Government policy documents across 185 countries largely cite Global North sources amid uneven accessibility

Sebastian Ramirez-Ruiz (European University Institute) Roman Senninger (Aarhus University)

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- Government agencies, IGOs, think tanks, and research institutions all produce (relevant) knowledge—but the distribution of their reach remains unclear.
- Understanding who informs policymaking matters: information is central to most major theories of the policy process.

Because evidence is central to decision-making—and what counts as credible knowledge shapes

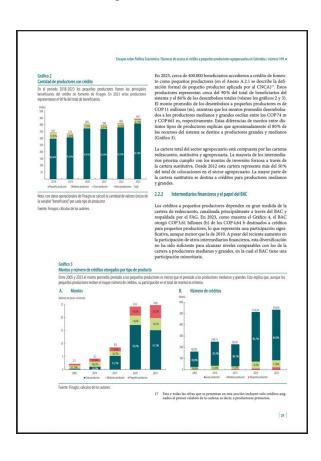
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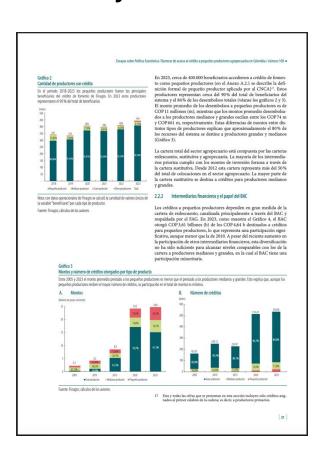
There is catch:

Access to, and use of, evidence are not neutral.

Our heads immediately went to one of the most widespread artifacts of modern policy and knowledge dissemination practice across the world:

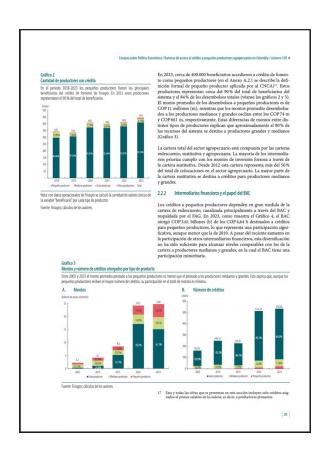


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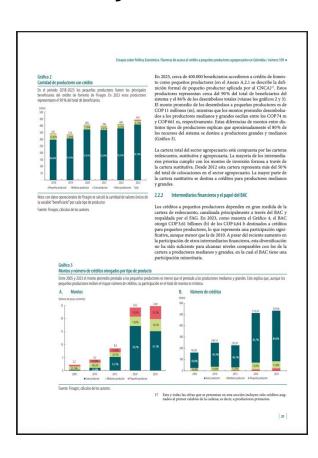
We realized that **policy documents**—from white papers to regulatory assessments—offer a unique window into that relationship.



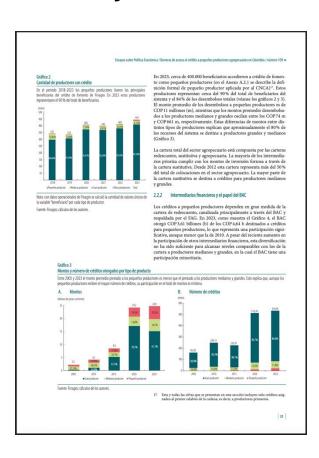
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These aren't just administrative outputs. They **signal institutional priorities**, reflect **norms around credibility**, and show **what kinds of knowledge get referenced**.

