

TIME VARIABLE IN POLICY TRANSFER ANALYSIS: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM “MANUTENCIÓN” IN MEXICO

La variable tiempo en el análisis de las transferencias de políticas públicas: la experiencia del programa “Manutención” en México

Jorge Puga González

Abstract

In recent years concepts such as “lesson-drawing”, “policy diffusion” and “policy transfer” have become relevant in public policy analysis. As Levi Faur and Vigoda-Gadot point out, “Policy lessons are increasingly drawn on a cross-national basis rather than on national experience” (2006, p. 248). Despite growing interest in these fields, few researchers have included a time variable in their analyses. This means that the results of these research projects have been limited to findings at the moment of diffusion or transfer, and have excluded long-term analysis. This paper analyzes the “Manutención” program, previously the National Higher Education Scholarship Program or Pronabes, which address inequality in access to higher education in Mexico. The empirical data shows that a more detailed and consistent explanation of a policy transfer process should consider the time variable, which is absent in the analysis of authors such as Dolowitz and Marsh (2000), Marsh and Sharman (2009) or Richard Rose (1991). I propose the following argument: *Including the time variable will broaden the frame of analysis of the process of diffusion/transfer, resulting in the consideration of diverse elements that will help to achieve a richer explanation; these include the different moments in which a transfer uses information from international sources, the*

Resumen

En los últimos años, conceptos como “aprendizaje”, “difusión” y “transferencia” han tomado relevancia en el análisis de políticas públicas. Como señalan Levi Faur y Vigoda-Gadot, “Policy lessons are increasingly drawn on a cross-national basis rather than on national experience” (2006, p. 248). A pesar del creciente interés en estos campos de estudio, pocos investigadores han incluido la variable tiempo en sus análisis. Esto significa que los resultados de sus investigaciones se han limitado a los hallazgos en el momento de la transferencia o difusión de una política. De esta forma, se han excluido análisis de largo plazo. Este artículo analiza el programa “Manutención”, anteriormente Programa de Becas Nacionales para la Educación Superior (Pronabes), y que tiene entre sus principales objetivos la reducción de las desigualdades en el acceso a la educación superior en México. La evidencia empírica señala que una explicación más detallada y consistente del proceso de transferencia resulta de considerar la variable tiempo. Esta última se encuentran ausente en los análisis de autores como Dolowitz y Marsh (2000), Marsh y Sharman (2009) o Richard Rose (1991). Partimos del siguiente argumento: *Al incluir la variable tiempo se amplía el marco de análisis del proceso de difusión/transferencia, como resultado se consideran diversos*

Fecha de recepción: 14 de abril de 2015

Fecha de aceptación: 15 de diciembre de 2015

process of adoption by the recipient institution reflected in the operating rules and the reasons why the stakeholders chose the transfer. It should be noted that the text does not look to affirm the existence of a single form in which the time variable affects public policy transfers, but rather seeks to highlight the importance of this variable in this field of research.

Keywords: policy transfer; time; inequality; higher education; Mexico.

elementos que ayudan a enriquecer la explicación, estos incluyen: los momentos en los cuales una transferencia utiliza información de fuentes internacionales; el proceso de adopción, por parte de las instituciones receptoras, reflejado en las reglas de operación, y las razones por las cuales los actores eligen la transferencia. Cabe señalar que este texto no busca privilegiar alguna forma particular en que la variable tiempo afecta la transferencia de políticas, lo que se pretende es subrayar la importancia de esta variable en el campo de estudio.

Palabras clave: transferencia de política públicas; variable tiempo; desigualdad; educación superior; México.

Between 1958 and 2008 approximately 800 articles were written, more than half in the last decade, about the politics of public policies spreading from one government to another (Graham, Charles R. Shipan and Craig Volden, 2013, p. 673). Concepts such as “lesson-drawing”, “policy diffusion” and “policy transfer” have become relevant in public policy analysis. As Levi Faur and Vigoda-Gadot point out, “policy lessons are increasingly drawn on a cross-national basis rather than on national experience” (2006, p.248). This body of literature has permitted us to understand in greater detail the way in which a general understanding of policies, the innovations of policies, programs, administrative arrangements or the ideas of a government or political system can be useful in developing similar practices, principally in terms of public policy, other governments or political systems (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000; Graham, Shipan and Volden, 2013; Richard Rose, 1991; Marsh y Sharman, 2009). Thanks to this research we can speak of an analytical framework for identifying diverse variables that affect public policy transfers: key actors; origin of lessons or transfer; what the transfer is about; degrees of transfer; how, when and why these processes happen, etc.

Despite growing interest in these fields, few researchers have included the time variable in their analyses. As Mauricio Dussauge points out, “a key limitation of this literature has been its lack of attention to the ‘temporal’ dimension”. Although some studies have explored its relevance and some refer to it in order to theorize about the development of public policy transfers (Dussauge, 2012, pp. 567-568), the majority of studies focus exclusively on the variables as mentioned in the last paragraph (e.g. key actors; degrees of transfer, how and why these processes happen). By excluding the time variable, these studies may exclude important considerations that can help us better understanding the public policy transfer process. In this article we aim to illustrate this last assertion. I argue that including the time variable will broaden the frame of analysis of the process of diffusion/transfer, resulting in the consideration of diverse elements that will help to achieve a richer explanation; these include the different moments in which a transfer uses information from international sources, the process of adoption by the

recipient institution reflected in the operating rules and the reasons why the stakeholders chose the transfer.

It should be noted that the paper does not aim to confirm the existence of a single form in which the time variable affects transfers. On the contrary, depending on the focus of interest that each author has in the public policy transfer process, the time variable can enrich the explanations in different ways, for example: the channels of communication in time (Everett Rogers, 200); the timing of the first adoption (David Collier and Richard Messick's 1975); the periods of time required for the transfer (page 2000); consequences in time (Eleanor Westney, 1987), various ways in which stakeholders participate in the public policy (e.g. "Time tactics", Pollitt 2008, p. 15 or the rules that historically limit or restrict the margin of action of actors, Pierson, 2004), among many others. Despite their importance, due to the large number of possible combinations between the different topics and subtopics related to the transfer process of public policy and the multiple ways to use the time variable in the analysis, it goes beyond the scope of this document review all.

In addition, as I will explain below, because we are dealing with an academic debate in process, this paper will not champion a particular conceptualization or use of the time variable in the analysis. Despite these limitations, we believe that it is relevant to illustrate how that incorporating this variable into the analysis may enrich the explanations in some specific phenomena as: the different moments in which a transfer uses information from international sources or the reasons why the stakeholders chose the transfer in time.¹ In sum, we do not seek to include the multiple issues of public policy transfer process and relate them to the time variable in the Pronabes case, but to highlight the importance of this variable which most public policy transfers studies still exclude. Although we aim to contribute to the academic debate on the systematic incorporation of the time variable on the research field, we leave to the research goals of each analysis the possibility of including this variable.

This paper is composed of three sections. In the first we present some theoretical considerations about the time variable in public policy studies. In the second we address the considerations of the time variable in public policy transfers. Finally, to illustrate our argument, we analyze the case of the "Manutención" program, previously the National Higher Education Scholarship Program or Pronabes. This program addresses inequality in access to higher education in Mexico and has functioned in Mexico with relative success since 2001.²

¹ Even in the case of important topics as the participation of stakeholders or the learning related to policy transfer process (and their respective subtopics), we may have a large number of possible combinations when they are related to the multiple ways to use the time variable in the analysis. As a result, we chose only some cases that we believe help us to illustrate the importance of including the time variable in public policy transfer research field.

² In addition to the relevance of this program to Mexico's educational policy, we look at it because we believe that the period of its operation (13 years) allows us to easily demonstrate the incorporation of the time variable in public policy transfers. In the relevant section we will look at this in greater depth.

