SFB 700

GOVERNANCE
IN AREAS OF LIMITED STATEHOOD

Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood – New Modes of Governance?

Research Program of the
Research Center (SFB) 700

Thomas Risse/Ursula Lehmkuhl

SFB-Governance Working Paper Series • No. 1 • December 2006

DFG Sonderforschungsbereich 700 Governance in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit - Neue Formen des Regierens?
DFG Research Center (SFB) 700 Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood - New Modes of Governance?

Contents

1. Introduction and Overview 4

1.1 The Research Question: How Are Areas of Limited Statehood Governed? 4
1.2 The Disciplinary Context of the Research Center (SFB) 700: The Historical and International Law Perspectives 6

2. Governance and Areas of Limited Statehood 7

2.1 Governance 7
2.2 Areas of Limited Statehood 9

3. Structure and Approach of the Research Center (SFB) 700 13

3.1 Interdisciplinary Structure: The Disciplines Involved 13
3.2 Project Areas and Branch Projects of the Research Center (SFB) 700 14
3.3 The Long-Term Perspective for the Research Center (SFB) 700 16

Bibliography 18

Risse, Thomas/Lehmkuhl, Ursula 2006: Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood. New Modes of Governance? Research Program of the Research Center (SFB) 700, SFB-Governance Working Paper Series, No. 1, Research Center (SFB) 700, Berlin, December 2006.
ISSN 1863-6896 (Print)
ISSN 1864-1024 (Internet)

This publication has been funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG).

DFG Research Center (SFB) 700
Freie Universität Berlin
Alfried-Krupp-Haus Berlin
Binger Straße 40
D-14197 Berlin
Germany
Phone: +49-30-838 58502
Fax: +49-30-838 58540
E-mail: sfb700@zedat.fu-berlin.de
Web: www.sfb-governance.de

Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft
DFG

This publication can be downloaded from our website www.sfb-governance.de/en/publikationen or ordered as printed version by e-mail from sfb700@zedat.fu-berlin.de.

Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood: New Modes of Governance? The Research Program of the Research Center (SFB) 700

Thomas Risse/Ursula Lehmkuhl

Abstract

The governance problematique constitutes a central research focus in contemporary social sciences. Yet, the debate remains centered on an „ideal type" of the modern nation-state – with full sovereignty and a legitimate monopoly over the use of force. From a global as well as a historical perspective, however, the Western modern nation-state is an exception rather than the rule. Outside the developed world, we find areas of "limited statehood", from developing and transition countries to „failing" and „failed states" in today's conflict zones and – historically – in colonial societies. Our Research Center focuses on these areas of limited statehood which lack the capacity to implement and enforce central decisions or even lack the monopoly over the means of violence. We ask: How can effective and legitimate governance be sustained in areas of limited statehood? Which problems emerge under these conditions? We assume that "multi-level governance" is the rule in areas of limited statehood, linking the local with the national, regional, and global levels. We also assume that governance in areas of limited statehood involves a variety of public and private actors, such as states, international organizations, firms, and civil society. Governance entails negotiations, bargaining, and arguing among these actors rather than hierarchical „command and control".

Zusammenfassung

Governance ist zu einem zentralen Thema sozialwissenschaftlicher Forschung geworden. Dabei besteht Übereinstimmung, dass politische Gemeinwesen bestimmte Leistungen in den Bereichen Herrschaft, Sicherheit und Wohlfahrt erbringen sollen. In den Debatten wird aber oft „effektive Gebietsherrschaft" als Kernelement moderner Staatlichkeit stillschweigend vorausgesetzt, und die Forschung konzentriert sich auf die OECD-Welt. In globaler sowie historischer Perspektive sind autoritative Entscheidungskompetenz und Gewaltmonopol des Staates jedoch die Ausnahme, nicht die Regel. Ein Blick auf die Länder des Südens, „zerfallen(d)e Staaten" in den Krisenregionen der Welt oder ehemalige Kolonien bestätigt dies. Hier wird politisch gesteuert, ohne dass die vielfältigen Verfahren demokratischer und rechtsstaatlich organisierter Wohlfahrtsstaaten verfügbar wären. Der SFB 700 fragt daher nach den Bedingungen von *Governance* in diesen Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit: Wie und unter welchen Bedingungen werden *Governance*-Leistungen in den Bereichen Herrschaft, Sicherheit und Wohlfahrt in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit erbracht, und welche Probleme entstehen dabei? Die SFB-Teilprojekte untersuchen, wie dort regiert wird und welche Probleme dabei entstehen. Dabei gehen wir davon aus, dass sich in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit „neue" Formen des Regierens herausbilden, die vorwiegend „weiche" Steuerungsformen nutzen, auf vielfältigen Kooperationsformen zwischen staatlichen und nicht-staatlichen Akteuren basieren und durch eine Verschränkung von globalen, nationalen und lokalen Ebenen charakterisiert sind.

1. Introduction and Overview

The central deficit of the governance discourse amongst social scientists is that the concepts that form the basis of this discourse emerged against the background of experience of governance in modern and highly developed democratic nation-states in the OECD world. When attempting to apply knowledge gained from this discourse to historical or contemporary areas of limited statehood, serious empirical and conceptional problems arise. The inapplicability of one of the key terms of social sciences to two thirds of the states in this world, however, creates not only theoretical, but also eminently political and practical problems. Within the framework of a theory of governance in areas of limited statehood, the governance models currently being discussed, as well as their basic assumptions and evaluation criteria, must therefore be assessed in terms of their applicability in political areas outside of the OECD world. The Research Center (SFB) 700 "Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood: New Modes of Governance?" plans to carry out this assessment.

1.1 The Research Question: How Are Areas of Limited Statehood Governed?

At the start of the 21st century it is becoming increasingly clear that conventional modes of steering the nation-state and of international regulation are not living up to global challenges such as environmental problems, humanitarian catastrophes and new security threats. This is one of the reasons why **governance** has become a central topic of research within the social sciences. By governance, we mean (following the discussion within the social sciences) the various collective modes of regulating social matters (as in Kohler-Koch 1998a and Mayntz 2004: 66). There is wide agreement that governance is supposed to achieve certain standards in the areas of political authority and rule making, security as well as welfare and environment. However, alongside its normative quality, the term governance also has an analytical quality – from an analytical viewpoint, the Research Center will investigate the actors, modes and goals of governance in areas of limited statehood.

The governance debate has until now concentrated on modern nation-states in the OECD world. Key elements of modern statehood – namely "effective territorial sovereignty" in the sense of a legitimate monopoly on the use of force and the fundamental ability to authoritatively enforce political decisions – have been seen as necessary preconditions for governance. Looking at the two thirds of states outside the area of the developed OECD world, however, and considering historical areas of limited statehood – the Research Center concentrates here on colonies – one can see that in most cases governance standards are achieved in conditions under which effective territorial sovereignty, a state monopoly on the use of force and authoritative decision-making competence on the side of the state are either non-existent or only partially existent (see illustration 1). The (nation-) state's monopoly on the use of force and its ability to enforce political decisions therefore represent the exception rather than the rule in terms of both history and space. The governance discussion has to address these empirical findings.

