfer is not an independent process. Consequently, determining the degree of transfer is complicated by other policy dynamics in play. Policy transfer is not an independent process but is part of the wider policy process and shaped by such a process (Wolman 1992, 44).

Since such terminology as governance was introduced, the international organizations took a vital part in conducting the policy transfer from state to state. International organizations took a coercive part in policy transfer. A case in example is international trade on behalf of globalization as a result of network trading. Coercive policy transfer or conditionality could be a way to introduce the enforcement of policy, neglecting the economic problem. For example, GATT who acts as an international regime to control and to force the tariff trade. And the WTO makes institutionalized, codified trade laws and adjudication panels (Stone 2003). The organizations are critical in the demise of the effective enforcement system:

> "in the absence of an effective enforcement mechanism, adherence to WTO norms and standards is reliant upon the 'internalization' of a belief in free trade and liberalization in the domestic politics of member states. Without a 'cosmological heritage' or 'shared norms' that shape collective behavior, compulsion is often necessary to ensure compliance and convergence. Economic sanctions are a blunt instrument and have been substantially criticized for being ineffective and/or having perverse outcomes (hence interest in 'smart' sanctions" (Stone 2003, 11)".

Conditionality has potential strategies relevant to understanding coercive and persuasive policy transfer. As Lal argues, coercive and persuasive policy transfer could be a 'restraint' which is trying to seek protection against policy reversal that may occur in a new government. It is the opposite form of 'inducement' where there is no policy disagreement between the recipient and donor country or even no initiative form (Lal 2001, 253-56).

CONCLUSION

Policy transfer ranges from one full package to one specific policy tool within an extremely complex process (Cairney 2012). Policy transfer is general terminology, which could be transferred into many forms; lesson drawing, policy diffusion, and policy convergence which could be challenging for not only the policy importer, but also exporter policy (Marsh and Dolowitz 2000). Behind policy transfer lies political and globalization factors which are key dynamics in internationalization of public policy in policy transfer literature, especially in the field of development.

Within internationalization, it is possible to connect from one to another. Globalization is creating space or an arena to facilitate and communicate with each other. We could learn what is happening or what has happened in other parts in the globe, how people have responded and responding to that and what is their further step to tackle or to handle it through policy. That is why policy could transfer, moving from one to another place. It has been argued that policy transfer literature is increasingly central, leading to the development of interesting topics in comparative politics and public policy (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996). Globalization is of help in understanding the magnitude of the intensification process and the magnitude of power within the global policy. The globalization perspective focuses on the belief that the world is connected within a network, from local government, central government, governance and international government. The involvement of non-government organizations, civil society and political issues drives the learning process about what government should have done with common problems and what can be learned from other's experiences in tackling such problems.

Policy transfer today is learning more from political science than technical or objective aspects and process (Cairney 2008). Policy transfer expected to be an answer to identical problems but neglects background, specific characteristics and special concerns. However, it could be argued as to what is the motive behind the policy itself? It might be to spreading power on behalf of development issues as result of manu-

facturing globalization. Globalization has challenged the notion of a nation-state system and the autonomy of nation-states by the velocity of change and the dynamic of interstate and intrastate factors (Laban 2007).

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20

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