THE MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE OF SECURITY[*]

Constantin Plamadeala[1]

The paradigm of multilevel governance, based on assumptions arising from the changing international environment, does not intend to establish a world government but rather an additional level of decision-making among nation states, international organizations and civil society. Therefore, with the priority of hegemonic leadership structures undermined, the paradigm is centered on the level of international relations by showing the importance of multilateralism as a fundamental rule of post-Cold War international governance.

Introduction

As an answer to the variability of the international environment, it does not take into account the dynamic processes that occur within states. The logic of changes in the international system and in particular in the position of states in the international decision-making chain is also conditioned by processes that include the vertical dispersion of state competences and decision-making power: up to the supranational insititutions, down to the sub-national level and, horizontally, to private actors. In conclusion, the governance of the international environment under the conditions of globalization processes must be both multilateral and multilevel.

The concept of multilevel governance is relatively recent in the policy and public administration literature. In the early 1990s, Gary Marks used it to shed light on decision-making in the European Union. This concept allows illustrating the complex relationship that exists between non-state actors and the various levels of government, ranging from the local level to the global level in the construction of policies. Thus, multilevel governance is a more inclusive and open approach to governance relationships. It rejects not only the artificial separation between the domestic and international policies of states, but also the top-down and exclusively governmental approach to the policy-making process. This approach recognizes the importance of emphasizing a plurality of actors in the decision-making of European policies as well as in their implementation.

1. Multilevel governance

Multilevel governance has made it possible to analyze the evolution of relations between actors located at different territorial levels, both public and private sectors, in the context of European integration. The EU has often been described as the quintessential multilevel governance system, as it comprises many levels of government (European, national, regional and local) which interact and overlap widely. Multilevel

[1] *Constantin Plamadeala,* Ph.D. candidate, Faculty of Law, University of Debrecen. The study was made under the scope of the Ministry of Justice's program on strengthening the quality of legal education.

governance has become a common term to describe the links between government entities in the European Union.

A multilevel governance system is characterized by the existence of decision-making centers at multiple levels of government, by the fact that decision-making is intertwined (nested), that there is no clear hierarchy between centers and that there are direct interactions between actors at different levels (Hooghe & Marks, 2003). Multilevel governance can be seen as a concept that can be adopted in different ways. The most popular definitions found in early formulations of the concept of security governance reflect these basic elements. For Webber et al. (Webber et al. 2004, 8), security governance refers to: the coordinated management and regulation of problems by multiple and distinct authorities, the interventions of public and private actors, formal and informal arrangements, in turn structured by the discourse and norms, and deliberately geared towards particular policy outcomes.

The multilevel governance of security aims to minimize conflict and violence across the world, by respecting state sovereignty. The multilevel governance of security has functioned as a heuristic device aimed at defining and analyzing „*the mechanisms and modalities of security arrangements*" in areas characterized by complexity, risk and uncertainty. The study of the multilevel governance of security requires the adoption of an approach that passes the problems of formal sovereignty and instead focuses on where the power actually lies, taking into account inter-institutional relations and governance agreements in the particular social context.

2. Multilevel governance in the European Union

In the European Union, the multilevel governance of security corresponds to a decision-making process by the public authorities to carry out public policies, which revolves around the different levels coexisting in the European Union: European, national and regional levels. The application of European measures therefore requires cooperation between European, national and also local levels. As such it, involves not only the European institutions and the national governments but also the actors of local life.