According to our understanding, the term "**areas of limited statehood**" covers "failed/failing states" in the crisis regions of the world, "weak states" in developing and transition societies and many of the so-called "newly industrializing countries" (NICs) if they are not able to effectively enforce a monopoly on the use of force and implement authoritative decisions throughout the state. The term also covers colonial and semi-colonial areas of the 18th and 19th centuries, in which "modern" statehood was only gradually introduced, and then only incompletely and partly in competition with existing state structures (see illustration 2). Our **initial presumption** is that there are modes of governance that exist in these areas, and that they consist of non-hierarchical or "soft" modes of political steering, that they are based on many different forms of cooperation between state actors and non-state actors, and are characterised by links between global, national and local political levels ("new modes of governance"). As a result of this initial presumption, our research program has arrived at a **lead question**:

> *How can effective and legitimate governance be sustained in areas of limited stathood? Which problems emerge under these conditions?*

In order to answer this lead question, 16 individual research projects work on five problem complexes with the following questions of inquiry:

(1) Decision-Making and Institutional Forms of Governance
Which "new" or hybrid modes of governance emerge in areas of limited statehood? How do state and non-state actors cooperate to solve collective action problems and to provide public goods? What new or alternative modes of governance emerge based on "soft" steering through the exchange of resources, learning and persuasion? How can we explain the differences that will be observed?

(2) Multi-Level Governance
How does the linking of international or transnational, national and local levels of politics affect these modes of governance? Under which circumstances are external actors a part of the solution or a part of the problem, and how can this difference be explained?

(3) Historical Context and Varieties of Governance
Which modes of governance dominated in colonial and semi-colonial areas outside Europe? By which alternatives of weak statehood were they accompanied? Did these modes survive the de-colonization and the transition to modern statehood?

(4) Theory Building
When applied to the different areas of limited statehood, are the different concepts of governance theoretically, methodically and empirically suited to to get an analytical grasp of political problem-solving on the one hand, and questions of legitimate governance on the other?

(5) "Good Governance"
How can the governance standards achieved as a result of national and transnational cooperation between public and private actors in areas of limited statehood be normatively assessed? Under conditions of limited statehood, how can "good" – that is to say effective and legitimate – governance be achieved? And under which circumstances do "new" modes of governance lead to "bad governance"?

1.2 The Disciplinary Context of the Research Center (SFB) 700: The Historical and International Law Perspectives

Reverting to debates within history and international law will help to give a more precise and discriminate outline of the research program.

In order to analyse processes of political steering under colonial and non-colonial conditions (Finzsch 2002; Hannah 2000; Kalpagam 2000, 2001; Scott 1995), **historical studies** often go back to the concept of *gouvernementalité* (Burchell et al. 1991; Foucault 2004; Lemke 1997) as a perspective of governance that is not linked to the state. The concept of *gouvernamentalité* stresses in particular the political impact of normatively and culturally founded modes of conduct, as well as of the self-conduct of individual and collective actors. The concept is also characterised by a high level of sensitivity to semantic and ideological shifts of meaning in the history of terms, and it thus allows for a precise description of historical change in modes of governance. Finally, this concept opens up one's perspective to the interdependence of mentalities/culture and modes of governance practice, and thus at the same time to the micro-techniques of power. If cultural studies can inspire such a widening of the governance concept, they enable the terminology of modern social studies to be historically backed up and defined in such a way as to clearly reach beyond their current theoretical points of reference. The historical analysis of colonial modes of governance is making an important conceptional contribution to the theoretical debate – it does this by critically questioning the implicit assumptions of modern statehood that the governance concept carries with it, by pointing to processes of cultural difference and by helping people to analytically overcome the latent Eurocentrism of the discussion within the social sciences.

The **international law debate** shows that international law on the one hand has become an element of governance via the system of the United Nations because norms of international law can have a decisive influence on the internal order of states; and on the other hand demonstrates that international law itself is experiencing a change in terms of its function and content. Changes occur on the level of the actors, with regard to the subjects and functions of regulation, as well as to the binding power of international law. Nowadays, and as a result of this, not only has the possible influence of international law on a state's internal affairs increased, but also the function, content and conditions of validity of international law are more strongly dependent on the legal and political quality of states. The Research Center is therefore concerned in general with the role and status of international law as a specific element of new governance in areas of limited statehood. There is, however, disagreement as to whether weak states sponsor

private actors in order to achieve more recognition on the international stage, or on the contrary, whether they follow a rigid claim to sovereignty and suppress private actors and thus also tend to suppress the values of civil society.

2. Governance and Areas of Limited Statehood

There are two bodies of research that are especially relevant to the work of the Research Center. Firstly, the comprehensive body of research literature on the governance problematique must be taken into consideration – above all with regard to so-called "new" modes of governance. Secondly, the literature on changing statehood is important because of the areas of investigation.

2.1 Governance

In its general definition, governance refers to all modes of coordinating action in human society. Within the Research Center, this definition will however be limited to politics. Following Renate Mayntz we understand governance to mean "the entirety of all co-existing modes of collectively regulating social matters" (Mayntz 2004: 66). The governance term that we intend to use covers sovereign action on the part of the state ("governance by government"), governance via networks of public and private actors ("governance with government"), as well as regulation by non-state actors or self-regulation by civil society ("governance without government"; cf. Benz 2004a; Czempiel/Rosenau 1992; Zürn 1998). Since politics is understood to be the management of interdependences (Benz 2004b: 17), one's perspective can be directed beyond the concept of the "strong state", which is linked to the steering paradigm.

The Research Center will therefore concentrate on so-called "new" modes of governance (misleading from a historical perspective), which are characterised on the one hand by the systematic involvement of private actors, and by "soft" modes of steering on the other. What is particularly interesting here is the contribution made by these modes of governance to governance in areas of limited statehood where there is a strong demand for governance. Perhaps the most important conceptional innovation of our project is that we plan to assess how applicable the theoretical questions of the modern governance and steering discussion are – a discussion which was developed on the basis of statehood in the OECD world as well as the multi-level problematique – with regard to areas of limited statehood.

Research into "**new modes of governance**" investigates in particular networks and negotiation systems as non-hierarchical and self-regulatory modes of horizontal social coordination and political steering (cf. i.a. Benz 1992, 2004a; Kooiman 1993; Mayntz 1997, 1998, 2002; Mayntz/Scharpf 1995; Rhodes 1996; Voigt 1995). The emphasis of the Research Center's academic interest lies on the cooperation between state and non-state actors in achieving governance standards in areas of limited statehood. As conventional modes of international cooperation have already been sufficiently investigated, the Research Center will leave this area largely to one side.

