

Reconstruction of Conceptual Model of Policy Transfer and Dispute Response

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Abstract

Through combing the literature on policy transfer, this paper summarizes four controversial issues in the field of policy transfer research: whether the policy transfer framework has been updated at this stage, and whether the various factors are ranked in importance? Has the main body of policy transfer theory changed in the view of globalization? Is the policy transfer theory a perfect rational process? Is it necessary to establish strict theoretical boundaries in the theory of policy transfer? In view of the four controversial issues, the qualitative research software NVIVO re-codes 92 policy transfer cases to draw a conceptual model of policy transfer, and analyzes each coding element to respond to the controversial issues, namely soft transfer and network, the new trend of policy transfer. The dominant position of the government has not wavered under the vision of globalization. The spirit of rationalism guides the practice of policy transfer; There is no need to establish a strict theoretical boundary for policy transfer. At the same time, the policy transfer theory has also opened up ideas for policy learning and policy dissemination in our country.

Keywords

policy transfer; Qualitative research; Frame analysis.

1. Introduction

Policy transfer was born under the background of the new public management movement within the support framework of global communication. In the past 20 years, due to the efforts of western governments to respond to the challenges of technological change, globalization and international competition, important changes have taken place in their public sectors [1], this period of change represents a new paradigm shift, that is, from the traditional public administration model that dominated most of the 20th century or new public management model. The government-related bureaucracy theory is being replaced by various economic theories and market rules. It is a new management paradigm relative to the traditional administration. It emphasizes the 3E in government management, namely economy, benefit and efficiency. It pays attention to performance evaluation, market principles, and makes government management competitive and market-oriented. Although the new public management movement was later criticized by neo-liberal ideology, economic imperialism and new Taylor doctrine and faced with the challenges of new paradigms such as new public service theory and network governance theory, it was not little impacted. However, it is certain that the new public management movement caused a global governance revolution, which is not only an inevitable change brought about by globalization, networking and marketization, but also an inevitable requirement for the government to seek self-innovation and legitimacy in the governance revolution. In the post-new public management era under the background of globalization, the information network will shorten the physical distance between countries indefinitely. When faced with governance challenges and national competitive pressures, the government will turn to seek the governance experience of other countries. The relevant theory of policy transfer is thus produced.

The theory of policy transfer is gradually developed from the literature of comparative politics. It originates from the policy diffusion theory, which originates from the comparative policy research evolved from comparative politics. In the 1950s and 1960s, comparative politics developed in a prosperous period, which was also a period when behaviorism replaced law-institutionalism and historicism as the dominant paradigm[2]. Researchers brought the dynamic political decision-making process and the output of government activities, i.e. policy issues, into the category of comparative research. The shift from comparative political research to comparative policy research was not only the result of the influence of behaviorism paradigm on political science, but also the inevitable result of political science's increasing its adaptability to cope with the changes of national development and globalization. In order to investigate the way the policy is spread in time or space and describe the spreading sequence of similar policies in various countries, how is this policy implemented? Can this process of policy dissemination be summed up in the general framework of policy research? As a result of these doubts, the concept of policy proliferation emerged, and then a series of theories related to policy transfer became the focus of research.

2. Concepts

Policy transfer is not a single theory, but a general framework formed by integrating related concepts such as policy convergence and policy diffusion after Dolowitz and Marsh summarized and summed up a number of theories related to policy communication. [3] It sums up a number of large and scattered theoretical groups including Lesson Drawing, policy diffusion, policy convergence and policy diffusion. Finally, it sums up policy transfer and establishes a systematic theoretical framework. The theory of policy communication, which originated from comparative policy research, does not pay attention to the process of policy transfer. In order to overcome the weakness of policy communication research, policy diffusion research came into being. Policy diffusion is defined as the process of communication and innovation among members of the social system through certain channels. Policy diffusion focuses more on the transfer conditions than on the content of policy transfer, and only focuses on the transfer process. Because this perception needs to answer questions neglected in diffusion research, researchers began to discuss Lesson Drawing and policy shifts.

