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Experimentalist Sustainability Governance: Jazzing up Environmental Blues?

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1 Introduction

This paper discusses a novel approach that may satisfy various needs in participatory climate change governance: experimentalist governance. The reason for focusing on governance in the first place is that, while many movements in support of sustainability are encouraging, what is often lacking is a sense of effective[1] and coherent governance for sustainable development. Governance is crucial for addressing climate change and sustainability.[2] The development and implementation of long-term low-carbon development require challenging existing routines, ways of thinking, and physical and mental barriers in existing institutions[3] and policies.

Sustainability governance involves the deliberate adjustment of governance practices and societal institutions in order to maximize the opportunities for continued human progress along a sustainable trajectory. The proposed definition of sustainability governance in this paper is: "a reflexive, contextual and social human activity in institutional and organizational settings which is aimed at solving problems, making decisions and creating opportunities related to the continuous advancement of human civilization."

Within the wider topic of sustainable development, the focus of this paper is on climate change and sustainable energy. The first reason for this focus is that climate change is arguably the most global and morally challenging of all environmental issues, as climate change can have severe economic and socio-political impacts. Climate change and sustainable energy are prime concerns for global governance. Secondly, carbon dioxide emissions play a dominant role in humanity's ecological footprint.

The purpose and structure of this paper is three-fold. First, it aims at identifying a number of needs and qualities which effective and coherent sustainability governance should satisfy. Secondly, it investigates

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[1] Effective environmental governance in this paper refers to an adequate response that is in proportion to the dimensions of the problem, and that keeps pace as the problem develops further (Najam et al., 2006. In general, governance can be said to be effective when there is a policy or an institution targeting a specific outcome or result that is achieved. When looking at the reality of sustainability governance, on-going initiatives for sustainability may point in the right direction. But these initiatives are not implemented at the scale and rate needed to bring human development within planetary boundaries (Rockstrom et al., 2009; OECD, 2012). A survey in 2012 of 200 senior by the Cambridge Institute for Sustainability Leadership shows that while 72 percent of the corporate leaders that were surveyed believe that sustainability is strongly embedded in the awareness of senior corporate leaders, only 42 percent think that sustainability is embedded meaningfully into strategies, plans and processes.

[2] RobecoSAM's Country Sustainability Ranking (http://www.robecosam.com/images/CS_Ranking_E_Rel.FINAL.pdf) for example is based on three dimensions: environmental, social and governance. While the environmental and social dimensions make up for 15 and 25 percent, respectively, of the final country sustainability score, the governance dimension is dominant and makes up for 60 per cent. Governance aspects taken into account by RobecoSAM are regulatory quality, central bank independence, civil liberties, internal conflicts and corruption.

[3] An institution can be broadly defined as any structure or mechanism of social order and cooperation governing the behaviour of a set of individuals within a given community. Examples of institutions are marriage, religion, schools, government, civil society, (mass) media, industry (businesses) and the military. Institutions are one of the principal objects of study in the social sciences. Different disciplines (e.g. sociology, political science, international relations) can have different understanding of what an institution entails.

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whether 'experimentalist' governance can live up to those requirements. Finally, it proposes methodologies for improving the analysis of experimental governance.

2   Characteristics of Sustainability Governance

Sustainable development is above all about governance.

- Meadowcroft et al. (2012)

This quotation and also Hulme's (2009:310) insight that "the climate crisis is more like a crisis of governance than a crisis of the environment" shows the critical role which governance plays in addressing sustainability and climate change. In a ranking of 21 emerging global environmental issues for the 21st century, UNEP's 2012 Foresight Process ranked 'Aligning Governance to the Challenges of Global Sustainability' as the top priority.[4]

Sustainability governance can be characterized as "processes of socio-political governance oriented towards the attainment of sustainable development" (Meadowcroft, 2007: 299). It is a goal-oriented activity that seeks to achieve certain desired societal outcomes and to avoid other less promising social futures, as eventually, sustainable development cannot be expected to be spontaneous social outcomes, but requires "goal-directed intervention by governments and other actors" (Meadowcroft, 2007: 302). Sustainability governance is normative, prescriptive and concerns the tools, methods and instruments that are specifically regarded as useful for sustainable development. Sustainability governance is generally accepted to be more comprehensive than environmental governance as it also includes economic and social dimensions.

Based on this description, sustainability governance should be expected to be:

(a) Deliberative and Participatory

The very act of contesting and debating the meaning of sustainable development in concrete decision-making situations itself has enormous value, and is thus a hugely important aspect of governing for sustainable development.

- Gro-Harlem Brundtland

In policy-making circles, there has been a rebirth of democratic ideals such as empowered participation, deliberation and attention to subjects of governance (Warren, 2008: 1). However, there are several barriers to improving deliberative decision-making in global governance. First, it is difficult to identify and select stakeholders. Second, the institutional setting must allow for and incentivize reflexive processes of arguing and of critically evaluating different interests. Third, a balance needs to be struck between transparency and argumentative effectiveness.

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[4]For the full report, see: http://www.unep.org/pdf/Foresight_Report-21_Issues_for_the_21st_Century.pdf

We need new and innovative ways of thinking about what participation in sustainability governance really means for different actors. There are strong practical, conceptual, and moral arguments for wanting to involve a wide range of actors. But there is no reason - practical, conceptual, or moral - to assume that this means having to bring them *all* together in *every* global forum to ensure effective systems of sustainability governance. It is more important to create multiple opportunities for the meaningful participation of multiple actors in order to include all levels at which the implementation of sustainability governance practically happens.

(b) Adaptive

It is not the strongest of species that survive, nor the most intelligent, but the ones most responsive to change.

- Charles Darwin

Adaptiveness includes the governance of a set of related concepts such as vulnerability, resilience, adaptation, robustness, adaptive capacity or social learning to describe changes that different actors make in response to, or in anticipation of, challenges created through environmental change. In addition, adaptiveness can relate to processes of change and adaptation within governance systems (Biermann et al., 2010). Because intractable problems such as climate change cannot be 'solved' (Hulme, 2009), they call for an adaptive 'dealing with' approach. Sustainable development requires adaptive governance in order to be flexible enough to adjust to our ever changing world, including new actors, contexts, and challenges (Boons et al., 2008).

Knowledge and learning are crucial for adaptive governance. Learning from monitoring and evaluating enables adaptive governance. Because of the diminishing strength of the nation state and a complex, interconnected and rapidly changing world, there is a need for adaptation in order to reduce vulnerability and secure vital resources (Young et al., 2006). 'Adaptive capacity' is frequently linked with vulnerability, resilience, institutional redundancy, and institutional robustness.

Learning has a central role to play in adaptive management, in order to keep knowledge up to date with constantly changing conditions. Adaptive management is based on an idea of learning by doing and is a type of management that integrates science and local knowledge with experimental practices (Voß and Bornemann, 2011).