Research has identified two key features of "new" modes of governance. Firstly, non-state actors are directly involved in political steering (for example in the context of Public-Private-Partnerships/PPPs, cf. Rosenau 2000; Börzel/Risse 2005). We are not talking here about simply influencing politics as "lobbying"; rather we are concerned with modes of co-governance or the adoption of government functions by non-state actors. Hybrid forms of politics emerge from this co-governance and private actors become bearers of political authority. There have hardly been any investigations into this kind of "private authority" in areas of limited statehood. An initial question that remains to be answered is thus: To what extent can non-hierarchical modes of governance via public-private cooperation compensate for the lack of capacity on the side of state actors to enforce the law?

Secondly, these "new" modes of governance are characterised by the fact that they are not so much structured in a classic, hierarchical "from the top down" way, rather they occur, above all, via mechanisms of "soft steering". "Soft steering" includes bargaining and steering by manipulating incentive structures – both of which are based on theories of rational choice – as well as non-manipulative processes of communication, persuasion and learning based on the logic of appropriateness and/or agreement reached by reasoned consensus (cf. March/Olsen 1998; Habermas 1981; Risse 2000; Saretzki 1996).

Within the system of "indirect rule" (which was characteristic not only of the British Empire) and self-steering via local actors who were brought into the system of colonial rule, "soft" modes of negotiation played an important role – even though, in the context of "colonial rule," one intuitively thinks of hierarchical, repressive modes of governance in this context. The new modes of governance that the Research Center will be investigating thus differ from conventional modes of political steering, with regard both to the actors involved and the modes of coordinating action.

Illustration 1. Modes of Governance*

Actors involved / **Modes of coordinating action**	**State actors**	**State and non-state actors**	**Non-state actors**
Hierarchical/ vertical steering	Classic nation-state Supranational institutions/ jurisdiction	Delegation of public tasks to non-state actors or public contractors	Pre-state associations
Non-hierarchical/ horizontal steering	*International cooperation* International regimes/ organisations International negotiations	*Public-private modes of cooperation* Partnership projects Indigenous collaboration Colonial regimes	*Cooperation between non-state actors* Private regimes (religious) networks Colonial agencies

*Shadowed areas: Modes of governance emphasized within the Research Center's investigations.

It should have become clear by now that the Research Center's central theoretical concern is to reflect upon the question as to which conclusions emerge for the concept of governance when it is used to analyse historical and contemporary areas of limited statehood. From a historical perspective, the question arises as to whether these "new" modes of governance are actually new. By carrying out an empirical analysis of historical forms of interaction between state and non-state actors in colonial areas, one must reflect upon systematic blind spots that the governance concept may have. For example, the clear division between "public" and "private" spheres or between "state" and "non-state" actors – a division used in the governance literature to distinguish between different modes of governance – cannot be upheld. Patrimonial rule, as can be seen in the southern settlement colonies of North America, and the neopatrimonial rule of many African states are both based on hybrid modes of governance (cf. e.g. Tetzlaff et al. 1995), in which clear differentiation with regard to the actor qualities mentioned is not possible. Looking at areas outside the OECD world and at the mechanisms of colonial rule helps us to critically question the often implicitly positive judgement of "new" modes of governance. In this process, the impact of cultural difference is also systematically included.

Furthermore, we will look into which forces can hinder governance or undermine social order. In connection with this, the danger of certain groups in society being excluded from new modes of governance must also be considered. Accordingly, the legitimacy of political authority as well as its ability to solve problems could be undermined. As can be seen from the debate about global governance, quite a wide range of possible consequences of alternative modes of governance are mentioned, but the few empirical studies available hardly allow any clear conclusions. Within the framework of the Research Center and through the variety of inter-linked research projects and the systematic variation of case studies on countries, issue areas, and actors, more extensive and empirically founded knowledge can be gained.

2.2 Areas of Limited Statehood

Following Max Weber, we define statehood as the central authority structure with a (legitimate) monopoly over the means of violence. Fully functioning states have the ability and the capacity to enforce political decisions (hierarchical steering with authoritative decision-making competence) and thus attain material sovereignty (cf. Krasner 1993: 142f; Grande/Risse 2000: 253ff.; Skalweit 1975; for the more modern discussion cf. Benz 2001, and for the historical perspective Reinhard 2000: 16f, 480; Gerstenberger 1990; Boldt et al. 1990). This understanding of statehood has a significant influence on the varied attempts to typologise areas of limited statehood.

One of the problems of typologies to be found in the social sciences literature, is the fact that they reveal a normative orientation towards OECD statehood and thus a certain Eurocentrism that goes hand in hand with this, at least implicitly. The benchmark is the democratic interventionist state under the rule of law (cf. the terminology of the Bremen Research Center (SFB) 597 "Transformation of Statehood", cf. Leibfried/Zürn 2006). It is equally problematic measuring degrees of statehood by the state's provision of governance in various policy areas, because that which is to be investigated is already contained in this definition of governance. To avoid that

research questions turn into definitional issues we deliberately opt for a narrow definition of statehood. Limited statehood then refers to deficits with regard to what is generally described as effective sovereignty – namely the state monopoly on the use of force and the ability of states to enforce political decisions. We regard these as elementary core functions of statehood. Only once this differentiation between core functions and governance standards has been made can research begin to look at the modes of achieving these standards and at the actors involved. Thus the question arises as to which fundamental state functions must be in place to achieve governance in the areas of political authority and rule making, security as well as welfare and environment. How dense and how long does the "shadow of hierarchy" (cf. Scharpf 1993) have to be and by whom is it cast in the areas investigated by the Research Center?

Illustration 2: Areas of Limited Statehood Investigated by the Research Center (SFB) 700

	Monopoly on use of force and ability to enforce decisions	**Countries or areas investigated by Research Center (SFB) 700**
"Failing" or "failed" states	missing	Afghanistan Columbia Congo Nigeria Tajikistan
"Weak" states in transition countries or developing societies	Serious deficits	Argentina Armenia Azerbaijan Georgia India Indonesia Mexico Pakistan
"Newly" industrializing countries	Deficits in local areas and/or in certain policy areas	Brazil China South Africa South Korea
Colonial and semi-colonial areas	Varying degrees of deficits in colonial governments' ability to enforce decisions in local areas and/or certain policy areas	British colonies in North America French colonies in North America German colonies Japanese colonies 19th century China

In order to further characterise areas of limited statehood for the Research Center's research program we refer, above all, to the social sciences research literature on (1) failing or failed states, as well as (2) transition countries or developing countries, but also to (3) historical works on the history of colonialism. The literature on (4) external actors and global governance is also relevant for us.