The inclusion of the time variable in the systematic analysis of public policies is relatively new and there exist different conceptualizations of this variable. Because we are dealing with an academic debate in process, this paper will not champion a particular conceptualization, but rather it will highlight a few of the key ones in order to later refer to their specific relevance in relation to the transfer/diffusion field of study. In agreement with Pierson (2004, p. 6), “examining temporal processes allows us to identify and explicate some fundamental social mechanisms”. That is to say, according to this view, the analysis should consider the historical sequences in which the present is immersed. It does not mean that actors are insignificant. Nevertheless, the rules that have historically defined institutions, limit or restrict the margin of action of these actors. According to Pollitt (2008, p. 1), “even if one forgets or chooses to ignore the past, it will come back to bite you”. As a result he suggests governing with an eye to the past; this is relevant when undertaking innovations or modernizations in the public sector.

We also have to consider temporality when analyzing present decisions in relation to the future. In these cases time can be analyzed as a dependent variable; it is treated as a resource. For example, although the past imposes restriction on the present, Pollitt also stresses that the future affects the long- and short-term policy strategy planning. In this sense he points to different “Time Tactics” which government actors can deal with the time variable like “Delaying, Keep waiting”, “Fixing deadlines”, “Agreeing when to act in the future”, among others (2008, pp. 15, 176-177).

In the case of Andreas Schedler and Javier Santiso (1998, p. 6), although they state that time can be seen as a horizon,³ their analysis of time focuses on time “as a resource and a constraint in democratic politics”. In this sense they contribute to the academic debate by creating distinctions between different related concepts of the time variable: “...time rules (the institutional time constraints democratic politics face), time strategies (the ways political actors handle these constraints), time discourses (the arguments they use in order to justify their strategies), and time effects (the consequences time bears as a quasi-objective independent variable”.

Additionally, the body of literature produced on this topic presents diverse contributions from other authors. Jan-Hinrik Meyer-Sahling (2007 pp. 1-2) points out that time, timing and tempo have a great relevance for the quality of democracy and policy results. Based on his study of governance in Europe, the author looks at the aspects of temporality which are utilized by organizations and management. He enriches the academic debate with six areas of distinction: 1) time as a variable and time as a methodological device; 2) time as an independent and dependent variable; 3) various dimensions of temporality; 4) levels or forms of temporality (as time rules and time discourses); 5) conceptions of clock time and social time; and 6) theoretical approaches to temporality for the

³ “Looking forward into the future, looking backward into the past, and looking at the present point of seeing” (Andreas Schedler y Javier Santiso, 1998, p. 6)

development of causal mechanisms for the explanation of the origins and consequences of temporal orders.

Meanwhile, Jacobs (2008, p. 195) points out that theoretical explanations can become more robust if we consider the tradeoff calculated by the stakeholders over time. In this sense we can understand certain comparative puzzles that demand explanation. This is possible because an analysis that uses cross-sectional choices excludes important variations, for instance the desire of some political actors, but not all, of imposing a cost in the present in order to obtain benefits for tomorrow. Therefore we can improve the causal understanding of policy change by including the temporal analysis (Jacobs, 2008, p. 195).

Another relevant analysis is the one presented by Goetz (2009) which seeks to respond to the question, in what manner is political time institutionalized in the political system of the EU? This author underscores the manner in which governments administer budgets over time. In this regard Goetz highlights the importance of planning cycles, i.e. the way that government decisions are affected by the periods of time in which they are made.

Although there are other conceptualization of the time variable (see, for example, Meyer-Sahling and Goetz, 2009; Schmitter and Santiso, 1998; Linz, 1998, among others), we will make use of the ones mentioned so far as we consider that their theoretical contributions serve as a basis for our case study.

B) THE TIME VARIABLE IN THE TRANSFER OF PUBLIC POLICIES

There are few analyses that focus directly on the analysis of the time variable in the transfer of public policies (Carroll, 2012; Carroll and Common, 2013, pp. 192-193; Dussauge, 2012). It is, practically, a theme absent in academic literature.

Peter Carroll (2012) conducted an historical overview of the Australian experience of public policy transfer over time. With this perspective in mind he highlighted the influence that national and international contexts have on the different types of public policy transfers over time. In this manner he underlines the relevance of seeing these processes of public policy transfer in terms of historical moments or phases during which diverse actors interact with their own time contexts. In particular these dynamics are relevant for understanding the ways in which countries receive and use the knowledge acquired over time. In this sense it is possible to see diverse stages of public policy transfers in the history of a country.

Peter Carroll and Richard Common (2013, p. 192) highlight two issues that arise when we limit the analysis of transfers to few a cases and of short periods of time. The first is that the possibility to generalize these studies to other countries is limited. The second, and directly related with time variable, is that the tendencies of the public policy transfers over long period of time are omitted from the analyses and these may be different from those that occur over short period of time. "What is true of policy transfer today might not have been true in the past, nor might still hold in the future. We need a great understanding of the dynamics of transfer over the time".

Although briefly, Dussauge (2012a) is the author who has most widely addressed the different ways in which the time variable has been considered (or omitted) in the study of public policy transfers. While there are few studies that focus on explaining the relevance of the time variable in public policy transfers, Dussauge highlights some of the main related points that are to be found in the body of literature. The following table summarizes what we consider to be the most important remarks made by this author:

TABLE I. THE TIME VARIABLE IN PUBLIC POLICY TRANSFERS / DIFFUSION / LESSON-DRAWING

Approach	References to the time variable	Author
Criticism of the omission of the time variable in the study of transference	'[o]ne criticism that can be leveled at the existing literature is that the policy transfer concept is ahistorical'.	Diane Stone (1999, p. 55)
	'[t]he concept of policy transfer says little about the time period'.	Edward Page (2000, p. 5)
References to time/temporal in policy diffusion literature (closely associated with the literature about transfers)	'Diffusion is the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among members of a social system'	Everett Rogers' (2003, p. 35)
	Importance of "[t]he timing of the first adoption of social security among the 59 countries which had formal political autonomy with regard to domestic policy at the time of the first adoption'	David Collier and Richard Messick's (1975, p. 1299)
	"Diffusion is therefore not a homogeneous process in the sense that the effects of the institutional transfer variables are not constant over time." The processes of successive logics of collective action permit diffusion to succeed.	Jacint Jordana <i>et al.</i> (2011, p. 1362).
The time variable within cross-national policy learning studies	'[i]n the transfer of organizational forms across societies the historical context, or timing, is a critically important factor, for it determines the range of models that have developed in other societies and are therefore available to organization-builders'. She also notes that the process of imitation-innovation "takes time" in order of its development and to determine its consequences.	Eleanor Westney (1987, p. 9)
'Time' and 'temporal' in 'Lesson Drawing'.	He notes the teachings and limitations that arise from the past more than how past programs and institutions can be transferred in the present	Richard Rose's (1993)
Other approaches to the time variable in public policy transfers.	"[P]olicy transfer may take place over more extended time periods".	Page (2000, p. 5)
	The 'policy stages' and 'loops, are part of the process by which international organizations spread and transfer 'best practices' Each loop can occur in short or long period of time.	Gill Walt <i>et al.</i> 's (2004, pp. 195-196)
	Adaptation of local contexts to global norms must be understood as a contentious and open-ended process.	Heilmann and Schulte-Kulmann's, 2011 pp. 639-640

Source: Author based on Dussauge (2012a).

In addition to the aforementioned studies, some other references to the time variable in policy transfer literature can be found. These, however, are also principally commentaries rather than direct and detailed analyses. Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, p.14) consider that the evolution over time of a policy transfer can help us understand whether or not this process was voluntary or coercive as “[b]y using a continuum, researchers can capture some of the subtleties involved in the transfer process, such as if the transfer remained voluntary or transformed into a more coercive process over time, or even varied between different political units within the same political system.”

