GREEN DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES IN COLOMBIA AND JORDAN:

A study on Policy Diffusion and the Role of IOs

CAPSTONE PROJECT

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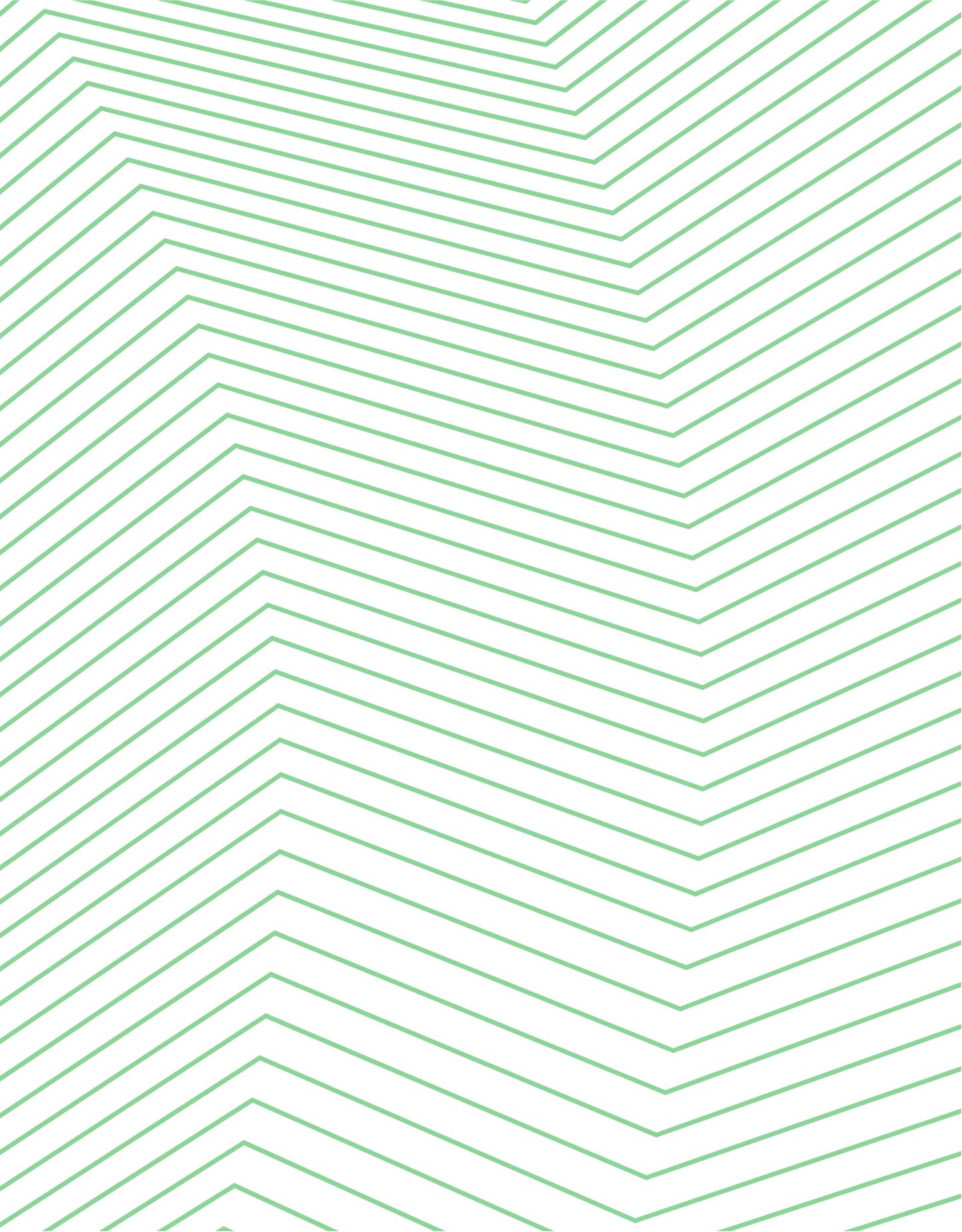
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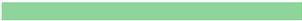
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Key Acronyms

CAF	Cooperación Andina de Fomento - Banco de Desarrollo de América Latina
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
FFI	Fortescue Future Industries
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHG	Greenhouse Gas
HDI	Human Development Index
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IE	Instituto de Empresa
IFI	International Financial Institutions
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IO	International Organization
ITAM	Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México
LDI	Liberal Democracy Index
MEA	Multilateral Environmental Agreement
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NDC	Nationally Determined Contribution
OAS	Organization of American States
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PPPs	Public-Private Partnerships
SME	Small-to-Medium Enterprise
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nation Environment Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WFP	World Food Programme
WTO	World Trade Organization

TABLE OF CONTENT

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is a cross-regional comparative analysis of green development strategies in two country case studies that examine the policy space through the lens of policy diffusion. First, we seek to define better the processes through which international organizations (IOs) can most effectively influence national governments' policymaking within the green development policy space. We illustrate this phenomenon through a comparative study of Latin America and the Middle East, using the country case studies of Colombia and Jordan. To gain a clearer understanding of the obstacles and benefits these two countries have encountered in their pursuit of green development, field research was conducted through interviews of individuals working at IOs, within the national governments of Colombia and Jordan, and other relevant experts in the policy space. The primary goal of our qualitative research was to use a comparative analysis of the chosen case studies to understand better the role of IOs in the green policy ecosystem and to make recommendations that support the successful adoption and implementation of green policy.

This report will briefly introduce green development and policy diffusion, commenting on the role of IOs as powerhouses for policy diffusion. Subsequently, it justifies the case comparison between Colombia and Jordan. It then presents the findings from expert interviews, offering a diagnostic analysis of the green development policy space in the two case studies. Finally, the report provides policy recommendations to both IOs and governments.

We summarize our significant findings: First, we find that the primary role of IOs in green development is to support the translation of policy ideas into action and provide the appropriate knowledge, technical assistance, and investments in capacity-building to do so. While this conclusion can be applied to both cases, the two countries differ in their principal green development needs; therefore, the role of IOs and the action required by their national governments are distinct. In Jordan, green development must primarily address water and energy security. In Colombia, territorial development and conservation are the significant areas of focus. Additionally, the two countries diverge in their governance structure and relationship with external creditors. IOs primarily support Colombia through knowledge sharing due to its less bureaucratic governance structure and greater access to foreign capital; in contrast, Jordan's dense bureaucracy makes policy innovation from IOs more difficult. However, the country's search for financial incentives to accompany policy change means more potential for competitive diffusion.

Nonetheless, the two countries converge because they are both green development leaders within their region eager to spearhead and implement firm public policy. Additionally, in both contexts, including stakeholders at all levels is essential for successful policy implementation. Finally, both countries view green development as an opportunity for policy to generate sustainable economic growth and employment for their vulnerable populations.

1.1 Defining the Policy Space: Green Development

To promote further development and growth, national policies must balance expanding inclusive and just economic opportunities with action to address environmental pressures.Green development is where the challenges of economic growth and sustainability overlap. Climate change threatens future economic growth, and while green development can create new jobs, it may also displace workers in high-emissions

sectors. Particularly in developing nations, vulnerable populations are already seeing threats to their livelihoods. Successful green development presents an opportunity for both climate change adaptation and the creation of decent, green jobs in sustainable sectors. Green development is an essential aspect of the green transition. While still prioritizing growth, a just green transition considers development's social and environmental impacts. In this report, green development transitions economies, businesses, work environments, and job markets toward an inclusive green economy.[1] It ensures that natural assets, such as resources and other environmental services, on which humanity relies are protected.[2] To achieve this, green development policies must prioritize investment in those economic activities, infrastructure development, and country assets that reduce carbon emissions and pollution, enhance energy use, and harness maximum resource efficiency. A well-designed policy can prevent further degradation of biodiversity and ecosystem services through a green transition and give rise to new economic opportunities.[3]

1.2 Policy Diffusion and Mechanisms Defined

Policy diffusion can be understood as the process by which the adoption of specific policies by one government affects the probability of policy adoption by other governments." [4]Diffusion theorists share the belief that political actors are influenced by the goals, strategies, and decisions of other political actors [5]. More broadly, diffusion includes the influence of stakeholders at all levels – local, regional, and international. The global nature of policy challenges such as climate change action means increasing interdependence between states and requires the diffusion of ideas between governments, institutions, and organizations. [6]

Policy diffusion occurs through four broad mechanisms: learning, competition, imitation, and coercion.[7]The learning mechanism assumes that the success and failures of past policies can shape future decision-making processes to adopt policies that might be similar. [8] Through the learning mechanism, policymakers can acquire knowledge from the experiences of other governments.[9] Policy learning requires an assessment of the outcomes or effectiveness of a policy and its applicability to new contexts and environments.[10] Economic competition can also drive policy diffusion. The competition mechanism explains how innovative policy adoption helps a state maintain its competitive advantage both nationally and globally. [11] Competitive policy diffusion can be reactionary where policy makers respond to the policy choices of their competitors in order to "remain or become more attractive for business, investment, and people." [12]It assumes that policymakers adopt policies to attract investment and resources. Additionally, the imitation or emulation mechanism is used to xplain the process by which policies, like climate action policy, are adopted by heterogeneous countries and diffused globally. Adopting a certain policy that is widely accepted in the international realm in response to a certain global issue can provide a state with legitimacy and clout.[13]The final mechanism is coercion. In international settings, countries can also use

1."Mexico's green jobs assessment presented at the first National Green Jobs Forum," International Labour Organization, accessed June 28, 2022, https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/green-jobs/WCMS_227599/lang--en/index.htm.
2."Green Growth and Sustainable Development," OECD, accessed June 30, 2022, https://www.oecd.org/greengrowth/
3."Green Economy," United Nations Environment Programme, accessed June 28, 2022, https://www.unep.org/regions/asia-and-pacific/regional-initiatives/supporting-resource-efficiency/green-economy.
4.Carina Schmitt,Herbert Obinger, "Critical Summary and Concluding Remarks," in Networks and Geographies of Global Social Policy Diffusion: Culture, Economy, and Colonial Legacies, (Springer International Publishing, 255–67, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-83403-6_10.
5.Fabrizio Gilardi,"Who Learns from What in Policy Diffusion Processes?" American Journal of Political Science 54, no. 3(2010): 650–66, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2010.00452.x.
6.Fabrizio Gilardi and Katharina Füglister, "Empirical Modeling of Policy Diffusion in Federal States: The Dyadic Approach," Swiss Political Science Review 14, no. 3 (2008): 413–50,https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1662-6370.2008.tb00108.x.
7.David Strang, "Adding Social Structure to Diffusion Models: An Event History Framework." Sociological Methods & Research 19, no. 3 (February 1991): 325, https://doi.org/10.1177/0049124191019003003.
8.Martino Maggetti and Fabrizio Gilardi, "Problems (and Solutions) in the Measurement of Policy Diffusion Mechanisms," Journal of Public Policy 36, no. 1 (March 2016): 87-107. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0143814X1400035X.
9.Charles Shipan, and Craig Volden, "The Mechanisms of Policy Diffusion." American Journal of Political Science 52, no. 4 (2008): 840–57. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00346.x.
10. Sean Nicholson-Crotty and Sanya Carley, "Effectiveness, Implementation, and Policy Diffusion : Or 'Can We Make That Work for Us?'" State Politics & Policy Quarterly 16 no. 1 (2016): 78–97. https://doi.org/10.1177/1532440015588764.
11. Maggetti and Gilardi, "Problems (and Solutions) in the Measurement of Policy Diffusion Mechanisms."
12. Maggetti and Gilardi, "Problems (and Solutions) in the Measurement of Policy Diffusion Mechanisms."
13. Maggetti and Gilardi, "Problems (and Solutions) in the Measurement of Policy Diffusion Mechanisms."

tools – such as manipulating their own policy or turning to international institutions – to influence the policy choices of other governments.[14] This policy tool can be especially relevant in policy spaces like climate governance where there are challenges to widespread compliance with globally defined norms.