(1) Research into Failing or Failed states

For the purpose of our conceptionalisation, "failing" or "failed" states have neither a functioning monopoly on the use of force nor the ability to enforce laws (Carment 2003; Rotberg 2003b,

2004b; Milliken/Krause 2002; Krasner 2002; Schneckener 2004b; Zürcher 2003). One must, however, make the critical point that in many cases of state collapse it is not anarchy and violence that take over, rather hybrid modes of governance emerge. The classic term "sovereign statehood" is inadequate in these instances.

Many studies of failing or failed states as well as the policy programs to establish "good governance" by international organisations often assume that the main problem is how to (re-)establish classic statehood with the conventional instruments of a state monopoly on the use of force and effective law enforcement. In contrast to this, our research projects deliberately leave open the normative question as to which is the most appropriate path of development for countries with limited statehood. What is more important is to analyse the (dys-)functionality of existing state (dis-)order in these areas and to investigate whether and to what extent "new" modes of governance can supplement or complement classic state functions.

(2) Research into Transition and Developing Countries
In view of the many different transition and developing societies in the so-called third world, we will concentrate on both "weak states" as well as "newly industrializing countries". We can see, for example, in Latin American transition countries (including Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico), that in many areas the state is not the only actor that uses force, and that it is met with a wide-spread sense of mistrust in society against the background of its long tradition of brutal force (state terrorism), authoritarian rule, and its ongoing failure to maintain public security.

Another aspect that is relevant to our question is transition research. Initially it was the transition to democratic political regimes that was at the centre of academic investigations (O'Donnell et al. 1986). In view of the failures of markets and states and the shortfalls of many new democracies (Merkel 1999; Merkel/Croissant 2000; Bendel et al. 2002, 2003; Schubert/Tetzlaff 1998), there have been attempts, since the beginning of the 1990s, to rediscover and redefine the state (cf. Braig 2000; Messner 1998; Hakimian/Moshaver 2001; Zoubir 1999).

Within research into developing countries there is also more and more discussion of positive role allocation for state and administration in the development process, as well as of new options for the improvement of governance ("good governance"; cf. Evans et al. 1985 and Killick 1989; cf. also Betz 2003; Deutsches Übersee-Institut 2004). A perfect example of this discussion can be seen within the World Bank, and the discussion continues with different emphases in other international organisations. The key issue is the re-definition of governance tasks – state aparatuses are being more strongly orientated towards core tasks and they are being decentralised; ineffective or inefficient state enterprises are being rationalised or privatised; and "new" modes of governance are emerging at local levels (cf. Minogue/McCourt 2001).

(3) On the History of Colonialism
More modern research literature on colonial areas concentrates in particular on modes of colonial rule (Russell-Wood 1999, 2000). "Indirect rule" - a phenomenon which is important to our question – remains a central subject of research (cf. Copland 1982, 2005; Fisher 1991). As

historical variants of "new" modes of governance in areas of limited statehood, colonial areas are of relevance to our project in two ways. Firstly, colonial and semi-colonial areas can be understood as laboratories for the European modern age (Cooper/Stoler 1997: 5). Colonialism contributed to the universalisation of the European concept of state by making more or less successful attempts to establish a "state monopoly on the use of force" and "law enforcement capability" in colonised areas. Secondly, (European) colonial rule came across indigenous systems of rule which can partly be described as allegiance relationships, and which partly had established public-private forms of cooperation at a local level as integral elements of the system of rule into which European actors were also partially integrated. This collision of such different modes of goverrnance created hybrid modes of governance which were characterised, amongst other things, by the "soft" modes of steering that are of interest to us (Russell-Wood 1999, 2000).

Other studies on colonialism stress the very important role played in particular by the cultural dimension of colonial experience. Studies that refer to the cultural turn or stem from the field of post-colonial studies within historical research are however subject to frequent criticism for neglecting or systematically ignoring "authority" and "power" as central factors of social and political structuring. The analysis of hybrid modes of governance in colonial contexts removes this blind spot of new cultural history. The extension of political historical questions into the area of cultural history also contributes in a conceptional way to the discussion of a "new history of politics" (leading the way in the German discussion is above all the Research Center (SFB) 584 "Politics as an Area of Communication in History" in Bielefeld; cf. also Frevert/Haupt 2005).

(4) External Actors and Global Governance

Between the developing and transition countries, failing and failed states as well as (semi-)colonial societies on the one hand, and the international system on the other, there are systematic relations which, despite our concentration on areas of limited statehood, must not be left unmentioned. For example, external actors – foreign governments, international organisations, multinational companies, INGOs and others – are relevant "players" in governance in areas of limited statehood. After all, one must not neglect the fact that there are certain powers that can hinder governance or undermine social order, especially in the areas of limited statehood that we will be investigating. One must also ask which social groups will be able to make use of public goods and which will be systematically deprived of them. Alternative modes of governance may have the aim of increasing the legitimacy of political rule and its ability to solve problems - but it can actually undermine them, too (Koehler/Zürcher 2003; Reno 2000a, b). This range of potential effects is also reflected in the literature on global governance – whilst some tend towards very optimistic assessments (cf. e.g. Commission on Global Governance 1995; Reinicke 1998; Reinicke/Deng 2000; Messner 1996; Messner/Nuscheler 2000), others reach quite sceptical judgements (Altvater/Mahnkopf 2002; Brand et al. 2000; Brand 2001). However, the few empirical studies currently available hardly allow for any clear conclusions (cf. e.g. Biersteker 2002; Hall/Biersteker 2002; Cutler et al. 1999; Cutler 2003).

3. Structure and Approach of the Research Center (SFB) 700

3.1 Interdisciplinary Structure: The Disciplines Involved

The central question of the Research Center follows the social sciences debate about the governance concept. Whilst a special role is accorded to political science, which dominates more than half of the individual research projects, the legal and historical dimensions can only be dealt with thanks to the systematic involvement of historians and legal scholars.

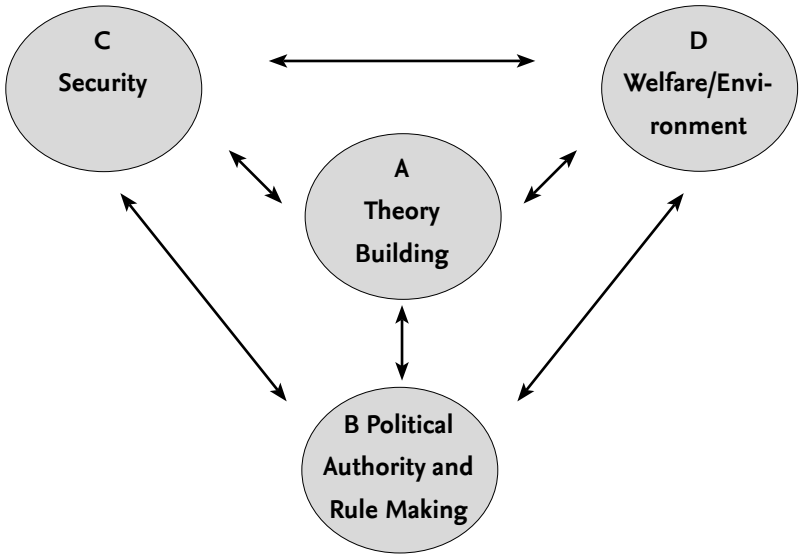
(1) The Legal Dimension
Even in the transnational, national and local areas we are investigating, political rule and the achievement of governance standards occur essentially by way of legal regulations. Even in the lawless areas of failing or failed states, governance can possibly succeed only if a minimum level of legal security can be maintained, even if only by functional equivalents. What's more – and especially in areas of limited statehood – there is the porous shield of sovereignty which is supposed to protect the state from uncontrolled external influences. For example, the norms of international law oblige states to carry out tasks that have far-reaching implications for their internal order. This problematique will be dealt with in an ongoing dialogue between the disciplines of social sciences and law, and the Research Center is making a considerable contribution to this.

