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# **GoFOR – New Modes of Governance for Sustainable Forestry in Europe**

## **Publishable Final Activity Report**

Karl Hogl, Ralf Nordbeck, Michael Pregernig

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### Project Coordinators:

Prof. Dr. Karl Hogl and Ao.Univ.-Prof. Dr. Michael Pregernig  
Institute of Forest, Environmental and Natural Resource Policy  
University of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences Vienna  
Feistmantelstr. 4, A-1180 Vienna, Austria  
Phone: ++43/1 47654 4402, Fax: ++43/1 47654 4417  
E-Mail: [karl.hogl@boku.ac.at](mailto:karl.hogl@boku.ac.at), [michael.pregernig@boku.ac.at](mailto:michael.pregernig@boku.ac.at)  
Webpage: [www.boku.ac.at/GoFOR/](http://www.boku.ac.at/GoFOR/)

## Contractors involved

The consortium of GoFOR is made up of 10 partners:

	Institute of Forest, Environmental and Natural Resource Policy University of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences Vienna (BOKU)	Austria
	Danish Centre for Forest, Landscape and Planning (DFL) University of Copenhagen	Denmark
	French Institute of Forestry, Agricultural and Environmental Engineering, Nancy Ecole Nationale du Génie Rural, des Eaux et des Forêts, AgroParisTech	France
	Institute of Forest Policy and Nature Conservation Georg-August-University, Göttingen	Germany
	Agricultural Research Station of Ioannina (ARSI) National Agricultural Research Foundation	Greece
	Institute of Forest Policy and Economics University of West Hungary, Sopron	Hungary
	Forest and Nature Conservation Policy Group Wageningen University	Netherlands
	Møre Research	Norway
	Forestry Faculty University « Stefan cel Mare » Suceava	Romania
	Forest Policy and Rural Development Department Forest Technology Centre of Catalonia	Spain

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## 1. Introduction



This is the Publishable Final Activity Report of the Specific Targeted Research/Innovation Project “**New Modes of Governance for Sustainable Forestry in Europe (GoFOR)**”, which is funded by the European Commission under the Sixth EU Framework Programme for Research and Technological Development (Contract No.: 6447GoFOR).

This report mainly builds upon the project’s final **Synthesis Report** (Deliverable D12). It summarises the key findings of the project by listing the project objectives (chapter 2), briefly describing the methodology and research approaches that were employed (ch. 3), presenting the detailed work steps performed (ch. 4), providing a summary of major results (ch. 5), stipulating the achievement of project objectives (ch. 6) and the achievements with regard to the state-of-the-art (ch. 7) and, finally, enumerating how the research results have, thus far, been disseminated both in the scientific and policy-making communities (ch. 8).

## 2. Project objectives

The context of forest and environmental politics is changing. More than ever before, governmental actors lack the powers to deliver the required or requested policy results on their own. If decisions cannot, or shall not, be imposed by hierarchy, and co-ordination cannot be left to market mechanisms, other means of co-ordination are needed. Under the term “new modes of governance”, policy makers have been striving for *less intrusive means of achieving policy goals*.

Governance is a multi-faceted concept. On the one hand, it has become a normatively-laden catchword of political language. On the other hand, it has been used as an analytical term in the fields of political science and economics wherein it describes those types of political steering where non-hierarchical modes of guidance, such as persuasion and negotiation, are employed, and public and private actors are engaged in policy formulation.

The idea of governance is not new in the forest sector. However, so far, neither comparative analyses nor systematic evaluations of the effectiveness of these practices have been carried out. The research project “*New Modes of Governance for Sustainable Forestry in Europe – GoFOR*” strove to close – or at least narrow – this research gap. The main objective of the GoFOR project has been to ***evaluate the evolving practices of new modes of governance as a basis for policy relevant conclusions and recommendations in order to safeguard sustainable forest management in Europe***. To achieve this overall objective, the project addressed the following five sub-objectives:

1. Development of a sound **conceptual framework** and methodologies for the evaluation of the evolving practices of new modes of governance in forest policy;
2. Elaboration of an enlarged set of **criteria** that operationalise the concept of “new modes of governance” and its constituting elements in European forest policy and adjacent fields;
3. Exploration of the main **policy actors’ assumptions, preferences, and policy positions** with regard to new modes of governance and of the contextual factors (socio-economic,

political, ecological) that mediate the practices of new modes of governance and their effectiveness;

4. Overview of the existing **practices** of new governance, identification of the successful models, and critical evaluation of the transferability of such models to other political contexts;
5. Deduction of **policy-relevant conclusions** with regard to procedural and institutional approaches for the implementation of new modes of governance to promote sustainable forest management in Europe.

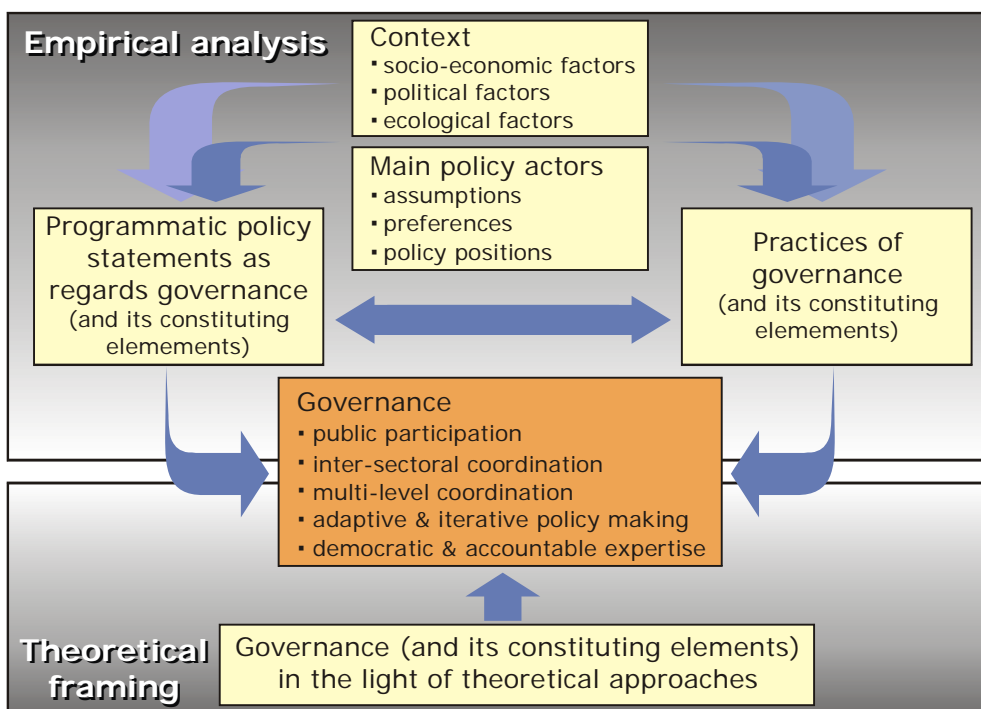
### 3. Methodology and approaches employed

As the term “governance” was regarded as excessively vague in order to productively guide the empirical analysis, it was operationalised by **procedural elements**. The analyses in GoFOR were focused on the following five elements:

- Participation
- Inter-sectoral co-ordination
- Multi-level co-ordination
- Adaptive and iterative planning
- Use of democratic and accountable expertise

Figure 1 shows the overall conceptual framework of the GoFOR project, the main concepts that were subject to the cases studies, and describes the three analytical steps that had to be taken in order to tackle the above-mentioned sub-objectives.

**Figure 1: Elements of the Analysis and Conceptual Framework**



For clarifying the necessary work-steps, the overall conceptual framework of the GoFOR project was broken down into five **research steps**:

1. Clarification and operationalisation of new modes of governance;
2. Exploration of the broader political context;
3. Assessment of the scope and effectiveness of new modes of governance;
4. Cross-national and cross-sectoral comparisons;
5. Overall synthesis.

These steps were not regarded as neatly separated entities that needed to be taken in a chronological sequence, but rather were seen as underlying guidelines. The research process can be described as one of recurring adaptation, interrelation, and evolution of three parallel strands. The first was the general theory on governance, the second the development of a common methodological basis and a common research framework for GoFOR (Input Papers, Terms of Reference, Comparative Frame), and the third strand was the actual process of carrying out the case studies by starting with detecting all the possible cases up to the final reports on 19 full-fledged case studies.

The research design that was used in the GoFOR project was a **multiple case study approach** with the cases coming from forestry and other “adjacent” sectors. The cases analysed deal, for instance, with National Forest Programmes (Austria, Hungary, and Spain), the reformulation of Forest Laws (France), the implementation of Natura 2000 (Denmark and Romania), the designation of nature conservation areas in Greece as well as the Netherlands, regional development policies under the LEADER+ programme in Germany, and the policies against corruption in Romania. Table 1 shows an overview of all 19 case studies that were carried out in GoFOR.