A) IOs as Powerhouses for Policy Diffusion

An essential function of IOs is establishing norms and influencing state behavior. IOs play a prominent role in the efficient exchange of policy knowledge, good practices, and institutional norms between national governments. [15] Through their role in financing, ability to create norms, technical knowledge, and support, IOs can exercise some level of political authority over member states and prompt governments to adopt regulatory instruments. Accordingly, IOs are critical actors in the creation and facilitation of policy. State membership in IOs can be a source of legitimacy or recognition, a tool to gain influence, and can aid in advancing independent interests. States today increasingly delegate tasks to supranational bodies, broadening the scope of IO mandates and increasing IO global authority.[16]

14. Shipan and Volden, "The Mechanisms of Policy Diffusion."
15. Thomas Sommerer,"Diffusion Across International Organizations," January 11, 2020.
16. Sommerer, "Diffusion Across International Organizations."

II. CASE JUSTIFICATION

Point of Comparison	Colombia	Jordan
Population[17]	50.9 million	10.2 million
GDP at PPP (current international $)[18]	759.73 billion	105.65 billion
GDP per Capita, PPP (current international $)[19]	14,931	10,355
Human Development Index (HDI) Value / Ranking [20]	0.767 / 83 out of 189	0.729 / 102 out of 189
Government Type [21]	Presidential Republic	Parliamentary Constitutional Monarchy
Liberal Democracy Index (LDI) Value / Ranking (V-Dem)[22]	0.47 / 69 out of 179	0.25 / 110 out of 179
Unemployment Rate [23]	15%	19.2%
Resource / Labor Endowments [24]	Resource-Rich, Labor-Abundant (RRLA)	Resource-Poor, Labor- Abundant (RPLA)
Median Age [25]	31.2 years	23.5 years
Paris Agreement Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs)	Reduction of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions by 51% with respect to the projected business-as-usual scenario by 2030. (2021) [26]	Reduction of GHG emissions by 31% with respect to the projected business-as-usual scenario by 2030. (2021) [27]
Refugee Populations and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)	Venezuelan (2.4 million), Colombian IDPs (8.5 million), Others of concern (450,000) [28]	Syrian (657,000), Palestinian (2 million),[29] Iraqi (67,000), Yemeni (15,000), Sudanese (6,000) [30]

17. World Bank, "Population (total)," https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL.
18. World Bank, "GDP, PPP (current international $)," https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.PP.CD.
19. World Bank, "GDP per capita, PPP (current international $)," https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD.
20. UNDP, "Human Development Insights," https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/country-insights#/ranks.
21. World Factbook, "Government type," "https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/field/government-type/.
22. V-Dem Institute, Democracy Report 2022: Autocratization Changing Nature,?,https://v-dem.net/media/publications/dr_2022.pdf.
23. World Bank, "Unemployment, total (% of total labor force)," https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.NE.ZS.
24. World Bank, "Country Grouping Classifications," https://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/10.1596/9780821395912_App.
25. World Factbook, "Median age," https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/field/median-age/country-comparison.
26. Gobierno de Colombia, "Actualización de la Contribución Determinada a Nivel Nacional de Colombia (NDC),"
https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/NDC/2022-06/NDC%20actualizada%20de%20Colombia.pdf.
27. Jordanian Ministry of Environment, "Updated Submission of Jordan's 1st Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC),
https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/NDC/2022-06/UPDATED%20SUBMISSION%20OF%20JORDANS.pdf.
28. UNHCR, "Global Focus: Colombia," https://reporting.unhcr.org/colombia.
29. UNRWA, "Where We Work,"https://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/jordan.
30. UNHCR, "Jordan: Statistics for Registered Persons of Concern," https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/75099.

The report examines the case studies of Colombia and Jordan, one OAS member state and one non-member state in order to produce a comparative analysis that is cross-regional in nature. Few comparative studies between the Americas and MENA exist within this policy space. Thus, our decision to select a country from the MENA region for our non-member state case was motivated by an objective to produce a novel comparative analysis. Furthermore, we deemed it crucial to choose one country that was rich in fossil fuels and one that was relatively poor in fossil fuels to better understand the tension - or lack thereof - with regards to the green transition within economies that have been traditionally dependent on fossil fuels versus those that have not.

Our first criteria was to select countries that were ambitious in their green development goals. Out of the 194 parties to the Paris Agreement, the legally binding international treaty on climate change that strives to limit global warming through the worldwide reduction of GHG emissions, only 15 countries have submitted their second set of NDCs, which were due in 2020. Of these 15 countries, 4 are OAS member states: Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, and Grenada. Colombia is by far the most ambitious of these four countries, with the goal to reduce GHG emissions by an impressive 51% by 2030. Therefore, Colombia was the clear choice for our OAS member state case study.

With Colombia in mind, we began looking for a similarly ambitious country in the MENA region with key similarities and differences for a cross-country analysis. The only country in the MENA region that submitted a second NDC was Oman, but it was far less ambitious than Colombia, with a goal to reduce GHG emissions by 7% by 2030. Therefore, we turned to countries that had submitted an ambitious first NDC. While Jordan's first NDC goal was not quite as lofty as Colombia's, its updated first NDC displayed a high level of commitment with the target of a 31% reduction in GHG emissions by 2030. Furthermore, Jordan and Colombia possess essential similarities and differences as presented above. While Colombia has a population about five times that of Jordan and a GDP at PPP that is about seven times that of Jordan, they both are considered to be countries with high human development according to the HDI, which measures gross national income per capita, educational attainment, and life expectancy. Although they possess high levels of human development, Colombia's presidential republic ranks much higher on V-Dem's LDI than Jordan's parliamentary constitutional monarchy. In terms of indicators germane to job creation, both countries possess relatively high unemployment rates in the teens and relatively low median ages, meaning that many young job seekers are looking to incorporate into the labor force. However, although both countries are labor-abundant, a critical difference is that Colombia is resource-rich while Jordan is resource-poor, especially regarding fossil fuels. Finally, both countries possess several economically vulnerable communities, including large refugee populations, and struggle with their incorporation into the labor force. In Colombia, Venezuelan refugees are the predominant group, and Palestinian and Syrian refugees are the predominant groups in Jordan. Additionally, Colombia struggles with a large population of IDPs.

Given these critical similarities and differences, we can comparatively analyze what green development looks like in a richer and more populous high human development context versus a poorer and less populous one, a relatively liberal democracy versus a relatively liberal autocracy, and a resource-rich context versus a resource-poor one. Furthermore, we can analyze how these two countries alternatively handle their shared high unemployment, young median age, and large refugee populations. As will be seen in our results section, the most critical distinction between these two countries is the vast difference in their fossil fuel endowments and how their economic dependence on or independence from fossil fuels colors their national perspective towards the green transition and societal tensions.

III. RESULTS

The following section presents the aggregate results of the study based on expert interviews. All conclusions draw on the knowledge and findings gained from the responses of those interviewed, supported by further research where necessary. The analysis is divided into six thematic areas constructed as described in the previous section: i) country context; ii) key actors and incentives; iii) vulnerable populations and job creation; iv) the role of financing; v) policy making; vi) international commitments. In this way, our analysis presents an overarching profile of each country (i), followed by micro-level individual actors (ii and iii) and macro-level institutional actors in the private sector, public sector, and international community (iv, v, vi). When relevant, we decided to move findings across thematic areas to create a more coherent narrative; in particular, findings related to the role of IOs have been dispersed across all seven themes. By our inductive approach, these thematic concepts contribute to a better understanding of how policy diffusion operates within the area of green development, including how policy adoption is framed and implemented among multiple levels of stakeholders within the Colombian and Jordanian policy environments.

3.1 Country Context

Experts consistently underscored the importance of addressing unique country challenges as essential to a successful green transition.[31] Section 2 formally introduced our case studies; the following seection provides descriptive results by identifying the most important country context features as identified by participants.

Colombia

Experts agreed that Colombia, ranked as the second most biodiverse country globally, has been a natural regional leader in green development. Colombia possesses a large natural resource wealth and is in a geostrategic location with the Amazon covering 23 percent of its territory. [32] In contrast to other countries, fossil fuels are not the primary source of negative climate impacts in Colombia since "the energy matrix is quite clean and primarily relies on hydro-electric power." [33] However, since Colombia is rich in fossil fuels and credits much of its early economic development to them, its green transition is not necessarily a win-win situation in the same way as it would be for a resource-poor context such as Jordan. However, according to a McKinsey economist with expertise in Colombia, there has been national recognition of the need for economic diversification and a move away from raw materials towards higher value-added exports, especially within a global context of fluctuating oil and gas prices.[34] Today, hydropower makes up a substantial 70% of Colombia's energy matrix, and the country is also diversifying into solar and wind energy to account for the destabilizing effects of droughts.[35]

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31. Participant 6.
32. Participant 11.
33. Participant 23.
34. Participant 23.
35. Shreiner Parker, "Is Colombia on Track to Make the Shift to Renewables?," Latin America Energy Advisor, March 25, 2022.

The primary challenge of Colombia's green transition is natural resource management. The key components of natural resource management in Colombia revolve around land use, agriculture, territorial conservation, and deforestation, which are less relevant in the less arable Jordanian context. Territorial diversity and lack of regional interconnectedness are primary obstacles to the implementation of green development policy.[36] A former CAF official mentioned that in Colombia, "there is poor management regarding territorial issues or settlements. It is not just an issue for indigenous people, but for all poor rural populations."[37] Key structural problems can be further defined as high levels of labor informality and unemployment, both of which were exacerbated by the pandemic, illicit crops and farming, social fragility as a result of armed conflict, deforestation, and government corruption.[38] These challenges pose threats to successful policy implementation and create competition for policy space.

It is crucial to protect the biodiversity and carbon reduction capacity present in the portion of the Amazon rainforest within Colombia's jurisdiction in order to mitigate the global ramifications of climate change. Multiple interviewees highlighted the importance of the green transition for agriculture because this sector produces a substantial portion of Colombia's emissions and agreed that investing in a shift towards climate-friendly agriculture is a priority for multilaterals and IFIs.[39] A World Bank official noted that "development banks have tried to support this process by financing grant programs in the region."[40]

Greening the agricultural sector could "kill two birds with one stone" in the sense that making this sector more competitive and sustainable could also provide the lower-income citizens employed within it with decent wages and work towards further poverty alleviation within the Colombian context.[41] Rural and agricultural development, as well as the development of its sustainable livestock sector, can enhance economic competitiveness and alleviate poverty in addition to supporting environmental conservation.[42]

Jordan

Jordan's location can be regarded as both a blessing and a curse. While it is surrounded by oil-producing countries, which substantially lowers its fuel transport costs, it is also in the midst of multiple ongoing conflict zones. Furthermore, it is the second most water-scarce country in the world.[43] Water security is a top priority for Jordan since this critical resource not only sustains its citizens but is also essential to the development of potassic fertilizer, which is its biggest export industry.[44] Thus, unlike its resource-rich neighbors, Jordan's adoption of green development policies is fueled by strict necessity as opposed to a desire to be seen by the rest of the world as a "clean" national economy.

An interview with a country-level expert at the IMF pointed to one possible causal explanation for the country's pivot towards renewable energy over the course of the last decade.[45] As it was expressed by a Jordanian diplomat, the "first driver of green development policy is the need for energy security."[46] The Global Financial Crisis of 2008 and the Arab Spring of 2011 led to rising oil prices and increasing debt for a fuel-dependent country like Jordan. As discussed in the country context section, while Jordan is neither abundant in fossil fuels nor water, it does benefit 300 sunny days a year, providing a sunshine duration of about 3125 hours per year.[47] Therefore, according to a former official within the Jordanian Ministry of Environment, Jordan began constructing its first solar park in 2013 and has incrementally increased its

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36. Participant 13.
37. Participant 13.
38. Participant 22.
39. Participants 11, 23, and 25.
40. Participant 25.
41. Participant 23.
42. Participant 23.
43. Participant 20.
44. Participant 14.
45. Participant 7.
46. Participant 26.
47. Saad Alrwashdeh, "Comparison among solar panel arrays production with a different operating temperature in Amman, Jordan," International Journal of Mechanical Engineering and Technology 9, no. 6 (2018): 421.

production of solar energy. [48] A former Jordanian Minister shared that "in 2014 there was only 1% of renewable energy in electricity and now it is up to 26%." [49] During the summer, Jordan's renewable energy matrix now even produces more than the country can consume on its own, creating a possible opportunity for Jordan to finally be a regional leader in terms of energy production and to export its excess to its neighbors who have not invested in green grids, such as Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria, according to an official at the Jordanian Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources. [50] This was not the case just a few years ago: a former Ambassador to Jordan explained that "prior to 2008, Jordan was importing 90% of its fuel, natural gas and electricity from Egypt." [51]

However, Jordan did not arrive at this advantageous position on its own; the same official pointed to a total of $4 billion USD of foreign investment in renewable energy to get the country to where it is today [52] — it is "the biggest USAID mission in the world." [53] This official believed that this investment and other external funding incentivized Jordan's green transition and allowed it to move from the position of policy diffusion recipient to that of policy diffuser, as it now serves as an example for other fossil fuel-poor countries in the region to emulate.