(2) The Historical Dimension
One part of the current governance discussion within political science suffers from the fact that it is laid out in an ahistorical way and it overlooks the historical contingency of modern statehood. Even a quick glance at history proves that these "new" modes of governance with the integration of non-state actors have actually always existed. Investigating modes of governance in historical areas of limited statehood therefore allows us – as does the reference to contemporary areas outside the OECD world – to carry out a critical analysis of the governance concept with regard to its transferability and its generalisability. The historical projects of our research center concentrate empirically on colonial and semi-colonial areas in the 18th and 19th centuries. This will enable us to analyse the governance problematique in very different location and time variants, and in specific contexts of lacking or weak statehood. Whilst we will look on the one hand at the problem of colonial governance within the framework of the simultaneously occurring formation process of modern statehood in Europe and North America, we will on the other hand also analyse the classic colonial variant in the age of European imperialism. A third alternative will also be investigated, namely that of the clash of Western ideas of statehood with non-Western state structures concerning the scope for non-hierarchical modes of governance created by the competition between different models. Investigating these (semi-)colonial areas should increase analytical awareness of the historical causes of state failure and of the required conditions for state-building. For it is not only post-colonial studies, but also the literature on state failure and collapse that constantly refer to the colonial legacy, even though this legacyis rarely investigated in in greater detail (cf. e.g. Rotberg 2004a: 27; Schneckener 2004a: 18f).

3.2 Project Areas and Branch Projects of the Research Center (SFB) 700

The project areas of the Research Center are grouped according to four themes: theory building, political authority and rule making, security, as well as welfare and environment. These four project areas encompass a total of 16 individual research projects.

Illustration 3: The Four Project Areas of the Research Center (SFB) 700



A – Theory Building
The political and legal research projects of this project area concentrate on the theoretical, conceptional and methodical questions involved in the Research Center They are concerned with conceptional reflections about the governance term and about areas of limited statehood (Research Project A1); with clarifying what extent of power and what extent of soft steering are required (Research Project A2); with the rule of law as a governance resource (A3); and with the international and normative standards of legitimate and good governance (Research Projects A4, A5). With the backing of the empirical and analytical results of project areas B-D, these reflections contribute to the clarification of concepts and to theory building. Vice-versa, the theoretical reflections of project area A will feed back into the more empirically, analytically structured branch projects. This feedback loop links the project areas A-D in a continuous dialogue.

B – Political Authority and Rule Making
Political and legal institutions regulate political authority and guarantee the making, control and legitimisation of political decisions. The research projects of this project area analyse both the institutional preconditions of "new" modes of governance and their consequences for authority and law in areas of limited statehood. They also look at how and under which conditions external actors can promote "good governance" as a normatively demanding mode of governance in areas of limited statehood (Research Project B1). Finally, the historical research projects analyse existing and developing power relations and the exercise of authority in colonial

areas of limited statehood under the conditions of "soft" modes of steering and cooperation between state and non-state actors (Research Projects B2, B3).

C – Security

One of the elementary tasks of politics is to ensure the internal and external security of the citizens. In this context, the modern nation-state has at its disposal a (legitimate) monopoly on the use of force both internally and externally, which in the final judgement also comprises the ability to enforce the law. The projects of this project area analyse the problems that arise when this state monopoly on the use of force is no longer or only marginally intact. They look at external stabilisation measures for the (re-)establishment of the monopoly on the use of force in failing or failed states; and they ask how effective these measures have been and what was necessary for their success (Research Project C1). Special attention is paid to the effects of privatising or commercialising security in areas of failing or failed statehood that are open to violence (Research Project C2). The projects also investigate modes of cooperation between state and non-state actors that have formed to guarantee public safety and legal security in local areas of transition countries (Argentina and Mexico) in which the state monopoly on the use of force is not or only deficiently exercised (Research Project C3).

D – Welfare and Environment

Finally, governance serves to provide material public goods, such as economic stability, basic social insurance, health, a clean environment, education etc. (cf. Cornes/Sandler 1996; Hardin 1982; Héritier 2002; Ostrom 1990). The projects of this project area systematically investigate the governance services provided by transnational and local policy partnerships between public and private actors in the areas of welfare and the environment. Firstly, they try to find out about the conditions under which such partnerships contribute to the provision of material public goods in developing and transition countries, and which problems arise in the process (Research Project D1). Secondly, they analyse the conditions under which companies – in particular those that have voluntarily committed themselves to upholding social and environmental standards – can contribute to increasing regulatory capacity in developing and transition countries (Research Projects D2, D3). A specific governance problem is also dealt with - the interaction between governments in developing and transition countries on the one hand, and external private creditors on the other, in the provision of macro-economic stability in the context of debt crises (Research Project D4). An investigation into modes of public-private cooperation in the provision of material public goods in local areas of semi-colonial China in the 19th century (Research Project D5) serves to place the project area in a historical context and will allow for the inclusion of historical alternatives of public-private cooperation.

