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# FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN NATIONAL POLICY ADVICE

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A TYPOLOGY OF VOLUNTARY POLICY TRANSFER

LEIDEN UNIVERSITY  
FACULTY OF GOVERNANCE AND GLOBAL AFFAIRS  
MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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STUDENT: A. KOOISTRA  
SUPERVISOR: DR. A.D.N. KERKHOFF

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

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The field of Public Administration has a strong interest in public policies. One of the larger fields of research in Public Administration as well as in Political Science is focused on the similarity and diversity of policies when comparing various countries, cities or public organizations on any other level. It is widely assumed that public organizations of any kind look at each other when trying to solve problems through policies and programs. Especially when routines do not provide the necessary or desired solutions anymore. This phenomenon is described in the literature as 'policy transfer'. It has been investigated widely in the past few decades. David Dolowitz and David Marsh define policy transfer as follows: "*Policy transfer refers to the process by which actors borrow policies developed in one setting to develop programmes and policies within another*" (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996: 357). Despite the extensive research on policy transfer, critics still focus on a lack of empirical data to support the frameworks that scholars have presented.

Many different stakeholders can be identified in the process of policy transfer. Who is involved has therefore been one of the main concerns of policy transfer scholars. After reviewing the literature, it turns out that independent advisory boards are a great tool to study policy transfer. Many of the categories of actors involved in policy transfer can be studied at once - with only one unit of analysis. Therefore, national (so not transnational) independent advisory boards are the focus of this research. In The Netherlands there is a rich history of advisory boards that have consulted government on a wide range of policy areas. Despite the fact that these advisory boards have played a significant role in the creation of policies, especially in The Netherlands, there is a lack of research on this topic (Kerkhoff & Martina, 2015: 96). In particular, State Committees (Dutch: *Staatscommissies*) have a special role in the landscape of advisory boards in The Netherlands as being ad-hoc committees investigating weighty topics.

Therefore, this research seizes the opportunity to contribute empirically to the policy transfer research and simultaneously investigate State Committees, by looking at the reports and the activities of six committees.

In this chapter, the research question is introduced first in paragraph 1.1. Afterwards, the relevance of this study is argued in paragraphs 1.2 and 1.3. In the final paragraph of this chapter, 1.4, the method is lined out. The chapter concludes by presenting the structure of the thesis.

## 1.1 RESEARCH QUESTION

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Before introducing the research question, a short overview of the main theoretical topics are presented. A comprehensive overview of the literature is listed in chapter two. According to Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) there are different reasons for policy transfer. They therefore introduce a policy transfer continuum in their famous article 'Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy-Making' (2000). They argue that the reasons why policy transfer occurs ranges from coercive transfer to voluntary transfer. Coercive transfer, on the one end of the continuum, entails that policies are transferred under external pressure, for instance pressure by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or European Union (EU). Conditions that come with a loan from the IMF, for instance, is the explicit form of coercive policy transfer, but more implicit forms can also appear (Dolowitz and Marsh refer to this as 'direct' and 'indirect' coercive transfer; 1996: 347-349). In policy transfer research it is widely argued that, since the rise of various institutions as the IMF and the EU, the scale in which policy transfer occurs has increased through more coercive policy transfer (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000: 6,7; Bulmer et al., 2007).

Voluntary policy transfer, on the other end of the continuum, is driven by either perfect rationality or bounded rationality (see Figure 1 on page 15). Voluntary policy transfer that is driven by perfect rationality appears when actors assume they have the freedom and knowledge to list the alternatives and pick the best policy out of that list. Therefore, actors look around and collect policies from abroad which then can be used - or not - in their own policies. When driven by bounded rationality, more or less the same process happens where actors look around and collect policies from abroad (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000:14). The difference however lies in what drives this behavior: uncertainty. Out of a sense of uncertainty, they look for policies that have worked or failed to work abroad.

This distinction has endured ever since the articles by Dolowitz and Marsh in 1996 and 2000 (Benson & Jordan, 2011: 368). As Benson and Jordan argue in their 2011 review of the state of the art in policy transfer research, coercive transfer has been subject of interest to most scholars between 2000 and 2010 (Benson & Jordan, 2011). In addition, the focus of this coercive policy transfer research is on recent developments that are assumed to cause a growth in policy transfer, like institutionalization and globalization (Benson & Jordan, 2011; Evans, 2009). The voluntary type of policy transfer seems to be underdeveloped or even neglected in recent research. Richard Rose is only one of the few well-known policy transfer scholars that builds on this type of policy transfer - that he calls lesson drawing (Rose, 1991; Rose, 2005). This thesis has its focus on voluntary policy transfer. The historical perspective of three periods between 1850 and 1970 will help to monitor the effects of institutionalization and globalization that are argued to cause a growth in policy transfer since the end of the Second World War.

There are also different levels at which policy transfer occurs. It can be either across or within states and either on the level of central governments or on (more) local authorities. The focus of this thesis is on cross-state and central government policy transfer. The state-centric approach with cross-national policy transfer is what the field of research traditionally focused on (Benson & Jordan, 2011: 367) and fits the historical perspective that is taken best. In addition, there are different actors involved. Rose recognized a few important considerations in identifying who is involved in voluntary policy transfer. He argued that informal networks of experts are an important way to share policy ideas on certain topics (Rose 1991: 15-17). Another remark he made on this matter is that some issues (for instance environmental issues) require transnational policies. To that extent, there have been examples of 'special-purpose functional institutions' (Rose, 1991: 17). Interestingly, these two arguments can be combined when examining independent advisory boards that act on the state-level. Such boards mostly have a special, functional purpose and consist of experts among others - like politicians and bureaucrats. State Committees are usually composed of some ex-bureaucrats, ex-politicians and mostly scientists (Kerkhoff & Martina, 2015: 85). As already mentioned and further explained in the next chapters, the State Committee reports are ideal cases to use in this particular research, since many of the considerations of Rose can be combined at once.

Policy transfer literature generally recognizes five types of policy transfer: copying, emulation, inspiration, non-transfer and justification (see chapter two: Theory). The first three types follow from what Dolowitz and Marsh (2000: 9) categorize as the 'degree of transfer'. The main idea of *copying*, is that the policies that are found abroad are completely or to a large extent literally adopted into the proposed policy. The second type, *emulation*, "involves transfer of the ideas behind the program or policy" (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000: 13). The third type is *inspiration*, where ideas from abroad inspire policymakers to think fresh about policies, but the actual final outcome does not look like the foreign policy at all (Rose, 1991: 22). These three types relate mostly to the convergence of policies and neglect the possibility for divergence after policy transfer (Stone, 2004: 548). Since this research is not focused on either convergence or divergence of policies, two additional types are identified in the literature. The fourth type, *non-transfer* (also referred to as negative lessons; Stone, 2004: 551), is mentioned under the category 'what is transferred' (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000: 9). The fifth type, *justification*, stems from the literature on advisory committees in The Netherlands. By using examples of failure or pointing at differences from policies abroad, policymakers try to justify their choices with the intention to slow down or accelerate the policymaking process.

It is likely that these five types do not form an exhaustive typology. There might, after all, be other types of policy transfer, that are not recognized in the literature or that are found during the analysis of the empirical data. That is why additional research is required using

empirical data (Benson & Jordan, 2011: 370). In addition to the deductive part of the research, some inductive elements are therefore also present (see chapter three). This leads to the following research question: *How has voluntary policy transfer informed the advice of Dutch State Committees between 1850 and 1970?*

## 1.2 RELEVANCE

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Why is this a relevant question? First, three arguments are presented to support the scientific relevance of this research and then two additional arguments follow to support the relevance of this research for society.

### *Scientific relevance*

The framework that Dolowitz and Marsh presented in their article (2000: 9) entails more than just the continuum. It also elaborates on who is involved, what is transferred, from where it is transferred, the degree of transfer, constraints, how to demonstrate it and finally how policy transfer leads to policy failure. This research contains various elements of the framework, but mostly relates to 'what is transferred' (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000: 12) and the 'degree of transfer' (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000: 13). The framework that Dolowitz and Marsh presented (2000: 9) has been followed but also criticized. Critics do not solely focus on their framework but also discuss the lack of empirical support for the theory since it has been published (James & Lodge, 2003). Therefore, an attempt must be made to make a new empirical contribution to the field of policy transfer and its conceptual framework. Specifically, the questions of how and why policies from abroad are used is of interest in this research. This is explicitly encouraged in the review on the state of the art in policy transfer research by Benson and Jordan: "in general, the more empirical question of why and when certain types of transfer appear in particular settings (...) has still not been fully addressed" (Benson & Jordan, 2011: 370). In addition, voluntary policy transfer has gained little attention of researchers in the twenty-first century (Benson & Jordan, 2011). Therefore, it is argued that additional empirical research has to be conducted to learn more about different types of policy transfer in this particular setting.

In addition, this research can add to our understanding of the change and continuity of policy transfer, by picking various cases over time - as explained in detail in the methods chapter. As argued, it is widely assumed that the scale of policy transfer in policymaking processes has increased rapidly after 1945. Can this assumption be confirmed with empirical evidence? And has this been a gradual process of increase or a sudden transition? This research might provide answers to these questions.

As mentioned, State Committees form a special group in the spectrum of advisory boards in The Netherlands. State Committees are committees that are installed by royal decree with just



one task: write a report to the cabinet with policy recommendations on a certain topic or problem. State Committees are categorized as ad-hoc committees because the State Committee is abolished as soon as this report is presented. This distinguishes them from other advisory boards that have a fixed lifetime (temporary committees) or those that are permanent (Kerkhoff & Martina, 2015: 80). The problems that are subject to State Committees are usually weighty and this makes them very interesting to dig into (Kerkhoff & Martina, 2015: 81). However, few scholars have investigated the State Committees. By investigating State Committees, the cases are not only a means to demonstrate different types of policy transfer. The empirical data that is collected has relevance on itself, because it contributes to important historical knowledge about the process of policymaking through advisory boards - particularly in The Netherlands.

### *Relevance for society*

Generally, it can also be of practical use to add knowledge on how policies from abroad are used in another national context. Several scholars (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; Dolowitz, 2003; Rose, 2005) have suggested that drawing a lesson from another country is very hard to accomplish, given the different situations. Therefore, those scholars have attempted to provide tools to practitioners in order to successfully learn from policies abroad - for instance Dolowitz his article 'A Policy-maker's Guide to Policy Transfer' (2003). This research might as well signal successes and failures in attempts to learn from abroad. That knowledge can be useful to future State Committees.

Finally, the selected cases provide more relevance to society. As argued in the next chapter, there has been discussion on the democratic legitimacy of advisory boards. State Committees are installed by the cabinet: parliament is usually not involved (Duyvendak & Van de Koppel, 2005: 25; Kerkhoff & Martina, 2015: 81). Critics accuse ad-hoc committees of being illegitimate policymakers for various reasons (Duyvendak et al., 2005). The composition of the committees and thereby the motivations of the installer are mistrusted (Duyvendak & Van de Koppel, 2005). Other scholars however find not enough evidence for this issue (Schulz et al., 2008: 103). To see whether this criticism holds, provides relevance to society. By showing how objective the usage of foreign policies by ad-hoc advisory committees actually is, additional arguments can be presented in the debate over the legitimacy of these committees. Moreover, Dolowitz and Marsh recently encouraged that "the *motivations* underpinning an agent's use of foreign information need to be understood" (2012: 341). Therefore, knowledge about the intentions of the (members of) State Committees might also contribute to the policy transfer research. Even though this can contribute to the relevance of this study, the legitimacy and composition of the committees are not a main subject in the analysis. In the analysis, the legitimacy and the composition serve more as contextual information.

### 1.3 GOALS

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This research has various theoretical, empirical and normative goals that follow from the above. By building a typology of voluntary policy transfer based on empirical evidence, the first and foremost goal of this research is empirical. As already mentioned, scholars have encouraged researchers to add such knowledge based on empirical evidence. Every bit of empirical evidence could help in building a more general theory of voluntary policy transfer. Especially the *non-transfer* and *justification* types are interesting to understand, since they are derived from different categories in the literature (see chapter two: Theory). The second goal of this research is to contribute empirically to the discussion on the development of policy transfer as a tool for policymakers. By selecting cases from three different timeframes (see chapter three: Methods), data is collected about the rate of occurrence of cross-national policy transfer in various periods of time. The third goal is to gain more knowledge about advise to the central government in The Netherlands by State Committees. This could add to our historical understanding of State Committees and thereby tell us something about the origins of the national policies in The Netherlands. Historical knowledge on how policies came about through the advisory of these boards may help to shape the landscape of advisory boards in the future. The fourth and final goal is to add to the normative discussion on the legitimacy of State Committees by analyzing the way in which they use policies from abroad for their advice.

### 1.4 METHODS

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After an in-depth discussion of the theoretical concepts, the five types of policy transfer are operationalized in the methods chapter. For each type, several indicators are presented.

After the operationalization of the types, six State Committees are selected as cases. Kerkhoff and Martina (2015) have explored the State Committees that The Netherlands has had between 1814 and 1970 and they created a database where their subjects are categorized and their reports are listed.<sup>1</sup> Between 1814 and 1970, they were able to identify 208 State Committees. Time and topic have been the most important differentiators, in the selection of six cases out of this database of 208 cases. Three periods of time are selected first. The first period runs from 1850 to 1900, the second period runs from 1900 to 1950 and the third period runs from 1950 until 1970. Out of each of these three periods of time, two cases are selected, one case each from two categories of subjects. The selected subjects are organization and cutbacks in the government and public health. This setup provides many opportunities for comparative analysis between the cases (see Figure 2 on page 29).

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<sup>1</sup> Kerkhoff, A.D.N. & Martina, J., *Database Nederlandse Staatscommissies 1814-2014* (Center for Public Values & Ethics, Instituut Bestuurskunde, Universiteit Leiden).  
<https://vre.leidenuniv.nl/vre/publicvaluesandethics/staatscommissies>

For each of the six committees, the final reports are read at the library where they are located. First, the actual occurrence of policy transfer is investigated through four steps. Every instance of a foreign country mentioned in those reports is listed. Subsequently, every one of those marks is studied into more detail to see whether the context suggests that policy transfer occurred. The shortened list of suspected occurrences of policy transfer is deepened out to see whether policy transfer actually is the case. Second, the remaining appearances of policy transfer are investigated to see what type of policy transfer fits them best. This can be either one of the five types that is described in the theory or a whole new type of policy transfer. Every type is attached one or several indicators in the third chapter. Finally, the results are analyzed and discussed, to see what the implications are for the literature and the other goals that are described above.

#### *Structure of the forthcoming chapters*

Now that the research is introduced and its relevance is argued, the next chapter presents an extensive overview of the literature. It does so in three paragraphs. Paragraph 2.1 is all about policy transfer: its history, discussions and main concepts. In 2.2, advisory boards are discussed and State Committees in particular. Paragraph 2.3 summarizes 2.2 and 2.1, and discusses how paragraph 2.1 reflects in paragraph 2.2. Chapter three, methods, describes the research design that is used. Chapter four, analysis, presents the empirical findings and simultaneously discusses those. Every case is discussed separately in 4.2. Subsequently, in paragraph 4.3, the data is aggregated and pairs of cases are discussed to see what the implications of time and topic are. Finally, chapter five presents the conclusions of this research and provides an answer to the research question. In addition, directions for further research are lined out in paragraph 5.2.

## 2. THEORY

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In the previous chapter, the research question was introduced: *How has voluntary policy transfer informed the advice of Dutch State Committees between 1850 and 1970?* In this chapter, an overview of the literature is presented. The chapter is divided into three paragraphs. In paragraph 2.1, policy transfer is the main topic. First, various concepts and discussions in the policy transfer literature are highlighted. Second, five types of policy transfer that emerge from the various perspectives will be discussed. In paragraph 2.2, advisory boards are the main topic. This part starts with discussing several perspectives on independent advisory boards, especially in The Netherlands. State Committees as a special category of advisory boards in The Netherlands are discussed next. The final paragraph, 2.3, summarizes the first two paragraphs. In particular, the question whether the insights of paragraph 2.1 are reflected in paragraph 2.2 is highlighted in this part. Subsequently, the research design is presented in chapter 3.

### 2.1 POLICY TRANSFER DISCUSSED

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In this part of the chapter, the policy transfer literature is discussed. First, in 2.1.1, a short introduction to the field is given. It summarizes the most important developments in the field of policy transfer, starting with Dolowitz and Marsh. It ends with a paragraph on criticism that the field has had. Afterwards, three major discussions in the policy transfer literature are summarized. The policy transfer continuum is discussed in 2.1.2, levels of transfer are discussed in 2.1.3 and actors involved are discussed in 2.1.4. Finally, this part of the chapter discusses five types of policy transfer in 2.1.5.

#### 2.1.1 DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIELD

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The transfer of policies has been object of study for a long time. Many scholars discussed the phenomenon under various titles. Around twenty years ago, in 1996, Dolowitz and Marsh re-introduced the concept under the name 'policy transfer' in their influential article 'Who Learns What from Whom: a Review of the Policy Transfer Literature'. According to Dolowitz and Marsh, there were two types of studies that could be brought back to the concept of policy transfer. One category of studies did write on policy transfer but used different names and one category studied the process of transfer without explicitly calling it that way. Their article therefore was not the first to use the concept of policy transfer, but was the first attempt to bring various insights from scholars together under the same umbrella (Dussauge-Laguna, 2012: 313-314). After reviewing the literature, they concluded that "Policy transfer refers to the process by which actors borrow policies developed in one setting to develop programmes and policies within another" (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996: 357). Dolowitz and Marsh further developed their

ideas on policy transfer. In their article 'Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy-Making' (2000), they add new insights to their earlier article and present a framework for policy transfer.

Ever since these two articles by Dolowitz and Marsh in 1996 and 2000, the field of policy transfer has relied heavily on their work. This has been done, for instance, by other scholars like Richard Rose, Colin Bennett, Diane Stone and Mark Evans. Most policy transfer scholars focused on one specific form of policy transfer: coercive policy transfer. Coercive transfer and its contrary, voluntary transfer, are discussed in more detail in the upcoming section. However, Dolowitz and Marsh have also been criticized. Critics on policy transfer research have argued that the field of policy transfer has not made significant progress on several aspects in the past decades (see 'critics on policy transfer' below).

#### *Related fields of study*

As mentioned, various concepts have been used to work on similar topics but with slight different focuses (Dussauge-Laguna, 2012: 318). Isomorphism, for instance, is focused on the growing convergence of organizations. The three mechanisms of isomorphism as distinguished by DiMaggio and Powell - coercive, mimetic and normative isomorphism - certainly overlap to some extent with concepts in the study of policy transfer, but differ in the sense that they focus on the similarities between institutions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Another field of study, that of policy diffusion, is - just like isomorphism - more related to one way of transfer where transferred policies cause or increase convergence. In addition, policy diffusion is more about the process and less about the content (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996: 344-345). Policy learning (or lesson drawing) is focused on the voluntary transfer of policies. Even though scholars do not agree on whether these concepts are - or should be - similar, several scholars agree that the benefits of all of these various concepts can best be combined (Newmark, 2002; Dussauge-Laguna, 2012). Benson and Jordan do claim that policy transfer can be seen as a separate field of study: "it is fair to say that policy transfer now represents a distinct research focus in its own right" (2011: 367).

#### *Critics on policy transfer*

Just like any other field of research, the field policy transfer research received criticism. Roughly two criticisms can be distinguished. The first concerns scholars within the field criticizing each other. Dolowitz and Marsh for instance disagree with the assumptions in the concept of lesson drawing, as defined by Rose, that it is a voluntary and rational process (Benson & Jordan, 2011: 367). On their turn, Dolowitz and Marsh got criticized for their distinction between voluntary and coercive transfer by James and Lodge (2003) (Benson & Jordan, 2011: 368). Benson and

Jordan (2011) attempt to review the state of the art in policy transfer research, but their review gets heavily criticized by Dussauge-Laguna (2012). The criticism of Dussauge-Laguna (2012) is then again countered by Dolowitz and Marsh (2012).

The second criticism comes from related fields of study. First, some argue that policy transfer does not have enough distinct elements and therefore should take a new or different focus (James and Lodge, 2003; Evans, 2009). Evans (2009: 263) concludes that "policy transfer analysis can only be distinctive from the analysis of normal forms of policy-making if its focuses on the remarkable movement of ideas between systems of governance through policy transfer networks and the intermediation of agents of policy transfer. This should involve the study of different forms of voluntary and completed transfers, failed transfers and 'in process' transfers". Second, some argue that policy transfer research should be integrated with other fields of policy research. For instance, Newmark (2002) proposes an integration of policy transfer research with policy diffusion research: "Current research has demonstrated that policy transfer may lack generalizability and excludes cases where policies develop for structural reasons. Diffusion research has been criticized for paying too little attention to policy content. This manuscript has presented a framework for a more integrated theory to be utilized in policy transfer and diffusion research" (Newmark, 2002: 173).

