

Theoretical Approaches to Understanding Intersectoral Policy Integration

Shannon, M.A.

University at Buffalo School of Law
State University of New York at Buffalo
Buffalo, New York, USA

ABSTRACT

Policy sectors have variously been described as "advocacy coalitions," "policy communities," "policy systems," "iron triangles," "power blocks" among other concepts depending on disciplinary perspective. Intersectoral policy integration presumes that the way to achieve increased efficacy in actual outcomes is through improved integration of policy across multiple sectors. This paper examines several different conceptions of policy sectors and shows how each conception affects the kinds of mechanisms useful in promoting integration across policy sectors. The purpose of this exercise is to advance practical understanding of policy sectors so as to enhance the effectiveness of efforts toward intersectoral policy integration.

Three general social theories will be used to examine policy sectors: social systems theory which envisions autonomous and self-referential policy sectors; advocacy coalition theory that envisions organization around centers of interest and conflict; and communicative action theory that envisions dynamic, self-organizing policy communities. Each of these perspectives offers something in understanding the actual behavior of policy sectors. This paper is not attempting to advance any particular theory, rather its purpose is to expand our ability to understand the behavior and dynamics of policy sectors so as to better provide the participatory, planning, and institutional mechanisms for promoting integration. The national forest programme process utilizes all three of these mechanisms, and thus improved understanding of how different policy sectors organize and behave differently can improve the design and implementation of these mechanisms.

KEY WORDS: Intersectoral policy integration, participatory processes, social systems theory, advocacy coalition theory, communicative action theory.

1. INTRODUCTION

How tightly are policies connected to those they benefit? Examination of this question fills the academic and practice journals in the many fields of policy studies. What is evident is that the answer is always, "well, it depends...." Yes, but depends on what?

This paper addresses this question in the context of demands for intersectoral policy integration. If policies are tightly held in place by beneficiaries -- interests, political alignments, and agencies, then working across policy sectors can be very difficult. If policies are more loosely related to the interests of beneficiaries, the structural and ideological preferences of organizations and agencies, and the shifting alignment of

political interests, then it may be somewhat easier to pursue efforts to integrate policies across sectors. Clearly, these are empirical questions. But how one conceptualizes these questions and carries out research is a theoretical question.

The purpose of this paper is to examine three, common, but quite different theoretical approaches to thinking about intersectoral policy integration. Each theory conceptualizes the idea of a "policy community" quite differently. As a result, not only would the empirical study be affected by the initial theoretical standpoint, so would the results, and thus also the recommendations for approaches for improving intersectoral policy integration.

The three general social theories to be discussed in this paper include: social systems theory which envisions autonomous and self-referential policy sectors; advocacy coalition theory that envisions organization around centers of interest and conflict; and communicative action theory that envisions dynamic, self-organizing policy communities. Each of these theories offers something to students of policy and policy practitioners in terms of understanding the actual behavior of policy sectors. The following sections will take up each theory area in turn and provide a brief overview of key propositions, major concepts, and implications for understanding policy dynamics. This will be followed by a discussion of how this theory might affect our understanding of intersectoral policy integration.

It should be noted that these three theory areas are not the only ones applied to understanding policy. Paul Sabatier (1999) edited a book titled "Theories of the Policy Process" that includes discussions of rational choice theory and punctuated equilibrium theory as well as innovation and diffusion models. However, I chose these three areas because they represented a useful range of theoretical approaches when considering policy integration. At the systems theory end, policy communities are self-referential and so the problem of integration is a profound one. At the communicative action end, policy communities are constructed through communication and thus creating a forum for dialogue is a critical problem. And for advocacy coalition theory, policy communities depend upon conflict and contested ideas and so finding opportunities for negotiation and compromise is important. Each perspective brings into focus some of the challenges to policy integration in a multi-level governance context.

2. FRAMEWORK FOR EMERGENT GOVERNANCE

Understanding the framework of governance that underlies the call for policy integration is the first task of this paper. The demand for intersectoral policy integration stretches beyond just the environmental arenas into the agricultural, social welfare, economic and other policy spheres (Sandel 1996). Meeting the challenge of these new demands for integration is difficult and time-consuming, and requires new relationships to be built among very different policy networks, academic disciplines, and administrative agencies (Landy and Plotkin 1982). This section on emergent governance is taken from Shannon (2002a) which focused on the participatory and collaborative processes. This companion paper will focus on intersectoral policy integration.

Governance is a concept that necessarily relies on both agency and structure elements (Crozier 1980; Giddens 1984). In terms of structure, governance describes a pattern of institutional arrangements. However, action in terms of innovation, creativity and organizing is necessary to create and enact institutions (Shannon 2002a,b). For emergent institutions to persist over time, however, they must institutionalize the creative, generative capacity of collaboration (Wheatley 1992). Thus, the structural element of collaboration is produced and maintained by the agency of actors to engage in cooperative, supportive, learning, and adaptive behavior. Collaboration is an activity that includes sharing resources - including staff and budgets, working to craft joint decisions, engaging the opposition in designing creative solutions to shared problems, and building new relationships as needs and problems arise (Shannon 2002a,b). Facilitating, supporting, and rewarding such behavior is a necessary characteristic of collaborative institutions and a supportive mechanism for intersectoral policy integration..

Governance is a pattern of institutions and behavior over time that link principles to actions, choices, and outcomes. However, the emergent quality of collaboration and communicative action leads to understanding governance as an emergent system. Since environmental governance connects expressions of principles and ethical commitments to actions and choices in actual localities, it is important to conceptualize the elements of the system and their relationships as well as their respective functions. The following schematic is a start in developing such a conceptualization.