Jordan has also been spurred on in its green development initiatives by "a healthy competition with Saudi Arabia." [54] In pursuit of a competitive advantage within the region, Jordan has struck a partnership with FFI to establish the country's first-ever production of green hydrogen and green ammonia through large-scale wind and solar energy production facilities. [55] As the geopolitical balance of power in the region is gradually moving away from those with large fossil fuel endowments and towards those with strong renewable energy portfolios, Jordan is aiming to become a regional leader in this regard.

3.2 Key Actors and Incentives

According to an official at the UNWTO, the most effective tool for shaping national green development policy is linking it to economic priorities. The government must see that green policies have the potential to create jobs, attract investment, and develop private sector competitiveness. [56] In the following sections, we introduce the key actors in the promotion of the green development policy agenda and begin to discuss how economic and political incentives influence stakeholder priorities and behaviors. In both case studies, we define key domestic stakeholders to include the head of state, relevant ministries, civil society, and citizens – highlighting the unique position of particular vulnerable segments of the population – and the private sector. International stakeholders include IO partners and multilateral lenders, as well as bilateral partnerships.

Colombia

In Colombia, there is significant policy leadership within the national ministries related to the promotion of sustainable growth. [57] The Ministry of Mining has been very influential in promoting renewable energy and plays an important role in regulating energy production. [58] The Ministries of Environment and Culture represent important policy areas, but, according to country experts, "are the weakest voices with the weakest budgets given to the party that gave a few votes but not many. Sometimes given to an

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48. Participant 20.
49. Participant 24.
50. Ibid.
51. Participant 26.
52. Participant 26.
53. Participant 14.
54. Participant 14.
55. Fortescue Future Industries, "FFI partners with the Kingdom of Jordan on green hydrogen," https://ffi.com.au/news/fortescue-future-industries-partners-with-the-kingdom-of-jordan-on-green-hydrogen/.
56. Participant 5.
57. Participants 16 and 22.
58. Participants 5 and 9.

independent or technical person. The small and medium sized projects are managed by regional authorities that have a lot of autonomy."[59] The National Council for Economic and Social Policy (CONPES) also plays an important role in defining national strategies.[60]

As previously mentioned, "Colombia is a middle-income country, and therefore multilaterals influence governments in Africa more effectively than in Colombia."[61] It has relatively strong institutions creating policy independence. One Colombian country expert explained that in regards to other actors such as IOs shaping the path of green development policy, "the influence is limited because Colombia is a leader in the region with its own capacities."[62] However, the Colombian government has persisting institutional weaknesses, particularly in regards to corruption. Ministries also face the risk of political capture, resulting in a less technical approach to governance.[63] Lack of community buy-in and inadequate education on the importance of the green transition, as well as challenges related to the incorporation of local stakeholders, have resulted in a pushback to the national green development agenda.[64] A UNIDO official notes the important role of individuals as the changemakers. This official emphasized the need "to have education policies that support industries to make structural changes that support innovations."[65] They suggest that by investing in public education on the importance of green development, citizens are empowered to pressure the government in support of green development commitments.[66]

Despite these challenges, Colombia remains a front runner in regional green development, as evidenced by its early adoption of green policy strategies such as a National Circular Economy Strategy. The Duque administration is generally regarded as having made significant efforts towards the greening of the Colombian economy, which are supported by investment in technical capacity and commitment to multilateralism.[67] The most recent Colombian elections were a tense moment for the regional community with concerns that a shift left could result in Colombia slipping into the Venezuelan model and a breakdown of political and economic stability.[68] Interviewees tended to agree that regardless of the outcome, climate change would remain an important agenda item for the national government but noted the possibility for structural change as a result of the election of Petro. Despite potential diverging political priorities,one individual associated with the ILO emphasized that in Colombia, green development is understood as a tool for increasing national competitiveness.[69] Furthermore, the expert noted that from the perspective of Colombian policy makers, it is understood that " economic growth and well-being go hand in hand with environmental issues." Therefore, climate mitigation and adaptation policies must complement other policy areas particularly social and labor policies in order to create green development solutions that address core country challenges.[70] Additionally, the predominance of small businesses and micro-enterprises makes this group a key element in the green transition.[71] The role of the private sector at large is discussed further in Section 4.5.2.

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60. Participant 22.
61. Participant 23.
62. Participant 11.
63. Participant 13.
64. Participants 13 and 19.
65. Participant 2.
66. Participant 2.
67. Participants 3,16, and 18.
68. Participant 8.
69. Participant 22.
70. Participant 22.
71. Participant 22.

Jordan

Challenges to policy making are often context-specific. In Jordan, a lack of coordination between ministries limits international actors' ability to exercise influence.[72] Actors within civil society, the private sector, and even within the ministries have a strong will to innovate but are limited by bureaucracy, which is a major obstacle to change and slows the pace of innovation.[73] A former official at the Jordanian Ministry of Environment remarks, "we are kind of behind in how we implement policies. We issue policies.[74]" Furthermore, energy, one of the most important green development priorities, can be contentious due to high costs. Unlike other more project-driven initiatives, the energy transition can only be realized through cooperation with the government.[75] A UNDP official states that in the specific case of Jordan, " if no one wants to contribute for a given topic, even if it's a country and a UN priority, there will be no project.[76]" This underscores the role of IOs as a source of information. If an organization can demonstrate that a policy that might meet resistance has sound reasoning, it is more likely to be adopted.[77]

At the bilateral level, the United States is a key state actor in the country, as it is far and away Jordan's top provider of ODA, providing $1.106 billion USD in the fiscal year 2020 alone.[78] The United States is committed to this donor-recipient relationship due in part to the geopolitical advantages that the country receives from it, according to a former U.S. State Department official. For example, the United States has invested in renewable energy in Jordan and encouraged the country to export its excesses to Iraq for the dual purpose of strengthening the Jordanian economy and reducing Iraqi dependence on Iran.[79] In this way, this bilateral relationship is a win-win scenario for both countries.

Furthermore, Jordan's precarious climate and recent natural disasters have generated a lot of attention from the Jordanian government and its civilians, putting environmental policy at the top of the agenda for Jordan's future. An insider confirmed that while the attention on green development is focussed on the environment and climate change, they also explained that "the environmental agenda is turning into a very political, economical, and ethical climate agenda,"[80] where the aim is to make the economy more resilient by creating jobs and generating a sense of hope for the young generation "amidst other pressures such as the refugee influx, energy crisis, and food crisis."[81] This is because, despite its fragile environment, Jordan has been blessed with the potential to become a major leader in solar power resources in the future. The Jordanian head of state, King Abdullah II, has recognized the economic incentives of the green transition and included green growth as one of the primary economic engines in his new ten-year Economic Modernization Vision, officially launched in June 2022.[82]

In Jordan, engaging all sectors of society, particularly the private sector, is necessary for creating and implementing effective climate policy for a more resilient and prosperous future. In the view of a Jordanian diplomat, "the private sector has played a huge role in pushing green development, while the government has not been as responsive to this demand due to fear of attacks from the public and social media."[83] The benefit of the King's new law is that it allows the private sector to drive innovation and break through the bureaucracy of the national government. PPPs will be crucial to this vision, and the King has put a law into force that gives private developers the right to submit proposals to develop open land to create solar energy facilities and sell electricity to the national grid.

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72. Participant 7.
73. Participants 14 and 26.
74. Participant 20.
75. Participant 1.
76. Participant 1.
77. Participant 24.
78. USAID, "U.S. Foreign Assistance by Country - Jordan," https://foreignassistance.gov/cd/jordan/.
79. Participant 14.
80. Participant 20.
81. Participant 20.
82. Participant 20.
83. Participant 26.

C) Citizen Participation

Participation from different levels of society is necessary for the success of green development adoption. Higher levels of participation are linked to greater buy-in and public support. One Colombia expert and former development bank employee stated, "politics are a reflection of the society," highlighting the importance of a cohesive and inclusive relationship between the public and government. Public opinion is important, echoed another Colombia expert.[84] For greater reach and policy success, there is a "need to engage community leaders and bring them to the table to see policy impacts at a community level."[85] With the help of IOs, the creation of platforms for meaningful participation for all levels of society is possible within a country. Experts agreed that citizen engagement is a powerful tool for the promotion of new policies. An environmental expert in Colombia emphasized that with regards to the adoption of green development policies at the national level, "the most relevant aspect is the pressure from citizens to focus on the environment, because the pressure from other actors who have different priorities from ours (IOs) is not as important."[86] Furthermore, as summarized by one USAID official, " influence comes from pressure, and pressure comes from people." [87] Therefore, to encourage greater engagement and participation, education is key. As a UNICEF official recommended, "equip young people with knowledge and information so that they can understand the process, know their rights and demand change," [88] as young people are the biggest innovators when it comes to the promotion of new policies. It was explained that when people do not recognize the importance of an issue, they will not be advocates. Therefore, it is helpful to equip citizens with knowledge of the political process and their rights so they have the tools to demand change from their governments.[89] Moreover, a private sector lobbyist in Colombia explained that there is "a consumer-driven demand for more sustainability." [90] Companies are responding to consumers who are willing to pay more for more ethical and sustainable products in stores.[91] Governments and IOs need to look toward improving their relationship with citizens in order to seize their motivation and adopt reforms. An IMF official noted that "fostering public trust is a key requirement for both supporting growth and maintaining public support and traction on key reforms."[92] To encourage this trust, greater participation and engagement at a local level can promote green policy design and adoption. IOs are incorporating inclusivity in their mission. A UNICEF official commented, "to draft inclusive policy from the design stage, you have to make sure you are reaching your full audience – the population is the end-user of policies and programs and it is important to include them so it is built for them." [93] One UNDP expert explained that they try to engage with the population in general; however, they work particularly closely with vulnerable populations. To fully promote inclusivity, their programs are people-centered, meaning that they focus on engagement and empowerment of vulnerable groups. This is accomplished through organizational activities targeting vulnerable groups such as youth, women, people with disabilities, and refugees. [94]

Policy making remains a very top-down process. In Colombia and Jordan, the inclusion of vulnerable groups is met with resistance particularly when the national government sees its priorities as distinct from the demands of particular sectors of the population.[95] However, there is growing awareness of the need to prioritize inclusion within the green development agenda. An experienced consultant for a number of IOs emphasized that the principal function of IOs is to build local capacity. This interviewee was of the opinion that when it comes to development, top-down/vertical programs are not as effective as grassroots programs that endow local participants with relevant capacities because "what happens on the ground is key to understanding public policy."[96] Groups like UNICEF and the UNHCR are among some of the groups which help Jordan manage its refugee populations through programs aimed to protect and aid the most vulnerable.[97] A UNDP-associated individual explained that their program is guided by the principle that no one is left behind. Therefore, they are "careful to make sure that the way [they] implement and what [they] implement is conflict sensitive and ensures that vulnerable populations are actually prioritized. This

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84. Participant 9.
85. Participant 21.
86. Participant 10.
87. Participant 20.
88. Participant 21.
89. Participant 21.
90. Participant 16.
91. Participant 16.
92. Participant 7.
93. Participant 21.
94. Participant 28.
95. Participant 19.
96. Participant 8.
97. Participant 21.

is not only political, but very pragmatic.." [98] He later added that in the specific case of Jordan, refugees must be integrated into all climate and renewable energy solutions. [99] The most successful policies are those which include different voices and represent vulnerable populations. Direct involvement ensures more effective outcomes because these citizens will not be simply a target of policy; rather, they will be empowered to be a tool for its success. Inclusive policy design includes all stakeholders in the project implementation instead of merely seeing them in the role of beneficiaries. [100]

3.3 Vulnerable Populations

The populations of both Colombia and Jordan are characterized by a high percentage of vulnerable populations which includes refugees and indigenous populations, as well as women, youth, and other ethnic and social minorities. Further, both countries have high levels of youth unemployment and widespread inequality. These groups are often those most adversely affected by climate change. However, these demographic similarities between Jordan and Colombia are also key drivers of their green development agendas.Both countries are incentivized to invest in sustainable growth and employment as a way to both mitigate and adapt to climate change, while also stimulating growth in a way that addresses these important social and labor challenges.

