Democratizing Decision-Making and Achieving Sustainability?

Policy Process Innovation through Environmental Policy Integration in Canada and Germany

Paper prepared for presentation at the Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, June 1, 2006.

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Abstract

Environmental protection has long been established as an important state goal by countries across the globe. Nonetheless, the extent to which states have actually and effectively integrated environmental concerns across all government activity appears to be partial at best. This paper inquires into the sources of success and failure of environmental policy integration (EPI) – a strategy heavily promoted by the EU through the Cardiff Process as key instruments in furthering environmental sustainability and protection. Environmental movements had, of course, advocated for such an approach since at least the early 1970s.

EPI entails the integration of environmental concerns into all policy areas in order to design and defend policies that increase environmental protection while decreasing the likelihood of conflicting governmental policies. It operates vertically and horizontally and challenges traditional thinking of policy-makers, while remaining reconcilable with rational bureaucratic and state decision-making. As a set of institutional adjustments to the policy-process, I argue, EPI can represent a means of democratization in advanced industrial societies and elsewhere in both procedural and substantive terms.

The paper is based on dissertation research conducted in two German Länder (Hessen and Sachsen-Anhalt) and two Canadian Provinces (Ontario and British Columbia). While focussing on the implementation of EPI (including environmental impact assessments and land use planning) in Ontario and Hessen, both under progressive and conservative governments, it also draws lessons from a comparison with gender mainstreaming, the policy strategy that integrates gender concerns into all areas of policy-making. Theoretically, the research locates policy process innovations in governments at the intersection of state-society relations and multi-level governance and promotes a longer-term conceptualizaton of successful policy implementation.

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Introduction

Environmental Policy Integration (EPI) is almost self-evidently a basic necessity of effective environmental protection and management and has consequently been demanded by environmental activists and many governmental policy proclamations since the first environmental programmes. Lafferty and Hovden (2003) point to the European Community's first Environmental Action Plan of 1973 as one of the first documents that formulated the need to integrate environmental concerns into all areas of policy-making. Similarly, Müller (2002) shows that EPI was clearly articulated in the first German federal environmental programme of 1971. Internationally, the Brundtland Report, emphasizing the integration of economic and environmental policy, and the Rio- Declaration with its focus on sustainable development balancing and integrating economic, social and environmental concerns have been the major stepping stones. At the European Union level, finally, the Single European Act (1986) and especially the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997), provided treaty law mandating EPI. The latter was followed by the "Cardiff-Process", started by the European Counil in 1998 (Jörgensen 2002).[1]

It has been particularly this sustained activity at the international level in international organizations and transnational level in networks of scholars and ENGOs that has arguably raised the importance of EPI in domestic politics in Europe and North America. While much of the early literature on EPI had been quite abstract and technical in its approach (see Nitz and Brown 2003 for a critique), since the late 1990s, scholarly work from political science has focused particularly on the analysis of EU policy, but increasingly also moved to examining the effects at the domestic level.[2] Still, much of the literature examines EPI mainly through a perspective of policy efficiency, as a matter of administrative 'modernization,' leaving out important democratic qualities entailed in these and other policy process innovations.[3]

The research project that this paper springs from compares two very different yet in many respects similar policy process innovations. *Environmental Policy Integration* (EPI), which is the main topic of this paper, at the most general level, aims to integrate concerns over environmental protection into all areas of policy making, particularly those that have traditionally left out environmental concerns vis-à-vis other, 'sectoral' concerns. While relatively new as a distinct concept in practice, elements can be found in a number of longstanding environmental policies, ranging from environmental impact assessments (EIA) to land use planning processes. These earlier process innovations did certainly not constitute full EPI (Lafferty and Hovden 2003), however they did contribute to the partial vertical or horizontal integration of environmental concerns.[4]

In the larger project, EPI is compared to G*ender Mainstreaming* (GM). In the most general terms, gender mainstreaming entails

> the (re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making. (Council of Europe 1998, 12).

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[1] I skip a more comprehensive overview of EPI in this paper but discuss conceptual questions in Parts 3 and 4.

[2] e.g. Lenschow 2002, or the 2004 Berlin Conference on the Human Dimensions of Global Environmental Change, entitled "Greening of Policies – Interlinkages and Policy Integration"

[3] That said, there is a substantial literature that links democratization and environmental politics in the developing world.

[4] The National Environment Policy Act (NEPA, 1969), which first introduced environmental impact assessments in the United States, was a deliberate attempt by "a small cadre of environmentalists […] to compel more environmentally benign public policy by reconstructing the policymaking process itself" (Bressers and Rosenbaum 2000, 523). EIA followed a pattern of international diffusion and emulation through international organisations and expert networks that could later be observed in gender mainstreaming. Both (at least on paper) are now practiced in more than one hundred countries (Wood 2003, True and Mintrom 2001). The directive that makes EIA mandatory for specific projects in the European Union is, in fact, 20 years old. A strengthened directive was passed in 1999.

