Editorial

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thomas Risse

The year 2012 draws to a close and before it ends we would like to share our second newsletter with you. Our focus during the past months was around the expiration of our second funding period and the related preparations for the renewal proposal 2013. It was a final spurt and new beginning at the same time! After the great success of the ISA in spring this year, in fall we represented our collaborative research center at this year's congress of the German Political Science Association (DVPW) in Tübingen. At our reception and panel discussion we stimulated lively debates and gathered valuable ideas and suggestions.

In this edition of our newsletter Prof. Dr. Marianne Braig reports on the Mérida Initiative which aims at enabling a new era of security cooperation between the USA and Mexico. Furthermore, Hajo Fröhlich and Timo Behrens will share the results of their field research and last but not least we include a summary of the weekend workshop where our PhD students were discussing their dissertations.

We will be happy to receive your comments and we wish you a happy New Year!

Yours,

Thomas Risse
Spokesperson of the SFB 700

Including

SFB 700: Panel Discussion and Reception at the Congress of the German Political Science Association 2012

At this year's congress of the German Political Science Association (DVPW) the SFB 700 in cooperation with the Collaborative Research Center (SFB) 597 "Transformations of the State" from Bremen held a panel discussion on the topic of "The State's promise. Achievement and limits of public institutions in areas of consolidated and limited statehood". Prof. Dr. Michael Zürn of the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB), who was on the panel as a discussant, gave further input for the debates taking place after the main panel discussion between scientists of both collaborative research centers. The following well-attended reception presented yet another opportunity of talkative exchange. True to the maxim 'last but not least' the panel discussion was the prominent closing of this very successful 5-day congress in Tübingen.

Messages

PHD WORKSHOP IN SCHMÖCKWITZ, NOVEMBER 16-17

It's the final spurt toward the finishing line! For the third time during the 2010-2013 funding period, the PhD students of the SFB 700 discussed lively the stage of their dissertations at conference hotel Berlin-Schmöckwitz. On 16 panels both supervisors and external discussants, who were invited again, engaged in critical examinations of the students' dissertations.

BOOK PROJECT

In their common book project, Dr. Gregor Walter-Drop, managing director at the SFB 700, and Prof. Steven Livingston from George Washington University deal with the topic of "Information and Communication Technology in Areas of limited Statehood". On the one hand the two authors evaluate specific influences and impacts of information and communication technologies on the state, on the other hand they discuss possible effects of those technologies on different forms of governance. The book will be published at Oxford University Press in summer 2013.

VISITING SCHOLAR FROM CAPE TOWN AT SFB 700

In October 2012, the SFB 700 "Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood" welcomed the visiting scholar Moliehi Shale from Cape Town, South Africa. During her 11-month stay at the SFB 700, Shale is researching how small-scale businesses from informal settlements, in the absence of state, in and around Capetown respond to risks of flooding. Shale is a Ph.D. student at the University of Cape Town (UCT). While she is researching in Germany, she will also treat the topic of German businesses and their dealing with environmental risks, will put these findings in contrast to the situation in South Africa, and eventually will evaluate as many national distinctions as possible. Shale is being supervised by Prof. Dr. Tanja Börzel.

Moliehi Shale

Mérida Initiative: Transnational Security Governance or Governance Intervention?

The war on drug cartels failed. Proof are the 80,000 dead and the approximately 30,000 missing persons as well as the brutal atrocities that have altered Mexican society during past years. The drug war determined the term of office of retiring Mexican president Felipe Calderón (2006-2012) and is equally intertwined with the Mérida Initiative (MI) which was launched in 2008 and was to introduce a new era of security cooperation between the USA, Mexico, and Central America.

Shared responsibility instead of mutual mistrust?

Many observers predicted a paradigm shift in the bilateral relations between the USA and Mexico when in 2007 both governments published a mutual agreement. This agreement included 1.6 Billion US Dollars granted by the US Senate for materiel, training programmes, and capacity building in Mexico.