For Marsh and Sharman (2009, p. 14) the diffusion and transfer literature needs to pay close attention to how the mechanisms of both processes are related and evolve over time, as well as how these have an influence on both. Walker (p. 882-883), meanwhile, asks, “why some states adopt innovations more readily than other”, (p. 882). In this manner diverse variables related to policy adoption are analyzed. The time, in terms of years, becomes an indicator of speed of these adoptions.

E. McCann and K. Ward (2014, p. 10) understand policy mobility as not just a transfer from one place to another but also that public policy transfers are reformulated through the participation or various actors in time: “the spaces and times of travel are not ‘dead’ or unimportant but should be taken seriously as playing a role in shaping policy knowledge”.

In sum, these diverse references indicate the relevance of the time variable in the study of public policy transfers. As a result, it is important to address the relation of the time variable in the study of public policy transfers in a more systematized, detailed and direct manner. In the next chapter we will try to contribute to this by analyzing the experience of the Mexican higher education program called “Manutención”.

C) TIME VARIABLE AND PUBLIC POLICY TRANSFERS: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM “MANUTENCIÓN” IN MEXICO

In order to highlight the importance that the time variable can have on the study of public policy transfers, in the following section we will analyze the case of the “Manutención” program in Mexico. Our analysis is principally based upon the theoretical references mentioned in the previous sections. Dussauge (2012a) has an important position in this study as he is the only author mentioned who presents a combination of suggestions that serve as a guide for combining diverse aforementioned conceptualization with the aim of directly studying the relationship between the time variable and policy transfers. In particular we will take into account his suggestion about using the following concepts in policy transfers: A) “Policy transfer and ‘time frames’, which allows us to include different moments in which the transfer receives learning; B) Policy transfer as ‘things that take time’ which allows us to delve into the process of adoption.

Furthermore, we will include our own considerations based on the ideas of Westney (1987) and Jacobs (2008, p. 195). We consider the last author as his approach highlights the tradeoffs calculated by the stakeholders of a public police over the time whilst the relevant body of literature of policy transfer principally considers the calculations of the

actors at the time of the policy transfers. We believe that by applying Jacobs' approach to policy transfers analysis we can have a greater knowledge of the dynamics that cause the stakeholders to choose the transfer.⁴

We should note, without forgetting their differences, that notions like “lesson-drawing”, “policy diffusion” and “policy transfer” are closely associated. We take up the concept of policy transfers because, despite various conceptual and semantic criticisms, it has become a reference in public policy literature (Dussage, 2012b, p. 55). So rather than get into a conceptual debate, in this paper we use the concept of transference without ignoring that our analysis may be of relevance for studies of “lesson-drawing” and “policy diffusion”. In this vein we start with the following concept based primarily on the definition of public policy transfer as suggested by Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, p. 5): “[t]he process by which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political system (past or present) is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political system”. It is a definition that may help to point out the importance of the time variable in different approaches of public transfer analysis without taking into consideration the principal concepts related with this field of study.

THE “MANUTENCIÓN” PROGRAM (PRONABES)

Although we have seen a growth in coverage in the second half of the last century, even in recent times, only 5% of the population of the lowest decile of income has access to higher education in Mexico; 60% of the highest decile has access (Tuirán and Muñoz, 2010 p.384). For this reason the last decade has seen the implementation of diverse programs that deal with access equality and retention in education. The most important program in terms of resources and coverage is “Manutención”, previously known as the National Higher Education Scholarship Program, or Pronabes.⁵

This program, which has operated since 2001, has had 320,000 recipients of scholarships in 2012 and since its creation till 2012 has given out 2.2 million scholarships. While in 2010 it reached nearly 100% of its target population, in 2012 that number reached only up to 62%. According to the statistics this decrease may be due to the rapid growth in the target population in the last two years (Coneval, 2013, p.7).⁶ The recipients are students of Public Institutions of Higher Education and they receive a monthly scholarship of 750 Mexican pesos in the first year and up to 1,000 Mexican pesos in the fifth year (from 52 to 80 US dollars).

⁴ This is in contrast to concept of adoption that could be much broader to include organizational, institutional or other variables. Based on Westney (1987, p. 9), as for the term ‘to choose’ we mean the actors who through their decision accept or reject a policy.

⁵ From this moment on we will refer to it as Pronabes, referred to like this throughout the body of literature due to the name change it experienced in 2013.

⁶ The target population is defined as that whose family (home) income is equal or less than four minimum salaries per capita monthly.

The Mexican states and the Federal government principally fund the program. What stands out is that the program is quite possibly seeing positive results in terms of some the desired objectives: reduce the inequality of access and retention in higher education. For instance, the principal destination of the money is school fees. According to program evaluations (CIDE, 2012 pp. 47-50; 59-61), 84% of the recipients use the scholarships to buy educational materials and/or supplies, 66% for transportation and 57% for tuition (not excluding categories). There also exist differences (although these are small) between the hours devoted to work and those devoted to studying between recipients of scholarships and those who do not receive them. As detailed below, there are several studies that took place during the time of application of the program that have reported similar results.

As can be seen, we are dealing with a program that has operated in Mexico for more than 13 years (a considerable period of time) and is relevant not only in terms of its coverage, which includes the majority of its target population, but also because the results could have an effect, although limited, on the reduction of inequality of access and retention in higher education.⁷ In short, this case study is useful for our analytical purposes as, having been in operation for a considerable amount of time, allows us to illustrate—in a relevance program for higher education in Mexico—the incorporation of the time variable in the study of public policy transfers. If we were to have looked at a much shorter period of time we would have only looked at the moment of transfer of the policy, as usually happens in this field of research.

Additionally, as noted by Anthony Orum and Joe R. Feagin, (1991, p. 7), a case study methodology allows us to consider information from various sources over a given period of time. In this sense it is possible to conduct a more holistic study of actions and complex social meanings (like those generated by the incorporation of the time variable in the study of transfers).

Amongst the sources looked at, for this current investigation, were a number of diverse academic studies on the origins and operation of Pronabes. Additionally, in order to verify the way it functions as well as its operating parameters we looked at diverse evaluations of the program throughout the course of its application and its rules of operation throughout time. Finally, over 50 newspaper articles and comments reviewed by Congress were looked at in order to understand the perceptions of public opinion and the diverse related stakeholders. Once we present the methodological bases for this paper we will continue our case study.

⁷ It is important to note that this does not mean that the issue of inequality in higher education has been resolved. This is a more complex issue and it is not enough to analyze a program to evaluate the results of the educational policy in the topic of inequality. As already mentioned, this program is used in order to analyze the time variable in policy transfer.

“Time frames” refers principally to the period of coverage of the study and it is principally related to the design and methodology of the investigation (Dussage, 2012a). As mentioned before, for authors like Westney (1987, p. 9), it is related to the historical context and period of time in which the transfer was studied. For example, Westney points out that this perspective makes more complex the interaction between involved actors within the cross-national policy learning (pp. 2-8).

Let us consider then how one would study the “Manutención” program/Pronabes first taking into account the year in which it was started (2001) and then the proceeding years of its operations if we extend the time frame from 2001 to 2014.

While there exist various antecedents to the program that served as a base for it, a particularly relevant one was the “World Declaration on Higher Education in the 21st Century: Vision and Action” from Unesco in 1998 (suggested by Bracho, 2003, p. 132). These proposals are reflected in the main objectives of the program. Carolina Hernández Rodríguez (2013, pp. 4-5) and Miller Flores (2007, pp. 111-112) highlight the important of this conference as a key source for the formulation of Pronabes in terms of the inclusion of tutors in the program. It is also worth noting that Pronabes was presented as one of the principal achievements of the Mexican government in terms of equality in higher education at the 47th International Conference on Education of Unesco, Geneva, 8-11. September 2004 (Secretaría de Educación Pública, 2004, pp. 23, 34 y 38).