However, the policy convergence study, which was born almost at the same time as the policy diffusion study, is defined as the trend of society becoming more similar and the similarity in structure, process and performance. It holds that as society carries out more and more industrial infrastructure construction, certain decisive processes begin to operate, and these processes form similar social structures, political processes and public policies in the same mode over time. Due to its more complex content, it has also been criticized: convergence research is not a consistent theoretical position[4]. On the contrary, it reflects various theories and epistemological propositions. It is a multi-form zoo containing a large amount of basic descriptive or comparative evidence. It has rich valuable insights, but its construction theory is limited. So in the 1980s, an important critical comment said: The main problem with this study is that it did not reveal the contents of the new policy. Its charm lies in process rather than substance. Because this perception needs to answer questions neglected in diffusion research, scholars begin to turn to the study of learning lessons and policy transfer.

Lesson Drawing is very similar to the traditional rational explanation of policy formulation, emphasizing that policy decision-making is to pursue valuable goals through structured intervention by public institutions or their agents. It has the potential to distinguish rational policy-making from obviously irrational decision-making forms, deepening the concept of rational decision-making. If Lesson Drawing is to discuss the dissemination of policies from the rational decision of the government, policy transfer attempts to include the concept of domestic

policy changes through external influences and the convergence of policies of different countries.

Dolowitz and Marsh define policy transfer as the process in which policies, administrative arrangements or institutions that exist at one time or place are used to develop knowledge, administrative arrangements and institutions about policies at another time or place. This concept has been recognized by the academic community. The multi-horse model created by Dolowitz and Marsh includes eight factors: why transfer, who intervened in transfer, what transfer, from where transfer, degree of transfer, restriction of transfer, how to prove policy transfer, and why failure. As an analytical framework for policy transfer, it has been continuously explored and supplemented, which also makes the hot spot of policy transfer theory at the beginning of research bogged down in conceptual debate and improvement of the framework. At present, the research focus of policy transfer has begun to shift to soft transfer and network governance. The research on soft transfer and network governance in policy transfer is mainly focused on relying on an example to expand the research thinking and scope of policy transfer theory from the perspective of globalization and network, which opens up an explanation path for policy transfer theory to break through methodological nationalism and rational behavior hypothesis.

Policy mobility researchers believe that policy mobility is a political, power-filled and social construction process, which may occur at different levels of government, because ideological and technological movements reshape the power relationship between policy transfers and destroy the boundaries between these decision networks. Research on policy mobility is more inclined to explore the process of policy variation in the changing social environment and the open network political environment. The definition of policy actors is also broader, including non-governmental organizations, consultants, media, planners, advocates and neighborhood associations. Maccann and Ward especially focus on the mobility of urban policies. They suggest that attention be paid to how urban policies are made up of links with other places and political competition. Similarly, planners also advocate adopting key methods to better understand the growing flow of transnational planning ideas. Rather than proposing a new concept, the author supplements the concept of policy transfer, making the missing part of value reconstruction and system reconstruction in the previous research on policy transfer complete and focusing more on the part of soft transfer.

Policy transfer not only represents the development results of comparative public policy research, but also represents the importance of global public policy research from the perspective of globalization. It pays more attention to the analysis of differences between domestic and international fields. One of its responses to globalization is to improve the ability of policy learning so that policy makers can oppose the decline of sovereignty and control over domestic policies brought about by globalization. The theory of policy transfer is not without defects. Although the history of policy transfer research is only a few decades, the criticism of the theory of policy transfer has never stopped. The first is the non-stringency of policy transfer tools. At the beginning of policy transfer research, scholars were constrained by the establishment of a specific policy framework, represented by Dolowitz and Marsh, and summarized a set of tools to distinguish the types of policy transfer through the induction of policy transfer cases. However, with the evolution of policy diversity, the existing policy framework has been unable to meet the requirements of policy transfer, and scholars continue to try to improve this analytical tool. Scholars continue to realize that establishing a policy transfer tool is extremely difficult and cannot achieve perfection. The second dispute is that some scholars believe that there is no obvious boundary between policy transfer theory and other theories. The third criticism is that the policy transfer is based on rational assumptions, and the irrational factors in the policy making process and the policy makers will also affect the policy transfer process. Fourth, some scholars criticize that the theory of policy transfer needs

to clarify the main body of policy transfer under the background of globalization and networking to avoid the tendency of nationalism in methodology. In view of these four criticisms of the policy transfer theory, we can see the controversy in the development process of the policy transfer theory, whether the policy transfer framework has been updated at this stage, and whether the various elements have a ranking of importance? Has the main body of policy transfer theory changed in the view of globalization? Is the policy transfer theory a perfect rational process? Is it necessary to establish strict theoretical boundaries in the theory of policy transfer? This has not been concluded in previous articles that use theoretical arguments or single policy transfer case analysis. Therefore, when the previous analysis tools cannot solve these problems, new analysis tools and methods are needed to respond to the controversy over the policy transfer theory.