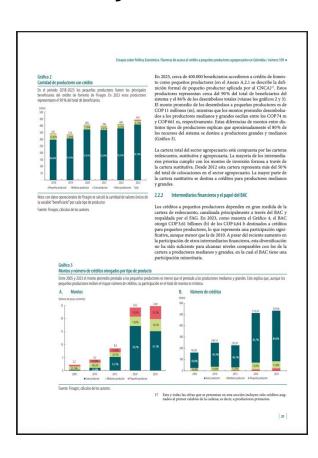


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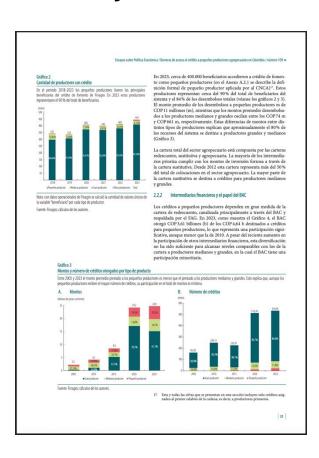
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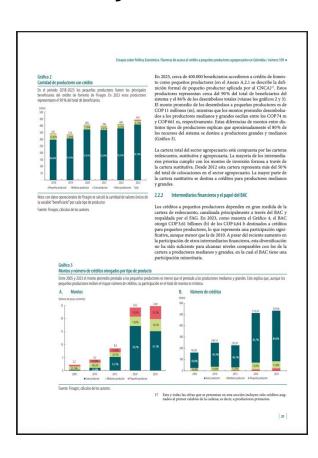
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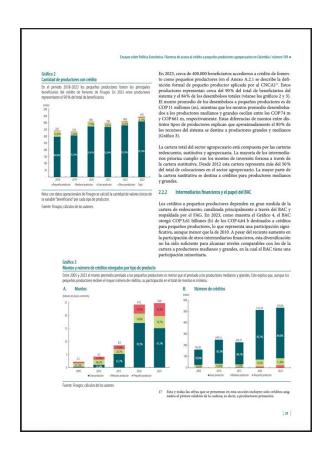
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(e.g., Isett, Hicks, and Kingsley, 2025; Furnas, LaPira, and Wang, 2025; Ma and Cheng, 2025; Bornmann, Haunschild, and Marx, 2016).



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A potentially valuable evidence point missing is a **global**, **cross-sectoral perspective**—a way to capture patterns of evidence use **at scale** across countries and policy domains.

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Policy documents (Core)

n = 1,243,768 policy documents from 185 countries

Data from Overton (Szomszor and Adie, 2022) focused on documents produced by **governments** between 2000 and 2024 citing either *policy* or *academic* references.

From Overton, we extract:

- Document IDs
- Country of origin
- · Policy sources referenced
- Academic sources referenced
- Summaries of document content

We employ the summaries to classify documents into Comparative Agendas Project (CAP) policy domains using an LLM (Llama3.3 70B).

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- We collected data on **government-authored policy documents** (2000-2024) from Overton—the largest global database of policy documents.
- Gathered the sources they referenced, dividing them into:
 - Policy-based (govs, IGOs, think tanks)
 - **E Scholarly** (journals, working papers)

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Policy-based sources

n = 740,742

policy-based sources

Corresponding to 2.87 million citation pairs to documents by governments, IGOs, and think tanks.

From Overton, we extract:

- Document IDs
- Country/Institution of origin

n = 3,518,012 scholarly sources

Corresponding to 8.7 million citation pairs to academic works. We extract the papers' digital object identifiers (DOI) from Overton citation list.

We link to OpenAlex (Priem, Piwowar, and Orr, 2022) to extract:

- Authors
- Institutional affiliations (country)
- Scientific discipline
- Academic citation metrics (e.g., number of citations, fieldweighted citation impact, citation percentile)

With these data, we build our database:

Policy document core table

Policy document to policy source citation pairs
(with auxiliary source

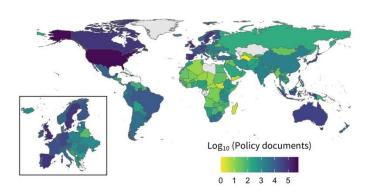
information)

Policy document to scholarly source citation pairs (with auxiliary source

information)

Country-level summary table (with auxiliary country information)

b) Geographical distribution of core policy documents



Scholarly sources

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- 3) How do citation patterns vary across policy domains with differing knowledge demands?