In Colombia, rural populations impacted by armed conflict, indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities, and Venezuelan refugees are key groups for policymakers to consider. This is because refugees have created population strains on Colombian society. [101] For example, "Giving a Colombian citizen employment versus giving it to a Venezuelan refugee is a different process…the payoff for a Venezuelan would be higher. Venezuelans have come to countries willing to work for far less than locals." Additionally, the other vulnerable communities identified above have experienced challenges to their territorial authority, especially with respect to development projects for natural resource extraction and do not have a direct role in environmental policy design. [102] Important policy debates in Colombia center around fracking, extractivism, and territorial development of local communities, areas that present a unique challenge given increasing pushback from indigenous and community stakeholders in the last decade, particularly in regards to their territorial authority. [103] Due to the nature of this situation, one Colombian policy expert explained "it can be difficult to implement sustainable practices in [certain] regions" [104] due to the remaining influence of illegal groups which threaten violent pushback in some rural communities [105]. Accordingly, Colombia's greater policy making challenge has to do with a societal push for structural change to make policy making more inclusive. [106]

In Jordan, the primary challenge of the government is the large number of refugees living in the country. In Jordan, one former diplomat explained that there is rampant unemployment – particularly among youths and college graduates as well as among women. [107] Refugees put pressure on infrastructure and water resources and compete for employment opportunities. To alleviate these stresses, Jordan has relied on both aid and technical help from IOs to find sectors that are most suitable for integrating refugees. [108] It was added that "refugees are doing the jobs that Jordanians would not do," [109] and since Jordanians are harder to fire and there are certain requirements needed to hire them, "this makes refugees more appealing." [110] This system is inefficient and potentially results in a loss of the country's greatest asset, its youth and brain trust. The strains that refugees put on the nation may also lead to social discontent and unease between civilians and refugees, causing instability within the population and between civilians and the national government. Jordan's policy making challenge is finding a way to promote job creation that would address both the unemployed and highly skilled Jordanians while also incorporating vulnerable groups like refugees and women.

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98. Participant 1.
99. Participant 1.
100. Participant 28.
101. Participant 9.
102. Participant 19.
103. Participants 13 and 19.
104. Participant 17.
105. Participant 17.
106. Participants 18 and 23.
107. Participant 14.
108. Participant 20.
109. Participant 14.
110. Participant 14.

In both countries, refugees can sometimes alter the workforce and displace other members of society.[111] However, it is important to note that despite these shared challenges, both countries recognize that green development has the potential to promote greater inclusion and support for vulnerable populations.[112] One policy expert in Colombia explained, "any initiative that leads to sustainable development is going to be more human work intensive and therefore, there is a need to walk the path of green development.[113]" While some jobs may be lost, many more will be created. Therefore, as Jordan and Colombia are transitioning to a green economy, it is crucial that policies do not compromise the human dimension.[114] One official explained, "Decent work has to be productive with a decent income that deals with issues of health at work and social protection for the employee and the employee's family – not just the employee.[115]" Considering the market for new employment opportunities in green development, particularly for the unemployed and refugee populations, a green transition presents a chance for the governments of Jordan and Colombia to directly address the needs of their vulnerable populations through impactful policy and job creation.[116]

3.4 The Role of Financing

A primary objective of both Colombia and Jordan to support green development is to move away from donor funding and transition to investment and other forms of financing for green growth.[117] A country-level IO official in Jordan remarked, "the main objective for us is clearly to move from funding to financing. We realize that the scope and the pace has to be much broader and bigger than before if we really want to respond to the challenge [of climate change]."[118] IFIs can act as accelerators for projects, and IOs support the entrance of IFIs and other lenders by creating "bankable projects" through capacity building at a regional and local level. The same official commented, "when funding is the obstacle, IOs and IFIs can fill this gap."[119] Local development banks play an important role in financing green growth because their small-scale allows them to offer more flexible financing but at the same time maintain a closer commitment to investment principles. Regional banks can also be drivers of regional collaboration and idea-sharing[120] In Colombia, regional development banks like CAF play a particularly important role because of the substantial environmental impact created by rural populations and the challenge of integrating these populations into green development strategies.[121] Smaller banks, however, often have a lower capacity to influence national policy.[122] In general, development banks "use various tools through policy reforms, investment projects, technical assistance, and financing to help governments make better policy decisions." [123]

As middle-income countries, Colombia and Jordan have greater access to external financing compared to low-income countries; however, there are significant distinctions in their relationships with external partners. A World Bank economist noted: "access to finance is key - this is the lifeblood of how change happens…[Financing] creates opportunities to participate in the green transition." [124] In Colombia, there is strong enough political will and established credit relationships that if the government is committed to a particular goal when it comes to sustainable development, it will find the necessary financing.[125] The ability to access financing also means that multilateral organizations have a lower capacity for altering government priorities in Colombia because it has a lower reliance on IO and IFI funding relationships. Many interviewees commented that it will be important to monitor how international capital and foreign investors respond to the election of Gustavo Petro.[126] Jordan, by contrast, is much more incentivized by financial resources from the international community as mentioned in Section 3.1.B. The decision to pursue green development has been closely connected to the financial benefit of "going green." [127] While international

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111. Participants 9, 14, and 20.
112. Participant 7, 20, and 21.
113. Participant 9.
114. Participant 9.
115. Participant 22.
116. Participant 9, 14 & 23.
117. Participants 1 and 26.
118. Participant 1.
119. Participant 1 and 28.
120. Participant 3.
121. Participants 18 and 23.
122. Participant 13.
123. Participant 25.
124. Participant 23.
125. Participant 10.
126. Participant 11.
127. Participant 14.

capital and substantial multilateral bank financing are present in Jordan, Jordan's relationship with external financiers is characterized by rent-seeking rather than financing for green development acting as a tool for political innovation.[128] That being said, successful investment in renewable energy has helped Jordan, despite high levels of external debt, gain access to private sector investment. [129]

IFIs can act in two modes, either by prompting political action as a condition associated with financing or by making investment decisions that take advantage of investment in activities, such as the development of the circular economy for example.[130] In both Colombia and Jordan, experts tended to agree that conditionality is not a great driver of policy change and often leads to empty political discourse. While some loan conditions can promote good policy practices, there is also a tendency amongst governments to make policy changes on paper with limited efforts at implementation.[131]An UN official remarked that in many cases countries "want the money [offered by IFIs], so they will quickly whip up a change which they may not ever think of implementing. But, the paper they issue will tick the box for the bank." [132] One official who led organizational operations in Jordan, shared that while an increased presence of international capital generally tends to increase the leverage of the international community in policy dialogues and decision making, this has not been the case in Jordan. He noted that Jordan has implemented reforms only when they have been "against the wall," facing extreme pressure due to economic crisis or public outcry. Poor coordination between ministers further complicates the ability of international organizations to exert influence.[133]   Accordingly, IFIs may have greater efficacy in supporting green development through targeted investment strategies as opposed to conditional lending.

At the IO level, successfully acquiring and subsequently implementing funding requires strong coordination between stakeholders at all levels. UN Family organizations are partner-driven rather than donor-driven, so in order to mobilize relatively limited funding, agencies must seek financing partners.[134]The willingness or interest of partners to contribute to a particular project can determine whether a project makes it to the implementation stage: a UNDP official comments, "for example in Jordan, if no one wants to contribute for a given topic, even if it is both a national and UN priority, there will be no project." [135]Most IO projects involve collaboration with governments and bilateral and multilateral donors, and can also include the private sector.[136] This presents a challenge for coordination of implementation which can be further complicated by efforts to invest in a greater number of small scale projects and increase involvement for community organizations. While access to funding is important, the greater challenge is proper implementation. [137] In terms of funding, a UNIDO official commented, "implementation requires much bigger funds than formulation because policy implementation has to be applicable to everyone, not just a pilot." [138]Another official commented that the greatest challenge is "...not money, but how we make sure that the available money can be translated into the right projects, and those right projects can be properly implemented. It's a lot of coordination, quantity control, and capacity building." [139] As discussed in Section XYZ, successful policy implementation must be both inclusive and collaborative. In some instances, local communities feel that green development originates entirely from foreign agents.[140] There is a need for funding models that create dialogue between all stakeholders and actors involved in green development policy making; funding should be dispersed from IOs in a way that involves both key government actors as well as civil society and local communities to prevent stakeholder backlash. [141]Consultation can be a costly process for governments, and IOs should have a role not only in capacity building but also as sources of financing. Additionally, consultation can also help regulate competition for resources between stakeholders and IOs can employ best practices that help achieve this aim.

128.Participants 7, 14, 24, and 26.
129.Participants 7 and 24.
130.Participant 18.
131.Participants 2, 10, and 11.
132.Participant 2.
133.Participant 7.
134.Participants 2 and 22.
135.Participant 1.
136.Participant 28.
137.Participants 1 and 2.
138.Participant 2.
139.Participant 1.
140.Participant 19.
141.Participants 19, 20, and 24.

A) The Role of the Private Sector

The private sector plays a critical role in the financing of green development, as one interviewee commented, "inclusion means everyone—the disadvantaged to large businesses."[142] Interviewees from both Colombia and Jordan emphasized the importance of the private sector in advancing green development. Investment in green development is a huge opportunity for businesses, making the private sector a key leader in green development innovation.[143] In both cases social entrepreneurship was also highlighted as a driver of green development, as well as the particular importance of SMEs in Colombia where informality and small-scale producers play a key role in the greening of the economy. [144] Business investment in green development projects can be advantageous because businesses have the capacity to more quickly implement change when they observe that green changes have positive financial incentives[145] While the private sector may be inactive or even resistant to policy changes associated with the green transition – this is particularly true of energy sector enterprises – interviewees tended to focus on the unique ability of businesses to act as leaders. The private sector in both Colombia and Jordan has a reciprocal relationship with the government.[146] The private sector can generate government buy-in if it can demonstrate that a green policy creates jobs and creates private sector competitiveness.[147] To ensure private sector buy-in, IOs can play a role in demonstrating that green development is both profitable and advantageous to businesses.[148] As mentioned in Section 3.2.C, in Colombia, consumer-driven demand for sustainable business practices has been another motivation for public sector support for green development policies. [149] In Jordan, where financial incentives are the primary call to action, the potential for financial return in renewable energy investment could be critical to driving support for energy transition projects and policies.[150] The Jordanian private sector may also help the country circumnavigate limits to green development created by a large government bureaucracy.[151] While businesses can provide financing for projects that ignites change, businesses are limited because they can only directly enact policy within their own operations.[152] Governments and IOs should foster the growth of PPPs as a channel for accelerating green development.

3.5 Policy Making

Policy making is a circular process—governments and IOs look to existing commitments and legal frameworks to begin to implement change. However, a major challenge within the green development policy space is the gap between policy on paper and translation into action.[153] International commitments may play an important role in green policy, however if a national government is not committed to a policy, its actual impacts will be very limited. [154] Transparency and realistic goal setting are paramount to successful policy making.[155] In Colombia, for example, its ambitious NDC commitments related to emission and deforestation reduction are not necessarily achievable.[156] While green growth has come to carry weight in policy discourses and can be used as a tool to get certain policies on the agenda,[157] the more politicized a policy becomes, the less it translates into the technical implementation and real change in terms of green goals. [158]

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142. Participant 2.
143. Participant 2.
144. Participants 21, 25, and 28.
145. Participants 2, 9, and 26.
146. Participants 16, 21, and 27.
147. Participant 20.
148. Participant 7.
149. Participant 16.
150. Participants 1, 20, and 26.
151. Participant 26.
152. Participants 2 and 24.
153. Participant 10.
154. Participants 5 and 9.
155. Participant 6.
156. Participants 9 and 12.
157. Participant 9.
158. Participants 9, 11, and 13.