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### 2.1.2 THE POLICY TRANSFER CONTINUUM

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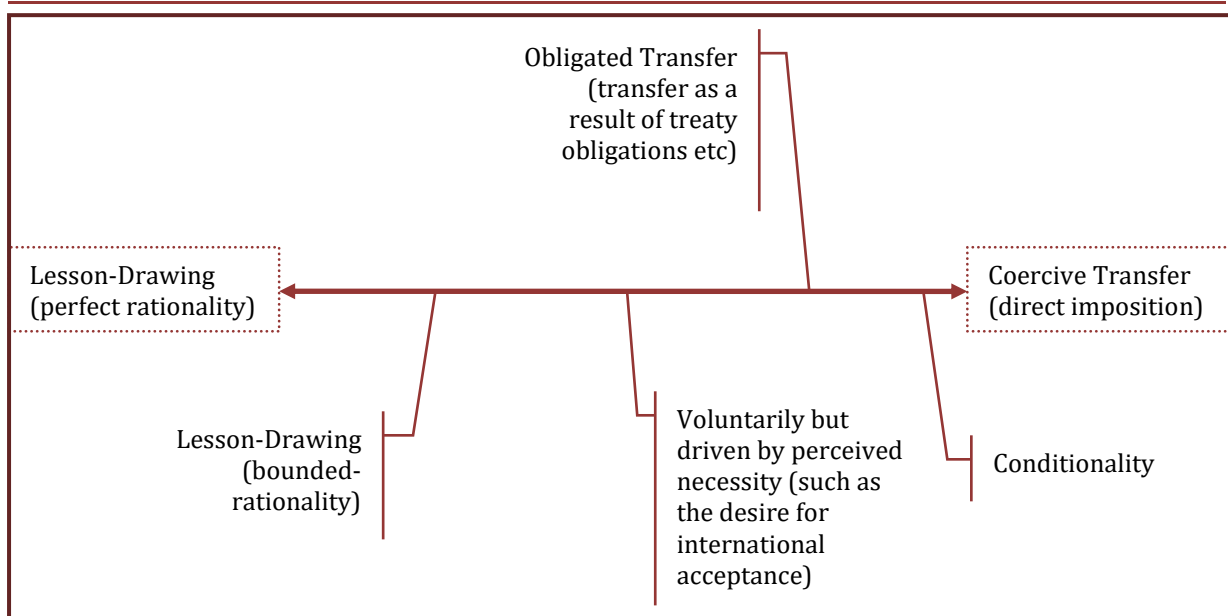
Dolowitz and Marsh wondered what reasons for policy transfer could be identified and they recognized different reasons in the literature. Some policymakers transfer policies because they want to transfer them, so the transfer is voluntary. Other policymakers transfer policies because they are obligated to do so. Because, as Dolowitz and Marsh argued, policy transfer is not just voluntary or just coercive, they proposed a policy transfer continuum which is presented in Figure 1 below. The continuum is still current in policy transfer research (Benson & Jordan, 2011: 368).

On the far right end of the continuum, Dolowitz and Marsh place coercive transfer. Coercive transfer takes place when policies are transferred against the will of the policymaker. It can therefore also be called obligated transfer (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000: 15). As already briefly mentioned in the introduction, different forms of coercive transfer can be distinguished.

First, direct coercive transfer appears when one actor forces another to implement a policy. Direct coercive transfer is therefore rather explicit. Dolowitz and Marsh (1996: 348) recognized that direct coercive transfer from one country to another is rare, but that supra-national institutions account for more direct coercive transfer. The IMF, World Bank and EU are often mentioned as providers of direct coercive transfer. This phenomenon has been used to

argue the increase of policy transfer as a whole by Dolowitz and Marsh (2000: 6) and also by others. For instance, Evans (2009) writes his entire review on policy transfer literature from this

FIGURE 1: THE POLICY TRANSFER CONTINUUM



Taken from: Dolowitz & Marsh (2000), *Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy-Making*. P. 13: 'Figure 1. From Lesson-Drawing to Coercive Transfer'

perspective. Bulmer et al. (2007) critically assess the role of the EU in policy transfer through a coercive approach. A critical remark on coercive policy transfer however is that the countries who participate in these supra-national institutions can also influence their policies. Therefore, the extent through which the policy transfer can be considered coercive is limited (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000: 15). One might counter this by arguing that the participation in those organizations is not always as voluntary as it seems. This for instance is the case when 'third world countries' lend money from the IMF. They mostly do not have a choice but to lend the money and accept the implications that follow. The major contributors - the United States have a 16.67 vote share in the IMF (IMF, 2016) - determine those implications.

Second, indirect coercive transfer is argued to follow mostly from a problem of externalities (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996: 348-349). It is a very common idea in the study of policies in general that countries have to solve problems together when it comes to externalities. Frequently used is the problem of pollution, but any environmental problem can be used as an example. For instance, The Netherlands is characterized by lowland areas. Therefore, it has to give large rivers space in order to prevent them from flooding the living areas. The water that flows through those rivers however, comes from Germany, Belgium and even more countries which lie behind. Therefore, the same measures that The Netherlands takes have to be

implemented abroad in order for the policy to be effective. Germany is not obligated to help The Netherlands, but refusing to cooperate will seriously harm their relationship with The Netherlands. Therefore, Germany will probably comply. The same accounts for international standards to limit pollution (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996: 349).

On the other end of the continuum, on the far left side, Dolowitz and Marsh place lesson-drawing. The idea of lesson-drawing is typically brought back to several influential publications by the American political scientist Richard Rose. In his article 'What is Lesson-Drawing?' he describes the process as follows: "The process of lesson-drawing starts with scanning programmes in effect elsewhere, and ends with the prospective evaluation of what would happen if a programme already in effect elsewhere were transferred here in future" (Rose, 1991: 3). The basis of voluntary policy transfer lies in comparison, as summarized by Bennet & Howlett (1992: 284): "learning involves scanning programs existing elsewhere, producing a conceptual model of a program of interest and comparing the exemplar with the problems of the existing program which have occasioned dissatisfaction. Once this has been done, various kinds of lessons can be drawn". Similarly, just like coercive policy transfer, voluntary policy transfer also appears in two forms. Either lesson-drawing that is driven by perfect rationality or lesson-drawing driven by bounded rationality.

The first form assumes that policymakers are perfectly rational actors. Policymakers require solutions for a certain problem. They believe that the current solutions are not sufficient. In other words, there is a dissatisfaction with the status quo (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000: 14; Rose, 1991: 10). Therefore, they collect policies abroad. This process is mostly similar to the processes described by Bennet & Howlett and Rose above. In addition, policymakers in this form of policy transfer seem to believe this is the easiest way to effectively solve the problem. However, critics argue that policymakers rarely possess perfect rationality. They argue that the failure of policy transfer is due to unsuccessful comparing of the implications for the policy in the old setting compared to the new setting. Therefore, the second form is introduced.

In the second form of lesson-drawing, bounded rationality, "uncertainty about the cause of problems, the effect of previous decisions or the future causes actors to search for policies they can borrow" (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996: 347). Policymakers simply do not know what to do or what the effect of their actions will be and therefore look for similar problems and their solutions abroad. In this situation of bounded rationality, it seems very attracting for policymakers to use policies that have succeeded elsewhere. Simmons and Elkins provide evidence for the use of the most successful foreign policies in the context of economical policies: "governments tend to implement the policies chosen by other 'successful' countries" (Simmons & Elkins, 2004: 182). It is argued that policy failure often stems from transfer based on incomplete information. Dolowitz and Marsh indentified this as a major problem in lesson-



drawing: "the underlying assumption is that policies that have been successful in one country will be successful in another. However, this is clearly not always the case" (2000: 17). The way in which Dolowitz and Marsh claim that voluntary policy transfer is related to policy failure - or success - is however criticized by James and Lodge (2003: 190).

As already mentioned, this is a continuum: not all policy transfer is only coercive or voluntary. Rather, it is often the case that there is something in between. This is what Dolowitz & Marsh (2000: 9) call 'mixtures'. In figure 1, the mixture is 'voluntary but driven by perceived necessity'. In parentheses, they already mention one of the most common reasons for this: the desire for international acceptance. In some way, the previous example of anti-flooding policy also fits in this mixture. Other scholars have also identified the desire for international acceptance as a driver for policy transfer. For instance, Eta (2015) argues that coping with international standards was the reason for Cameroon to transfer high school policies from abroad. For a more extensive overview of that study, see the heading 'Justification' below.

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### 2.1.3 LEVELS OF TRANSFER

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One of the main differentiators when studying policy transfer is the question: from where are policies transferred? Dolowitz and Marsh (2000: 12) distinguish three levels of government: the international level, the national level and the local level. On the first level, basically the transferred policy originates from supra-national, intergovernmental or national ideas. On the second and third level, the transferred policy can originate from anywhere. Mainly, policymakers on the state level look to transfer policies from either other national sub-systems or from other state governments abroad. Policymakers on the local level are supposed to have more options, since they transfer policies from their own national government, national governments abroad, national cities or international cities. Rose (1991: 13) argues that "local government officials are likely to look to nearby local authorities on the assumption that they have most in common with neighbours, but American big city mayors must look to cities in other states. American state officials are likely to turn to neighbouring states or those considered in the vanguard in dealing with a particular issue".

Where Dolowitz & Marsh originally focused mainly on the idea that policymakers look at domestic ideas first before turning into international contexts, various alternative ideas were developed in the past decade (Benson & Jordan, 2011: 371). In addition, the state-centric approach that policy transfer research had in the beginning has expanded to "other actors and venues" (Benson & Jordan, 2011: 367). This does not mean that the original state-centric approach has disappeared: "The policy transfer literature continued of course to explore peer-to-peer transfer between national governments (...). But increasingly, those working from a Europeanisation, globalisation, multi-level governance and policy network perspective have

suggested that lessons are also drawn from and transfer readily between many different venues, spanning multiple spatial and temporal scales" (Benson & Jordan: 371).

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#### 2.1.4 ACTORS INVOLVED IN POLICY TRANSFER

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Dolowitz and Marsh (2000: 10) identify nine actors that are involved in policy transfer: elected officials, political parties, bureaucrats/civil servants, pressure groups, policy entrepreneurs and experts, transnational corporations, think tanks, supra-national institutions and consultants. Diane Stone highlighted several of those actors in her work, for instance the role of 'transfer agents' in international policy transfer (2004) and the role of 'independent institutions' like think tanks in policy transfer (2000). Dolowitz and Marsh (2000: 10-12) argue that International Governing Organizations (IGO's) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's), as part of the eighth category of actors involved, complicate the study of policy transfer because they are involved in both coercive and voluntary transfer. The same accounts for the last category, consultants. IGO's, NGO's and consultants "can be used by other actors to help in their efforts to transfer, or force others to transfer, policies" (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000: 12).

Additionally, Rose (1991: 15-19) points out various actors that are involved in lesson-drawing. First, Rose points out the 'epistemic communities as informal networks'. According to Rose, various of these communities influence the transferring of policies. The basic idea here is that policymakers have more specialized knowledge on certain topics and also have contacts with the same specialized knowledge. Between those experts, ideas are exchanged which leads to lesson-drawing (Rose, 1991: 15-16). This process can occur in any policy area at any level of government (Rose, 1991:16). Rose (1991: 16-17) also points out that on a particular topic, mostly more of these communities co-exist, because experts disagree on ideas and policies. This leads to a process where "elected officials searching for lessons prefer to turn to those whose overall political values are consistent with their own" (Rose, 1991: 17). Second, Rose (1991: 17-18) points at functional independent organizations that are created to solve problems that require international or bilateral solutions. This mostly refers to mixed policy transfer processes related to environmental issues, like already mentioned under the 'policy continuum' section. Finally, Rose (1991: 18-19) also identifies intergovernmental institutions as actors involved in policy transfer.

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#### 2.1.5 TYPES OF POLICY TRANSFER

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Next to levels of transfer and actors of transfer, two other categories of concepts that receive major attention in the policy transfer research are 'what is transferred' and 'the degree of transfer'. Those categories are integrated in the discussion below. By taking perspectives from the literature above plus the categories that are just mentioned, this thesis will investigate whether the following will in fact arise. Based on the conceptual model (see chapter 3), this

means that this thesis will look at the following five types of policy transfer: copying, emulation, inspiration, non-transfer and justification. Each of them is now described.

### *Copying*

The main idea behind the first type, *copying*, is that the policies that are found abroad are completely or to a large extent and directly adopted into the proposed policy (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000: 13). The transferred policy is not altered at all. This type of policy transfer seems to be very rare (Evans, 2009: 245). This type of policy transfer seems to be not only very rare but also very unwise. As mentioned before (see 2.1.2), it is argued that voluntary policy transfer leads to failure because it is based on incomplete information and failed adaptation. That a policy is successful in one country, does not mean that copying it into another context means that it has to be successful in another country. However, the literature points at certain circumstances where copying may appear more often and does not certainly lead to failure. Rose (1991: 21) notes that copying is often used within a nation, because copying requires many different institutional and contextual variables to remain constant. For instance, in The Netherlands, the *Vereniging Nederlandse Gemeenten* (VNG) is an organization that represents the interests of all Dutch municipalities. The VNG publishes model laws for their members. Most of the municipalities simply copy these models into their own local laws. Similar examples can be found in the United States (Rose, 1991: 21). Rose (1993: 132) further hypothesizes that "the simpler the cause-and-effect structure of a program [is], the more fungible it is". Therefore, Rose distinguishes between simple and complex programs (Rose, 1993: 132-134). Dolowitz and Marsh (1996: 351) suggest that "the easiest way to prove that copying has occurred is to examine the wording of the legislative bill authorizing a programme".

### *Emulation*

The second type, *emulation*, "involves transfer of the ideas behind the program or policy" (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000: 13). Emulation differentiates from copying in the sense that the original policy from abroad is adapted to the new circumstances. "Emulation accepts that a particular programme elsewhere provides the best standard for designing legislation at home, albeit requiring adaptation to take different national circumstances into account" (Rose, 1991: 21). It is suggested that this process of emulation can be seen as a process of innovation. Thus, the two most important characteristics of emulation are adjustment of the original policy to the local needs and improvement of the original policy where possible (Newmark, 2002: 156). Dolowitz and Marsh (2000: 13) further note that politicians could be more interested in 'quick fix' solutions through copying or emulation. Bureaucrats, in contrast, would be more interested in comprehensive solutions.

### *Inspiration*

The third type is *inspiration*, where ideas from abroad inspire policymakers to think fresh about policies, but the actual final outcome does not look like the foreign policy at all (Rose, 1991: 22; Evans, 2009: 246). It is more of a sketchy type of transfer than actual use of foreign policy and therefore the lightest form of the three classical types of transfer - copying, emulation and inspiration. Ideas from abroad used through inspiration could be seen as more of a facilitator of change (Evans, 2009: 246). Rose (1991: 22) further suggests that inspiration is most likely to occur when policymakers travel abroad to view "a familiar problem in an unfamiliar setting". Note however that this argument by Rose could be argued to be outdated, particularly when looking for policy transfer in recent policymaking processes, since globalization theory has argued that recent developments mitigated any constrain to discover policies elsewhere. But the idea of policymakers traveling abroad for inspiration could in fact be relevant to this research with its historical perspective.

Thus far, three types of policy transfer are distinguished. However, they appear to lack explanation for certain instances of policy transfer. Especially, these three types assume that the motivations for policymakers to engage in policy transfer are to create the best policy, whereas other motivations might also exist (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2012: 341). Therefore, two more types are derived from other policy transfer literature categories. These are discussed next.

### *Non-transfer*

What happens for instance when the policy is not transferred on purpose, because it turned out that the policy abroad did not work or does not fit the context of the new policy? Then it does still fit the definition of policy transfer that is presented above: the policy is used to develop a policy in a different setting. The only difference is that the developed policy left the original policy out. It does however fit none of the three types above. As Stone (2004: 548) argues: "convergence is not necessarily an outcome of policy transfer, especially when negative lessons are drawn from experience elsewhere and contribute to divergence and/or modifications". Therefore the fourth type comes in: *non-transfer* (also called negative lessons) (Stone, 2004: 551). This type is in fact mentioned in several classical policy transfer work but treated as a different category of concepts. Most scholars follow Dolowitz and Marsh (2000: 12) that categorize negative lessons under 'what is transferred'. Negative lessons could indeed belong into the category 'what is transferred', but should then be followed by an equivalent in the 'degree' category. Therefore, non-transfer is a useful addition as a fourth type of policy transfer.

### *Justification*

As James & Lodge argued (2003: 181), "even rational policy-makers' preference for the status quo in their own jurisdiction could be seen as implicitly negative lessons about alternatives in other countries or in other times". This implies that there is a fifth type distinct from the previous type, that also involve negative lessons but for other reasons: *justification*. Policymakers might want to add policies from abroad for their argumentation to make certain choices (or not to make certain choices). Eta (2015) found that in the transferring of high school policies to Cameroon, the reason to transfer policies was that foreign countries used those and that Cameroon had to keep up with the 'international standards'. The international standards were used to justify the change in policies. Even though this comes back to a more coercive type of policy transfer, this type of policy transfer is also likely to occur in voluntary policy transfer. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this could be seen as a mixed type of policy transfer.

This type is also supported by literature on advisory boards in general, and more specifically in the State Committee literature. As will be presented in the next part, it has been argued that State Committees and advisory boards on the national level in general are tools for the government to justify their policies or their lack of policies. When the government wants to introduce a certain policy, an advisory board is installed to back their arguments. Similarly, advisory boards are installed to be able to blame someone else for the choices that are made. This is also backed in the argument by Rose that was mentioned before. Politicians seem to choose certain people for these organizations "whose overall political values are consistent with their own" (Rose, 1991: 17). Therefore, it is expected that policies from abroad are used as justification.

### *Types left out*

In the 'degree of transfer' category that is distinguished in the policy transfer literature, two more types appear that are not used in this particular research. *Hybridization* and *synthesis* are identified by Rose (1991: 22; 1993: 30-31) and also used by other scholars. Since these types both refer to combining several (elements of) policies from abroad into a new policy, Dolowitz and Marsh (2000: 13) unite them into one type they call *combinations* (Benson & Jordan, 2011: 371). However, these types can only be studied when certain elements can be combined into an encompassing policy. This research is focused on policy transfer in these elements on their own rather than the transfer of an encompassing programme, which is why the combination type is not further emphasized here.

The concepts of copying and emulation are used in the policy diffusion literature as well. The policy diffusion literature differentiates between the concepts of copying, emulation, imitation, hybridization and even more. For an extensive review on these diffusion

'mechanisms', see Shipan and Volden (2008) and Maggetti and Gilardi (2016). Not all diffusion mechanisms are treated as distinct types in this research, since they all relate to the same thing: convergence of policies. This research is not focused on either convergence or divergence of policies and institutions. In addition, the basis for the various mechanisms seems different. Where every policy transfer scholar differentiates between copying and emulation, copying on itself seems to be treated as a part of emulation by policy diffusion scholars: "emulation means copying 'appropriate' policies" (Maggetti & Gilardi, 2016: 92). Moreover, the concept of 'imitation' is very similar to the concept of copying. Shipan and Volden (2008: 842) complete the confusion over these concepts by stating that "sometimes referred to as emulation, imitation involves copying the actions of another (...)". To avoid confusion, the types that are presented in this thesis can be brought back mostly to policy transfer research.

## 2.2 ADVISORY BOARDS

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As discussed in the introduction, this research will look at State Committees. These are interesting in their own right as well as a tool to research the above. First, this part will describe different views on advisory boards in general and more specifically in The Netherlands. Second, this part elaborates on what is known about State Committees particularly.

The Dutch law distinguishes three forms of advisory boards. The first, permanent advisory boards, have to be established by law and therefore go through parliament. The second, temporary advisory boards, are installed by the council of ministers after notifying both chambers. Temporary advisory boards are installed for four years and their runtime can be extended by two years if necessary. Third, ad-hoc committees are installed by royal decree or ministerial order. They advise over a single issue and are therefore one-off. (Duyvendak & Van de Koppel, 2005: 25).

Starting already in the 1920's, State Committees were criticized for being too numerous. In 2004, the Dutch member of parliament (MP) Wijnand Duyvendak presented a memorandum to the Dutch lower house (Dutch: *Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal*). The memorandum was called 'De Schaduwmacht: de invloed van politieke commissies', which can be translated as 'The power in the shadows: the influence of political committees' (Duyvendak, 2004). The key message of this memorandum was to criticize the functioning and composition of external committees that were appointed by government. Duyvendak proposed several ideas on how to diminish the number of committees and enhance their composition - for instance by appointing more Belgians in Dutch committees to make sure there are no conflicts of interest. Because the effect of his memorandum was only marginal, Duyvendak decided to write a book on the subject to regain attention for what is a serious problem in his opinion.

The critique of Duyvendak and others on advisory boards is especially focused on those that are installed 'ad-hoc'. They are very negative about several aspects of these committees. Duyvendak and Van de Koppel illustrate their core criticism as follows: "Is there a delicate issue, do political disagreements have been cleared away, has a disaster just taken place, did a minister or the cabinet blunder? A committee full of people with political weight will do the dirty work" (Duyvendak & Van de Koppel, 2005: 15).<sup>2</sup> In short, the concerns of Duyvendak & Van de Koppel relate to the informal motives to install a committee (2005: 18-19), the one-sided composition of the committees - mostly prominent members of political parties according to them - (2005: 19-22) and that committees make decisions that the members cannot be held accountable for (2005: 22-23). Despite Duyvendak's efforts to decrease the number of ad-hoc advisory boards, the Dutch government has kept appointing them.

