

Governing Non-Traditional Security, Rescaling the State in Southeast Asia

Dr Lee Jones

GOVERNING BORDERLESS THREATS

Non-Traditional Security and the
Politics of State Transformation



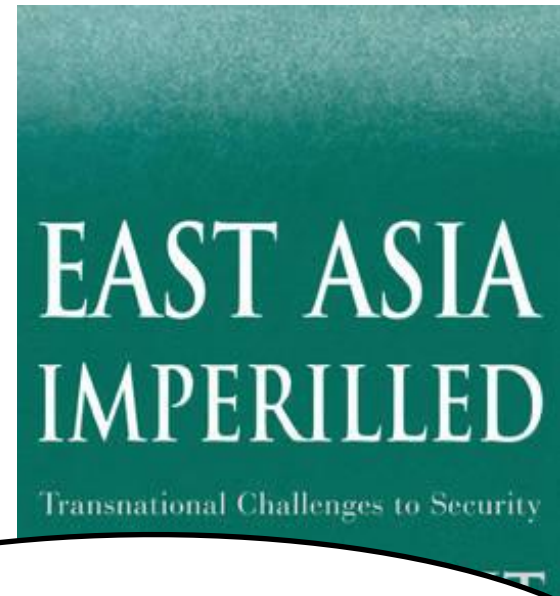
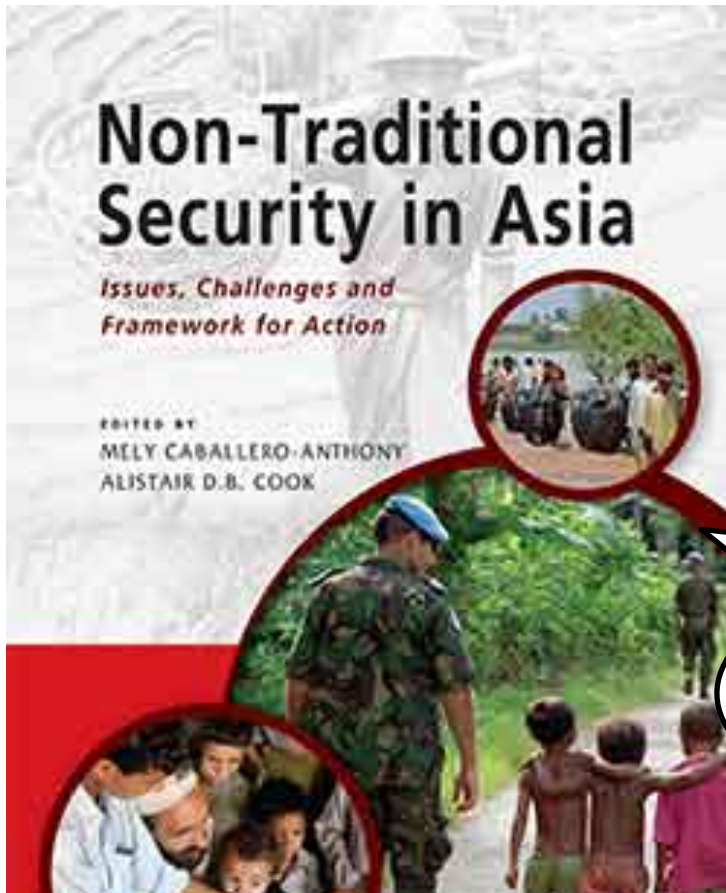
SHAHAR HAMEIRI AND LEE JONES

- w/ Shahar Hameiri (Murdoch); ARC/ ESRC
- Definition of NTS

Starting 'puzzle':

- Multitude of apparently 'securitised' NTS threats, but their *governance* varies wildly... sometimes non-existent!

SEA & NTS: a dismal record?



“there is no longer any excuse... it is time to put more effort into implementing [policies]... conventional responses are no longer adequate” (p.290)

- So, contra Copenhagen School, no necessary link between discursive securitisation and security governance. Functionalism also doesn't work.
- Typically attributed to ASEAN's resistance to encroachments on sovereignty. But is there more going on? We think so...