(c) Pragmatic

Students in the social sciences should focus on problems, not theories, and still less on methods.

- Jonathan Zeitlin

Pragmatism[5] can embody great intellectual subtlety and can be used for "framing an environmental ethic that captures the complexity and plurality of values involved in human interactions with nature" (Stephens, 2007: 390). Pragmatism urges flexibility and democracy, endorses pluralism and eclecticism, and aspires to the crafting of practical theory that can inform effective practice (Ibid.).

Norton (2007) attempts to show how pragmatism can overcome the inclination of environmentalism towards the ideological framing of challenges and solution, how actors that use different language can cooperate, and how adaptive management can be positive, mission-oriented and experience-based. He links social learning with Habermasian discourse ethics in order to frame sustainability. In a reaction to normative accounts that call for sustainability that safeguards the needs of future generations, Norton proposes to focus on keeping options and opportunities for the future open.

A pragmatic approach to sustainability governance can include a number of actions that are focused on provoking action.

First, pragmatism can mean acting from the understanding that government is just one (albeit one crucial) component of the overall process of societal governance. Thus government actions are oriented to increase the likelihood that the system as a whole will evolve in the desired direction.

Second, it can be useful to exploit interactions among actors to gain knowledge about interests, perspectives, and capacities and to "learn by doing" about the character of societal/environmental linkages, as well as the opportunities for (and obstacles to) change. Third, it is important to establish long-term objectives that operationalize sustainable development in the specific societal context. Formulating such goals is critical to providing actors with a vision of how the system can be expected to evolve, as well as to establish reference points with respect to which progress and accountability can be assessed, and subsequent adjustments to the goals and the means applied to secure them can be oriented.

(d) Pluralistic and Diverse

Through global change, the world is becoming more diverse, turbulent, fast and multi-polar, and, thus, more complex. The free engagement and cooperation between state and non-state actors across national borders can result in 'deep' pluralism: "the profusion within many domains of international

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[5] Pragmatism is a philosophical tradition that began in the United States around 1870. Pragmatism rejects the idea that the function of thought is to describe, represent, or mirror reality. Instead, pragmatists develop their philosophy around the idea that the function of thought is as an instrument or tool for prediction, action, and problem solving. Pragmatists contend that most philosophical topics—such as the nature of knowledge, language, concepts, meaning, belief, and science—are all best viewed in terms of their practical uses and successes rather than in terms of representative accuracy. In other words, the pragmatist tradition emphasizes *usefulness* as the primary test of the veracity of knowledge (Boyd et al., 2012). The philosophy of pragmatism combines a Darwinian focus on interaction with environment with a democratic ethos of trial and error, operating over time to edge steadily toward more complete truths and more tractable problems.

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organizations with partially complementary, but also partially competing purposes, representing differing values and accountable to distinct sets of authorizing actors—to the extent they are accountable at all" (De Burca et al., 2013: 2).

The diversity of arguments that exist in environmental debates is given as the reason why these debates are unresolvable (Myerson and Rydin, 1996: 30). Even when environmental concerns emerge, the plurality of interests can cause conflicting goals within the government (Wilds, 1990), leading to policy incoherence and legislative or bureaucratic stalemates (Hoberg, 1992). On the other hand, diversity also has benefits as it facilitates the diffusion of ideas, norms, strategies and practices (Andonova and Mitchell, 2011).[6]

Various, reflexive approaches to climate change can be found in different sub-systems, and because of this differentiated observation, various reflexive solutions can be found (Van Assche et al., 2010). Diminishing this diversity would lead to de-differentiation and would not be able to address ecological questions at the same level of complexity. Diversity and differentiation need to be safeguarded as they enable adaptation and innovation.[7] Also, cultural diversity can enhance the capacity for adaptation and transformation (also see O'Brien, 2009).

(e) Focused on Knowledge Sharing and Learning

Knowledge sharing and exchange becomes very important when dealing with complex sustainability problems. Where each governance actor has a limited view of the whole and restricted ability to influence outcomes (Smith & Stirling, 2007), learning between different actors can foster the collective cognition that is necessary to take on policy-making functions of greater complexity (Huppé et al., 2012). As sustainability learning is not simply about knowing 'more', but focuses on developing and putting in practice a qualitatively different type of knowledge and social-ecological interactions (Tabara, 2013), cooperation between different actors may only contribute to more qualitatively diverse knowledge of sustainability.

Ideas may come from a variety of paths and sources (e.g., von Hippel, 1988), but idea generation at some point involves knowledge brokerage[8] that moves knowledge from this group to that, or combines

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[6] From a *theoretical* perspective, Luhmann (1995) argues that social systems can only be controlled by themselves and not through external, top-down steering. Direct interference of the environment in the social system would cause the dissolution of the system in the environment (ibid.) For example, when politics tries to take over law, economics, or education, those systems will lose their capacity for autopoiesis and their systemic logic will break down. (King and Tornhill, 2003). In this context, diversity is crucial as it provides for the multitude of different observations in various function-systems which allows society to adapt (Van Assche, 2010).

[7] Diversity further helps confer resilience and robustness because diversification militates against closure (Stirling, 2011).

[8] Knowledge brokers bridge multiple domains and span otherwise disconnected subgroups, move ideas to where they are known to where they are not and thus introduce new, more optimal configurations. Ideas in one domain that are valuable but previously unknown in the other are introduced to produce new knowledge configurations and more innovative solutions (Burt, 1992; DiMaggio, 1992).

knowledge across groups. For example, Millennium Ecosystem Assessment cases show that managing social-ecological systems requires social networks across multiple levels of organization to use information from various sources (Fabricius, Folke, Cundill & Schultz 2007; Hahn et al., 2006).[9] The advantage of multiscalar governance is that it encourages experimental efforts and learning at multiple levels (Ostrom, 2010).

Learning in institutions may happen through the generation of new knowledge or through the reconsideration of values and interests (Nye, 1987). The role of institutions can then be the diffusion of knowledge and values that can enhance international cooperation (Simmons and Martin, 2001). The distribution of knowledge is thought to be subject to what Cash and Moser (2000) have termed "scale-specific comparative advantages," wherein local institutions are best informed about the local level (e.g., the state of local forests, needs of villagers and farmers, etc.), and the state has a regional and national vantage point and a repertoire of tools and techniques (e.g., scientific databases, remote sensing) not normally available to local institutions (Reid, Berkes, Wilbanks & Capistrano, 2006). Linking these different levels of knowledge systems requires individuals or organizations (e.g., NGOs) taking active roles as coordinators and facilitators of collaborative processes (e.g., Halls, Arthur, Bartley, Felsing et al., 2005).