Schulz et al. (2008) argue that research should first be conducted to gather information on the actual functioning of the committees and the reasons behind the ongoing appointments, before the debate about this subject is resumed. Empirical data on the numbers, costs and composition of these Dutch advisory boards is largely missing (Schulz et al., 2008: 95). Schulz et al. (2008: 96) found 364 ad-hoc committees in The Netherlands, between 1995 and 2005. They did not find a clear trend of increase or decrease in the number of committees installed over these years. Considering the amount of weeks there have passed in these ten years, over one committee per two weeks was installed on average. The critique of Duyvendak can be combined with the period that Schulz et al. investigated, but the question arises if his critique can also be combined with time before 1970, which is subject to this research in a qualitative manner (see chapter three). Schulz et al. (2008: 97-100) wonder why these numbers are so high and therefore investigated what occasions led to the installation of a committee. They identified four occasions (percentage of committees in parentheses): news events and parliamentary questions (13%), evaluations - most of them obligated by law - and technical matters (48%), delicate issues and crises (15%) and rising opportunities and threats (24%). In addition, Schulz et al. tried to understand the motives to install a committee from the perspective of the installer. They divide their findings into two categories: formal motives and informal motives (Schulz et al., 2008: 100). Formal motives are threefold: calling on the required expertise, ensure independence and creating (public) support (Schulz et al., 2008: 100-102). Informal motives are way harder to identify, demonstrate and categorize. Schulz et al. (2008: 103) attempted to demonstrate their findings in the following table:

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<sup>2</sup> The original quote is in Dutch. The presented quote is translated by the author.

TABLE 1: INFORMAL MOTIVES TO INSTALL A COMMITTEE

	Delay	Accelerate
Draw attention	Ask for clear facts first	Use else's authority to underscore the importance
	Mature a subject to establish acceptance	Public grieving process and/or penance
Withdraw attention	Depoliticize by involving experts	Encapsulating noisy and annoying third parties
	Held it over until after the elections	Ask for mediation of third parties

*Taken and translated from: Schulz et al. (2008), Besturen in commissie. Verklaring van een fenomeen. P. 103: 'Tabel 2. Informele instellingsmotieven'.*

The informal motives of installation could potentially be reflected in the argumentation that a committee makes. Even though these informal motives are of great concern to the former MP Duyvendak, Schulz et al. (2008: 103) argue that their extensive research did not provide evidence that these informal motives play a huge role in the installation of ad-hoc committees. Certainly, they argue, informal motives are inferior to the formal motives.

### 2.2.1 STATE COMMITTEES

This research is interested in one group of advisory boards in particular, that of State Committees. Kerkhoff and Martina (2015: 79) recognized the lack of empirical research to this specific category of ad-hoc advisory committees. Particularly, there is a lack of research on committees before 1994, when the Dutch national publication system (Staatscourant) was digitalized. Kerkhoff and Martina (2015: 80, 81) argue that existing research is focused on a period from roughly 1970 till today. Therefore, they searched for all State Committees that The Netherlands had between 1814 and 1970 and found 208 of them.

State Committees are distinct from other advisory boards. For instance, they are one-off committees. This means their mission is to advise on one single topic. Once the report on that issue is presented, the State Committee is abolished (Kerkhoff & Martina, 2015: 80, 87). In addition, State Committees do not require any form of approval by parliament and can be installed by a single minister or secretary of state (Kerkhoff & Martina, 2015: 81). Further delimitation of State Committees is however difficult. The committees are expected to last for no longer than four years, since they then fall into the second category that was mentioned before - temporary advisory boards. But there are examples of committees that lasted longer, some even far longer (Kerkhoff & Martina, 2015: 80-81). In addition, the legal status of State Committees is



not entirely homogenous and the same accounts for the installation of the committees (Kerkhoff & Martina, 2015: 81; Schulz et al., 2008).

Concerning the procedures and compositions of the State Committees between 1814 and 1970, Kerkhoff and Martina notice that they were involved in almost every element of policymaking (2015: 85). The committees, varying averagely from three to seven members, mostly had a chair that was chosen strategically. The same accounts for their secretaries. The members predominantly originated from outside the civil service. As already mentioned, they were mostly ex-politicians, ex-civil servants and scientists (Kerkhoff & Martina, 2015: 85). However, there are plenty of examples of committees containing civil servants or even the ministers themselves (Kerkhoff & Martina, 2015: 86). Kerkhoff and Martina cannot prove that the 'old boys' network' concern, as formulated by Duyvendak and Van de Koppel earlier, is right. That several persons participated in more than one committee could be due to their experience, but also to cronyism (Kerkhoff & Martina, 2015: 86).

In the remaining parts of their article, Kerkhoff and Martina (2015) present the numbers and topics of those 208 State Committees and argue how they relate to their position in history. These numbers can be useful in the methods and analysis chapters, but are not worth discussing in detail here. Finally, Kerkhoff and Martina (2015: 98-99) present the database they created for further research. This database will be used in this particular research, to select cases and find the required information on those cases.

### 2.3 SUMMARY

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In this paragraph, the discussion of the previous paragraphs is summarized. The focus thereby is to see how the literature discussed in paragraph 2.1 is reflected in the literature discussed in paragraph 2.2.

In the past few decades, the field of policy transfer has build on the work of Dolowitz and Marsh. Most scholars - for instance Evans - paid attention to coercive policy transfer, where institutions like the IMF and the EU cause convergence between countries in terms of policies and programs through pressure. Some scholars, like Richard Rose, paid attention to voluntary policy transfer. This research follows that lead. The focus is on a state-centric approach that, as argued by Benson and Jordan, the field has traditionally focused on. Rose and Stone point out several actors that are involved in policy transfer, ranging from IGO's and NGO's to single experts. State Committees seem to contain members of multiple categories that together form an actor that is expected to be involved in policy transfer. This is further emphasized in the illustration below. Five types of policy transfer are discussed: copying, emulation, inspiration, non-transfer and justification (see table 2 below). The first three of them appear constantly in policy transfer research and are therefore expected to return in this research. In addition, two

more types are distinguished to complement lacking explanatory power of the first three types. That non-transfer and justification are added makes even more sense when three important works in the Dutch advisory board research are discussed in part 2.2. Former MP Duyvendak criticizes the large number and the composition of ad-hoc advisory committees that The Netherlands has known. Schulz et al. dig further into these numbers and discuss the motives - formal and informal - that politicians might have to install such a committee. Finally, Kerkhoff and Martina created a database of State Committees that The Netherlands had between 1814 and 1970 and discuss a first interpretation of their findings. As already mentioned, advisory boards and State Committees in particular, are a great tool to conduct empirical research on policy transfer as well as they are an interesting object of study on their own.

In table 2, an overview is given of all the types of policy transfer derived from the

TABLE 2: TYPES AND AUTHORS - OVERVIEW

Type	Characteristics	Policy transfer authors	State Committee authors
<b>Copying</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Complete and direct adaptation</li> <li>- Success/failure depend on complexity and similarity environments</li> </ul>	Dolowitz & Marsh (2000) Evans (2009) Rose (1991)	
<b>Emulation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Transfer of ideas</li> <li>- Foreign policy provides a standard</li> <li>- Adaptation to circumstances: innovation</li> </ul>	Dolowitz & Marsh (2000) Rose (1991) Newmark (2002)	
<b>Inspiration</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- New policy does not look like the original</li> <li>- Policy abroad facilitates change</li> </ul>	Rose (1991) Evans (2009)	Schulz et al. (2008)
<b>Non-transfer</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Policies from abroad serve as negative lessons</li> <li>- Learn what did <i>not</i> work</li> <li>- Results in divergence or modifications</li> </ul>	Stone (2004) Dolowitz & Marsh (2000)	Schulz et al. (2008)
<b>Justification</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Policies from abroad are used to justify choices</li> <li>- Slow down the process of policymaking to retain the status quo</li> </ul>	Eta (2015) James & Lodge (2003)	Duyvendak (2004) Schulz et al. (2008)

literature. Their main characteristics are given in the second column. In the third column, the authors are listed that recognized this type from the policy transfer perspective and are used to describe the particular type. In the fourth column, the authors are listed that did so from the perspective of advisory boards, especially that of State Committees.

### *Illustration*

As showed in the table above, many aspects of the literature on policy transfer can be combined with aspects from the literature on Dutch advisory boards. This can be illustrated by means of Committee Korthals Altes, also called Committee 'Election process arrangements' (Dutch: *Inrichting Verkiezingsproces*). This State Committee was installed in April 2007 to investigate the process of elections, especially the secrecy and transparency of elections (Staatscourant, 2007). Two things about this example are striking illustrations for the goals of this research and how the literature above relates to those.

First, the composition and activities illustrate the relationship between several aspects of the literature on policy transfer and State Committees. Schulz et al. (2008: 96) summarize this as follows: "The Committee Korthals Altes (Election process arrangements), for example, has members both from science as well as from practice. Subsequently, this committee has conducted a lot of study, both domestically as well as in foreign countries".<sup>3</sup> Therefore, policy transfer is likely to occur in the advice of this particular committee. Thus, State Committees are useful cases to contribute empirically to the study of policy transfer.

Second, this particular committee raises questions about legitimacy once looking at its composition. The secretary of state that signed the official royal decree containing the mission of the committee, Bijleveld, used to be member of the same committee. In addition, another former member of the committee, De Jager, also became secretary of state (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijkrelaties, 2007: 13-14). Not surprisingly, secretary of state Bijleveld followed the advice of the committee that she used to be a member of by withdrawing a former decree (Schulz et al., 2008: 96). To see whether similar processes occurred in the past when looking at State Committees before 1970 could add to the discussion over the legitimacy of these committees nowadays. This is particularly interesting when the fourth and fifth type of policy transfer, non-transfer and justification, appear.

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<sup>3</sup> The original quote is in Dutch. The presented quote is translated by the author.

### 3. METHODS

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Now that the topic has been introduced in chapter one and theoretical insights have been covered in chapter two, this chapter will discuss the methods of this research. It will be divided into three parts. First, the case selection is explained in paragraph 3.1. Six cases are selected from a list of 208 State Committees and their details are presented. Second, the strengths and weaknesses of the research design are discussed in paragraph 3.2. Third, the main concepts of this study are operationalized in paragraph 3.3. Also, some indicators that are used are discussed here. Afterwards, the results are presented and discussed in chapter four.

#### 3.1 CASE SELECTION

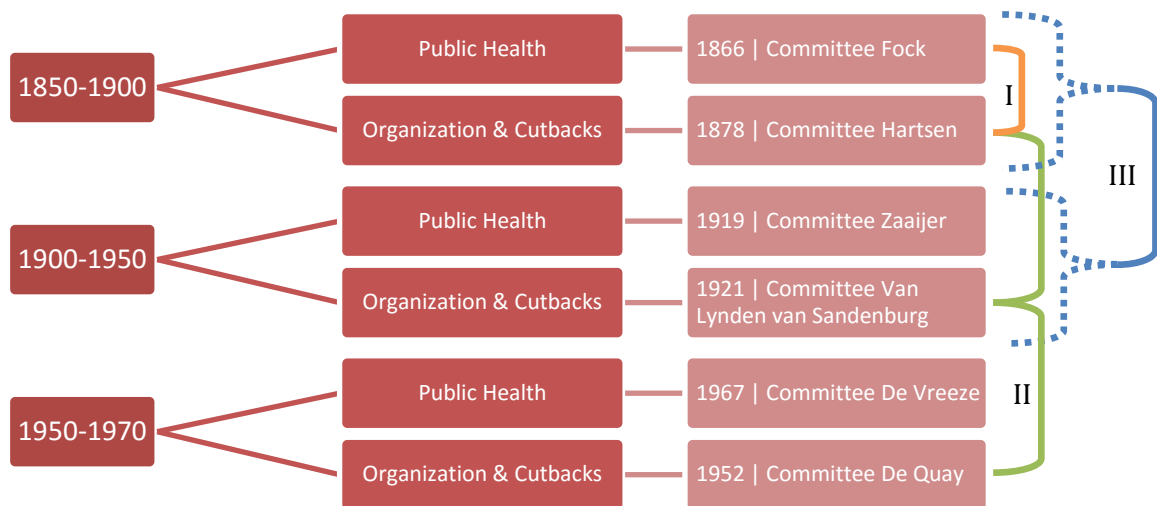
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As mentioned before, Kerkhoff and Martina created a database where all 208 State Committees that they found between 1814 and 1970 are listed. As mentioned before, the State Committees are ideal cases to use in this particular research, since many of the considerations of Rose can be combined at once. The database has been used for this study to select the cases for the multiple case study. In the case selection, various considerations are taken into account. On the one hand, the higher the amount of cases, the more external validity the answer to the research question will generally have. On the other hand, the lower the amount of cases, the more details can be investigated and presented. This will improve the reliability of measurement. Therefore, a balance has to be found. When looking at the research goals that are presented in the first chapter, the same issue arises. More cases will contribute to the theoretical goals in the sense that more instances of policy transfer will provide a more complete typology. More cases will also contribute to the empirical goals in the sense that more empirical data is presented. However, the purpose of this study is to describe the cases in detail and therefore less cases provide more opportunity. The same can be said of the typology, where at some point more types could be found that cannot be described in detail. In light of the normative goals, the discussion on external advice would benefit most from a detailed description of the cases, which suggests less cases. Taking into account all these considerations and additionally taking into account the feasibility of this project, the setup as shown in Figure 2 is chosen.

First, three periods of time were chosen. As visualized in Figure 2, the selected periods are 1850-1900, 1900-1950 and 1950-1970. Almost the same time-categories are used by Kerkhoff and Martina (2015). Historically, the choice for these periods makes sense. In 1848, the Dutch constitution was updated by the famous Johan Rudolf Thorbecke, who turned The Netherlands into a constitutional monarchy (Parlement & Politiek, 2016a). This means that individual ministerial responsibility was introduced, thereby transferring powers from the king to democratically elected ministers. This was a big step forward in shaping a Dutch liberal

democracy. Therefore, 1850 is chosen as a starting point in the case selection. When the 19th century was over, states in Europe started interacting and they industrialized quickly to turn into modern states. The premise of both World War I and World War II and the actual wars both took place between 1900 and 1950. 1950-1970 is typified as a post-war period with economic recovery. The processes of institutionalization and globalization are argued to accelerate after 1950. Following the

FIGURE 2: CASE SELECTION VISUALIZED



argument that was made by policy transfer scholars on these processes, it is expected that globalization will increase the observed policy transfer and that institutionalization will increase the observed coercive policy transfer as we move forward in time. As explained before, Kerkhoff and Martina chose to investigate committees until 1970. Therefore, the third time period lasts only twenty years.

Second, two different subjects were chosen. Kerkhoff and Martina (2015: 90-91) divided the 208 committees into fifteen subjects. Not for every one of these fifteen subjects, a committee existed in every three periods of time. Especially the last, shorter period (1950-1970) did limit the options. Six options remained: law and legislation, colonies, finance, public health, social security and organizations and cutbacks in the government. Law and legislation was filtered out. Kerkhoff and Martina (2015: 90) signalled that this category is problematic, since most of the advices of State Committees did result in some sort of legislation. Therefore, this category did not provide a specific differentiator in subject. Out of the five remaining subjects, public health and organization and cutbacks in the government were selected.

Public health is selected because knowledge on that subject increased rapidly since 1850 and the subject became one of the most important issues for policymakers nowadays. This makes the subject interesting, because the analysis might provide insights in whether this knowledge was shared among policymakers in different countries or not. Organization and

cutbacks in the government is selected because the subject is the most interesting subject for public administration researchers.

The result is two different pairs of committees: three with the same subject and two within the same period of time. As shown in Figure 2, the big advantage of this setup is that many links can be discovered. Link I, for instance, shows how the picture of one of the timeframes can be improved by comparing differences between subjects within that timeframe. Link II shows that the different subjects can be compared over time, to see if the way in which similar problems are approached changes over time. Line III shows how the different timeframes can be linked. Thus, this setup provides many opportunities for a comparative analysis of the cases.

This leads to the following selection of cases as presented in Table 3. In this table, the first column shows the index number in the database. The second column provides respectively the year of installation and abolishment. The third column shows the identification of the constituent act. The fourth column shows the chair of the committee. Note that the committees will from now on be called by the name of their chair. Also note that the second committee in the list has three chairmen but will be called by the name of the first chair (Committee Hartzen). Finally, the fifth and sixth column show the main- and subtopic of the committees.

TABLE 3: SELECTED CASES

Index number	Years	Constituent act*	Chair(s)	Main topic	Subtopic
1866/1	1866-1868	K.B. 16 juli 1866, N°.68	Fock	Public health	Disease prevention
1878/1	1878-1879	K.B. 30 januari 1878, N°.3	Hartsen / Geer / Van Pesch	Organization and cutbacks in the government	Human resources
1919/4	1919-1921	K.B. 2 mei 1919, N°.52	Zaaijer	Public health	Disease prevention
1921/6	1921-1927	K.B. 18 augustus 1921, N°.85	Van Lynden van Sandenburg	Organization and cutbacks in the government	Municipalities
1952/2	1952-1955	K.B. 1 november 1952, N°.32	De Quay	Organization and cutbacks in the government	Municipalities
1967/3	1967-1973	K.B. 14 december 1967, N°.15	De Vreeze	Public health	Medical practice

\* 'K.B.' refers to the Dutch Royal Library in The Hague.

### 3.2 DESIGN

The six cases already indicate what type of study is used in this research. As argued in the previous section, a multiple case study fits the goals of this research best. Some of the strengths and weaknesses of this approach are already discussed during the case selection. The discussion of the design will continue in this section. By investigating multiple cases, variables such as time

and subject can be discussed. However, by limiting the analysis to six cases, every case can be described in detail. This level of detail is required in order to see what motives lie behind certain choices that policymakers made. A quantitative design would neither provide a comprehensive view of the policies from abroad that are used by the committees nor would it add much to our understanding of the State Committees and their functioning.

In multiple case studies, several methods are available to researchers. A survey, arguably the most quantitative tool, does not fit this research. Obviously, most of the stakeholders have already passed away. In addition, this research is not interested in opinions nor perceptions. Another method, interviews, are also problematic when applied in this research. The same problem occurs that most of those involved have passed away. For instance, chair of the most recent committee in the list of cases (table 3), J. de Vreeze, passed away in 1993. Some of the members might still be alive, but interviewing them would make the information on the cases inconsistent with the other cases.

The remaining tool is document analysis, also referred to as content analysis (Babbie, 2013: 295). This tool is generally used in historical designs like these. The primary advantage of document analysis is that the information is static: once published, the information itself is not subject to change anymore. What is presented in the document is checked before it is published and its truth can be investigated. In that sense, documents are a reliable source of information. It also allows us to study processes over time (Babbie, 2013: 307). Another advantage of document analysis is that the results can be checked - anyone can access them - and therefore the analysis can be replicated. In addition, the analyst has no effect on the object of study (Babbie, 2013: 307). One of the weaknesses, however, is that the author(s) chose what to write and what not to write. What is written can be checked, but what is left out is hard to discover. Only recorded communication can be investigated. The inevitable consequence is that the research is limited in terms of validity (Babbie, 2013: 307). In addition, the information that is presented in the documents is probably biased (Babbie, 2013: 318). Then again, a detailed analysis of every case is required to increase the likelihood that such matters can be observed. Therefore, again, it is important to keep the amount of data at realistic proportions but high enough to obtain corroboration (Babbie, 2013: 318).

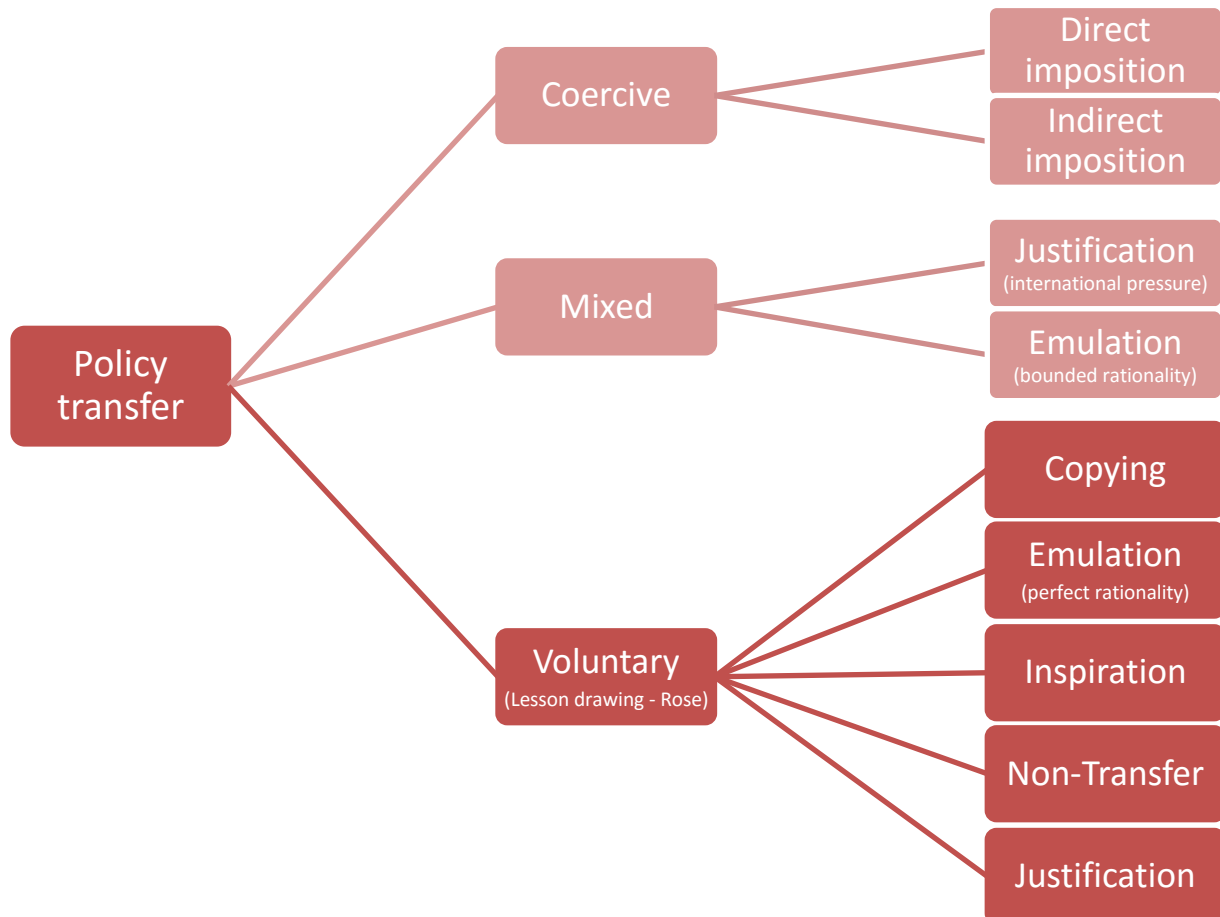
As mentioned in the previous chapter, every one of the committees was abolished once their final report was presented. The final reports that the committees wrote are accessible across different libraries in The Netherlands. These reports are the units of analysis in this research. By investigating every final report and this document only, the analysis is not just feasible but also consistent. Every committee has a final report and therefore every committee can be compared based on their final reports. How these documents are systematically analysed

to answer the research questions and thereby fulfilling the research goals, will be discussed in the next section: operationalization.