For decades, the bilateral relations had been determined by mistrust originating from the Mexican-American War (1846-1848) when Mexico lost big parts of its territory to the US. Mexico reacted to these historical asymmetries with the Juaréz Doctrine that set the basis for a foreign policy rooted in a strong sense of national sovereignty. However, especially in the fight against drug-related crime, for centuries the doctrine could not prevent various US security agencies from investigating under cover and thus acting illegally without the official consent or even knowing of the Mexican authorities. During recent years, foreign and security politics were further irritated by the temporary closing of US borders after 9/11, Mexico's lack of support in the UN security council for the Iraq War, and the unresolved bilateral migration issues. Despite the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), in other policy areas the US-Mexican relations remained dominated by mistrust. Against this background, the MI's articulation of shared responsibility received particular political attention. Even though the Mexican government is refusing to accept the label of a failed state, by signing the MI they acknowledge their state institutions' incapacity to rise to the threat of organized crime.

Separate areas of responsibility and asymmetrical governance

Yet, from a perspective of transnational security governance where cross-border issues generate players and instruments of governance beyond national borders and sovereignty, it is problematic to refer to a new paradigm. Neither on a discursive nor on an operative level the term 'shared responsibility' addresses such a transnational governance space. The Central American states were quickly excluded from the governance area which was limited to Mexico, primarily to the border region.

According to the official statement of the Mexican foreign ministry, the MI defines a clear task sharing in different areas. While Mexico needs to strengthen its capacities to fight organized crime in a more efficient way, the US is to scale down the demand for drugs as well as to fight drug trafficking and money laundering. Thus, one shared view on existing issues turns into differentiated areas of responsibility.

The MI explicitly focuses on the exposed issues beyond the Southern US border. In particular, it aims at counteracting the lack of operative skills and facilities with capacity building in Mexico. Allies are mostly military and police forces on a federal level and rarely institutions and civil societies on a provincial and communal level. However, it is exactly the local level where the public is at the mercy of drug cartels' territorial monitoring measures as well as interventions of federal police and military. Not only do the latter have better equipment and more liquid financial resources but also the intention to expand the state's scope of intervention in the provinces.

Thus, the governance sphere designed by the MI refers neither territorially nor socially to the point at issue. Neither it is the space where measures need to be taken to improve the implementation on a supra- and sub-national level. Hence, governance interventions blight elements of an emerging transnational security governance which is on the one hand determined by the asymmetries of power between the US and Mexico and on the other hand by sub-national political players. They turn national armed forces and federal police into invaders who commit human rights violations and are almost indiscernible from other perpetrators of violence.

Recommendation

The scope of responsibility from which security governance is to emerge needs to be broadened geographically and socially if the future security cooperation between the USA and its neighboring states in the South is to overcome the dilemma of interventions. The collaborating powers need to adjust the partial focus on the supply and the related criminalization of goods and people (legalization of the consumption of certain products). Moreover, they need to aspire to integrate the various dimensions of the issue, especially the inclusion of consumption and health issues. The necessary shift in focus from fight against crime to public security should directly benefit the regions and social groups affected by the violent actions. Furthermore, issues around human rights must be moved to the center of attention in the process of restoring public security. And finally, the public mistrust that has been increasing again due of the failed war against the drug lords can only be restored by joint liability towards the thousands of victims.

In light of the weak Mexican rule of law, measures, such as the implementation of a Truth Commission would mean first steps to include the public into the process of emerging transnationalization of security spaces and security governance.
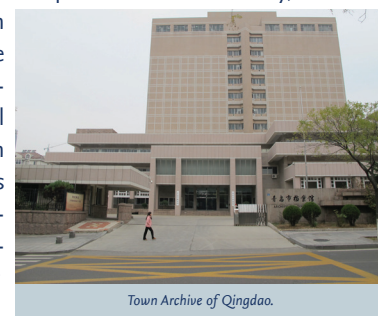
Prof. Dr. Marianne Braig manages the SFB 700 research project C3 "Security Governance in Latin America" in cooperation with Prof. Dr. Günther Maihold. The project investigates how external players contribute to security governance in the context of the fight against organized crime. Since 2002, Braig has been a professor for political science at the Institute for Latin American Studies (LAI) at Freie Universität Berlin. From 2003 to 2006 she was director at the LAI. Originally, she moved to Berlin from Frankfurt where she had been professor for political science in the field of International Relations at Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität.

