

**WZB** 

Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung

# Global Multi-Level Governance from a European Perspective

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I.

## 1. Theses

- a) The EU is not the only form of multi-level governance beyond the state.
- b) Global Governance can be conceptualized as multilevel governance as well.
- c) The specific design of global multi-level governance displays, in comparative perspective, significant shortcomings which point to the major deficiencies of global governance



I.

#### 2. Structure of the Presentation

- a) political institutions on the level beyond the nation state today possess a significant level of authority;
- b) international institutions achieve their effects only by interacting with other political levels;
- c) the specific features of the global multi-level governance system compared to other national or the EU multi-level governance systems;
- d) the built-in deficiencies of global multi-level governance.



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#### 1. Global Governance —

entirety of regulations put forward with reference to solving a denationalized problem or providing a transnational common good

- justified with reference to the common good, but not necessarily serving it global governance presupposes some common interests and goal orientations beyond the nation state, at least in a rudimentary form, without denying the persistence of fundamental conflicts
- describing an activity independent of the kind of actor carrying it out governance with (many) governments and governance without government

#### 2. Global Multi-Level Governance

- + global level must possess some authority of its own
- + interplay of different levels and functional differentiation



## III.

Supranationalization describes a process in which international institutional procedures contradict the consensus principle and the principle of non-intervention. In this way, some international norms and rules create obligations for at least some national governments to take measures even when they have not agreed to do so. As a result, *political authority* shifts partially towards the international level.

Policy Cycle	Indicators	Developments	
Decision	Majority decisions	About 50%	
Implementation/ interpretation	Quasi-judicial bodies	5 times as many as in 1960	
Monitoring	Independent agencies	Role of NGOs	
Enforcement	Jus Cogens/R2P	Only after 1989	
Evaluation/ agenda setting	Knowledge bodies	Very recent phenomenon	



IV.

*Transnationalization* refers to a process through which transnational non-state actors develop political regulations and carry out political activities without being formally authorized by states. Such regulations are based on the principle of self-governance and create *private authority*:

- codes of conduct,
- PPPs,
- rise of private actors.



V.

The rise of political authority beyond the nation state should however by no means be read as an indication of the demise of the nation state.

- only denationalized issue areas
- keeps decisive sources of implementation
- remains central for legitimation



# VI.

MLG Features	Unitary Federalism	EU System	Global Multi-Level Governance
Implementation	2-staged	2-staged	2-staged
Legitimation	1-staged	1-staged/2-staged	2-staged
Coordination	centralized	decentralized	missing/rudimentary



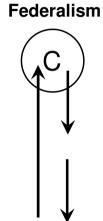
# VII.

## Three Types of Multi-Level Arrangements

Higher political levels

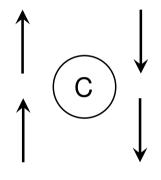
Member states

Society

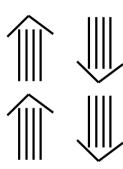


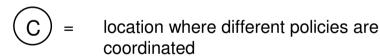
Unitary

European Multi-Level System



Global Multi-Level Governance









one-staged process of implementation with a coordinating location



two-staged process of implementation with a coordinating location



two-staged legitimation process of sectoral systems which lack a coordinating location



two-staged implementation process of sectoral systems which lack a coordinating location



## VIII.

#### 1. Compliance Problems

- no monopoly on the use of force
- substitutes such as legitimacy, legalization, non-hierarchical enforcement less well developed than in the EU

### 2. Legitimation Problems

- authority requires legitimation
- two-staged process not any more sufficient
- Informal response: direct links and autonomy preservation

#### 3. Coordination Problems

- notion of (rudimentary) community and common good, as well as density of regulation requires coordination of subsystems
- informal response: UNSC, G8/20, Judicial bodies
- highly exclusive; not accountable