### 3.3 OPERATIONALIZATION

The following figure, Figure 3, shows the conceptual model that is drawn from the theory. Figure 3 visualizes what is shown in Table 2 in the previous chapter.

FIGURE 3: CONCEPTUAL MODEL



The first level is the field of study. The second level is the reason behind policy transfer. Note that, as discussed in the second chapter, this is a continuum (Figure 1). The conceptual model separates the three, but one can think of motivations that lie in between. The third level shows types of policy transfer that can occur. Two things have to be considered in this level. First, the types might also occur in a different category. This also relates to the second level being a continuum instead of a strong division. The concepts are however organized according to the continuum. This means for instance that copying is more likely to occur in mixed policy transfer than non-transfer, and emulation due to bounded rationality is more likely to occur in voluntary policy transfer than justification due to international pressure. Second, and more importantly, this list of concepts should not be considered exhaustive. This is particularly the case for the



concepts at the third level for coercive and mixed policy transfer that are not discussed in detail in the second chapter. The route that this research is using, is highlighted by the dark colour. Therefore, the concept of voluntary policy transfer is operationalized first. Subsequently, the concepts of copying, emulation, inspiration, non-transfer and justification are operationalized.

Before occurrences of policy transfer can be categorized into a typology on their distinguishing characteristics, the occurrences of policy transfer have to be identified themselves. To do so, Diane Stone offered grip. She wrote:

"policy transfer can be substantiated if:

1. It can be demonstrated that idiosyncratic domestic factors are not independently responsible for the policy adoption.
2. It can be demonstrated that the adoption is not the result of the effects of similar modernising forces having the same, but separate effects in different states.
3. It can be demonstrated that policy makers are aware of the policy adoptions elsewhere.
4. It can be demonstrated that this overseas evidence was utilised within domestic policy debates" (Stone, 1999: 56)

To distinguish policy transfer in the cases, the analysis starts by investigating the reports of the State Committees in four steps. Each of these steps logically contributes to one of the conditions that are composed by Stone.

In the first step, the countries that are mentioned in the final reports are counted. When a city in another country is mentioned, this is included in the counting under the name of the country that the city is located in. The results simply provide a table with every country that is mentioned on the one axis and the report on the other axis, tally marking their mentioning (Babbie, 2013: 303). This might result in a graph, depending on how useful the results prove to be. This step is a matter of indication and only provides evidence for the third characteristic of Stone. In the second step, every instance of other countries mentioned will be looked at from a broader perspective: the context will be added. Every mentioning of foreign countries that does not look like that any policy is used from it - in other words: cannot be classified as policy transfer - will not be discussed in detail. The remaining ones will be looked at into more detail. Why is the country mentioned? Who came up with it? What is mentioned about policies in the other country? And the most important, what does the report say about any further steps? Did they base their policy advice on this foreign idea? And if they did do so, to what extent? This step thus digs deeper into the reports that are presented and describes possible forms of policy transfer in detail. The evidence that is presented here contributes to point one and four that Stone listed. In the third step of the data analysis process, there is a search for additional sources on any of the policies that might be considered transferred. In order to verify the first two points of Stone, especially the second one, the context of the policy in The Netherlands will be touched

upon shortly. In the fourth step, the evidence of the first three steps is combined. The aggregate of the three steps before will be sufficient to distinguish instances of policy transfer. For that matter, the definition that is mentioned in the first chapter will provide direction.

Now that instances of policy transfer are identified, they are discussed from the perspective of the literature. Their characteristics are discussed and - depending on how many instances of policy transfers are found - the results are grouped. Next, the results are categorized under the different types that are distinguished in the literature. It is analysed whether they fit to one of the types or whether additional types have to be distinguished. To do so, one or several indicators are attached to every one of the five types. These are summed up in Table 4.

TABLE 4: INDICATORS

Type	Definition	Indicator(s)
<b>Copying</b>	The complete, or to a large extent, direct adaptation of foreign policies in a new context.	- Exact match between foreign policy and policy proposal(s)
<b>Emulation</b>	The transfer of an idea behind a foreign policy, thereby serving as a standard for a policy in a new context.	- No exact match between foreign policy and proposed policy - Foreign policy implicitly or explicitly (partly) serves as a standard
<b>Inspiration</b>	Foreign policy ideas inspire policymakers and thereby facilitate policy change.	- No match between foreign policy and proposed policy - Foreign policy implicitly contributes to the proposed policy
<b>Non-transfer</b>	Foreign policies that did not work abroad, are used as negative lessons and result in divergence between countries.	- No match between foreign policy and proposed policy on purpose - Neutral or pragmatic intentions
<b>Justification</b>	Foreign policies are used as justification for domestic policies in order to slow down or accelerate policy change.	- No match between foreign policy and proposed policy on purpose OR - Match between foreign policy and proposed policy - Self-serving intentions

In the first two columns, the types are defined according to the discussion in chapter two. The third column shows various indicators that follow from the characteristics as defined in the literature. The first and second row speak for themselves. The third row, the indicators of inspiration, requires some explanation. To define indicators for such a mild form of policy transfer is difficult. The main idea is that the foreign policy did affect the proposed policy but not directly. It did so through the persons involved in the policymaking process. The analysis should reveal whether this becomes more of a residual category or whether clear instances can be found that fit this type. The fourth and fifth row then speak of intentions, which requires explanation as well. Even though intentions are hard to measure, the main difference between neutral and self-serving intentions lies in the goal behind the use of foreign policies. When the

main purpose is to improve the policy proposed, the intentions can be considered 'neutral' or 'pragmatic'. When the main goal is otherwise, for instance to endorse an individual opinion, the intentions can be considered 'self-serving'. Table 1 serves as a guide for self-serving intentions that can be mainly identified in the case of State Committees. It shows that for instance slowing down or accelerating the policymaking process by calling on foreign examples might be intentions to use a foreign policy. Also, any sign that the policymakers goal is to retain the status quo, provides evidence for this final type.

After the typology is filled in, eventual remaining instances of policy transfer are attached characteristics and - if possible - grouped into a new category. Finally, the results are discussed. Their implications for the literature and their contribution to the other research goals are the main topic. This is all worked out in the next chapter: Analysis.

## 4. ANALYSIS

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In the previous chapters, the research question was introduced, the theoretical framework was presented and the methodological setup was discussed. This chapter builds onto the previous three chapters. The goal of this chapter is twofold: present the empirical data and analyse that data. This chapter is structured in the following way. First, in paragraph 4.1, general information is presented that provides an overview of the data that is collected. It sums up what documents are analysed, how large these documents are, where they can be found, etcetera. Second, in paragraph 4.2, every one of the six State Committees is discussed in detail. The first part of the analysis is conducted here. For each case, the context and substance of the reports is discussed, followed by an overview on the gathered data and an analysis of its implications in terms of policy transfer. In the final part, paragraph 4.3, all the data is aggregated. After presenting the aggregated data, the second part of the analysis is conducted. The results are categorized according to the types identified in the literature: a typology of policy transfer is presented and critically assessed. Also, the various links as presented in Figure 2 are discussed. Once the analysis is completed, the conclusions are drawn in the final chapter five.

### 4.1 GENERAL DATA OVERVIEW

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In paragraph 3.1, the cases are summed up in Table 3. In the table below, Table 5, an overview of the cases is given with detailed information on the reports that have been investigated. In the third column, the location of the reports is given. The fourth column shows the titles of these reports. What stands out when looking at the titles, is that the titles from the nineteenth century are much longer and that some committees call the document 'rapport' whereas others call the document 'verslag' - both to be translated English as 'report'. The fifth column shows the authors of the reports. In many cases, the report has been attributed to the chair of the committee. In some cases, another member of the committee is named as the author of the report. The final column presents the number of pages that the report consists of. This however might be misleading. Most reports consist of information about the process that the committee has gone through. Some reports then end with recommendations about the particular issue. Other reports contain detailed tables and charts full of numbers - mostly when the subject is related to financial issues. Therefore, the amount of pages is much higher. Some committees present entire draft legislations and therefore the report contains more pages. Finally, the page size obviously differs. Most committee reports vary between A5 and A4 international paper size. Therefore, a total of the last column does not provide an exact measure of the amount of data that this research has looked into, but does provide an indication of that.

TABLE 5: DOCUMENT DETAILS PER CASE

Index number	Committee name	Report location*	Report title**	Report author(s)	Report size***
1866/1	Fock	L.U.L. Special Collections Room Closed stack 5 Call no.: 459 C 38	Rapport aan den Koning, van de Commissie, benoemd bij Zijner Majesteits besluit van den 16den Julij 1866, no. 68, tot Onderzoek van Drinkwater in verband met de verspreiding van cholera en tot aanwijzing der middelen te voorziening in zuiver drinkwater.	Beyerinck, J.A.	100 p.
1878/1	Hartsen	L.U.L. Special Collections Room Closed Stack 5 Call no.: 497 B 32	Rapport aan den Koning nopens het verleenen van pensioen aan weduwen en weezen van 's Rijks burgerlijke ambtenaren, en omtrent het weduwenfonds voor de ambtenaren van het algemeen bestuur/ uitgebragt door de Staatscommissie, benoemd bij Zr. M.s. Besluit van 30 Januari 1878, no. 3	Hartsen, C.J. Geer, P. van Pesch, A.J. van	63 p.
1919/4	Zaaijer	L.U.L. Closed Stack 5 Call no.: 1494 B 14-15	Verslag van de staatscommissie in zake mond- en klauwzeer, benoemd bij koninklijk besluit van 2 mei 1919, Nr. 52	Zaaijer, C.P. Dolk, T.F.J.A.	132 p.
1921/6	Van Lynden van Sandenburg	L.U.L. Closed Stack 5 Call no.: 1467 C 37	Verslag van de Staatscommissie in zake de financieele verhouding tusschen het rijk en de gemeenten	Lynden van Sandenburg, F.A.C. van	91 p.
1952/2	De Quay	Koninklijke Bibliotheek Magazijn 7 1400 A 46 1955	Verslag van de Staatscommissie Bestuursvorm grote gemeenten, ingesteld bij Koninklijk besluit van 1 november 1952, No. 3	Quay, J.E. de	29 p.
1967/3	De Vreeze	L.U.L. Closed Stack 4 Call no.: V 6368 1973: 15	Rapport van de Staatscommissie Medische Beroepsuitoefening, uitgebracht aan Hare Majesteit de Koningin	Vreeze, J. de	102 p.

\* *L.U.L.* stands for Leiden University Library, located at Witte Singel 26-27, Leiden, The Netherlands. *Koninklijke Bibliotheek* is the Dutch Royal Library, located at Prins Willem- Alexanderhof 5, The Hague, The Netherlands.

\*\* The original, Dutch titles are presented. For translated titles see Appendix 1.

\*\*\* In the amount of pages in this column, the appendices are excluded. Not every report contains an appendix and sometimes the appendix is presented in another book.

## 4.2 SIX STATE COMMITTEES

In this paragraph, each committee will be discussed separately. Every one of the descriptions will start with two short summaries that introduces the committee and its report. This first summary consists of various elements. The members - in particular the chair - will be discussed shortly. Also general background information will be presented. The second summary consists of information about the report itself. The topic, the most important discussions around it and the outcome are discussed here. Subsequently, the first part of the analysis is conducted. By following the steps presented in paragraph 3.3, the reports are analysed for occurrence of policy transfer. The result of this process is discussed for each case under two subheadings. Under the first subheading, *foreign countries in the report*, the gathered data is presented in a table and visualized by a figure when useful. Under the second subheading, *policy transfer*, the existence of

policy transfer in the case is discussed and the results are categorized according to the typology drawn from the literature. Subsequently, all this data is combined and analysed in paragraph 4.3.

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#### 4.2.1 COMMITTEE FOCK - 1866<sup>4</sup>

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##### *Characteristics*

Committee Fock was installed on July 16, 1866 and presented its report on the fifth of October, 1868. The reason for the installation of this committee - formally - was to investigate the link between the outbreak of the disease cholera and the origin of drinking water. The chair of the committee was the Minister of the Interior. He was accompanied by eight members at first. Almost all of them were bureaucrats, some at the Ministry of the Interior, others elsewhere in the government. Shortly after the installation, Committee Fock requested two additional members: chemistry professors. The request was fulfilled and thereby the committee had eleven members in total.

##### *Mission and report*

The mission of Committee Fock was twofold. First, the committee was asked what sources of drinking water existed and if that drinking water was connected to the spread of the cholera disease. This connection would have to correspond with the disease in different municipalities. Second, the committee was asked whether more clean drinking water was required in those municipalities and what the role of the government in that situation would be.

The connection between cholera and drinking water was indeed found by the committee, in two ways. Some of the members conducted research in the lab and other members compared mortality rates with the various kinds of drinking water sources and then presented statistical evidence. After concluding that better quality of drinking water was required, the committee analysed what the current situation was. Finally, several recommendations were made how the quality of drinking water could be improved. These recommendations followed from an extensive discussion of alternatives and situations domestically and abroad.

Beside the 100 page report, the book that Committee Fock presented contains 312 pages of appendices. These twenty appendices contain mostly statistics, ideas worked out by individuals and a report of the lab research that was conducted. The appendices are used as extra material - providing context - but are not included in the analysis below.

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<sup>4</sup> All references in paragraph 4.2.1 that contain only page numbers refer to the report by State Committee Fock.

*Foreign countries in the report*

Table 6 below presents the results after reading the report. The first column shows the countries that are mentioned. The second column indicates how many times the country - or a city in that country - is mentioned in total. The third column shows the numbers of the pages on which the country can be found. The bold numbers indicate that the concerned page most likely points to policy transfer.

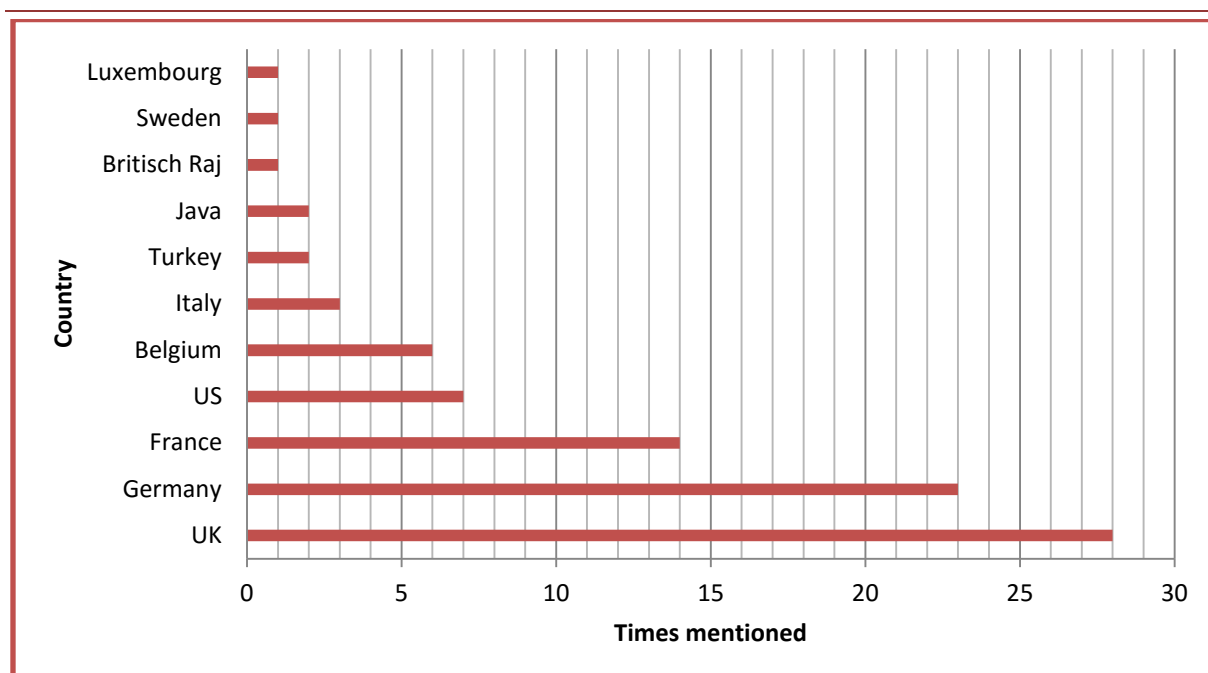
TABLE 6: FOREIGN COUNTRIES REPORT FOCK

Country	Count	Page numbers
UK	28	6 (x2), 8 (x2), 9 (x5), 10 (x3), 13, <b>68, 69, 70 (x2)</b> , 78, <b>79 (x2)</b> , 81, 86, 88 (x2), <b>92, 93, 94, 96</b>
Germany	23	7 (x4), 8, 13, 68 (x2), <b>69 (x2)</b> , 74, 86 (x4), 87 (x3), 88 (x5)
France	14	63, <b>68, 69, 70 (x2), 82 (x2)</b> , 85, 86 (x5), 87
US	7	14 (x3), <b>68 (x3)</b> , 81
Belgium	6	<b>68 (x3), 69 (x3)</b>
Italy	3	<b>62 (x2), 100</b>
Turkey	2	6, 8
Java	2	<b>68, 69</b>
Britisch Raj	1	6
Sweden	1	10
Luxembourg	1	<b>69</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>88</b>	

The first two columns are visualized in Figure 4, below. In general, these first two columns make sense when looking at the context. The techniques that are used to collect water but also to transport drinking water under pressure, are similarly advanced in the industrialized countries like the United Kingdom (UK), Germany and France. That those countries appear most when discussing this subject is not surprising. It is interesting to see that two former colonies, Java and British Raj, also appear in the report. In these colonies, some other water collection systems are used or tested, which are mentioned by the committee.

Concerning the third column, a few remarks should be made. First, it stands out that the pages containing foreign countries are grouped around certain paragraphs, while in large other parts of the report no foreign country is mentioned at all. The first group ranges from page 6-15, where an extensive list is presented of places where cholera occurred, both domestically and abroad. The second group concentrates around page 69, where different designs of wells are discussed, including designs used abroad. A third group concentrates around page 85, where different ways of water transport are discussed. Second, an increase is visible closer to the end of the report. This is particularly interesting when considering that these are the fourth and fifth chapter, that contain information about the alternatives from which the committee formulates its recommendations - as discussed above.

FIGURE 4: FOREIGN COUNTRIES COMMITTEE FOCK VISUALIZED



### *Policy transfer*

Now that the information is gathered, the bold numbers are looked into in more detail. Sometimes, a single transferred policy appears on more than one page. Therefore, the page numbers that concern the same part of the recommended policy are grouped so that they can be analysed as one occurrence of policy transfer.

In Table 7, the results are shown. The first column shows the first three characters of the country plus the page number. The five types of policy transfer are listed in the first row. Every

TABLE 7: POLICY TRANSFER COMMITTEE FOCK

Page Number(s)	Copying	Emulation	Inspiration	Non-Transfer	Justification
<b>Ita62, Ita100</b>			F1		
<b>UK68, Ger68, Fra68, Bel68, Jav68, UK69, Ger69, Fra69, Bel69, Jav69, Lux69</b>			F2		
<b>UK70, Fra70</b>			F3		
<b>UK79</b>			F4		
<b>Fra82</b>			F5		
<b>UK92, UK96</b>			F6		
<b>UK93</b>					F7
<b>UK94</b>				F8	
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>



result or group of results is coded and the code is assigned the belonging type of transfer.<sup>5</sup> Not every policy that is transferred stems from one country.