Figure 1: The levels of multilevel governance
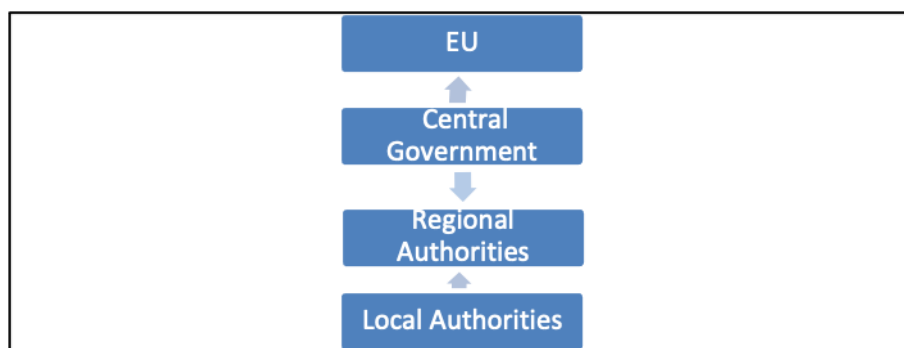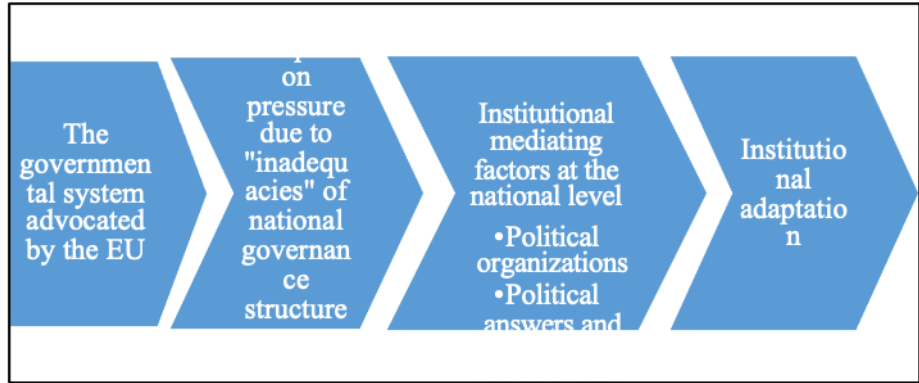

Source: Made by the Author

Figure 2: The principles of multilevel governance

Principle of shared management	Commission is responsible for implementation
Principle of partnership	Regional and local authorities
Obligation to align with objectives of EU	Strategic partnership

Source: Made by the Author

More specifically, this is: multi-center coordination in which national governments are a central actor, but not necessarily the only one; a combination of formal and informal structures between interdependent but autonomous actors operating beyond formal hierarchies; and a trend towards bottom-up cooperative implementation rather than top-down command and control.

Figure 3: The principles of implied government in the case of EU

The governmental system advocated by the EU	on pressure due to "inadequacies" of national governance structure	Institutional mediating factors at the national level •Political organizations •Political answers and	Institutional adaptation

Source: Made by the Author

Based on this figure, we can summarize our understanding of the Europeanization and the national institutional change of multilevel governance. In this simple model, the adaptation pressure derives from the EU level and prompts adjustments to the national institutional design. National institutions, and the cultures and norms they contain, are important mediators of change. Their character in response to change is well understood in the term "*path dependence*" (Pierson, 1996). However, the importance of agency is also recognized: that is to say that the actors respond to the national institutional

context. These actors can just as easily seize the opportunity offered by EU pressures to effect internal structural changes.

The participation of regions in the decision-making process is also necessary to activate and better use their potential. However, the degree of demand, participation and development in terms of multilevel governance in the EU varies very strongly from region to region due to excessive divergence, so that the question of which is the cohesion policy to choose in order to ensure convergence and eradicatecurrent disparities is under discussion.

In any case, the dependent variable of the adaptation model is national institutional change. This model of change assumes that the EU is the only source of pressure for change.

3. Forms and cases of multilevel security governance

In the security context, governance can be differentiated from government on seven dimensions:
   a) geographic scope,
   b) functional scope,
   c) allocation of resources,
   d) interest,
   e) standards,
   f) decision making,
   g) policy implementation.
Using these seven dimensions, a framework for analyzing policy arrangements can be established that distinguishes between the ideal-typical categories of government and governance. The following briefly describes the scope of each dimension.

Each can take various forms along a scale between ideal notions of government, such as centralization and integration. However, it should be noted that not all dimensions apply to every problem area.

The allocation of resources can be understood in terms of centralization and fragmentation. In centralized agreements, all or most of the resources needed for policy development and implementation are ideally usually owned or channeled by government. In its ideal typical interpretation, the dimension of interest is closely related to the norms that underlie government and governance, respectively. Standards can be defined in terms of centralization or fragmentation in the sense that they promote a strong state or prioritize the right to self-determination among public and private actors.