Gender mainstreaming is "a potentially radical approach" (Mazey 2000), which challenges traditional policy-making that has often neglected the differential impact of policy on women and men in their differing life situations. It is a corrective to the substantively discriminatory, though formally neutral nature of many policies.

The research project inquires into the factors that explain the success or failure of these policy process innovations, and what explains variation across polities and issue areas. It locates policy process innovations in governments at the intersection of state-society relations and multi-level governance and calls for a longer-term conceptualizaton of successful policy implementation. It probes the role that actors outside the state, social movements in particular, have in triggering, causing, or facilitating the transformation of the policy-making process. These causal inferences are logically preceded by a descriptive inference that finds success to be present or not – based on a clear definition of what constitutes success in policy process innovation and how to measure it. Both steps will be addressed in this paper. Empirically and theoretically, the research speaks to the literature on policy implementation and public administration. In its attempt to explain implementation and theorize democratizing reforms, it will refer to the literatures on social movements and public policy analysis more widely.

This paper then focuses specifically on the integration of *environmental* concerns. In the following, I will first discuss the link between policy process innovations, such as EPI and GM, and democratization. Subsequently, I define policy success and locate the implementation of policy process reforms within governments at the intersection of state-society relations and multi-level governance. The presented model of implementation at this point still takes more the form of a framework than that of a tight explanatory model, however. I provide preliminary findings from empirical cases at the sub-national level in both Canada and Germany and supplement the cross-jurisdictional comparison with some thoughts on the comparison between EPI and Gender Mainstreaming.

2. Environmental Policy Integration, Policy Process Innovations, and Democratic Governance

Liberal democracy and its legitimacy depend on adherence to both procedural and substantive standards. Not only should policies and state action reflect the views and preferences as well as interests of most while not infringing on fundamental rights of the few, but also citizens should have equitable access to the decision-making process. The first set of standards is geared toward fulfilling citizens' wants and needs, while the second set makes such fulfillment more likely in the long run and speaks to the desire for freedom and emancipated decision-making in modern societies. As structural shifts in advanced industrial societies have caused citizens to be more sophisticated in their understanding of politics, demands on the political system have increased beyond the right to vote in elections and to have a state that maintains order.

The present research project examines specific institutional adjustments in the policy-making process that ostensibly increase the procedural and substantive quality of decision-making and that in this sense present an important means of democratization in advanced industrial societies and elsewhere. Measures of EPI and Gender Mainstreaming have arguably helped to open processes of political decision-making and contributed to environmental protection and gender equality respectively – goals widely held as important and, in fact, regularly constitutionalized across advanced industrialised societies. And while these policy process innovations, and EPI in particular, are in political practice and academic discussions dealt with mainly as a matter of public administrative reform and 'modernization,' something internal to the polity, they also reflect longstanding demands

of social movements. The specific definitions of both concepts are very much open to debate – in part because they represent broad policy strategies rather than distinct policy instruments.

Returning to the distinction from the beginning of this part, process and substance of public policy are likely linked, yet democratizing the former does not constitute a sufficient or even necessary condition for democratizing the latter.[5] In the analysis, I therefore attempt to distinguish carefully between innovations in the policy process, policy outputs, and policy outcomes. Environmental outcomes can, however, only be taken into account in a very basic way and are otherwise beyond the scope of the empirical analysis.

3 Policy Implementation in a multi-level context

Paul Sabatier (1991, 149) warns analysts against studying specific policies or institutional innovations under a limited time frame, which he sets at up to ten years. Such studies, he explains, may lead to a "premature assessment of program performance". They neglect "the enlightenment function", by which new policy information is gradually accumulated within a policy network. Finally, short-term studies are unable to estimate the larger "significance of particular policy innovations". Furthermore, Alan Peled (2002) shows that styles of administrative reform have important implications for the outcome, legacy and most importantly the time it takes until a policy innovation takes hold. He argues that the most successful and sustained policy innovations take longer to implement, as they require an open, participatory reform.

In addition, democratic governance is characterized by more or less frequent changes in governing parties. While it may be possible for one government to put into place policy process innovations, it is far from clear whether those innovations will stick, once the party or coalition leaves power. The analysis therefore complements the cross-sectional inquiry with a longitudinal comparison in four sub-national settings (Hessen and Sachsen-Anhalt in Germany, Ontario and British Columbia in Canada) to find out under what circumstances policy process innovations remain part of the regular policy-making landscape, even after the implementing political actors leave office.[6]

Implementation in the context of this study of changes to the policy process is meant to entail the way by which a policy idea supported by political decision-makers and usually formulated in a law or some programme is put into place to fulfill its intended purpose for the foreseeable future (or however long it is intended for). As becomes clear from the above discussion and the definition of successful implementation below, this concept of implementation goes beyond the point where a one time exercise of the policy is possible. It extends to the establishment of a new pattern, i.e. a changed policy process. The rest of this section is divided into two parts, a definition of policy success and a model that hypothesizes which factors explain such success.