Illustration 4: Overview of Project Areas and Individual Research Projects

A	**Theory Building**	
A 1	Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood: Theoretical Contributions	Political Science, International Relations, History
A 2	Soft Control: Power and Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood	Political Science, Political Theory
A 3	Rule of Law and Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood	Law, Public Law
A 4	Standards of Public International Law for Governance in Weak and Failing States	Law, Public International Law
A 5	Normative Standards of Good Governance for Failing States	Political Science, Political Theory
B	**Political Authority and Rule-Making**	
B 2	Good Governance without the Shadow of Hierarchy? The EU Neighbourhood Policy and Anti-Corruption Measures in the Southern Caucasus	Political Science, European Integration
B 3	Governance and Microtechniques of Power in Colonial North America, 1680-1760	History, North American History
B 4	Knowledge and Rule: Scientific Colonialism in Germany's and Japan's Colonies, 1884-1937	History, Modern History
C	**Security**	
C 1	Transnational Cooperation and the Provision of Security in the Context of Limited Statehood	Political Science, International Relations
C 2	Privatization and Commercialization of Security in Areas of Limited Statehood	Political Science, International Relations
C 3	Public Security as Governance? Policing in Transitional and Developing countries	Political Science, Latin American Studies
D	**Welfare and Environment**	
D 1	Transnational Public Private Partnerships for Environment, Health, and Social Rights	Political Science, International Relations
D 2	Fostering Regulation? Corporate Social Responsibility in Countries With Weak Regulatory Capacity	Political Science, International Relations, Policy Analysis
D 3	Emerging Modes of Governance and Climate Protection: Green Companies in Newly Industrializing Countries	Political Science, International Relations
D 4	Providing Macro-Economic Stability: The Politics of Private Sector Involvement in Sovereign Debt Crises	Political Science, Economics
D 5	Cooperation Networks and Local Forms of Governance in Semi-Colonial China (1860-1911)	History, Chinese Studies

3.3 The Long-Term Perspective for Research Center (SFB) 700

Research Centers are long-term collaborative endeavours funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) for up to twelve years – with three funding periods of four years each based on external evaluations. The long-term research program of Research Center equals these three funding periods.

Phase 1, 2006-2009
The first phase is about sounding out the dimensions of cooperation between state and non-state actors in providing governance in areas of limited statehood, with regard to the emergence, the modes of functioning, as well as the effects in the three areas of political authority

and rule making, security, as well as welfare and environment. In this first stage of investigation, most projects will adopt inductive and hypothesis-generating approaches. In this phase we will examine the plausibility of working hypotheses from different bodies of theory. The systematic comparison of the cases investigated will be prepared heuristically. The aim of this first phase is to develop a comparative matrix of the different modes of governance.

Phase 2, 2010-2013

In the second stage of investigation, the interdisciplinary design of the Research Center will assume center-stage. The individual research projects will continue the comparative analysis of the effects of modes of governance with regard to problem-solving capacity and participatory quality in the various areas of limited statehood. Under which conditions can "soft modes of steering" and (transnational) cooperation between state and non-state actors contribute to improving effectiveness and the participatory quality or legitimacy of governance in areas of limited statehood, and which problems arise in the process? In this phase, particular attention will be paid to local governance discourses in the areas of limited statehood investigated and to historic path dependencies. In addition, we will concentrate on empirically guided theory building and the comparative formation of ideal types and patterns of governance. The social sciences projects in particular will work in this phase on building theories by condensing the results gained in the first phase to hypotheses and testing them across all areas of research and all areas of limited statehood investigated. On the basis of these hypothesis tests and the comparative formation of ideal types, the comparative matrix of different modes of governance and their standards will be developed further.

Phase 3, 2014-2017

It is the long-term aim of the Research Center to use the diachronic comparison of contemporary areas of limited statehood with (semi-)colonial areas, the evaluation of different modes of governance, and the theory-based analysis of the areas investigated to identify the structural consequences that the different modes of governance and their standards will have for the global community. In this last phase of the research program, greater emphasis will be given to the criteria developed in phase 2 for the evaluation of modes of governance, above all with regard to cultural conditions. On the whole, this phase will be about assessing whether we are dealing with a transitional phenomenon which will be overtaken by the logic of modern OECD statehood (as various modernisation theories expect), or whether we, on the contrary, are experiencing the end of an international system which is based on sovereign nation-states and which is being increasingly replaced by multi-level governance systems whereby each level has specific tasks to fulfil (the "post-Westphalian" alternative). A third option would be that we have to deal with different modes of organising politics – from classic nation-states through complex multi-level governance systems to permanently failed states or even world regions. Where the global political journey is taking us and which problems may arise for effective and legitimate governance – these questions will form the core of our investigations in the third phase of the Research Center.

Bibliography

Altvater, Elmar/Mahnkopf, Birgit 2002: Globalisierung der Unsicherheit. Arbeit im Schatten, schmutziges Geld und informelle Politik, Münster.

Bendel, Petra/Croissant, Aurel/Rüb, Friedbert W. (Ed.) 2002: Hybride Regime. Zur Konzeption und Empirie demokratischer Grauzonen, Opladen.

Bendel, Petra/Croissant, Aurel/Rüb, Friedbert W. (Ed.) 2003: Demokratie und Staatlichkeit. Systemwechsel zwischen Staatsreform und Staatskollaps, Opladen.

Benz, Arthur 1992: Mehrebenen-Verflechtung. Verhandlungsprozesse in verbundenen Entscheidungsarenen, in: Benz, Arthur/Scharpf, Fritz W./Zintl, Reinhard (Ed.): Horizontale Politikverflechtung. Zur Theorie von Verhandlungssystemen, Frankfurt/Main, 147-197.

Benz, Arthur 2001: Der moderne Staat. Grundlagen der politologischen Analyse, München.

Benz, Arthur (Ed.) 2004a: Governance. Regieren in komplexen Regelsystemen, Opladen.

Benz, Arthur 2004b: Einleitung: Governance. Modebegriff oder nützliches sozialwissenschaftliches Konzept?, in: Benz, Arthur (Ed.): Governance. Regieren in komplexen Regelsystemen, Opladen, 11-28.

Betz, Joachim 2003: (Deutsche) Beiträge zur Entwicklungstheorie seit dem Ende des Ost-West-Konflikts, in: Hellmann, Gunther/Wolf, Klaus Dieter/Zürn, Michael (Ed.): Die neuen Internationalen Beziehungen. Forschungsstand und Perspektiven in Deutschland, Baden-Baden, 275-311.

Biersteker, Thomas J. 2002: Forms of State, States of Sovereignty. The Changing Meanings of State, Sovereignty and Territory in the Theory and Practice of International Relations, in: Carlsnaes, Walter/Simmons, Beth/Risse, Thomas (Ed.): Handbook of International Relations, London, 157-176.

Boldt, Hans/Conze, Werner/Haverkate, Görg/Klippel, Diethelm/Koselleck Reinhart 1990: Staat und Souveränität, in: Brunner, Otto/Conze, Werner/Koselleck, Reinhart (Ed.): Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe (Band 6), Stuttgart, 1-154.

Börzel, Tanja A./Risse Thomas 2005: Public-Private Partnerships. Effective and Legitimate Tools of International Governance? in: Grande, Edgar/Pauly, Louis W. (Ed.): Reconstituting Political Authority. Complex Sovereignty and the Foundations of Global Governance, Toronto.

Braig, Marianne 2000: Staat und Markt im Entwicklungsprozess, Hamburg.

Brand, Ulrich/Brunnengräber, Achim/Schrader,Lutz/Stock, Christian/Wahl, Peter 2000: Global Governance. Alternativen zur neoliberalen Globalisierung? Münster.