Finally, the division between centralization and fragmentation applies to the structures and processes of decision-making and implementation. Around the world, particular conflicts and security issues have been dealt with in the past by the structures of national and international authorities. For analytical reasons, the cases are structured into three groups. These are the following: cases at the local level, at the inter-state level and at the international level.

Figure 4: Forms of security multilevel governance
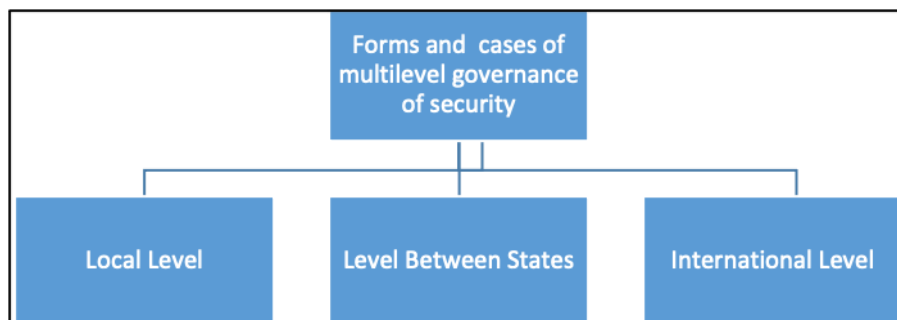
Source: Made by the Author

In the case of a coup in many countries, the constitution is suspended and the judiciary is purged. Various states can act by condemning the coup individually. Many partners could hamper diplomatic relations as a solution to this situation. In many cases, new authorities and new law enforcement structures resolve the internal crisis with the support of some external partners.

Territorial disputes and border disputes in the region have been resolved or have not normally been managed through mediation or arbitration.

In this case, many states can establish a framework to end their border dispute and begin the demarcation of border regions. The agreement can be ratified without opposition by the legislative powers of the countries.

The conflict could also be decided by international arbitration through direct bilateral negotiations. The cases of some countries like the republics of Former Yugoslavia, even neighbors with a legacy marked by long-standing hostility-can be considered exemplary due to strong political will on both sides, two countries which have almost clashed militarily during a conflict can resolve many border conflicts in a few years.

In the case of the EU, several practical mechanisms have been developed for the prevention and control of transnational threats on the ground. The examples of EUROPOL and FRONTEX and of CSDP missions-outside the EU-could be considered as the starting point of multilateral collaboration in law enforcement.

In the case of EUROPOL and FRONTEX, there is support for the scientific and technological development of law enforcement training. The same is true for CSDP missions outside the EU. FRONTEX and EUROPOL encourage the exchange of good practices between national law enforcement agencies both within the EU and in the third countries and aim to develop common training programs and, consequently, measures of common prevention and repression.

The same method is applied outside the EU via CSDP by providing best practices to law enforcement agencies in crisis regions.

Within the framework of FRONTEX and EUROPOL, there is collaboration between the police forces of the Member States to fight against kidnapping, child trafficking,

organ trafficking, illegal trade in drugs and weapons, terrorism, money laundering, illegal border crossings, etc.

In this case too, the availability of data relating to persons, property and criminal cases depends on the willingness of the Member States to provide this information. Personal data includes national and international arrest warrants, previous convictions and reports of missing persons, as well as issued and refused visas. Goods data refers to confiscated vehicles or smuggled goods.

4. Financing of multilevel governance of security

The '*vertical*' dimension refers to the links between upper and lower levels of government, including their institutional, financial and informational aspects. Strengthening local capacities and incentives for the effective functioning of subnational levels of government is a critical issue for improving the quality and coherence of public policies.

The '*horizontal*' dimension refers to cooperation agreements between regions or between municipalities. These agreements are increasingly common as a means of improving the efficiency of local public service delivery and the implementation of development strategies.