3.1 Definition and Indicators of Policy Success

An adequate conceptualization of successful policy process innovation must go beyond the label of EPI, EA, or SEA to core substantive and procedural aspects. Non-compliance with a mandate for implementation can occur, usually quite overtly, either because of weak political will and subsequent low support for implementation, or because of 'bureaucratic slippage', the tendency for broad

[5] Dorothy Stetson and her collaborators distinguish four forms of policy response in relation to movement demands that are linked to the issue of procedural and substantive change: no response, pre-emption, co-optation, and dual response (2001, 12).

[6] It is, of course, entirely legitimate for an incoming government to repeal older policies. Here I ask whether policies that were put in place by the preceeding government and nomanally supported by the succeeding one, are in fact continued in practice.

policies to be altered through successive reinterpretations during implementation. Furthermore, policies and programs have to be evaluated in terms of their outcome relative to policies in place beforehand, particularly in those areas with previous substantive policies under different labels. If, for example, governments basically continue with what they did before in regard to environmental protection but now call it environmental policy integration, then one can hardly speak of policy success.

Since the drafting and implementation of policies take place at the administrative level of government, and because it is here that the bulk of evaluation about policy impact is generated, bureaucratic decision-making has to be at the centre of the analysis. Only if, over time, elements of EPI, such as SEA become a part of regular policy-making, then one can speak of full policy success.[7] Does the necessary expertise and bureaucratic understanding of the problem area exist to actually implement the strategies successfully? Do organisations offer training for policy-makers and issue practical guides or manuals on how to execute new ways of preparing and implementing policies and programmes? Are the strategies mentioned and emphasized in standard operating procedures? Additional indicators of success in policy process innovations include the resources devoted to them, whether data are gathered in ways suitable for environmentally sensitive analysis, and the comprehensiveness and sophistication of reports, recommendations and impact assessments. For both EPI and GM it is frequently emphasized that follow-ups to original assessments and program appraisals are important and integral parts of the process. Finally, successful instances of process innovation should exhibit few cases of procedural or substantive non-compliance.

Lafferty and Hovden (2003) emphasize the importance of assigning 'principled priority' to EPI. Only then can consistent positive effects be expected from the vertical and horizontal integration of environmental concerns. Overall, the indicators of EPI can also be grouped analogous to the three dimensions of gender mainstreaming that Frey and Kuhl (2003, 3) propose: *Structural* mainstreaming means that the goal of gender equity is integrated into internal processes and institutions. *Personnel* mainstreaming includes adequate representation and competence in decision-making (not necessarily only of women, but of those qualified in gender-based analysis). The last dimension relates to policy output: *Technical* mainstreaming means that the output of integrating gender or the environment into the policy-making process actually brings about positive change.

As specified before, successful cases of EPI should then display positive change in both process and substance:

a) process change:
- elements, such as SEA are consistently applied across cases.
- long-term strategy exists.
- EPI is mentioned as an integral element to decision-making in government reports.
- EPI remains strongly entrenched even after the party in government that implemented the strategy leaves power.
- in the process of implementing EPI, the organizational culture of the institution has become more open to taking the environment seriously into account.

b) substance change:
- EPI positively affects the substance of policy outputs from an environmental perspective.

[7] With regard to gender mainstreaming, EU Commissioner Padraig Flynn (1999) has called this a 'gender reflex'.

3.2 State institutions at the intersection of state-society relations and multi-level governance

Knill and Lenschow (2000, 2001) have developed a model that puts the institutional 'fit' between substantive and procedural requirements of new EU legislation and the existing national administrative structures and styles at the centre of explaining whether such legislation will be successfully implemented. The image that the institutional fit with traditional policy styles is decisive in explaining policy success is plausible also beyond the implementation of EU legislation and can be extended as a starting point to the general introduction and implementation of EPI.

For organizing possible explanatory factors, I use a slightly altered standard input-output model of the policy process as a starting point (Figure 1, below) and emphasize inputs rather than outputs or feedback effects. The latter should nonetheless be considered (Pierson 1993; Risse, Green Cowles and Caporaso 2001), in part, because social movements have had to respond to changes in the "reconfigured state" (Banaszak et al. 2003). The explanatory factors outside the state institutions under immediate scrutiny are aligned along two dimensions. The demands of multi-level governance, including federalism and international treaties and organizations of varying relevance, present a number of important constraints and expectations on policy-makers at any one level. These mandatory or persuasive pressures and the subsequent impetus for convergence or divergence can take several forms, depending on the specific policy environment and mode of decision-making (Bennett 1991). As outlined above, much of the activity that led to the adoption of both gender mainstreaming and environmental impact assessment took place at the international level.

On the level of state-society relations, I theorize two kinds of influences on state institutions and policy-making behaviour. One involves the broad range of very concrete and – widely defined – interest-based influences through diverse and institutionally defined channels. Second, policy-makers are immersed in a more diffuse cultural environment that shapes their perceptions and definitions of issues, policy problems, and the solutions that can be attached to them. While the literature on policy networks emphasises common understandings of experts in distinct policy sectors, the frame of reference for cross-cutting subjects such as gender and the environment has its source in different, often national or transnational settings. In advanced industrial societies, these frames have developed to a large extent in response to new social movements centred around environmentalism and feminism. Although present across the Western world, they have taken on different paths and acquired differing strengths in different national settings.