(f) Reflexive

Reflexive governance is good, because it maintains the illusion of governance.

- Arie Rip[10]

Reflexivity (or in Giddens' terminology, reflexive monitoring[11]) is concerned with the human competence to reflect, learn, and to adapt. Reflexivity also enables people to learn from any source, experience, practice, information, knowledge, theory, and so on, and to re-orientate behaviour subsequently (In 't Veld, 2011: 280). For Jessop (2003: 7), reflexivity is "the ability and commitment to uncover and make explicit to oneself the nature of one's intentions, projects, and actions and their conditions of possibility; and, in this context, to learn about them, critique them, and act upon any lessons that have been learnt." It is about judicious interventions to channel social energies down pathways conductive to sustainability" (200x: 20). Further, reflexivity is linked to the transformation of the governance system itself and the search for innovative solutions to social problems by moving

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[9] Powell (1994) further argues that networks have a particular advantage over markets and hierarchies when it comes to exchanging information as the value of information is not easily measured and it is, therefore, not easily traded in markets or disseminated through corporate or government hierarchies. For Egan (1995) information exchange and adaptation are the key to inter- organisational networks.

[10] In: Reflexive Governance for Sustainable Development, by Jan-Peter Voß, Dierk Bauknecht, René Kemp, p. 94.

[11] The term "reflexivity" is used by Giddens to refer to the ability of an agent to consciously alter his or her place in the social structure; thus globalization and the emergence of the 'post-traditional' society might be said to allow for "greater social reflexivity". Social and political sciences are therefore important because social knowledge, as self-knowledge, is potentially emancipatory.

beyond surface manifestations to uncover structural and systemic underpinnings.[12] Because governance means shaping and influencing social systems, and social systems are reflexive in nature, governance should be reflexive in itself.

Reflexivity is essential to deal with the variety of possible perspectives on "wicked problems"[13] such as climate change. Typically there is no consensus on the problem or a solution to it. Rather than a single problem, a confusing mess of interconnected problems presents itself and each attempt at creating a solution changes the understanding of the problem (Rittel & Webber, 1973). Reflexivity can help to appreciate the variety of perspectives, to continuously reconsider dominant problem frames, to bring about a redefinition of action perspectives, and to avoid tunnel vision (Schön &Rein, 1994, Gray, 1989). The governance capability for reflexivity relies on understanding and handling the variety of frames[14] in a given policy domain.

(g) Polycentric

Much of the challenge of promoting sustainability relates to the cross-scale phenomena that characterize interactive social and environmental phenomena. Many of the recent cutting-edge theoretical contributions in political science can be attributed to studies of multilevel governance (Stein and Turkewitsch, 2008: 2-3). In line with these developments, polycentric theory in recent years has gained in popularity, in particular in relation to the governance of public goods.

Polycentric governance means that there are "many centers of decision-making that are formally independent of each other" (Ostrom, 1961:831). Polycentric governance systems can be defined as "complex, modular systems where differently sized governance units with different purposes, organizations and spatial locations interact to form together systems characterized by many degrees of freedom at different levels" (Pahl-Wostl, 2009: 357). Ostrom (2009) adds that in a truly polycentric system responsibilities at different governmental levels are tailored to match the scale of the public services they provide. She observes that "[global] solutions negotiated at a global level – if not backed up by a variety of efforts at national, regional and local levels – are not guaranteed to work effectively." Global regimes need support ranging from national implementing legislation to sub-national monitoring and enforcement. Thus, effective global governance institutions are necessarily polycentric in nature.

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[12] The complexity that is inherent in sustainability governance needs to be investigated not only at the level of the governed system, but also at the level of the governing (policy-making) system (also see Frantzeskakis et al., 2009). In this sense, the term *reflexive governance* denotes the partial acknowledgment of complexity in the governing system, with heterogeneity of elements, and path dependence of decision-making (Voss et al, 2006).

[13] Wicked problems are hard to pin down because "the formulation of a wicked problem *is* the problem" (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p.161).

[14] Framing is the process by which people with different perspectives, backgrounds and roles give different meanings to decisions, policy issues, or events (Benford & Snow, 2000; Chong & Druckman, 2007; Dewulf et al., 2009; Schön & Rein, 1994). If frames differ considerably, confusion, misunderstandings, disagreement, or even intractable controversy are likely to result (Schön & Rein, 1994).

Polycentricity reflects the fact that, although climate change is a global problem, it is the cumulative result of diverse actions and decisions at multiple scales. Action on abating emissions similarly needs to be taken at multiple scales (Kates and Wilbanks, 2003). Moreover, polycentric approaches to climate and energy governance are expected to offer an equitable, inclusive, informative, accountable, protective, and adaptable framework for promoting renewable energy and energy efficiency, fighting energy poverty, reducing greenhouse gas emissions, and improving energy security (Sovacool, 2010).

Some benefits of the rescaling[15] of sustainability governance and of polycentricity in general are:

- More diversity and innovation in environmental policy and management;
- Increased exchange of practices, ideas and strategies across different problems, localities, and sectors;
- Better fits between the scales of problems being addressed and the solutions developed to address them (e.g. local learning and adaptation) (Andonova and Mitchell, 2010);
- Local lessons are more likely to be showcased and diffused through transnational networks; in general, polycentric approaches provide greater opportunity for experimentation, choice, and learning (Ostrom, 1973, 2009);
- Decentralized jurisdictions better reflect the heterogeneous preferences among citizens, facilitate credible policy commitments, and allow for jurisdictional competition (Hooghe & Marks, 2001).

More polycentric structures and a balance between bottom-up and top-down approaches (also called 'vertical integration') have turned out to indeed lead to higher adaptive capacity and thus also sustainability of a resource governance regime (Pahl-Wostl, 2009).

3 Enter Experimentalist Governance

I think that this is the first radically novel decision-making architecture to emerge since the rise of parliamentary democracy and the administrative state in the 19th and 20th centuries.

- Jonathan Zeitlin

From the analysis in section 2, we can draw a number of qualities that sustainability governance should reflect: it should be deliberative, pluralistic (respecting diversity) and participative; it should be adaptive, reflexive and pragmatic; and overall, it should fit in with polycentric, multi-scalar realities and

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[15] The idea of polycentricity fits well with the observation that the practice and study of global environmental politics and governance has been "dramatically" rescaled over the past decades (Andonova and Mitchell, 2010). The complexity and interconnectedness of environmental governance has increased with respect to scale, variety of actors, and linkages with non-environmental issues. On the one hand, environmental politics and governance have been rescaled vertically down toward municipal and provincial governments and upward to supranational regimes. Horizontally they have been rescaled across regional and sectoral organizations and networks and across issues such as development, security and trade.

encourage knowledge sharing and learning. This is not a small feat and until very recently it would have been impossible to point out a specific type of governance that promises (at least in theory) to live up to all of these requirements.

