



**FPC Briefing: Governing Non-Traditional Security Threats by Transforming States- Trends and Challenges**

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**Executive Summary**

Today, ‘non-traditional’ security threats (NTS) – transboundary issues such as pandemic diseases, transnational crime, drug smuggling and people trafficking – are key elements of the international security agenda. This brief shows that:

- The main way that non-traditional security challenges are being addressed is not through formal, multilateral organisations, but efforts to change how states operate domestically where NTS threats emerge. Western governments and international agencies seek to bypass difficult inter-state negotiations and sovereignty concerns, targeting relevant state apparatuses directly to improve their governance and contain risks and threats.
- In reality, this is no ‘magic bullet’, since attempts to transform and internationalise domestic state agencies always elicit political contestation. This shapes how far NTS governance is really transformed, and how new security governance structures operate in practice.
- To improve their likelihood of success, external agencies must recognise that their activities are political, not technical. Building effective NTS governance regimes involves cultivating supportive political coalitions and marginalising opponents of state transformation.

**The challenge of governing non-traditional security**

Non-traditional security (NTS) issues like terrorism, infectious disease, transnational crime and environmental degradation are now core concerns for many governments, international organisations, businesses, NGOs and ordinary citizens.<sup>1</sup> These threats are seen as transnational, easily spreading across national borders, making them impossible to address by states acting alone. Consequently, many look to regional or international organisations to address these challenges by pooling state authority upwards.

However, multilateral institutions are not the dominant channel through which NTS issues are managed today. Instead, powerful states and international agencies are increasingly trying to construct issue-specific, transnational governance networks that better ‘map onto’ to the scale of transboundary problems. This typically involves efforts to transform the internal governance systems of states where NTS threats are seen to originate, such that they enact international ‘best practices’ to help manage these problems and prevent them from spreading. Often, external actors seek to bypass intergovernmental political blockages and empower technical experts to manage NTS issues directly, through collaborating with their peers and allies across borders.

However, despite the deployment of considerable resources and personnel, the results of these governance changes and transboundary networks are highly uneven and often disappointing. This is because, although their proponents seek to bypass politics, their efforts to change the way target states operate inevitably encounter social and political contestation. Powerful groups, particularly those connected to the political economy of specific issue areas, seek to mould the state transformation process to suit their interests, often undermining or warping NTS governance systems.

Accordingly, this briefing recommends that policymakers addressing NTS issues approach their work as a form of political intervention. Managing NTS threats is not simply a technical activity to be

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<sup>1</sup> This policy brief is drawn from a five-year study of non-traditional security governance in the Asia-Pacific, funded by the Australian Research Council (DP110100425) and published as Hameiri, Shahar, and Lee Jones (2015). *Governing Borderless Threats: Non-Traditional Security and the Politics of State Transformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



addressed through training, capacity building and the transmission of 'best' practice. Rather, it requires building socio-political coalitions that will support concrete governance changes against those who would resist. Since this is difficult in all cases and impossible in many, external actors must carefully pick their battles and cooperate amongst themselves to concentrate effort and resources on struggles that are 'winnable'.

### **Governing Non-Traditional Security by Transforming States**

Traditional, military security relationships tend to reinforce national borders by encouraging states to build up national defence establishments. By contrast, the hallmark of NTS issues is their (potential) *transnational* nature. Threats like pandemic disease, transnational crime or environmental degradation may originate in specific national territories, but they are seen to spread quickly across state borders, often exploiting infrastructure created by economic globalisation. This has generated a widespread perception that old-fashioned, state-based governance is no longer sufficient and that new forms of cooperation are imperative. As the United Nations (UN) High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change declared in 2004:

'Today's threats recognize no national boundaries, are connected, and must be addressed at the global and regional as well as the national levels. No State, no matter how powerful, can by its own efforts alone make itself invulnerable to today's threats... we all share responsibility for each other's security'.<sup>2</sup>

Although this has spurred activity around NTS at the UN and via regional organisations like the European Union (EU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), these institutions are not the main way NTS threats are addressed today. Rather, there are incipient efforts to create novel governance networks that better 'map onto' particular NTS issues, typically involving the transformation of domestic state apparatuses in countries where the problems are seen to originate.

For example, while illegal drug trafficking is widely understood as an escalating NTS problem, the last UN convention related to this issue was signed in 1988.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, although Europe is a major destination for illegal narcotics, the EU does not simply manage this issue supranationally in Europe. Rather, EU agencies are among several powerful groups and international agencies pursuing governance transformation projects around particular flows of drugs. For example, the EU's Cocaine Route Programme (CRP) is an interlinked chain of governance interventions crossing 40 countries, tracking the flow of cocaine production and transportation from its countries of origin in Latin America, through southern and western Africa into Europe (see Figures 1 and 2).