Figure 5: Multilevel governance – from global level to the local level
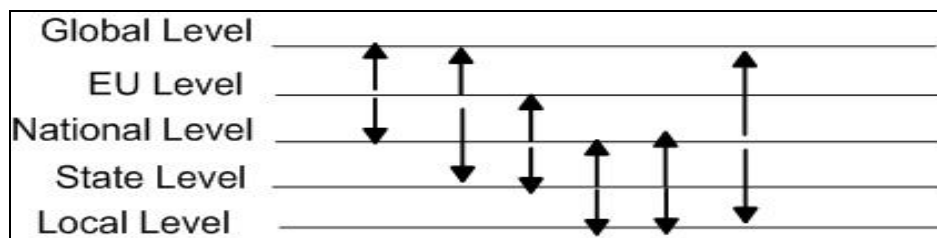
Source: Jänicke 2015, 5789.

Multilevel governance – from global to local level – can be seen as a general strengthening mechanism. The wide variety of possible vertical and horizontal interactions allows for innovation to take place in different parts of the governance system. The resulting higher level policy (nation state, European Union) can stimulate horizontal dynamics at lower levels. This aspect of strengthening at several levels will be illustrated by the case of the European Union.

The relevance of the EU at this stage is linked to our particular understanding of security governance. It is clear that the state as an actor survives in security governance, but its effectiveness is undermined by the complex threat environment in which the state is located and by the outsourcing of powers to intergovernmental and non-governmental bodies.

Vertical fragmentation means that EU Member States are not obliged to participate in CSDP operations. Historically, not all 27 Member States have participated in the

same CSDP missions. Horizontal fragmentation means that there are several mechanisms in place to fund an operation, depending on its nature and objectives.

5. Analysis of multilevel governance in the context of EU foreign policy

Recently, the multilevel governance approach has been broadened to focus on the role of the many factors involved in EU foreign policy and how they interact with each other.

Figure 6: The complexity of operations of peacebuilding
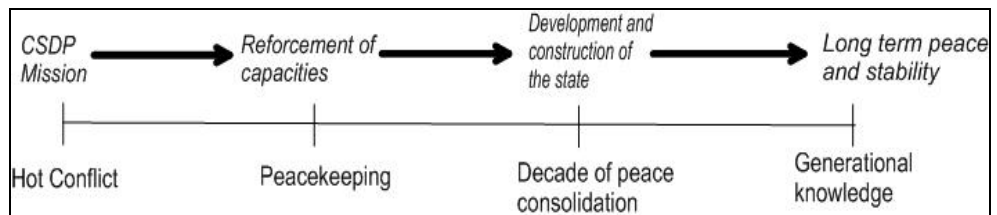
Sources: European Commission, Operating in situations of conflict and fragility: EU staff handbook.

In the case of the security of multilevel governance, the EU External Action Service can also take initiatives in conflict prevention and mediation.

This work is supported by the Conflict Prevention, Peacebuilding and Mediation Instruments Division of the EU External Action Service, which aims to make real-time decisions in crisis anticipation and management. The division works closely with the departments of the Commission in the development of conflict-related policies, including early warning, in the planning of long-term activities, as well as in the implementation of assistance in conflict prevention and mediation.

Most of the research that uses a multilevel governance approach, including that studying EU foreign policy, has mainly focused on decision-making processes in EU circles that involve institutional actors of the CFSP / ESDP (Common Foreign and Security Policy / European Security and Defense Policy) on the one hand, and national constituencies within EU Member States on the other. While this is highly relevant for grasping the power configuration and decision-making processes that shape EU foreign policy at the European level, this multilevel governance approach has too often addressed only one side of the issue. In fact, the multi-level foreign governance approach of EU foreign policy mainly focuses on the formulation phase of the CFSP / ESDP. In other words, most EU CFSP / ESDP multilevel research projects do not take into account the fact that, with governance being 'internationally multi-site', it is imperative to integrate local partners into the analysis.

Governments and international organizations have expanded their security functions; however, they are hindered by limited resources, lack of expertise in non-traditional security areas and competing interests between European governments.

Various private actors, ranging from charities to private security companies, have emerged in local, regional and global security, dealing with issues such as humanitarian aid, human rights monitoring and military training.

The CSDP remains a subject of the Treaty on European Union rather than of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, which implies that the intergovernmental logic of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union still applies with a limited role. The political control of CSDP missions varies from member to member. There is clearly a political obstacle related to the control of the CSDP as a policy of governance at several levels. The double democratic deficit may imply inter-parliamentary cooperation between the European Parliament and the national parliaments of the Member States and the possibility of overcoming information and control deficits at both levels. The European Parliament looks forward to using inter-parliamentary cooperation to extend its oversight of the CSDP, in particular through its global transversal perspective linked to the emergence of the comprehensive approach to the EU's external governance.