This is where experimentalist governance promises to fulfill some needs. Experimentalist governance has been defined as "a recursive process of provisional goal-setting and revision based on learning from the comparison of alternative approaches to advancing them in different contexts" (Sabel and Zeitlin, 2012: 133). It is an upcoming form of coordination and governance that may be considered pragmatic or experimentalist in the sense that it systematically provokes doubt about its own assumptions and practices; it treats all solutions as incomplete and corrigible; and it produces an ongoing, reciprocal readjustment of ends and means through learning from disciplined comparison of local efforts to advance general goals (ibid.). Here also lies a linkage with adaptive governance, pragmatism and incrementalism; while experimentalism is based on learning from doing, adaptive governance both requires knowledge and learning, and is a condition for learning.

Experimentalist governance can be seen as a Weberian ideal-type (Weber, 1978 [1922], 19-22).[16] In the transnational and global context, experimentalist governance as "mode 3" governance can be contrasted with mode 1 governance and mode 2 governance.[17] Experimentalism diverges not only from conventional hierarchical (mode 1) governance, but also from other contemporary reform movements focused on reinforcing principal-agent relations, whether from the top-down, as in the New Public Management (NPM), or from the bottom-up, as in devolved or interactive governance. It gives structure to apparently fluid practices of "network governance."

Experimentalist governance in its most developed form involves a multi-level architecture, which is open to participation of relevant stakeholders in a nonhierarchical process of decision-making. The five

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[16] Actual instances of experimentalist governance may approximate the ideal type even if none of them fully exemplifies it.

[17] The increasingly systemic nature of global governance is reflected by the shift from a single-institution, single-issue focus ("mode 1" governance), to much more dynamic, diverse and diffused policy making processes ("mode 2" governance). An example of this is the move away from negotiations in the World Trade Organization (rule-making in the multilateral trading system or MTS) to the proliferation of bilateral, plurilateral and regional trade agreements. In the case of climate change, after the Copenhagen Climate Conference (UNFCCC COP 15) there has been a move away from the UNFCCC to talks in the Major Economies Forum (MEF), the Clean Energy Ministerial (CEM) and other specialized institutions, and unilateral action by the European Union (e.g. through inclusion of aviation in the EU ETS). As more and more governance initiatives on climate change come up outside of the UNFCCC framework, some are wondering if we are moving "from UN-ity to diversity" (van Asselt, 2007). Along these lines, Keohane and Victor (2010, 2011) argue that "a climate change regime complex, if it meets specified criteria, has advantages over any politically feasible comprehensive regime, particularly with respect to adaptability and flexibility." Such a "regime complex" would be a middle ground between "fully integrated institutions that impose regulation through comprehensive, hierarchical rules" and "highly fragmented collections of institutions with no identifiable core and weak or non-existent linkages between regime elements," and would be a typical example of mode 2 governance.

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main constitutive elements of experimentalist governance are linked in a deliberation-fostering, iterative cycle (see Figure 1 below).

First, stakeholders reflect and discuss based on a broadly shared perception of a common problem, and then articulate a framework understanding with open-ended goals (such as sustainable forestry) and a combination of "central" and "local" units sets provisional metrics for evaluating their achievement, in consultation with relevant stakeholders. Experimentalist actors broadly know what outcomes they desire. However, they are uncertain about how these objectives can be realized. Third, local units are free to pursue these goals in their own way. These local units can be public, private, or hybrid partnerships. Fourth, in exchange for autonomy, these units must report regularly on their performance and participate in a peer review in which their results are compared with those of others. If the local units fail to make progress against the agreed indicators, they need to demonstrate that they are taking sufficient corrective measures, informed by the experience of their peers. The result of reporting and peer review may be the revision of goals, which can again inform step 1 (Sabel and Zeitlin, 2011).

Figure 1: The Experimentalist Governance Cycle
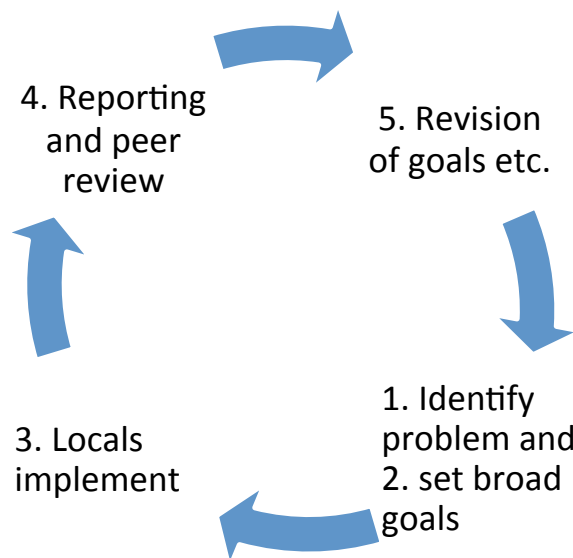
One example of experimentalist governance could be the case of the Partnership for Action on Green Economy (PAGE, see Box 1 below). In PAGE, the partners (UNEP, UNDP, ILO, UNIDO and UNITAR) agree on a broad problem and goal: current development patterns are unsustainable and the partners want to assist developing countries in their transition to a Green Economy. Lower-level actors with local or contextualized knowledge carry out the implementation of projects. Further, during PAGE projects, there is continuous feedback, reporting, and monitoring. There is room in PAGE to update practices and peer review by the partners.

Box 1: The Partnership for Action on Green Economy (PAGE)

The Partnership for Action on Green Economy, or PAGE, is a response to the outcome document of the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20), entitled *The Future We Want*, which recognizes the green economy as a vehicle for sustainable development and poverty eradication. PAGE will support 30 countries over the next seven years in building national green economy strategies that will generate new jobs and skills, promote clean technologies, and reduce environmental risks and poverty.

Five UN agencies – the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) and the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) – will provide a comprehensive suite of green economy services that will enable countries to transform their national economic structures to meet the growing demands and challenges of the 21st century.

More specifically, PAGE will build enabling conditions in participating countries by shifting investment and policies towards the creation of a new generation of assets, such as clean technologies, resource efficient infrastructure, well-functioning ecosystems, green skilled labour and good governance. The five agencies have previously undertaken joint green initiatives. However, this is the first time that all five partners have come together to coordinate their support, expertise and resources at the national level.