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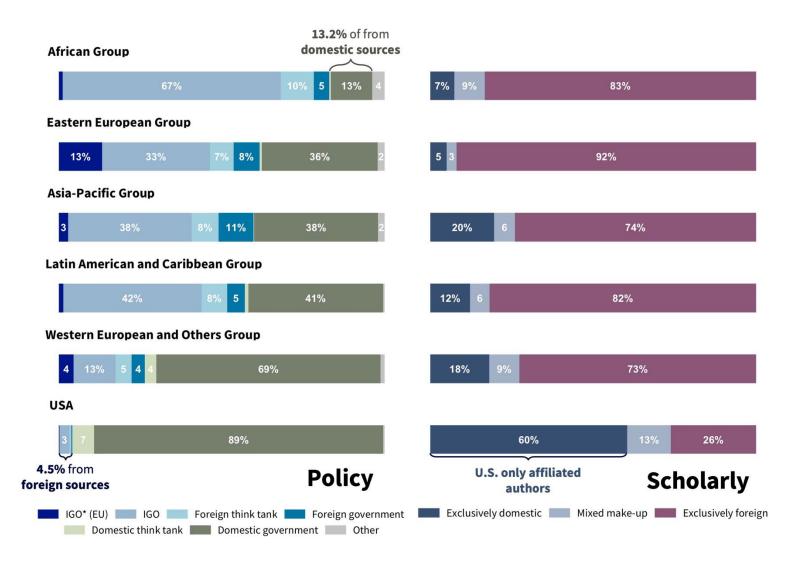
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- E For **scholarly** citations, we identify institutional affiliation of authors and categorized them as:
 - Domestic: All authors from the citing country
 - Mixed: At least one domestic affiliation
 - Foreign: No domestic affiliations

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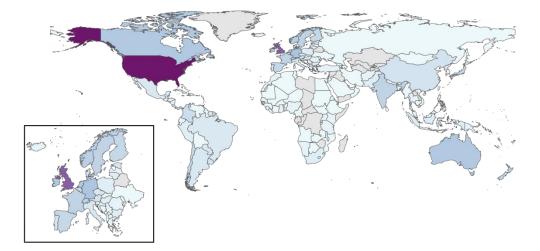
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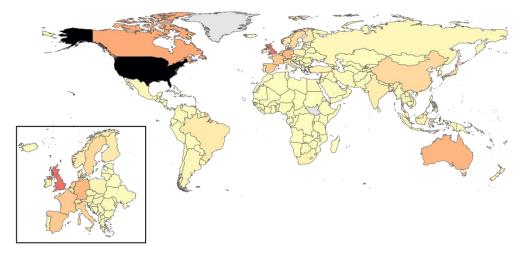
- We calculate an H-index to quantify international reach and also apply network centrality metrics (e.g., betweenness, eigenvector, and PageRank)
- E For *scholarly* citations, we employ the **country affiliations of cited authors**:
 - We compute the **share of total scholarly** references in the corpus that include at least one affiliated author from each country.

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a) Distribution of *H*-indexes government document references



b) Share of cited academic works with authors from country



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c) Countries with the highest H-indexes and share of academic affiliations

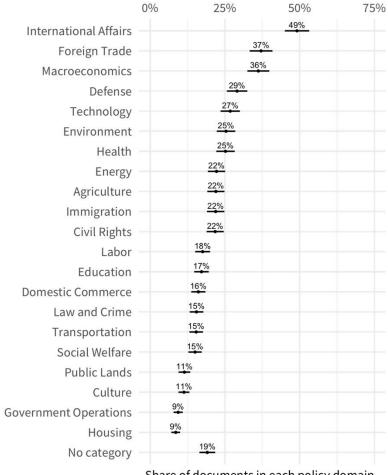
	COUNTRY	H-I	N. REFS	GROUP		COUNTRY	%. DOCS	N. PAPERS	GROUP
	USA	44	10553	WEOG	=	USA	43.4%	1306064	WEOG
N.	UK	32	10508	WEOG	A D	UK	13.3%	399890	WEOG
	Germany	12	986	WEOG	(•)	Canada	7.6%	227790	WEOG
	Australia	11	1056	WEOG	•	Australia	6.6%	199213	WEOG
)	Canada	11	1596	WEOG		Germany	6.4%	191658	WEOG
)	Ireland	11	978	WEOG		Spain	4.9%	147406	WEOG
	Netherlands	10	663	WEOG	0	France	4.8%	143340	WEOG
	Norway	9	495	WEOG		Netherlands	4.2%	127181	WEOG
)	France	8	706	WEOG	0	Italy	4%	120763	WEOG
	India	8	207	Asia-Pacific Group	3	China	3.3%	100288	Asia-Pacific Gro
	New Zealand	8	533	WEOG	+	Sweden	3.3%	98589	WEOG
	Sweden	8	967	WEOG	•	Japan	3.1%	94955	Asia-Pacific Gro
)	Switzerland	8	411	WEOG	0	Switzerland	2.4%	73578	WEOG
,	Chile	7	171	GRULAC	0	Belgium	1.9%	57785	WEOG
-	Finland	7	502	WEOG	(Denmark	1.8%	54042	WEOG
	Japan	7	494	Asia-Pacific Group	•	Brazil	1.8%	52669	GRULAC
	Spain	7	628	WEOG	+	Finland	1.7%	51935	WEOG
)	Belgium	6	412	WEOG	#	Norway	1.7%	50491	WEOG
	Colombia	6	283	GRULAC		India	1.6%	48793	Asia-Pacific Gro
	Denmark	6	129	WEOG	6	New Zealand	1.3%	39300	WEOG