In general, the observed policy transfer is very marginal, in the sense that ideas from abroad are discussed but no clear policies follow. The intentions from the committee are not very clear. The foreign ideas might be mentioned because the committee wants to present complete information. However, the ideas might also be used to back up their arguments. It is hard to distinguish whether the committee was selective or complete in their information about foreign policies. Because the final, concluding chapter only consists of three pages, the policies that are proposed here are only a small piece of what is discussed before. Nearly everything of the policy transfer that was found is therefore categorized under 'inspiration'. The policy transfer occurrences are now discussed one by one shortly.

On page 62 and 100 (F1), the committee points at a well-functioning rainwater system in the Italian city Venice. The committee seems very impressed by this Venetian cisterns, since they are referred to again in the final page of the report. Thereby, this is the only instance of a foreign country mentioned in the concluding, seventh, chapter (p. 98-100). On page 68 and 69 (F2), it is described how the 'Artesian aquifer', used in the countries that are mentioned, could possibly be used on some locations in The Netherlands to provide drinking water. No concrete proposals follow from this idea, therefore it is categorized as inspiration. Furthermore, on page 70 (F3), ideas on how London and Paris collected their street refuse are considered. It did however not show up in the proposals either. Page 79 discusses a British suggestion that all water should be clean - not only drinking water. The committee (F4) does agree with the suggestion but because of the costs the committee agreed that this cannot be implemented. On page 82 (F5), the committee points at the French cities Nantes and Dijon. Dijon, with 25,000 inhabitants, has a well-functioning water supply system, whereas Nantes - 100,000 inhabitants - has a good system but does not provide enough water for everyone. Curiously, however, a few pages later (p. 84-85) the committee recommends that Dutch cities with over 35,000 inhabitants build such a water supply system. The ideas of the French cities are studied, but altered into a general and different recommendation. Therefore, F5 is also categorized as inspiration. Pages 92 and 96 (F6) provide a perfect example of inspiration. Concerning regulatory control of drinking water, the committee states: "This idea itself is not new. In England, there are laws that aim at pointing at certain circumstances where local authorities are obligated to provide clean drinking water and

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<sup>5</sup> The codes that are assigned for every case consist out of the first character of the name of the concerned committee, followed by a number assigned in a chronological way. 'F6', for instance, stands for the sixth observation of policy transfer in the report of Committee Fock.

laws that guard against the pollution of drinking water" (p. 92).<sup>6</sup> On page 96, where the committee summarizes the points made in the chapter, they again mention that regulation is required "just like in England" (p. 96). On page 93 (F7), an example in the UK serves as justification to come up with regulation. By pointing at the fact that clean drinking water has proven to prevent the disease typhus from spreading in England, an extra motivation is given to come up with regulation. Finally, on page 94 (F8), a short example of disastrous water works in London is mentioned. This is clearly a matter of non-transfer: pointing at policies that should be avoided.

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#### 4.2.2 COMMITTEE HARTSEN - 1878<sup>7</sup>

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##### *Characteristics*

Committee Hartsen was installed on January 30, 1878, by the Minister of Finance, Mr. Gleichman. The goal was to investigate how the current state pension fund was doing and what it would take to establish a pension fund for all state level civil servants. The committee only consisted out of three members; none of them was appointed as chair. The first member was Cornelis Hartsen. Mr. Hartsen had been a member of the senate (Dutch: *Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal*) for eighteen years, from 1859-1877 (Parlement & Politiek, 2016b). During his time as member of the State Committee, he was CEO of the 'Hollandsche Sociëteit van Levensverzekeringen', a Dutch insurance company that nowadays operates under the name 'Delta Lloyd'. The second member of the State Committee was P. van Geer, at the time professor at the University of Leiden. Third member was A.J. van Pesch, at the time professor at the 'Polytechnische school Delft', nowadays known as the Delft University of Technology.

##### *Mission and report*

The mission of State Committee Hartsen was to investigate the current state of an existing pension fund for widows and orphans and to investigate the possibilities to establish a new pension fund for all civil servants employed by the central government. In their report, the three members of the committee answered those questions in a very straight-forward manner. In three chapters, they presented many calculations and thereby concluded that a new pension fund should be established with mandatory participation for every civil servant.

In the first chapter (p. 5-15), the committee explains that before any calculation can be made, a mortality table (Dutch: *sterftetafel*; also referred to as life table) has to be created. In such a table, it is shown, on average, how many out of 1000 people is expected to be alive after a

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<sup>6</sup> In this report, as well in the other reports, the UK is referred to as 'Engeland'. Literally this refers to England and not Wales and Scotland. However, in The Netherlands, 'Engeland' is commonly referring to the entire UK (see footnote 9).

<sup>7</sup> All references in this paragraph that contain only page numbers refer to the report by State Committee Hartsen.

certain age. After establishing this mortality table, the committee calculates what the average percentage is that an employee has to contribute yearly in order to keep up a good pension fund. The results of this are presented in chapter two of the report (p. 16-54). The committee concludes this chapter by stating that it is very beneficial - or even necessary - to establish a pension fund for civil servants. In the third and final chapter (p. 55-63), the committee calculates what the averages and percentages from the first two chapters mean for the current pension fund. The conclusion is that this pension fund is doing very well and has a surplus. Overall, the report is technical and mathematical. The appendices, approximately 30 pages, contain solely tables and graphs with statistics and calculations.

*Foreign countries in the report*

In Table 8 below, the result of counting foreign countries in the report is shown.

TABLE 8: FOREIGN COUNTRIES REPORT HARTSEN

Country	Count	Page numbers
UK	7	7, 9 (x5), 10
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	

Only one country is mentioned in the entire report of 63 pages: the UK. As discussed before, the first chapter of the report shapes the foundation of all the further calculations. The committee chooses between several mortality tables. It is discussed how some methods of calculation of this mortality table are wrong, while other methods rely on old statistics. The choice of the committee is to pick a mortality table that relies on old statistics. But because new statistics are not available - because they are not collected - the committee decides to compare the mortality table of their choice to the others (p. 7, 8). Because of the old statistics that the table of their choice is based on, the committee expects the life expectancy to have increased since. Therefore, the committee decides not only to compare the table of their choice to statistics from the same (Dutch) context, but also to recent statistics from a different context: "Finally, we have compared the table of our choice to the very important outcomes of a recent investigation under over 125.000 insured persons by the twenty primary English life insurance companies" (p. 9).

*Policy transfer*

What is discussed above, could be described as policy transfer. The mortality table, that these English companies use, is the basis of all of their life insurance products. One could also argue that it should not be categorized as policy transfer, because the transferred policy is not from a government. Even though the policy is a private policy and not a public policy, it is still marked as policy transfer in this research. The main reason is that the definition of policy transfer leaves

room for this: "Policy transfer refers to the process by which actors borrow policies developed in one setting to develop programmes and policies within another" (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996: 357).

TABLE 9: POLICY TRANSFER COMMITTEE HARTSEN

Page Number(s)	Copying	Emulation	Inspiration	Non-Transfer	Justification
UK7, UK9, UK10		H1			
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

As shown in Table 9, the type 'emulation' has been assigned to this occurrence of policy transfer. This also requires explanation. There is no exact match between the policy that is proposed - the mortality table chosen by the committee. However, the British mortality table does not serve as a standard for the chosen table either. The standard, as discussed above, is an old table based on old statistics. Even though the British mortality table does not serve as a standard in that sense, the argument could also be turned around. Without the recent statistics on which the British mortality table is based, the chosen mortality table could not be verified in a sufficient way. Therefore, the reason why the mortality table that is chosen can be maintained, is that the numbers can be verified by the British table. In that sense, the British policy *does* serve as a standard and its use is to be seen as emulation.

In conclusion, a total score of '1' when looking at policy transfer in the report of Committee Hartsen as shown in Table 9 seems marginal. On the one hand, this is indeed marginal. The committee mostly based its arguments on their own calculations and domestic statistics. On the other hand, the committee itself argues that the foundation of all these calculations lies in the chosen mortality table, that could be established because of the British mortality table. Therefore, the one and only occurrence of policy transfer in this report is one of great importance for all the proposed policies.

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#### 4.2.3 COMMITTEE ZAAIJER - 1919<sup>8</sup>

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##### *Characteristics*

Committee Zaaijer was installed on May 2, 1919. The reason for the installation of this State Committee was a persistent outbreak of the epizootic foot-and-mouth disease. This virus had killed many cattle at intervals between 1881 and 1918. The committee consisted out of chair Mr. C.P. Zaaijer, twelve members and one secretary, Mr. T.F.J.A. Dolk. Mr. Zaaijer was chair of the Dutch National Agricultural Committee (Dutch: *Koninklijk Nederlandsch Landbouw Comité*) at the time the State Committee was installed. Out of the twelve members, six were professors, two

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<sup>8</sup> All references in this paragraph that contain only page numbers refer to the report by State Committee Zaaijer.

were MP's, two were farmers, one was a veterinarian and one was chair of a cattle committee. One of the six professors died in 1921, while the committee was still in place.

Remarkable is the year of installation. When looking at the database, it stands out that as many as eleven committees were installed in 1919. This is an outstanding number, considering that this is 5,3% of all committees installed between 1814 and 1970. A possible explanation for this high number of committees in this year is that the First World War had just ended. Even though The Netherlands took a neutral role in this war, the neighbouring countries were a mess which reflected in the Dutch economy as well. To fix these problems, several State Committees might have been installed. Right after the Second World War, however, a similar effect is not observable.

### *Mission and report*

The committee received a threefold mission from the Minister of Agriculture, Industry and Trade. First, the committee was asked whether it is desirable that the state gets involved in the control of the foot-and-mouth disease, to limit the economic consequences. Second, the committee was asked whether additional research into a cure for the disease is necessary and if yes, how and what the contribution of the cabinet would have to be. The third question was what the cabinet could do to control the disease awaiting the results of this additional research. Remarkable about the mission, as formulated in the constituent act, is that it explicitly states that the members of the committee have the right to report their opinion independently if their opinion differs from the opinion of the majority.

After receiving this mission, the committee decided to split up their work into seven subcommittees. Most of those committees conducted research on a particular topic. Subcommittee six and seven are particularly interesting in light of this research. Subcommittee six was "responsible for the investigation of the fight against foot-and-mouth disease in Switzerland by study onsite" (p. 11). Subcommittee seven conducted a similar study in the UK.<sup>9</sup> The report is a book that consists of 132 pages. An additional book contains the appendices, including the travel report of both subcommittee six and seven. The appendices are not included in the upcoming statistics, but are used as extra information to verify the analysis - just like in the other cases.

Concerning the report of Committee Zaaijer, two observations are worth discussing apart from the substantive proposals that the committee made. The first observation is that the committee proposes expansion of the government on all fronts almost permanently (p. 111-113; 115; 126). A new committee has to be set up for this, another agency should be established for

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<sup>9</sup> The appendix containing the report of this subcommittee proves that data was collected for the entire UK, as it shows statistics for England, Wales and Scotland.

that. This is a little too early in terms of time to fit into the general idea of government expansion in this period. A second observation is related to what was mentioned in the previous subparagraph: members of the committee are explicitly encouraged by the Minister to formulate their minority opinions. What stands out in the report is that one member of the committee, Mr. Duymaer van Twist, persistently disagrees with the other members (p. 88; 116; 121; 124). Mr. Duymaer van Twist has been MP for the Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP; Dutch: *Anti-Revolutionaire Partij*) for 45 years - and thereby is declared the longest-sitting MP in Dutch history (Parlement & Politiek, 2016c). His political views and his rank might therefore offer an explanation for his behaviour.

#### *Foreign countries in the report*

Table 10 below shows the countries that are mentioned in the report of Committee Zaaijer.

TABLE 10: FOREIGN COUNTRIES REPORT ZAAIJER

Country	Count	Page numbers
Germany	33	6, 14 (x3)*, 17*, 21*, 50*, 51 (x3)*, 58, 64, 65 (x5), 66 (x2), 67, 68 (x2), 69, 70, 71, 72, 78*, <b>102</b> , 103*, <b>118</b> , <b>119</b> (x2), 126
Belgium	17	23, 58, 64 (x2), 65 (x2), 66 (x2), 67, 68 (x4), 69, 70, <b>99</b> , 126
UK	13	12 (x2), 70, <b>83</b> (x2), <b>96</b> , <b>98</b> , 102, <b>118</b> , <b>119</b> (x4)
Switzerland	11	11, 12, 14, 75, 78, <b>88</b> , <b>97</b> , <b>98</b> , <b>103</b> , <b>106</b> , <b>119</b>
France	5	14, <b>53</b> , <b>54</b> , <b>55</b> , <b>126</b>
Italy	3	9, 21**, 119
Austria	3	70 (x2), 72
Russia	3	70 (x2), 72
Sweden	2	21 (x2)
Norway	1	14
US	1	22
Japan	1	22
Denmark	1	<b>124</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>91</b>	

\* German virologist(s) mentioned. Explanation below.

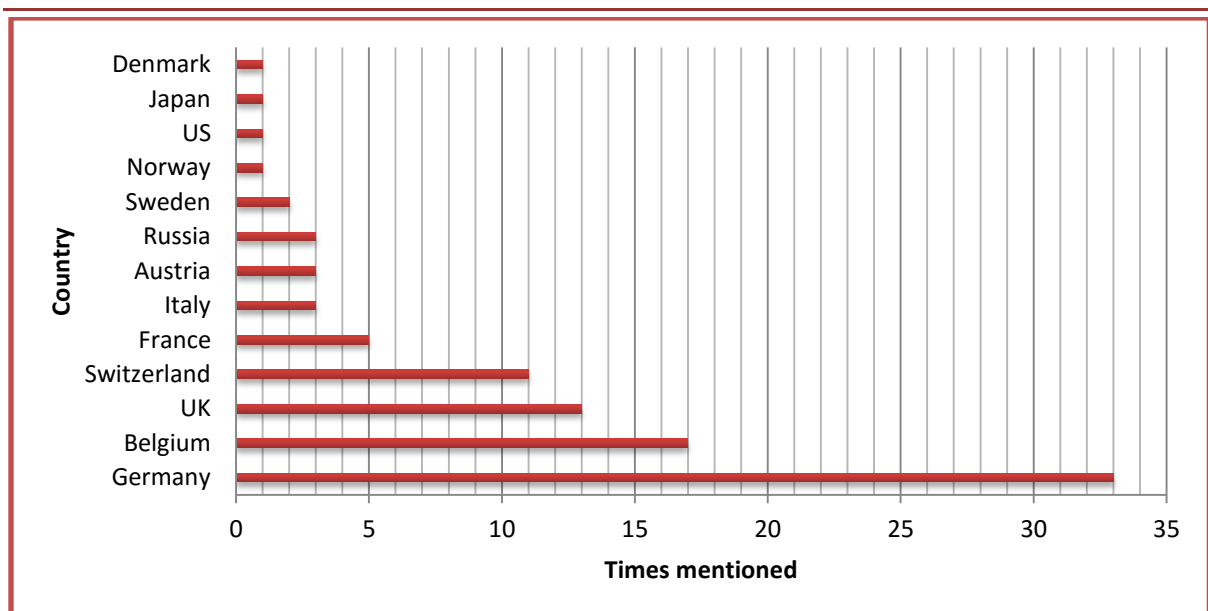
\*\* Italian researcher mentioned. Explanation below.

When counting the foreign countries and cities in the report of Committee Zaaijer, the problem occurred that the committee sometimes mentioned research from researchers abroad. These should strictly not be counted in these statistics. However, this could point at policy transfer, when the author bypasses the country where he transfers from by directly pointing at whose idea it was. Therefore, some scholars that could be traced back to their country of origin are included in the table. One star indicates that the report mentioned the German virologist Löffler

and sometimes also his colleague Frosch. Two stars indicate an Italian researcher, Bartelucci, mentioned once.

The actual numbers, visualized in figure 5, make perfect sense. The problem that this committee is dealing with, is an epizootic that was brought to The Netherlands from animals across the borders. Germany and Belgium, both countries that The Netherlands shares land borders with, are mentioned most. However Germany almost doubles Belgium in numbers, it should be noted that the German number includes the virologists - as just mentioned. As discussed earlier, two subcommittees made a trip to discover how the UK and Switzerland dealt with the disease. Correspondingly, those countries are third and fourth in the table and also mentioned very often.

FIGURE 5: FOREIGN COUNTRIES REPORT ZAAIJER VISUALIZED



*Policy transfer*

The statistics above show that Committee Zaaier mentioned foreign countries very often. When looking at the substance of the sentences where those countries are mentioned and their context, generally three observations summarize their meaning in terms of policy transfer.

First, Committee Zaaier concluded that international cooperation was required to reach the desired solutions. Because the disease stems from countries abroad, all countries in Europe have to work together in fighting the disease. Therefore, the League of Nations is mentioned a few times in the report (p. 58; 126). This is a prelude of more mixed forms of policy transfer. However, it is merely a prelude: it does not occur at this period yet. The committee mentions multiple times that it is hard to come to European solutions yet and therefore The Netherlands should work together with its border sharing countries: Germany and Belgium.

Second, the general idea is that Committee Zaaijer looks for policies abroad when the domestic policies are not adequate. This is even mentioned explicitly on page 119: "therefore it was examined, whether a better arrangement perhaps exists abroad." (p. 119). What is curious in that sense, is that the subcommittees went to look for policies in Switzerland and the UK, instead of Germany and Belgium. That would make more sense, considering the remarks of the committee concerning the difficulties in international cooperation.

Third, it stands out that the majority of the members in Committee Zaaijer is a scientist. This results in an extensive discussion of details about the disease and research from abroad. Therefore, most of the times a foreign country is mentioned it relates to background information and does not refer to foreign policies or policy transfer.

TABLE 11: POLICY TRANSFER COMMITTEE ZAAIJER

Page Number(s)	Copying	Emulation	Inspiration	Non-Transfer	Justification
<b>Fra53, Fra54, Fra55, Fra126</b>		Z1			
<b>UK83</b>					Z2
<b>Swi88</b>		Z3			
<b>UK96</b>					Z4
<b>Swi97, Swi98</b>			Z5		
<b>UK98</b>			Z6		
<b>Bel99</b>				Z7	
<b>Ger102</b>			Z8		
<b>Swi103</b>			Z9		
<b>Swi106</b>		Z10			
<b>Ger118, UK118</b>					Z11
<b>Ger119, UK119, Swi119</b>			Z12		
<b>Den124</b>			Z13		
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>

In Table 11, the results are shown after the detailed analysis of the bold page numbers. Each of them is discussed shortly below.

On page 53 (Z1), Committee Zaaijer extensively elaborates on the outcome of an international conference, held in Paris on the initiative of the French government. The committee states that "On this conference (...) one has, concerning the necessity of scientific research, placed itself on the same position as the State Committee takes in this matter" (p. 53). On page 55, and repeated on page 126, Committee Zaaijer thereby propose "the establishment by the Dutch government of an institute for research on infectious animal diseases (...) in accordance with the decisions made on the international conference for the study of infectious animal diseases held on May 25-28 in Paris" (p. 55). This can clearly be typified as emulation, since the policy formed abroad provides the standard and the actual proposal is given substance



to by the committee. On page 83 (Z2), it is shortly mentioned that one of the methods to fight the foot-and-mouth disease, the eradication of infected animals, has proven its effect in the UK, which serves as an extra motivation to propose this method next to other methods. Moving on, the State Committee on page 88 (Z3) proposes expansion of the duty to report any infection to the local authorities, in accordance to the Swiss policy in this matter. It is only a small piece of the entire proposal, but the idea stems from a foreign policy which makes it emulation. On page 96 (Z4), the committee argues to maintain a policy, even though it is controversial. They add to their argument that this policy is also in effect in the UK. The argument is that it is used already domestically, and also in the UK, so it is fine to retain the policy. Implicitly, the policy in the UK serves as justification. On pages 97, 98 and 103 (Z5, Z6 and Z9), the committee refers to ideas that are described by the subcommittees that visited the UK and Switzerland. Subsequently, on page 99 (Z7), the committee writes: "The experience gained in the summer of 1920 in Belgium can serve as a lesson" (p. 99), clearly typified as non-transfer. On page 102 (Z8), then, the committee argues that in times of an outbreak of the disease, the movement of persons across borders should be restricted according to the ideas of the German professor Hess from Bern. Because this policy is only a consideration to the government, it is typified as inspiration. On page 106 (Z10), another Swiss policy, concerning the restriction of peddlers and beggars, is recommended by the committee. On page 118 (Z11), the committee recommends a controversial full compensation of eradicated animals. To justify this choice, the committee points at the UK and Germany, where the same policy is in place. On page 119 and 124 (Z12 and Z13), the committee compares some policy options from Germany, the UK, Switzerland and Denmark.

Now that the detailed discussion is finished, a final remark should be made about the German professor Löffler. His research clearly was an inspiration to the committee, considering the amount of references to his work. His recommendation however was to not rely on 'isolation' as a solution for the disease, whereas the committee does rely heavily on this method. In conclusion, his influence on the research of Committee Zaaijer is not classified as policy transfer, since it is hard to discover to what extent his ideas were in fact German policies, but that he is mentioned for the sake of completeness.

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#### 4.2.4 COMMITTEE VAN LYNDEN VAN SANDENBURG - 1921<sup>10</sup>

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##### *Characteristics*

Committee Van Lynden van Sandenburg was installed on the first of September, 1921 by the Minister of Finance, Mr. De Geer. Ongoing financial problems in various municipalities were the reason to install this State Committee. Chair of the committee, mr. F.A.C. van Lynden van

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<sup>10</sup> All references in this paragraph that contain only page numbers refer to the report by State Committee Van Lynden van Sandenburg.