Figure 7: The actors of multilevel governance of security
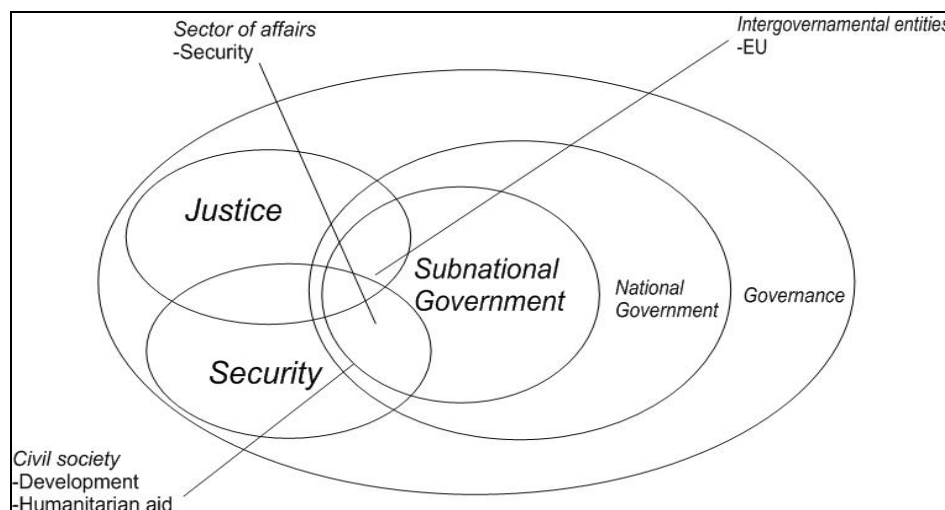
Source: Based on the presentation "Governance and SSR" DCAF

Figure 8:Traditional view: Linear trajectory, sequential, limited over time, partitioned interventions
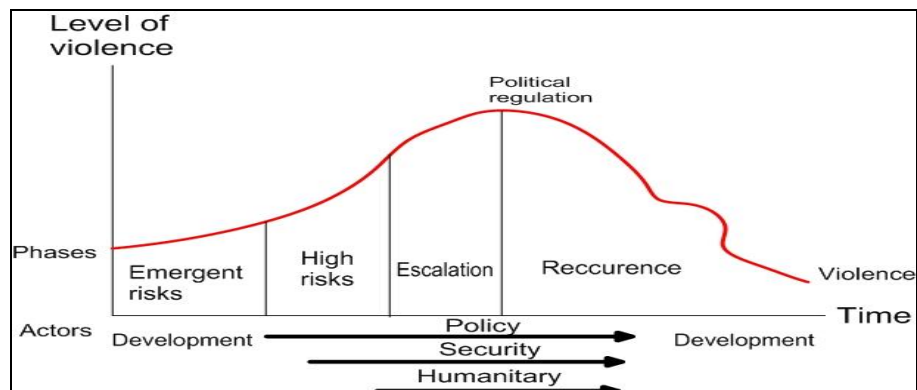
Source: Based on the presentation "Governance and SSR" DCAF

6. Strategic autonomy

In the context of multi-level governance, a new comprehensive strategy for the EU's foreign and security policy was approved by the EU Council in December 2016, including the ambition for strategic autonomy. The EU should make a decisive contribution to collective efforts and act autonomously if and when necessary. An appropriate level of ambition and strategic autonomy is important for the EU's ability to foster peace and security within and beyond its borders. The EU pursues an integrated (multidimensional, multi-phase, multi-level and multilateral) approach to security.

Figure 9: Global strategy of EU: Acquired ambition level in the matter of prevention, regulation and stability of conflicts

Source: Based on the presentation, Ahlmark C.: Implementation of the EU Global Strategy, Integrated Approach and EU SSR

Then, a roadmap was proposed by the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, to implement the new strategy with seven points to be addressed: improvement of civilian capacities; parameters of an annual defense coordination review; military capability development process; permanent operational structure to plan and conduct operations at the strategic level; improving rapid response capacity; Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO); Requirements for capacity building in support of security and development.

