

# Governance Approaches

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### Governance approaches: introduction

 Governance approach: not a single theory of the EU or of European integration (rather a cluster of related theories emphasizing common themes)



### Governance approaches: introduction

- Contrasted between the governance school and its rationalist/comparativist/positivist alternative →
  governance approach constitutes a distinctive research agenda across four dimensions.
  - 1) governance approach theorizes EU governance as **non-hierarchical**, **mobilizing networks** of private as well as public actors, who engage in deliberation and problem-solving efforts guided both by informal and by formal institutions.
  - 2) governance suspicious of the models that advocating the need for a 'new vocabulary' to capture the unique features of EU governance.
  - 3) emphasis on capacity of the EU to foster 'deliberation' and 'persuasion'
  - 4) normative **concern with the 'democratic deficit' in the EU** (focus on the potential for the EU as a 'deliberative democracy')



# **Defining governance**

Governance is a slippery term.

The following definition captures these two origins of domestic governance particularly well: 'in governance we find ideas of behaviour, piloting and management, but without the primacy of the sovereign state. Raising the question of governance suggests an understanding of the articulation between different types of regulation in a country, in terms of both political and social integration and ability to act ... This entails re-examining relationships between civil society, the state, the market and their different combinations, where frontiers have become blurred. (Le Galès 1998)

The definition develops a clear distinction between government and governance in the sense that governance researchers no longer take an interest in government, that is, the existence of a clear hierarchy between state actions and actors, but, on the contrary, in possible bargaining mechanisms between different groups, networks and sub-systems, mechanisms that disturb and go beyond a clearly established hierarchy between actors and norms.



### **Defining governance**

Rhodes (1996: 660) defines governance in terms of 'self-organizing, interorganizational networks'.

- Four basic characteristics of 'governance' (in contrast to the traditional notion of 'government'):
- 1) Interdependence between organizations (governance is broader than government, covering non state actors; changing the boundaries of the state meant the boundaries between public, private, and voluntary sectors became shifting and opaque)
- 2) Continuing interactions between network members, caused by the need to Exchange resources and negotiate shared purposes.
- **3) Game-like interactions**, rooted in trust and regulated by rules of the game negotiated and agreed by network participants.
- 4) A significant amount of autonomy from the state (networks are not accountable to the state; they are self-organizing; although the state does not occupy a privileged, sovereign position, it can indirectly and imperfectly steer networks).

#### **Governance turn**

- Governance turn
  - turn from government to governance (emerging system of "governance without government).
- Key themes of the governance approach
  - emphasis on non-hierarchical networks
  - public-private interactions
  - prospects for governance without government
- $\rightarrow$  drawing from both comparative politics and international relations.



## Main governance perspectives

Four main governance perspectives

Perspectives	Main assumptions
Regulatory governance	The European regulatory state illustrates the end of an authoritative and hierarchically structured state
Multi-level governance	European integration cannot be understood without taking into account the roles played by sub-national actors
Network governance	Analyses policy networks as the result of more- or-less stable cooperation between organizations in a complex environment
New forms of governance	Analyses the flexible nature of non-coercive processes based on evaluation instruments and guidelines established at the EU level



Perspectives	Main assumptions	Authors
Regulatory governance • Normative approaches • Analytical approaches	The European regulatory state has been identified with the end of an authoritative and hierarchically structured state, and its transformation into a complex system where these structures coexist with ever increasing self-steering mechanisms	Majone 1996 Moran 2002 Dehousse 1997 Scharpf 1999 Héritier 1999 Grande 2005 Gilardi 2008 Wonka and Rittberger
Multi-level governance	European integration cannot be understood without taking into account the roles played by regional actors, along with the strategic, cognitive and normative variables that form and influence the European decision-making processes	Marks et al. 1996 Marks and Hooghe 2000, 2001, 2004 Kohler-Koch and Eising1999 Piattoni 2010
Network governance	Analyses policy networks as the result of more or less stable cooperation between organizations in a complex environment that know and recognize each other and which bargain, exchange resources and share norms and interests	van Waarden 1992 Marsh 1998 Richardson 1995 Rhodes et al. 1996 Peterson 2003, 2009
New modes of governance	Analyse the flexible nature of non-coercive processes based on evaluation instruments and guidelines established at the EU level	Lebessis and Peterson 2000 Borrás and Jacobson 2004 Mörth 2005 Citi and Rhodes 2007a Borrás and Conzelman 2007 Borrás 2009 Dehousse 2011



- Roots in the analysis of the EU.
- Emerged in the 1990s (a means of analysing the roles of multiple tiers of government in EU cohesion policy).
- Developed by Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks
  - esp. Gary Marks' (1992, 1993) work on the making and implementation of the EU's structural funds.
- MLG first developed from a study of EU policy and then applied to EU decision-making more generally.