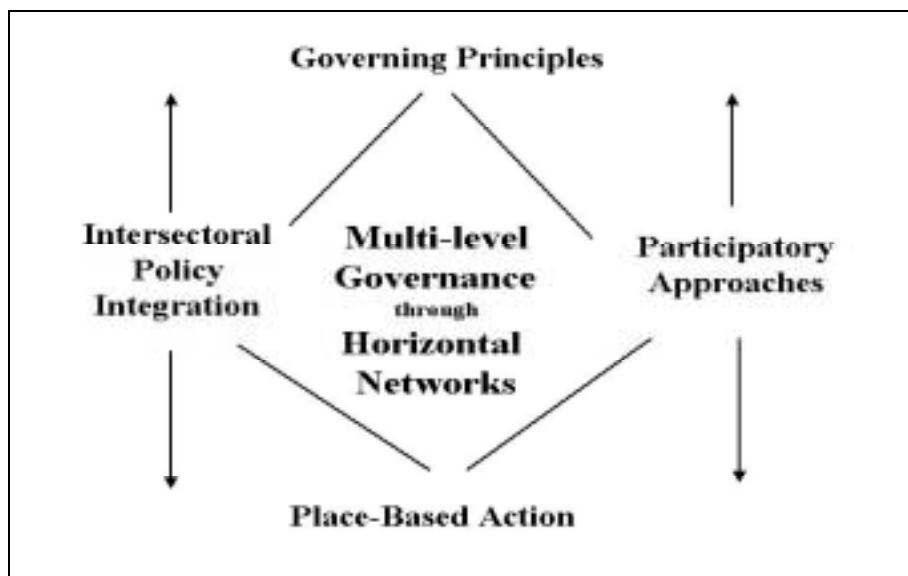


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework for Emergent Governance

Collaboration refers to certain kinds of cooperative behavior, certain forms of institutions, and certain kinds of communicative action. To call this framework "emergent governance" is to say that these kinds of behaviors, institutions, and opportunities for communicative action bring into existence this type of governance system. This kind of system shall be referred to as "emergent governance." However, it is important to make clear at the outset that emergent governance is an outcome of

action and the sustained capacity for collaborative action over time. While generally applied to management, the concept of "backward mapping" -- asking what resources are necessary to carry out a desired objective -- is a useful framework for thinking about emergent governance (Elmore 1970/80). Through communicative processes various actors develop common visions for action along with creating the capacity to achieve these visions - collaboration.

First to describe briefly the elements of this framework and what kinds of behavior, institutions and communicative action are entailed in its parts as well as in giving it unity. Beginning with the relationship between *globalism and localism*. In this conceptual framework, the primary communicative work of the global sphere is the creation of principles (agreements, conventions, laws, or shared ethical commitments) that arise from within action and are expected to have a more or less universal or global reach. By place-based localism is meant the everyday work of creating meaning through action and carrying out actions with consequences for land, resources, and people (Jacobs 2000; 1992). Place-making is a critical feature of emergent governance because meaning can only come through action within a context of actors (Schneekloth and Shibley 1995). Thus, without place-making action there can be no situated meanings that guide decisions, frame management choices, and link policy networks.

This conceptual model shows only two of several potential linking relationships between global and local spheres. The first is the process of *intersectoral policy integration*. Whereas historically policy issues have been located within relatively autonomous policy sectors supported by separate government bureaus, the emphasis today is upon developing intersectoral policies that link policy networks, policy purposes, and affect desired changes in policy outcomes (Lee 1993). For example, many of the changes in land management in the United States result from linking resource extraction policies with nature conservation policies (Caldwell, Wilkinson and Shannon 1994). When actors, agencies, NGOs, and political resources that have traditionally ignored one another are suddenly forced (usually by legal changes) to work together and collaborate, there is often a lot of animosity and territorial behavior at the outset. However, the kinds of problems that land and resource policy address today demand collaboration because no one policy sector, agency, or political actor can effectively address the problem alone (Shannon 1998; Johnson et.al. 1999). The new issues cross boundaries ecologically, socially, politically, administratively, and legally (Meidinger 1999; 1997). Indeed, frequently several regions, states, countries are involved and their separate regimes must find ways to work together on a common problem.

The demand for intersectoral policy integration stretches beyond just the environmental arenas into the agricultural, social welfare, economic and other policy spheres (Sandel 1996). Meeting the challenge of these new demands for integration is difficult and time-consuming, and requires new relationships to be built among very different policy networks, academic disciplines, and administrative agencies (Landy and Plotkin 1982).

The second linking process is *participatory approaches*. By participatory approaches is meant political processes that self-consciously and directly engage the people interested in and affected by the choices as well as those whose actions, budgets, and

commitments are necessary to carry out the choices (Reich 1985). These participatory approaches in the context of emergent governance are addressed in more detail in Shannon (2002a).

The result of these integrative and participatory linking processes is a form of organization that works at *multiple levels through horizontal networks*. Rather than a focus on the vertical integration of levels of governance, this framework suggests multiple levels of policy, planning and administration that are linked through both demands for policy integration and participatory processes (Schattschneider 1960). At each level, there are numerous networks which reflect the problems of that scale of governance. Clearly, both agencies and NGOs play important roles in vertical integration across these levels of governance. However, this is different than assuming the each lower level is simply a subset of higher levels in terms of desired policy goals and outcomes. For example, in federalist system of government each lower level of government is expected to carry out the mandates of the higher levels. However, the higher levels do not have to apply lower level decisions nor need these decisions even be recognized or treated as legitimate. In a multi-level system, there is only a loose-coupling between levels based on the integrative and participatory processes that link them. There is also, of course, the "feedback" process based on the actual responses of the ecological or social systems to policies and actions. This element is not evident in this framework but should not be forgotten.