Sandenburg, held different important positions in the Dutch government. During his time as chair of the committee (1921-1927), for instance, he was the Queen's Commissioner (Dutch: *Commissaris van de Koningin*) in the province of Utrecht and a personal advisor to the Dutch Queen (Parlement & Politiek, 2016d). In the report, the background of the other members was not mentioned. Most of the members were MP's or other well known politicians. At least five out of the nine members have been MP or minister, all of them from different political parties (Parlement & Politiek, 2016e; 2016f; 2016g; 2016h; 2016i). Unlike most of the other State Committees discussed, this committee seems to lack members with a scientific or practical background.

#### *Mission and report*

The mission of the committee was to "investigate how the financial relation between the central government and the municipalities could be arranged most effectively" (p. 7). At first, the committee gathered information through a survey among all municipalities, but the information turned out to be useless and meanwhile the regulations were changed. Therefore, the committee first advised over a temporary arrangement, before turning to investigate a permanent arrangement. The committee was reinstated in October, 1925 to that end. Finally, on the first of August, 1927, the committee presented the final report which was subject of this research. The report contains 91 pages and additionally 27 pages of appendices. One of the appendices is a separate final report by mr. Van Doorninck, who could not agree with the rest of the members on the conclusions and therefore wrote his own report.

Two interesting observations are worth discussing. First, it is remarkable that one of the final conclusions by the State Committee is that a permanent committee should be installed to continuously look at the financial relation between the central government and the municipalities. This proposal is worked out in the sixth paragraph of chapter two in the report. This is remarkable, because since 1997 The Netherlands actually has a permanent council with this end: the Financial Relations Council (Dutch: *Raad voor de financiële verhoudingen*; Rfv, 2016).

Second, Committee Van Lynden van Sandenburg fits the pattern that critics - for instance Duyvendak - outline about State Committees. Not only do the members share backgrounds. Also, the report mentions that the committee has to build forward on State Committee Godin de Beaufort (1903), that also attempted to rearrange the financial relations. When reading the report, it seems that the 1921 Committee has to push forward policies that the 1903 Committee failed to arrange, because of a lack of consensus. Committee Van Lynden van Sandenburg thereby fits the pattern of a committee installed to accelerate difficult policies. This feeling becomes even stronger, when the following analysis points out that foreign countries are often

used as extra motivation, to round up the argumentation and leave no room for further disagreement. This will be worked out in detail in the next sections.

*Foreign countries in report*

In Table 12, the results after counting the foreign countries that are mentioned in the report by Committee Van Lynden van Sandenburg are presented.

TABLE 12: FOREIGN COUNTRIES REPORT VAN LYNDEN VAN SANDENBURG

Country	Count	Page numbers
UK	9	<b>35 (x2)</b> , 39 (x2), <b>48*</b> , 50, <b>67*</b> , <b>71, 76</b>
Germany	8	<b>12</b> , 39, <b>41 (x2)</b> , <b>47</b> , 63 (x2), 64
Belgium	7	15, 37 (x3), 39 (x3)
France	2	39, <b>42</b>
US	1	88*
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	

\* These are mentioned in one of the many footnotes in the report.

The first two columns are rather empty. This could be explained in two ways. The first possibility is that the subject, the financial relation of the central government and the municipalities, leaves not much room for foreign ideas. Most countries are organized according to different systems than The Netherlands. Even the countries that are mentioned, are organized in a different manner. The second possibility is that the members of the committee did not include many foreign ideas because they do not know them or that they do not want to use them. The aggregate analysis of the three State Committees with the subject of organization and cutbacks in the government might shine a light on this.

Concerning the countries that are mentioned, it is interesting that only the close neighbours of The Netherlands are mentioned. This is obvious on the one hand, but curious on the other hand, particularly when keeping in mind their different systems of government. The committee could have searched for more similar states elsewhere.

The page numbers in the third column are well distributed among the report. The reason for this is that the committee is very much to the point and discusses almost exclusively matters that are of interest of their proposal.

*Policy transfer*

As already mentioned, the ideas from abroad serve mostly as finishers, to round up the argumentation and leave no room for criticism. In addition, some ideas from the UK are transferred. The bold numbers are again categorized and coded in the following Table 13.

TABLE 13: POLICY TRANSFER COMMITTEE VAN LYNDEN VAN SANDENBURG

Page Number(s)	Copying	Emulation	Inspiration	Non-Transfer	Justification
Ger12			L1		
UK35					L2
Ger41			L3		
Fra42				L4	
Ger47					L5
UK48		L6			
UK67, UK71				L7	
UK76		L8			
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>

Each of the codes in the table is discussed next. On page 12 (L1), the committee reveals that the basis for an arrangement between the State and the municipalities stems from a German idea: the 'Finanzausgleich'. This idea inspired the committee and therefore it is typified as inspiration. Moving forward to page 35 (L2), the committee uses a statement from the British Minister Chamberlain, about how to arrange the financial relation between the State and the local governments, to solidify their argument that a former policy has to be abolished. On page 41 (L3), an idea is presented that stems from Germany, where municipalities receive a general benefit from the State government. The committee also looks at the system of general benefits in France (L4), but concludes that "this system does not fit The Netherlands" (p. 42). Not all costs that municipalities make while fulfilling their tasks as local implementers of central government policies, should be paid by the central government. This position is taken by the committee on page 47. To justify this position (L5), the committee writes that "even in Germany (...) the legislature has recoiled from the consequence that these expenses are accounted for by the central government (...)" (p. 47). To make a proper arrangement where only part of these costs are paid by the central government, the committee was inspired by a system that was used in the UK, as illustrated in a footnote on page 48 (L6). When looking at the summary of policies that are advised by Committee Van Lynden van Sandenburg on page 89 and page 90, it turns out that the model used in the UK actually serves as a standard. The model of financial compensation by the central government that the committee proposes is derived from the model used in the UK, as shown several times. The committee seems to be aware that it requires adaptation - another characteristic of emulation - by pointing at several shortcomings. For instance, on page 67 and page 71 (L7), two illustrations from the UK are given to point at the boundaries of central government's intervention in local tax policies. This warning is typified as non-transfer. Finally, on page 76 and 77 (L8), the committee shows to be aware that an idea that was transferred earlier from the UK, does not entirely solve the problem. The committee points at the fact that additional funding might be required - as was also concluded in the UK. Therefore, the

improvement that was made in the UK is also proposed by the committee. Again this is typically identified as emulation. L6 and L8 are not combined because they attempt to solve different parts of the problem that the committee advises on.

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#### 4.2.5 COMMITTEE DE QUAY - 1952<sup>11</sup>

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##### *Characteristics*

State Committee De Quay was installed on the first of November, 1952, with the goal to advise the government over large municipalities. The committee was installed on a proposal of the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Beel. Minister Beel, member of the catholic party KVP, appointed a partisan as chair of this committee: Jan de Quay. De Quay was the Queen's Commissioner at the province of Noord-Brabant at that time. Interestingly, Mr. Beel was prime-minister from 1958-1959 and was succeeded by Mr. De Quay, who was prime-minister from 1959 until 1963. (Parlement & Politiek, 2016j; 2016k)

Committee De Quay further consisted of thirteen members plus two secretaries. Four out of the thirteen members were mayor at the time. Two of them were professor, two were high ranked civil servants and two were representatives. The remaining three had various other jobs.

##### *Mission and report*

The mission consisted of just one sentence, translated as follows: "to advise the government over the most preferred system of government for large municipalities, also in connection with the issue of aggregation of municipalities" (p. 3). In the inaugural speech, the Minister addressed the problem that the committee had to deal with. He explained that ongoing urbanisation led to the growth of cities. In these large cities, the problem occurred that 'few rule many', as the Minister called it. The result was an inadequate local democracy.

The committee responded with many considerations that could have caused this. For instance, they described a phenomenon that is often discussed in the field of Public Administration, 'red tape'. Committee De Quay argued that the increase in size of the local civil service led to an impersonal treatment of civilians, which caused a decrease of involvement in the local government. The committee presented several recommendations that did not require regulation, and several recommendations that did require regulation. The latter category was divided into several proposals involving territorial decentralization and several proposals involving functional decentralization.

The report is rather short compared to the other reports that are investigated. It only consists of 29 pages. In addition, page 31-47 of the book contain appendices. The appendices

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<sup>11</sup> All references in this paragraph that contain only page numbers refer to the report by State Committee De Quay

consist of some statistics and a proposed law with its explanatory memorandum. In addition, it stands out that - in contrast to the other reports investigated - the report does not contain any traces of a large study. It rather consists of many arguments based on common sense and experience. The committee also notes several times that research was an option but that the members did not consider further investigation necessary.

#### *Foreign countries in the report*

In the previous paragraphs, a table is presented that contains information about the mentioning of foreign countries in the State Committee report. The results for this committee, however, are very minor. Part of the low score can be brought back to the small amount of pages, but even on average the result is small (see Table 17 on page 59). Part of it can be brought back to a lack of interest for foreign policies by the members of the committee, as described under the next heading. For the sake of completeness, a table is also drawn for Committee De Quay.

TABLE 14: FOREIGN COUNTRIES REPORT DE QUAY

Country	Count	Page Number
US	1	14
Austria	1	26
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	

Next to the two countries that are mentioned once, the committee sometimes refers to abroad in more vague terms like 'Western-Europe'. On page 24, the committee refers to a system of 'hearings' used by 'Anglo-Saxon' countries. An explanation for the minor results in this report is presented under the next subheading.

#### *Policy transfer*

None of the above can be considered policy transfer. In conclusion, the result in terms of policy transfer in this report is zero. This seems not very surprising considering the subject of this State Committee. However, some other subjects, investigated by different State Committees, were not expected to deliver much result as well - and they did. In that sense, zero result is surprising.

Interestingly, the report contains various sections where it is discussed whether policies from abroad should be included in the research or not. The inaugural speech that was already mentioned, by Minister Beel, contains an explicit encouragement for the committee to consider policies from abroad: "your Committee (...) should also focus on the experience that has been gained on this matter by other countries, even though I admit that one should be careful when drawing parallels between the conditions that exist in The Netherlands and abroad." (p. 6). In reply to the Minister, Mr. De Quay reports that "the Committee is aware of recent developments

and desires on this matter abroad, and besides the Committee made use of the experiences that some of the members gained abroad in this respect." (p. 8). This looks promising, but on pages 25 and 26 the committee explains explicitly that the report does not contain any policies or examples from abroad. The committee provides two reasons for this. First, the committee argues that it would be a waste of manpower to investigate the policies abroad, since it would lead to a duplicate of the reports that were written by the Viennese congress of the 'Union Internationale des Communes et des Pouvoirs Locaux'. Second, the committee argues that it would be of not much use to study policies abroad and that it "by no means would lead to a solution that fits the Dutch context" (p. 26).

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#### 4.2.6 COMMITTEE DE VREEZE - 1967<sup>12</sup>

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##### *Characteristics*

On December 14, 1967, State Committee De Vreeze was installed on a proposal of the secretary of state for Social Affairs and Public Health, Mr. Kruisinga. The unofficial name for this committee - that also gives away its subject - was 'State Committee Medical Profession'. Chair of the committee was Jan de Vreeze, MP for the catholic party KVP from 1956 until 1971 (Parlement & Politiek, 2016l). The composition of the committee was subject to change more than once, but the committee consisted of around 24 members. Many of those members were representatives of some sort of organization that was involved in this committee. For instance, the Royal Dutch Medical Association (Dutch: *Koninklijke Nederlandsche Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Geneeskunst*) had four representatives in Committee De Vreeze. Both the Royal Dutch Dentist Association (Dutch: *Koninklijke Nederlandsche Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Tandheelkunde*) and the Royal Dutch Pharmacy Association (Dutch: *Koninklijke Nederlandsche Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Pharmacie*) each had two representatives in Committee De Vreeze. This large amount of members reveals that the committee had to come up with a solution that everybody in the field could agree on. In daily life, most of the members were doctors, some were professors, some were pharmacists and some were civil servants from various departments.

##### *Mission and report*

The mission of State Committee De Vreeze was "to investigate in which way the regulation concerning the admission to and the practice of medical professions can be modernised" (p. 7). In the first chapter of the report, the committee discussed the situation at that time. It was described if and how six variables were regulated for eight groups of medical professions. For

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<sup>12</sup> All references in this paragraph that contain only page numbers refer to the report by State Committee De Vreeze

instance the committee looked if the qualification for the profession was regulated, and if the title attached to the profession was protected by law. The second chapter of the report discussed changes that needed to be implemented in order to modernise the regulation.

In chapters three to eight, several aspects that required improvement are discussed. The largest of these is chapter five, that is devoted to disciplinary law (Dutch: *tuchtrecht*). Finally, in chapter nine, the legal shape of these changes is discussed. What stands out in the entire report, is that it very juridical. That is remarkable, considering the low amount of members with a legal profession or background (a full overview of the members can be found in Appendix 2).

It is interesting to see in this report that, even though the committee consists of many delegations from various medical associations, these members do not protect themselves nor their own discipline. On the contrary, they decide to skip the general prohibition to practice medical professions (p. 25, 26) and they hand over a part of their authority to a new central office (p. 37, 38).

#### *Foreign countries in report*

In Table 15, the result of the counting of foreign countries that are mentioned in the report of Committee De Vreeze is presented.

TABLE 15: FOREIGN COUNTRIES REPORT DE VREEZE

Country	Count	Page Number(s)
UK	10	22 (x4), 23 (x4), 30, 80
Belgium	8	22 (x2), 23, 70, 82, 83, 85* (x2)
Denmark	7	22 (x4), 23 (x2), 30
France	6	22 (x2), 23, 56, 85* (x2)
Germany	5	22, 23 (x4)
Indonesia	4	81 (x4)
US	3	23 (x3)
South-Africa	1	82
<b>Total</b>	<b>44</b>	

\* These are mentioned in a footnote in the report.

When looking at the table, it stands out that the foreign countries mentioned in the report of Committee De Vreeze are not very high in number. A total score of 44 on 101 report pages is already at the lower end, but when looking at the page numbers in more detail, the number diminishes drastically when removing page 22 and 23 out of the observation. A small paragraph on page 22 and page 23, titled 'regulation in some other countries', contains over half of the total observed foreign countries (28/44). 16 observations are spread out over the remaining 99 pages



of the report. In this paragraph on page 22 and 23, information about the regulation concerning medical professions in five countries is shortly discussed.

A few remarks about (the absence of) foreign countries in this report have to be made. First, this report builds forward on old regulation and improves old laws. In the case selection in chapter three, it was mentioned that 1850 was chosen as a starting point, because The Netherlands just received a new liberal constitution at that time. The five committees that are discussed before, especially the first and second, had to create new legislation. When constructing something new, one logically looks for illustrations elsewhere. When reconstructing something old, like Committee De Vreeze did, one logically looks back in time. A second remark also has to do with the time in which this committee operated. Multiple times, the 'E.E.G' is mentioned, the *Europese Economische Gemeenschap* (European Economic Community; E.E.C.). For instance, in chapter seven of the report, it is discussed that the committee leaves the decision over the acceptance of foreign degrees in Dutch medical professions to the E.E.C.. Third, the large amount of members in this committee might add to the fact that the amount of foreign countries in this report is - in relation to its size - not very high. Points that are brought up by individuals about foreign policies, very likely did not make it to the final report. However, the impact of these individual remarks in a committee of this size is also marginal, so in that sense it does not affect our perspective as readers of the report.

*Policy transfer*

In Table 16, the occurrences of policy transfer in the report by Committee De Vreeze are shown.

TABLE 16: POLICY TRANSFER COMMITTEE DE VREEZE

Page Number(s)	Copying	Emulation	Inspiration	Non-Transfer	Justification
UK22, UK23, UK30, Den22, Den23, Den30			V1		
Fra56					V2
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>

Only two instances of policy transfer are distinguished. First, on page 30 (V1), the committee refers back to what was mentioned on page 22 and 23 about a set of regulations on the scope of medical professions used in the UK and Denmark. The committee was clearly inspired by these and therefore those are classified as inspiration. There is no sign that the other countries, mentioned in the paragraph on page 22 and 23, are used by the committee. Second, on page 56 (V2), the committee justifies its choice not to describe every act of a medical profession in the law, by pointing at the fact that "even in a country like France, where there is a tendency

towards extensive codification, one finds such vague, in broad terms expressed, deontological regulations." (p. 56).

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### 4.3 AGGREGATED DATA ANALYSIS

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Now that each case has been discussed separately and all the data has been presented for each case individually, the aggregated data is presented and discussed in this paragraph. 4.3 is divided in four subparagraphs. In 4.3.1, it is discussed what is observed about foreign influence and what the implications are for the typology. The implications for the policy transfer literature are also discussed here. 4.3.2 then shortly discusses one of the links that is shown in Figure 2: the observations about the subjects. This is followed by a short discussion of another link shown in Figure 2, the periods of time are compared in 4.3.3. Finally, State Committees in general are discussed in 4.3.4. It is discussed what the observations in this research mean for the future of policy advice in The Netherlands.

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#### 4.3.1 FOREIGN INFLUENCE AND POLICY TRANSFER

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When looking at the broader picture, the reports contain a significant amount of references to policies abroad, as well as to circumstances and scholars abroad. In this subparagraph, the data is first presented in a quantitative manner. In addition, it is briefly discussed what these numbers can explain and what they lack to explain. Even though these numbers are worth presenting, the main focus in this research is not on numbers. Therefore, the results presented in 4.2 are analysed in a qualitative manner after the overview of the data. It is discussed what the implications are for the types of policy transfer.

In Table 17 below, an overview is presented of all observations of foreign countries in the reports that are investigated. The countries are ranked according to the sum of observations in all six cases. A few things about this table are worth discussing.

First, it is interesting to look at the list of countries. Germany and the UK are mentioned most by far and both countries are mentioned in almost all of the cases. The clear number three is Belgium, also mentioned often and consistently. From the list of countries, thirteen out of nineteen countries are located on the European continent. This confirms what is somewhat obvious: policymakers look at countries that are close to home first. France and the US are also common to mention: they are mentioned less often but just as consistently as the top three. Beyond these five countries, the results are much more incidentally: all countries here are only mentioned in one or two of the reports.

Second, the last two rows provide interesting information. The totals are very diverse for each case. Potential explanations of this are discussed in 4.3.2 and 4.3.3. The final row shows the average amount of countries that is mentioned per page of the report that was investigated.

Thus, in the report of Committee Fock for instance, 88 foreign countries are counted. This number is divided by the number of pages in the report, 100. This leads to an average of 0,88. These averages even out some of the diversity between the cases but not entirely do so. Surprisingly, the average per page on the aggregate of all six cases is exactly 0,50. This means that, on average, one foreign country is mentioned per every two pages in a State Committee report that was subject to this research. Further research must reveal whether this average number of 0,50 remains constant when the amount of cases is increased. For this research however, the average number does not have much relevance since the number of cases is not high.

TABLE 17: OBSERVATIONS OVERVIEW

	Fock	Hartsen	Zaaijer	Van Lynden v. Sandenburg	De Quay	De Vreeze	Total
Germany	23		33	8		5	69
UK	28	7	12	9		10	66
Belgium	6		17	7		8	38
France	14		5	2		6	27
US	7		1	1	1	3	13
Switzerland			11				11
Denmark			1			7	8
Italy	3		3				6
Indonesia						4	4
Austria			3		1		4
Russia			3				3
Sweden	1		2				3
Turkey	2						2
Java	2						2
Norway			1				1
Japan			1				1
Luxembourg	1						1
British Raj	1						1
South-Africa						1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>261</b>
<b>Average per page</b>	<b>0,88</b>	<b>0,11</b>	<b>0,70</b>	<b>0,30</b>	<b>0,07</b>	<b>0,43</b>	<b>0,50</b>

To see what the actual influence of these numbers on the presented policies by the State Committees is, the results have been filtered and categorized in five types of policy transfer. 32 observations remain, about 12% of the total amount of countries mentioned. In Table 18 below, the results are shown. In Figure 6, the results are visualized. Compared to the numbers that are presented in Table 17, there are some differences when looking at the totals in the final row. Note however that comparing the amount of countries mentioned to the amount of policy transfer observations per case is misleading: many instances that are coded in Table 18 contain multiple observations from Table 17.