**Table 1: Cases analysed in the main assessment**

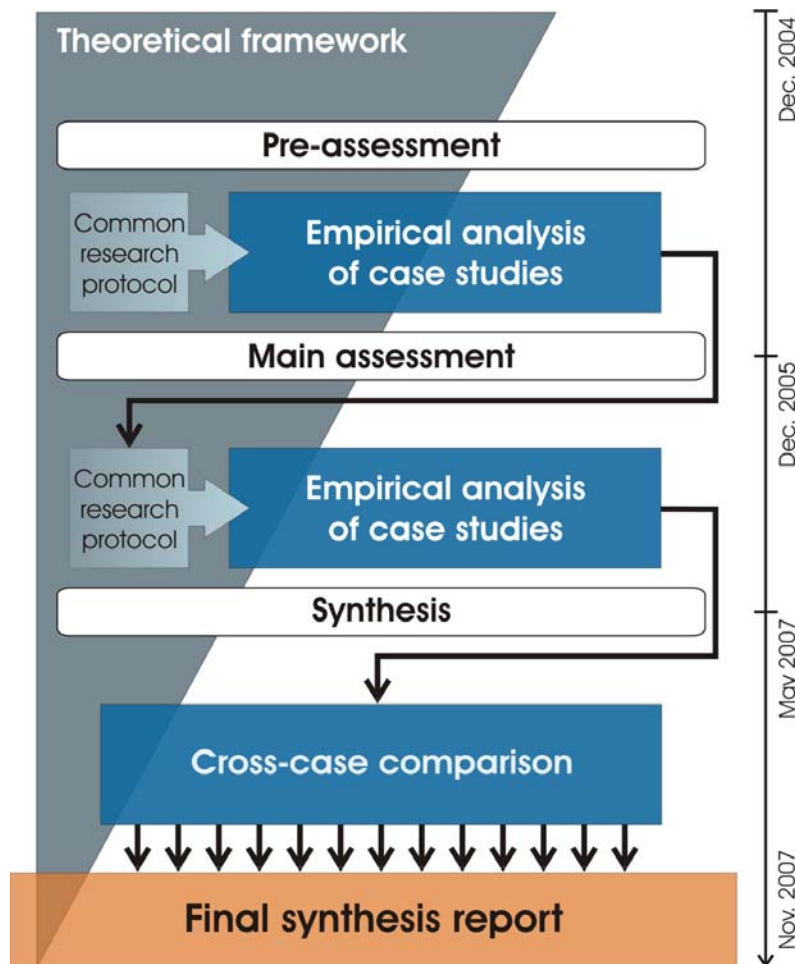
Country	Case title	Brief characterization
Austria	Implementation Strategy for the Convention on Biological Diversity (AT-BS)	national strategy process mainly driven by international obligations
	Austrian Forest Dialogue (AT-AFD)	participatory and sector-integrated national strategy process
Denmark	Implementation of the Habitats Directive (DEN-HD)	national implementation of EU policy
	National Park Pilot Projects (DEN-NPP)	participatory planning processes at the regional level as non-binding input to policy formulation at the national level
France	Territorial Forest Charters (FR-CFT)	participatory and sector-integrated strategic planning approach at the regional level
	Relief Plan for Forests in France (FR-RPF)	<i>ad hoc</i> governmental assistance programme in the aftermath of devastating storms
Germany	Integrated Rural Development policies (with three embedded sub-cases): – LEADER+ (GER-L+) – REGIONEN AKTIV (GER-RA) – Joint Task “Improvement of Agricultural Structures and Coastal Protection” (GER-GAK)	integration of new policy approach (regional governance) in three programmes: – EU pilot programme for sustainable rural development – national pilot programme for sustainable rural development – mainstream funding instrument of agricultural policy
Greece	Restructuring of management agencies for protected areas (GR-MA)	reorganisation of the administration and management of protected areas mainly driven by EU policies
Hungary	National Forest Programme Hungary (HUN-NFP)	participatory and sector-integrated national strategy process
Norway	Norwegian Living Forests Project (NOR-LF)	participatory and sector-integrated strategy process initiated and promoted by private actors
The Netherlands	“Nature for People, People for Nature” programme (NL-NPPN)	formulation and implementation of strategic policy document
	Nature policy in the Groene Woud area (NL-GW)	long-term policy development around nature conservation
	Nature policy in the Utrechtse Heuvelrug area (NL-UH)	same as above
Romania	Anti-corruption policies (ROM-ACP)	policy formulation and implementation driven by international obligations and pressures
	Implementation of <i>Acquis Communautaire</i> in Nature Protection Policies (ROM-NAT)	national implementation of EU policy
Spain	Forest Policy General Plan of Catalonia (ESP-FPGP)	participatory and sector-integrated regional strategy process

#### 4. Work performed

Research work in the GoFOR project was carried out in three distinct **phases**:

- (i) a **pre-assessment** phase where the research team developed a set of criteria that operationalised the concept of governance and translated these criteria into a common research protocol that then was empirically tested with an enlarged set of “pilot case studies”;
- (ii) an empirical **main assessment** phase where a reduced set of governance case studies was analysed, in turn drawing on both qualitative and quantitative data; and
- (iii) a **synthesis** phase with cross-case comparisons that were intended to identify successful (and less successful) implementation practices (see Figure 2).

**Figure 2: Overall work plan and timeframe**



During the GoFOR project, all of the working packages were finalised as projected in Annex I. Eleven Deliverables were delivered to the European Commission in due time and D12 was handed in with a minor delay of a few months, which was due to the fact that the last report had to be written in parallel to the final reporting and auditing requirements. To recap, it can be stated that all the objectives that are outlined in Annex 1 were met. In more detail, the following tasks were fulfilled (in chronological order):

- In the beginning, in each of the ten partner countries, a **National Advisory Panel (NAP)** was set up (D1). The panels contain between 6 and 12 members with representatives from national governments, organisations of land owners, industry, as well as environmental NGOs.
- In the first project workshop, the consortium elaborated and agreed upon an overall **conceptual research framework** (D2). This framework guided the research over the whole project period, but remained flexible and adaptive.
- Based on a literature analysis of the theoretical approaches, the consortium provided an *operationalisation* of the concept of the new modes of governance and its constituting elements. In this research step, GoFOR partners were assigned *thematic leadership and co-leadership* according to their specific expertise. Each of the lead teams elaborated an **input paper** on the respective constituting element (D3). The input papers were intensively discussed via an internal bulletin board and were regularly refined based on input from all the partners.
- Predicated on the theoretical input papers, the consortium developed common **Terms of Reference (ToR)** for the pre-assessments of programmatic statements and practices of governance in selected case studies (D4). The ToR provided, *inter alia*, standardised instructions on the research steps to be performed in the pre-assessments, the general layout for the pre-assessment reports, methods of data collection, and a detailed list of specific research questions.
- On the basis of the ToR, all ten GoFOR partners investigated 2-3 governance case studies (23 cases altogether). The results of the case studies were documented in **pre-assessment reports** (D5).
- At the third GoFOR Workshop, the consortium decided as to which case studies were to be investigated in greater detail in the main assessments. Following the final cases' selection, the thematic lead and co-lead teams developed a **Terms of Reference for the Main Assessment** (D6).
- With the new ToR as the foundation, the GoFOR partners commenced the systematic **analysis** of the evolving governance practices, i.e. data collection and execution of structured interviews with relevant policy actors, which were complemented with an analysis of programmatic statements through document analysis of policy processes for 19 governance case studies in 10 European countries.
- The consortium discussed and documented experiences and problems in the collection and interpretation of empirical data in the form of **progress reports** (D7). Interim results from the case studies were exchanged among the partners in the form of **working papers** (D8).
- In a next step, **common guidelines** (ToR) for the preparation of case study reports were elaborated (D9). Based on those guidelines, the final case study reports were worked out. In September 2007, a compilation of 19 **final case study reports** were sent to the Commission as a more than 1,000-page Deliverable (D10).
- The next step was to develop an **analytical framework for the synthesis** of cases (D11). Based on this framework, the **final synthesis report** (D12) was drawn up with the case study authors providing input on the single governance processes studies, with the thematic lead and co-lead teams analysing the case reports along the five procedural elements, and with the coordinators homogenising and synthesising the respective results.

## 5. Summary of the major results

### 5.1. New modes of governance: dimensions and causes

The GoFOR project has shown that governance theory offers a great potential in opening up alternative ways and perspectives for interpreting political institutions, political decision-making processes, as well as policy contents and instruments. In the theoretical debate, the term governance is often connected to several changes in relation to political structures, actors, and modes of policy-making. The GoFOR project provided us with the opportunity to describe and analyse such changes in 19 case studies from ten European countries and across various policy fields.

Our case studies, therefore, constitute a rich empirical basis to analytically shed light on these new modes of governance and on the interaction of state and society in the processes of collective problem-solving. The cross-case comparison draws an interesting picture of the degree to which governance arrangements are institutionalised in different empirical contexts and enriches our analytical understanding of such arrangements. Across the 19 case studies, we detected innovations and changes that were related to the main components of governance, as defined in chapter Methodology and approaches employed of the present report.

Table 2 shows a framework for the analysis of new modes governance along the three classical dimensions of political analysis, i.e. polity, politics, and policy. Along those dimensions, we will first (in the second part of this sub-chapter) deal with the **causal factors** leading to new governance arrangements. The next sub-chapter (5.2) will discuss the importance and role of the different **governance elements** in new policy arrangements and the concluding sub-chapter (5.3) will summarise the empirical reality of the **governance effects** from the GoFOR case studies.

**Table 2: New Modes of Governance - Dimensions and Causal Factors**

Dimension	Cause of change	Governance elements	Expected governance effect
Structural/ Institutional (Polity)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Internationalisation</li> <li>• Europeanisation</li> <li>• Decentralisation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishment of a multi-level system</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loss of national sovereignty</li> <li>• Increase of regional/local autonomy</li> </ul>
Actor-related (Politics)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loss of legitimisation</li> <li>• Cross-sectoral co-ordination deficits</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participation</li> <li>• Intersectoral co-ordination</li> <li>• Democratic and accountable expertise</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enlargement of actor networks in terms of sectors and societal domains (public/private)</li> <li>• Increasing levels of co-ordination and cooperation</li> <li>• Increasing input and output legitimacy</li> <li>• New/changing roles of state actors</li> <li>• Additional resources, competences and information available</li> </ul>
Content-related (Policy)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limits of command-and-control regulation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Less hierarchical steering</li> <li>• Adaptive and iterative policy making</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New instruments (e.g. strategy processes)</li> <li>• Mix of modes of co-ordination</li> <li>• Increased flexibility, higher efficiency</li> <li>• Policy learning</li> </ul>

The discernable trend towards new modes of governance is driven by a number of causal factors stemming from the economic, political, and social environment of governments. In Table 2 these factors were grouped along three political dimensions: structural and institutional changes, actor-related changes, and content-related changes. All of the identified causal factors can potentially lead to changes in political decision-making and result in some kind of new governance arrangements.

Structural/institutional dimension (polity):

Concerning the structural and institutional dimension of new modes of governance, two different issues were the most relevant. The first of these two was a shift of competences, and a shift of negotiation and decision-making arenas towards higher political-administrative levels through the processes of **internationalisation** and **Europeanisation**. This factor was rather important in several GoFOR case studies, most obviously in cases that were related to the domestic implementation of international and supranational obligations. The term Europeanisation is used in the literature to describe two different phenomena related to the process of European integration. On the one hand, it describes the development of institutions of governance at the European level. Formal-legal institutions and a normative order based on some overarching constitutive principles, structures, and practices both facilitate and constrain the ability to make and enforce binding decisions and to sanction non-compliance. On the other hand, it describes the penetration of national and sub-national systems of governance. Europeanisation here involves the division of responsibilities and powers between the different levels of governance. Europeanisation, therefore, implies adapting national and sub-national systems of governance to a European political centre and European-wide norms. Internationalisation primarily concerns the increased activities and influence of actors, ideas, and institutions from beyond state borders. The term internationalisation is used to refer to the policies within domestic jurisdiction that face increased scrutiny, participation, or influence from transnational actors and international institutions, as well as the rules and norms that they embody.