Brand, Ulrich 2001: Ordnung und Gestaltung. Global Governance als hegemonialer Diskurs postfordistischer Politik, in: Berndt, Michael/Sack, Detlef (Ed.): Glocal Governance? Voraussetzungen und Formen demokratischer Beteiligung im Zeichen der Globalisierung, Wiesbaden, 93-110.

Burchell, Graham/Gordon, Colin/Miller, Peter (Ed.) 1991: The Foucault Effect. Studies in Governmentality (With two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault), Chicago, IL.

Carment, David 2003: Assessing State Failure. Implications for Theory and Policy, in: Third World Quarterly 24: 3, 407-427.

Commission on Global Governance 1995: Our Global Neighbourhood. The Report of the Commission on Global Governance, Oxford.

Cooper, Frederick/Stoler, Ann L. (Ed.) 1997: Tensions of Empire. Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World, Berkeley, CA.

Copland, Ian 1982: The British Raj and the Indian Princes. Paramountcy in Western India, 1857-1930, Bombay.

Copland, Ian 2005: State, Community and Neighbourhood in Princely North India, 1900-1950, New York, NY.

Cornes, Richard/Sandler, Todd 1996: The Theory of Externalitities, Public Goods, and Club Goods, Cambridge.

Cutler, Claire A. 2003: Private Power and Global Authority. Transnational Merchant Law and the Global Political Economy, Cambridge.

Cutler, Claire A./Haufler, Virginia/Porter, Tony (Ed.) 1999: Private Authority and International Affairs, Albany, NY.

Czempiel, Ernst-Otto/Rosenau, James 1992 (Ed.): Governance Without Government. Order and Change in World Politics, Cambridge.

Deutsches Übersee-Institut (Ed.) 2004: Was ist Governance? (Presented at the Conference of Deutsche Übersee-Institut and the Center for Globalization and Governance of the University of Hamburg, 05. Juli 2004), Hamburg.

Evans, Peter B./Skocpol, Theda/Rueschemeyer, Dietrich (Ed.) 1985: Bringing the State Back In, Cambridge, MA.

Finzsch, Norbert 2002: Gouvernementalität, der Moynihan-Report und die Welfare Queen im Cadillac, in: Martschukat, Jürgen (Ed.): Geschichte schreiben mit Foucault, Frankfurt/Main, 252-277.

Fisher, Michael Herbert 1991: Indirect Rule in India. Residents and the Residency System, 1764-1858, Delhi, New York, NY.

Foucault, Michel 2004: Geschichte der Gouvernementalität I. Sicherheit, Territorium, Bevölkerung, Frankfurt/Main.

Frevert, Ute/Haupt, Heinz-Gerhard (Ed.) 2005: Neue Politikgeschichte. Perspektiven einer historischen Politikforschung (Historische Politikforschung 1), Frankfurt/Main.

Gerstenberger, Heide 1990: Die subjektlose Gewalt. Theorie der Entstehung bürgerlicher Staatsgewalt, Münster.

Grande, Edgar/Risse Thomas 2000: Bridging the Gap. Konzeptionelle Anforderungen an die politikwissenschaftliche Analyse von Globalisierungsprozessen, in: Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen 7: 2, 235-266.

Habermas, Jürgen 1981: Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns (Band 2), Frankfurt/Main.

Hall, Rodney Bruce/Biersteker, Thomas J. (Ed.) 2002: The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance, Cambridge, MA.

Hakimian, Hassan/Moshaver, Ziba (Ed.) 2001. The State and Global Change. The Political Economy of Transition in the Middle East and North Africa, Richmond, VA.

Hannah, Matthew G. 2000: Governmentality and the Mastery of Territory in Nineteenth-Century America, Cambridge.

Hardin, Russell 1982: Collective Action, Baltimore, MD.

Héritier, Adrienne (Ed.) 2002: Common Goods. Reinventing European and International Governance, Lanham, MD.

Kalpagam, U. 2000: Colonial governmentality and the 'economy', in: Economy and Society 29: 3, 418-438.

Kalpagam, U. 2001: Colonial Governmentality and Public Sphere in India, in: Journal of Historical Sociology 15: 1, 35-58.

Killick, Tony 1989: A Reaction too far. Economic Theory and the Role of the State in Developing Countries, London.

Koehler, Jan/Zürcher, Christoph 2003: Introduction. Potentials of disorder in the Caucasus and Yugoslavia, in: Koehler, Jan/Zürcher, Christoph (Ed.): Potentials of Disorder, Manchester, 1-22.

Kohler-Koch, Beate 1998a: Einleitung: Effizienz und Demokratie. Probleme des Regierens in entgrenzten Räumen, in: Kohler-Koch, Beate (Ed.): Regieren in entgrenzten Räumen, Opladen, 11-25.

Kooiman, Jan 1993: Modern Governance. New Government-Society Interactions, London.

Krasner, Stephen D. 1993: Sovereignty, Regimes, and Human Rights, in: Rittberger, Volker (Ed.): Regime Theory and International Relations, Oxford, 139-167.

Krasner, Stephen D. 2002: Troubled Societies, Outlaw States, and Gradations of Sovereignty (Manuskript, July 20), Stanford, CA.

Leibfried, Stefan/Zürn, Michael (Ed.) 2006: Transformationen des Staates?, Frankfurt/Main.

Lemke, Thomas 1997: Eine Kritik der politischen Vernunft. Foucaults Analyse der modernen Gouvernementalität, Berlin.

March, James G./Olsen, Johan P. 1998: The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders, in: International Organization 52: 4, 943-969.

Mayntz, Renate 1997: Soziale Dynamik und politische Steuerung. Theoretische und methodologische Überlegungen, Frankfurt/Main.

Mayntz, Renate 1998: New Challenges to Governance Theory (Jean Monnet Chair Paper 50, Robert Schuman Centre at the European University Institute), Florence.

Mayntz, Renate 2002: Common Goods and Governance, in: Adrienne Héritier (Ed.): Common Goods. Reinventing European and International Governance, Lanham, MD, 15-27.

Mayntz, Renate 2004: Governance im modernen Staat, in: Arthur Benz (Ed.): Governance. Regieren in komplexen Regelsystemen, Wiesbaden, 65-76.

Mayntz, Renate/Scharpf, Fritz W. 1995: Gesellschaftliche Selbstregulierung und politische Steuerung, Frankfurt/Main.

Merkel, Wolfgang 1999: Defekte Demokratien, in: Merkel, Wolfgang/Busch, Andreas (Ed.): Demokratie in Ost und West. Für Klaus von Beyme, Frankfurt/Main, 361-381.

Merkel, Wolfgang/Croissant, Aurel 2000: Formale und informale Institutionen in defekten Demokratien, in: Politische Vierteljahresschrift 41: 1, 3-30.

Messner, Dirk 1996: Politik im Wandel. NGOs in der Irrelevanzfalle oder NGOisierung der (Welt-)Politik? in: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Ed.): Globale Trends und internationale Zivilgesellschaft oder: Die NGOisie-rung der (Welt-)Politik? Bonn, 11-38.