Digital but not Predictable

Archival Research in China

"You are going to China on a business trip? Well, it is obviously an important market nowadays!" As a historian I immediately think my next seat neighbor on my flight to Peking misunderstood. After all I intend to search for documents for our research project on the handling of refugees in the 1940s and 50s. Yet, this man sitting next to me is right! The decades of economy growth are long ago evident in the archives of the People's Republic. Many town archives would not stand out in a modern financial district: steel and glas, marble and granite, and at the entrance you find a security man. In reality, less and less often I get in contact with the stereotype archive dust. Instead my wrist hurts from clicking the mouse for days on end. The Chinese state is putting a lot of resources into the filing, scanning, and editing of sources. One of the most ambitious of the numerous projects is the digitalization of approximately 1.5 billion documents of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911). Located in an office tower in Beijing's university neighborhood Haidian, a staff of historians and database specialists is coordinating the work of 1600 archivists, historians, and librarians nationwide.

And 20th century history is also being considered. In 2003, the town archive of Qingdao was one of the first archives in China to start with the process of digitizing their total stock of archival material. Luckily, one of our case studies on refugees from conflict, civil war, or natural disasters fleeing to the cities in 1949, the year when the People's Republic was founded, is located in Qingdao. Some of those refugees were accommodated in camps, but they were also being 'civilized' or forcibly send back to their home towns. Today, a part of the archived

documents on this topic is accessible from the computers in the reading room. But it is only a fraction. Some documents are not even released, some just not digitized yet. Generally speaking, the access to sources of archive material in China highly depends on good contacts and patience. This also applies to that microfilm printer which wrinkled every second page and refused to work at every third. Especially, when it comes to politically controversial chapters in Chinese history, and 20th century is not exactly short on those episodes, archivists are rather hesitant to release documents or just give an approval for printing. Therefore, even in our digital age visiting archives in China still remains a little unpredictable. Yet – if it was different maybe it would get boring after all.

Town Archive of Qingdao.

Hajo Frölich *has been a research associate at the SFB 700 since summer 2012, working on the research project B13. This project investigates the transformation of governance institutions in China (1945-1957) and is being managed by Prof. Dr. Klaus Mühlhahn. The research focuses on the development of institutions and different types of governance within the context of domestic refugee movements and migration flows. The regional emphasis lies on the two Northern Chinese cities of Tianjin and Qingdao. Previously, Frölich worked at the Department of History and Cultural Studies/Seminar of East Asian Studies/China Studies at Freie Universität Berlin.*

Anti-Money Laundering Politics:
Researching between Bank Towers and Police Barracks

What are anti-money laundering politics really about? From a perspective of public security the answer seems straight forward: those politics are about fighting organized crime. In El Salvador and Mexico for example, successful anti-money laundering politics could contribute to reduce the high homicide rates because the tracking of dirty money would weaken the financial structure of drug cartels.

However, on site I realize quickly that this is actually a political question and the answer is being negotiated in different arenas. In the modern office towers in Mexico City where I am conducting my interviews, the topic of drug dealing and its negative side effects is only touched lightly. From here, Ciudad Juánez, one of Mexico's violent hot spots, is very far away. My interviewees explain in perfect English vocabulary that the prevention of money laundering is of prime importance to strengthen Mexican's financial center. A strengthening of criminal prosecution on the other hand is rarely being discussed. This attitude also characterizes the political debate on the development of anti-money laundering politics. Thus, to actually discuss the criminalistic aspects of the fight against money laundering I need to travel into the political periphery. In El Salvador this means going to a part of the capital San Salvador that has seen better times. Somehow, taxi drivers seem worried to take passengers to the headquarters of the national police department dealing with drug affairs which is located on a road with deep potholes next to dead railway tracks. Inside this old police barracks I come to understand why police and prosecuting authorities have problems implementing the national anti-money

laundering politics. In many cases they are poorly equipped, only have limited access to decision makers and to the necessary know-how for the investigation of financial crimes. The gap between police and anti-money laundering politics is so big that some people I talk to are surprised at my question to why there is no police representation on the institutional committee consulting on the development of national anti-money laundering politics in El Salvador.