The second important institutional factor was **decentralisation**. Many EU member states have implemented reforms over the last decade in order to decentralise the political institutions and decision-making (e.g. Belgium, Spain, and the UK). This trend can also be seen in the new EU member states (e.g. Romania). Decentralisation defines a process that involves a wide range of actors in policy formulation and increasing responsibility at various levels that can be coupled with greater flexibility in the implementation. Hence, this process requires not only a delegation of power but also improved co-ordination. Decentralisation has some potential advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, it provides e.g. the advantage of more flexible and “tailor-made” formulation and implementation of policies, i.e. decentralised entities can optimise the policy output from the local and regional perspective. On the other hand, it brings with it the risk of weak administrative and/or financial capacities at the sub-national levels resulting in implementation deficits. The restructuring of authority towards a multi-level system of co-responsibility between the institutions of governance at the central, regional, and local levels was a major reason for change in political decision-making in several of our case studies. The main rationale for decentralisation was the attempt to increase the overall quality and effectiveness of the system of governance, while increasing the authority and capabilities of the sub-national levels.

Actor-related dimension (politics):

With regard to the politics dimension, the main causes for change are (i) the loss of legitimacy of the traditional, opaque way of political decision-making based on negotiations in closed circles

between politicians, administrative officials, and representatives of organised interest groups, and (ii) co-ordination deficits due to a compartmentalised way of policy-making by sectors and areas without interacting with other sectors or the wider society. Both critiques have contributed to the opening of actors' networks through more **participation** and **intersectoral co-ordination**, i.e. the appearance of non-governmental organisations or other civil society groups and the inclusion of organised interest groups from various sectors. The efforts to increase the number of actors are due to different underlying rationales. In some cases participation is regarded as a goal in itself, and in other cases it is seen as a mean to improve problem-solving. In any case, these developments have led to the establishment of broad policy networks that are able to use the resources, competences, and information available from various public and private actors. The increased significance of such actor networks for policy-making and for implementing public policies is, therefore, expected to allow for a more flexible approach, seeking context sensitive solutions, and involving citizens, business organisations, and NGOs in both the formulation and implementation of policies. Broader participation reflects the fact that increasingly more players wield effective power, i.e. they are enabled to affect the future course of society. One benefit of increased participation can be wider sharing among the actors of responsibility for the solution to common problems.

Another important point is that the involvement of various stakeholders has also led to greater transparency in political decision-making. The issue of transparency has also become rather important with regard to the **accountability of expertise**. In relating to expertise, we witness the paradox that experts are increasingly sought after and used as a source for policy making, while expertise is at the same time also increasingly contested because of the lack of transparency in the way expertise is selected and utilised by governments. The access to, and transparency of, the process of development, selection, and utilisation of expertise for policy making are, therefore, important conditions for new modes of governance.

#### Content-related dimension (policy):

Finally, the limits of the traditional approach of command-and-control regulation have resulted in a search for **more flexible and less intrusive policy instruments**. The governance literature thus persistently argues that 'new' or what are sometimes labelled 'softer' instruments, have become much more widespread. The deployment of new policy instruments is, insofar, another important element to explain the emergence of new modes of governance. The new instruments are assumed to allow social actors more freedom to coordinate amongst themselves in pursuit of societal goals, with far less or even no central government involvement. At the same time, the concern for effective implementation has led to a more systematic and professional approach with regard to the **evaluation and monitoring** of public policies. Retrospective evaluations are regarded as crucially important both for accountability and for learning from experience. Evaluations can also bring further benefits in the form of empowerment and the involvement of all stakeholders in a policy process. However, to be useful, the monitoring and evaluation of policies should be based on a sound methodology and valid data, and their conclusion should be derived from well-justified findings.

Although all of the above-mentioned dimensions and causes related to new modes of governance are important factors, not all of these causes are present in all of our case studies at the same time. We rather find two, and sometimes three, of the major categories of causes – structural, actor-related, and content-related causes – simultaneously at work in the governance processes that were analysed. Furthermore, the effects of these causal factors are not uniform across the

case studies and countries analysed. Hence, the degree of change towards new governance arrangements differs extensively depending on the differences in political institutions, political cultures, and characteristics of the policy fields in the specific case study.

## 5.2. Role of governance elements

This chapter synthesises the main strands of our findings as regards the role of procedural governance elements, as they were defined in the GoFOR project: participatory approaches, multi-level, and inter-sectoral co-ordination, the role of democratic and accountable expertise as well as approaches to establish adaptive governance processes. More concretely, it synthesises the empirical findings from the 19 case studies on the manifestation of these elements in political rhetoric and actual practices. In doing so it also works out the main findings as regards the role and significance of different kinds of policy actors: governmental actors, interest groups, different kind of experts - in particular scientists - and the general public.

### Role of participation

Participation is generally acknowledged as one of the central elements of the new modes of governance, both in the political arena (cf. EC White Paper on European Governance; MCPFE Approach to National Forest Programmes in Europe) and in the scientific realm. Furthermore, in the field of forest and natural resources policy, a political ambition to strengthen public participation has grown in the past twenty years throughout Europe.

Participation is an elusive concept with many possible *definitions*. On a rather abstract level it can be seen as “a *voluntary process* whereby people, individually or through organised groups, can *exchange information, express opinions and articulate interests*, and have the potential to influence decisions or the outcome of the matter at hand.” (FAO/ECE/ILO 2000). Thus, the essence of participation is about citizens being given, or themselves taking, opportunities to influence the decision processes of public interest.

The different forms of public participation can be categorised according to their potential degree of *power sharing* between decision-makers and participants, ranging from restricted two-way communication (e.g. surveys, public excursions), to consultation (hearings, advisory boards) and co-operation (e.g. task forces) to partnership and citizen control (e.g. self-governing land owner groups, NGO initiatives).

In our analysis of 19 governance case studies we investigated (i) participation rhetoric, i.e. the different rationales underlying participatory processes, (ii) the actual practices of participation in the governance cases, and (iii) the extent to which the participatory elements have actually created momentum for new stakeholders to influence the processes.

Among the five constituting elements of governance studied in GoFOR, participation has on average featured most prominently in the set of GoFOR case studies. In almost all of the cases, participation was considered an important element to characterise the process. Similarly, in almost all of the cases participation was considered important to explain the overall successes or failures of the governance process.

In the current natural resources policy, the *dominating rhetoric* is that more participation is better participation. This is also reflected in the majority of the GoFOR cases. The calls for participatory approaches can partly be explained by the increased international focus on the topic from the 1990s and onwards, but partly also from a recognition among decision-makers that problem

solving is not possible without the participation of stakeholders that can affect, or are affected by, the decision.

In about half of the processes studied, participation was justified by referring to *international treaties* and legal frameworks, such as EU legislation, the Proposals for Action of the IPF and IFF, MCPFE resolutions, the Aarhus Convention etc. Governments tend to justify participatory processes by referring to the international level, particularly in those cases where participation has not traditionally been considered part of the political culture.

Participation is sometimes considered as an aim in itself, and sometimes as a means to improve problem solving. In this sense, the role of participation in relation to the normative criteria of legitimacy can be interpreted both in terms of democratic quality (input legitimacy) and effectiveness (output legitimacy).

In more than half of the cases studied, participation was seen as a *goal in itself* (at least on a rhetorical level). The initiators and coordinators of the processes frequently emphasised openness and transparency, and the aim of reaching consensus. Other arguments for (more) participation were creating a sense of local ownership, basing policies on voluntary action and dialogue, finding new models for co-operation, and ensuring clarity and the rule of law.

References to *output legitimacy* were less frequently chosen. In about one-third of the cases studied, participation was mainly justified as a means to increase effectiveness. Process designers, for example, hoped that the public could contribute with proposals, ideas, and comments, in which participation would create support from the public and, therefore, ensure “acceptance” for policy measures, and that involving new actors would help to mobilise networks and resources that could further the implementation of the already identified policy objectives.

In a number of GoFOR cases, the distinction between input and output legitimacy is blurred because many arguments link participation with effectiveness. In most cases, two, sometimes even all three, rationales for (more) participation (i.e. international obligations, input legitimacy, and effectiveness) were evoked.

The scholarly literature points to the fact that the – frequently overly positive – “rhetoric” of participation sometimes stands in stark contrast to the real-world *practices* of participation in political processes. This pattern can also be seen in the set of GoFOR case studies.

In the GoFOR cases, *several forms of participation* were used with many cases being characterised by not only one but also a number of formalised forms of participation. The dominating form was to consult major interest organisations in various fora for discussion. The effective steering of those processes was frequently taken over by different types of steering committees, advisory groups, or assisting secretariats.

In almost all of the cases, the key steering bodies arranged supplementary forms of participation along the process to obtain input from a broader range of participants. This broader involvement could take the form of additional advisory groups, one-time participation events to involve a broader range of interest groups or citizens, as well as a range of information activities and informal participation.

Common to almost all of the cases with invited participation was that the initiators followed rather “traditional” processes, inviting organised participants who were easy to reach, and who are already known to the decision makers. There were a few experiments with new modes of participation. The non-organised citizens were mainly addressed in terms of information

campaigns, and were invited for actual (consultative) participation, but they were difficult to mobilise.

What was the *role of state actors* in the GoFOR governance processes? The GoFOR project intentionally focuses on government initiated participatory processes, and *not* on pure bottom-up, non-governmental processes. In the vast majority of the selected cases, the participatory procedures were induced, designed, and to differing extents controlled by public officials. Even in the few exceptions that can be considered non-governmental processes, the public administrators still played an influential role. The Norwegian case, the Living Forest Project (NO-LF), is unique among the 19 cases as it is the only process that was initiated “bottom-up”. The initiator was the private forest owners’ organisation realising the need to strengthen the environmental brand of Norwegian forestry. A few cases aimed at stimulating bottom-up participation. In these processes, the public authorities set the framework and provided funding, but the process itself was to be conducted by participatory committees that were established for that specific purpose. Here, the public administration played the role of “meta-governor”, i.e. indirectly governing the process through e.g. framing and boundary setting. In a few cases, the public processes were initiated as a response to pressure from NGOs.

*Who participated* in the participation processes? The forms of participation in the GoFOR cases focused on ensuring the representation of the affected interests through participation by well-defined interest groups that were considered legitimate representatives of the interests. Another main focus was the inclusion of those participants that were considered crucial for the success of the process. The national government, as represented by its public officials, was a key participant in almost all of the cases. In more than half of the cases, the federal/local government was also a key participant. Other typical key participants were environmental and recreation NGOs, NGOs representing landowners, and NGOs related to the specific topic at hand (rural development, anti-corruption) as well as representatives from industry (forestry, rural development consultants) and research. With one exemption, involvement of ordinary citizens was limited to information campaigns and (passive) access to participate in public hearings.