The State Transformation Approach (1)

- Crucial characteristic of NTS threats: border-spanning; problematise 'national' governance; appropriate *scale* open-ended.
- Predominant *mode* of governance ≠ shift from states to supranational organisations, but *state transformation*.
 - Focus on apparatuses tasked w/ specific issue
 - Transform to impose international disciplines
 - Network into multilevel governance

The State Transformation Approach (2)

- An attempt to empower technocrats and circumvent politics... But not so simple!
 - State institutions distribute power, resources → their transformation is contested
 - Ditto different scalar arrangements
 - Contestation = socio-political coalitions, rooted in political economy of issue area
 - Power and organisation of industry interests
 - Access to state crucial: states as ‘scale managers’
 - May focus on degree of rescaling, or operation of rescaled state apparatuses

The State Transformation Approach (3)

- Thus, NTS governance reflects contingent outcome of social conflicts over state transformation and rescaling
- Cases
 - Environmental degradation: the haze
 - Pandemic disease: avian influenza
 - Transnational crime: money laundering and terrorist financing





BEFORE



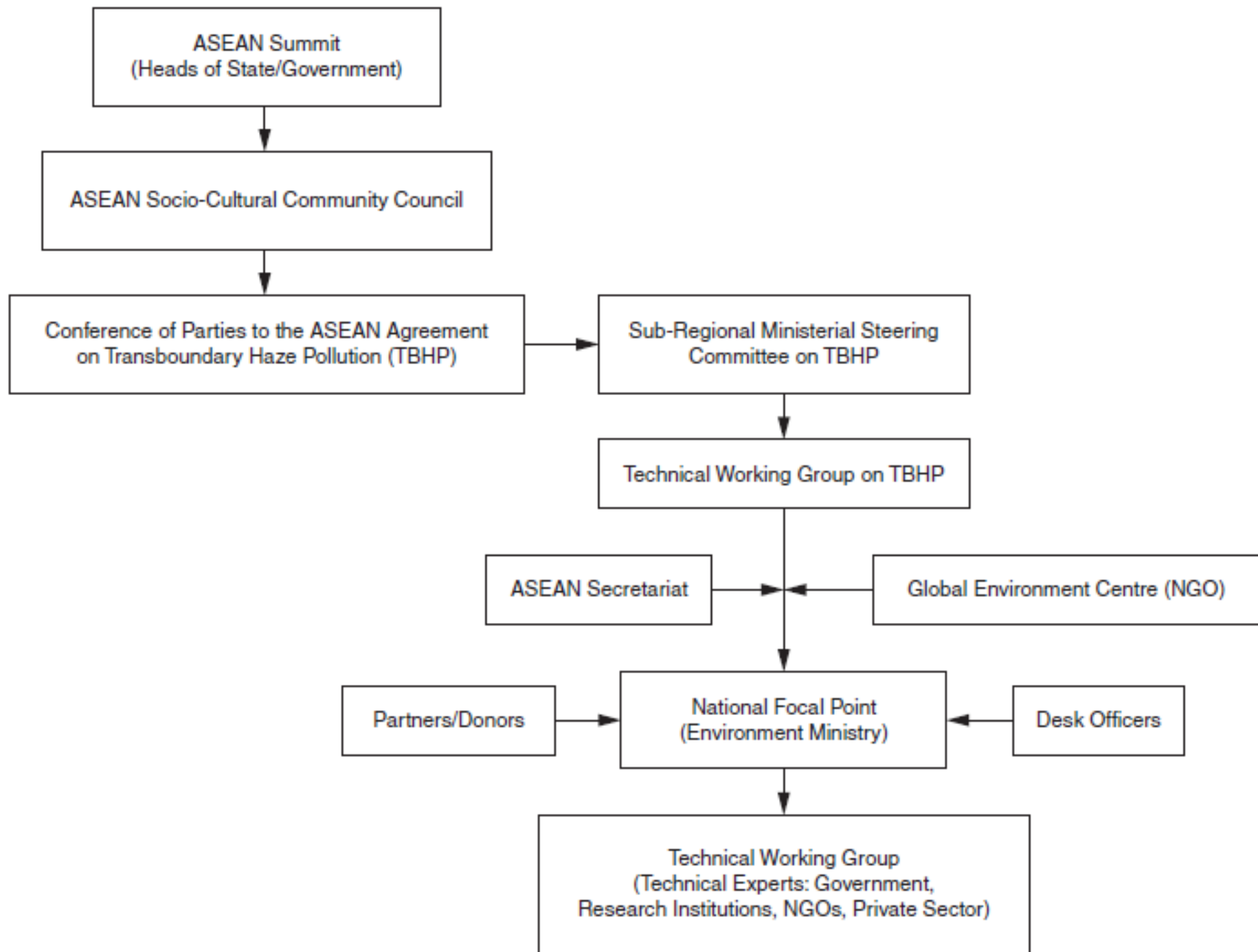
AFTER

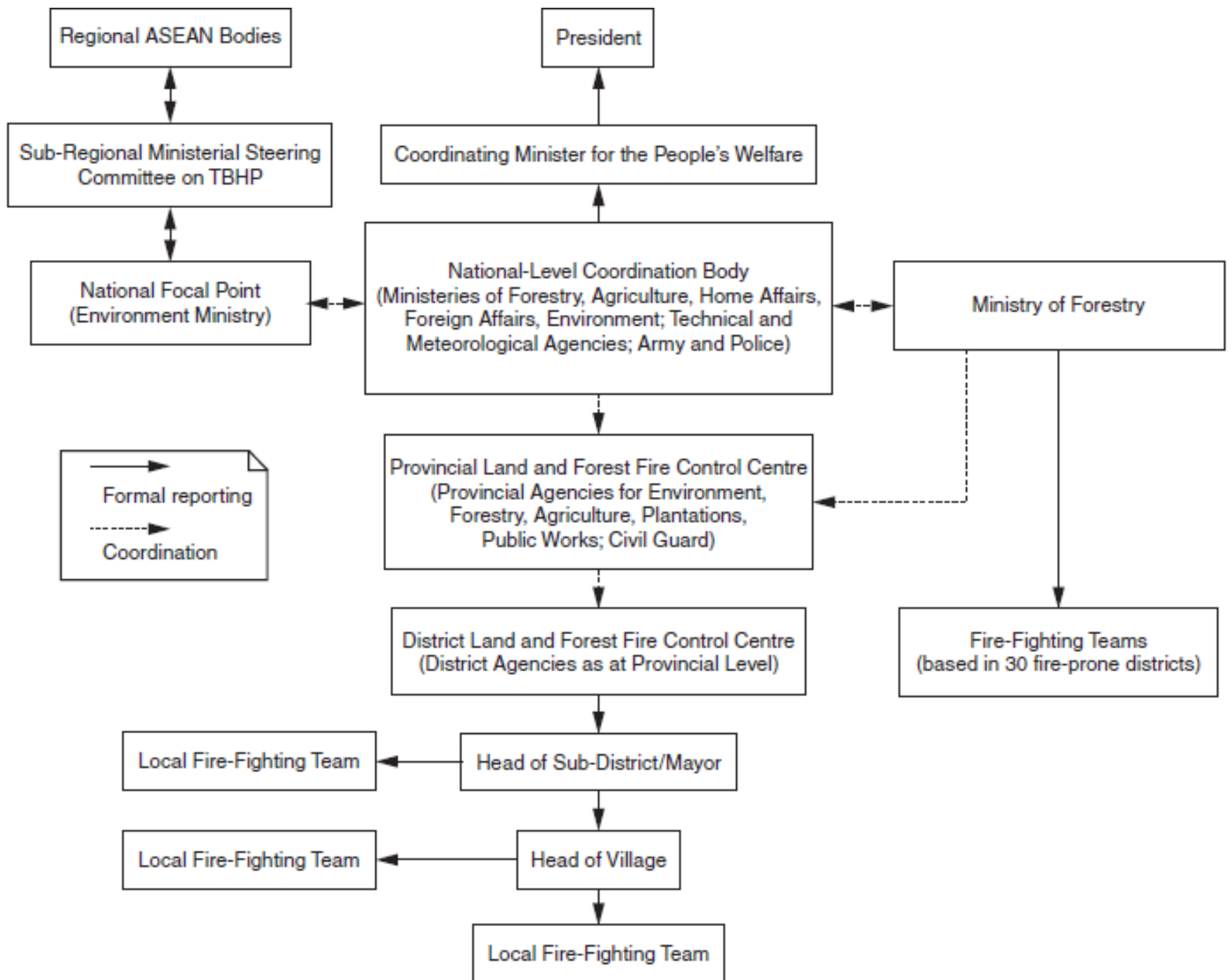




Governing the Haze

- General view: despite securitisation, ASEAN didn't establish supranational authority → failure
- Our argument:
 - ASEAN pursued 'regulatory regionalism', *not* supranational authority
 - This *has* led to substantial state transformation
 - *But* rescaling of governance is contested
 - Resistance at national and local levels, rooted in political economy of forestry/ plantations
 - Corruption/ deflection of rescaled apparatuses towards small-scale farmers