Social movements have played a large part in channelling citizens' demands and shaping them into pressure on state institutions and actors. A number of movements, women's and environmental movements among them, have not only achieved considerable substantive policy change, but also have been successful in shaping public debate and in convincing political elites as well as the general public of the legitimacy of their issues. As a result, decision-makers have become more aware of and inclusive toward movement actors and demands. The women's movement, for example, has been successful in advocating for feminist "policy machinery" structures at cabinet levels and inside state bureaucracies. The "greening" and "gendering" of law, politics and policy have become a stated goal of many governments. And while changes have been limited, uneven, and far from satisfying, by the 1990s, women's and environmental movements "have reached a level of recognition and policy involvement that the labor movement has sought for more than a century" (Rucht 2003, 268).

Finally, the external factors encounter an institutional environment inside the state, and the interaction of those influences with the institutional matrix fundamentally influences the outcome of policy-making and other state actions. At the administrative level, distinct policy styles (Richardson 1982) have developed in different countries and within specific policy sectors (Lahusen and Münch 2001). When comparing Canada and Germany with regard to the style of environmental policy-making, the former is characterized by a relatively long history of flexible style bilateral negotiation

between governments and businesses (Howlett 2000), perhaps in part patronage-based. Germany has a long tradition of corporatist state-society relations in industrial relations, but much of its environmental regulation has followed a 'command and control' approach. Overall in Canada and Germany, as elsewhere in advanced industrial societies, we find a move toward a multilateral model of policy implementation (Howlett 2000, Jänicke et al. 1999), which also better fits the democratic image developed above. Moreover, the structure, tradition and political involvement of bureaucrats differ significantly from state to state (Rouban 2003). Environmental Policy Integration as a set of policy strategies here again encounters a context of more or less 'goodness of fit.'

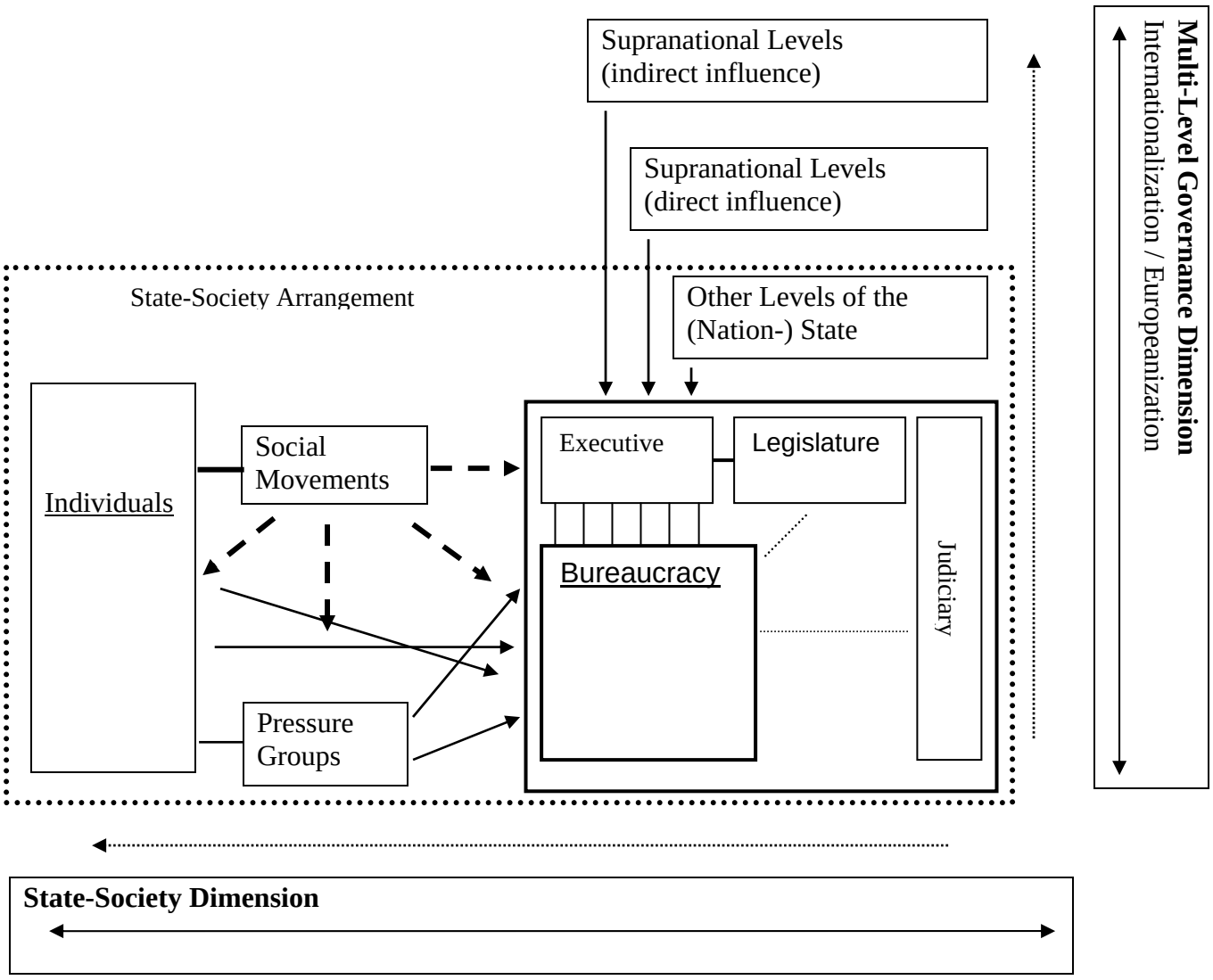
Within the context of the German federal government, Müller (2002) proposes three sets of factors that will be important in order for the Ministry of the Environment to be able to foster EPI: Institutionally, a strong, possibly self-standing ministry has the mandate to spread EPI across government. In addition, federal-Länder sectoral vertical coalitions need to be opened up. Procedurally, rules that allow the horizontally responsible ministry to initiate or veto actions that otherwise fall in the realm of another ministry are important. Politically, the salience of environmental concerns on the political agenda is of great importance. When distinguishing between horizontal environmental policy integration and vertical environmental policy integration (Lafferty and Hovden 2003), it should be noted that both require different institutional, procedural and political resources. The institutional standing of the horizontally responsible agency is of particular importance and can reach from no institutionalization to perhaps the institutionalization as vertical ministry with generally recognized horizontal reach, as is the case with most ministries of finance.[8]