As a unity, this conceptual model of emergent governance reveals to us the necessity for continuous creative action. As discussed in Shannon (2002a), generative politics creates new meanings, actors, and organizations as compared to reactive politics which is bound by existing interests, preferences, and authorities. However, how policy communities are understood theoretically affects our understanding of generative politics. These next three sections outline the three different theory areas explored in this paper.

3. SOCIAL SYSTEMS THEORY¹

A) Theoretical background

Social Systems Theory considers organizations or organizational networks as social systems. Social systems are understood to be closed and self-referring systems. Self-reference can be understood as the mechanism of a system which is necessary to handle complexity. In other words, social systems reduce complexity by restricting their range of attention. Clearly, organizations do this by definition in that their structure and purpose focuses attention on a few of the infinite factors in the world and directs action towards identified purposes. Such restrictions allow organizations and individuals to focus their energy, concentration and resources on those elements within their scope of attention and responsibility. Such limits of focus and attention also result in stabilizing the social world and avoiding the possibility of chaotic complexity. Moreover, these constraints on attention define the conditions under which the restricted (enclosed) can act as self-referring organizations and build up internal complexity. Thus, the self-referring process is the precondition for identity of any social system (Kickert 1993).

¹ This section on social systems theory was largely written and conceptualized by Claus Henning Schmidt, doctoral student in the Institute for Forest Economics, University of Freiburg, Germany.

The concept of self-referring systems leads to several propositions:

- Systems are not open and adaptive towards their environment but are connected through structural coupling.
- Systems respond to external stimuli based upon their own internal beliefs and process rules. Thus, systems are dependent upon the history of their past responses in addressing new problems or situations.
- Systems are complex and stable sets of structures and relationships, thus intervening to create change in the system is difficult because of the autopoietic nature of the system response.

The idea of self-reference becomes more evident by looking at the core operation that pervades any self-referring system. Communication² (and not people) is the core operation that pervades any self-referring social system. The self-referring notion of basing social systems solely on a communicational paradigm is a totally different way of observing and reconstructing reality than phenomenological thinking, which starts with very concrete things, like real people performing real acts. In social systems, the technological information infrastructure, hierarchy, culture, laws and processes reflect accumulated communication, and therefore have a strong influence in shaping the types of communication that are enabled or hindered. People act in various social systems and depending on the resistance of the communication patterns, rules can be changed or new communication can be established.

B) How can Social Systems Theory help expand our ability to understand the behavior and dynamics of forestry policy sectors?

Key ideas derived from Social Systems Theory include:

- understanding forestry (policy) society as being differentiated into closed self-referring social systems (or 'meaning worlds'), which can influence each other only indirectly;
- accepting that closed and self-reference mean it is no longer possible to coordinate, direct, and control social systems to move along predetermined paths through interventions from external systems, such as politics, law or corporate management;
- accepting the creative dynamism unleashed through the self-referring processes in which communication acts produce new artificial structures like Forest Certification schemes that have dynamics of their own and can self-reproduce through self-reference;

² Example: There are ten human beings in the room in which the EFI seminar is taking place. But the seminar's 'social system' is also a eleventh cognitive unit active in the meeting in the form. This is a meaning-creating entity with similar dynamics to the kinds of things going on in the minds of its physical actors. However, this social system does not consist of the physical people and their interrelations, but solely of the EFI seminar's communication acts based on expressed language, gestures and other sensory interplay. It is a world of meaning, with a life and cognition of its own. The social system creates products of meaning which do not represent an aggregation of what has gone on in individuals' minds and is different to the thoughts and memories of each individual

- being aware that social self-reference does not give primacy either to the individual or the collective, but to the emergent communication system which results from discourses involving systemic structures and real people.

C) Forest Certification as an illustration of social systems theory

1. Political and legal background of forest certification

The reduced role of governmental and legal power can be seen as a facilitator in the development of social systems. Since the emergence of social systems is highly dependent on existing and potential communication patterns, neo-liberal and self-restricting political arguments in western countries but also recently in eastern countries have made room for the emergence of new forms of social systems. The reduced ambition and possibilities of government to guarantee social welfare has led to a creative dynamism. Standards are not finalized anymore by central power. The discussion on the standards of sustainable forest management is been driven by a number of organizational actors. Government is solely providing a framework in which it encourages the emergence of indifferent actors with self-organizing complexity. As a consequence the views on an object are multiplied and forests can be seen from many different perspectives. The many different perspectives on forests provide society with very complex and specialized services. As long as different perspectives are not hindering each other no co-ordination is necessary. But recent development in the forest sector has shown that different social actors are getting more and more involved with each other and conflicts arise about sustainable forest management which are not solved by superpower governments. As a result inter-organizational or networking between different actors can be observed but very little is understood about the logic of co-ordination.

2. The emergence of forest certification

Forest certification can be seen as one of the examples of co-ordination logic among emerged self-referring social systems. The emergence of Forest certification has several features:

- Forest certification roots are in the debate regarding on poor, self-restricting and insufficient markets and policy means.
- The debate on sustainable forest management on a broad communicative platform has been encouraged by national and international governmental frameworks. Especially the Rio process (UNCED 1992) changed the centralized paradigm of forest management towards the incorporation of environmental, economic and social issues. Moreover, stakeholder participation, respect for local conditions, the right of equity, responsibility for all forest resources, forest values and services are all now part of the dialogue on forest policy.
- The explosion of different elements of sustainable forest management has created freedom for the development of self-referring social systems, but also increased the need to co-ordinate the freed elements of sustainable forest management.