3. Research Design

3.1. The Theoretical Premise

The case study in this paper is based on the commonality of relevant cases of policy transfer. Although the selected cases involve different countries or regions, different research topics and different time periods, the selected cases are all based on the consensus of policy transfer theory, and the policy transfer theory based on the conceptual framework of policy diffusion and policy convergence recognizes the commonality between policy transfers at the beginning of its theoretical establishment, and its logical basis is the reference between policies.

The commonness between policies also conforms to the background of globalization. Some scholars believe that globalization means universality in the world. It is believed that it needs to be homogenized with worldwide cultural, economic, legal and political integration. Although globalization has promoted cultural diversity on the other hand, this view reveals the trend of convergence in the global scope including policy areas brought about by globalization. Based on such theoretical premise, the case analysis can be endowed with rationality.

3.2. Research Tools and Methods

This paper uses qualitative research methods and NVIVO software to analyze the attribution of policy transfer cases. Qualitative research is also called qualitative research and qualitative research. Qualitative research emphasizes the post-empirical and empirical investigation and analysis of the research object, and carries out explanatory understanding of the research object from a critical standpoint. Qualitative research spans different disciplines and is also surrounded by many complex and interrelated nouns, concepts and assumptions. Most scholars use qualitative research or qualitative inquiry, which usually includes folklore or ethnography, case study research, naturalistic inquiry, folk methodology, life history methodology, narrative enquiry, etc. NVIVO software is one of the powerful computer-aided analysis software for qualitative research. It provides qualitative researchers with various types of processing documents, PDF, pictures, audio, video, data sets and matrix frameworks. It can be used for coding and searching, theoretical establishment, Boolean logic-based systems and systems with conceptual networks. This paper uses NVIVO software to conduct qualitative research on policy transfer cases, summarizes and analyzes various elements of policy transfer through coding, re-establishes the policy transfer framework through multiple case studies, and can grasp key elements to deepen the understanding of policy transfer theory.

3.3. Sample Introduction

The sample of this study comes from the re-coding analysis of the cases in the articles of web of science involving the keyword policy transfer. A total of 798 articles were searched on the web of science under the theme of policy transfer. except for articles unrelated to the topic, no case studies and no retrieved articles, 92 articles were used for case analysis, including 22 articles

on urban studies, climate policy studies, environmental studies 29 articles, educational studies 12 articles, medicine 3 articles and 17 articles of other types, which basically follow the principle of diversity in case types. There are 59 studies involving developed countries and 22 studies involving developing countries, of which 11 are both involved. Because the policy transfer studies originated from developed countries, the developed countries account for a relatively large proportion. However, the studies of developing countries have increased in recent studies and basically follow the principle of diversity in the distribution of countries. In case analysis method, 46 articles are analyzed by interview method, 15 articles are analyzed by historical tracking method, 11 articles are analyzed by literature review method, and 20 articles are analyzed by mixed research method. In case analysis method, the principle of diversity is basically followed.

3.4. Research Process

The case study follows three coding processes of grounded theory: open coding, axial coding and selective coding, and establishes correlation coding, open coding and core coding. First of all, the contents involved are coded in an open way through the description of the case. For example, the left-wing and right-wing coalition government, or at least the government with strong welfare state orientation, has promoted the establishment of the national long-term care plan. This content can be coded as the need for government governance. The UNFCCC has played a role as a forum to demonstrate the mitigation and adaptation activities of various countries, thus bringing about positive reinforcement effect and group pressure. This content can be coded as national or regional competitive pressure, and the two open codes can be finally summed up as correlation code-the reason for policy shift. In this step, 92 cases were coded, resulting in 43 open codes, including 14 open subcodes, involving 781 reference points, resulting in 6 associated codes, and the final core code was the policy transfer framework. The following figure is a schematic diagram of the code. The more reference points, the higher the frequency of the code in the case, proving the higher the consensus of the content in the case.(Table 1)

4. Research Results

Through combing the theory of policy transfer, we can see that the policy transfer has faced questions and debates since its birth. This article also summarizes four debates on policy transfer in the previous section. According to the analysis of multiple cases of policy transfer, this paper has established a brand-new policy transfer framework. It can be seen that this framework is not divorced from the eight analysis elements of the multi-horse model, but the composition of each branch has changed, and the importance of each element can be clearly expressed according to the number of reference points, which is not possible in previous qualitative research. Therefore, this article will respond to four debates on policy transfer according to a brand-new theoretical framework of policy transfer.