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<sup>2</sup> United Nations (2004). *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility. Report of the Secretary-General's High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change*, New York: United Nations, pp. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> The UN Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.

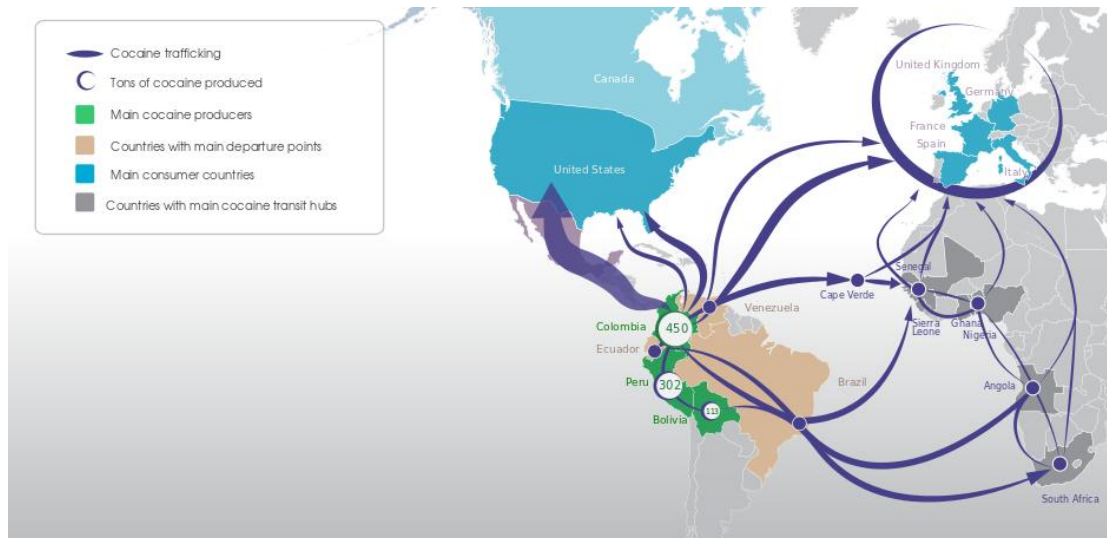


Figure 1: Trends in Cocaine Trafficking Routes.<sup>4</sup>



Figure 2: Sites of EU Cocaine Route Programme Projects.<sup>5</sup>

The CRP comprises seven interlinked projects, each designed to alter the way that the 40 target countries are governed internally. One set of projects seeks to strengthen airport and maritime authorities to intercept drugs precursors and narcotics. A second networks law enforcement and judicial agencies across national borders. And a third promotes international best-practices in anti-money-laundering and financial crime governance to prevent drug traffickers from enjoying the proceeds of their criminal activities.

NTS governance projects like the CRP operate by transforming and internationalising target states. Typically, they target the state apparatuses tasked with managing a particular issue area, and devote international resources and personnel to changing their goals, methods and outcomes. The goal is to

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.cocainerroute.eu>.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.cocainerroute.eu/projects>.



imbibe these institutions with international ‘best practice’ and have them impose international disciplines on other parts of their states and societies in order to manage and contain NTS threats. While inter-state cooperation through global or regional bodies is often blocked by sovereignty concerns or political frictions, NTS interventions often seek to circumvent politics altogether. They work directly with technical experts in particular issue areas, seeking to network them across state borders and empower them to manage NTS problems.<sup>6</sup>

These governance transformations are pursued through a wide variety of mechanisms, including the drafting of legislation, the deployment of international personnel, policy guidance, capacity building, training, peer review, and so on. These interventions are presented as technical, problem-solving mechanisms and are often delivered in ways similar to development assistance programmes designed to produce ‘good governance’, reflecting the widespread merging of security and development.<sup>7</sup> While typically consensual, this assistance is sometimes provided in the shadow of coercion, such as US pressure in the so-called ‘war on drugs’, or the risk of exclusion from global capital markets in the case of money laundering regulation.<sup>8</sup>