*Who did not participate?* In some cases, actors were reluctant to participate because they didn’t see the benefit in it. In other cases actors felt excluded from the process and felt that they had no influence on decision-making. A review of the cases gives the impression that on the one hand, public authorities as well as actors who had hitherto had a privileged position with the public authorities in terms of gaining influence on policies could be reluctant to open up for a broader range of stakeholders because they feared their diminished influence and did not want to face additional restrictions imposed on their management. However, on the other hand, there emerged a need to involve other stakeholders, with pressures coming from the international level being one driving force for that. Participation was increasingly seen as a way to develop the legitimacy of governance processes. Therefore, in many cases the process design would likely be designed so as to invite participation in order to ensure the legitimacy of the process and the sector as such, but also to retain the decision power with a restricted range of stakeholders, and eventually the public authorities.

When looking at the *development over time*, one sees marked changes. In most of the cases the governance processes that were studied were designed as participatory processes from the onset. In some cases participation was not considered an issue in the beginning of the process (apart from having limited consultative processes with regard to ensuring the good technical quality of the decisions). Gradually, rhetoric changed towards actually having public involvement. In a few

cases one sees an opposite trend, i.e. decision making becoming more closed again in the final phase of the process.

When comparing the rather far-reaching rhetoric of participation in the 19 governance processes that were studied with the actual practices or participation, one obtains a mixed picture. Before the background of a normative definition of participation (which sees participation as an instrument that provides citizens with the opportunity to influence the decision processes of public interest) the following weaknesses and strengths could be identified.

In quite a number of cases there was an overrepresentation of public officials and some “privileged” sectors (esp. forestry). Environmental and social interests were often excluded. Moreover, NGOs felt expelled from important decision bodies and, e.g. women were underrepresented. Some processes were excessively focused on expert input and thereby, implicitly or explicitly, excluded other interests and bodies of knowledge.

Our analysis showed that some of those drawbacks could not even be averted by ideal-type, benevolent state actors. First, the public often showed limited interest to actively engage in participation processes. And second, in complex policy settings participation processes are administratively very demanding. Participation in, and especially the management of, such processes requires substantial capacities and resources (personnel, time, expertise, financial resources), which neither state nor private actors can easily mobilise.

On the positive side, it can be stated that for nearly all of the cases it seems that when looking at the long-term, the overall policy culture is likely to become more participatory, providing more opportunities to participate, and providing a broader range of stakeholders legitimate access to influence decision-making within the given policy field. So even if the power redistribution within the individual cases was limited, then the participatory processes still have stimulated the establishing of new networks, a first step towards legitimate demands for influence among new stakeholders, and increasing understanding among all the stakeholders of the value of broad and inclusive decision-making to not only input but also output legitimacy.

#### Role of multi-level co-ordination

Multi-level co-ordination has been ranked as a rather important element in three quarters of the governance processes analysed in GoFOR. Only in four cases was multi-level co-ordination judged as rather unimportant for characterising the governance process. A slightly different picture emerges when it comes to the importance of multi-level co-ordination for explaining the overall success and failure of the governance process. In this dimension, multi-level co-ordination was viewed as rather important or important in only eight cases. This suggested, at a very general level, that a basic relation: the more important multi-level co-ordination was judged for characterising the processes that were studied, the more important it was for explaining the overall processes’ success or failure in terms of policy outputs and impacts, and vice versa.

The six GoFOR case studies that were analysed in greater detail provided us with a rich empirical base to describe and analyse co-ordination issues in different multi-level systems and, furthermore, provided us with a good basis to search for patterns of multi-level co-ordination among the diverse case studies. The six case studies showed that the processes of Europeanisation and regionalisation entailed some novel elements of interlacing and interlocking politics. They raise the challenge of including actors from various territorial levels in a multi-level system without impairing effective decision-making, which tends to suffer if an excessively large number of actors and arenas need to be co-ordinated in the decision-making process. From our analysis we see patterns of multi-level co-ordination emerging around three main issues: functional and territorial

differentiation, institutional continuity, and innovative forms of linkages between territorial levels, and the issue of mixed or combined modes of co-ordination.

First of all, the case studies have shown that the necessity of multi-level co-ordination under the conditions of Europeanisation and regionalisation triggered processes of differentiation of intergovernmental decision-making structures.

On the one hand, we observe a specific **differentiation related to functions**. Here, problems are divided into partial tasks to be dealt with by separate arenas, as shown in the German case study on LEADER+ and the Danish case study on the implementation of the Habitat Directive. On the EU level, decisions are made in both of these cases on the overall concept and the general policy goals, and additionally on the principles for the allocation of grants to regions in the case of LEADER+. The substantial policy goals are formulated in both cases at the national and/or sub-national levels through operational programmes, respectively Natura 2000 plans, and finally executed at the regional and local levels for each regional partnership or Natura 2000 site through individual projects and specific Natura 2000 action plans. In addition, in the German case study on Regionen Aktiv and the French and Greek case studies, we see a functional differentiation between the decision-making at the national level, i.e. the formulation of overall policy goals and their adoption as laws or programmes (“framework steering”), and the decision-making at the regional level related to the establishment of regional partnerships, CFTs, and park management boards as well as the implementation of concrete projects (“detail steering”). In particular, in the French and Greek case studies on decentralisation we can observe this form of “decoupling” of the levels of government. Interestingly, both case studies point to the benefits of decentralisation as well as to the negative effects. The lower levels of government face several challenges including a lack of financial capacities, the necessity of legal and scientific advice, and often they are cut off from information exchange with higher levels. This points out that reasonable decoupling presupposes the availability of the capacities that are needed at the level of the decoupled arenas (levels) to effectively fulfil their tasks within overall multi-level policy structures.

On the other hand, the complexity of processes is simplified by **territorial differentiation** in intergovernmental relations. It is here that multi-level co-ordination is limited to particular nations or regions. In contrast to systems of joint decision-making, including all of the decentralised governments, the dominant mode of decision-making under conditions of territorial differentiation is bilateral instead of multilateral. It is in this way that multi-level co-ordination can be adjusted to different institutional settings of lower-level governments. This form of differentiation is particularly evident in both German cases on regional policy, where individual regions apply for funding either from the EU or the federal government. The federal and/or sub-national ministries operating the funding programmes negotiate individually with each region, based on the general policy framework. In the French case, a similar mode is used for co-ordination, i.e. each regional Forest Charter attempts to collect funding for their projects bilaterally from different sources at the national, regional, or department levels. The same can be said about the vertical co-ordination with regard to specific Natura 2000 sites in Denmark or the management boards of the national parks in Greece.

Regarding the institutional forms of linkages between territorial levels, it can be said that the challenges of Europeanisation and regionalisation favour the **rise of new, innovative forms of linkages between levels** and, more generally, a new mixture of modes of governance. All of our six case studies describe and analyse some kind of institutional innovations. This is most obvious in the French and Greek cases where competences and decision-making processes were administratively decentralised to the regional and local levels. The German case studies show two

different innovative forms of linking levels to empower regional actors: The case of LEADER+ provides us with an example of EU multi-level governance that is based on the idea of less influence of the central government compared to the sub-national levels, whereas the case of Regionen Aktiv is an interesting example where the central government attempts to circumvent the federal states and their constitutional rights by negotiating more directly with regional actors. In the majority of cases, institutional change and innovation takes place most obviously at the regional and local levels, whereas on the national-institutional level we have observed many elements of institutional continuity, with traditional patterns of level linkages and joint decision-making are largely being preserved.

Another important element of innovation are new patterns of the 'loose coupling' of arenas and levels of government. The term 'loose coupling' means that decisions in one arena do not completely determine the decisions in other arenas but rather only influence parts of the decision premises. Such a loosely coupled multi-level system is not structured in the form of 'connected games', in which actors' strategies depend on the outcomes of other games, but rather as 'embedded games', in which policy-making in one arena sets the context for negotiations in other arenas. This context-setting is achieved by a shift in the mode of interaction from power and control to information exchange, communication, and persuasion. Moreover, in the differentiated systems of governance, actors at the interface of arenas play the role of mediators and promoters. Good examples are the National Network Unit for LEADER+ in the German case study and the regional governors in the French and Greek cases. As a rule, in a loosely coupled structure state actors play less of a monopoly role regarding control and decision-making, but rather a mediation role. However, the more they can operate in the 'shadow of hierarchy', the better they can perform the softer role of mediation.

This last point reminds us that effective vertical co-ordination in multi-level systems is often not delivered by one single form but rather by a balanced **mixture of different modes of governance** that helps to manage the tensions produced by the multi-level framework. As shown by our case studies, the specific mixture of modes of governance varies with the given institutional and policy context. In all of the case studies, except for the Danish HD case, different modes of co-ordination are combined, in some cases up to three different modes. Good cases in point are the German case studies on regional policy. Both cases present a mixture of three different modes of co-ordination, namely hierarchy, negotiation, and competition. In these cases, the different modes are not used simultaneously, but rather subsequently, i.e. at different levels and at different stages of the policy process. As the results of the German case studies suggest, the provision of greater flexibility by applying different modes of co-ordination can lead to effective decision-making in quite complex multi-level systems. However, some (minor) problems of MLC have also been reported for these two cases.

Other combinations of ideal-type modes of governance have been less successful. For instance, the combination of negotiation and networking as coordinating principles in the functionally differentiated multi-level system as described in the case study on the Austrian Biodiversity Strategy. The process analysed here led to weak MLC, ineffective decision-making and finally to rather mediocre outputs. Furthermore, the French and Greek case studies reported problems with horizontal competition among the regional units in an otherwise hierarchically structured multi-level system.

#### Role of intersectoral co-ordination

The need of inter-sectoral co-ordination has increasingly gained attention in recent decades, both in practice as well as in studies on environmental and natural resource policy. This was particularly

the case in the context of policy processes that lean on the rhetoric and the conceptions of “new modes of governance” and aim at integrative policy making. Accordingly, GoFOR considered ISC as one of the constituting elements of the umbrella concept ‘governance’.

Based on the scholarly literature, we expected ISC to manifest in the form of the increasing interconnectedness of sectors, increasingly blurring boundaries between sectors, and consequently in an increasing occurrence of practices in which actors, both state and non-state actors from different sectors, participate in policy formulation and implementation. GoFOR was interested in the extent and as to how we encountered ISC in governance arrangements, both in rhetoric and practices. For empirical research, ISC was conceptualised as referring to (often site-specific) processes that aim at the integration of different interests, functions, and uses of areas, but also as referring to co-ordination efforts between the different sectoral ministerial departments and policy networks.

Perceptions and definitions of “what is a sector” vary, both in scholarly conceptions and in political practice. Sectoral boundaries are not fixed. They are interpreted differently by different policy actors; they may be established, challenged, and modified. With only a few exceptions, the GoFOR case studies refer to sectors in the form of “policy fields” such as agriculture, industry, tourism, etc. In general, these definitions correlate closely with administrative structures, e.g. with jurisdictions of ministries or ministerial departments. By and large policy actors recognised “sectors” as structured along formal lines of competencies and flows of formal powers.