Table 1: Policy Transfer Framework

Core Coding	Correlation formula Coding	Open type Coding	References Point	Correlation formula Coding	Open type Coding	Open type Sub-coding	Reference point
Policy Transfer Framework	Policy Transfer Reason	Government governance needs	28	Policy Transfer limit Factor	Complexity of policy environment		20
		Competition Pressure from Countries or Regions	45		Dependence	Resource dependence	5
		Self-development needs	25			Institutional dependence	7
		creature swap	5			Transferor dependence	4
		Domestic political pressure	25				
	Policy Transfer Participants	Government	55		Capital constraint		17
		Experts	43	Government			35
		The public	7				
		Interest group	22	Policy Transfer Condition	Support	Financial support	18
	Policy Transfer Content	Legislation	17			Technical support	6
		Policy	11			Government support	17
		Technology	11		Legal support	5	
		Thought	47		Information sharing	20	
	Policy Country of origin Influence	Policy thinking	20		Globalization		23
		Policy implementation	11		Network		28
		Financial contribution	14		Appropriate timing		6
		Political approval	11		Similarity	System	12
						Language	6
				Policy		2	
				Thought		32	

4.1. Soft Transfer and Network: The New Trend of Policy Transfer

The first argument of the policy transfer theory is is the policy transfer framework updated at this stage, and are the various factors ranked in importance? Through the coding of NVIVO qualitative research software, the number of reference points for each coding can be clearly sorted out. It can be seen that ideology plays a prominent role in policy transfer, including ideology with the highest proportion in content of policy transfer. In the influence of policy source country, the proportion of policy thoughts is the highest. The proportion of ideological similarity in policy transfer conditions is the highest. This shows that ideology runs through the policy transfer and affects the degree of policy transfer, thus becoming an essential condition for policy transfer. This conclusion has been mentioned in the previous policy transfer documents, but it is not the focus of policy transfer research. It shows that each factor of policy transfer has its own importance. It also shows that the importance of each factor of policy transfer will continuously update with the change of global background. This theoretical framework is dynamic rather than static.

Thought plays an important role in the theory of policy transfer and is closely related to the background of globalization, which can also be clearly reflected in the coding: globalization also accounts for a large proportion of policy transfer conditions. The relationship between globalization and policy reform is no longer a new topic in academic circles, among which teleology and functionalists believe that globalization is a mechanism innovation determined by system logic, and system innovation and new policy paradigm will eventually be regarded as the functional requirements of the global system. Some scholars also believe that international institutions are the main driving force for the connection between globalization and policy innovation. However, the two viewpoints have their own defects: the former does not demonstrate different paths of micro-foundation, because any country in the world must have a reason to produce functions, so it is not verifiable. The latter is trapped in the theories of political hegemony and political elitism. Then thought is considered to be an important factor in promoting policy reform in the era of globalization. There are mainly two views here. The first view is that thought is a mechanism of ideological rule. In particular, the spread of neo-liberal ideas is obviously ideological. The second viewpoint emphasizes that thought is an independent variable. It holds that in a complex society, due to the rational factors contained in thoughts, government management with legal rationality dominates, and technical knowledge and its bearers (cognitive communities) play a vital role in society. The important role of thought can be more fully explained by social constructivism, which takes a dynamically changing world as its premise and emphasizes inter-subjective understanding, that is, deciding what kind of behavior is important and appropriate for actors to understand. Thought is crucial in the framework of social constructivism because it conveys identity and interest. Therefore, only when the ideas coincide with interests and identities can they create meaning for the society. The important role of thought in the policy transfer framework illustrates the shift of the focus of policy transfer from specific policies to soft transfer, that is, the deviation of ideological direction, and the important role of ideology in the era of globalization. Thought is invisible but has far-reaching influence, which also increases the difficulty of policy transfer research. Therefore, more attention should be paid to the important role of thought in policy transfer research.