#### **Case Study: H5N1 Avian Influenza in Indonesia – Part 1**

In the middle of the last decade, H5N1 Highly Pathogenic Avian Influenza – ‘bird flu’ – broke out across many Southeast Asian states. Western agencies and governments feared that if the virus mutated to facilitate direct human-to-human transmission 50 to 350 million people could die worldwide. H5N1 was rapidly securitised, with extensive funding mobilised to tackle the pandemic during 2006. As the epicentre of the outbreaks, with 161 human mortalities of 193 confirmed cases by January 2014, Indonesia received US\$138m from 2006-2010.<sup>9</sup>

Major donor interventions included the Food and Agriculture Organization’s (FAO) Participatory Disease Surveillance and Response (PDSR) programme and the World Health Organization’s (WHO) District Surveillance Officer (DSO) project. These programmes substantially transformed and internationalised Indonesia’s domestic health governance, seeking to contain the pandemic by embedding international ‘best practice’ in animal and human health management (see Figures 3 and 4).

- District-level health institutions were created to detect and contain H5N1 outbreaks. A key focus was empowering government-employed (but FAO-funded) veterinarians to inspect poultry facilities.
- These local efforts were coordinated by newly established, provincial-level Local Disease Control Centres. These brought together district-level staff with personnel from the national ministries of health and agriculture, and the FAO and WHO. When H5N1 outbreaks were detected by veterinarians, these centres mobilised resources to contain and suppress the disease – for example, by ordering culls of poultry. Inspections and responses were to be guided by international ‘best practice’ guidelines developed by the FAO, WHO, and the World Organisation for Animal Health.

<sup>6</sup> See Slaughter, Anne-Marie (2004). *A New World Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Goldin, Ian (2013). *Divided Nations: Why Global Governance is Failing and What We Can Do About It*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>7</sup> Duffield, Mark (2007). *Development, Security, and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

<sup>8</sup> See Hameiri, Shahar and Lee Jones (2015). ‘Regulatory Regionalism and Anti-Money-Laundering Governance in Asia’, *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 69(2): 144-163.

<sup>9</sup> For a fuller version of this case study, see Hameiri, Shahar and Lee Jones (2015) ‘The Political Economy of Non-Traditional Security: Explaining the Governance of Avian Influenza in Indonesia’, *International Politics* 57(4): 445-465.



- The health and agriculture ministries also became the key representatives in a newly established national committee to coordinate Indonesia’s response to bird flu.
- FAO staff were also embedded in the Ministry of Agriculture’s campaign management unit, linking Indonesia’s domestic governance to wider, transnational surveillance networks.

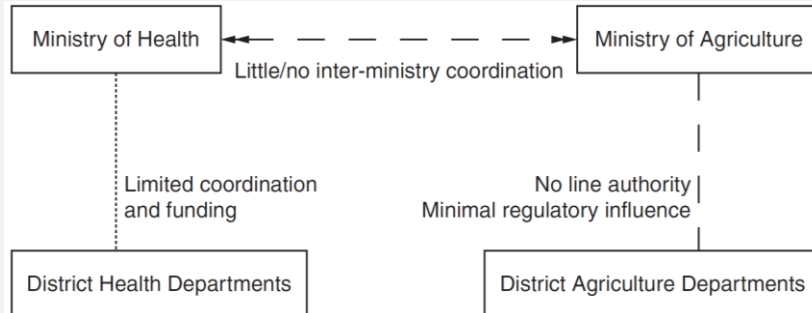


Figure 3: Indonesian Health Governance Before PDSR/ DSO Projects

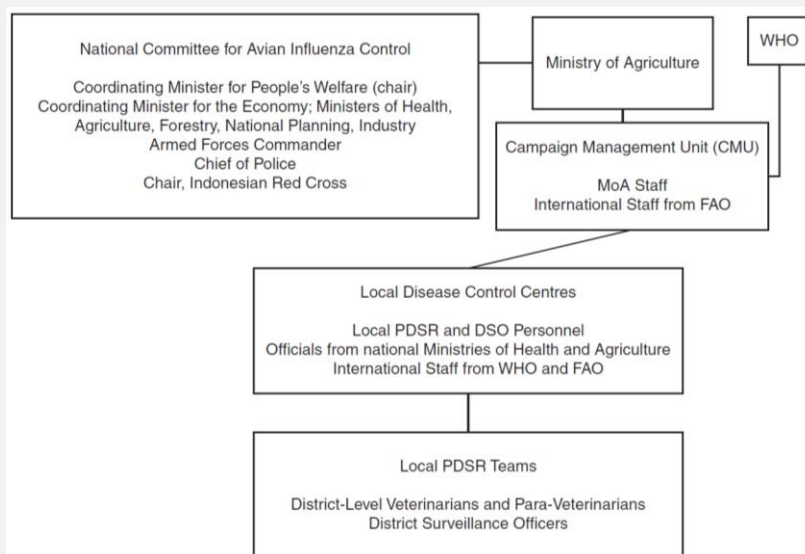


Figure 4: Indonesian Health Governance After PDSR/ DSO Projects

From 2006-2008, this internationalised surveillance system was highly active, conducting over 177,300 inspections, detecting 6,011 H5N1 outbreaks in 324 districts, and engaging over two million farmers and community members.<sup>10</sup>