Among the main learning that may have received from the Unesco conference that served to inform the program are:

TABLE 2. KNOWLEDGE/LESSONS RECEIVED FROM UNESCO AND THE “MANUTENCIÓN” PROGRAM

	Unesco declaration	Pronabes-Manutención, Secretary of Public Education (SEP)
Access equality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poses as one government objective the widening of access for more diverse groups of the population (equality of access) It further refers to equality of access, saying that: “access to higher education cannot permit any discrimination based on race, sex, language, religion or economic, cultural or social consideration, nor based upon physical disabilities.” (Article 3).* 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The transition team of the then President-Elect Vicente Fox (2000-2006) developed in the Bases of a Strategic Plan the primary objective of guaranteeing access to quality higher education and retention in it for the whole population. It also suggested advancing equal educational opportunities for the whole population. (Coordination of Educational Area of the Transition Team of the President-Elect, 2000). The National Education Program of 2001-2006 (Sep, 2001) made diversification of the education offered at the higher educational level a priority. Pronabes makes focusing its efforts on achieving greater equality in higher education one of its objectives.

TABLE 2. KNOWLEDGE/LESSONS RECEIVED FROM UNESCO AND THE “MANUTENCIÓN” PROGRAM

	Unesco declaration	Pronabes-Manutención, Secretary of Public Education (SEP)
Priority groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It points out that access to higher education for vulnerable groups in the population (indigenous communities, cultural and linguistic minorities, disadvantaged groups, etc.) should be facilitated. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The National Education Program of 2001-2006 (Sep., 2001) indicates that it is giving priority attention the most vulnerable social groups, of which indigenous communities are highlighted. Also in 2001 it proposed to balance the geographical coverage of higher education. Pronabes awards scholarships to young people whose families have low income, of which those living in indigenous zones receive key attention.
Central role of the student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It suggests that decisions should be taken on a national and institutional level to place students and their needs at the center of the program's concerns. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pronabes primarily serves the financial needs of low-income students to facilitate their access and retention in higher education.
Relevance of higher education and coverage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It stresses that the relevance of higher education institutions is a function of what society expects of these institutions and what they do. It states that coverage should be expanded in the states where the registration rate is lower than internationally accepted norms. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teresa Bracho (2003) notes that based on the above, the transition team of Vicente Fox proposed expanding the supply and relevance of academic programs to meet growing demand. As already noted, the six-year educational program also proposed extending coverage to diverse entities throughout the country. This is another element that is reflected in Pronabes when looking to address the issue of coverage for the low-income sector.
Quality of higher education	It defines it as a multidimensional concept that should embrace all its functions and activities, amongst which the scholarships stand out	The government of Vicente Fox set out to address from the start of his term the quality of the social demand (Coordination of Educational Area Transition Team President Elect, 2000) in the states, and goals included expanding coverage and improving the retention rate, amongst others.

* Personal translation

Source: Own work based on Teresa Bracho (2003).

While the program is also based on other sources of information and national proposals, we consider that this information is sufficient to note that in 2001 a Policy Transfer was presented as defined above, i.e., a process in which producers or senders are sources of knowledge that serve the policy learning for the recipients. In other words, although this was not the only source, it was used as a source of knowledge for basic elements of the program.

We can come across a slightly more detailed explanation if we extend the period of study of the transfer from just 2001 till 2014. As a result we can note that there have existed other sources of information and influence on the operation of the program over this period of time. For example, since 2004 the program received resources from the World Bank (WB), although this funding was meant to increase the number of scholarships, it was also intended to set up a policy framework and supervision (Bracho en Miller Flores, 2007, p. 105). As is pointed out by a document from Center for Economic Research and Teaching (CIDE by its Spanish acronym: CIDE, 2006, p. 6), since 2004 the

Public Education Minister (Secretaría de Educación Pública, SEP by its Spanish acronym) prepared, with technical and financial aid from the WB, the Assistance Program for Students in Higher Education (PAEES). Within this framework SEP “pledged to conduct an analysis that would permit an estimation of the impact of Pronabes amongst recipient students”.⁸ These evaluations have continued to be conducted up till 2012. SEP itself (2014) has recognized the influence of the WB on the program:

Pronabes, together with the World Bank, prepared the Assistance Program for Students in Higher Education (PAEES) as part of which this international financial institution has granted a loan to the Mexican government... The loan from the World Bank is an opportunity to give financial certainty to Pronabes, something that was identified as deficient in the assessments made up till now, as well as giving the opportunity to continue supporting a segment of the population that, due to its socioeconomic characteristics, has traditionally been marginalized in higher education.⁹

Margarita Noriega Chavez (2010, p. 672) also notes that the WB intends that Pronabes “elevates higher education and develops a national regulatory framework for students in tertiary education that need financial aid.”¹⁰

There could also exist other sources of knowledge and international influence on the Pronabes program. For example, Miller Flores (2007, pp. 105-106) picked up on the studies conducted by Bracho (2005) and Rubio (2006) to point out that: “National Higher Education Scholarship Program (Pronabes) derives from one of the three major strategic aims of Pronae (National Education Program, 2001-2006): the extension of the system favoring equality, which had an additional boost in the recommendations from the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development)”.¹¹ According to the authors, key aspects of the educational policy in which it was framed later received a boost post-2001 in the OECD recommendations related to a central part of the operation of the program. This claim can be substantiated if we look at Mexican participation in international organizations like the OECD and that this participation has introduced new terminology into the language of public policy in Mexico like evaluation, performance, productivity, efficiency and quality (Miller Flores, 2007, although there are some authors who make reference to this theme, for example Javier Rodríguez Laguna, 2013).

Beyond conducting an exhaustive review on this point, the previous examples help us to understand that broadening the “time frame” analysis on public policy transfers can result in a more detailed and richer analysis that permits us to better understand the process of transfers and the analysis of the policies in questions. In this case we can highlight different moments in which a transfer uses information from international sources.

⁸ Personal translation.

⁹ Personal translation.

¹⁰ Personal translation.

¹¹ Personal translation.

In other words, if we had only looked at the learning at the moment of implementation of the program we would have concluded that it may be based solely on the proposals of Unesco. By extending the “time frame” we can, however, see other influences such as that of the WB and possibly OECD. It may mean that over time, policy transfer may be a more complex learning process that if we only consider the first transfer moment.

POLICY TRANSFERS AS ‘THINGS THAT TAKE TIME’: THE PROCESS OF ADOPTION
BY THE RECIPIENT INSTITUTION REFLECTED IN THE OPERATING RULES.

The transfer of public policies can be seen as a process that takes more place beyond the moment in which the learning from another program is implemented in a country. On this point, Dussage (2012a) points out that the transfer can take more time and, returning to Pearson (2004), mentions that it can be seen as a “slow-moving” process. We can also look at authors like Page (2003 p.168) that mention that is necessary to analyze transfer evolution process or Richard Common (2001, p.38) that also points out that we can only understand a policy transfer when we look at the way it changes over the time.

The relevance of transfer evolution can also be seen in the case of the Pronabes program. Since its inception Pronabes coincided with diverse approaches by Unesco in relation to the widespread increase in access to higher education for vulnerable groups, the question of non-discrimination, the central role of the student, amongst others. If we compare the objectives of the Program Operation between 2002 and 2012 we see that the program has focused its objectives more and more on reducing access inequality and retention in higher education. That is to say that over time you can see the development of clearer operating rules that make it possible to achieve these objectives. Each year has seen important adaptations to the operating rules of the program in many topics such as institutional relations among the federal government and states governments, relations between universities and governments, rules to participate in the program, organization adaptation, the requirements, among others (see for example, UAM, 2010; Miller Flores, 2007).

As Carlos Ornelas pointed out (2004), Pronabes promised more changes since the early years of operation. For instance in 2002 there was no criteria for choosing disadvantaged students, while in 2012 it was stated that recipients would be members of households with incomes that are equivalent or below four minimum wages per capita. There exist many other related examples.