Network is also an element worthy of attention in policy transfer framework, which is an open coding element equivalent to ideological similarity and globalization in policy transfer conditions correlation coding. The network here does not refer to the Internet in the Internet field, but the global public policy network, which is the framework for policy-oriented learning. It represents a soft, informal and gradual model for international dissemination of ideas and policy paradigms. Through the Internet, participants can build alliances, share words and build consensus knowledge that defines the international policy community. The network

also enables actors to operate outside their domestic backgrounds, and the network is a means by which their ideas can be projected to cross-state and global or regional forums for policy thinking.

The significance of network can be further explained by convergence space theory in modern space politics theory. The theory of convergence space holds that convergence space can be understood as a dynamic system, which is built on the interrelation and complexity of interactions at all spatial scales. Convergence space is formed in a limited time, so it is short in this sense. However, they also have lasting effects because they facilitate people to meet and build networks and strengthen existing networks. Convergence space can be understood as relational space. It promotes the generation, exchange and legalization of knowledge by calling people from different interest groups and resources at a specific time and place. At the same time, it negotiates in space based on the ideology and difference of place. The theory of space politics endows space with political attributes and regards it as an independent variable to examine political behavior at a specific time and place. The network is a product of political actors promoting communication based on common interests, which gives an explanation of the legitimacy of network.

4.2. The Main Position of the Government

The second argument of policy transfer is has the subject of policy transfer theory changed in the view of globalization? Previous policy transfer documents have discussed the subject of policy transfer in detail. the multi-horse model clearly defines the participants of policy transfer, including elected officials, political parties, bureaucrats/civil servants, pressure groups, policy entrepreneurs and experts, multinational corporations, think tanks, supranational government and non-governmental organizations and consultants. However, the distinction between the importance of the former policy transfer documents to the policy transfer subjects is vague, especially with the establishment of the globalization network, multinational institutions or non-governmental organizations are playing an increasingly important role in policy transfer. They have a large amount of policy information, use their transnational advantages as policy transfer agents to serve the government, and have a large professional elite group. Policy transfer researchers also prefer to study such policy transfer subjects. However, according to the codes in the policy transfer framework, it can be concluded that the government still plays an important role in the process of policy transfer, among which the government governance needs open code reference point is second only to national or regional competition, the government open code reference point is the most in the policy transfer participant association code, and the government open code reference point is the most in the policy transfer restriction factor association code. Moreover, in the expert open coding of the policy transfer participant correlation coding, a large number of documents involving expert participation are organized by the government and are not included in them.

Different from the government role advocated by the new public management or new public service, the government plays an important role in policy transfer. Although this is contrary to the research trend in the field of policy transfer, it does reflect the irreplaceable role played by the government in decision-making, formulation, implementation and feedback. Some scholars discuss the role of government in policy transfer from the perspective of national center theory, which is rooted in the transformation theory and regards policy transfer as the key strategy to transform the country. The competition between countries and the relative stability of the global political environment make the political elites seek a wider range of political effectiveness through their interests in the global economic field. On February 6, 1998, Blair delivered a speech to the U.S. State Department outlining the Five Clear Principles of the Middle Left shared by New Labor Party and New Democratic Party: (1) sound management and economic prudence to cope with the global economy;(2) Change the focus of government

intervention to deal with education, training and infrastructure, rather than industrial intervention or taxes and expenditures;(3) welfare state reform: (4) reshaping the government, decentralizing power and opening up the government;(5) Internationalism against Rightist Isolationism. This principle reflects the trend of policy transfer between Britain and the United States, and also reflects the important role played by the government in the policy transfer. With the arrival of the global information age, the government has not weakened its role in the policy transfer. On the contrary, the improvement of the information network and the government's awareness of the change of its role have made the government the key force to promote the policy transfer.

4.3. The Spirit of Rationalism to Guide Policy Transfer Practice

The third argument of policy transfer is is the theory of policy transfer a perfect rational process?.The spirit of rationalism runs through the whole western political thought. It originated in ancient Greece and flourished in modern western Europe. It is different from the narrow rationalism in philosophical sense, because the latter only refers to an epistemology opposite to empiricism, while the broad rationalism regards human rationality as the source and verification of knowledge. The scientism of modern political science has impacted the rationalism of political science. It seems that the pursuit of transcendental justice and supreme justice has been replaced by practical technical methods, which has resulted in the loss of social value, which has resulted in the negation of value orientation in social political thinking and even caused social conflicts. Rawls rewrites Theory of Justice and proposes to return to the rationalism of political science.