While it is important to evaluate the influence and access of specific agencies, they are also quite vulnerable to cuts and diminishing support after a change in power.[9] In the long run, I hypothesize, although this is harder to trace, that it is more important if and to what extent movement demands and understandings have become part of regular policy-making through successive processes of individual and agency policy learning.

[8] See also Martin Jänicke's account of capacity-building in environmental policy institutions (Jänicke 2002).

[9] Malloy's study (2000, 153-61) shows quite clearly how the Ontario Women's Directorate was completely sidelined after the conservative takeover of government in 1995.

Figure 1



4 Cases and Findings

My focus on advanced industrialised societies ensures that all states under review have the abstract financial and administrative capacity to implement these policy changes, an issue that has been raised in relation to the implementation of information and knowledge "heavy" policy reforms in developing countries. The process by which public policy is arrived at varies across different systems of state-society relations and between ideal types of pluralist and corporatist systems of interest mediation. This aspect also relates to the role of public participation. Both are related to policy styles and administrative traditions mentioned above. Less tangible, but nonetheless important, are prevalent cultural understandings of the environment in both state actors and society.

Beyond the fact that both Canada and Germany are members of the OECD and G7/8, a number of institutional factors are relatively constant across the polities. Both are parliamentary systems with a federal division of power. But while Canada is considered highly decentralized and an example of 'classical' federalism, with the province exercising "the greater share of environmental authority" (Parsons 2001, 5) and the federal sometimes hesitant to take on responsibilities (Howlett

2000, Parsons 2001), Germany is an example of functional federalism at its best (or worst) and has been described as a "unitary state in disguise" ("Der verkappte Einheitsstaat," Abromeit 1992). Here, much of the power to legislate on the environment is located at the federal level (with important input through the Bundesrat and federal-provincial administrative cooperation), most implementation and execution takes place at the provincial level – with considerable room to shape the nature of governmental activity (Jörgensen 2002). Curiously, authors in both countries profess to the importance of the provincial or Länder level, while studies below the national level remain scarce.

Under which conditions do policy process innovations 'stick,' so that they become engrained in an administration's regular way of policy-making even after the party responsible for the innovation leaves power? Rather than choosing cases that vary widely on both dependent and independent variables, which would require a far larger sample than is manageable, the Canadian and German cases in this study are matched in that all have had a relatively progressive government in favour of environmental protection and gender equity followed by a much more conservative one.

4.1 Hessen, Germany

The environmental movement in Germany, has gone through a similar process of institutionalization seen in other movements. After a relatively late start to environmental debate in the late 1960s, the movement, characterized by a large number of grass-roots organizations, radicalized and became more confrontational in the 1970s, particularly when challenging large industrial projects. The 1990s have brought increasing institutionalization and professionalization and an increasing dialogue with industry (Brand 1999). Only the anti-nuclear movement, which can be viewed as distinct, has maintained a high level of confrontational strategies. Roth (2001, 250), paints a negative picture of the German environmental movement: either highly professionalized or parochial, its hopes for a strong ecological Green party at the federal level have been left unfulfilled. Rucht and Roose, on the other hand, find the environmental movement to have stabilized and institutionalized structurally and organizationally. Socially, however, they find enduring protest activity, and conclude that signs for a dying out of the movement can not be found (2001, 287).