### The Challenges of State Transformation

This technical and transnational mode of intervention is pursued to get around the problems and deadlocks of intergovernmental politics and multilateral organisations, where sensitivity over national sovereignty often looms large. However, in practice, it simply cannot escape politics. The outcomes of interventions to manage NTS are powerfully shaped by local power relations in target countries.

The reason for this is that state institutions allocate power and resources. Accordingly, seeking to change how they are organised and towards what ends they work will necessarily elicit political

<sup>10</sup> Charnoz, Olivier, and Paul Forster (2011). *The Global Health Impact of Local Power Relations: Fragmented Governance, Big Business and Organisational Bias in Indonesian Animal Health Policies*. London: LSE Global Governance Working Paper 02/2011, p. 69.



contestation: it may be welcomed and supported by those who may benefit, but resisted and undermined by those who might stand to lose out. Thus, although the states and agencies driving NTS interventions often conceive of and present their work as technocratic, it is actually highly political. Accordingly, they always involve struggles between coalitions of social groups located in different institutions and at different political tiers.

Part of this contestation revolves around the scale and instruments of NTS governance. As noted above, interventions to manage NTS problems are seeking to internationalise governance. They target particular policy domains, previously responsive predominantly or purely to domestic imperatives, and seek to induce state agencies to instead adopt international standards, procedures and policy goals, seen as more suitable for managing and containing given threats. Although these measures are simply presented as technical solutions to common problems, internationalising governance in this way is never politically neutral or cost-free. Enacting international standards will often involve greater regulatory costs for private sector interests and state agencies. And shifting authority into the hands of technical experts may involve reducing the power of state officials or quarantining policy domains from parliamentary or other forms of political oversight. In such situations, those who stand to lose out from internationalisation may well resist, promoting instead a local or national approach to governance that better safeguards their interests.

Another significant aspect of struggles over NTS governance transformation is the political economy of the particular issue area. NTS threats are often seen as the 'dark side of globalisation', as the G8 countries declared in 1999.<sup>11</sup> Intensifying economic interaction is seen to have generated 'new' threats and risks, such as climate change or deadly new pathogens.<sup>12</sup> These problems are also seen to spread more quickly and affect more people by utilising the infrastructure generated by globalisation: pandemics quickly spread via international air travel, while terrorists and organised crime groups exploit global financial networks. It follows that efforts to tackle NTS threats often involve attempts to regulate the economic activities seen to generate them and/or facilitate their spread. Seeking to interdict transnational terrorist financing affects banking and financial institutions; containing the spread of animal-to-human disease affects livestock industries; tackling pollution threatens the operations of polluting industries, and so on. Insofar as these industries are major employers, contribute significantly to gross domestic product, export earnings or government revenue, and/or are well organised and connected to political elites, their interests will have to be reckoned with in any attempt to transform regulatory outcomes.

Finally, the broader political context also shapes conflicts over NTS governance, particularly the distribution of power and access to state institutions. Although NTS interventions often seek to work 'around' the state, they do not seek to usurp state sovereignty or establish supranational organisations that govern problems directly. To achieve their goals, they need some degree of consent and cooperation from political actors in target states. The interests and preferences of national-level elites are particularly important, since they can often invoke state sovereignty to fend off interventions that they find unpalatable. To secure their 'buy in', international agencies must often compromise on their goals and ambitions, or find their projects channelled away from powerful domestic constituencies that political leaders wish to protect.

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<sup>11</sup> G8 [Group of 8] (1999). Communiqué of the Ministerial Conference of the G-8 Countries on Combating Transnational Organized Crime. Moscow, 20 October, <http://www.justice.gov/ag/events/g82004/99MoscowCommuniqué.pdf>.

<sup>12</sup> In reality, many supposedly 'new' challenges are not actually new at all. For example, Spanish Influenza killed more people worldwide in 1919-1920 than the entire First World War, but was not treated as a transnational security problem. Six million died on the Indonesian island of Java alone. Conversely, avian influenza has killed fewer than 400 people worldwide, but has provoked a massive governance response.