With a view to the rhetoric, most GoFOR case processes clearly show intentions for ISC. In a number of cases it was explicitly high on the agenda, i.e. ISC standing central in the rhetoric of programmatic policy papers, process principles, etc., while in other cases the intentions for ISC were rather implicit to the processes, but recognisable to empirical research. Interestingly, even in cases where ISC was explicitly called for, further specifications of how it should be organised, of the actual goals of ISC, and about who should take the lead were usually lacking.

Furthermore, our empirical evidence has shown that the actual motives for, and the aims of, ISC greatly differ among the governance processes. In some cases, concrete cross-sectoral policy problems were the main triggers, e.g. in Dutch cases and most obvious in the case of strong inter-sectoral interdependencies in times of crisis (FR-RPF). In quite some other cases, ISC was introduced primarily because it is “part of the rules”, e.g. as prescribed by the binding or non-legally binding international agreements or general conceptions of a policy programme (e.g. ISC as an internationally agreed upon NFP principle, ISC as one of the main objectives of the CBD, ISC as part of the concept of Integrated Rural Development). Another major driving factor found in several cases are economic incentives, whether market forces that made ISC a necessity (NOR-LF), incentives provided by funding programmes that prescribed integrative procedures, or simply the strive for mobilising additional funds by co-ordinating with other sectors (HUN-NFP).

Last but not least, and most interestingly, in a number of cases ISC was triggered by decentralisation, and by changes to region-oriented or local approaches in policy making (“ISC in the wake of territorially-oriented policy-making”). In some cases ISC was in fact strengthened or even introduced only in the wake of a change from a sectoral to a territorial policy approach (e.g. GER-L+, GER-RA).

Intentions for ISC materialise in quite some variety of processes, which differ with respect to the range of participating sectors, the institutionalisation of ISC, and the territorial levels that are involved: Some processes were deliberately designed to integrate a broad range of sectors; this was in particular the case for strategy processes (e.g. AT-AFD, AT-BS, HUN-NFP, ESP-FGP). Other cases were more selective, e.g. processes that directly reacted to urgent issues, such as in the FR-

RPF. In spite of that, urgent problems that affected a number of sectors, making inter-sectoral co-ordination a must, served to effectively overcome sectoral barriers, even if in a rather selective and ad hoc way.

Most governance processes aimed at developing integrated strategies, programmes, plans, or projects. The most common organisational instrument was some kind of inter-sectoral committee that was often established temporarily only. As to the decision making rules, these committees usually strive for consensus. Even if majority voting is the formal rule, significant efforts are usually devoted to achieve consensus, making ISC a time consuming endeavour. A critical aspect that was reported from several cases was that most crucial issues are dealt with outside such specifically established ISC committees, i.e. in other, pre-existing institutions outside the organisational structures of the processes that were studied. This indicates a potential limit for ISC in newly established institutions that are embedded in a rather sectoral-structured administrative landscape.

Another more general observation is that inter-sectoral co-ordination and integration turned out to be difficult at the national level, despite all of the rhetoric and intentions. As a consequence, in a number of cases ISC was rhetorically and practically delegated to the regional and/or local levels, where the respective efforts often turned out to be more effective.

Intentions and institutionalisation do not, of course, guarantee effective ISC. In fact, our evaluation of ISC efforts in terms of output and impact provides a mixed picture: Overall, the governance processes researched in GoFOR clearly show a divergence between programmatic ISC ambitions on the one hand, and a scattered picture of successful ISC practices.<sup>1</sup> We observed cases where long lasting inter-sectoral cooperation was indeed established (NOR-LF), or was likely to result from ongoing processes. However, defending sectoral and administrative interests stood in the way of more effective cooperation in many cases. This seems particularly true for the national level processes, in which ISC efforts partly turned out as rather symbolic endeavours (e.g. AT-BS).

The main barriers that account for limitations or restrictions in ISC in the processes analysed are the following: Well-entrenched sectoral organisation of ministerial departments and their respective environment of interest groups often contributes to explain the significant barriers and limitations of ISC processes. Even if ISC rhetoric is held up high, sectoral-structures often frustrate more effective ISC. Powerful sectors/actors may effectively block ISC, as long as there are no sufficient problem pressures, no effective inter-sectoral interdependencies or hierarchically induced pressures or incentives that serve to overcome sectoral logics.

Actual commitment to ISC first and foremost depends on the political weight of the policy issue concerned. In a number of cases rather limited achievements in terms of ISC can be explained by a low political relevance of the issues addressed, as perceived by sectoral actors that were meant to get involved (e.g. AT-BS, HUN-NFP). Low political relevance leads to low or even no actual engagement of actors from “outside” a respective lead sector (e.g. NFP processes). Even if such processes formulate inter-sectoral goals and measures, these outputs tend to be “soft policies”, unbinding, rather narrow in scope, vague, or hardly become implemented. Since ISC is to be seen as an ambitious and highly demanding undertaking, both institutionally and in terms of resources, it needs strong incentives or pressures for stimulating the necessary engagement. From the policy actors’ perspective ISC is not an end in itself. Hence, it needs careful selection and concentration

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<sup>1</sup> This finding has to be qualified since most of the governance processes assessed in GoFOR are rather “young” processes, whereas effective ISC seems to presuppose long-term endeavours.

on those issues and sectors that shall be dealt with and integrated to safeguard the capacities for fruitful ISC.

By referring to our theoretically lead expectations, we can indeed note a blurring of sectoral boundaries in many GoFOR case studies. Based on the rich empirical information that has been elaborated, our findings are even more nuanced: The majority of cases show these blurring boundaries in terms of the intentions for ISC. Such intentions are individually expressed by the policy actors, in strategy papers, policy plans, guidelines and process principles etc. Many cases also prove an interconnectedness of the actors from different sectors, in particular, in the early stages of governance processes (agenda setting and policy formulation). Sector representatives interact in committees that are often specifically created, but often only on a temporary basis. Hence, in the processes that were studied in GoFOR, ISC characteristics are indeed evident, both in terms of programmatic intentions, in content (actors' ideas, plans, or strategies) and organisationally. However, at the same time, only a few cases in the ISC efforts are institutionalised on a long-term basis. Therefore, ISC practices rarely go beyond intentions and a temporary cross-sectoral involvement.

Furthermore, as expected, many cases show that the intention and efforts for ISC go hand in hand with those participatory processes involving state and non-state actors from different sectors, especially in the early stages of governance processes. However, over the course of time some of the analysed processes changed into exclusive domains of state actors with ISC becoming inter-ministerial affairs only.

Thus, our basic research hypotheses as regards the manifestation of ISC in governance processes have only partly been validated by the empirical findings. They clearly show that ISC practices are not at all self-evident features of contemporary governance processes, even though we observe quite a lot of programmatic statements as regards the necessity of more integrated policy making. ISC is present, to some extent, mostly in terms of the broadened range actors that are involved and in the form of specially created institutions. Still, ISC is most present in terms of rhetoric and intentions.

#### Role of democratic and accountable expertise

As policy issues become increasingly complex, political decisions strongly depend on insights derived from science and other sources of expertise. On the one hand, there are growing expectations of how science and politics can be linked in the most effective way possible. The interaction between the two social systems does not come without tensions, however. The science-policy literature points to a number of social dynamics and challenges, namely the scientification of politics and the concurrent politicisation of science, an ensuing legitimacy crisis of science, and a call for more "accountable" and "democratic" forms of expertise.

In GoFOR, we first provided an overview of the theoretical conceptualisations of the science-policy interface and, then, drawing on empirical insights from 19 governance case studies, put an empirical focus on the roles and functions of experts and expertise in governance processes. The GoFOR project started out with the assumption that in a governance context, science and expertise play distinct, (probably) new roles that go beyond the mere content-wise input of scientific knowledge in political decision-making processes. The normative concept of "democratic and accountable expertise" was used to address the question of how the relationship between science and society is organised in governance processes and how it could be developed in both a more effective and more democratically legitimate way.

Especially EU bodies have put forth great efforts for searching for new models of how to organise the relationship between science and society in a more democratic way (e.g. White Book on European Governance, Science & Society Action Plan). In the set of GoFOR governance case studies, however, one only rarely sees explicit calls for the “democratisation of expertise” but, interestingly, quite a number of actual practices are shown moving in this direction.

In its effort to singularise the overall character of expert involvement in governance processes, GoFOR first looked into the *relative weight* that experts and expertise have in political processes. On a theoretical continuum between purely expert-driven processes on the one extreme and purely politics-driven processes on the other extreme most GoFOR cases tend towards the politics rather than the expertise end of the spectrum. Only a few cases were explicitly framed as “technical” processes or were otherwise dominated by scientific reasoning. From the set of case studies, especially the implementation of the EU Habitats Directive, which was investigated in three countries (Denmark, Greece, and Romania), falls into this category. The great degree of expert involvement in the implementation of the Habitats Directive seems to be mainly attributable to the highly “technical” character of this EU directive. The majority of GoFOR governance cases can be classified as “*political*” processes wherein expertise played a minor (but nevertheless clearly identifiable) role.

Another aspect that is relevant to describe the overall character of expert involvement in governance cases is the *institutional integration of expertise and politics*. In the set of GoFOR governance cases the interaction between science and politics is mainly characterised by multipartite bodies (made up of scientists and policy makers) that are capable, simultaneously, of negotiating differences regarding scientific and political questions (“integration model”). In most processes one finds “mixed” bodies where policy makers, administrative officers, interest group representatives, and scientists have been sitting side by side without a clear separation of roles. Scientists and other experts cooperated “at arm’s length” with political actors. The role of scientists has not been exclusively restricted to providing expert inputs while also policy makers (in the widest sense) have contributed to the knowledge base on which negotiation processes could then build upon. In only a few GoFOR cases were experts kept in a more peripheral position.

When looking at the role that experts and expertise play in governance processes it is safe to state that there is not *the one* function but rather different types of experts fulfil a variety of cognitive, strategic and symbolic *functions*; and the set of functions found within one governance process varies from situation to situation. In the set of GoFOR governance case studies, a number of different functions could be found: experts as (co-)producers of dominant discourses (“schools of thought”) who introduce innovative concepts or general approaches and, thus, lay the foundations for, or push ahead, a governance process; experts as initiators and driving forces in the early phases of governance processes (“policy entrepreneurs”); experts as consultants on process-related questions or evaluators of policies; experts as mediators or interest brokers who help to build a political consensus that serves as the basis for subsequent political negotiation processes; experts as creators of arguments (and counter arguments) who provide political actor groups with “suitable” political arguments to make their point in political deliberations; and, last but not least, experts as providers of content-wise input into policy processes.