When we zoom-into policy în and academic spaces :

 17 of the top 20 countries are shared across policy-based and scholarly outputs (largely WEOG)

We employ policy document summaries to classify documents into their most likely **policy domain** from the *Comparative Agendas Project* (CAP) using an LLM (Llama3.3 70B).

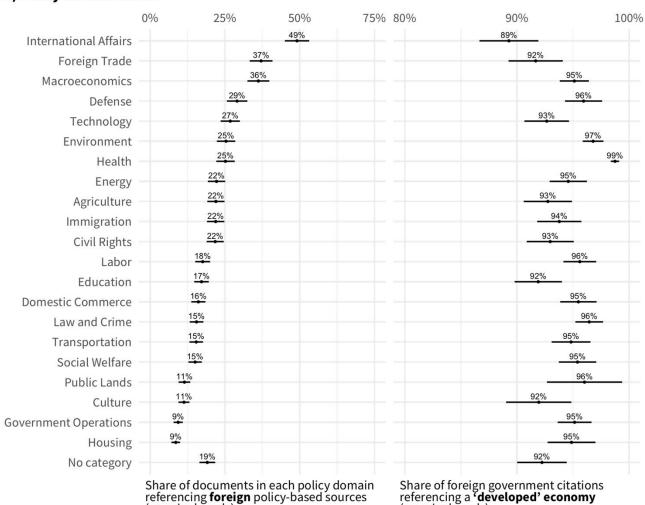
a) Policy-based sources



Share of documents in each policy domain referencing **foreign** policy-based sources (marginal preds)

3. How do citation patterns vary across **policy domains** with **differing knowledge demands**?

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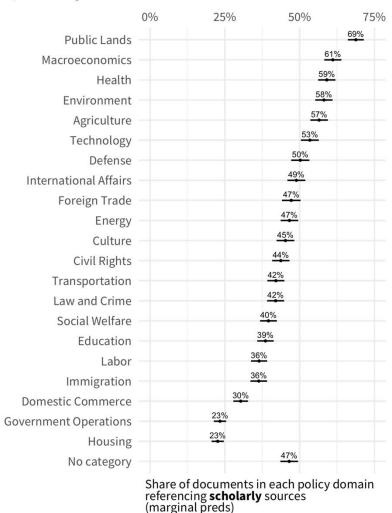


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much more...

Thank you!



*Take a look at the working draft!

We would really appreciate your feedback.







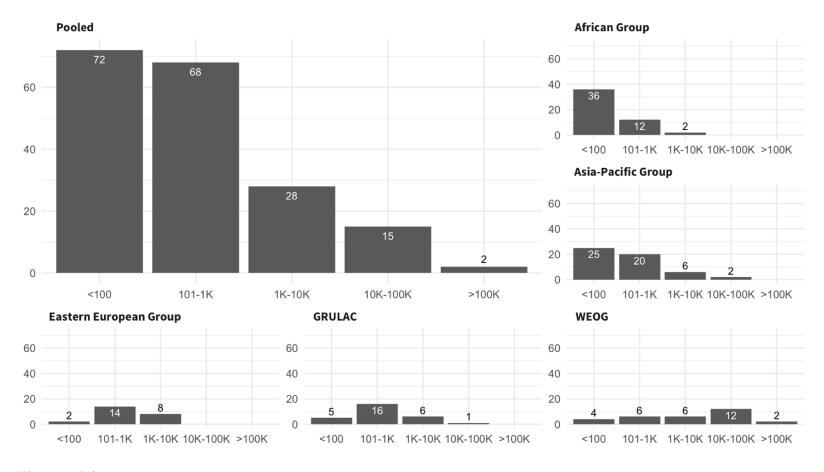


Figure A1: Overview of distribution of government authored policy documents. This figure shows the number of countries categorized by the total of policy documents collected, both in the full sample and grouped by UN Regional levels.