The concept of drawing lessons offers the potential to distinguish rational policy-making from obviously irrational forms of decision-making, and knowledge does not seem to be used to systematically pursue goals. Rational lesson learning provides a different conceptual approach, emphasizing the organizational-cultural process involved in learning, which is usually related to ceremony and legitimacy, rather than to the optimization process. The concept of drawing lessons deepens rational decision-making in the policy process. Supporters of policy transfer give even broader definitions, so it is difficult to extricate themselves from not only rationality but also a wide range of other policy-making concepts. Among them, the multi-horse model divides the causes of policy transfer into voluntary, mixed and forced three categories, of which voluntary that is, learning from experience is called perfect rationality, mixed that is, policy transfer in the face of international pressure is called limited rationality, and forced policy transfer is naturally classified as irrational process.

But critics of this view believe that although rationality is assumed in most policy transfer studies, few actors are completely rational. Most people act under the condition of limited information or within the scope of limited rationality. The action of rational actors in the process of policy transfer is limited, but the policy transfer theory does not take this easily neglected factor into account in the theoretical paradigm.

In fact, Dolowitz and Marsh also discussed the meaning of bounded rationality when discussing the theory of policy transfer, believing that the research agenda should include the new institutionalism. New institutionalism discusses how organizations, structures, cultures, norms and customs constitute social behaviors, how power is distributed among actors, and how individual decision-making processes and results are shaped. This discussion of bounded rationality in new institutionalism has not become the focus of policy transfer research, because policy transfer researchers are more inclined to discuss the transfer process.

In the correlation coding of reasons for policy transfer, its open coding is divided into five, namely government governance needs, national or regional competition, own development needs, forced transfer and domestic political pressure. According to the division of rationalism, irrationalism and bounded rationality in the multi-horse model, the need for government

governance and the need for self-development should be rationalism, with a total of 53 reference points. Compulsory transfer should be irrationalism with a reference point of 5; National or regional competition and domestic political pressure are bounded rationality, with a total of 70 reference points. It can be seen that the reasons for the policy shift are limited rationality, rationalism, and irrationalism. This confirms that the rational premise of policy transfer is appropriate. When countries or regions are under pressure at home and abroad under the background of globalization, they will make policy transfer through rational decisions. Some countries or regions will actively seek policy innovation due to their own development. Only a few countries or regions are passive in the process of policy transfer. This coding result verifies the rationality of the rationalist hypothesis of the policy transfer theory, but it also puts forward a new point of concern for subsequent researchers, that is, external pressure is an important driving force for policy reform. In an international environment where national competition is increasingly fierce, national or regional governments have to seek new policies to carry out self-innovation to face the pressure.

4.4. There is no need to Establish a Strict Theoretical Boundary for Policy Transfer

In the previous research on policy transfer, since the establishment of the multi-horse model, the focus of policy transfer researchers has been on the improvement of the theoretical framework of policy transfer[6]. The theoretical debate has provided a basis for the improvement and development of the theory of policy transfer, making the theory of policy transfer realize the transformation from dependent variable to independent variable. However, on the other hand, the policy transfer theory is caught in the debate of the theoretical framework, which inevitably leads researchers to doubt its theoretical contribution. Subsequently, the policy transfer theory turned to empirical research. Based on the policy transfer theory, most of the articles used interviews, data analysis and other methods to evaluate the specific policy transfer cases of the country or region through tracking or evaluating the specific policy transfer process of the country or region so as to provide methodological guidance for the follow-up policy implementation. From the cases selected in this paper, we can also see that the cases show a trend of diversification and decentralization, and the policy transfer theory has become a theoretical tool to evaluate the policy process. However, in response to the first criticism, soft transfer and network have become hot topics in current policy transfer research. This is the embodiment of globalization in the field of policy research. The theory of policy transfer in this period provides a basic framework for the research of soft transfer and network in policy transfer.