Similarly, in the analysis of the program rules over time one could explain certain deficiencies in the operation of the program, for instance in the case of the tutors. These figures are important since they are related to the retention of students and academic performance. Although there have been certain adjustments to this part of the program, diverse evaluations that took place over the time, pointed out that there exist ambiguities in the rules: that direct how tutors should track student progress; the institutionalization of these figures in universities; ambiguities related to other responsibilities, to name just un few. (UAM, 2010, pp. 20-25; Miller Flores, 2007, p. 114; López Salazar *et al.*, 2013, pp. 72-76).

In short, although there are many examples in this respect, these examples help us to illustrate the difference that comes about when we consider the transfer process in a more detailed manner and in relation to the rules that the transfer is adopting in order to adapt to the institutional contexts of recipient country. In other words, to analyze only the implementation of the program in 2001 would limit the knowledge gained of the long-term process of adaptation of the program with its individual context within Mexican institutions. The larger picture allows us to learn about the successes and shortcomings in the operation of the transfer and the reaching of its goals in the new institutional frameworks. It could also help us illustrate with greater ease the possibilities or necessities of adapting these programs to other contexts.

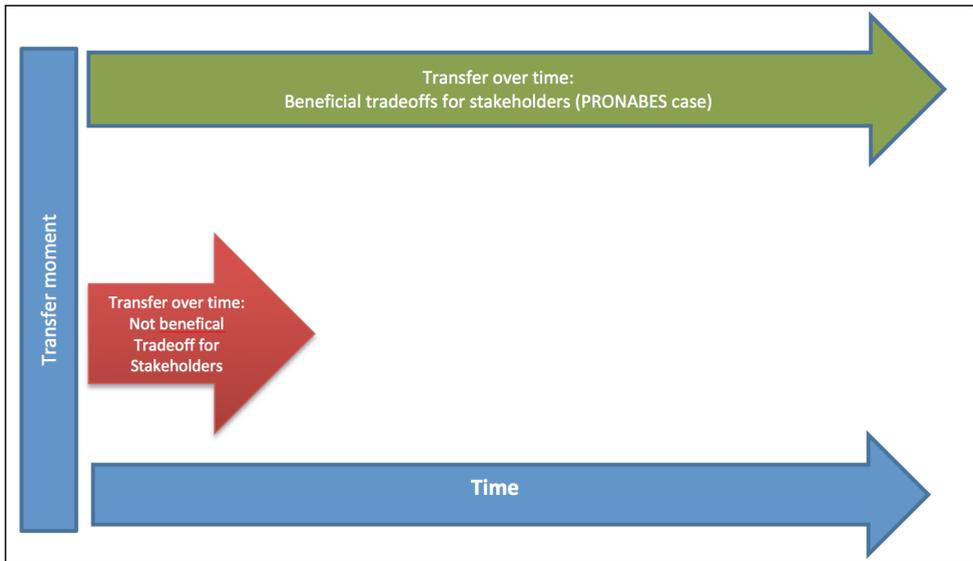
TRADE-OFF CONSIDERATION BY THE STAKEHOLDERS OVER TIME

Westney (1987, p. 9) points out that “[i]n the transfer of organizational forms across societies the historical context, or timing, is a critically important factor, for it determines the range of models that have developed in other societies and are therefore available to organization-builders”. However, the models do not only depend on the historical context but also on the choices made by stakeholders in the country where the adoption takes place: “But the availability of models is influenced not only by timing, but by constraints on selection: that a potential model exist does not mean that it will be observed, or if observed, that can be chosen”. As Westney suggest, the analysis of these choices can become much more fruitful if we extend the period under analysis. Returning to Jacobs (2008, p. 185), the tradeoffs calculated by the authors over time help us expand the study of public policies. In sum, a study of the processes of public policy transfers can benefit if we take into account if stakeholders decide to choose the transfer (or don’t) over time as a result of tradeoffs calculated and not simply in the moment of transfer (See Graphic 1.).

In the case of Pronabes, we can identify various actors who have taken part in beneficial interchanges with the program. In the next section we will try to point out the way that the tradeoffs calculated by them have had good results. As has been mentioned from the outset, the National Education Program 2001-2006, as well as the “Bases for the Education Sector Program 2001-2006” had amongst their main objectives ones that are similar to and agree with those of Unesco related to improving equality in access and retention in higher education.

Over time, although different proposals for improvement have been proposed, both the OECD and the WB have positively evaluated the program.¹² It is worth noting that the various evaluations that have been done of the program over time (Bracho 2003, Bracho 2005, Coneval, 2010-2011; CIDE, 2012, Coneval, 2013) also agree on the different achievements of the program in relation to its principal objectives. The same is true of

¹² In the case of the World Bank, we have already mentioned that since 2004 it began funding program evaluations (Sep, 2014). See also OECD (2004, p. 115), which states in conjunction with other policies the Pronabes has been adequate but slow.



GRAPHIC I. TIME, TRANSFER AND TRADE-OFF CONSIDERATION BY THE STAKEHOLDERS
Source: Own work.

the diverse academic analyses that, whilst still proposing changes and criticizing diverse themes, in general are positive about the results of the program (see for example, Miller Flores, 2007; Rubio, 2006, p.167-175; UAM, 2010, González, 2006, amongst others).

In terms of public opinion, over the 13 year period during which this program has been in operation, a great number of positive comments about the program have appeared and no comment was found that demanded the termination of the program. There exists a lot of criticism of its operation, its coverage, the time of payment of the scholarships and the educational model, but in general it seems that the program has been received positively by public opinion (For example look at Martín, 2014; Rojas, 2013; Algarín, 2014; Rivera, Gabriela, 2013; Martínez, , 2007, among others). Similarly, the students who applied for the program, both those accepted as well as those rejected, show high levels of acceptance of this program (Coneval, 2012, p.3).

As for civil society organization and political actors like the opposition to the government, little evidence has been found of them demanding the termination of the program. In terms of civil society organizations, the only organized criticism found relates to groups of students who organized themselves in opposition during those moments when the scholarship payment was delayed, but the program still received overall positive evaluations from them (see Solano 2014; Cuevas, 2010; Barrientos, 2012; Gaxiola, 2014; Díaz, 2014, among others). In the case of opposition politicians there have been criticisms of Pronabes, but only as a whole criticizing the educational system in general, when related to delays in the payment of scholarships or in terms of demands for increased coverage of the program (For example, look at: Redacción “a tiempo”, 2014; Boletín Legislativo,

2014; Muñoz, López y Sánchez, 2014; Aguilar, 2010; Lozano, 2013, among others). Basically it seems that the program was accepted by the opposition during the period of 2000-2006 and then in 2006-2012, periods during which the same party was in the Mexican federal government (Party of National Action, PAN). As Carlos Ornelas pointed out (2004), the opposition political parties were not contrary to this project. Similarly, there is little to indicate a change in tendency or opinion during the present administration (2012-2018) during which the Institutional Revolutionary Party is in government.

Another major player in the operation and acceptance of Pronabes are local governments. It is worth noting that the federal government shares with them the responsibility for the funding and operation of the programs. Thus, local governments are also perceived in these evaluations as responsible for the program. In other words the evaluations points out that they are also perceived to be responsible for a program for which there is a consensus of positive opinions.