3. The logic of co-ordination of forest certification

From the perspective of social systems theory, the possibilities of co-ordinated standards in sustainable forest management are limited and somehow contradictory to the idea of multiplying options and self-referring complexity. Co-ordination is limited to the borders in which the self-referring operations of social systems are tolerable. The FSC, as one of the most important standard setters for sustainable forest management, illustrates the logic of co-ordination twofold:

1. Its own organizational structure clearly defines borders in which social systems can keep their own self-referring operation logic. The FSC assigns each participating actor to one of its three chambers. Actors are either part of the environmental, social, or economic chamber and are bound to rules of voting and participation. The chamber system dates back to the beginning of the FSC where especially environmental groups and industry drove the development. Actors which are not hurt in their self-referring identity seem to be rather willing to join the FSC as compared to actors whose identity would be reconsidered. The latter actors look at the FSC rather as a new expert which is biased rather than accepting it as a co-coordinator. Especially, a lot of the forest owners in Europe consider the FSC as a biased expert for environmental groups. Moreover, they consider the chamber system as being unfair and argue that they do provide environmental, social and economic values equally. Particularly the history of huge forest owners, e.g. large parts of state forest service in Germany, had problems with the FSC approach and decided to participate in the set up of the alternative PEFC approach.
2. The principles and standards can be considered as the co-ordinated output of the FSC. While the 10 Principles are very broad in scope the determination of standards and indicators has often been very difficult. The more detailed they are the more certain organizational actors feel disrupted in their own self-referring logic. The discussion about reference areas in the German FSC-standard is one example of this. As a consequence, broad support of sustainable forest management standards among different social actors does allow determined co-ordination and standard setting to a limited extent.

4. Summary of Illustration

Forest Certification can be considered as way of co-ordinating self-referring systems and trying to overcome the problems which are caused through their self-referring identities. But co-ordination among self-referring social systems has to be understood as border setting which defines the self-referring processes. Co-ordination in sense of social systems theory can be further understood as the solution to the consensus/dissent paradox. Consensus can be understood as the frame to let dissent happen. Not consensus but dissent provides society with information. Therefore, centralised power insisting upon co-ordination mechanisms bears the danger of dissolving advantages of self-referring complexity.

From the perspective of social systems theory, the various policy sectors work as self-referential systems and each focuses on a particular aspect of the world. Each policy sector can increase internal complexity because it reduces external complexity by restricting its attention and focus. Thus, cross-sectoral policy integration would seek

to maintain the distinct identities and structures of communication of each sector in order not to lose the increased information (complexity) through inclusion of too much external complexity and the resulting loss of focus in each sector.

3. ADVOCACY COALITION THEORY

Paul Sabatier (1988; 1986) framed the ideas of advocacy-coalition theory in response to his attempts to understand policy change, especially in the area of air pollution. One of his initial premises was that a policy subsystem - those actors from a variety of public and private organizations who are actively concerned with a policy problem or issue (Id 1988:131) - is the most useful aggregate of analysis for understanding policy change. Following Pressman and Wildavsky (1973), Sabatier conceptualizes policies as belief systems based upon implicit theories. Thus, within any policy subsystem, there are several "advocacy coalitions" organized around shared normative commitments and causal beliefs (implicit theories). Policy strategies are based upon these belief systems and each coalition adopts strategies that enhance its policy objectives. As policies turn into programs and activities and new information or new external conditions arise, advocacy coalitions may change or alter their beliefs and strategies.

While policy change can be expected as a routine aspect of policy processes, predicting the direction or magnitude of change is a more difficult question. Sabatier (1988) follows Hecl (1974:306) in defining policy oriented learning as a relatively enduring alteration of thought or behavior based on experience and aimed at achieving or revising policy objectives. This kind of policy-oriented learning might be termed "single loop learning" (Lee 1993) wherein advocacy-coalitions respond to new information or new conditions or new adversaries and revise or strengthen their strategies to better achieve their objectives. But the coalitions do not change their basic objectives or belief systems. In this kind of learning, advocacy coalitions could be expected to resist new information or signals of failure of their strategies in an effort to protect core beliefs and theories.

Lee (1993) contrasts single-loop learning with "double-loop learning." Double-loop learning occurs when individuals, groups, or organizations question core commitments, beliefs, and objectives. Sabatier suggests that when advocacy coalitions engage in debate, dialogue, negotiation and conflict, there is the potential for questioning core beliefs and objectives. However, he suggests that the greater the stability in external - real world conditions, the less the likelihood for learning across coalitions. Thus, Sabatier's work examines in some detail the stable as well as dynamic factors in policy in order to better understand, and eventually predict, the degree and kind of policy learning in an advocacy coalition framework.

Some of the relatively stable policy parameters include: basic attributes of the problem area or nature of the economic "good or service;" basic distribution of resources, including power; fundamental cultural values and social structure; and the basic legal structure (Sabatier 1988: 135-6). Some of the dynamic factors include: changes in socio-economic conditions and technology; changes in systemic governing conditions; and policy decisions and impacts from other subsystems (Sabatier 1988: 136-7). Considering the complexity of these factors, it is no surprise that most policy

problems demand specialization and lead to the creation of the numerous, specialized policy subsystems we find.