And therefore, the answer to the question on the intention of anti-money laundering politics in El Salvador and Mexico turns out to be more complex. I observe functionally differentiated groups of actors in various areas of operation, all pursuing their own objectives in the policy development. While crimino-political players act disconnected from each other, the political discourse is predominantly driven by the economic interests of the financial market.

Timo Behrens *works as a project associate at the SFB 700 since January 2010. He is based at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). Timo contributes to the work of the project C3: "Transnational Security Governance: Organized Crime and Governance Interventions in Mexico and Central America". His work focuses on processes of appropriation and rejection of external governance interventions in the area of money laundering. Within this field, the 40+9 recommendations of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) are a key subject of his research. Timo holds a BA in "International Relations with International Political Economy" of the University of Hull, as well as a MSC in "Development Management" of the London School of Economics.*

New Publications of the SFB 700

Monographs and Volumes

Risse, Thomas/Ropp, Stephen C./Sikkink, Kathryn 2013 (Hrsg.): The Persistent Power of Human Rights. From Commitment to Compliance, in: Cambridge Studies in International Relations, 126, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Börzel, Tanja/Hönke, Jana 2012: Security and Human Rights. Mining Companies between International Commitment and Corporate Practice, in: Schriften des Münchener Centrums für Governance-Forschung, 7, Nomos: Baden-Baden.

Börzel, Tanja/Goltermann, Lukas/Lohaus, Mathis/Striebinger, Mathis (Hrsg.) 2012: Roads to Regionalism. Genesis, Design, and Effects of Regional Organizations, Ashgate: Farnham.

Draude, Anke 2012: Die Vielfalt des Regierens. Eine Governance-Konzeption jenseits des Eurozentrismus, Campus: Fankfurt/Main.

SFB Working Paper Series

Goikhman, Izabella/Herrmann, Barbara 2012: The Governance Discourse in China. SFB-Governance Working Paper Series, No. 41, Collaborative Research Center (SFB) 700, Berlin, November 2012.

Willms, Jan 2012: Justice through Armed Groups' Governance – An Oxymoron? SFB-Governance Working Paper Series, No. 40, Collaborative Research Center (SFB) 700, Berlin, October 2012.

Ickler, Christian/Wiesel, John 2012: New Method, Different War? Evaluating Supervised Machine Learning by Coding Armed Conflict, SFB-Governance Working Paper Series, No. 39, Collaborative Research Center (SFB) 700, Berlin, September 2012.

Livingston, Steven/Walter-Drop, Gregor 2012: Information and Communication Technologies in Areas of Limited Statehood, SFB-Governance Working Paper Series, No. 38, Collaborative Research Center (SFB) 700, Berlin, September 2012.

You can find a list of all our SFB publications on our website at www.sfb-governance.com. All working papers are available for download.

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Research Program of the Collaborative Research Center 700

Governance has become a central focus within the field of research of the social sciences. The SFB 700 inquires into the conditions of governance in areas of limited statehood. This includes developing countries or those in transition, failing and failed states in troubled regions around the world, and, from a historical perspective, different colonial set-ups. How and under which conditions are efforts of governance performed in areas of leadership, security, welfare, and environment within regions of limited statehood? And what issues arise in this context? These are the key questions the Collaborative Research Center 700 (SFB), which is sponsored by the German Research Foundation (DFG), has been dealing with since it started its work in 2006.

Coordinators of the SFB 700

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Universität Potsdam

Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (WZB)

Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP)

Hertie School of Governance (HSoG)