PAGE could be seen as experimental governance as it is open to participation of stakeholders in a non-hierarchical process of decision-making. There is an articulation of a broadly agreed common problem (social, environmental and economic unsustainability) and a framework understanding for setting and open-ended goal (the partners agree that they want to assist developing countries in their transition to a Green Economy in the inception phase for every country). Implementation is taken up by national and local actors with contextualized knowledge; there is a strong mechanism for continuous feedback, reporting and monitoring; and there are established practices (involving peer review) for revising rules and practices. Actors broadly know what outcomes they desire. The experiences and insights derived from institutions and organizations at other levels of government (which, in turn, learn from their own experiences as well as those of other governance units at various levels). Whereas the organizational center virtually disappears in Ostrom's cases of successful commons management, a new kind of center plays a continuing role in GXG, pooling information and organizing peer evaluation of it, and on occasion responding to (or invoking the threat of) a penalty default. The PAGE Secretariat plays the role of organizational center.

Experimentalist governance architectures have a number of significant virtues:

1. They accommodate diversity in adapting general goals to varied local contexts, rather than imposing uniform, one-size-fits-all solutions.

2. In line with the pragmatism (e.g. Dewey) the participation of stakeholders contributes to processes of social learning through the sharing of relevant information and the weighing of competing arguments. Stakeholders provide a mechanism for coordinated learning from implementation[18] and local experimentation, up to the point that Sabel and Zeitlin (2012) describe experimentalist governance as "a machine for learning from diversity".

3. Both the goals themselves and the means for achieving them are explicitly conceived as provisional and subject to revision in the light of experience, so that problems identified in one phase of implementation can be corrected in the next.

4. The participation of civil society and other stakeholders transparency coupled with regular peer review can also provide at least some protection against the danger that experimentalist regimes are hijacked by powerful interests.

Overall, the pooling of information between units facilitates a process of *social learning*, such that governance is reconceptualized by experimentalists as a form of problem solving. The pluralism and deliberative polyarchy[19] of experimentalist decision-making structures, with multiple units checking, monitoring, and learning from each others' performance, replaces the outdated 'principal-agent' model. Deliberative experimentalism "improves implementation" of norms or standards, while also generating "improved understandings of goals and shifts in the content of norms" (Cohen and Sabel 2006: 790) and monitoring their realization (Cohen and Sabel 1997). It is "deliberative" in the sense that "questions are decided by argument about the best ways to address problems, not simply exertions of power, expressions of interest, or bargaining from power positions on the basis of interests" (Cohen and Sabel 2006: 779).

Experimentalist "dynamic accountability",[20] which anticipates the transformation of rules in use, offers a potentially effective response to both challenges of strategic uncertainty, and to longstanding legitimacy deficits of principal-agent governance (Sabel and Zeitlin, 2012); "the legitimacy of an experimentalist scheme is enhanced to the extent that effective opportunities are available for stakeholders to participate in its deliberations" (Cohen and Sabel 1997: 332-3).

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[18] See, e.g., Goldstein (2011) and Allan and Stankey (2009). For US government information on adapative management, see http://www.usgs.gov/ecosystems/wildlife/adaptive_management.html. Cameron Holley (2010) views experimentalism as 'active' hypothesis testing 'in the field'.

[19] Under conditions of polyarchy and disagreement among the parties, where standard international relations theory sees bleak prospects for creating a unified, effective multilateral regime, experimentalism discerns instead the possibility of building a new type of transnational regime with a different governance architecture.

[20] Dynamic accountability includes discretion to depart from rules where they believe it would be counter-productive to follow them. This discretion, however, is limited by the requirement that she do so transparently in a manner that triggers review and, if her judgment is sustained, prompt re-writing of the rule to reflect the new understanding.

Command-and-control regulation and fixed rules written by a hierarchical authority are widely acknowledged to fail in a fast-moving world. Because of their reflexive, adaptive and self-revising capacity and deliberately corrigible design, experimentalist governance architectures can be expected to cope better with volatile and turbulent environments. In such environments, strategic uncertainty[21] means that effective solutions to problems can only be determined in the course of pursuing them, while multi-polar power distributions mean all actors need to take the views of others into account (Sabel and Zeitlin, 2012). Experimentalist governance can be particularly attractive where detailed knowledge is lacking as it can generate alternatives that were unimaginable at the outset.[22]

In contrast to standard international relations theory, where the formation of a comprehensive international regime requires hegemonic power or the agreement among the key actors, experimentalist governance depends on strategic uncertainty and diffused power relations. In this situation, actors do not know their precise goals or how best to achieve them ex ante, but must discover both in the course of problem solving. If disparities in power, as evidenced in differential access (e.g. of minority interests) to authoritative decision makers, will eventually prevent change, then power-sharing, in the form of some guarantee of equalized access, is the first objective and precondition for reform. Power sharing and delegation of authority to local units, coupled with dynamic accountability, should create space for local innovation.

Experimentalist governance processes are deliberative because they encourage the questioning of settled practices and the reconsideration of related interests. Moreover, they are directly deliberative because they use "the concrete experience of actors' different reactions to current problems to generate novel possibilities for consideration rather than buffering decision-makers from mundane experience" (Sabel and Zeitlin, 2012: 134).

(a) Global Experimental Governance

Global or transnational experimentalist governance ('GXG') is 'a form of adaptive, open-ended, participatory, and information-rich cooperation in world politics, in which the local and the transnational interact through the localized elaboration and adaptation of transnationally agreed general norms, subject to periodic revision in light of knowledge locally generated' (de Burca et al., 2013: 4). The autonomy that GXG affords to lower-level or locally situated units to adjust the implementation to local contexts leads to new forms of accountability and evaluation.

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[21] Prominent theorists like Young (2006) and Keohane and Victor (2011) consider deep uncertainty the critical contemporary challenge to sustaining effective international regimes.

[22] Work on governing the commons (e.g. Ostrom, 1990) also holds that local knowledge is indispensable to the solution of a broad range of complex collective action problems, and that centrally imposed solutions are often unworkable. But whereas for Ostrom local knowledge often remains tacit and actors engage in tit-for-tat bargaining strategies, the organization of GXG obligates local actors to explain the reasons for their choices, and typically to justify outcomes in terms of metrics agreed on (and periodically revised) by all.

Because of rising strategic uncertainty and it inherent internal diversity, the EU seems to be furthest advanced when it comes to experimentalist solutions (Sabel and Zeitlin 2008, 2010a). GXG is especially suitable for heterogeneous but interdependent constellations like the EU. When local units in the EU encounter similar problems and can learn from each another's efforts to solve them, experimentalism transforms diversity from an obstacle to integration into an asset for its advancement.

In EU energy policy, the Commission has periodically threatened to invoke its regulatory and competition law powers to spur member states and private actors to cooperate in framework rule making (Eberlein 2010; Sabel and Zeitlin 2010a: 14-16.) The experimentalist architecture of EU governance is not "soft law" in the sense of monitory guidance that can be flouted without consequence; but neither is it traditional "hard law" (Sabel and Zeitlin, 2012).