Sabatier's analysis fits well into the multi-level governance model proposed in this paper. He defines advocacy coalitions more precisely as "people from a variety of positions (elected and agency officials, interest group leaders, researchers) who share a particular belief system - i.e., a set of basic values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions -- and who show a non-trivial degree of coordinated activity over time" (Sabatier 1988: 139). It is worth noting his reasoning as to why he uses the term "belief system" rather than the more usual concept of "interests."

"This framework uses belief systems rather than 'interests' as its focus because beliefs are more inclusive and more verifiable. Interest models must still identify a set of means and performance indicators necessary for goal attainment; this set of interests/goals, perceived causal relationships, and perceived parameter states constitutes a 'belief system' "(Sabatier 1988: 142).

This more inclusive concept also allows for wide variation in strategies consistent with core beliefs and objectives, and thus provides for "single loop" policy learning to occur continually. Nonetheless, the expectation is that every advocacy coalition seeks to employ strategies to protect the assignment of governmental responsibilities so that the governmental units it controls as a tightly linked beneficiary retain the most power (Sabatier 1988, citing Schattschneider 1960).

Schattschneider's(1960) now classic concept that "organization is the mobilization of bias" fits well in understanding advocacy coalitions organized around belief systems. It also directs attention to the self-organizing aspect of advocacy coalitions. Thus, as belief systems gain in complexity and sometimes fragment into more specialized sets of core ideas, new information and new situations are gradually reflected in the range and diversity of advocacy coalitions.

From the point of view of cross-sectoral policy integration, advocacy coalition theory suggests a mechanism for integration. Core belief systems are shared across policy sectors, and thus advocacy coalitions can encompass more than one policy sector. For example, a belief in the primacy of the "free market" to adjust economic production and allocation is a core belief shared by people engaged in nearly every policy sector. Similarly, a reliance on government action to ensure fairness in distribution and allocation decisions is also a core belief system that is represented in nearly every policy sector. Thus, following Sabatier we might look for how these core belief systems are already working as integrative mechanisms across policy sectors. Then it may be possible to bring these belief systems into a policy process aimed at looking for strategies that meet the core commitments of different policy-subsystems, while allowing for flexibility and dynamic responsiveness across policy sectors.

Why advocacy coalitions might engage in these kinds of negotiations when their control over specific policy sectors might be reduced is simple: the kinds of problems that land, natural resource, and forest policy address today demand collaboration because no one policy sector, agency, or political actor can effectively address the problem alone (Shannon 1998; Johnson et.al. 1999). The new policy issues cross boundaries ecologically, socially, politically, administratively, and legally (Meidinger

1999; 1997). Indeed, frequently several regions, states, countries are involved and their separate regimes must find ways to work together on a common problem.

4. COMMUNICATIVE ACTION THEORY

Cross-sectoral policy integration refers to certain kinds of cooperative behavior, certain forms of institutions, and certain kinds of communicative action. The theory of communicative action focuses our attention on how meaning is created and enacted in everyday life.

Jurgen Habermas writing in the 1960s and 1970s in Germany took up the question of developing a "historically oriented theory of society with a practical intent" (Habermas 1973; 1979). The 'practical intent' was the possibility of casting off past institutions, organizations and patterns of behavior based on critically examining existing societal patterns. The idea of a 'historically oriented theory of society' was a critique of the abstracted social theories of organizations, social structures, conflict and so on that were taken out of the actual contexts that produced them. Habermas advocated theory that would be reflective on the processes of society as a whole by reconstructing current conditions with a view to the past and anticipated future. Thus, he wanted to resituate social theory in history and context and, at the same time, foster a type of critical reflexive theory useful in enhancing agency of actors. Habermas was not alone in this critique (Alexander 1988: Ch.9), but his understanding of how communicative action was an activating process for transforming theory into practical action underlies many current theories of participatory democracy.

Theory is generally understood a set of "logically integrated systems of quantitatively expressed lawlike statements" characteristic of the most "advanced" sciences (e.g., physics). The form of these statements is generally: given a set of initial conditions, one can predict future states of the system. The modern element is the aim of science as an instrument of social control: scientists identify relevant factors that can be manipulated and decision makers develop strategies using these factors to produce desired states of human and natural affairs. In addition, modern science embodies a normative position that once the laws of human nature and behavior are known, then it is possible to use them to establish the conditions for a proper ordering of society. This separation of consideration of the ethical obligations of how scientific knowledge is used from the processes of production of the knowledge is a characteristic of "modern" science (Shannon and Antypas 1996). It is this kind of scientific work that Habermas was critiquing in his argument that by placing theory into its historical material conditions it was possible to reintegrate ethics as well as reform with science.

This loss of ethics in science is one of the unfortunate legacies of the 20th century. For Aristotle, politics was continuous with ethics - a doctrine of a good and just life. But in modern science, ethics was replaced by the application of positivistic social theory to produce the conditions that would lead to human behavior according to the laws of nature. Thus, agency was replaced by institutional and organizational coercion. On the one hand, the practical problem of leading a virtuous life was absorbed into the technical sphere and "following directions" became a sufficient test of personal and societal virtue. However, by transforming the problem of how to lead

a virtuous life by citizens into a problem of regulating social life by the technical-administrative sphere in order to ensure social order and stability of the state, individuals lost their responsibility to make ethical - virtuous - choices.

For people trained in the natural, biophysical, and engineering sciences, this talk of ethics likely seems out of place. In biology, for example, an organism can be demarcated from its environment and studied as an "organism" and the environmental conditions for its survival characterized separately. The field of wildlife management is predicated upon the ability to predict from a set of habitat and ecological conditions, the likelihood of a species to survive and thrive.