Expert involvement in a governance context not only shows a variety of functions but also a remarkable *plurality of actor involvement*. In the set of GoFOR case studies, expert input has been far from restricted to traditional scientific expertise. Expertise was provided by a diverse set of sources and actors: public and private research institutes, interest groups, private consultants, and “ordinary citizens” (local knowledge). As regards the questions of how balanced the

representation of different types of expertise was, of how transparent and independent the selection of experts was, and of how accessible and open the input of expertise was, the set of GoFOR cases showed quite heterogeneous patterns. In many cases there was an increasing plurality of experts and expertise involved and there were some efforts taken to make expertise more accessible. In other cases, one sees a relative domination of one type of expertise along with rather opaque procedures. Especially the narrow definition of “relevant experts” and the excessive use of technical-scientific language reduced the political clout and legitimacy of some processes.

In summary, it can be stated that in the set of the GoFOR case studies, science and expertise frequently played a prominent role. At the same time, the cases neither provide an indication for the “*scientification of politics*”, i.e. scientific expertise dominating or even replacing politics, nor for the reverse phenomenon of the “*politicisation of science*”. A possible explanation for that could be that these phenomena cannot be generalised to all policy settings and that the science-policy literature hitherto has looked at another type of policy problems than the GoFOR project. In the science-policy literature, the “*scientification of politics*” was typically accounted for in a rather special class of policy problems, namely problems characterised by a high degree of system uncertainties and high decision stakes. Most GoFOR cases do not fall into this category. They do, for example, not deal with the adoption and implementation of cutting-edge technologies (such as biotechnology or stem-cell research) but rather with different forms of land use that are, of course, sometimes contested but the consequences of which are more or less predictable. In addition, a number of GoFOR cases has looked at a special class of political processes, namely “*strategy processes*”. With their long-term perspective, this type of political processes is probably more detached from pressing political questions that call for immediate political action; strategy processes somehow take a more “*distanced*” view of policy problems. In this type of settings, political and societal actors have seemingly fewer incentives to draw on science as a problem-solver and/or a source of political legitimacy.

The empirical findings of the GoFOR project reported above show that there is not the one and completely new role of science in governance processes that replaces the traditional roles of science in public policy. The set of 19 case studies rather shows that there are various roles for science in governance processes that empirically reflect different conceptions of the science-policy interface ranging from expertise fulfilling a rather apolitical, “*cognitive*” function in the political processes (“*speaking truth to power*”), to the interest-driven use of science and expertise (“*knowledge as a hook on which interests hang their case*”), to new knowledge gradually spreading, entering into use, and sometimes becoming the conceptual framework of entire policy debates (“*knowledge creep*”).

Interestingly, the tension between the effectiveness and democratic accountability of science is still quite relevant: In the range of GoFOR cases, we could find both a comeback of more “*technocratic*” forms of science-policy integration as well as remarkable practices of organising expert involvement in a more democratic and accountable way. This shows that there is not a unique new role of expertise in governance processes but rather a supplementing of traditional functions of expertise with new expertise-related governance practices.

#### Role of adaptivity and iterativity

The case studies in the GOFOR project cover different time spans and also represent different development stages of processes. This variety of cases provided us with a wide range of examples on how process design, complexity, and uncertainty are linked to each other. The preliminary assumption that iterativity is a prerequisite for adaptation proved to be an incomplete statement. Case examples support that a basically linear process can adapt to new situations as well (FR-RPF,

FR-CFT, and GER-RA). There are also more examples representing the successful delivery of predefined tasks in a linearly organised process, in which monitoring and evaluation plays a significant role and, therefore, linearity as a process design cannot be judged in itself.

In general, the case studies show that AIP aspects played only a limited role, with some exceptions. The specific concepts “adaptive” or “iterative” were seldom used. This indicates that these aspects are still not well developed or integrated into governance processes. Still, several of the relevant policy documents indirectly called for aspects of AIP such as periodic monitoring, evaluation, and prescribed repetitive stages of process design and implementation. These aspects indicate policy intentions to take up tasks in an adaptive and iterative way.

Instruments for monitoring and evaluation are viewed as important in nearly all of the GoFOR governance processes. Some kind of monitoring and evaluation systems was used in 18 of the 19 cases analysed. However, the aim, design, and application of these systems in the governance processes differ quite substantially. In many cases the instruments for monitoring are not well institutionalised and the evaluations were conducted rather wholeheartedly. The most frequently mentioned motive for conducting evaluations was for enhancing efficiency, followed by promoting learning, and being an external requirement for receiving funding. However, generally speaking, evaluations in the GoFOR processes have not been organised in a way that realises the potential for efficient adaptations to challenges.

Some of our cases illustrate that monitoring and evaluations have the potential to play an important role in improving the efficiency of governance processes. The findings however, prove that this potential is far from being realised in most of the GoFOR-processes. This also means that the role of evaluation and monitoring in reality does not match their ideal typical role. In reality these instruments are not always employed by the intentions of learning or process enhancement. They might have only an informative feature or remain pro-forma obligations without feedback to the process. Their role as a primary source for change and adaptation must be contested on the basis of empirical evidence.

This tendency also seems to affect the actual adaptations that occur. The analysis shows that even if evaluations were the most frequent source of adaptations among the GoFOR-processes, the number of processes adapting to external challenges is rather low. Out of the 19 governance processes analysed, we were only able to trace adaptations in seven of them. In these seven GoFOR-processes, we identified a total of 15 specific adaptations. Evaluations and monitoring were the most frequent source of adaptation in these processes, in turn causing adaptations in five of the processes. Still, one could argue that the number of five processes adapting to the findings in evaluations is rather low in this respect. Additionally, the adaptations made can be seen as quite limited.

Another important aspect with regard to adaptivity and iterativity is the occurrence of learning effects in the governance processes. Various forms and ideas behind learning can be identified in the GoFOR case studies. Related to learning in the processes we can conclude that reflective methods such as self-evaluation can be used effectively to facilitate learning at the stakeholder- and also at the institutional and process levels. Somewhat contrasting is the role of external evaluations and monitoring instruments in terms of learning effects as their application motives vary significantly in the cases. This indicates that the underlying motivation is a crucial factor to explain individual or institutional learning, and the means of prescribed evaluation and monitoring alone does not guarantee that the governance process will adapt or change if needed.

It is also noteworthy that in our empirical studies, dialogue and exchange-driven learning tends to remain at the stakeholder level, rather than being transferred to the institutional or process levels.

This indicates that a continuous actor engagement over the whole process timeline is crucial in terms of process adaptation. The analysis shows that top-down processes - as illustrated here e.g. by the Natura 2000 cases – tend to have less process and institutional learning. Mainly because these top-down approaches are exercised in a way that leaves little room for adaptation and changes in practice. In contrast, cases with actor empowerment or grassroots initiatives tend to result in high-level learning and have the potential to alter the process (e.g. FR-RPF, NL-GW, FR-CFT, and GER-RA).

### Effects of governance processes

The empirical research in GoFOR also provided a comprehensive overview of the *effects* to be found in governance processes. For the evaluation of the effects, GoFOR has fallen back on a typology from the policy literature that distinguishes between “outputs”, “impacts”, and “outcomes”. From the analysis of 19 governance processes, it is evident that in most case studies, the effects are identifiable more in the form of direct outputs and in the form of impacts (i.e. changes in the policy actors’ behaviour) but to a lesser degree in terms of biophysical changes (i.e. outcomes).

New policy documents, strategies, plans, or other programmatic texts were found to be the most frequent *outputs*. In a number of cases, new laws, reforms of existing laws, administrative acts, or policy recommendations could be found. In some instances, we also found changes in the distribution of competences and the institutionalisation of new actor forums.

As regards *impacts*, the vast majority of case studies have shown changes of the behaviour of actors or actor coalitions: processes have empowered the actors' participatory abilities and have helped setting decision-making in a more transparent and open framework. In the course of many of the processes, the attitudes of actors have changed, in particular towards becoming more cooperative. Most of the governance processes also resulted in changes as regards the terms of the debate and in changing ways of thinking. Such changes included the introduction of a more deliberative and participatory terminology, the reduction or elimination of prejudices among actors and, more generally, the strengthening of more integrated approaches instead of sectoral ones.

In most of the examined governance processes, goal attainment in terms of *outcomes* in a narrow sense, i.e. in terms of bio-physical changes, were indiscernible at this stage. Firstly, in fact, in a number of cases it is impossible to verify any effects as there are no clearly identifiable chains of cause and effect. This does not only restrict ex-post evaluation but also the potential for a prognosis as regards future achievements. Secondly, governance processes are a rather recent approach in public policy making. Thus, there is no adequate external evidence (history) that might help to evaluate these processes as regards their likely further implementation and goal attainment. The majority of the processes that were studied are immature in terms of the stage of the policy cycle: Most of them are at the early stages of policy implementation. However, there were also cases where concrete plans and strategies were decided upon quite some time ago but implementation has been slow so far or has stagnated for other reasons that are related to the processes themselves.

### **5.3. New modes of governance or only “The Emperor's New Clothes”?**

As described in sub-chapter 5.1, the call for new modes of governance is connected with a number of – typically positive – expectations. Based on the empirical findings from 19 governance case studies, this final sub-chapter addresses the question of whether and to what extent the expected

effects of new modes of governance can actually be realised in real-world governance processes. Subsequently, the following questions will be addressed:<sup>2</sup>

- To what extent (if at all) have actor networks become enlarged beyond sectoral boundaries and territorial levels?
- Do governance processes actually apply new modes of co-ordination, do they facilitate policy learning and greater process flexibility, and do they result in innovative policy instruments?

Therewith, we also provide answers to the major research questions of GoFOR, namely :

- the impetus and motivation for new modes of governance,
- the manifestation of governance rhetoric in terms of programmatic policy statements compared to the actual practices of governance and the forms of institutionalisation,
- the interaction of “new” and “traditional modes of governance”, i.e. whether and to what extent traditional structures and practices have lost or gained in importance or have changed as regards their functions, and
- whether the roles of different policy actors have changed through the introduction of governance processes (in particular the role of state actors) and whether the use of expertise has become more democratic and accountable.

#### The governance rhetoric

“New modes of governance” are high on the agenda in current natural resources policy-making. The dominant rhetoric is usually a positive, optimistic one, stressing that more participation is better participation, that more integrated and co-ordinated policies are preferable, that the integration of a broad range of stakeholders increases policy effectiveness and legitimacy, that policies should be expert-based etc. This trend from the early 1990s onwards goes hand in hand with an increased international focus on the topic of “governance”, “new modes of governance”, or “good governance” and it is also reflected in the majority of the GoFOR cases.