ASEAN's Haze Governance

- Focus on local capacity building
- Interesting interventions by Singaporean and Malaysian environment ministries

Explaining Outcomes (1)

- The Indonesian Context
 - Political economy of forestry and plantations
 - NB role of Singaporean and Malaysian firms; impact on govt-govt level
 - Decentralisation
- Impact on NTS governance
 - General lack of law enforcement
 - PO industry influence → national-level resistance

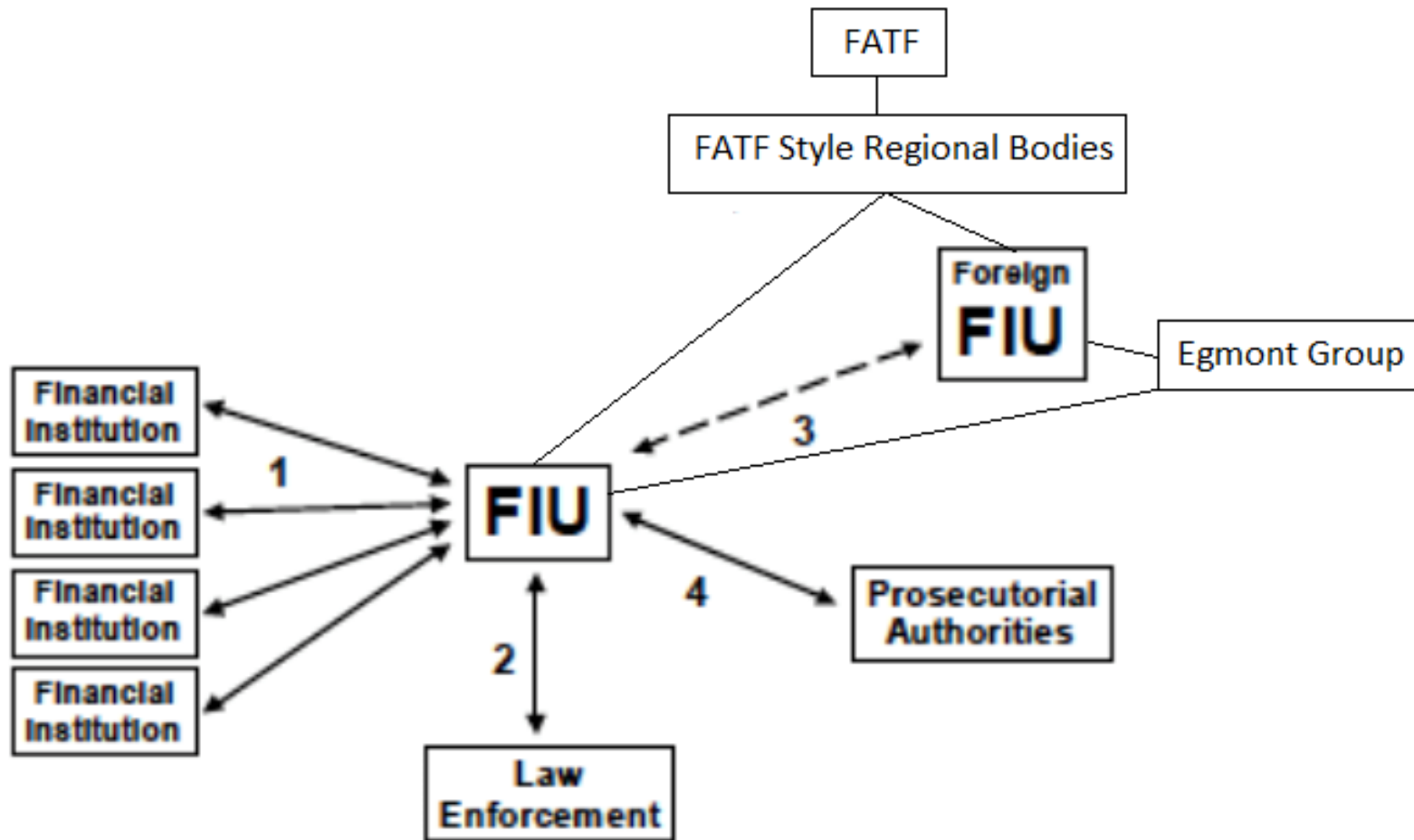
Explaining Outcomes (2)