In terms of state structures, the first departments of the environment, together with environmental legislation were introduced in the early 1970s, although a federal department of the environment was not established until after the Tshernobyl catastrophe of 1986. In their discussion of clean air regulation, Lahusen and Münch describe Germany's environmental policy style as taking the form of "technicist synthesis or consensus" (2001, 2). It is highly legalistic and expert-based and seeks to enlighten the public, rather than listen to it (Stark 2001). Barker and Wood (1999) found that Germany ranked the highest in the quality of environmental impact assessment when compared to seven other member countries of the EU. Importantly, the German case showed the highest number of modifications to proposals and those took place particularly early in the process.

As mentioned above, EPI was conceptually part of environmental policy from the very beginning. The first federal programme in 1971, explicitly mentions that "environmental concerns should be taken in to account in all public and private decision-making processes" and elaborates on three principles, polluter pays, precautionary and cooperative principles (Müller 2002, 58). Importantly, the cooperative principle implies both cross-portfolio cooperation on environmental issues, as well as the inclusion of all relevant actors (Müller 2002, 59). In practice however, Germany has not been a pioneer in EPI.

There is a clear contrast between the high quality technical work and a reluctance to allow for wider public participation that goes beyond corporatist arrangements with industry and with selected, "recognized" environmental organizations in the field of nature protection. Germany has had considerable difficulties implementing those directives from the European Union that mandate the

wide dissemination of information and participation of individuals and groups. While the *Rechtstaatsprinzip* ensures the following of technical procedures and protection of individual rights (such as those of immediate neighbours), it clashes with conceptions of other citizens' input in decision-making (Knill and Lenschow 2000, 2001) In fact, while the assessment part of the EIA directive did not impose such large adaptational pressures, the provisions for wider public participation and the integrated, cross-media approach did. Following the Cardiff Process, the EU passed legislation for a Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) of certains policies, plans and programmes in 2001, with a deadline in the directive for transposition into national law set for mid-2004. It has not been transposed into national law and appears to be stuck between the federal cabinet and the upper legislative house, which represents the Länder governments. In interviews held in September 2004, respondents generally assumed that it was long ways from becoming administrative reality.

Turning to the sub-national case, the West-German Land Hessen had the first minister of the environment in Germany in 1970, yet a free-standing ministry did not develop until Joschka Fischer became the first Green minister in 1985. This was also the first Social-democratic (SPD) – Green coalition at the Länder level. After a break from power (1987-91) and some time for the Greens to become a party more similar to the established ones, "Red-Green" returned with a relatively long and strong Social Democratic-Green coalition government, before being defeated in 1999 by the conservative Christian Democratic Union (CDU) in coalition with the Liberals (FDP). The CDU gained a majority of the seats in the legislature in February 2003. Hessen therefore is a case where a government explicitly committed to environmental protection had considerable time to ensure the successful implementation of environmental assessments and EPI, before being defeated.

Kristin Jörgensen (2002) credits Hessen with a number of environmental innovations, among them risk management for toxic waste and innovations in emissions management. Government officials and outside analysts also credit the Green party (with a strong environmental movement pushing it) and especially then Minister of the Environment Joschka Fischer with significant advancements in environmental protection.

In one interview, one of Joschka Fischer's successors in office simply admitted that beside specific attempts to integrate the environment vertically in specific policy areas (e.g. energy efficiency in public and private buildings), ideas about how to integrate the environment horizontally were not considered at the time. In fact, the inter-ministerial coordinating committee for environmental questions with representatives of the main departments, had been set up in 1971 (Zinnkann 1981), but ceased to exist when the self-standing Ministry of the Environment was established. Late into the SPD-Green tenure, an Environmental Policy Plan was finally initiated in 1997 but scrapped by the CDU in 1999 before coming into force.

The business-oriented Christian Democrats (CDU) under Premier Roland Koch entered government in 1999 in a coalition with the by then neo-liberal Free Democrats (FDP). Since 2003 the CDU governs on their own. A priority in government has been the speeding up of providing permits for business development, most clearly seen in the push for a fast expansion of the Frankfurt Airport. In 2000 the government started the so-called Umweltallianz, a framework for voluntary agreements between industry and the government, an idea that was first developed in neighbouring Bavaria (Jörgensen 2002). The strong agricultural lobby, a second home base of the party, has been provided with more flexible agreements and contracts in the area of nature protection. A number of ministries, including the environmental ministry have experienced staff cuts in an effort to save costs. Staff who have worked in the environmental administration for many years make the best out of cooperating with their equals in other Länder through joint working groups and are generally 'waiting for better days to come.'