In terms of rhetoric, it was especially the principle of participation that was found high on the agenda in almost all of the cases studied. Sometimes participation was considered as an aim in itself; sometimes it was seen as a means to improve problem solving and/or to increase the democratic quality of decisions. Similarly, we found programmatic calls and intentions for increasing cross-sectoral and multi-level co-ordination as well as calls for adaptive and iterative approaches in a number of policy documents. In contrast, explicit reference to the “democratisation of expertise” was reported only rarely in the case studies, but interestingly quite a number of actual practices were found in this respect.

#### Consequences of internationalisation, Europeanisation, and decentralisation

In many cases this governance rhetoric was rather stimulated by, and leaning on, international and/or European agreements and policies. In about half of the processes, participation was argumentatively justified by referring to international treaties or non-legally binding agreements, to pan-European agreements or to EU legislation, in particular when e.g. participation was not customary in the respective political culture.

This also applies to inter-sectoral co-ordination to a significant extent: Certainly, in some cases concrete, national or regional cross-sectoral policy problems were the main triggers for striving

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<sup>2</sup> See the right hand column in **Fehler! Verweisquelle konnte nicht gefunden werden.**

towards more integrated policies. However, in quite some other cases ISC was primarily introduced as a “part of the rules”, rules that are often prescribed by binding or non-legally binding international agreements or European policies. Furthermore, internationalisation and Europeanisation also took effect in terms of economic incentives resulting from globalised markets or from European Union programmes. These incentives were found to be another major driving force. EU funding programmes, for example, prescribe participatory cross-sectoral programming procedures and formally entail the need to co-ordinate among territorial levels. Indeed, in many cases the actors’ commitment to the processes was very much “facilitated” by such policies and prescriptions. That is, international and European discourses and programmes set significant incentives towards changes in governance arrangements or even prescribe specific planning and implementation procedures; e.g. as regards the implementation of the Habitats-Directive. Thus, they directly and/or indirectly affect national sovereignty.

Likewise, EU bodies have placed forth great efforts for searching for new models of organising the relationship between science and society in a more democratic way. However, in contrast to the discourses on participation, inter-sectoral, and multi-level co-ordination, these efforts and discourses have not taken serious effect in the national level processes that we studied.

Besides for the effects of internationalisation and Europeanisation, we witnessed the consequences of **decentralisation** in several GoFOR case studies. The benefits of decentralisation approaches were found in the empowerment of provincial/local administrations, in the increased involvement of new actors, and the integration of different sectors’ interests into local/regional development processes. Local politicians became leaders of collective actions. Processes succeeded in (re-)mobilising societal capacities, and became less sector-focused but more integrative. Even though the traditional structures of power distribution are still visible and influential, decentralised governance processes **increased the regional/local autonomy**.

#### Institutionalisation and practices of governance

With the international and European impetus, among other pressures, the need to involve a broadened range of stakeholder and territorial levels into the governance processes has emerged. Participation is increasingly seen as a way to increase legitimacy in policy formulation and implementation.

Accordingly, many of our processes aimed at integrating a broad set of stakeholders, sectors, and territorial levels for **deploying additional resources, information, and competences**, as well as to **increase input and output legitimacy**. However, the intention of major policy actors, of private stakeholders, and public authorities as well, often was to retain the decision-making power within pre-dominant actor networks. Accordingly, our analysis yields a mixed overall picture: most of the governance processes that we studied did in fact result in **enlarged sets of sectors and territorial levels involved**. But in a number of cases well entrenched administrative structures, interests, and sectoral logics significantly constrained or even marginalised the processes’ outreach and effectiveness.

Furthermore, processes tend to be institutionalised on a temporary basis only, even if they are labelled as long-term, open-ended endeavours (e.g. strategy processes). Co-ordination efforts have been institutionalised on a long-term basis in only a few cases, in a number of processes we observed rather symbolic short-term cross-sectoral involvement where sectoral and administrative interests often hamper more effective co-operation.

We also found cases where most crucial policy issues were dealt with outside the specifically institutionalised governance processes, i.e. in parallel, in traditional, pre-established structures.

This indicates another limitation of such governance processes, which were established along-side but not integrated into the overall governmental arrangements: Well-entrenched sectoral organisation of ministerial departments and their respective interest group environments then easily manage to marginalise their effectiveness.

In compliance with the governance rhetoric, some kind of monitoring and evaluation was conducted in practically all cases. Nevertheless, these procedures often were not organised in a way that would have allowed for the realisation of their potentials and consequently played a limited role. With a few exceptions, evaluations were not effectively integrated into the processes. They rarely resulted in effective feedback to processes and/or were conducted pro-forma to fulfil externally prescribed obligations. These findings stand in stark contrast to the most frequently mentioned motives for conducting evaluations: “to enhance efficiency” and “to facilitate learning”. **Policy learning was rarely and not very effectively induced** by monitoring and evaluation.

The GoFOR case studies also showed that the processes of Europeanisation and regionalisation (see above) raise the challenge of including actors from various territorial levels in a multi-level system without impairing effective decision-making. We found different approaches that promise to meet this challenge effectively: functional and/or territorial differentiation of tasks along the chain of decision-making, patterns of loose coupling among levels of government, in which levels interact in terms of information exchange, communication, and persuasion but not in the form of hierarchical command and control, and effective vertical co-ordination by **combinations of different ideal-type modes of co-ordination** (i.e. market mechanisms, hierarchy, negotiations, and networks). These approaches promise to ease the tensions that are inherent with multi-level policy-making frameworks.

Institutional change and innovation was mainly found in the wake of decentralisation taking place most obviously at the regional and local levels, whereas we often noticed institutional continuity at the national level, with traditional patterns of decision-making being largely preserved. **Increasing levels of co-ordination and co-operation** were triggered and strengthened by decentralisation processes, i.e. by changes to region-oriented or local approaches in policy making. In some cases, cross-sectoral co-ordination was explicitly delegated to the regional or local levels and turned out to be more effective there.

Last but not least, our case analyses definitely point to the fact that participatory, cross-sectoral and/or multi-level governance processes usually constitute complex settings that are rather demanding. Facilitation and management of such processes **requires substantial expertise, capacities, and resources** that neither state nor private actors can easily mobilise.

#### Enlarged networks, new actors, and changing actors' roles

One key aspect within the governance discourse is the enlargement of the range of actors, interests, and expertise that is involved in policy processes. This discourse is usually accompanied by the question of whether the role of state actors is likely to change.

In the vast majority of the GoFOR governance cases, participatory and co-ordination procedures were induced, designed, and to a varying extent also controlled by state actors. This may be due to the selection of cases: GoFOR intentionally focuses on government-initiated processes, but *not* on pure bottom-up, non-governmental processes. However, even in the few exceptions from this selection rule, in cases that can be considered non-governmental processes, public administrators were rather influential. The national and/or local government, as represented by public officials, were key participants in nearly all of our cases. To summarise, **pre-existing administrative**

**structures and governmental actors remained central policy shaping factors.** They effectively promote or hinder new governance perspectives in various ways: by providing or withholding commitment, by changes in policy style, by establishing the institutional framework of the governance processes, and by defining the process objectives, timeframes, measures etc. State actors are usually well endowed with the capacities and resources to steer or influence the processes. Hence, increased state actors' commitment goes hand in hand with increasingly effective policy formulation and implementation processes. On the other hand, this central role of the state also points to the fact that most of the processes that we studied were highly dependent on and susceptible to changes in governmental regimes, and changes in the state actors' strategies and preferences.

Besides for state actors, the typical key participants were environmental and recreation **NGOs**, landowner associations, industry representatives, and research bodies. The involvement of **non-organised citizens**, in contrast, was very limited in almost all of our cases: citizens were mainly addressed by information campaigns. Where they were invited for actual (consultative) participation, but citizens proved to be difficult to mobilise.

Science and expertise frequently played a prominent role. However, our cases do not provide an indication of a "*scientification of politics*", or the reverse phenomenon of the "*politicisation of science*". Even though we detected an increasing plurality of experts and expertise involved and some **efforts to make expertise and information more accessible** in a number of cases, we did not observe the one and new role of science and expertise that would have replaced its traditional roles. As a rule, interaction between science and politics is characterised by multipartite bodies made up of scientists and policy makers ("*integration model*"): Scientists and experts co-operated "at arm's length" with political actors.

Overall we summarise here that the governance approaches that we studied resulted in **enlarged sets of actors who became involved**. However, a synthesised review of our cases provides the impression that public authorities as well as other hitherto privileged actors have often proved reluctant to open up major decision arenas to a broader range of stakeholders.

### Concluding remarks

Referring to the cases that we studied, we conclude that the overall policy-making culture is likely to become more participatory, and will provide more opportunities and access to a broader range of stakeholders who may gain increased and legitimate influence on decision-making within the given policy fields. Even though the actual redistribution of power that we observed in most of our cases was quite limited, the participatory processes still stimulated the emergence of enlarged and new actor networks.

Based on our findings, we further conclude that the introduction of the governance rhetoric and practices at the national, regional, and local levels is often rather due to international and/or European discourses, agreements, and policies. Firstly, ideas, arguments, and procedural elements of new governance approaches have increasingly taken hold in national level discourses. Secondly, quite some international agreements and in particular EU policies even prescribe participatory and integrative policy-making procedures as well as the monitoring and evaluation of processes and outcomes etc. Consequently, we assume that this trend will continue in the years to come, i.e. a further trend towards applying governance elements in the field of environmental and natural resource policy, at least in the programmatic rhetoric.

On the other hand, besides for a number of strategic processes that were stipulated by international forest dialogues or conventions, we barely found **innovations in policy instruments**.

In most cases, new modes and processes of governance did not replace traditional modes, structures, or processes. They rather complemented them or even proceeded in parallel, nearly unconnected with the traditional decision-making procedures and arenas. This again points out that the pre-existing structures, traditional institutions, actor networks and the entrenched patterns of power distribution remain central to the explanation of governance processes', as well as these processes' policy outputs, impacts, and outcomes.

New modes of governance, as defined in agreements, programmes, and policy papers at the international, European, national, and regional levels set the principles and procedures for meaningful public participation and for horizontal as well as vertical policy co-ordination and integration. Our research shows that effective application of these principles and procedures is highly dependent on a broad variety of context factors, in particular on the commitment of influential state and non-state actors.

Our rich empirical materials allowed for the pointing out of some concrete, most significant factors that either facilitate or hamper the effective implementation of governance processes. However, based on the available evidence, we conclude here that an all-encompassing, European-wide transferable "blueprint" that might instruct one as to how to simultaneously achieve effective participatory, inter-sectoral, multi-level, and adaptive governance processes in various policy domain settings is hardly conceivable as of yet, due to the complex interrelations among the procedural elements and the variety of contextual conditions.