Messner, Dirk (Ed.) 1998: Die Zukunft des Staates und der Politik. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen politischer Steuerung in der Weltgesellschaft, Bonn.

Messner, Dirk/Nuscheler, Franz 2000: Politik in der Global Governance-Architektur, in: Kreibich, Rolf/Simonis, Udo Ernst (Ed.): Global Change - Globaler Wandel. Ursachenkomplexe und Lösungsansätze, Berlin, 171-188.

Milliken, Jennifer/Krause, Keith 2002: State Failure, State Collapse, and State Reconstruction. Concepts, Lessons, and Strategies, in: Development and Change 33: 5, 753-774.

Minogue, Martin/McCourt, Willy 2001: The Internationalization of Public Management. Reinventing the Third World State, Cheltenham.

O'Donnell, Guillermo/Schmitter, Philippe C./Whitehead, Lawrence (Ed.) 1986: Transitions From Authoritarian Rule. Prospects for Democracy, Baltimore.

Ostrom, Eleonor 1990: Governing the Commons. The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action, Cambridge.

Reinhard, Wolfgang 2000: Geschichte der Staatsgewalt. Eine vergleichende Verfassungsgeschichte Europas von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, München.

Reinicke, Wolfgang H. 1998: Global Public Policy. Governing without Government? Washington, D.C.

Reinicke, Wolfgang H./Deng, Francis 2000: Critical Choices. The United Nations, Networks, and the Future of Global Governance, Ottawa.

Reno, William 2000a: Clandestine Economies, Violence and States in Africa, in: Journal of International Affairs 53: 2, 433-459.

Reno, William 2000b: Shadow States and the Political Economy of Civil Wars, in: Berdal, Mats/Malone, David M. (Ed.): Greed and Grievance. Economic Agendas in Civil Wars, Boulder, CO, 43-69.

Rhodes, R.A.W. 1996: Governing without Governance. Order and Change in British Politics (Presented at the Inaugural Lecture, Newcastle upon Tyne, University of Newcastle, 18 April 1996).

Risse, Thomas 2000: 'Let's Argue!' Communicative Action in International Relations, in: International Organization 54: 1, 1-39.

Risse, Thomas 2002: Transnational Actors and World Politics, in: Carlsnaes, Walter/Risse, Thomas/Simmons, Beth (Ed.): Handbook of International Relations, London, 255-274.

Rosenau, Pauline Vaillancourt (Ed.) 2000: Public-Private Policy Partnerships, Cambridge, MA.

Rotberg, Robert I. 2003a: Failed States, Collapsed States, Weak States. Causes and Indicators, in: Rotberg, Robert I. (Ed.): State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror, Washington, D.C., 1-25.

Rotberg, Robert I. (Ed.) 2003b: State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror, Cambridge, MA., Washington, D.C.

Rotberg, Robert I. 2004a: The Failure and Collapse of Nation-States: Breakdown, Prevention, and Repair, in: Rotberg, Robert I. (Ed.): When States Fail. Causes and Consequences, Princeton, NJ, 1-49.

Rotberg, Robert I. (Ed.) 2004b: When States Fail. Causes and Consequences, Princeton, NJ.

Russell-Wood, Anthony J. R. 1999: Local Government in European Overseas Empires, 1450-1800, Brookfield, VT.

Russell-Wood, Anthony J. R. 2000: Government and Governance of European Empires, 1415-1800, Brookfield, VT.

Saretzki, Thomas 1996: Wie unterscheiden sich Argumentieren und Verhandeln? in: von Prittwitz, Volker (Ed.): Verhandeln und Argumentieren. Dialog, Interessen und Macht in der Umweltpolitik, Opladen, 19-39.

Scharpf, Fritz W. 1993: Positive und negative Koordination in Verhandlungssystemen, in: Héritier, Adrienne (Ed.): Policy-Analyse. Kritik und Neuorientierung, Opladen, 57-83.

Schneckener, Ulrich 2004a: States at Risk. Zur Analyse fragiler Staatlichkeit, in: Schneckener, Ulrich (Ed.): States at Risk. Fragile Staaten als Sicherheits- und Entwicklungsproblem, Berlin, 5-27.

Schneckener, Ulrich (Ed.) 2004b: States at Risk. Fragile Staaten als Sicherheits- und Entwicklungsproblem, Berlin.

Schubert, Gunter/Tetzlaff, Rainer (Ed.) 1998: Blockierte Demokratien in der Dritten Welt, Opladen.

Scott, David 1995: Colonial Governmentality, in: Social Text 43, 191-220.

Skalweit, Stephan 1975: Der „moderne Staat". Ein historischer Begriff und seine Problematik, Opladen.

Tetzlaff, Rainer/Engel, Ulf/Mehler, Andreas (Ed.) 1995: Afrika zwischen Dekolonisation, Staatsversagen und Demokratisierung. Ein Reader, Hamburg.

Voigt, Rüdiger (Ed.) 1995: Der kooperative Staat, Baden-Baden.

Zoubir, Yahia H. 1999. North Africa in Transition: State, Society, and Economic Transformation in the 1990s, Gainesville, FL.

Zürcher, Christoph 2003: Gemietet, unterwandert, gezüchtet, verlagert. Zur Funktionsweise von Staatlichkeit im 21. Jahrhundert (Presentation at FU Berlin, Juli 2003), Berlin.

Zürn, Michael 1998: Regieren jenseits des Nationalstaates. Globalisierung und Denationalisierung als Chance, Frankfurt/Main.

Die AutorInnen

Thomas Risse is professor of international politics and director of the Center for Transnational Relations and Foreign and Security policy at the Otto Suhr Institute for Political Science at the Freie Universität Berlin. Thomas Risse is coordinator of the Research Center (SFB) 700 "Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood".

Ursula Lehmkuhl is professor of modern history with special focus on the history of North America at the John F. Kennedy Institute for North American Studies at the Freie Universität Berlin. Ursula Lehmkuhl is deputy of the Research Center (SFB) 700 "Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood".

Research Framework of the Research Center (SFB) 700

Governance has become a central theme in social science research. The Research Center (SFB) 700 *Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood* investigates governance in areas of limited statehood, i.e. developing countries, failing and failed states, as well as, in historical perspective, different types of colonies. How and under what conditions can governance deliver legitimate authority, security, and welfare, and what problems are likely to emerge? Operating since 2006 and financed by the German Research Foundation (DFG), the Research Center involves the Freie Universität Berlin, the University of Potsdam, the European University Institute, the Hertie School of Governance, the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), and the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB).

Partner Organisations of the Research Center (SFB) 700

Host University
Freie Universität Berlin

University of Potsdam

Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB)

German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)

Hertie School of Governance

European University Institute
Florence (EUI)