In conclusion, while the first 'Green Ministry' of the environment was able to push forward important traditional environmental policies and significantly raise the profile of environmental politics, opportunities for capacity-building in EPI were large not pursued. The strength of Joschka Fischer as a public figure and negotiator at cabinet meetings may, in fact, have produced a reliance on the position of the minister within cabinet for effective environmental policy and for the introduction of environmental concerns into other areas of policy-making. Furthermore, actors in the environmental administration will use the possibility of successive steps of escalating an interdepartmental dispute through the hierarchy only if they think their proposal will be backed by significant political will at the cabinet table (Müller 2002). A favourable context of political opportunities may therefore act as a disincentive to employ resources to build lasting institutional environmental capacities in other department. Once Fischer left for Bonn in 1994, and coinciding with increased financial strain and a lower ranking of environmental concerns on the public agenda, a substantial portion of the power resources within government were lost. The conservative government has, in fact, been more innovative in some areas of environmental policy-making but overall not contributed significantly to the implementation of EPI.

4.2 Ontario, Canada

It is regularly emphasized that the vastness of the Canadian territory has meant that Canadians have conceived of their environment as an endless resource. Deforestation, overfishing, and numerous cases of pollution have changed, though not reversed this public image. According to Phillips (1994), the main strands of the environmental movement are those focused on "conservation" and "reform environmentalism," represented by groups such as the Sierra Club or Pollution Probe. Like their counterparts in Germany, the movements gained recognition in a relatively short period of time, and many movement structures are professionalized and centred on the production of credible knowledge, which can be described as their greatest strength. In the process of vertical and horizontal reconfigurations of the state described above, "environmental groups have moved from being marginalized contenders in the process to being stakeholders and partners" in the bureaucracy and judiciary (Phillips 1994, 65, 72).

Canada has some of the more advanced provisions for public participation in environmental impact assessment (Wood 2003), which has facilitated the institutionalization and technology-focus of the movements (Phillips 1994, 66). Although a strong advocate of environmental assessments internationally, evidence suggests a much more mixed substantial record (Leiss 2003). Hoberg similarly cautions that the supposedly open processes may be a smokescreen for a continuing informal state-industry policy style (in Phillips 1994, 73-4). Federal and provincial budget cuts in the late 1990s have done their part to stall if not even reduce environmental capabilities (Paehlke 2002).

Turning again to the sub-national case, in 1990, and very much to their own surprise, the Ontario New Democratic Party (NDP[10]) was voted into office in Canada's largest province and industrial home base with an unprecedented number of women Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs) and cabinet members.[11] While not perfect, the Ontario NDP was the most committed to women's equality of the competitive parties (Bashevkin, Holder and Jones 1990). Yet in terms of policy

[10] The NDP is the only major party in the Canadian system that offers joined provincial and federal membership. For other parties, the organizations are completely separate and party labels (e.g. 'Liberals' in BC) can sometimes be deceiving.

[11] Byrne considers all eleven women cabinet ministers to be feminist on the basis of self-identification, employment history and party affiliation (1997).

outputs the record is more mixed. Many feminist commentators, in fact, voice clear disappointment. One explanation for this is that the NDP was simply unprepared for power (Malloy 2000, 149ff). On the environmental side, the Ontario NDP was also quite committed, and perhaps more successful.[12] In 1994 the "Ontario Environmental Bill of Rights" came into force, and while it did not guarantee an enforceable right to a clean environment, citizens were given comprehensive access to environmental information and participatory rights in decision-making, including limited access to legal action. Much earlier, under a moderately conservative government, Ontario had already become the first Canadian jurisdiction to put EIA into statutory law, when the Environmental Assessment Act was passed in 1975.

Even more importantly than the provisions for public consultations, the Environmental Bill of Rights (EBR) established an independent Environmental Commissioner with a mandate to monitor and report on environmental the performance of all government ministries as well as government as a whole. The Commissioner has been highly critical of the Conservative government in power from 1995 to 2003 and continues to raise important issues environmental importance across government. In addition, all ministries were obliged to develop 'Statements of Environmental Values' that detail how ministries take into account environmental concerns in general and the EBR in particular in their work and how they integrate these values with social and economic considerations. The Environmental Commissioner reports to the legislature on the ministries' performance vis-à-vis their Statements. The EBR therefore provides for both horizontal and vertical capabilities in environmental policy integration.

Overall considered a massive and disappointing failure at the time, the NDP was voted out of office in 1995. Under the leadership of Mike Harris and his "Common Sense Revolution," a deeply ideological right-wing neo-conservative agenda, the Ontario Progressive Conservative government subsequently staged a 'frontal assault' on gender and other equity programs and even the term of employment equity (Bakan and Kobayashi 2003). A large number of NDP policies were rolled back immediately, taxes cut, and women as well as environmentalists declared 'special interests.' The budget and staff of the Ministry of the Environment were severely cut,[13] emission sources deregulated and enforcement reduced, all of which has been criticized not just by environmental organizations but also by green businesses (Paehlke 2002, 141). Furthermore, EIA requirements were relaxed and in some cases municipalities discouraged to assess the impact of industrial farming (Schrecker 2005, 127). Land Use Planning was quite clearly reoriented toward further suburbanization (the power base of the Harris Conservatives) and to benefit land developers (among the party's largest financial contributors). While somewhat weakened, the EBR remained in place, however.