For all that has been hitherto mentioned, Pronabes has been shown off on a number of occasions as one of the federal and local governments' achievement in terms of education policy. Both governments have given political visibility to the program, as can be shown by the multiple events organized to announce new developments: an increase in the number of scholarships, improvements in the rules of operations, results or simply the launch of an annual announcement for the program. This last point has happened even with some governors from opposition parties (see for local governments: Redacción-Informativo del Sur, 2007; Redacción-El Sol de Zacatecas, 2014; Redacción-la Jornada, 2013); García, 2014; Redacción-La Voz de Durango, 2012. For cases related to the federal government see: Agencias-Sipse, 2014; Avilés, 2009; El Informador.mx, 2012a; El Informador.mx, 2012b; Zambrano, 2013). As already mentioned, in the case of the federal government Pronabes has remained in operation even after the political party in power has changed. The new administration (2012-2018) has basically just changed the name and some parts of its norms of operation. It has also pointed out the success of the program and has participated in various scholarship handover ceremonies in different institutions in the country (see for example Jaime Zambrano, 2013).

As noted so far, everything seems to indicate that the results of Pronabes have generated a tradeoff that is convenient enough for the principal government stakeholders who have the ability to choose this program (in different degrees the same may apply to other stakeholders in society). It doesn't just reach desirable objectives for nearly all political forces of the country in terms of dealing with inequality in higher education. It additionally is a politically profitable program for both the federal and local governments who take advantage of the program through various events to project themselves as successful administrations as well as socially responsible ones.

If we were to only look at the moment of transfer it would be difficult to estimate and analyze the tradeoffs that the different stakeholders hoped from their investment in the program. More importantly, it could also be difficult to figure out if these tradeoffs were met and under what dynamics they were met if the transfer does not reveal yet its implications. In this sense it is possible to establish a link between the time variable,

transfers and the calculus of the stakeholders because, as noted already, a study of the processes of public policy transfers can benefit if we take into account if stakeholders decide to choose the transfer (or don't) over time as a result of tradeoffs calculated and not simply in the moment of transfer.

In order to summarize this section, the case of Pronabes helps us illustrate this point as the principal actors in the government seem to have obtained a favorable tradeoff in terms of what they invest into the program and the results in terms of program objectives as well in the political visibility they receive. It was possible to corroborate this information from multiple evaluations of this program that have been made over a long period of time that reveal that the program has reached its objectives. Similarly, there have been many expressions of the political visibility that the governments have received that have occurred over the medium term. The same is true of the benefits obtained by other stakeholders in society. It is possible to point out then that this type of assessment of the benefits received by the stakeholder of Pronabes and its specific characteristics would have been much harder to see if we had only looked at the moment of transfer in 2001. It is worth noting that the information that has been presented dates from after 2001 and corresponds to the 13 years of the program's existence. Thus, the analysis of transfers over longer periods of time may help us to get to know in greater richness the dynamics that affect whether or not the stakeholders would chose, reject or even legitimize these programs, as seems the case Pronabes.

Before addressing the conclusions, the following table presents some of the major points made in the preceding sections:

TABLE 3. EXPANSION OF THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE PROCESSES OF TRANSFERS WHEN THE TIME VARIABLE IS CONSIDERED

Time Variable Consideration in Transfers analysis	Pronabe/Manutención Transfer analysis without Time Variable	Pronabe/Manutención Transfer analysis using Time Variable
'Time Frames'	We would just have seen the uses information from international sources, in the Pronabes case if we had only considered Unesco as a source.	By expanding the "Time Frame" the uses information from international sources of the transfer becomes more complex, in the case of Pronabes we can see that it received additional learning from the WB and probably the OECD.
'Things that take time'	We could only observe the operating rules of Pronabes at the time of its transfer for short period of time.	By seeing transfers as 'Things that take time', it permits us to see a variety of steps that took place in the operating rules towards Pronabe's adoption by Mexican institutions.

TABLE 3. EXPANSION OF THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE PROCESSES OF TRANSFERS WHEN THE TIME VARIABLE IS CONSIDERED

Time Variable Consideration in Transfers analysis	Pronabe/Manutención Transfer analysis without Time Variable	Pronabe/Manutención Transfer analysis using Time Variable
Trade-off considerations by the stakeholders over time	If we had only looked at the moment of transfer of Pronabes we would have learnt little about the process in which the stakeholders chose the program and made it operate for 13 years.	It allows us to understand the choice of Pronabes made by the stakeholders thanks to the beneficial tradeoffs received over the long term.

Source: Own work.

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have analyzed the Mexican government “Manutención” program that after diverse evaluations and perceptions comes out positively. Besides this, it has stayed in operation for over 13 years, which allows us to do a long-term study of it. Based upon empirical evidence we can see that the time variable allows us to extend the analytical framework of the processes of diffusion/ transfer and to consider diverse elements that help us explain in greater depth processes like the different moments during which a transfer uses information from international sources, the process of adoption by the recipient institution reflected in the operating rules and the dynamics for which the key actors chose the transfer in the first place.

When analysis policy transfers using expanded ‘time frames’ we can get a broader and richer analysis that helps us to better understand the process of transfers and analysis of the policy in question. In the case of the “Manutención” program it was possible to understand that the transfer may be informed not only by Unesco like was initially indicated by the analyses from 2001, but also by the WB and probably the OECD. That is to say, we are dealing with a learning process that is in fact more complex than was initially believed if we only looked at it from the perspective of its adoption.

If we understand policy transfers as “things that take time” it is also possible to appreciate the process of policy transfers in a more detailed manner. In our case study it was possible to see a variety of steps towards adoption and the process of institutionalization of the operating rules. In other words, this perspective is useful for considering important elements regarding the successes and shortcomings in the operating rules of the transfer and its reaching of its objectives within the new institutional frameworks.

Finally, by including tradeoffs calculated by the actors over longer periods of time can help us to get to know in greater depth the dynamics because of which stakeholders chose, or rejected, the transfer. In the case of Pronabes, the principal actors in the government seem to have obtained a favorable tradeoff in terms of what they invest into the program and the results in terms of program objectives as well in the political visibility.

These points, however, would have been much harder to see if we had only looked at the moment of transfer in 2001. Much of the evidence found confirms that we would only have been able to see the nature of the tradeoffs and the various benefits that the stakeholders receive if looked at from a longer-term perspective

As has been already indicated, this does not look to affirm the existence of a single form in which the time variable affects transfers, but rather seeks to highlight the importance of this variable to the field of research. As mentioned, our study confirms that the time variable allows us to extend the analytical framework of the transfers. This occurred in the cases already pointed out by Dussauge (2012a): the 'time frames' and policy transfers seen as 'things that take time'. I also propose the calculations of the stakeholders over time.

Since this is an academic debate (transfers and time variable) in its very initial stages there are limitations to the possibility of comparing this study with other similar ones. In this sense, it would be of great relevance to corroborate the results of this paper with more empirical data in other cases. It is a major challenge due to the state of the art of the academic debate, however, It also presents an area of opportunity for new research looking deeper into the many ways that the time variable might enrich the study of transfers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agencias Sipse (2014), "SEP otorgará becas a jóvenes embarazadas", *sipse.com*, date of access, 23 de noviembre de 2014, <http://sipse.com/mexico/sep-becas-a-jovenes-embarazadas-68560.html>
- Aguilar Guevara, Alicia (2010), "Critica PRD a Raúl Arias por no apoyar a estudiantes que piden pago de becas Pronabes", *alcalorpolitico.com*, date of Access, 25 de noviembre de 2014, http://www.alcalorpolitico.com/informacion/critica-prd-a-raul-arias-por-no-apoyar-a-estudiantes-que-piden-pago-de-becas-pronabes-59582.html#.VHk3edKG_IY
- Algarín Durán José (2014), "Educar para cambiar el país, imperativo: Sáinz", *El Sol de Orizaba*, date of access 25 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.oem.com.mx/elsoldecordoba/notas/n3367878.htm>
- Ariel Martín (2014), "Economía, primer factor de abandono escolar", *Artículo 7*, date of Access, 25 de noviembre de 2014, <http://a7.com.mx/pulso/130-sistema-educativo/38038-economia-primer-factor-de-abandono-escolar.html>
- Avilés, Karina (2009), "Universidades públicas y SEP lanzan plan para enfrentar crisis", México, *La Jornada*, date of access, 23 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2009/02/25/sociedad/036n1soc>