In social science, however, over the course of history social change occurs in both the elements as well as the boundaries of society and these changes can be a learning and regenerative process or a process of dissolution and transformation to a new system. How are we to know? It is not possible to "stand outside" of society and know what these changes mean. Rather, science must be located within the interpretations of members of society for they are the only ones who know and understand what is changing, why and what it might mean for society. There is no meaning outside of those who produce it and so science must be located within the production of meaning in order to have access to this "data" about society.

So, what does this mean for policy and cross-sectoral policy integration? First, and foremost, it means meaning exists in social action that is shared among people and is dependent upon a shared definition - or contested definitions - of the situation. Meaning is always intersubjective because it is produced through communicative action. Thus, the methods of interpretive understanding - "verstehen" - of the symbolic structure of social reality are necessary for a social science able to grasp generative politics and emergent governance processes. Methods relying only on the positivist description of empirical artifacts of social action cannot interpret the meaning of these artifacts. To make visible - the work of science generally - the processes of generative politics and emergent governance, it is necessary to go beyond just the artifacts described - institutions, processes, organizations - and uncover their direction - towards transformation, construction, dissolution or collapse.

Coming from the perspective of management or decision science, one might be tempted to see the current direction implied by emergent governance and cross-sectoral policy integration as dissolution since many of the accepted processes no longer work as they did and technical-rational decision making is under challenge from many sides. However, coming from the perspective of communicative action and constructivist theory, one might see the processes of creation and transformation moving toward a system capable of self-organization and meaning generation. From the position of constructivist social theory, society is viewed as continuously created through communicative action and individuals are the agents of change as well as the producers of continuity.

From the perspective of communicative action theory, cross-sectoral policy integration occurs when meaning is generated through communication across sectors. This statement is not a tautology, rather it suggests that when the intersubjective nature of meaning generation is one's theoretical starting point, then creating relationships and conversations across policy sectors will naturally lead to the creation

of new meanings. These new meanings are the basis for new forms of organization and action and move toward the generation of new institutions. Thus, communicative action theory focuses attention not so much on the structures and rules that hold action and meaning stable, but more on the processes that continuously generate and maintain meaning. Our attention from this perspective would be on the ways in which greater communication across sectors might naturally occur and ways in which sectors must take account of one another in forming strategies. This perspective also points to the processes that create the belief systems that advocacy coalition theory begins with in its analysis. Thus, it shows us how belief systems might change as new meanings are generated in new intersubjective communities of interpretation (Shannon 2000).

4. Summary and Conclusion

Each of these theoretical standpoints has something to offer to our understanding of the possibilities, potentials and mechanisms of cross-sectoral policy integration. While social systems theory reminds us that all organizations have self-referring properties in the face of challenge and change, communicative action theory suggests that these self-referring properties also depend upon intersubjectively created meanings that can change through other social processes, like cross-sectoral policy processes of integration. Advocacy coalition theory shows us that even within apparently coherent and "single-minded" policy subsystems there are numerous coalitions formed around beliefs systems that are often in conflict with one another.

These theories each direct our attention to an important aspect of policy institutions, organizations and mechanisms. By attending to the insights offered by these theories, effective mechanisms and long-term institutions for intersectoral policy integration may be crafted. The national forest programme process is certainly a mechanism that begins this long term change in how policy sectors take one another into account. Hopefully, these theories can provide insights to governments, policy planners, agencies and NGOs as they seek to design and institutionalize long-term processes for integration.

[This section will be expanded after the Finland COST Action meetings based on discussions and responses to this paper.]

LITERATURE CITED AND REFERENCES

Anderson, C.W. 1979. The place of principles in policy analysis. *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 73.

Anderson, J.C. 1988. *Action and its environments: towards a new synthesis*. Columbia University Press: New York, New York. 342 pages.

Bellah, R.N., R. Madsen, W.M. Sullivan, A. Swidler, S.M. Tipton. 1991. *The good society*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Bennis, W.G. and P.W. Biederman. 1997. *Organizing genius: the secrets of creative collaboration*. Perseus Books: Cambridge, Massachusetts.

- Bennis, W.G. and P.E. Slater. 1968. *The temporary society*. New York: Harper Colophon Books.
- Benz, A. 1999. Multi-Level governance. In P. Glueck, G. Oesten, H. Schanz, and K.R. Volz (Eds.) *Formulation and Implementation of National Forest Programmes*. Vol. I: Theoretical Approaches. European Forest Institute Proceedings No. 30.
- Braun, J.S. and P. Duguid. 1991. Organizational learning and communities-of-practice: toward a unified view of working, learning and innovation. *Organization Science* Vol. 2, No. 1.
- Brooks, H. 1984. The resolution of technically intensive public policy disputes. *Science, Technology, & Human Values*, Vol.9, Issue 1, pp. 39-50.
- Brown, R.H. 1989. *Social science as civic discourse: essays on the invention, legitimation, and uses of social theory*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press. 227 pages.
- Brown, R.H. 1978. "Bureaucracy as praxis: toward a political phenomenology of formal organizations." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 23:365-382.
- Brunckhorst, D.J. 2000. *Bioregional planning: resource management beyond the new millennium*. Harwood Academic Publishers: Sydney, Australia.
- Burns, T. and G.M. Stalker. 1994. *The management of innovation*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, England. 262 pages.
- Buttoud, G. 2000. How can policy take into consideration the "full value" of forests? *Land Use Policy* 17:169-175.
- Caldwell, L.K. 1998. *The national environmental policy act: an agenda for the future*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Caldwell, L.K. 1990. *International environmental policy: emergence and dimensions*. Second Edition, Revised and Updated. Duke University Press: Durham, North Carolina.
- Caldwell, K.L., C. Wilkinson, M. Shannon. 1994. Making ecosystem policy: three decades of change. *Journal of Forestry*. 92(4): 7-10.
- Caldwell, L.K. 1970a. *Environment: a challenge for modern society*. Natural History Press: New York. 191 pages.
- Coser, L. 1956. *The functions of social conflict*. The Free Press: New York, New York.
- Crozier, M. 1980. *Actors and systems: the politics of collective action*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago, Illinois.