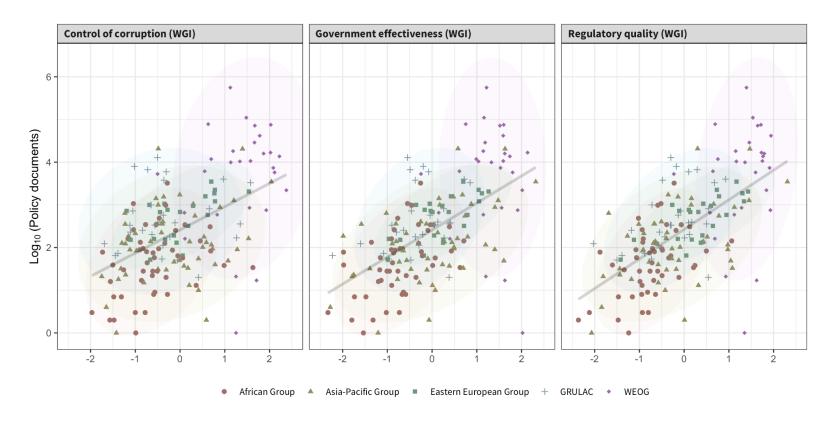
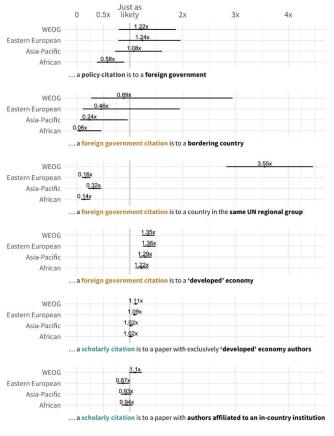


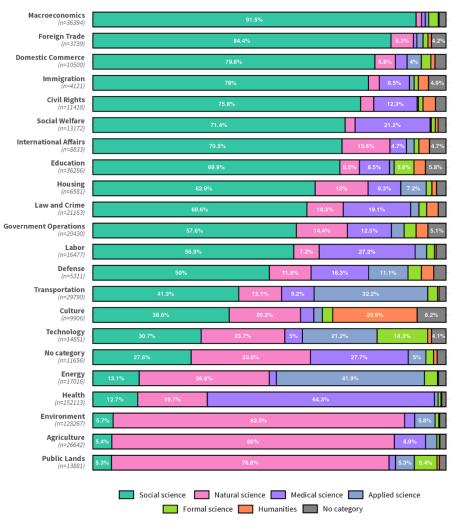
Figure A2: Relationship between Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) [1] and policy documents available across countries. Each dot represents individual countries, with ellipses at the UN Region-level.

How likely are we to observe...



... compared to references in Latin American and Caribbean documents

Figure A3: Marginal effects on observing a reference with a specified feature across groups. Results from six logistic mixed-effects models with document government author random effects. The estimates in the figure are relative risks representing the ratio of probability of observing a reference with the characteristic in a UN region group to the probability of observing it in documents authored by Latin American and Caribbean countries.



 $\label{eq:Figure B1: Share of references to scientific fields across policy domains.}$

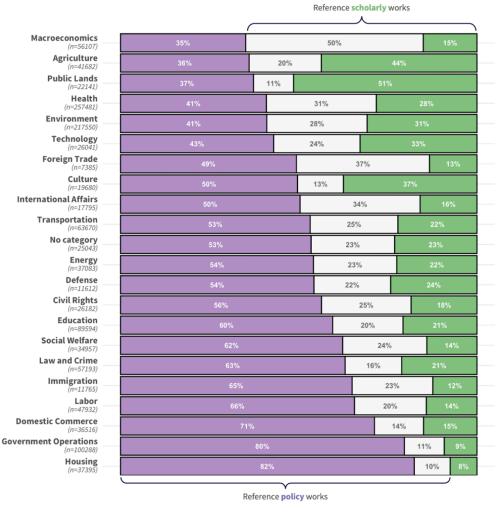


Figure B2: Share of policy documents citing policy, scholarly, or mixed sources across policy domains.