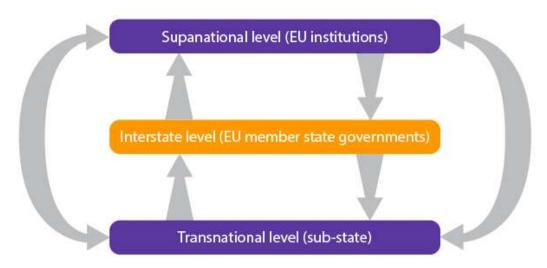
- Emphasis on
  - the increasingly frequent and complex interactions between governmental actors
  - the increasingly important dimension of non-state actors that are mobilized in cohesion policy-making and in the EU policy more generally.
- → As such, multi-level governance raised **new and important questions** about the <u>role</u>, <u>power and authority of states</u>.



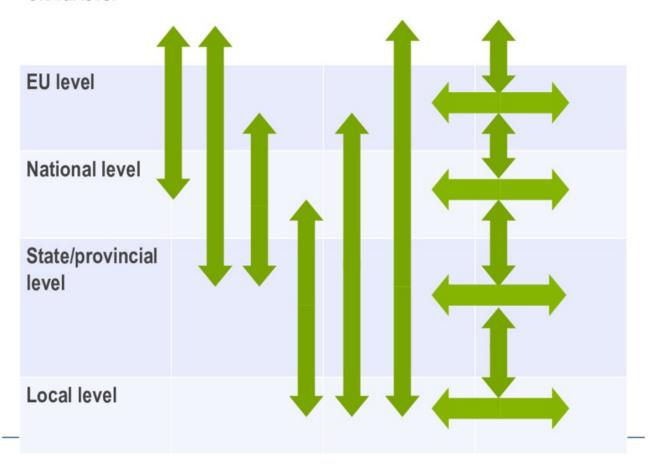
- The concept of multi-level governance is built on a number of foundations.
  - European integration means that decision making capacity in the EU rests at a number of different levels.
  - European integration has meant a loss of sovereignty for states (national governments).
     Conversely however, it has increased the capacity of supranational bodies and sub-national actors who now operate across national boundaries
  - The supranational, national and sub-national levels of government are seen to be interconnected with political developments at one level impacting on the other levels. One level impacts other levels.



- EU described as a political system with interconnected institutions that exist at multiple levels and that have unique policy features.
  - European layer (European Commission, European Council and European Parliament)
  - national layer
  - regional layer.



#### Global level





- The multi-level governance copcet contains both vertical and horizontal dimensions (Bache and Flinders, 2004: 3)
  - 'Multi-level' referred to the increased interdependence of governments operating at different territorial levels, while 'governance' signaled the growing interdependence between governments and nongovernmental actors at various territorial levels.
- MLG: "illuminates the intimate entanglement between the domestic and international levels of authority".



Horizontal and vertical interdependence in MLG

Horizontal interdependence: Multi-level governance is based on the assumption that public and private actors are not entirely distinct actors. They are not differentiated by a hierarchy, in which public actors would politically prevail over private actors, but can be situated on the same horizontal level. Environmental policy can hereby be taken as an example: in a multi-level governance system, environmental associations, member states and European institutions such as the Commission interact and collectively develop environmental policy. The same applies for negotiations between trade unions, employer's associations and the state, in which the state is nothing more than a consensus broker, but does not impose policies unilaterally.

Vertical interdependence refers to the fact that in the European political system, interaction between actors from the local, regional, national and supranational level is needed to develop and implement policies effectively. No level alone can claim to implement European policies single-handedly.



- The European Union: Multilevel Governance in Practice
- The Treaty of Lisbon as an important step towards Multilevel Governance
- Multilevel governance within the EU as an ongoing process
  - White Paper on multi-level governance
  - Charter for Multi-level Governance in Europe
- Multi-level governance beyond the EU?



Type I and Type II of MLG (Hoodge and Marks)

Variables	Туре І	Туре II
Jurisdictional inclusiveness	General	Specific
Participation	Sectorial	Intersectoral
Levels of governance	Clearly distinguished	Encompassing, interdependent
Inclusiveness of institutions	Systemic	Varied and flexible
Feeling of belonging to an integrated system	High	Low
Preferred behaviour of actors	Votes	Exit
Political fields concerned	Politics	Market construction



#### **Further development of MLG**

 Criticism of MLG → certain retreat from the early, and more far-reaching, claims about the transformative effects of EU structural policy.

#### Vertical aspect

 return to EU regional policies (attempt to explain the substantial variation in the empowerment of supranational and subnational actors).

#### Horizontal or network aspects of European integration

describe and explain the workings of transnational and transgovernmental networks.



- Phenomenon of 'Europeanization'
  - Process whereby EU institutions and policies influence national institutions and policies within the various member states.



– Discussion: MLG: theory or a useful conceptualisation?



#### **Benefits of MLG**

- providing an interesting model of the EU polity
- allows for the utilisation of different theories to explain different parts of the EU integration process and different aspects of EU politics (X the issue of commensurability)

#### **Criticism**

- lack of explanatory ability
- lack of theoretical focus (offers little in the way of explanatory power)
- not much to offer beyond drawing attention to the fact that the EU is complex
- not attributing enough influence to the international level



#### **Theories and EU crises**

Small-group activity: European integration theories and EU crises.



#### Thank you very much for your attention

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