5 Analysis and Comparison

The comparison between Canada and Germany shows that even though pressures to implement EPI are greater in Germany (through specific EU mandates) and the abstract environmental capacity of governments is larger, past policy traditions carry a crucial legacy in constraining a move toward 'new modes of governance.' That reluctance is evidently lower in Canada which has a stronger tradition of overall liberal state tradition coupled with a cooperative policy style. The stronger impact of New Public Management here may have further increased administrative reform capabilities.

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[12] The NDP was in office during a severe recession and much against its own intentions had to focus on low-cost innovations and forgo more comprehensive and costly programmes. This low cost status may have protected them from cuts when the Conservatives were voted into power in 1995.

[13] By 1998 the Ministry controlled fewer resources than in the mid-1970s (Krajnc 2000).

The difference in the functioning of federalism has a significant influence in constraining the discretion of sub-national governments. While both Länder and provincial governments are the principal locations for implementing environmental policy integration, the tight political and institutional integration with the federal level in Germany appears leave only very limited room. Indeed at the Länder level, 'parties do not matter' in environmental policy, as even with a complete set of Länder studied, there is little correlation between party in power and environmental resources employed (Seeger 2003). The structure of party competition, however, remains important and the presence of a competitive Green party clearly adds to the potential for greening everywhere. In Canada, on the other hand, a much less interlocking system of federal-provincial relations and a federal government traditionally reluctant to assert itself in environmental policy matters vis-à-vis the provinces, has made it possible for the government of Ontario to cut costs so dramatically that twenty years of environmental capacity building were brought into question. Similar, if not quite as dramatic developments can be observed in British Columbia under the Liberal party in power since 2001.

Environmental Policy Integration and Gender Mainstreaming have followed a similar processes of diffusion through international organizations and transnational networks. Rucht also points to the remarkably similar process of institutionalization of the environmental and women's movements across the advanced industrialized world since the 1970s. Within governments, we find again a similar institutionalization first sectorally (although gender equality retains an overall lower profile and there are, for instance, few free-standing ministries). Successive waves of policy development laid the groundwork for the mainstreaming of environmental and gender concerns horizontally across all government activity.

There has been considerable resistance to Gender Mainstreaming from movement activists outside and 'femocrats' inside government, especially in West Germany. A combination of factors can be brought forward as an explanation. First, there is a fear, that what had been gained in hard struggles would be quickly lost of diluted if suddenly everyone (and therefore no one) is responsible for gender. Furthermore the quality of relevant work might decrease if those inexperienced in gender equality started employing tools traditionally handled by gender equality experts. Second, there has traditionally been a strong impetus in parts of the women's movements to creating women's own spaces. Third, there appears to be a fear of loss of a position of competence among professional gender equality officers in the administration. The (justified) scepticism toward the use of quantitative data and the absence of standardized, authoritative scientific discourse makes them more vulnerable to challenges (and evasion) than most environmental policy experts.

Among environmentalists some of these concerns can be found as well. Overall, however, these are much less severe or prevalent. This may very well be related to the fact that environmental ministries are, in fact, well established and do not face a serious threat to loose their separate institutional basis. From this position of security (if not quite 'power') it might be easier to push for horizontal integration. One former provincial deputy minister of the environment articulated this concern when he said that institutional location should indeed be in (federal) Chancellor Schröder's office, but that he had little trust that it would be adequately pursued there or that the 'Automobile Chancellor' would ensure the balancing of economic, social and environmental goals.

Those introducing GM in Germany have responded to these concerns by developing detailed implementation strategies that place a high emphasis on organizational development and individual and agency competence building. In the most successful cases, staff at all policy levels in all ministries as well as cabinet ministers have received general gender training as well as specialized policy training aimed at sector-specific applications. It can be suggested that innovations, whether concerned with questions of the environment or gender, are unlikely to be implemented across all

policy areas immediately. Rather, existing practices tend to shape how easy it is to convince and compel actors to apply the new tools. Again, since both EPI and gender mainstreaming are heavily dependent on learning and expertise, formal and legal enforcement mechanisms are expected to play only one part alongside the level of understanding among those who are supposed to implement the process innovation.

6 Conclusion

Environmental Policy Integration entails the integration of environmental concerns into all policy areas in order to design and defend policies that increase environmental protection while decreasing the likelihood of conflicting governmental policies. It operates vertically and horizontally and challenges traditional thinking of policy-makers, while remaining reconcilable with rational bureaucratic and state decision-making. As a set of institutional adjustments to the policy-process, I have argued, EPI can represent a means of democratization in advanced industrial societies and elsewhere in both procedural and substantive terms.

By comparing GM and EPI the work attempts to move the discussion on policy process innovations to a more general level and link it to increases in the quality of democracy. It is at this general level that it becomes clear how larger shifts, such as the one 'from government to governance' (Skogstad 2003, Pierre and Peters 2000) have contributed to these issue area-specific process innovations. Vertical and horizontal policy integration remains an important issue in a number of areas and insights from experience with one kind of policy integration can and should travel to and be applied in another kind, even if the issues involved appear, at first, to be radically different.

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