In the pre-passage stage, IOs play an important role in generating justification for policies. Colombia and Jordan both possess strong internal stakeholders with well-defined policy interests.[159] IOs can support national policy making by drawing on global policy knowledge to help create policy well-tailored to the national context.[160]An economist at the World Bank commented that "multilaterals' access to knowledge is one of their greatest resources."[161]IO expertise can help countries better define broader national goals [162]. Participants also confirmed that IOs can influence what ideological norms are included in the policy making process. For example, an official at the Jordanian Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources credited IOs with the dual approach of incorporating both energy efficiency and a transition to renewables in Jordan's energy strategy.[163]In the Colombian context, a longtime official at CAF noted how they have seen the international normative focus within the policy area of sustainable development evolve over time from a strong emphasis on the protection of biodiversity to a reduction in plastic use to mitigation and adaptation due to climate change, which has had a large impact on the policy making process in Colombia [164]. Moreover, a former official at UNEP Colombia went so far as to say that had it not been for the influence (and funding) of IOs in driving the climate change agenda, Colombia would likely not be taking many mitigation or adaptation measures at all, but that they are doing so because it is a key part of the global agenda and they want to be seen as team players in the international community.[165]

This being said, effective green development policies need to be tailored to national contexts based on country capacity – technical and institutional – and unique environmental challenges.[166] Interviewees were unanimous in expressing that IOs need to tailor their policy priorities and organizational mandates to the country and regional context in which they operate in the design of projects and programs.[167] Many IO officials emphasize that their organizations focus on coordinating efforts with national strategic plans so that all interventions and recommendations complement the government and are well contextualized within existing legal frameworks and commitments.[168] Dialogue between IOs and the government is key to supporting the creation of green development – IOs should be helping countries overcome barriers when it comes to their own goals for green development.[169]IOs can support policy making by helping governments identify the level of change people can accept and embrace, identify the slow adopters and push for change by educating all stakeholders, not just decision-makers.[170] Interviewees tended to focus on the importance of investing time and resources into "productive policy making channels" rather than those policy areas where IOs and governments clash. While IOs can use dialogue to shape the direction of green development, their greatest impact in policy making is facilitating the implementation of projects.[171]

When goals between government and other actors do not align, the role of IOs should be to empower civil society to exert greater influence over the government.[172]IOs can help support consultation so that more stakeholders are included in policy making.[173]However, the current relational structure follows two primary partnership styles: i) IOs have funding that requires collaboration with national and local organizations as well as consultation with local communities, but government plays a small or no role in these partnerships; ii) IOs have high-level partnerships with the government, but implementation is not well regulated so there are limited guarantees for multi-stakeholder participation.[174]

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159. Participant 11.
160. Participants 2 and 21.
161. Participant 23.
162. Participant 24.
163. Participant 24.
164. Participant 13.
165. Participant 9.
166. Participant 6.
167. Participant 1, 2, 7, and 28.
168. Participant 13.
169. Participant 3.
170. Participant 8.
171. Participants 2 and 13.
172. Participant 21.
173. Participants 2 and 20.
174. Participants 19 and 20.

Policy affects different stakeholders differently, which means that in addition to tailoring policy to the country's context, it is also important to consider policy impacts on diverse stakeholders.[175] If all sectors of society do not buy into a policy, it cannot be successfully implemented: buy-in from local communities and the private sector are particularly important.[176] When governments lack the capacity for effective policy implementation, IOs can be facilitators and bring projects to completion. In both country contexts, national government officials agree that IOs play a fundamental role in the transfer of knowledge and technical assistance. A UNICEF official stated that the primary benefits of her organization's operations in Jordan were "the technical assistance and advice that we bring, the value adds of best practices from around the world, and the proven global frameworks that are contextualized and deployed within the local context.[177]" IOs, however, also have organizational capacity restraints, and ultimately governmental capacity is one of the greatest determinants of policy success.[178]

An important aspect of implementation is evaluation – evaluation is what allows policy making to be circular. An impact evaluation specialist comments, "impact evaluation is not just about assessing the impact of an intervention but about gathering evidence to then advocate for change."[179] Monitoring and evaluation are used by IOs to evaluate implementation and effectiveness and can also be a tool for engaging different stakeholders both at the international and country-level. By including the metrics that stakeholders value, in particular national ministries, evaluation can be a tool for advocating for changes at the highest level of government.[180] Evidence from past policy implementation is an important resource for the formulation of future policy and can contribute to policy learning at the local and global levels.[181]

3.6 International Commitments

Colombia

As discussed in Section 2, Colombia has a highly ambitious NDC to the Paris Agreement, targeting a 51% emissions reduction by 2030. A former official at UNEP Colombia presented both the positive and negative aspects of the NDC process: on the one hand, the NDC process required "Colombia to do its homework by convening national-level environmental experts, running emission projection models, and identifying mitigation mechanisms." [182] However, on the other hand, this interviewee believed that some of the targets set out in the NDC were simply unattainable, such as reducing deforestation to zero by 2025.[183]

The experts were able to set these overly lofty goals because while parties to the Paris Agreement are legally obligated to have an NDC, the achievement of the NDC is not legally binding or enforceable[184]. Therefore, this individual believed that the technical professionals were able to easily sell ambitious goals to the politicians since they were eager to project a green image without having to fully live up to it. Yet, this interviewee cannot claim that the NDC is all talk and no action because the newly elected president, Gustavo Petro, "will be bound to consider the NDC as a directive in his national action plan," and his ministers will be prescribed to carry it out within their sectors. It remains to be seen whether Colombia will be able to fulfill its proposed international commitments in time.

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175. Participants 21 and 24.
176. Participants 9 and 16.
177. Participant 21.
178. Participant 10.
179. Participant 15.
180. Participant 15.
181. Participant 12.
182. Participant 9.
183. Participant 9.
184. "Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs)," United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement/nationally-determined-contributions-ndcs/nationally-determined-contributions-ndcs.

Jordan

While Jordan's NDC is not nearly as ambitious as Colombia's, with a target of a 31% emissions reduction by 2030, it is still a leader within its region. An official at UNDP Jordan expressed that the role of IOs within the country was to help the national government translate MEAs into the country's context in order to integrate Jordan into the international community in terms of sustainable development[185] by "supporting the government in meeting the national obligations towards international conventions: we are trying to translate the global context into a local context." [186] In the particular country context of Jordan, an official at the UNDP headquarters in Brussels asserted that it is paramount to integrate refugees into renewable energy projects in order to abide by the "no one left behind" tenet of the Agenda 2030. [187] The Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources has acted on this international commitment by launching a solar energy program that targets poor households and refugee camps to counter the perception that renewable projects only benefit the rich, ultimately installing the largest solar system that powers a refugee camp in the world.[188] The interviewee stated that the Solar for the Poor Program is one of the many ways in which the vulnerable population is incorporated into the green development process since the project "spreads energy efficiency and renewables to the poor, who are the ones who really need to benefit from the greening of energy." [189] While international commitments are prescriptively powerful, the unique challenges of policy making are what will ultimately determine national implementation.

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185. Participant 28.
186. Participant 28.
187. Participant 1.
188. Participant 24.
189. Participant 24.

IV. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Jordan and Colombia are both middle income countries with established and increasingly strong commitments to the implementation of green development policies. Despite differences in governance structure, the outlook they share is that the green transition and green economic development has the potential to meet and advance objectives associated with multiple national needs. For Jordan, green development can help ensure water and energy security. In Colombia, the green transition may be the solution for rural development, helping to reduce the country's carbon footprint and address social challenges. The commonality between these two cases is that green development presents an opportunity for economic development and increased economic security. Furthermore, green development policy adoption is an opportunity for increased international power both economically and politically.

Understanding the motivations of partner states is essential to contextualizing the optimal role of IOs in supporting green development. Our findings underscore two key principles to approaching collaboration for progress and solutions related to green development, i) the need for action that is tailored to unique national contexts and ii) the need for action that is inclusive to ensure that the needs and interests of all stakeholders are considered. Applying these principles as a guide to future action will result in green development policy and action that is more democratic and just and makes the greatest contribution to improved global well-being.

Based on our findings we make the following recommendations:

To both IOs and Government:

Pursue multi-level engagement in green development.

Effective policy and project execution require consultative participation in the process of design and implementation. This means that stakeholders in both the public and private sector, civil society, and citizenry have access to green development policymaking with channels for participation and input. The drawback of greater participation in policymaking include bureaucratic slowdown and lack of consensus building.

National plans are essential strategic umbrellas for the pursuit of green development. However, a **centralized pursuit of green development alone is ineffective.** Localized green development through community-level policy initiatives should be an objective of both governments and IOs. Two actionable steps that both IOs and national governments can take to increase multi-level engagement in green development include (i) the creation of funding structures that allow flexible and local level spending and (ii) pursuit of private sector partnerships.

A major challenge to inclusive policy action can be inflexible funding. When funds are designated for a specific purpose at a national or country-wide level, this can create limitations on localized policy and project implementation. Funding that is dispersed more directly to local decision makers can increase both efficacy and inclusivity. While this may present an increased risk for capture by corruption, changing the way funds are dispersed is necessary for more integrated green development.

Both IOs and governments should encourage private sector involvement as a driver of change and to encourage equal access to the green transition. Collective action problems such as climate change require collaboration. While middle income countries tend to have relatively strong access to capital markets and private sector investment, funding is the engine for progress towards green development. Investment can

spur rapid advances in green development and can have regional multiplier effects. Financial resources empower countries to implement new projects and initiatives. Our report discusses the role that regional competition can play in spurring the adoption of new green practices and the importance of regional dynamics in understanding both Colombia and particularly Jordan's green development success. Increased access to private sector financing can form part of creating equal access to the green transition in line with the "no one left behind" principle of the Agenda 2030.

To IOs:

Continue to serve as sources of knowledge-sharing and technical expertise.

One of the greatest resources IOs can offer countries with relatively strong will for national level policy innovation is the knowledge and technical expertise to implement new policy ideas. We have established that policy action consists of both the passage of policy and its implementation; therefore, IOs can have the greatest impact when they enable countries to fully execute policies. Thus, IOs should continue to invest in national government and local level capacity-building initiatives as a priority action.

IOs must ensure that their efforts are tailored to meet a country's needs based on national contexts which result in distinct policy goals and stakeholder challenges. Every country has a culturally, historically, and geographically unique national environment which shapes the focus and environment for policymaking at the national level. Our case studies underscored that in Jordan, one of the greatest challenges to green development progress arises from complex bureaucracy in the national government; in Colombia, societal acceptance of the green transition is a barrier IOs can help address by supporting stakeholder engagement. In these and similar cases, IOs must heed national needs and navigate national systems to provide effective support.

IOs should also continue to conduct policy reviews and produce policy recommendations that facilitate the execution of NDCs and other national plans for green development. In countries with national strategies that are closely aligned with international multilateral norms on green development goals, IO resources are most effective in supporting existing national efforts. Policy research aligned with relevant national goals is a tool for influence over policy ideas but more importantly a critical tool for supporting effective policymaking. IOs can also support national governments in creating realistic plans for environmental change. Technical support and knowledge-sharing can help achieve ambitious NDC goals. Though it is ultimately the responsibility of governments, IOs should also encourage national governments to develop realistic and attainable NDCs.

Continuous evaluation and adaptation is essential to successful policymaking. Monitoring and evaluation is an additional technical service that IOs can provide to support a country's progress in the green transition.

Foster multi-level buy-in to green development and support the creation of consultative dialogues.

The goal of localizing green development policymaking requires buy-in to the green development agenda from stakeholders at all levels. IOs can be instrumental in generating support for green development through education campaigns and successful consultation and collaboration with multi-level stakeholders. IOs should invest time and energy resources in developing context-specific educational tools, programs, and projects to help countries increase awareness and understanding among key stakeholders of the need for climate change action. Citizens, businesses, civil society, and government leaders are all essential for the success of green development policy agendas. IOs can provide educational resources to help ensure that key stakeholders both recognize the need for policies and practices that transition economies towards greener practices and ensure that these stakeholders take an active role in sustainable future development.

Furthermore, a major challenge of making policymaking more inclusive is the structural burden of consulting with many additional stakeholders. IOs can collaborate with governments to help increase capacity for consultation. Since IOs often specialize in localized projects, they can use experiential knowledge and existing community partnerships to help national governments build bridges that enhance policymaking inclusivity. Additionally, IOs can help governments form new or further develop partnerships with constituents and they can mediate consultation for policy making or project implementation by liaising between citizens and other stakeholders and governments.