De Burca et al. (2014) give the Montreal Protocol as another example of GXG. Table 1 shows how the Montreal Protocol relates to five key identifying characteristics of GXG and compares this with governance under PAGE. The Montreal Protocol, and other institutionalized arrangements[23] show that Experimental Governance is not limited to states or the EU.

Table 1: The Montreal Protocol and PAGE as exemplars of GXG (column on Montreal Protocol is based on De Burca et al., 2014)

GXG Feature	Within the Montreal Protocol	Within PAGE
Inclusive participation in a non-hierarchical process	Participants include states party to the protocol, users, regulators and producers of ODS, and multilateral fund and national regulatory authorities in developing countries.	Participants include the implementing partners, partner institutions, PAGE countries, and local research and civil society institutions
Articulation of agreed common problem: open ended	There was agreement that the ozone layer was under threat from ODS, but not on the magnitude of the risk or the feasibility of finding substitutes.	Unsustainability; the overall goal is to transition countries to a Green Economy
Devolution to local actors	Working groups, including producers and users of ODS, jointly explore possibilities for substituting environmentally safer substances for ODS. National Ozone Units devise and update country or regional plans for phase-out.	Scoping studies are executed through local partners. Based on these studies, national work plans are drawn up. Implementation is devolved to national and local partners.

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[23] E.g. those forestry certification, catching tuna without killing dolphins and the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

Continuous monitoring	The TEAP oversees the ongoing investigations of the TOCs and working groups, and is in turn monitored by the quadrennial meeting of the parties to the agreement. The multilateral fund monitors projects in developing countries.	The PAGE secretariat oversees the ongoing monitoring and evaluation of all activities.
Revision with peer review	TOCs may authorize exemptions for essential uses of ODS, or defer compliance. Additions of new substances to the list of ODS can be done by a 'light' amendment procedure of the protocol.	Country work plans are revised on a yearly basis. Local and national learning are turned into global knowledge products and trainings.

Experimentalist governance may be particularly suitable in transnational domains, where there is no one with the authority to set common goals, and where the diversity of local conditions and practices makes the adoption and enforcement of uniform fixed rules even less feasible than in domestic settings. One example of such transnational governance is ICLEI[24], an international association of local governments and national and regional local government organizations that have made a commitment to sustainable and low carbon development. ICLEI's basic premise is that locally designed initiatives can provide an effective and cost-efficient way to achieve local, national, and global sustainability objectives (see the right hand column in Table 1).

Other examples of experimentalist governance are primary commodity roundtables (Brassett et al., 2012). These roundtables are multi-stakeholder forums that subject producers of commodities—like palm oil, soy, and cotton—to certification by independent third-party auditors. The normative legitimacy[25] of these schemes can be associated with their capacity to approximate the procedural dynamics associated with experimentalist governance.[26]

(b) Conditions for Experimentalist Governance

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[24] International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives. Today, more than 1200 cities, towns, counties, and their associations in 84 countries comprise ICLEI's membership.

[25] Legitimacy, broadly understood, can rest on a range of qualities and characteristics including law, but also authenticity, responsiveness, and problem-solving capacities (Ansell 2011: 149-50; see also Beetham 1991).

[26] Of particular importance is the capacity of roundtables to engage internal and external critics as part of an ongoing process of adaptation and social learning. In fact, the decision of critics *not* to participate might be interpreted as an act of self-interest by a group that stands to lose from the scheme or as an act of protest by a group that contests the legitimacy of the scheme. (Fung 2003: 349).

De Burca et al. (2014: 14) pose the question "under what conditions is GXG likely to thrive as a mode of governance in climate governance?" They present four hypotheses to spark further enquiry.

The first hypothesis is that governments are unable to formulate a comprehensive set of rules on emissions at COP 21 and effectively monitor compliance with them. Second, governments must not be obstructed by disagreement over basic principles. When there is substantial distributive conflict over equity and CBDR for example, penalty defaults are unavailable or unavailing, and the potential costs of unsatisfactory responses are high and irreversible, GXG is unlikely to thrive. So at COP 21, the biggest need will be for an agreement over basic principles, a lessening of distributive conflicts and a designation of penalty defaults. Few countries will be willing to commit in particular on the latter though.

A third condition is that a broad and deep civil society/business consortium is formed. Because experimentalism works best when central actors have limited foresight and share a thin consensus that leaves open important questions of implementation and the implications of initial commitments, the co-operation of civil society actors either as agenda setters and/or problem solvers will normally be essential for the success of experimentalist regimes.

Finally, the issue must not be a matter of high politics. Issues such as the governance of trade, technology transfer and international transport that have come to be defined as matters of high politics in the climate change negotiations will need to be depoliticized in order to fit into experimentalist approaches.

The problem of climate change may be defined in general terms at a global level, but both mitigation and adaptation responses will need to take place through specialized local, regional, or international regimes that (on the model of the Montreal Protocol) reset their goals in light of rigorously evaluated experience, rather than deriving them from a precisely defined overall target set ex ante. If this reframing fails, experimentalist governance will not be part of an eventual solution to climate change; if it succeeds, its success is likely to go hand in hand with the diffusion of experimentalist regimes (de Burca et al, 2013).

4 Three Ways Forward

This section suggests three ways forward for improving and implementing GXG. The first is analytical, proposing a methodology for better assessing GXG. The second is (geo)political, suggesting a practical way for "destabilization"[27] that can lead to the gradual uptake of GXG. Third, an approach for dealing with the inherent complexity of GXG and sustainability governance in general is put forward.

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[27] (Democratic) destabilization refers to the recognition that many actors resist change, and that change should be the result of both penalty defaults and deliberative processes.

1. Discourse analysis and consultation

Different theorists have started to work out the idea of experimentalist governance, but so far they have left the question which analytical approach is most suitable for experimentalist processes aside. It is here proposed that focusing on discourses rather than on actors could be a fruitful avenue for such an endeavor. To start with, experimentalism is a deliberative approach and few methodologies are more suitable for analyzing deliberation than discourse analysis.[28] Secondly, discourses condition people, and when people are confronted with several discourses, they make people reflect upon the relative merits of those discourses. And thirdly, in a polycentric world without centralized authority, discourses can play a coordinating role; "discourses are consequential because they can coordinate the actions of large numbers of individuals who never need communicate with each other directly" (Dryzek and Stevenson, 2012: 191).[29]

Further, diverse experimentalist governance arrangements in a climate regime complex may be coordinated by shared discourses, or engagement across different discourses (Stevenson, 2012). When formal centres of coordination are weak (as is usual in GXG), discourses can play a coordinating role. Shared discourses and engagement across discourses should be able to coordinate diverse deliberative arrangements without becoming a surrogate for organized protest. Through engagement of discourses in transnational experimentalist arenas, this should have a truly global impact.