- Crozier, M. 1964. *The bureaucratic phenomenon*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago, Illinois.
- DeVault, M.L. 1999. *Liberating method: Feminism and Social Research*. Temple University Press: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. 275 pages.
- Dewey, J. 1927. *The public and its problems*. Chicago, Ill.: The Swallow Press. 120 pages.
- Douglas, M. 1986. *How institutions think*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Drucker, P.F. 1988. *The coming of the new organization*. Harvard Business Review. Jan - Feb.
- Drucker, P.F. 1989. *The new realities*. Harper & Row, New York.
- Dryzek, J.S. 1990. *Discursive democracy press: politics, policy, and political science*. University of Cambridge Press, Cambridge. 254 pages.
- Easton, D. & C.S. Schelling(eds.). 1991. *Divided knowledge*. SAGE Publications, London, U.K.
- Elmore, R.F. 1979/80. *Backward mapping: implementation research and policy decisions*. Political Science Quarterly, Volume 94, No. 4.
- Fischer, F. and J. Forester. 1987. *Confronting values in policy analysis*. SAGE, Beverly Hills.
- Forester, J. 1996. *Beyond dialogue to transformative learning: how deliberative rituals encourage political judgment in community planning processes*. In S. Esquith, ed. *Democratic Dialogues: Theories and Practices*, Poznan Studies in the Philosophy of the Sciences and the Humanities. University of Poznan, Poland. Alanta, Georgia:Rodopi.
- Forester, J. 1995. *Democratic deliberation and the promise of planning*. 1995 Lefrak Lecture, University of Maryland, College Park.
- Forester, J. 1989. *Planning in the face of conflict: negotiation and mediation strategies in local land use regulation*. (Originally published APA Journal Summer 1987) Reprinted in J. Forester, Ed., *Planning in the Face of Power*. University of California Press: Berkeley, California.
- Friedman, J. 1987. *Planning in the public domain: from knowledge to action*. Princeton University Press. Princeton, New Jersey, USA. 501 pages.
- Geertz, C. 1973. *The interpretation of cultures*. Basic Books: New York. 470 pages.
- Giddens, A. 1984. *The construction of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Policy Press. Oxford, England.

- Gunderson, L.H., C.S. Holling, and S.S. Light (eds.). 1995. Barriers and bridges to the renewal of ecosystems and institutions. New York, New York: Columbia University Press. 593 pages.
- Gutmann, A. and D. Thompson. 1996. Democracy and disagreement: why moral conflict can be avoided in politics, and what should be done about it. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Habermas, J. 1979. Communication and the evolution of society. Beacon Press: Boston, Massachusetts.
- Habermas, J. 1973. Theory and Practice. Beacon Press: USA. 310 pages.
- Healey, P. 1997. Collaborative planning - shaping places in fragmented societies. UBC Press, Vancouver, Canada.
- Heckscher, C. and A. Donnellon. 1994. The post-bureaucratic organizations. Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, California. 273 pages.
- Heclo, H. 1974. Social Policy in Britain and Sweden. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hjern, B. and D.O. Porter. 1981. Implementation structures: a new unit of administrative analysis. *Organization Studies*. 2/3: 211-227.
- Innes, J.E., & D.E. Booher. 1999. Consensus building as role playing and bricolage. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 65(1):9-25.
- Jacobs, J. 2000. The nature of economies. Modern Library: New York, New York.
- Jacobs, J. 1992. Systems of survival: a dialogue on the moral foundations of commerce and politics. Vintage Books: New York, New York.
- Johnson, K.N., F. Swanson, M. Herring, S. Greene (eds.). 1999. Bioregional assessments: science at the crossroads of management and policy. Island Press, Washington D.C.
- Kickert, W.J.M. 1993. Autopoiesis and the science of (public) administration: essence, sense and nonsense. *Organization Studies* 14(2):261-278.
- Laird, F.N. 1993 Participatory analysis, democracy, and technological decision making. *Science, Technology, and Human Values* 18(3):341 -361.
- Landy, M.K. & H.A. Plotkin. 1982. Limits of the market metaphor. *Society*, May/June.
- Lee, K. 1993. Compass and gyroscope: integrating science and politics for the environment. Island Press: Covelo, California. 201 pages.
- Lindblom, C.E. 1990. Inquiry and change. Yale University Press, Yale, U.K.