From the basic context of the policy transfer theory, we can see that the policy transfer researchers are not confined to theoretical debates under the current drastic changes in the international environment, but are keenly aware of the trend of the policy transfer theory so as to better serve the policy research. Theoretical debate is beneficial to the development and progress of the theory, but too much theoretical debate will make the theory itself a mere theory that is shelved and mysterious. The birth of any ideology or theory has a profound realistic background, and the development of any theory is constantly evolving due to the needs of reality. Theory, of course, has its transcendence to guide practice, but it ultimately originates from practice rather than fantasy. The ultimate destination of theory should also be the real society, which itself reflects the changes of contemporary society. In the ever-changing international environment, through the exchange and discussion of scholars, it can become the weathervane and indicator of policies. Therefore, by reviewing the above summary and current data, it is not necessary to establish a strict theoretical boundary for the policy transfer theory, which is not in line with the current development direction and research requirements of policy transfer. Instead, the policy transfer theory should be taken as a theoretical paradigm to

respond to changes in the policy environment, evaluate policy interactions among countries, and predict research trends in the policy field.

5. Conclusion

Through the above coding of the theoretical framework of policy transfer, the responses to the four controversial issues can be seen that the theory of policy transfer is not perfect. It is controversial in the development process. It absorbs progress in criticism, constantly adapts to new changes in the field of policy research, and serves policy research[7].

The research on policy transfer theory in China's academic circles is still in its initial stage. Most articles introduce the general situation of foreign policy transfer theory research, and some articles are combined with actual policy transfer cases, but most of them are concentrated in the field of education, which is also related to the limitation of the case study of policy transfer theory itself-it needs to investigate the process of policy transfer, but this process is usually difficult to obtain, and case study requires researchers to conduct in-depth investigation, which is obviously impractical for many scholars. Therefore, it is particularly important to grasp the forefront issues of current policy transfer research.

The focus on soft transfer in policy transfer research reflects the important role of thought in the process of policy dissemination. Under the visual threshold of globalization and networking, thoughts can flow around the world with the help of new media without real support, which has also caused difficulties for our ideological work. When policy transfer becomes a necessary way for countries or regions to formulate policies, how to grasp the ideological problems in the process of policy transfer is particularly important. When neo-liberalism swept across the world, it relied on the spread of ideas such as freedom and democracy to promote western values, but the development of neo-liberalism was never a pure economic theory. Neo-liberalism has led to a serious financial crisis and economic crisis since 2008. With the proposal of Washington Consensus, the practice of neo-liberalism in Latin America, Eastern Europe, Russia and Asian countries, and the political system reform in these countries triggered by it, neo-liberalism has become more and more political in nature, manifesting itself as politicization and national ideology and further becoming an important part of the theoretical system of global integration in developed countries. The spread of neo-liberal ideology makes our country more alert to the ideology spread of policy thoughts in the field of international policy communication, and grasp the correct political direction while absorbing the excellent western policy thoughts to avoid the ideology of policy transmission.

The focus on network in policy transfer research emphasizes the trend of network establishment under the globalization environment. The network in policy transfer can be traced back to the policy network theory. Early policy network analysis focused on the relationship between interest groups and government agencies, and then the policy network was elevated to the level of macro-governance. The policy network theory not only caters to the need to describe the complexity of nature and social systems, but also reflects a change in people's perspective of social cognition-society is no longer controlled by a central intelligence or ability, but is instead dispersed in a large number of behavioral units. Each faction of the policy network defines its basic connotation from the perspective of policy roles, and discusses the interaction between the government and other roles. The network in the policy transfer theory has absorbed the concern of the network relation in the theoretical paradigm of the policy network. The government, as a policy-making actor, plays an important intermediary role in the network and establishes an informal medium unit of multiple interactions with expert groups, interest groups and the public. The inspiration for China's policy transfer practice is that in the international policy network, as a developing country, it adopts a positive policy learning attitude. In the domestic policy transfer network, the government must grasp

the initiative of policy transfer and coordinate the public interests, expert decision-making consultation and local governments as interactive subjects in the policy transfer network.

The theory of policy transfer was combed by comparative political science literature and was born in the framework of new public management. It has gone through three stages of development: theoretical debate, empirical analysis, soft transfer and network policy transfer. The theory of policy transfer provides theoretical reference for how to adapt to the policy learning environment, grasp the direction of policy learning, and how to face thought dissemination in the process of policy dissemination in the face of globalization and the new environment of network.

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