Two key options for analyzing discourses are those identified with John Dryzek and Maarten Hajer. Like other frame theorists and critical realists, Dryzek makes an explicit distinction between discourse and language on the one hand and social action, institutions and practice on the other; we give meaning to the physical and social "real world" through framing processes[30], language and culture (Van den Brink and Metze, 2006). This is in contrast to social constructivists such as Hajer, who include social practices, power and institutions in their definition of discourses; discourse and language for Hajer constitute action and practice as the world, language and meaning collide. While it may seem attractive to situate one's analysis somewhere in between the two approaches of "discourse as frame" and "discourse as practice", this may create a situation similar to the one that is related to the agency-structure interface

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[28] There are numerous definitions of discourse. Discourse is frequently defined as "a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities"[28] (Hajer 1995: 44), as "a system of statements which constructs an object" (Parker, 1992: 5), as "structured collections of meaningful texts" (ibid.), and as "a shared way of apprehending the world" (Dryzek, 1997: 8).

[29] Dryzek and Stevenson (2012) give the example of market liberalism, which coordinates global economic governance.

[30] Framing is the process by which people with different perspectives, backgrounds and roles give different meanings to decisions, policy issues, or events (Benford & Snow, 2000; Chong & Druckman, 2007; Dewulf et al., 2009; Schön & Rein, 1994). If frames differ considerably, confusion, misunderstandings, disagreement, or even intractable controversy are likely to result (Schön & Rein, 1994).

and Giddens' structuration theory (1984).[31] The debate there on whether it is methodologically feasible to distinguish actor from structure let alone research the interaction between them is far from resolved. However, Archer (1996) has proposed 'analytical dualism', which means treating actor and structure as distinguishable in order to analyse them. In line with Archer's analytical dualism, one could make an analytical distinction between discourse and practice in experimental governance. Although this brings us closer to Dryzek's framing approach from a methodological point of view, it will be important to keep an explicit focus on both the institutional dimension of experimental governance and on discursive institutionalism.

One example of where discourse analysis could have led to additional, more critical insights is in Brassett et al.'s (2010) study of experimentalist governance in primary commodity roundtables. As Schmidt (2013) demonstrated by using a discourse analysis approach, the objectives of the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO) to create a new discourse on palm oil and commonly accepted standards were not fulfilled. Critical literature (e.g. Pye, 2010: 853) further argues that the RSPO lacks legitimacy as it created arena for contestation and confrontation instead of a space for collaboration among stakeholders (in particular palm oil producers, manufacturers and retailers, governments, and civil society). The talks in the RSPO reinforced old conceptualizations of sustainability instead of creating new narratives. The main clash, as in many cases of sustainability governance, was between the storylines of expansionism (economic development) and limits, with the actor coalitions of producers[32] and (local) governments articulating the former and NGOs[33]/retailers and manufacturers[34] the latter. It turned out to be unfeasible to bridge the gap between these two narratives, and "sustainable" palm oil became a terminological umbrella for both of them, instead of a driver for closer discursive engagement. This case example shows that whereas an experimentalist analysis might regard a sustainability governance initiative as successful on procedural grounds, it is important also to apply more critical methods such as discourse analysis to examine whether outcomes were effectively reached based on substantive coherence and collaboration.[35]

In addition, the RSPO example shows how important it is to find meaningful engagement among the different actors in experimentalist governance. A recurrent barrier to implementing sustainability is a lack of common understanding of both the meaning and substantial value of sustainable development and of the extent of authority and power that should be imbued in governance (Huh, 2014). One way to work towards convergence of interests and discourses could be consultation.

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[31] Giddens' theory of structuration aims to overcome the polarity between structure and agency, by theorizing how structures are *both* enabling and constraining, and how agents make use of these structures in their daily practices, power being the capacity of agents to draw on these structures to achieve outcomes (Giddens 1984).

[32] The frame of producers is that palm oil is inherently sustainable.

[33] The frame of NGOs is that palm oil is sustainable if it fights deforestation.

[34] The frame of retailers and manufacturers is that sustainable palm oil can both serve economic growth and the environment.

[35] Huh (2014) calls this the substance versus the procedure orientation, respectively.

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Consultation as a tool for deliberation

Postmodern governance theory celebrates multiple epistemologies but it does not specify the mechanisms and institutional arrangements for handling multiple knowledges in a way that recognizes the specificity of knowledge claims (Rydin, 2007). There is a need to create tools for governance processes that appreciate different knowledge claims. Consultation that is based on a number of basic principles can be such a powerful tool for strengthening deliberation and for better decision-making based on a diversity of perspectives. Consultation can be practiced at all levels of governance. The principles proposed here are:

i) Universal participation: everyone within a body (such as a family, a local assembly) should participate. It is the collective responsibility to ensure that everyone has the opportunity and the necessary encouragement to participate. A broadly based consultation can be a barrier against oppression by the powerful;

ii) Objectivity: clear statement of the problem; spirit of objective (scientific) enquiry; establishment of the facts; investigation of the relevant principles; full, frank and candid discussion while maintaining a courteous interest in the views of others; consideration of alternative solutions, including the unconventional; there is a preference for unanimity; offering of resolutions and voting if necessary to bring about a conclusion and make a decision;

iii) Detachment: the group acts as one composite mind; the ideas do not belong to the speakers but become at once the property of the group; therefore no one has a 'position', no one offends, and no one takes offence;

iv) Sharing of knowledge: information should be gathered from the widest possible range of sources, in order to seek a diversity of viewpoints (cf. systems thinking approach to governance);

v) Unity: as a prerequisite of effective consultation and in subsequent support for implementation of the outcome; the final decision belongs to the body, not to any individuals; even though the decision may have been made by a majority vote, there are no minority opinions; unity in support of decisions is more important than correction of a possible short term mistake.

But making a decision through consultation is only the first step; next, the decision that has been made, it is incumbent on the entire group to act with unity as compared to the traditional forms of dispute resolution and decision-making that are based on power struggles and adversary systems of vested interests. As such, consultation can be a cause of increased awareness and well-being.

2. (Geo)political way forward

One practical way forward, is for a large jurisdiction like the EU (or the US or China) to take the lead in extending experimentalism beyond its own borders, for example by unilaterally regulating aviation

emissions as a condition of market access. An obvious danger, however, is that such unilateral extension has already produced resentment and resistance by regulatory addressees in other countries as the inclusion of aviation in the EU ETS shows. One alternative would be to give the affected countries a voice in shaping the standards they are expected to meet. Some kind destabilization mechanism can be useful for reestablishing the feedback loop between local learning from rule application to rule revision by opening up unilateral regulatory initiatives to joint governance by stakeholders in other countries[36] (Sabel and Zeitlin, 2012).