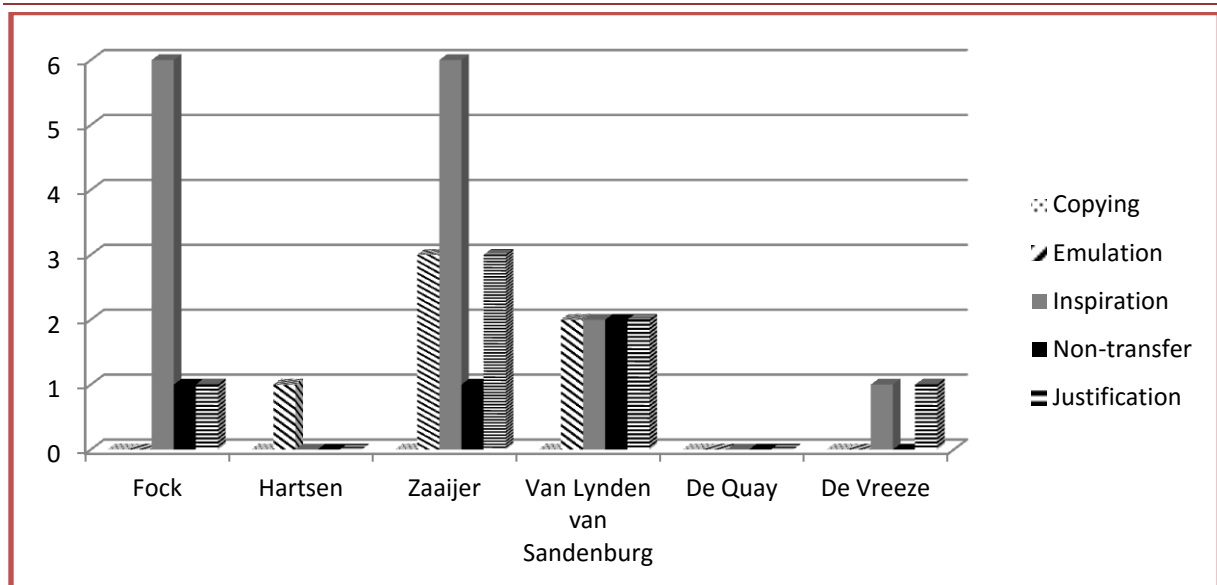
TABLE 18: POLICY TRANSFER OVERVIEW WITHOUT COMPONENT TRANSFER

	Fock	Hartsen	Zaaijer	Van Lynden v. Sandenburg	De Quay	De Vreeze	Total
<b>Copying</b>							<b>0</b>
<b>Emulation</b>		H1	Z1, Z3, Z10	L6, L8			<b>6</b>
<b>Inspiration</b>	F1, F2, F3, F4, F5, F6		Z5, Z6, Z8, Z9, Z12, Z13	L1, L3		V1	<b>15</b>
<b>Non-Transfer</b>	F8		Z7	L4, L7			<b>4</b>
<b>Justification</b>	F7		Z2, Z4, Z11	L2, L5		V2	<b>7</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>32</b>

Concerning the final column of Table 18, some remarks should be made. Every type of policy transfer is therefore discussed next. That copying did not appear in any of the cases is not very surprising. The expectation that followed from the literature shows that this type of policy transfer often causes problems and therefore is rare. Especially in the case of State Committees, this type is not likely to occur - even when all of the committees are investigated. There are various reasons for this. First and most importantly, the members of the committees are clever people with rank and experience. Professors, political leaders and people with high prestige are unlikely to simply copy policies from elsewhere since this would look too easy. Second, the reason that State Committees are installed is often related to the difficulty of the issues. Would there be a perfect solution abroad, a State Committee would probably not have been installed to solve this issue.

The second type, emulation, appeared in half of the cases. In the report by Committee Hartsen, one very clear instance of emulation is observed. The first out of three instances categorized as emulation in the report of Committee Zaaijer also fits the description of this type of policy transfer in the literature very well. The same accounts for the emulation that is observed in the report by Committee Van Lynden van Sandenburg - as extensively described in 4.2.4. Z3 and Z10, however, are problematic in matching emulation as described in the literature. In these instances, a system of measures is presented by Committee Zaaijer. Components of this system are brought back to Swiss measures explicitly by the committee. The categorization of the transfer of these policies however, proves problematic in the sense that they are 'too heavy' to be typified inspiration and 'too light' to be typified emulation. The ideas from Switzerland do not provide an encompassing standard for the proposed policies, neither do they merely inspire the policymakers. In addition, these transferred components are not adapted to the national context in the way that emulation is described in the literature. Rather, the policy instruments are transferred directly into the proposed policy but only form one out of many instruments and proposals that together form the proposed policy (as presented on page 130, ad a. and ad c., of the Committee Zaaijer report).

FIGURE 6: POLICY TRANSFER OVERVIEW VISUALIZED



Does the same categorization issue occur when looking at the next type, inspiration? In paragraph 3.3, it was noted that "the analysis should reveal whether this becomes more of a residual category or whether clear instances can be found that fit this type". The analysis revealed that both happened to be the case. Policy transfer typified as inspiration is typically found in, for instance, the many ideas that are found abroad by Committee Zaaijer. However, the final column of Table 18 already suggests that inspiration became a residual category as well, covering half of the total amount of policy transfer instances observed. To see if some of the fifteen codes, typified as inspiration, can better be typified in a new category just like in the type of emulation as described above, every one of the codes is double checked. All codes from Committees Zaaijer, Van Lynden van Sandenburg and De Vreeze are maintained as inspiration. For Committee Fock, however, difficulties arise. The problem is that the final chapter of the report, called 'decision', only consists out of three pages that summarize the findings of the committee. It lacks a concrete proposal. This seems to be linked to the time in which this committee operated. The report is obedient and humble. The members feel like they are not in the position to determine which policies are to be used, they leave this decision up to the higher authority. Since concrete proposals lack, it is hard to determine whether the foreign policies that are mentioned merely serve as inspiration or are to be carried out domestically - according to Committee Fock. Only one code is convincingly 'too light' to be typified as inspiration and 'too heavy' to fit the emulation type: F1. Committee Fock explicitly states that the Venetian cisterns are one way - three ways are mentioned in total - to provide clean drinking water. Again, the pattern emerges that the committee is asked to answer multiple questions (three), comes up with separate policies for each and uses a foreign policy component as a part of the proposed solution.

The fourth type, non-transfer, is found in four instances of policy transfer. On the one hand, this type is clearly identified in half of the cases. This proves that policymakers tend to recognize failed policies abroad and include those as negative lessons in their own policy advice. On the other hand, this type is identified in smaller numbers in the reports than the actual number of non-transfer in policy advices of this kind probably actually is. What is not used, even if it is not used on purpose, is less interesting to describe in a report than what actually is used. Therefore, the score on non-transfer is expected to be higher when looking at - for instance - records of meetings. This also means that judging State Committees for not looking at countries that are obvious to look at, might be misleading: the committees might have looked at them and did not find any interesting policy to transfer, which means that the country is not mentioned. In addition, this could potentially explain the lack of results from the reports of Committee Hartsen and Committee De Quay. Those committees might have left observations from foreign policies, that were not interesting for their proposals, out of their reports.

Finally, the new type of justification scores above average. In four out of six cases, clear instances of justification are found. This is surprising, considering the fact that the type is not mentioned in many of the classical readings on policy transfer. The general observation is that foreign policies serve as the final argument to justify choices that are being made. Either this means that a foreign policy is used to illustrate that the idea that is chosen is best (as expected in 2.1.5), or this means that a foreign policy is used to illustrate the failure of an idea that is therefore not chosen. It is hard to say whether this proves wrong intentions as suggested in the earlier chapters (see 3.3). On the one hand, it can be argued that this type of policy transfer leads to a more comprehensive argumentation where the choice for one alternative out of many is based on decent and multiple arguments. In that way, justification has a lot of common ground with non-transfer. On the other hand, it can be argued that this type of policy transfer serves a goal of alignment. By mentioning as many arguments as possible, the policy alternative that is preferred most by the members of a State Committee is strengthened so that other alternatives seem inferior to the policy of their choice. Both of these intentions seem to appear, but most State Committees try to formulate it in the former way. The context however suggests that the latter is more common. In the discussion of the previous type, non-transfer, it was added that the effect of this type might be understated for various reasons. For this type, the opposite is true. In most of the reports, the main idea is to explain what policy alternatives are chosen by the committee. Those choices cannot be justified enough. The more justification of choices, the better. As shown, this includes usage of foreign policies. Therefore, this type might be overstated in the reports.

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### 4.3.2 COMPONENT TRANSFER

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After discussing all five types of policy transfer that are formulated in advance, it can be concluded that four out of five types are identified in this research. However, not every observation of policy transfer can be typified as one of these four types. Three observations fall in between of two types; emulation and inspiration. Therefore, an additional type is suggested to complete the typology of policy transfer. This type is named *component transfer*. Component transfer involves the transfer of just one element of a policy into the new policy, while the remaining part of the proposed policy is based on domestic knowledge. In contrast to emulation, this component is not adapted to domestic circumstances but included directly. Therefore it contains elements of copying, emulation and inspiration. This reminds of the types that are left out in the analysis, as discussed in 2.1.5: *hybridization* or *combinations*. Those types also involve combining several elements. However, these types differ from component transfer in 'what is transferred'. As distinguished by Dolowitz and Marsh (2000: 9), policies (goals, content and instruments), programs and negative lessons can be transferred. Hybridization or combinations refers to the transfer of an entire program, where several elements are transferred from one level (national, local, etc.) and combined with elements transferred from another level. Component transfer, as distinguished in this research, is different. It involves the transfer of several components - in the sense of goals, content and instruments - that are added to other components that are introduced by the policymakers themselves. In Table 19 below, the revision of Table 18 is shown, including the additional type.

TABLE 19: POLICY TRANSFER OVERVIEW WITH COMPONENT TRANSFER

	Fock	Hartsen	Zaaijer	Van Lynden v. Sandenburg	De Quay	De Vreeze	Total
<b>Copying</b>							<b>0</b>
<b>Emulation</b>		H1	Z1	L6, L8			<b>4</b>
<b>Component transfer</b>	F1		Z3, Z10				<b>3</b>
<b>Inspiration</b>	F2, F3, F4, F5, F6		Z5, Z6, Z8, Z9, Z12, Z13	L1, L3		V1	<b>14</b>
<b>Non-Transfer</b>	F8		Z7	L4, L7			<b>4</b>
<b>Justification</b>	F7		Z2, Z4, Z11	L2, L5		V2	<b>7</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>32</b>

Now that the typology, derived from the literature, is tested and complemented, what are the implications for the theories discussed in chapter two? First, copying is not observed in this research. This does not mean, however, that this type does not belong in the typology. As discussed, there was little chance that copying would occur in this particular research and this particular setting. This expectation was drawn from the literature and the literature prove right. Second, it is clear that non-transfer, justification and component transfer are required to typify

voluntary policy transfer in various occasions. As argued in chapter two, these types are often not elaborated on or interpreted differently in the theories by influential policy transfer scholars. The difference in approach seems to lie in what is transferred. As discussed on page 16, lesson-drawing scholars focus mostly on the transfer of programmes and thereby assume that policies are part of a bigger programme. However, this does not fit the observations in this study. In addition, justification and non-transfer are recognized in the literature - albeit sometimes in other words - but are not given as much attention as the other types. On page 20 and 21, it is shown that scholars like Rose, Stone and Dolowitz and Marsh do refer to processes that might point at these types. However, these are not elaborated on. The findings of this study indicate that the minor attention for these types of policy transfer might be wrong. This also relates to the expectations of scholars of the effects of policy transfer. Most scholars seem to be focused on the convergence of policies, whereas this certainly is not the only outcome of policy transfer. In fact, the studied cases indicate that the transfer of a particular policy goes hand in hand with the rejection of another element of the policy used abroad, which leads to a new situation that is just as divergent as before. In conclusion, the findings indicate that the explanatory power of the literature falls short on various elements. This is further illustrated in the following subparagraphs. Further study of these types, in another context and with larger numbers of cases, must show how reliable these observations prove to be. Some scholars could argue that their scholarly work is not aimed at explaining the creation of policies through transfer, but to provide practitioners guidelines on how to transfer policies and thereby learn from policies elsewhere. However, this seems the incorrect order. A correct explanatory model must be established first.

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#### 4.3.3 COMPARING THE SUBJECTS

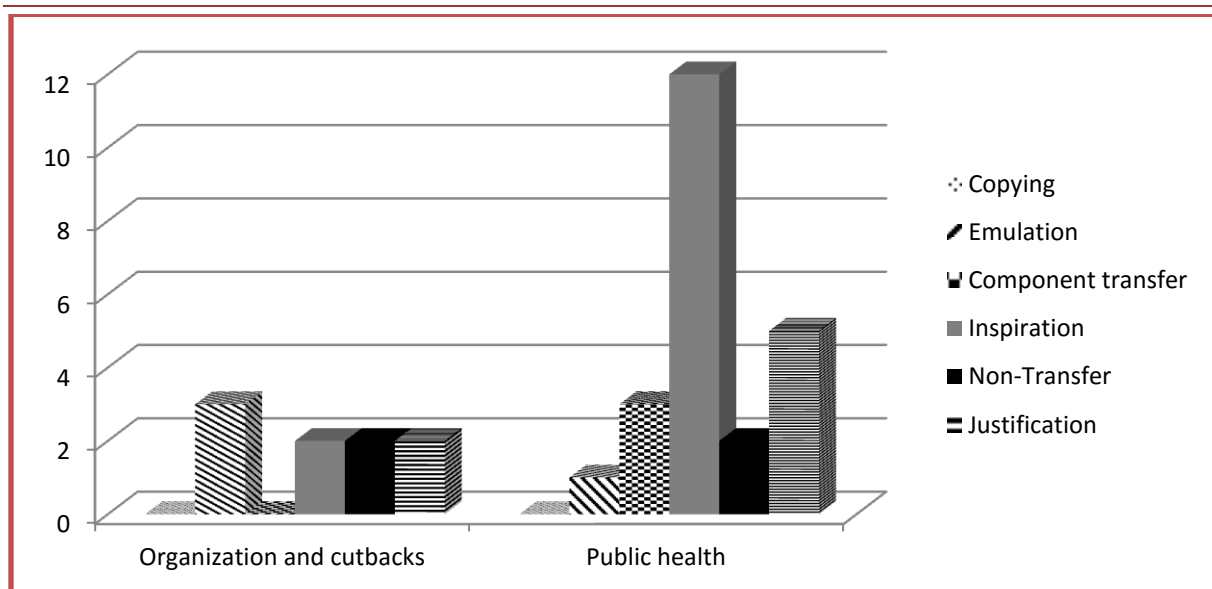
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In Figure 7 below, the results are categorized per subject. From this figure it can be concluded that the subject matters. Some subjects will be related strongly to foreign policies and therefore transfer is likely to occur. Other subjects relate less to foreign policies and policy transfer does not occur very often when issues related to this subjects have to be solved. From Figure 7 could also be concluded that the subject of organization and cutbacks in the government is part of the latter category of subjects and relates less to policy transfer than the subject of public health. However, this conclusion would be wrong. In the category of committees with the subject of organization and cutbacks in the government, nine observations of policy transfer appear in total. Eight out of nine of these observations are related to one single committee: Committee Van Lynden van Sandenburg. In the category of public health, 21 out of 23 observations are from two out of three committees. In other words: the subject matters, but the subjects within the categories vary too much. When looking at Table 19, it stands out that three committees



transferred quite some policies while others did not. But even these numbers are misleading. Committee Hartsen is the perfect illustration of this. Only one observation of emulation is the entire score for this committee. But as discussed in 4.2.2, this one observation of emulation is one of great importance for the entire policymaking process of Committee Hartsen.

FIGURE 7: POLICY TRANSFER PER SUBJECT



In conclusion, the specific mission of every State Committee determines whether or not the subject is suitable for policy transfer. In the case of Committee Zaaijer, foreign policies are used because domestic solutions were simply not available. The same accounts for the issues that Committee Fock attempted to solve. Remarkably, the subjects of committees Zaaijer and Fock illustrate that it is hard - or even impossible - to predict whether these subjects are suitable for policy transfer. The subjects of these committees were logically not expected to provide any result on this matter but the two cases actually provided most of the results. Finally, even if the subject is clearly suitable for policy transfer, it does not mean that the policymakers want to transfer policies. Committee De Quay proves that composition and individual opinions of members is just as important for this. The minister encourages the members of Committee De Quay to look abroad, but they refuse to.

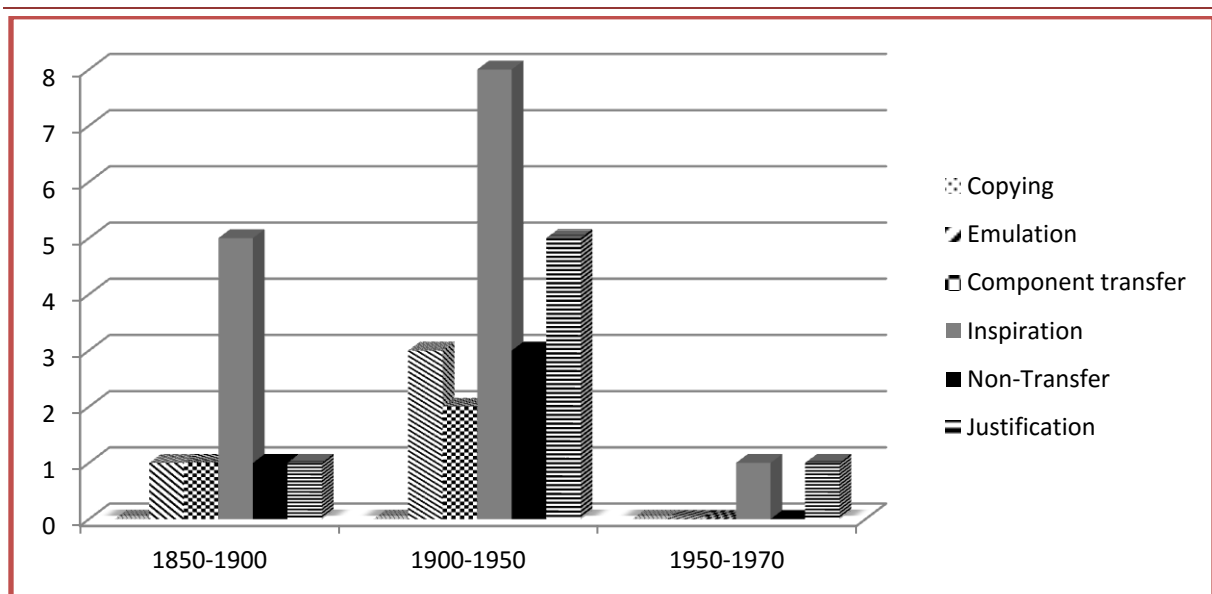
#### 4.3.4 COMPARING TIME PERIODS

How does time relate to the observations of policy transfer in the cases of this research? In Figure 8, below, the results are ordered according to the periods of time which are selected in the third chapter. The figure provides a clear picture of policy transfer over time in this cases. The first period has an average amount of policy transfer observations (nine out of thirty-two). The period of 1900-1950 is clearly above average and the period after 1950 scores below average. Even though these numbers are interesting to discuss, their value is limited. Since only

two cases are studied for each period, the numbers are hardly generalizable in a quantitative manner. In a qualitative manner, however, the numbers do provide some interesting results.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, the theory of globalization urged many policy transfer scholars to argue that policy transfer would have increased in number the further one would get in time. Especially after 1950, these scholars argued, occurrences of policy transfer increased rapidly. In this study, there has been no confirmation of this phenomenon at all. In contrast, the earlier committees clearly looked more abroad than the committees after 1950. In subparagraph 4.2.6, it was already explained what effect probably causes this curious result.

FIGURE 8: POLICY TRANSFER PER PERIOD



Policymakers, at least those who are selected to become member of a State Committee, tend to look at previous policies extensively when creating a new policy. The Committees in the earliest stages of the Dutch democracy had to *develop* new policies based on something else than previous policies - those simply did not exist. Therefore, they went to look for policies abroad, next to investigating possible solutions themselves. The Committees after 1950 had to *reform* policies that were created before. Logically, they looked at those earlier policies to see what had to be renewed and therefore looked abroad less frequently.

Another argument for the increase of policy transfer has to do with coercive transfer, which is not discussed in detail in this research. Institutionalization is argued to increase policy transfer that is stimulated or even imposed by international institutions. The amount of these international institutions is argued to increase after the end of the Second World War. In this research, little evidence is found that the committees of the last period are affected by those institutions when formulating their policies. In the report of Committee Zaaijer (1919-1921), the League of Nations was mentioned a few times and in the report of Committee De Vreeze (1967-1973), the E.E.C. was mentioned. As discussed in 4.2.6, Committee De Vreeze decided to leave

the decision on a certain topic to the E.E.C. policy. Even though little effect of institutionalization is found in this research, additional cases from the post-war period have to be analysed in order to provide enough evidence to support or to undermine this argument.

In conclusion, time has a weaker effect on the amount of policy transfer than expected beforehand. And even though some effect of time is observed, this is due to other factors than the literature formulated thus far.

However, one limitation of this subparagraph has to be mentioned. The members of the State Committees that are the 'policymakers' in this research, are extraordinarily clever compared to the average policymaker. This means that a solid argumentation, including arguments from foreign countries, is a must for these members. In addition, over half of the members are high ranked politicians or professors. Those people most likely have more contacts abroad than the average policymaker. This relates to time in the sense that the 'ordinary' policymaker's ability to collect information from abroad might have increased over time (due to globalization and/or technological developments), but that the 'extraordinary' policymaker's ability to collect information from abroad might have remained more stable over time.

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#### 4.3.5 POLICY ADVICE: STATE COMMITTEES

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As stated, State Committees are interesting to investigate in their own right. What is observed about this phenomenon is discussed in this subparagraph in three arguments. First, the developments over time are discussed. Second, the compositions and size of the committees is discussed. Third, the critique on the existence and growing number of State Committees is discussed.