- Barrientos, Cristóbal (2012), “Deben becas a 700 estudiantes UAdeC”, México, *El Siglo de Torreón*, date of access, 28 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.elsiglodetorreon.com.mx/noticia/696964.deben-becas-a-700-estudiantes-uadec.html>
- Boletín Legislativo, “Pide PRD reactivar pago de becas del Pronabes en Nayarit”, *Sitio de internet de Francisco Javier Castellón*, date of access, 28 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.castellon.org.mx/2011/12/01/pide-prd-reactivar-pago-de-becas-del-pronabes-en-nayarit/>
- Bracho, Teresa (2003), “Diseño e instrumentación del Programa Nacional de Becas para Estudios Superiores (Pronabes): Evaluación externa”, México, CIDE-ANUIES.
- Carroll, Peter (2012), “Policy Transfer Over Time: A Case of Growing Complexity”, *International Journal of Public Administration*, 35:10, 658-666, DOI: 10.1080/01900692.2012.689154
- Carroll, Peter and Common, Richard, (2013), “Policy Transfer and Learning in Public Policy and Management: International Contexts, Content and Development”, United Kingdom, Routledge.
- Casey, B. H. and Gold, M., (2005), “Peer review of labour market programmes in the European Union: what can countries really learn from one another”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12 (1), 23-43.
- CIDE (2012), “Documento descriptivo del módulo laboral y escolar del cuestionario de impacto: Pronabes”, *Tercer Informe*, México, CIDE-Pronabes.
- Collier, D. and Messick, R.(1975), “Prerequisites versus diffusion: testing alternative explanations of social security adoption”, *American Political Science Review*, 69 (4), 1299-1315.
- Common, R., (2001), “Public management and policy transfer in South East Asia”, Aldershot, Ashgate.
- Coneval (2013), “Informe de la evaluación específica de desempeño 2012-2013, valoración de la información de desempeño presentada por el programa Pronabes”, México, Conveal-SEP.
- Coordinación del Área Educativa del Equipo de Transición del Presidente Electo Vicente Fox Quesada (2000): “Bases para el Programa Sectorial de Educación 2001-2006”, México, noviembre de 2000.
- Cuevas, Natividad Ambrocio (2010) “Toman normalistas oficinas de SEG-Iguala”, México, *La Jornada de Guerrero*, date of access, 28 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.lajornadaguerrero.com.mx/2010/04/23/index.php?section=sociedad&article=004n2soc>
- Díaz, Daniel (2014), “Estudiantes de Pronabes se manifiestan frente a Casa de Gobierno”, México, *La Jornada de Michoacán*, date of access, 28 de noviembre

- de 2014, <http://www.lajornadamichoacan.com.mx/2014/09/12/estudiantes-de-pronabes-se-manifiestan-frente-a-casa-de-gobierno/>
- Dolowitz, David P. and Marsh, David (2000), “Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy-Making”, *Governance*, 13 (1), 5-23.
- Dussauge-Laguna, Mauricio I. (2012a), “The neglected dimension: bringing time back into cross-national policy transfer studies”, *Policy Studies*, 33:6, 567-585, DOI: 10.1080/01442872.2012.728900.
- _____ (2012b), “La transferencia de políticas como fuente de innovación gubernamental: promesas y riesgos”, *Estado, Gobierno, Gestión Pública Revista Chilena de Administración Pública*, N°19, 51-79, ISSN 0717-6759.
- El Informador.mx (2012a), “Quedan 20 días para solicitar becas de prepa y universidad”, México, *El Informador*, date of access, 23 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.informador.com.mx/mexico/2012/354943/6/quedan-20-dias-para-solicitar-becas-de-prepa-y-universidad.htm>
- El Informador.mx (2012b), “Gobierno federal anuncia un millón de becas para educación pública”, México, *El Informador*, date of Access, 23 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.informador.com.mx/mexico/2012/354943/6/quedan-20-dias-para-solicitar-becas-de-prepa-y-universidad.htm>
- García, Ignacio (2014), “Habrá 26 mil becas Pronabes para 2015”, México, *Criterio Hidalgo*, fecha de acceso, 28 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.criteriohidalgo.com/notas.asp?id=278668>
- Gaxiola, Iván (2014), “Universitarios inician organización para movilizaciones por retraso en pago de Pronabes”, México, *BCS Noticias*, fecha de acceso, 28 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.bcsnoticias.mx/universitarios-inician-organizacion-para-movilizaciones-por-retraso-en-pago-de-pronabes/>
- Goetz, Klaus H. (2009), “How does the EU tick? Five propositions on political time”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16 (2), 202-220.
- González Mercado, José Cándido (2006), “El Programa Nacional de Becas para Estudios Superiores (Pronabes): un enfoque de relaciones intergubernamentales”, *Espacios Públicos*, vol. 9, núm. 17, febrero, pp. 275-291,
- Graham, Erin R., Shipan, Charles R. y Volden, Craig (2013), “The Diffusion of Policy Diffusion Research in Political Science”, *British Journal of Political Science*, 43 (3), 673-701.
- Heilmann, S. and Schulte-Kulmann, N. (2011), “The limits of policy diffusion: introducing international norms of anti-money laundering into China’s legal system”, *Governance*, 24 (4), 639-664.

- Hernández Rodríguez, Carolina (2013), “Atención a las desigualdades, más allá de las educativas: Programa Nacional de Becas (Pronabes)”, *Tercera Conferencia sobre el Abandono en la Educación Superior (III CLABES)*, México, ANUIES.
- Hinrik Meyer-Sahling, Jan (2007), “Time and European Governance: An Inventory”, *Biennial Conference of the European Studies Association*, Montreal, Canada, 17-20 of May.
- _____ and H. Goetz Klaus (2009), “The EU timescape: from notion to research agenda”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16 (2), 325-336.
- Jacobs, Alan M. (2008), “The Politics of When: Redistribution, Investment and Policy Making for the Long Term”, *British Journal of Political Science*, 38 (2), 193-220.
- Jordana, J., Levi-Faur, D., and Fernández i Marín, X., 2011, “The global diffusion of regulatory agencies: channels of transfer and stages of diffusion”, *Comparative Political Studies*, 44 (10), 1343-1369
- Lagunas Rodríguez, Javier (2013), “Las reformas recientes de la educación en México. Entre la enseñanza básica y la superior en torno a los proyectos y las comunidades académicas”, *Cotidiano - Revista de la Realidad Mexicana*, sep/oct Vol. 28 Issue 181, pp. 91-107. 17p.
- Levi-Faur, David and Vigoda-Gadot (2006), “New Public Policy, New Policy Transfers: Some Characteristics of a New Order in the Making”, *International Journal of Public Administration*, 29 (4-6), 247-262.
- Linz, Juan (1998), “Democracy’s time constraints”, *International Political Science Review*, 19 (1), 19-37.
- López Salazar, Alejandra, Medina Meave, Leticia, Arroyo Ramírez, Blanca Estela, Zúñiga Alvarez, Ana Laura, “La evaluación curricular, el caso de la Licenciatura en la Universidad de Guanajuato”, México, Universidad de Guanajuato, fecha de acceso, 22 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.eumed.net/libros-gratis/2009c/593/>
- Lozano Medina, Mónica (2013), “La orientación de Pronabes”, *Revista Política Social*, Publicación de la Coordinación de Política Social del Grupo Parlamentario del PRD, México, Cámara de Diputados, número 2, abril-junio.
- Majone, G., (1991), “Cross-national sources of regulatory policymaking in Europe and the United States”, *Journal of Public Policy*, 11 (1), 79-106.
- Marsh, David and Sharman, J. C. (2009), “Policy diffusion and policy transfer”, *Policy Studies*, 30 (3), 269-288.
- Martínez, Nurit, (2007) “Fracaso con Fox plan de becas a universitarios”, México, *El Universal*, date of access, 28 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/nacion/150167.html>