In the context of destabilization the disciplines of the world trading system may prove surprisingly helpful. WTO rules permit member states to restrict imports for the benefit of the protection of public health and safety and the environment. But according to the WTO Appellate Body, measures that restrict imports on these grounds should be non-discriminatory and proportional to the intended goals, take account of relevant international standards, and taken in consultation with their trading partners to minimize the impact on third parties. These disciplines, when they permit such extensions at all, can thus provide a potential mechanism for transforming unilateral regulatory initiatives by developed country jurisdictions into a joint governance system with stakeholders from the developing world, if not a fully multilateral experimentalist regime. This role for the WTO points towards the operation of a more general mechanism, whereby the rules of existing multilateral institutions, though not experimentalist themselves, can nonetheless push unilateral extensions of experimentalism in a more reciprocal direction.

While free trade enthusiasts may shake their head at first when reading this proposal, it may be illustrative to consider the EU's recent initiative on Forest Law Enforcement Governance and Trade (FLEGT). FLEGT aims at combating illegal logging, which depresses prices for legally harvested wood and undercuts the adoption of sustainable forestry worldwide (Cashore et al. 2007). FLEGT seeks to control exports of illegally logged wood by negotiating Voluntary Partnership Agreements (VPAs) with developing countries to create 'legality assurance' licensing systems, which are based on jointly defined standards, regular monitoring and performance review, and third-party verification. Local stakeholders participate both in defining 'legally harvested wood' and in monitoring its certification, each of which are explicitly conceived as revisable in light of the other. The EU provides development assistance to build up the regulatory capacity of both public and private actors (Sabel and Zeitlin, 2012).

The EU's approach to combating illegal logging seems to be accepted as legitimate by both the WTO and by developing countries, because it offers them an opportunity to participate in a jointly governed system of legality assurance, while imposing reciprocal obligations on European importers (Sabel and Zeitlin, 2012).

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[36] See, for example, Korea: http://www.ictsd.org/downloads/2014/03/linking-emissions-trading-schemes-considerations-and-recommendations-for-a-joint-eu-korean-carbon-market.pdf

3. Complexity and systems thinking insights

Although GXG understandably is a complex operation, this complexity is not reflected explicitly in experimentalist planning processes. The societies and economies in which GXG takes place in fact are complex evolutionary systems with a dynamic interplay of agents forming networks with emergent properties as they evolve over time (Beinhocker, 2006). The foundations of traditional economic theory in concepts of equilibrium from 19th century physics and of perfectly rational actors in the market do not hold in practice (ibid.), and instead we need systems thinking to clarify the functioning of complex adaptive systems.

In particular systems thinking can be particularly useful to improve this situation. Probst and Bassi (2014) discuss systems approaches to complexity governance and propose a decision-making cycle, which is very similar to the experimentalist governance cycle in terms of the problem identification, decision-making and monitoring steps. However, Probst and Bassi add two steps in the process: system characterization and strategy/policy assessment (see Figure 2 below).
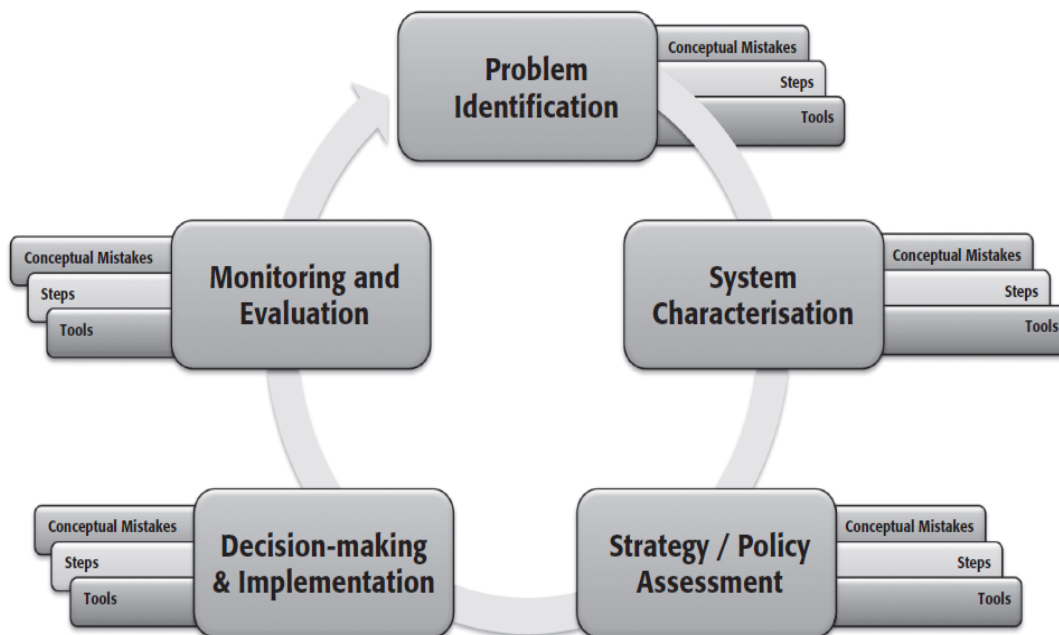
5 Conclusion

This essay has exposed that experimentalist approaches can under certain conditions make substantial contributions to participatory climate change governance. The essay also aimed at clarifying that experimentalism is not an institutional blueprint, but a collection of ideas that seek to enhance

understanding of pluralism. It is a means of evaluating innovative forms of governance in national, transnational, and global contexts (Sabel and Zeitlin 2012). It specifies different processes through which activity can be coordinated in contexts of uncertainty, including peer-review, stakeholder deliberation, and regular revision of ends and means in governance.

Experimentalist governance is expected to better address situations of complexity and uncertainty as it encourages participation, deliberation, continuous feedback and review rooted in local, contextualised processes. Improved inclusivity and participation appear to enhance the democratic legitimacy of international organisations (De Búrca, Keohane and Sabel, 2013).

Three ideas for further improving experimentalist governance and its analysis have been suggested here: discourse analysis and consultation, (geopolitical) destabilization, and complexity and systems thinking. The growing interest in hybrid public-private regimes and global standard-setting initiatives has considerable potential for the development and diffusion of experimentalist governance. Based on experimentalist governance, opportunities for comparisons across governance schemes, collaborative learning, and pooling of information could be explored.

Despite its numerous benefits and notwithstanding the recent enthusiasm over experimentalist governance, it is important to keep in mind that it is not a panacea.[37] Even if suitable in principle and adapted to a given domain such as climate change, experimentalist governance is likely to be impractical or unworkable where key actors are unwilling or reluctant to cooperate.

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[37] Cf. Elinor Ostrom, who was fond of saying that, however valuable the principles she articulated were for local self-governance, they were not a panacea for all sorts of collective action problems. E.g. in "Going Beyond Panaceas"

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