Even though "new modes of governance" have been high on the political agendas for nearly two decades now, in depth comparative, empirical research is still scarce. The GoFOR project has provided us with the opportunity to significantly contribute to the body of knowledge by providing detailed empirical evidence, in which some answers have been provided, but – as always – more questions are still up to further research to be conducted.

## 6. Achievement of the project objectives

The main objective of the GoFOR project was to **evaluate the evolving practices of new modes of governance as a basis for policy relevant conclusions and recommendations in order to safeguard sustainable forest management in Europe**. The overall objective as well as all five sub-objectives as listed in Table 3 below was fully reached. The right-hand column of the Table indicates as to how the objectives were achieved.

**Table 3: GoFOR project sub-objectives and their achievement**

Sub-objective	Way of achievement
1. Development of a sound <b>conceptual framework</b> and methodologies for the evaluation of evolving practices of new modes of governance in forest policy	In the first project workshop, the consortium elaborated and agreed upon an overall <b>conceptual research framework</b> (D2). This framework guided research over the whole project period but was still flexible and adaptive. An abridged version of final conceptual framework is documented in the <b>Synthesis Report</b> (D12).
2. Elaboration of an enlarged set of <b>criteria</b> that operationalise the concept of “new modes of governance” and its constituting elements in European forest policy and adjacent fields	In this research step, GoFOR partners were assigned thematic leadership and co-leadership according to their specific expertise. Lead teams elaborated <b>input papers</b> providing a detailed operationalisation of the governance elements participation, multi-level co-ordination, inter-sectoral co-ordination, democratic and accountable expertise, and adaptive and iterative processes (D3). Based on the theoretical input papers, the consortium developed a common <b>Terms of Reference</b> (ToR) for the pre-assessments (D4) and ToR for the main assessments (D6) of the programmatic statements and practices of governance in selected case studies.
3. Exploration of the main <b>policy actors’ assumptions, preferences and policy positions</b> with regard to new modes of governance and of the contextual factors that mediate the practices of new modes of governance and their effectiveness	In two rounds of empirical investigations (pre-assessment, main assessment) GoFOR partners delivered in-depth analyses of 19 governance processes in ten European countries. The analyses are documented in a final collection of <b>case study reports</b> (D10). The case studies are briefly summarised in the final <b>Synthesis Report</b> (D12).
4. Overview of existing <b>practices</b> of new governance, identification of successful models, and critical evaluation of the transferability of such models to other political contexts	A broad and detailed overview of the existing practices of new governance are documented in the compilation of <b>case study reports</b> (D10). In the final <b>Synthesis Report</b> (D12) practices found in different national and sectoral contexts are cross-analysed and compared.
5. Deduction of <b>policy-relevant conclusions</b> with regard to procedural and institutional approaches for the implementation of new modes of governance to promote sustainable forest management in Europe	On a case level, policy-relevant conclusions on new modes of governance were documented in the <b>case study reports</b> (D10). Conclusions based on comparative cross-case analyses were elaborated in the final <b>Synthesis Report</b> (D12). The synthesis contains both conclusions on the level of single <i>governance elements</i> (chapter 4 in D12) as well as on a more general level of governance “as such”. For a short <b>summary</b> of policy-relevant conclusions see chapter 5 above.

## **7. Achievements with regard to the state of the art**

“New modes of governance” have been high on the political and social science agendas for nearly two decades, including in the fields of forest, environmental, and natural resources policy. In the scientific as well as political discourses, the term governance is usually connected to changes in relation to political structures, actors, and modes of policy making. Most of the scholarly work either takes a purely theoretical-conceptual perspective, e.g. emphasising the institutional designs and discussing the potentials and limits of new modes of governance in abstract terms, or it is predominantly empirical in nature. Empirical research is usually based on only one or a few examples of specific governance arrangements; broad comparisons of governance processes are largely missing. Furthermore, most scholarly writings focus on certain key aspects of governance arrangements, such as the mode of multi-level co-ordination, participatory arrangements, the role of science and expertise, or on evaluation procedures. Only rarely are a broader range of elements and their interrelations concurrently investigated in the very same empirical examples. In the political sphere, new modes of governance are usually discussed in terms of “good governance”, and are consequently connected to an overly positive and optimistic rhetoric that stresses the promises of more inclusive, more co-ordinated, and better integrated policy making. Pros, cons, as well as potential trade-offs between different elements and goals of governance are hardly discussed.

Even though scientists and policy makers have been dealing with governance questions for years now, in-depth, cross-national empirical research in the field of natural resource governance is still scarce. There are hardly any projects that strived to analyse nearly 20 governance processes from a comparative, cross-country perspective. The GoFOR project has provided us with the opportunity to contribute to the filling of this gap and to significantly enrich the body of knowledge on the actual manifestations of the new modes of governance in natural resource policy making.

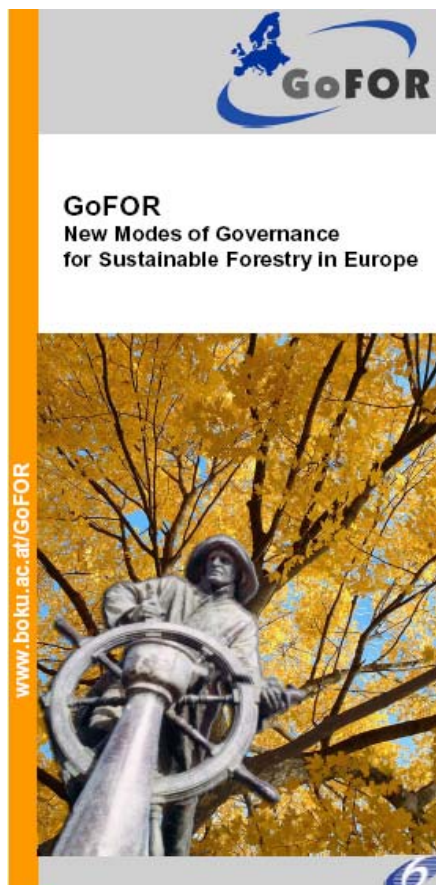
Another distinctive feature and strength of the GoFOR project is to be seen in the concurrent analysis of a range of central aspects of governance arrangements. By investigating the rhetoric and practices as regards participation, inter-sectoral and multi-level co-ordination, adaptive approaches, and as regards the role of democratic and accountable expertise, GoFOR examined the respective governance processes in a comprehensive way instead of only focusing on particular aspects.

Besides for the broad analysis of the governance arrangements, GoFOR also contributed more specifically to the conceptual and empirical body of knowledge of the following research strands (for details see chapter 5): participation research, modes of multi-level governance, cross-sectoral co-ordination/policy integration research, the role of science and expertise (science-policy research), evaluation research, and to research the role of international and European politics in domestic policy making (internationalisation/Europeanisation research).

To summarise, GoFOR’s main contribution to the state of the art in research on natural resource governance is to be seen in the rich, comprehensive, and comparative empirical insights that have been gained. The GoFOR project provided us with the opportunity to describe and analyse the programmatic rhetoric and practices, the potentials and limits, as well as facilitating and hindering factors in 19 governance processes of natural resource policy making in ten European countries.

## 8. Dissemination of knowledge

The consortium has been active in disseminating knowledge on the GoFOR project since the project's initiation. Since the "final" research results were unavailable until recently, the dissemination activities so far concentrated on presenting GoFOR's conceptual framework, its research objectives, elements of analysis, and especially the case studies and their individual results. Activities where the final research results will be presented are planned.



- In many partner countries, newspapers and professional journals were addressed via **press releases** and **media briefings**, especially at the beginning of the project; media relations will be intensified again after the end of the project.
  - GoFOR published a **2-page leaflet** providing basic information on the project. The leaflet was printed in 1,000 copies, which were distributed to the partners who used them in their external communications. In Romania, the leaflet was also translated into the Romanian language.
  - The GoFOR project was presented at a number of national and international **conferences**, workshops, and seminars (see list below).
  - GoFOR (interim) results were published in a number of peer-reviewed and non-peer-reviewed **journals** (see list below). The final results will be published in various venues (books, special issues of professional journals, single journal articles, etc.).
  - GoFOR organised **Open Workshops** wherein GoFOR researchers came together with national and international researchers and policy makers to exchange experiences and to disseminate project outcomes.
- In each of the partner countries, **National Advisory Panels** (NAPs) comprising experts from a diverse range of both academic and business fields (with representatives from national governments, organisations of land owners, industry as well as environmental NGOs) were set up. NAP members advised the GoFOR partners in various phases of the research but also contributed to the dissemination of GoFOR results within their home institutions.
  - GoFOR has a project **webpage**: [www.boku.ac.at/GoFOR/](http://www.boku.ac.at/GoFOR/)  
The webpage is intended (i) to make information on GoFOR generally accessible (public area), (ii) to keep members of the National Advisory Panels informed on the current GoFOR-related events and up-to-date results (NAP area), and (iii) to allow for the efficient dissemination of information between the project partners (partner area).

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- Böcher, Michael (forthcoming): Instrument Change in Environmental Policy, Critical Issues in Environmental Taxation, Oxford University Press (in press).
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- Tränkner, Sebastian; Giessen, Lukas (forthcoming): Four paths of mainstreaming the LEADER approach in Germany. In: Soto, P. (Ed.): Which direction for Rural Development? (in press).
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- Böcher, Michael, Gießen, Lukas, Kleinschmit, Daniela (forthcoming): Introduction: The Role of discourses and expertise in environmental and forest-related governance. In: Forest Policy and Economics, Special Issue (in preparation).
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- Karl Hogl, Ralf Nordbeck, Eva Kvarda (forthcoming): When International Impulses Hit Home: The Role of Domestic Policy Subsystem Configurations in Explaining Different Types of Sustainability Strategies. In: Forest Policy and Economics, Special Issues (in preparation).
- Giessen, Lukas, Böcher, Michael (forthcoming): Area-based rural development promoting the use of local knowledge; the case of the German rural development program "Active Regions". In: Small-scale Forestry, Special Issue (in preparation).

Kouplevatskaya-Buttoud, Irina (forthcoming): Adaptation to change and re-designing of governance systems: cases from small-scale forestry. In: Small-scale Forestry, Special Issue (in preparation).

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- Kvarda, Eva; Nordbeck, Ralf (2006): Effectiveness and Legitimacy of National Strategies for Sustainability. 2006 Berlin Conference on the Human Dimensions of Global Environmental Change, Berlin, Germany.
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- Turnhout, Esther; van der Zouwen, Mariëlle (2006): 'Nature for People, People for Nature' as a governance product? International conference of the interpretative practitioner, June 2006, Birmingham, Great Britain.
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- Böcher, Michael (2007): The role of scientific knowledge in natural resources policy processes. 3<sup>rd</sup> General Conference of the European Consortium for Political Research, Sept. 2007. Pisa, Italy.
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