- Impact of decentralisation
 - MoE loss of line authority
 - Local prioritisation of business over environment → underfunding of anti-haze apparatuses
 - Constraint of rescaled ASEAN institutions by local and national power relations
- Net result: deflection onto the poor, weak → irrational and counterproductive outcome

Conclusion / Q&A

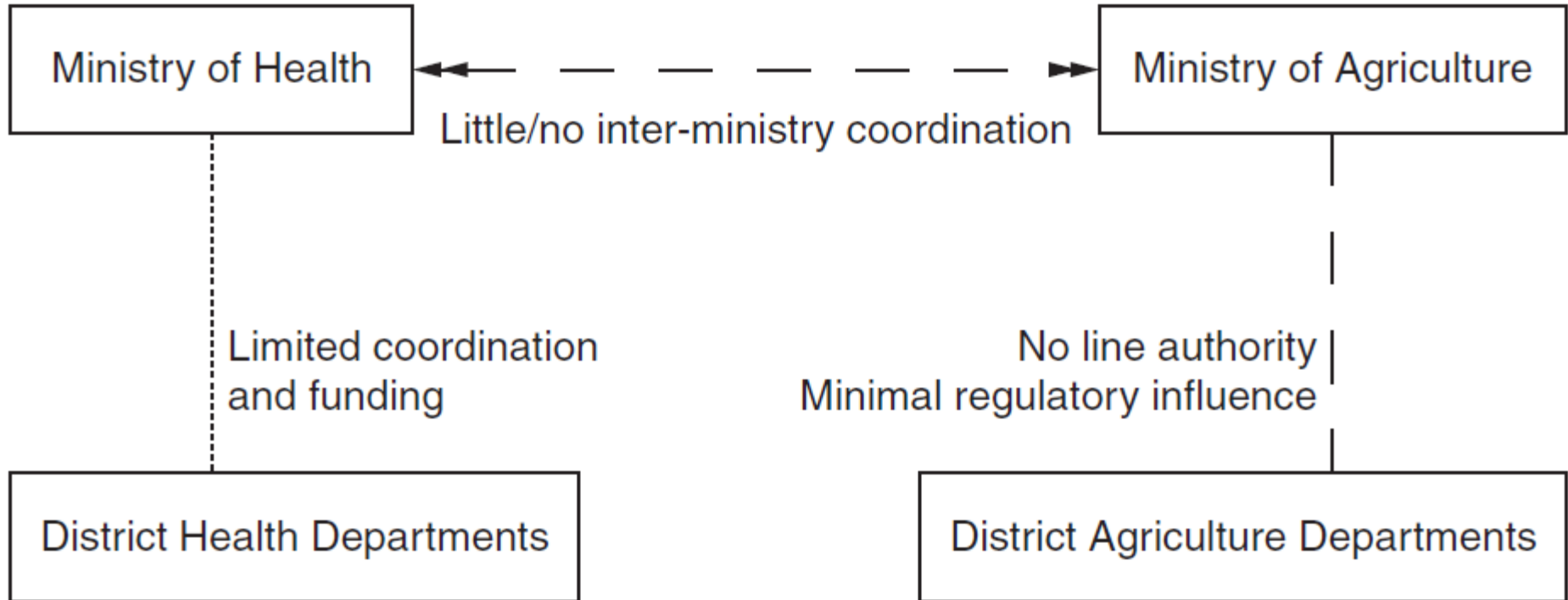
- As security is becoming non-traditional, so are states! But despite attempts to empower technocrats, power and conflict determine outcomes.
- Other cases: avian influenza; money laundering and terrorist financing.
- leejones@stanford.edu / l.c.jones@qmul.ac.uk / @DrLeeJones

FATF/ Anti Money Laundering



1. Disclosures transmitted to FIU.
2. FIU receives additional information from law enforcement.
3. Possible exchange with foreign counterpart FIU.
4. After analysis, FIU provides case to prosecutor for action.

Avian Influenza (Before)



Avian Influenza (After)