- Lindblom, C.E. 1959. The science of muddling through. *Public Administration Review*. 19: 79-88.
- Majone, G. and A. Wildavsky. 1978. Implementation as evolution. *Policy Studies Review Annual*, Vol. 2.
- Mansbridge, J.J., ed. 1990. *Beyond self-interest*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago, Illinois. 402 pages.
- Mansbridge, J.J. 1980. *Beyond adversary democracy*. Basic Books: New York, New York. 397 pages.
- McRae, D., Jr. 1987. Building policy-related technical communities. *Knowledge: Creation, Diffusion, Utilization*, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 431-462.
- Meidinger, E.E. 1999. Laws and institutions in cross-boundary stewardship. In Knight, Richard L. and Peter B. Landres (Eds.), *Stewardship across boundaries*. Covelo, California: Island Press. 1998, pages 87-110.
- Meidinger, E.E. 1997. Organizational and legal challenges for ecosystem management. In K.A. Kohm and J.F. Franklin, eds. *Creating a forestry for the 21st century: the science of ecosystem management*. Island Press: Covelo, California. Chapter 23: 361-379.
- Meyer, J.W., & B. Rowan. 1977. Institutionalized organizations: formal structure as myth and ceremony. *AJS Volume* 83, No. 2.
- Morgan, G. 1986. *Images of organization*. SAGE, Beverly Hills, California.
- Nonet, P. 1980. "The legitimation of purposive decisions." *California Law Review* 68:263-300.
- O'Neill, R.V., D. L. DeAngelis, J.B. Waide and T.F.H. Allen. 1986. *A hierarchical concept of ecosystems*. Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey.
- Ranson, S., B. Hinings, & R. Greenwood. 1980. The structuring of organizational structures. *Administrative Science Quarterly* (25).
- Reich, R. 1985. Public administration and public deliberation: an interpretive essay. *The Yale Law Journal* 94:1617-1641.
- Sabatier, P.A. 1999. *Theories of the Policy Process*. ...
- Sabatier, P.A. 1988. An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy-oriented learning therein. *Policy Sciences* 21:129-168.
- Sabatier, P.A. 1986. Top-down and bottom-up approaches to implementation research: a critical analysis and suggested synthesis. *Journal of Public Policy* 6(1):21-48.

Sahal, D. 1979. A unified theory of self-organization. *Journal of Cybernetics* 9:127-142.

Sandel, M. J.. 1996. *Democracy's discontent: America in search of a public philosophy*. Belkap Press of Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA. 417 pages.

Schattschneider, E.E. 1960. *The semi sovereign people: a realist's view of democracy in America*. Hinsdale, Ill.: The Dryden Press. 143pages.

Schneekloth, L.H. and R.G. Shibley. 1995. *Placemaking: the art and practice of building communities*. New York, New York: John Wiley and Sons Publishers. 263 pages.

Senge, P. 1990. "The leader's new work." *Sloan Management Review*, Fall 1990.

Shannon, M.A. 2002b (in press) *Future Visions: Landscape planning in places that matter*. Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Landscape Futures held in Armidale, New South Wales, Australia on December 4-6, 2001 at the University of New South Wales.

Shannon, M.A. 2002a (in press) *Understanding collaboration as deliberative communication, organizational form, and emergent institution*. European Forest Institute Proceedings from COST Action E-19 Meetings in Oslo, Norway held September 13-15, 2001.

Shannon, M.A. 2001b. *Creating generative politics through administrative rules: toward new principles of governance?* Paper presented at the Law and Society Association meetings in Budapest, Hungary on July 4, 2001.

Shannon, M.A. 2001a. *Engaging rural people and catchment communities: weaving together the local and global to make our actions count*. The Maurice Windom Plenary Address, Proceedings International Symposium on Landscape Futures. David Brunckhorst and David Moat (editors), UNESCO Institute for Bioregional Resource Management at the University of New England, Armidale, Australia and the Desert Research Institute in Reno, Nevada.

Shannon, M.A. 1999. *Moving from the limits and problems of rational planning: toward a collaborative and participatory planning approach*. In Peter Glück, Gerhard Oesten, Heiner Schanz, Karl-Reinhard Volz, (Eds).. *International Seminar on the Formulation and Implementation of National Forest Programmes*. Vol.1. European Forest Institute Publishers: Joensuu, Finland.

Shannon, M.A. 1998. *Social organizations and institutions*. In: R.J. Naiman and R. E. Bilby, (Eds). *River ecology and management: Lessons from the Pacific coastal ecoregion*. Springer-Verlag. New York, New York, USA. Chapter 21. p. 529-552.

Shannon, M.A. and A.R. Antypas. 1997. *Open institutions: uncertainty and ambiguity in 21st century forestry*. In: Kohm, K. A. and J.F. Franklin (Eds). *Creating*

a forestry for the 21st century: The science of ecosystem management. Island Press. Covelo, California, USA. p.437-446.

Shannon, M.A. and A.R. Antypas. 1996. Civic science is democracy in action. Northwest Science. 70(1): 66-69.

Stanley, M. 1990. "The rhetoric of the commons: forum discourse in politics and society." In: The Rhetorical Turn edited by H. W. Simmons. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Stanley, M. 1983. "The mystery of the commons: on the indispensibility of civil rhetoric." Social Research 50(4):851-883.

Stanley, M. 1981. Technological conscience. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Thompson, M. and M. Schwartz . 1990. Divided we stand: redefining politics, technology, and social choice. Philadelphia: University of Penn. Press. 176 pages.

Thompson, V.A. 1977. Modern organization. Second Edition. University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press.

Weber, M. 1968 (1922) Economy and society. New York: The Bedminster Press.

Weick K.E. 1990. The nontraditional quality of organizational learning. Organization Science 2(1).

Wheatley, M.J. 1992. Leadership and the new science: learning about organization from an orderly universe. Berrett-Koehler Publishers, San Francisco, California.

Wildavsky, A. 1987. Choosing preferences by constructing institutions: A cultural theory of preference formation. American Political Science Review 81(1): 3-21.

Yankelovich, D. 1991. Coming to public judgment: making democracy work in a complex world. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press.