The concept of strategic autonomy has different meanings, depending on which of its three dimensions – political (strategy), operational (capacities) or industrial (equipment) – is privileged over the others. The relative composition of these elements has varied over the course of the history of European defense construction, depending on the circumstances.

After the Saint-Malo declaration and under Franco-British patronage, the European Council of June 1999 in Cologne introduced the concept of "*autonomy of action*" to enable the EU to act independently in international crises, if NATO decides not to intervene, or where NATO as a whole is not engaged (the Berlin Plus Agreement in 2003 facilitated such a cooperation).

Following Franco-British principles of neither duplicating NATO efforts nor creating a European army, the objective of "*autonomy of action*" initially meant strength objectives of 50,000 to 60,000 soldiers capable of being deployed in 60 days and for deployments up to 12 months.

The autonomy of action provided by this EU rapid force was mainly focused on the operational aspects of EU action.

The European Security Strategy, approved in 2003, makes no mention of the concept of strategic autonomy, limiting the EU's global action to support multilateral security frameworks. The 2003 force objectives have been replaced by other, more realistic objectives and a capacity development process has been initiated. The planning process – delegated by the Member States to the European Defense Agency – follows a sequence that goes from delineating strategic needs to determining operational needs which then translate into industrial decisions. The logic of the sequence emphasizes the importance of establishing strategic premises early on; otherwise, the concept of strategic autonomy is reduced to its operational dimension and becomes little more than a catalog of military equipment.

Conclusion

Multi-level governance has an extensive basis in Europe, although it is not entirely comprehensive or equal. Previous analysis has shown that the increasing complexity of the European security architecture can be explained by the emergence of a system of multilevel security governance, but this article argues that the rise of security governance in Europe should not be understood as an end point. Rather, it is an evolution that progresses at different speeds.

EU security orientations have dominated discourse and practice in many regions. In some cases, the EU's multilevel security- governance has also been at odds with other security organizations.

References

- Artega, F. (2017). Strategic autonomy and European defence. *Elcano Royal Institute,* ARI 102/2017, December 12, 2017, http://129.35.96.157:10040/ wps/portal/rielcano_en/contenido?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcan o_in/zonas_in/europe/ari102-2017-arteaga-strategic-autonomy-european-defence [accessed May 30, 2021]
- Burch, M. & Bulmer, S. (2002). British devolution and European policy-making: a step-change towards multi-level governance? *Politique Européenne* 2(6): 114-135.
- Hooghe, L. & Marks, G. (2003). Unraveling the Central State, but How? Types of Multi-Level Governance. *American Political Science Review* 97(2): 233-243.
- Flemes, D. & Radseck, M. (2009). Creating Multilevel Security Governance in South America. *GIGA Working Papers*, No. 117. https://papers.ssrn.com/ sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1534591 [accessed May 30, 2021].
- Gouvernance nationale et européenne, https://www.maxicours.com/se/cours/ gouvernance-nationale-et-europeenne/ [accessed May 30, 2021]
- Jänicke, M. (2015). Horizontal and Vertical Reinforcement in Global Climate Governance. *Energies* 8(6): 5782-5799.
- Krahmann, E. (2003). Conceptualizing Security Governance. *Cooperation & Conflict* 38(1): 5-26.
- Multi-level Governance and Public Finance. OECD, https://www.oecd.org/ regional/multi-levelgovernance.htm [accessed May 30, 2021]
- Petruche, J. P. (2017). *Security in Europe: Challenges and Perspectives for a Genuine European Security and Defence Policy* 2017(6), https://euro defense.fr/2017/07/06/security-in-europe-challenges-and-perspectives-for-a-genuine-european-security-and-defense-policy/ [accessed May 30, 2021]
- Sperling, J. & Webber, M. (2019). The European Union: security governance and collective securitisation. *West European Politics* 42(2): 228-260.
- Spence, D. & Bátora, J. (2015). *The European External Action Service: European Diplomacy Post-Westphalia.* London: Palgrave Macmillan
- Webber, M. et al. (2004). The Governance of European Security. *Review of International Studies* 1(30): 3-26.