Create an international culture of rewarding progress toward the green transition.
IOs can encourage countries to adopt green development policies and practices by recognizing national achievements towards climate change action and the green transition. These organizations can amplify green development success stories and help disseminate information to increase global knowledge of best practices. Middle income countries seek and benefit from increased international credibility because it increases their power in multilateral fora. Ultimately, this creates more inclusive global dialogues which are essential for climate action. Increased international credibility for national commitment to green development can also help country's attract financing for green development projects which is essential to continued progress.

To governments:

Set realistic green development goals
Realistic planning will increase measurable progress towards green development goals. Governments should maximize the use of internal strategic planning resources and seek the support of external partners such as IOs to help create national green development agendas that are both actionable and achievable.

Participate in collaborative dialogue with IO and maximize IOs as policymaking partners.
Effective collaboration between IOs and government requires responsive dialogue. IOs seek to influence the government in accordance with their mandates. Similarly, governments can seek support from IOs to provide resources and support that align with national goals. While governments often rely on IOs as sources of knowledge or technical training, IOs are not often seen as the partners for national policymaking that they have the potential to be. Governments should seek to maximize the resources that IOs can offer. This begins with greater investment IO-government partnership to ensure that IOs invest in goals that align with both organizational mandates and national policymaking goals.

Engage in inclusive dialogue with societies
National governments should use inclusivity as a framework for the creation of green development agendas and policy. Inclusivity requires more than simply an additional step in policymaking. Inclusive policymaking reimagines and reconstructs the way that policy is made. Governments should not rely on international organizations to create channels for engagements with key stakeholders. Rather governments must seek to establish consultative policy dialogues and incorporate citizens and other civil society into policymaking.

V. FINAL REMARKS

This section summarizes the discussion of our qualitative interview findings; Appendix XIII provides key conclusions based on thematic groups. The greatest role for IOs in policy diffusion is to support policy learning through knowledge sharing. In countries such as Colombia and Jordan, where there is a generally high level of societal support for policy innovation and change in a particular policy area, the role of IOs is not only to spread ideas but also to support the translation of ideas into action such as through technical assistance. We have demonstrated that policy action consists of both the passage of policy and its implementation through projects and other efforts.

In the green development sphere, Colombia and Jordan have unique country contexts that result in distinct policy focuses and stakeholder challenges. While both share an immediate need for change, green development in Jordan must primarily address energy and water security; whereas, in Colombia, green development relates mainly to territorial development and conservation. The importance of regional partnerships, particularly in the case of Jordan, means that competition can also be an important mechanism for policy diffusion. For successful green development in any context, regional and global cooperation is essential. It is crucial that IOs do not implement "one size fits all" policies into contexts that need precise tailoring.

Governance structure and relationship with external creditors were two of the biggest additional points of distinction between Colombia and Jordan. Colombia's ability to access foreign capital means that IOs primarily support policymaking through knowledge sharing. In Jordan, the search for financial incentives to accompany policy change means that there is greater potential for competitive diffusion. However, the Jordanian bureaucracy can be a major roadblock to policy action, and experts agreed that conditionality is not the best tool for influencing government. While corruption is an issue within both governments, Jordan's governance structure tends to present greater obstacles to realizing policy innovation.

IOs play a role in creating important policy norms, but experts from both government and international organizations agreed that IOs need to work with national government goals to be effective, making dialogue critical to success. Colombia and Jordan both have strong constituencies, and as a result, IOs financial and time resources are best focused on productive channels in which IOs and national governments are aligned. In terms of international commitments, the NDC process is helpful because it requires countries to make informed plans related to climate change mitigation and adaptation measures, but the achievement of the NDC is not legally binding or enforceable, sometimes leading to the setting of overly ambitious goals just to appear green. This underscores the importance of policy implementation, which was a common theme across all participants.

To diffuse policy ideas and subsequently implement policy successfully, there needs to be an inclusion of stakeholders at all levels. Public support and community engagement are essential, and IOs can help support inclusion by engaging in consultation with local communities, vulnerable populations in particular, and all levels of government. Green development is an opportunity for sustainable economic growth and to create future employment opportunities that provide decent green jobs, especially to vulnerable populations. IOs can also support education related to the need for policy change, since a lack of education about the need for green development can prevent change from happening, especially at the local level. It is our hope that this report can also serve as an educational tool to underscore the importance of policy diffusion related to green development in these two country contexts as well as similar contexts around the world.

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https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.NE.ZS.

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VII. APPENDIX I: METHOLOGY

This report is a qualitative study that employs an inductive approach to exploring the policy space of green development in two case studies. As informed by a previous literature review (see Appendix IX) which surveys the theory of policy diffusion, the evolution of green development as a policy area, and supplies empirical characterizations of select country cases, this report aims to provide an abstract understanding of how IOs can act more effectively not only to diffuse policy ideas but also to support successful and thus by definition inclusive policy implementation.[190] Green development first emerged as a movement in the 1970s; however, due to rapid technological changes, shifting global priorities, and worsening climate change impacts, there is still a need for greater comprehension of how to best promote the green transition. Accordingly, this report relies principally on exploratory data from primary sources collected through interviews with 28 experts.[191]This data allows us to i) characterize the process of policy diffusion in green development-related policy change; ii) characterize the national policy making contexts in the two selected cases of Colombia and Jordan highlighting both strengths and challenges; iii) characterize the role of IOs to demonstrate how multilateralism can spread desired policy ideas and support inclusive policy implementation.

The impetus for this report is the OAS-identified need for a better understanding of how policy ideas arise, how diffusion is operated, and how policy adoption is framed and implemented at the local level. While our preliminary literature review included four country cases – Colombia and Mexico, Lebanon, and Jordan – this report focuses on the two selected cases of Colombia and Jordan, as elaborated in Section 2. While all researchers participated in research and subsequent interviews related to both regional focuses, the team split into two groups of country-level experts to maximize efficient information gathering.

Interviews with relevant experts inform the results of this report. We employed a purposeful sampling approach to finding participants for our study employing three sampling methods.[192] First, we engaged in convenience sampling, drawing upon our existing networks including IE master's professors with relevant expertise, as well as members from team members' academic and professional fellowship networks, in addition to personal contacts. Drawing upon the country-level background in our literature review, we conducted further research to connect with relevant organizations and individuals whom we contacted via email when available or other professional channels such as LinkedIn. Finally, we engaged in snowball sampling, acquiring additional participants based on the suggestion of existing participants or contacts[193]. Appendix I contains a template used for outreach emails.

To assess the relevance of each participant and guarantee that interviews covered different areas of interest, three criteria were used to guide our selection of participants: i) subject area expertise, ii) country expertise iii) organizational affiliation. Our first participant filter ensured that interviewees could comment with authority on our chosen policy space. In some instances, participants were selected based on their ability to provide information on a specific interest area, including impact evaluation and vulnerable populations. Our second filter helped us to conduct approximately half of our interviews with Colombia country experts and half with Jordan country experts; for both case studies, we further strove to split our interviews as evenly as possible between individuals working in or with the government and individuals

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190. W. Lawrence Neuman, Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches (Boston, MA: Pearson Education, Inc., 2020).
191. Ibid.
192. Lawrence A. Palinkas et al., "Purposeful Sampling for Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis in Mixed Method Implementation Research," Administration and Policy in Mental Health and Mental Health Services Research 42, no. 5 (June 2013): pp. 533-544, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10488-013-0528-y.
193. Palinkas et al., "Purposeful Sampling for Qualitative Data Collection," 2013.

working in or with the government and individuals working in IOs.[194] In the course of the outreach process, over 70 individuals were reached soliciting participation. We successfully conducted interviews with 28 experts; a summary of all participants can be found in Appendix II.

We scheduled interviews with contacts who agreed to participate and passed through our internal filter. Prior to all interviews, participants were emailed a document including a consent message, a brief description of our study, and a list of questions to provide time for prior review and/or reflection. In designing the structure of our interviews, we began by brainstorming a long-form list of questions. These questions were then divided into two categories with one set of questions directed toward experts in government and a second set for experts in IOs; each group also included a few country-specific questions. Background research on individual profiles during the filtering process helped further tailor questions, making additions and subtractions prior to each individual interview. See Appendix III for a sample interview script.

In keeping with our inductive approach, interviews were conducted using a semi-structured style and on some occasions adopted a conversational approach that allowed for follow-up.[195] The non-sensitive topic of the study allowed for interviews to be conducted using online video conference platforms which included Zoom, Google Meets, and Microsoft Teams. The decision was made early in the process to conduct interviews in teams of two. Generally, the two interviewees included the primary point of contact with the participant and at least one internal country-level expert; on a few occasions, a single team member conducted the interview.

Each interview followed the same basic stages. Interviews began with an opening statement to reintroduce our topic and build rapport, followed by the open-ended questions provided in advance, which were supplemented with follow-up questions based on participant responses. Interviews concluded by giving participants the chance to share final reflections and with requests from our team for additional contacts and further research direction.[196] We followed up with all participants via email and sometimes additional information was shared. We also shared the link to a brief quantitative survey related to our research. Follow-up emails were sent if participants failed to complete the survey after our initial request. Due to a low response rate, we made the decision to incorporate our survey findings into our qualitative analysis. A copy of the survey which was available in both English and Spanish can be found in Appendix IV.

After every interview, typed notes were cleaned and content was transcribed manually as soon as possible to ensure freshness. After the notes had been cleaned, the team members that did not participate in the interview read the transcript to ensure that the entire team was exposed to all data.

After concluding interviews, data analysis was performed via a coding process that helped extract relevant data from the transcripts. The coding process was conducted as a five-stage process as modeled by Braun and Clarke (2006): 1) data immersion and repeated reading; 2) codebook generation; 3) sorting codes into themes; 4) reviewing and refining themes; 5) production of a comprehensive thematic map. Accordingly, all team members read through interview transcripts to re-familiarize with their contents. Next, team members created codes that identified basic features of interest that could serve as the basis for future analysis. [197] Each team member created an individual list of codes, amounting to a combined list of over 300 codes. By eliminating overlap and prioritizing the important concepts, this list was condensed into a final codebook of 138 codes, a full list of which can be found in Appendix V. Interviews were coded manually using Google Docs features based on the final code book. Each coded transcript was reviewed by at least two team members to ensure continuity in the application of codes. Using an axial coding technique, we began to analyze our codes by sorting the codes into "family groups." Based on these groups, we created seven key themes each including between two and four code families (See Appendix VI).[198] Before beginning our thematic analysis of the results, we held a discussion-based review process to

194. Bruce L. Berg and Howard Lune, Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences (Harlow, Essex: Pearson, 2014).
195. Ibid.
196. Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis, Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers (London: Sage Publications, 2003).
197. Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology," Qualitative Research in Psychology 3, no. 2 (2006): pp. 77-101, https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa.
198. Nathaniel Simmons, "Axial Coding," The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods, 2008, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412963909.n30.

ensure that the themes we created included the major elements of analysis. After confirming our thematic areas, we created "theme books" that compiled all sections marked with a particular code grouped by code families and themes.

The team was committed to a high ethical standard throughout the interview process to ensure objectivity and integrity. Interviews were conducted based on the principles of transparency, informed consent, and the guarantee of a certain degree of anonymity, which was important to guarantee that respondents felt able to express themselves comfortably and completely.[199]

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199. Berg and Lune, Qualitative Research Methods, 2014.

VIII. APPENDIX II: CONSENT MESSAGE AND SAMPLE INTERVIEW SCRIPT

Consent Message:

Since your participation is voluntary, you may withdraw at any time or for any reason before answering the following questions. I will electronically store the data that you decide to provide me until my capstone is successfully defended/my research is published (as applicable) You can direct any question about the survey/interview to me at _____.

You may opt in or opt out of being recorded during this interview. Please indicate your preference at the beginning of the interview. If you decide to opt in, the recording will be utilized for internal purposes only and will not be distributed.

Introduction:

First of all, thank you so much for your willingness to help us with this project. My name is _____, and my capstone teammates from the Master's in International Relations program at IE University will accompany me during our Zoom meeting. We are working in collaboration with the Organization of American States to produce a capstone report that will contribute to a better understanding of international policy diffusion, particularly in the area of green development. We are investigating the processes by which policymaking in international organizations influences policymaking in national governments.

Our project focuses on the policy area of green development, and in particular, we are concentrating on policies that lead to the creation of green jobs. To do so, we are conducting a comparative study of Latin America and the Middle East using Colombia and Jordan as case studies.