When looking at State Committees and their mission and reporting over time first, a few observations are worth discussing. The size of the report and the way in which the reports are structured remained surprisingly constant over time. Nearly all committees that are investigated include a special secretary or multiple secretaries that have this job for a living. The impression is that those professional secretaries have copied the style of earlier State Committee reports. In contrast to the stability of the reports and organization of the committees, their content of their mission remained far from stable over time. The committees Fock, Hartsen and Zaaier have a pragmatic mission. There is a problem that requires solutions and the committees are expected to come up with the best practical solutions. The latter committees Van Lynden van Sandenburg, De Quay and De Vreeze have a different mission. Those committees are expected to reform existing policies and therefore the focus is less on practical solutions and more on (political) choices and (long term) vision. One of the explanations for this development is already presented in the previous subparagraph. Another explanation for this development is the development of the civil service. The tasks that the earlier committees Fock, Hartsen and Zaaier

carried out are nowadays integrated in the civil service. For instance the problems with viruses that Committee Fock and Committee Zaaijer investigated, would nowadays be investigated by the Ministry of Health. Back in the time of Committee Fock, this ministry did not even exist. Until 1918, the department of health was just a section of the Ministry of the Interior. Not until 1971, Health became a distinct ministry (Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport, 2016). In conclusion, the growth of the civil service led to a development in the missions that State Committees received from practical questions to more visionary questions.

Second, the compositions as well as the sizes of the committees are diverse. The largest committee in the cases ordered to the amount of members is Committee De Vreeze with 24 members, the smallest is Committee Hartsen with only three members. The average amount of members in this research is slightly more than twelve (excluding the secretaries), which is considerably high compared to the average amount of three to seven members that was mentioned by Kerkhoff and Martina (see 2.2.1). The diversity in the compositions is smaller. Four groups of people are generally involved: politicians (MP's and ministers), civil servants, professors and practitioners. Especially the last group is not involved in every committee. The amount of professors and scientists in the investigated committees is surprisingly high.

Third, the existence and the high number of State Committees have been criticized in the past decade. This rose the question: are State Committees necessary? In chapter two, it was already mentioned that this question is answered with a clear no by for instance Duyvandak. This criticism is based on arguments that stem from State Committee research from 1970 onwards. After investigating six State Committees that are installed before 1970, it is time to shine a new light on this matter. As just discussed, the six cases of this research can be roughly organized in two categories. The initial three committees are installed to come up with practical solutions. The later three committees are installed to make choices and present a longer term vision. The reason that the committees of the first group are installed is of a pragmatic nature. The reason that the second group is installed is partly to push forward delicate issues and accelerate hard policy choices. The criticism could apply to the second group and is harder to apply on the first group. However, for both categories there is a strong case to keep installing those State Committees. The reason for this is that all State Committees that are investigated have an unique composition. This means that the State Committee is the perfect opportunity to unite clever people to work on a certain topic. It is hard - probably impossible - to organize a team of people with the same statute within a ministry or a political party. Even though these teams might be coloured in favour of the cabinet in place, the effect of this evens out over time when multiple cabinets of various compositions installed State Committees. One of the problems that does remain, however, is the accountability of State Committees. For instance in the case of Committee Hartsen, three people that cannot be held accountable for their decisions decide over

the pensions of thousands of people. This problem requires attention in order to keep the system of advisory boards in The Netherlands capable of solving problems through State Committees. In conclusions, the value of State Committees for solving tough problems clearly emerged from this research, but at the same time the system of accountability requires improvement in order to keep this way of policy advice useful.

## 5. CONCLUSION

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In the first chapter the research has been introduced, followed by the research question. The relevance of this research, its goals and the used methods have been lined out. In the second chapter, the theory has been presented. The policy transfer literature has been discussed first, the State Committee literature has been discussed next. Subsequently, the methods of this research have been described in the third chapter, discussing the case selection, design and operationalization. In the fourth chapter, the results have been presented and analyzed. In this fifth and final chapter, the findings will be summarized and the research question is answered. In addition, the implications for the theory are touched upon. Subsequently, the limitations of this research will be discussed. Finally, implications for further research will be discussed. Suggestions for research complementary to this study will be presented.

### 5.1 RESEARCH QUESTION AND FINDINGS

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In the introduction, the following research question has been posed: *How has voluntary policy transfer informed the advice of Dutch State Committees between 1850 and 1970?* In order to answer this question, the theory of policy transfer has been discussed first. In the literature, five types of policy transfer have been identified: copying, emulation, inspiration, non-transfer and justification. The first three of those types stem from the category 'degree of transfer' as distinguished by Dolowitz and Marsh (2000), but have also been recognized by other policy transfer scholars like Evans (2009) and Rose (1991). Non-transfer or negative lessons has also been discussed by various scholars. Finally, justification has been added to the typology. Some theories about the existence and growth of policy transfer have been discussed as well. In addition, literature on Dutch policy advice, especially ad-hoc committees like State Committees, has been discussed. The reports of State Committees are great tools to investigate policy transfer in the past and at the same time are interesting subjects of research themselves, since research on State Committees before 1970 is largely missing. Therefore, six State Committees between 1850 and 1970 have been selected for this study. The reports of those State Committees have been looked up in the libraries where they are located. Every mention of a foreign country or city in this reports has been located and analyzed. From these, a total of 32 instances of policy transfer have been distinguished. These have been analyzed and - where possible - categorized in one of the five types of policy transfer derived from the theory. All types of policy transfer appeared in the reports of the State Committees, except for the type copying. In addition, three instances of policy transfer could not be categorized as one of these five types but they turned out to have much in common. Therefore, a sixth type has been presented: component transfer.

This involves the transfer of a component of a foreign policy and usage of that component in a domestic policy, among policy elements from other levels or newly created policy elements.

How has voluntary policy transfer informed the advice of Dutch State Committees between 1850 and 1970? This can be illustrated by means of Committee Zaaijer (1919-1921). The committee studied the foot-and-mouth disease that afflicted the economy and food supplies in The Netherlands, and provided concrete proposals for policies in times of an outbreak of the disease and the preceding period. The approach of Committee Zaaijer to this problem is pragmatic: domestic policies have not proven sufficient and thus foreign policies are to be studied. Subcommittees were sent to the UK and Switzerland to discover their policies on the matter. All six types of policy transfer, except for copying, have been identified in the report of Committee Zaaijer. Policies from France, the UK, Switzerland, German and even Denmark are transferred or used to develop new policies on the prevention, control and regulation of foot-and-mouth disease. Four general conclusions can be drawn from this illustration.

First, the subjects that these State Committees examine are tough and the committees are composed of clever people. The inclusion of foreign policies - or otherwise discussing why they are not used - is a must for the advice of State Committees. On the one hand, this seems surprising. From the elite that is often part of these committees can be expected that they (think they) have the best solutions themselves. On the other hand, these clever and influential committee members have a network that reaches abroad, and they seem to prefer to be informed about solutions that worked or failed elsewhere.

This is in line with the second conclusion: the results differ for subjects and over time. All types are identified in the report of Committee Zaaijer, but in some other reports barely any policy transfer is observed. This mostly has to do with the subject and the time in which the State Committee operated. That conclusion is far from shocking. However, it is surprising that the direction of the relationship with time is opposite from what was expected. Evidence for increased policy transfer over time due to increasing effects of globalization is not found. The opposite seems true: the further we get in time, the less policies are transferred from abroad. A possible explanation for this is the existence of earlier policies to build on. The earlier State Committees had to create new policies, whereas the later State Committees had to reform older policies.

The third conclusion is that the types of policy transfer that translate large parts of foreign policies into domestic policies, copying and to some extent emulation, are quite rare. Copying is not found at all, and emulation only in four instances. A possible explanation is that the nature of State Committees, usually composed out of important people that have a reputation to keep, does not allow this kind of easy solutions.

Fourth, foreign policies also informed the policy advice of State Committees through justification and non-transfer. This means that foreign policies are used by the committees to explain why certain choices are made or not made. Sometimes, the reasoning behind this seemed pragmatic and sometimes, the reasoning seemed to serve the self-interest of the members. In none of the cases however, clear evidence was found that the latter was merely at the basis of mentioning a foreign policy. In some instances, it is unclear what the order of argumentation has been. Did the foreign policy convince the members of the State Committee to choose a certain alternative, or did the members look for policies abroad to make sure the alternative of their choice could not be challenged? This requires additional study and additional sources.

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### 5.1.1 THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

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Now that conclusions are drawn and the research question is answered, the theoretical implications will be summarized in this subparagraph. Five implications will shortly be discussed. Subsequently, the limitations will be discussed in 5.1.2.

First, the results of this study confirm what was expected from the literature: the copying of policies is rare. Especially in advice of State Committees but in policy advice of any kind of advisory board, it is very unlikely to occur. The problems that are subject to those boards are too complicated and therefore a full solution is most likely not available anywhere.

Second, the results of this study suggest that non-transfer and justification are types of policy transfer that deserve more attention in policy transfer research. Just like the other types, non-transfer and justification are common ways of using policies from abroad.

Third, the typology that was derived from the literature turned out to lack explanatory power for some instances of policy transfer. Therefore, a new type of policy transfer was added: component transfer. This type is somewhat similar to the combination types of policy transfer, but differs in what is transferred and therefore forms a different degree of transfer. Component transfer involves the usage of a component of a foreign policy and the usage of this component in a domestic policy, among new and domestic elements.

Fourth, the results of this research suggest that the assumption that policy transfer has increased due to increasing effects of globalization is wrong. The quantitative data does not show such an effect at all. Even though the data is based on a small N, qualitative analysis also supports that this effect is nowhere to be found. If there is an increase or decrease over time, the results suggest that the effect is rather vice versa and due to other mechanisms. One of the explanations is that policymakers build on older policies and the earlier in time, the less 'old' policies exist.

Fifth, this research shows that State Committees are very meaningful as policymakers, especially when the normal policymaking organizations fail to solve a certain problem. The



results of this research cannot confirm that the State Committees have a one-sided or pre-arranged opinion. The findings rather suggest that State Committees conduct decent research to discover the alternatives and make a well-argued policy proposal.

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### 5.1.2 LIMITATIONS

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The most important limitation of this study is its generalizability. The theoretical implications that are discussed above only apply to particular settings and might differ from the results of a similar study in different settings. For instance, the fourth argument that the effect of globalization is opposed by the findings, is limited in two ways by the particular settings of this research. This can only be confirmed for this particular 'level of transfer', where policies from one state are transferred to another. In addition, the findings are drawn from State Committees, which are not common policymakers. As discussed before, the problems they face and the composition they have is unique, which affects the results in a particular way. Another example of how the settings limit the generalizability of this research can be illustrated by the fifth argument of the previous subparagraph; State Committees are useful policymakers that conduct decent research. The settings of State Committees between 1850 and 1970 differ from the settings of State Committees nowadays, and therefore the results have limited explanatory power for current State Committee reports.

Another limitation of this study is its size. The claims that are made are based on only six reports. Adding more reports might fortify the conclusions. Therefore, the following paragraph presents some suggestions on how the results of this study can be extended by more research and what new questions arose that are yet to answer.

## 5.2 RESEARCH AGENDA

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This study combined policy transfer theories with literature on State Committees and attempted to build and test a typology of policy transfer. It can therefore best be seen as a pilot study that discovers future research directions. In the final paragraph of this research, these future research directions will be lined out. From this study, numerous new questions arise that cannot all be touched upon here. The four most important questions will therefore be presented next.

First, the question arises whether the typology, build and tested in this research, holds in different settings and in different setups. As discussed extensively in the previous paragraph, the particular settings of this research are expected to direct the findings in certain directions. It is therefore interesting to see whether the findings differ when these settings are altered and the study is repeated. For instance, the time periods can be altered and the level of transfer can be changed. The unit of analysis can also be changed, which might also include a change in the country that is analyzed. In addition, it is interesting to see what happens to the results when the

setup of the study is altered. For instance, the number of cases can be increased. This study presented a method that can be copied and adjusted easily. Another way to alter the setup is to select cases randomly, without paying attention to time and subject at all. This would require a larger N as well. By repeating this study and altering settings and its setup, the findings of this study can be verified.

The second question is related to the supposed increase of policy transfer related to increasing globalization and institutionalization. This study did not find evidence for this relationship, on the contrary. But if this supposed increase of policy transfer is in fact related to increasing globalization and institutionalization as many policy transfer scholars argued, the question arises where the tipping point actually is. Therefore, similar alterations to the setup and settings of this study as described above could provide better insights. By adjusting the amount of cases, a quantitative insight in this relation could be provided. Similarly, by comparing cases from different time periods could help in discovering this supposed increase. Finally, selecting other cases from other country's or different levels of policy transfer could provide more insights to this end.

Third, the question arises if the presented picture of State Committees between 1850 and 1970 differs from the State Committees that are installed between 1970 and today. Therefore, extension of the database is required. Answering this question could provide politicians in the future directions when deciding whether the number of State Committees should in fact be decreased or whether State Committees are useful policymaking actors. In addition, future research could dig further into the background of the committees and their compositions.

The fourth and final question that arises from this study is: what to do next in policy transfer research? Particularly, how to move on if the field of policy transfer wishes to develop a policymakers' guide? The use of foreign policies seems to head in two directions, when looking at the results of this study. When an issue requires policies and domestic solutions are not available, ideas are gathered and transferred from abroad. In addition, foreign policies are used to underpin and complement the policymakers' own proposals. In order to provide a more comprehensive prescriptive theory of policy transfer, these directions have to be studied in more detail. In order to improve the explanatory power of the policy transfer theories, it is important to pay attention to policy transfer in the past and not to be fixated merely on popular themes in policy transfer research such as institutionalization.

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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1: REPORT TITLES (ENGLISH)

Index number	Committee name	Report title
1866/1	Fock	Report to the King of the Commission, appointed by His Majesty's decree of the 16th of July 1866, no. 68, to the investigation of drinking water in connection with the spread of cholera and the designation of means to supply clean drinking water.
1878/1	Hartsen	Report to the King concerning providing pensions to widows and orphans of the central governments' civil servants, and concerning the widow's fund for civil servants of the civil service / published by the State Commission, appointed by Her Majesty's decree of January 30, 1878, no. 3.
1919/4	Zaaijer	Report of the State Committee regarding foot-and-mouth disease, appointed by the royal decree of May 2, 1919, no. 52.
1921/6	Van Lynden van Sandenburg	Report of the State Committee regarding the financial relationship between the central government and the municipalities.
1952/2	De Quay	Report of the State Committee regarding polity of large municipalities, appointed by the royal decree of November 1, 1952, no. 3.
1967/3	De Vreeze	Report of the State Committee regarding the medical profession, presented to Her Majesty the Queen.

## APPENDIX 2: LIST OF MEMBERS PER COMMITTEE

## Committee Fock

Member	Position	Position outside of the committee
C. Fock	Chair	Minister of the Interior
J.A. Beijerinck	Vice-chair	Inspector of the water control
J.F. Boogaard	Member	Legal secretary at the Ministry of the Interior
H. van Cappelle	Secretary	Legal secretary at the Ministry of the Interior
L.J. Egeling	Member	Inspector for the medical State supervision in the province of Zuid-Holland
J.W. Gunning	Member	Professor at Amsterdam
P. Harting	Member	Professor at Utrecht
A.W.N. van Hasselt	Member	First medical officer of the first class and teacher at the State school for military doctors.
J.G. Jäger	Member	Board member of the 'Duinwatermaatschappij'
L.C. Levoir	Member	Professor at Delft
W.C.H. Staring	Member	Inspector of the secondary education

**Committee Hartsen**

Member	Position	Position outside of the committee
Jhr. Mr. C. Hartsen	Member	CEO of the 'Hollandsche Sociëteit van Levensverzekeringen'
Dr. P. van Geer	Member	Professor at Leiden University
A.J. van Pesch	Member	Professor at Delft University of Technology

**Committee Zaaier**

Member	Position	Position outside of the committee
Mr. Dr. C.P. Zaaier	Chair	Chair of the Dutch National Agricultural Committee
J.J. Wester	Member	Professor at the Veterinary School in Utrecht
Dr. L. de Blicck	Member	Professor at the Veterinary School in Utrecht
Dr. W. J. Paimans	Member	Professor at the Veterinary School in Utrecht
Dr. J. Poels	Member	CEO of the 'Rijksseruminrichting', professor at Leiden University and at the Veterinary School in The Hague.
Dr. H. Remmelts	Member	Inspector of the veterinary directorate, professor at the Veterinary School in The Hague
Mr. Dr. A. Heringa	Member	Professor at the Agricultural School in Wageningen
J. A. Klauwers	Member	District veterinarian in Amsterdam
Mr. W. J. Baron van Dedem	Member	Chair of the association 'het Nederlandsch Rundveestamboek'
Mr. A.G.A. Ridder van Rappard	Member	Chair of the 'Geldersch-Overijselsche Maatschappij van Landbouw', MP
L.F. Duymaer van Twist	Member	MP
Th.C. Wesselingh	Member	Farmer in Hazerswoude
E. Wesbonk	Member	Farmer in Winsum
Mr. Dr. Th.F.J.A. Dolk	Secretary	Secretary-steward of the 'Hoogheemraadschap Delfland'

**Committee Van Lynden van Sandenburg**

Member	Position	Position outside of the committee
F.A.C. van Lynden van Sandenburg	Chair	Queen's Commissioner in the province of Utrecht
J. van den Tempel	Member	MP
J.A. de Wilde	Member	MP
R.J.H. Patijn	Member	Unknown during this period. MP from 1905-1918.
A. van Doorninck	Member	Unknown
S.J.L. van Aalten	Member	Alderman of Rotterdam
A. Jonker	Member	Unknown
H. van Boeyen	Member	Alderman of Voorburg and Provincial Executive in the province of Zuid-Holland
J.A.H. Steinweg	Member	Unknown
C.W. de Vries	Secretary	Unknown
A.J.N.M. Struycken	Assistant-secretary (no member)	Unknown

**Committee De Quay**

Member	Position	Position outside of the committee
J.E. De Quay	Chair	Queen's Commissioner in the province of Noord-Brabant
A.J. d'Ailly	Member	Chair of the 'Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten'
J.J.G. Boot	Member	Mayor of Hilversum
F.T. Diemer-Lindeboom	Member	Member of the advisory board of the ARP (Anti-Revolutionary Party)
E.W. Hofstee	Member	Professor at the Agricultural School in Wageningen
J.M. Kan	Member	Advisor for the Ministry of the Interior
E.H.A. Kraaijvanger	Member	Senator (Dutch: <i>lid Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal</i> )
M.J. Prinsen	Member	Secretary-General at the Ministry of the Interior
F.M.A. Schokking	Member	Mayor of The Hague
D. Simons	Member	Professor at the Economic School in Rotterdam
C. Slager	Member	Mayor of Zwollerkerspel
J. Tuin	Member	Mayor of Groningen
J. In 't Veld	Member	Former Minister of Reconstruction and Housing
H.W. De Vink	Member	Provincial Executive in the province of Utrecht
A.A.B. Van Geelen	Secretary	Administrator at the province of Noord-Brabant
C.J. Graafland	Secretary	Administrator at the Ministry of the Interior

**Committee De Vreeze**

Member	Position*	Position outside of the committee
Prof. Mr. J.Th. De Vreeze	Chair	Professor national and international public health policies at the Catholic University of Nijmegen
G.A.C. Bosch	Member a	Doctor (heart diseases) in Amsterdam
Prof. Dr. L. Burema	Member a	Doctor in Rotterdam
J.I. van der Leeuw	Member a	Doctor in Rotterdam
Mr. W.B. van der Mijn	Member a	Unknown
H.H.J. Theunissen	Member b	Dentist in Geldrop
Mr. J.G. Kamer	Member b	Unknown
Drs. J. Armbrust	Member c	Pharmacist in Amsterdam
Mr. E.D. Harderwijk	Member c	Unknown
R. Drion	Member d	Doctor and medical chief inspector for public health care
J.B.M. Veraart	Member e	Neurologist and medical chief inspector for mental health care
Dr. C.A. Teijgeler	Member f	Pharmacist and chief inspector for medicines
Mej. Mr. H.S. Bok	Member g	Unknown
Dr. H. Festen	Member h	Doctor in Oisterwijk
Prof. Dr. G.J. Kloosterman	Member i	Professor of obstetrics in Amsterdam
Prof. Dr. A. Querido	Member j	Professor of social medicine in Amsterdam
Mr. C. Poustochkine	Member k	Head of the staff department 'Wetgeving en Juridische Aangelegenheden' of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Public



		Health.
Mr. J. de Vries	Member I / secretary	Head of the main department 'Medische Beroepen en Opleidingen' of the Directorate of Public Health
Prof. R. Dillemans**	Advisory member	Professor at the University of Leuven and deputy head of cabinet of the Minister of Public Health in Brussels (Belgium)
Mr. J.O.C.H. Moolenburgh**	Assistant-secretary	Head of the department 'Medische beroepen' of the Directorate for Healthcare
Dr. Mr. P.A.H. Baan**	Replacing member e	Neurologist and medical chief inspector for mental health care (successor of J.B.M. Veraart)
Mr. J. Nittel***	Member	Adviser of science
Prof. Dr. J.W.H. Mali***	Member	Doctor in Nijmegen
Prof. Dr. M. Frenkel***	Member	Doctor in Rotterdam
Prof. Dr. H.M.J. Scheffer***	Member	Dentist in Utrecht

\* The members are divided in several groups and designated a letter. Members with the same letter are representatives of the same person or organization. For example, a-members represent the Royal Dutch Medical Organization.

\*\* These persons are appointed later.

\*\*\* These persons are appointed member of the committee on May 7, 1978 as representatives of the Minister of Education and Science.