- McCann, Eugene y Ward, Kevin (2013), “A multi-disciplinary approach to policy transfer research: geographies, assemblages, mobilities and mutations”, *Policy Studies*, 34:1, 2-18, DOI: 10.1080/01442872.2012.748563
- Miller Flores, Dinorah Gabriela (2007), “Trayectorias Escolares Universitarias e Institucionalización del Pronabes en la UAM”, *Tesis para obtener el grado de Doctor en Ciencias Sociales con Mención en Sociología V Promoción 2004-2007*, México, Flacso.
- Muñoz Soria, José Luis, López Suárez, Roberto y Sánchez Torres, Guillermo, “Punto de Acuerdo por el que la Comisión Permanente del honorable congreso de la unión, exhorta respetuosamente al titular de la Secretaría de Educación Pública, haga del conocimiento público en su portal oficial de internet, las acciones que ha realizado a fin de subsanar las observaciones de la Auditoría Superior de la Federación y el Coneval realizadas al “programa nacional de becas y financiamiento (Pronabes)”, México, Cámara de Diputados, date of access, 25 de noviembre de 2014, http://sil.gobernacion.gob.mx/Archivos/Documentos/2014/07/asun_3127516_20140723_1406130524.pdf
- Noriega Chavez, Margarita (2010), “Sistema Educativo Mexicano y Organismos Internacionales: Banco Mundial, Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo y Organización para la Cooperación y el Desarrollo Económico”, Alberto Arnaut y Silvia Giorguli, *Los grandes problemas de México: educación*, México, El Colegio de México.
- Organización para la Cooperación y Desarrollo Económico (2004), “Estudios Económicos de la OCDE: México 2003”, México, OCDE.
- Ornelas, C., (2004), “The Politics of Privatisation, Decentralisation and Education Reform in Mexico”, *International Review of Education*, 50: 397-418.
- Page, E., (2000). “Future governance and the literature on policy transfer and lesson drawing”, *Prepared for the ESRC Future Governance Programme Workshop on Policy Transfer*, Britannia House, London.
- Page, E., (2003), “Europeanization and the persistence of national systems”, J. Hayward and A. Menon, eds., *Governing Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 162-176.
- Pierson, Paul (2004), “Politics in time”, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Pollitt, Christopher (2008), “Time, Policy, Management. Governing With the Past”, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Poy Solano, Laura (2009), “Termina el paro en la Normal Nacional”, México, *La Jornada*, date of access 28 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2009/11/14/sociedad/034n2soc>
- Redacción “a tiempo” (2014), Diputados estarán pendientes de que se paguen becas de Pronabes”, *a tiempo*, date of access, 24 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.>

atiempo.mx/politica/diputados-estaran-pendientes-de-que-se-paguen-becas-de-pronabes/

Redacción, *El Sol de Zacatecas* (2014) “Texto íntegro del IV informe de gobierno de Amalia García Medina” (2007), México, *El Sol de Zacatecas*, date of access, 28 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.oem.com.mx/esto/notas/n844946.htm>

Redacción, *Informativo del Sur* (2007) “Anuncian becas para alumnos del Imced”, México, *Informativo del Sur de Jalisco*, date of Access, 28 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.periodicoelsur.com/noticia.aspx?idnoticia=17951>

Redacción, *La Jornada* (2013) “Entregan en la UAA más de 900 becas Pronabes”, México, *La Jornada de Aguascalientes*, date of access, 28 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.lja.mx/2013/12/entregan-en-la-uaa-mas-de-900-becas-pronabes/>

Redacción, *La Voz de Durango* (2012), “Recibe UJED 752 becas Pronabes 2011-2012”, México, *La Voz de Durango*, date of access, 22 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.lavozdedurango.com/local/recibe-ujed-752-becas-pronabes-2011-2012>

Rivera, Gabriela (2013), “Pronabes sale reprobado, pero recibirá más recursos”, México, *24 Horas*, date of access, 28 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.24-horas.mx/pronabes-sale-reprobado-pero-recibira-mas-recursos/>

Rodolfo Tuirán y Christian Muñoz (2010), “La política de educación superior: trayectoria reciente y escenarios futuros”, Alberto Arnaut y Silvia Giorguli, *Los grandes problemas de México: educación*, México, El Colegio de México.

Rogers, E. M., (2003), “Diffusion of innovations”, New York, Free Press.

Rojas González, Gerardo (2013), “Transparencia Mexicana y el PNUD reprueban a 99 programas en Puebla”, *e-consulta referencia obligada*, date of access, 25 de noviembre de 2014, <http://archivo.e-consulta.com/2013/index.php/2012-06-13-18-40-00/gobierno/item/transparencia-mexicana-y-el-pnud-reprueban-a-99-programas-en-puebla>

Rose, Richard, (1993), “Lesson-drawing in public policy”, Chatham, NJ, Chatham House Publishers.

Rose Richard (1991), “What is Lesson Drawing?”, *Journal of Public Policy*, 11 (1), 3-30.

Rubio Oca, J. (2006), “La política educativa y la educación superior en México, 1995-2006: un balance”, FCE-SEP, México.

Secretaría de Educación Pública (2001), “Historia del Pronabes”, México, SEP, date of access, 25 de noviembre de 2014, <http://www.pronabes.sep.gob.mx/acerca/historia.html>

Secretaría de Educación Pública (2001), “Programa nacional de educación 2001- 2006”, México, 2006.

- Secretaría de Educación Pública (2004), “The development in of education: National Report México”, 47 *International Conference in Education*, Suisse, Unesco.
- Schedler, Andreas and Santiso, Javier (1998), “Democracy and Time: An Invitation”, *International Political Science Review*, 19 (1), 5-18.
- Schmitter, Philippe C. and Santiso, Javier (1998), “Three Temporal Dimensions to the Consolidation of Democracy”, *International Political Science Review*, 19 (1), 69-92.
- Stone, D., (1999), “Learning lessons and transferring policy across time, space and disciplines”, *Politics*, 19 (1), 51-59.
- Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana (2012), “Diez años de Becas Pronabes-UAM”, México, UAM.
- Walker, Jack L., (1969), “The diffusion of innovations among the American States”, *American Political Science Review*, 63 (3), 880-899.
- Walt, G., Lush, L., and Ogden, J., (2004), “International organizations in transfer of infectious diseases: iterative loops of adoption, adaptation, and marketing”, *Governance*, 17 (2), 189-210.
- Westney, E., (1987), “Imitation and innovation. The transfer of Western organizational patterns in Meiji Japan”, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press
- Zambrano, Jaime (2013), “Entrega Chuayffet en Puebla becas Pronabes”, *e-consulta.com*, México, Puebla, date of access, 28 de noviembre de 2014, <http://e-consulta.com/nota/2013-12-18/educacion/entrega-chuayffet-en-puebla-becas-pronabes#sthash.vUF37ehY.dpuf>

JORGE PUGA GONZÁLEZ. Estudiante del Doctorado de Política Públicas del Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica (CIDE). Maestro en Administración y Políticas Públicas también por el CIDE, donde participó en el programa de intercambio con la Universidad de Columbia en Nueva York. Licenciado en Relaciones Internacionales, por la Universidad de las Américas-Puebla, donde participó en el programa de intercambio con la Universidad de Montreal y obtuvo mención Magna Cum Laude. Ha participado en diversos proyectos de investigación académica, impartido clases en el nivel superior y encabezado proyectos de consultoría en políticas públicas. También ha sido columnista de opinión en diversos medios locales y asesor en la administración del Distrito Federal, la Asamblea Legislativa y el Senado de la República. Correo electrónico: jorge.puga@alumnos.cide.edu