We are now completing field research by interviewing experts working in this area. We hope to gain a better understanding of how international organizations such as those with which you have worked define policy in the green development area and subsequently encourage the adoption of policy into national government agendas through this interview. We would also greatly appreciate your help in getting in touch with any individuals that can provide further insight into this process.

Here are the questions which will be discussed in our meeting. Looking forward to it!

Sample Questions:

National Governments:

- Why is the promotion of decent green work crucial in the context of your country and region?
- What has your approach to green development looked like? How would you describe green development in your national policy space - i.e. what are the major frameworks, who are the most influential players?
- What have been the primary factors influencing your decision-making in this policy space? International conventions, private actors, international organizations?
- What have been the biggest challenges in trying to meet demands for greener development? Can you define the biggest obstacles to policy making?
- How would you define the national government's relationship with international organizations operating in the green development policy space?
- In what ways do international organizations effectively support the government's policy goals?
- How do your country's regional and global partnerships influence the political environment related to energy and green development?
- What tools/channels are most effective at shaping policy towards green development? In other words, what forces are driving adoption and buy-in?
- Are there standard measures for how you evaluate policy implementation and effectiveness?
- How do you include vulnerable populations in your aims?

IOs:

- Why is the promotion of decent green work crucial in the context of your country and region?
- How do you ensure that green development work is carried out in alignment with organizational mandates and managed in accordance with organizational goals?
- What would you define as the primary goals in this policy space? Can you talk about how those originate?
- What are the main tools you use to influence governments to adopt green policy?
- How much do you tailor broad policy goals to the country context in which you operate? What does that process look like?
- How closely are you able to maintain control over policy trajectory and implementation when promoting policy to national governments?
- What do you think makes your influence most effective? Do you find that a particular form of financing, project-model or briefing is best-suited to the context in which you operate?
- What are the biggest obstacles you face in getting governments to adopt policy at the national level?
- How interrelated do you see national and local policy to be in this policy space and how do you coordinate efforts at these two levels?
- What is the process for accountability when you work with individual regions or countries?
- Are there standard measures for how you evaluate policy implementation and effectiveness?
- How do you include vulnerable populations in your aims?

IX. APPENDIX III: SURVEY

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ie Reinventing Higher Education

English ▾

With what organization are you affiliated?

[   ]

Briefly describe your role. Please include any relevant information as to how your work relates to green development.

[   ]

Considering the policy environment in which you work, please rank the following mechanisms of policy diffusion according to how effective you believe each to be at influencing governments to adopt policy measures, with 1 being most effective and 4 being least effective.

	1
Learning - Processes where decision-makers use experience from other actors or their own past.	[ ]
	2
Emulation - Process by which decision-makers conform to what is defined as appropriate in a relevant peer group.	[ ]
	3
Competition - Process by which decision-makers strategically adapt to the previous behavior of their rivals to reduce a competitive disadvantage.	[ ]
	4
Coercion (Conditionality) - Process by which decision-makers yield to pressure from powerful actors through the adoption of certain norms or standards.	[ ]

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ie Reinventing Higher Education

English ▾

Please rate the following mechanism of policy diffusion according to how effective you believe this tool to be at influencing government to adopt policy measures: **Learning** - Processes where decision-makers use experience from other actors or their own past

Not at all Effective	Rarely Effective	Sometimes Effective	Frequently Effective	Always Effective
0	1	2	3	4	5

Slide the bar to indicate the appropriate rating,

Please rate the following mechanism of policy diffusion according to how effective you believe this tool to be at influencing government to adopt policy measures: **Emulation** - Process by which decision-makers conform to what is defined as appropriate in a relevant peer group.

Not at all Effective	Rarely Effective	Sometimes Effective	Frequently Effective	Always Effective
0	1	2	3	4	5

Slide the bar to indicate the appropriate rating,

Please rate the following mechanism of policy diffusion according to how effective you believe this tool to be at influencing government to adopt policy measures: **Competition** - Process by which decision-makers strategically adapt to the previous behavior of their rivals to reduce a competitive disadvantage.

Not at all Effective	Rarely Effective	Sometimes Effective	Frequently Effective	Always Effective
0	1	2	3	4	5

Slide the bar to indicate the appropriate rating,

Please rate the following mechanism of policy diffusion according to how effective you believe this tool to be at influencing government to adopt policy measures: **Coercion/Conditionality** - Process by which decision-makers yield to pressure from powerful actors through the adoption of certain norms or standards.

Not at all Effective	Rarely Effective	Sometimes Effective	Frequently Effective	Always Effective
0	1	2	3	4	5

Slide the bar to indicate the appropriate rating,

X. APPENDIX IV: CODE BOOK

- Accountability
- Access to external finance
- Advantages of the local
- Agriculture
- Attitude shaping
- Biodiversity
- Capability to influence
- Carbon emissions
- Carbon markets & pricing
- Challenges of green-policy buy-in
- Challenges of impact evaluation
- Challenges of working with IOs
- Challenges of policy implementation
- Challenges of policy making
- Challenges to political authority
- Challenges of refugees
- Circular economy
- Climate change impacts
- Conditionality
- Coercion
- Colombian elections
- Community engagement in policy making
- Convincing key actors of importance of green policy
- Corruption
- Country context (e.g. culture, history, geography)
- Country leadership
- Country-led
- Country-level economic environment (needs and challenges)
- Deforestation
- Diffusion
- Decent green work
- Demographic challenges
- Economic incentives to green development
- Educating the population on green development
- Electricity
- Emission reductions
- Empty political discourse
- Emulation, learning and knowledge transfer
- Energy costs
- Energy transition
- Environmental challenges of industrial sector
- Exclusion
- Extractivism
- Fracking

- Fuel dependence
- Future generations
- Geopolitical incentives
- Global fuel prices
- Government funding
- Government priorities
- Governance structure
- Green development definitions
- Green development opportunities
- Greening of industrial sector
- Green transition/just transition
- IFI financing
- Impact evaluation
- Impact of pandemic
- Important stakeholders
- Incentives for innovation
- Inclusion
- Indigenous populations
- Ineffective solutions
- Inequality
- Informality
- Innovation
- Integration of refugees
- International commitments
- International norms
- IO funding
- IO-government relationship
- IO influence on policy norms
- IO mandates
- IO operations
- IO role in policy implementation
- Job creation
- Key sectors
- Lack of government attention to green development
- Level of development (low-income country v. middle income)
- Levels (local v. regional v. national v. global)
- Local pressure and advocacy (citizens, NGOs)
- Long-term v. short-term
- Measures awareness/penetration of green policy
- Measuring implementation
- National government role in policy implementation
- Natural resources
- NDCs
- Polarization
- Policy adoption (pre-implementation)
- Policy justification
- Policy implementation
- Policy implementation v. passage

- Political incentives for green development
- Policymaking process and design
- Political bargaining power or lack thereof
- Political discourse
- Political will for innovation
- Poverty reduction
- Private sector challenges
- Private sector benefits and strengths
- Public support
- Questioning definitions
- Regional cooperation
- Regional dynamics
- Regional partnerships/dependencies
- Reliance on aid
- Renewable energy
- Rent-seeking
- Role of capacity building/technical assistance
- Role of citizens
- Role of head of government
- Role of labor
- Role of the media
- Role of multilateralism
- Role of powerful actors
- Role of the private sector
- Role of regulation in environmental protection
- Rural development
- Security (impacts of conflict, security and vulnerable populations)
- SMEs
- Solar energy
- Strength of institutions
- Structural challenges within national government
- Structural transformation
- Subsidies
- Sustainable development
- Tailoring/one size fits all policy
- Territorial challenges and issues of authority
- Trade
- Tradeoffs of green development
- Transparency
- Unemployment
- Unique country capabilities and capacities
- Vulnerable populations
- Waste management
- Water security
- Youth

XI. APPENDIX V: THEMATIC GROUPINGS

Country context	Green development context	Key actors and incentives	Vulnerable populations and job creation	The role of financing	Policymaking	The role of international organizations and commitments
• Accountability • Transparency • Strength of institutions • Corruption	• Renewables energy • Energy transition • Solar energy • Electricity • Water security • Carbon emissions • Waste management • Carbon markets and pricing	• Important stakeholders • Role of powerful actors • Convincing key actors of importance of green development • Political bargaining power or lack thereof • Challenges of green policy buy-in • Lack of government attention to green development	• Advantages of the local • Levels • Local pressure and advocacy (citizens. NGOs) • Role of citizens • Community engagement in policy making • Challenges to political authority • Role of media	• IFI financing • IO funding • Government funding • Access to external finance • Conditionality • Reliance on aid • Subsidies	• Challenges of policy making • Policy adoption (pre-implementation) • Tailoring/one size fits all • Policymaking process and design • Policy justification • Ineffective solutions • Empty political discourse	• Diffusion • Coercion • Emulation, learning, and knowledge transfer • Attitude shaping • Capability to influence • Innovation
• Unique country capabilities and capacities • Country context • Governance structure • Structural challenges within national government • Country-level economic environmental (needs and challenges) • Level of development • Key sectors • Structural transformation • Impact of pandemic • Colombian elections	• Fracking • Extractivism • Fuel dependence • Energy costs • Global fuel prices • Rent-seeking • Environmental challenges of industrial sector	• Political incentives to green development • Green development opportunities • Economic incentives to green development • Tradeoffs to green development • Political will for innovation	• Educating the population on green development • Measuring awareness/ penetration of green policy • Public support	• Incentives for innovation • Role of the private sector • Private sector challenges • Private sector benefits and strengths • SMEs	• Policy implementation • Challenges of policy implementation • National government role in implementation • IO role in policy implementation • Policy implementation vs. passage	• IO influence on policy norms • IO operations • IO mandates • IO - government relationship • Challenges of working with IOs • Role of capacity building/technical assistance
• Country leadership • Country-led • Government priorities • Pointical discourse • Polarization • Role of head of government	• Natural resources • Deforestation • Agriculture • Biodiversity		• Vulnerable populations • Challenges of refugees • Integration of refugees • Youth • Inclusion • Exclusion • Indigenous populations • Inequality • Demographic challenges • Poverty reduction • Security (impacts of conflict, security and vulnerable populations) • Rural development • Territorial challenges and issues of authority		• Impact evaluation • Challenges of impact evaluation • Measuring implementation	• Circular economy • Sustainable development • Green development definitions • Questioning definitions • Climate change impacts • Future generations • Short term vs. long term
• Regional cooperation • Regional dynamics • Regional partnerships/ dependencies • Geopolitical incentives • Trade			• Role of labor • Job creation • Just/green transition • Unemployment • Informality • Decent green work • Greening of industrial sector			• International norms • International commitments • Role of multilateralism • NDCs • Carbon emissions • Role of regulation in environmental protection • Empty political discourse

XII. APPENDIX VI: KEY QUOTES FOR EACH THEMATIC GROUPING

Theme	Selected Quotes
4.1 Country Context	"Colombia has important structural problems. There are high levels of informality, illicit crops, armed conflict, deforestation, and corruption. This environment makes programs focus on mitigating this conflictive context." (Participant 22) "The Colombian Minister of Energy does what he believes he should do and defends that in the government council, but he is not following directions from the president. Ministers are all doing their own things. Environment and Culture are the weakest voices, weakest budgets, given to the party that gave a few votes, but not many."(Participant 9) "Colombia is the most modern country in LATAM as it relates to the green transition."(Participant 5) "Culture is an obstacle to certain policy objectives that need a culture that promotes entrepreneurship." (Participant 22) "Jordan is number two in terms of water scarcity in the world. However, we are blessed with sun and solar power, which we have only started to use a few years back. We are surrounded by oil producing countries and at the heart of conflict areas as well. Environment really is a part of what our development agenda should be looking at." (Participant 20) "Jordan needs to see a financial benefit of going green. At the end of the day, it's about what will be profitable for the kingdom." (Participant 14)

4.2 Green Development Context	"Many countries focus on energy in terms of the green transition - 'fossil fuels are to blame for climate change' - this is not the case in Colombia, the energy matrix is quite clean and primarily relies on hydro-electric power." (Participant 23) "Colombians' lives depend on what happens to their environment. We need to change the mindset of everyone - not just the private sector - in terms of forward thinking environmental policy, but there is the challenge of how to access the local level." (Participant 17) "Colombia is a country that generates .6% of greenhouse gas, and at the same time has quite important reserves of oil and gas, many of which will remain in the ground. Colombia needs a better political position based on economic negotiations." (Participant 10) "Jordan has the highest per capita renewable energy consumption in the Middle East." (Participant 24) "Jordan has a regional comparative advantage in solar power. The cost of generating electricity through solar is relatively low." (Participant 7) "Jordan's energy strategy begins with energy efficiency, progresses to energy conservation, and then to renewables." (Participant 20)
4.3 Key Actors and Incentives	"Healthy competition is what is driving Jordan into green development." (Participant 14) "The first driver of green development policy is the need for energy security." (Participant 26) "Multilaterals have access to knowledge and networks outside Colombia. They influence the government by making this knowledge available." (Participant 23) "Desalination is governed by geopolitics. We take GCC funds because we need investors and financing for our projects. They have started to advocate for multilateral projects, which is totally political, not because they want Jordan to become a green hub."(Participant 20) "Renewable projects are all done through private sector partnerships. The Jordanian government has issued special regulations to enable private sector investment in renewables." (Participant 20) "The government is a system that is designed to resist change. You need to target the individuals who are changemakers." (Participant 8) "Selling environmental initiatives to the industry and the economy is extremely hard. They always feel their profit is being compromised." (Participant 9)

4.4.A Vulnerable Populations	"There is already talk of green development in public policy issues such as sustainable growth, involving issues of fair work. We have to understand that decent work has to be productive with decent income and that it deals with issues of health at work and social protection for the employee's family and not just the employee. There should be equal opportunities for women and men." (Participant 22) "So-called green development is something indigenous and black communities see themselves as having done for a long time, not a new concept; local communities define development in a way that is sustainable by default." (Participant 19) "Making sure the transition to a green economy is not compromising the human dimension in income and family stability is super important. Any initiative that leads to sustainable development is going to be more human work intensive." (Participant 9) "The vast majority of workers in the world aren't in high productivity union jobs - they are in low productivity jobs, with bad conditions - both bad for them and also bad for the environment. (..) Jobs and productivity are linked to adaptation measures in green development." (Participant 25) "Another big challenge is related to regions where the indigenous communities live. It can be difficult to implement sustainable practices in these regions, because they have the influence of certain illegal groups (cocaine production). When the government tried to promote deforestation campaigns there was a lot of violent pushback in these rural regions." (Participant 17) "Fostering a more flexible and responsive labor market by removing regulatory barriers to female participation, lowering barriers to formalization, and allowing easier access to high-skilled foreign workers will help promote inclusive growth and job creation." (Participant 7) "Environmental measures have economic value and include everyone (globally and regionally – most importantly at the country level). We cannot leave anyone behind in the sustainable development agenda." (Participant 2)
4.4.B Citizen Participation	"Inclusion means everyone–from the disadvantaged to large businesses." (Participant 2) "We need to change people's behavior. The first step is to explain it to them. The second step is to incentivize this behavior." (Participant 14) "Inclusion starts with passion and conviction instead of just checking the box of 'inclusion.' Inclusion is a process the begins at the conceptual level and carries all the way through implementation." (Participant 27)

4.4.B Citizen Participation	"We should always give attention to the participation of women, youth, etc. We need to give them a space not only to engage them but give them the chance whenever possible to lead–don't let them sit in the backseat. Sometimes there are activities that could be implemented directly by youth, and the outcomes would have been more effective if they had been conducted by youth for youth. You are not just a target but should be empowered to be powerful tools for part project implementation, not just beneficiaries." (Participant 28)

"The Colombian context is multicultural, so programs are derived at the Afro, indigenous, youth, local, etc. levels. Certain joint programs and cooperation agencies are focused so that the programs reach these populations. (Participant 22)

"The government can and should include black and indigenous communities, but political and social mobilization of indigenous groups in Colombia is a major challenge for the government. Indigenous and black communities have pushed for their needs and voices to be heard." (Participant 19)

"We must equip young people with knowledge and information so that they can understand the policymaking process, know their rights, and demand change. If they don't see this connection, they won't be advocates." (Participant 21)

"Fostering public trust is a key requirement for both supporting growth and maintaining public support and traction on key reforms." (Participant 7)

"It is not only about the numbers. It is also about how much these women are empowered to implement the green agenda in their local communities." (Participant 15)

"We need to bring community leaders to the table to see real policy impacts at the community level." (Participant 21) |
| **4.5.The Role of Finance** | "The main objective for us is clearly to move from funding to financing. We realize that the scope and the pace has to be much broader and bigger than before if we really want to respond to the challenge. We can't just work on little projects—efforts have to be massive. We are making sure that there is the right environment and framework for climate investment. We welcome and ensure that IFIs come to invest with loans. For that, they need bankable projects. That is something we can do, identify projects, strengthen capacity at local and regional level to make sure they can be implemented and absorbed." (Participant 1)

"Access to finance is key—this is the lifeblood of how change happens. There are two ways to change behavior, the carrot and the stick. The carrot is what works for the poor. Climate and international finance exists to promote the 'just transition' and there is a need to use these funds to trickle down financing to give people opportunities to participate in the green transition." (Participant 23) |

4.5.The Role of Finance	"Colombia is a middle income country - multilaterals influence governments in Africa more effectively than in Colombia." (Participant 23) "The issue is not money, but how we make sure that the available money can be translated into the right projects, and those right projects can be properly implemented. It's a lot of coordination, quantity control, and capacity building. We are now in discussion with IFIs to develop a green facility for the Arab States to make sure that we can coordinate properly." (Participant 1) "When you waste less, you make more money. Your bottom line is better and you're saving costs. That was our selling point to the businesses. And businesses can see that very quickly. If you go and do something in one enterprise, they're usually clustered together, maybe in an industrial zone near the cities, and they quickly see the advantages. Word of mouth is a good marketing tool. When businesses see good results they will quickly apply them." (Participant 2) "When it comes to greening the energy sector Jordan has also done a lot in regard to regulations and partnering with the private sector and getting financing from banks and agencies. The private sector can help generate buy in and innovation. The private sector is really important because all of these policies affect the policy sector – they need to be a part of this."(Participant 24) "The private sector has played a huge role in pushing green development. The Government has not been as responsive to this demand. They are paralyzed because of fear of attacks from the public and social media. Fear of pushback means that nothing happens." (Participant 26)
4.6 Policy Making	"A policy happens when you create regulations…The passage of law is one step, but the challenge is implementing regulations on various levels to actually implement that policy." (Participant 2) "The important thing depends on the way you are designing your intervention. Whatever program or intervention you have should be in alignment with national policies and strategies." (Participant 28) "Every country has a unique context – technical capacity, culture, local awareness all differ based on context. Technical differences are the most important - something done in Europe can't just be applied in Jordan…Technical capacities don't always translate into achievable implementation. It is not that they cannot make xyz change but there is a cost and sometimes this cost is not possible." (Participant 24) "There is a big difference between policymaking in Bogotá and policy implementation across all regions of the country." (Participant 17)

4.6 Policy Making	"The real policy making depends on helping them to do a proper policy consultation process where you invite stakeholders, businesses, etc." (Participant 2) "There is a risk of creating a double standard when pushing development goals that you yourself can't meet. The issue isn't just having the right measures but also having effective implementation. On the books Colombia is anti deforestation, but it would be hard to tackle deforestation in all capacities in practice." (Participant 12) "There has to be a constant dialogue with the administration [local government]. Especially with the public administrations and municipalities."(Participant 3) "Policy design is not participatory in general. Some programs exist now to encourage participation, mandatory prior consultation is a key principle." (Participant 19) "There is a need to evaluate immediate impact within IOs. But there is little will to truly evaluate 'how good you are'… Evaluation in IOs is largely focused on process not impact, which is a major problem." (Participant 8)
4.7 The Role of IOs and International Commitments	"We have these multilateral environmental agreements. Our core business is to help Jordan be a part of the international community when it comes to sustainability. We support the government in meeting the national obligations towards international conventions. We are trying to translate the global context into a local context." (Participant 28) "IOs bring expertise, finance, and key performance indicators (KPIs). IOs help shape policies with their international expertise and know-how." (Participant 24) "The United Nations is a group of NGOs that need money from countries who tell them what to do. UNEP exists because it needs to defend sustainable development. If green growth becomes the goal of another agency, UNEP disappears." (Participant 9) "Our role [as UNICEF] is to bring youth to the table with governmental decision makers so that they can discuss with them and demand the change they want to see." (Participant 21) "Colombia copies the discourse of the United Nations, but in reality, although it has had international support, the big environmental problems such as pollution, toxic waste, water, garbage, etc. have not been solved. In fact, in some cases, they have increased, such as deforestation and urban population." (Participant 13)

XIII. APPENDIX VII: KEY TAKEAWAYS TABLE

Theme	Key Takeaways
4.1 Country Context	• Both countries are regional leaders in the green transition. "Colombia is the most modern country in LATAM as relates to the green transition," and Jordan was one of the pioneering countries in rooftop solar panels and solar water heaters. • Both Colombia and Jordan possess geopolitical locations and natural environments that can be regarded as both a blessing and a curse. • For both countries, partnerships are essential. The green transition cannot be successful without international cooperation.
4.2 Green Development Context	• Although Colombia is rich in fossil fuels, there has been a national recognition of the need for economic diversification, and the energy matrix is quite clean. • Many Colombians feel that they should be compensated by the international community for not developing the parts of the Amazon rainforest within their jurisdiction. • Through increased domestic renewable energy production, Jordan is transitioning from a position of energy dependence to one of greater independence, and it could even export excess production. • Foreign direct investment is a major reason why Jordan is in this advantageous position today with regards to renewable energy. • Greening sectors such as agriculture can "kill two birds with one stone" by providing the workers employed within it with decent wages.
4.3 Key Actors and Incentives	• Both countries' leaders have utilized national level policies and laws to their advantage in the transition process to green development. • Corruption and bureaucracy are major obstacles to green development. • Both countries receive a large amount of support from bilateral and multilateral stakeholders. Foreign direct investment has contributed greatly to both countries' success. • Both countries have a large number of migrants who can benefit from the development of green jobs. • Lack of widespread education about the importance of green development and lack of cultural buy-in prevent major changes from happening.

4.4.A Vulnerable Populations	• For policy to be successful, it must be inclusive of all members of society at all levels, especially as it supports vulnerable populations. • Green development is an opportunity for sustainable economic growth and to create future employment opportunities that provide decent green jobs, especially to vulnerable populations.
4.4.B Citizen Participation	• Public support and community engagement is an essential part of policy making and adoption. It ensures more effective and successful outcomes. • Many green development initiatives are community-driven. • IOs and policy makers can facilitate inclusivity through engaging with local communities and the government at all levels. First and foremost, they must ensure their projects are people-driven and that vulnerable populations are prioritized.
4.5 The Role of Finance	• A key objective for both Colombia and Jordan to promote green growth is to move from funding to financing. • Successful IO/IFI supported interventions, projects, and policy require coordination with stakeholders at all levels. • Jordan and Colombia's relationship with external creditors creates disparities in their ability to access external funding and capital. • Conditionality is not the best tool for influencing government. Real impacts come from proper implementation. IOs can help support this by engaging in consultation. • Businesses are important sources of finance and innovation, but they ultimately do not replace the role of strong policy.
4.6 Policy Making	• IOs can influence policy norms, but most IOs recognize the need to work with national goals in order to be effective, making dialogue critical to success. It is better to focus on productive channels in which IOs and national governments are aligned. • One of the primary challenges within the green development policy space is the disparity between a policy on paper and its implementation. • Buy-in from all sectors of society – from local communities to the private sector – is crucial to the success of a policy's implementation. • Policy evaluation is the final step that ultimately allows policy making to be a circular process. Evidence from past policy implementation can positively contribute to future policy formulation.
4.7 The Role of IOs and International Commitments	• The NDC process is helpful because it requires countries to do their homework on climate change mitigation and adaptation measures, but the achievement of the NDC is not legally binding or enforceable, sometimes leading to the setting of overly ambitious goals just to appear green. • A primary role of IOs is to translate MEAs into specific country contexts in order to integrate these countries into the international community in terms of sustainable development. • IOs play a fundamental role in the transfer of knowledge, technical assistance, and capacity building. • IOs have a strong normative influence on the policy making process. It is crucial that IOs do not implement "one size fits all" policies into contexts which need precise tailoring.

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