## Case Study: H5N1 Avian Influenza in Indonesia – Part 2

Although WHO and FAO intervention significantly transformed Indonesian health governance around H5N1, bird flu remains endemic in that country. This is because the externally promoted governance regime, while welcomed by some domestic interests, was resisted by others – notably the powerful poultry sector – who mobilised to avoid tougher regulation. The latter successfully warped this NTS intervention by exploiting Indonesia's corrupt, oligarchic and decentralised political system.

- WHO and FAO intervention was strongly supported by Indonesia's veterinarians as an opportunity to gain greater power, authority and resources to enact international standards. They supported the project by staffing its institutions and lobbying for a national law to bolster their authority – passed in 2009.
- Health and Agriculture Ministry officials also welcomed the intervention. As Figure 1 suggests, they had lost considerable power and control over local government offices during Indonesia's decentralisation process. By introducing donor funding and more centralised institutions, the WHO and FAO helped these agencies restore some of their grip.
- However, Indonesia's leading poultry conglomerates resisted the internationalisation of livestock regulation, which would have significantly increased their business costs. Indonesia's poultry conglomerates outsource chicken production to small-scale farmers, who bear all the risk of bird flu outbreaks on their facilities. The conglomerates keep farmers' profit margins so low that the latter cannot afford biosecurity improvements. Production could be brought in-house – as in neighbouring Thailand – but this would require significant investment that the conglomerates are unwilling to make. Nor are political leaders keen to push for this, as it might generate significant unemployment, and endanger the kickbacks often provided to local governments in exchange for agribusiness permits.
- The industry successfully worked to deflect bird flu governance away from the corporate sector onto 'backyard' farmers, who are largely the victims of H5N1 outbreaks originating on commercial farms.
  - Reflecting the political and economic interests at stake, Indonesia's national committee drafted an action plan that focused on the backyard sector. Dependent on national-level support, international agencies accepted this position as the baseline for their intervention.
  - The sector's political allies also resisted efforts to pass a tough animal health law that empowered veterinarians, delaying it for three years.
  - Even as new governance structures emerged, conglomerates reportedly used their power and connections to corrupt or oust national-level officials who might target their interests.<sup>13</sup>
  - Commercial farms have also been protected by district-level governments. These have passed local laws that effectively bar veterinarians from inspecting commercial facilities without owners' permission. They also keep veterinary services underfunded and subordinated to animal husbandry officials who are inclined to prioritise local economic development over tackling disease.

Overall, these pressures channelled governance transformation towards backyard poultry

<sup>13</sup> Forster, Paul and Olivier Charnoz (2013) 'Producing Knowledge in Times of Health Crises: Insights from the international response to avian influenza in Indonesia', *Revue D'anthropologie des Connaissances* 7(1): w-az.



production. Village farmers were thereby subjected to intensive, internationalised surveillance, compulsory vaccination and culls, but the commercial sector remained untouched.

In 2009, a review identified commercial farms as the main source of H5N1. However, while some donors, notably USAID, have subsequently tried to engage these agribusinesses directly, their efforts have failed miserably. Conglomerates still have little direct interest in tackling bird flu, or sharing their profits more widely to enable smallholders to improve their farms. Nor do their political patrons face any significant domestic pressure to reverse their protection of the sector.

### Recommendations for Policymakers

To become more effective, policymakers and practitioners promoting new governance systems to tackle transboundary security problems should recognise more explicitly the intrinsically political nature of their activity, and plan accordingly. No intervention, no matter how technical or commonsensical it appears, is without political, ideological and distributional implications. In the avian influenza case, for example, managing the spread of the disease in poultry farms required confronting the interests of a large and politically well-connected industry. Since changing regulations would raise their costs, they resisted. The FAO and WHO technical intervention was thus funnelled away from the corporate sector and towards weaker, backyard farmers – leaving the governance systems it constructed unable to tackle bird flu effectively.

Fundamentally, practitioners must recognise that their activity is not technical, but political: it seeks to transform state apparatuses, thereby reallocating power and resources, in order to change social and political outcomes. This would generate better planning and implementation.

Intervention should begin with a detailed political economy analysis of a specific NTS issue area in a given country to identify:

- the structural drivers generating the threat;
- the key interests to be reckoned with in trying to manage it;
- the forces available as partners in this goal; and
- the strategies that might be most useful in pursuing it.

NTS governance projects should be understood as interventions in a situation of dynamic, ongoing social conflict in deeply unequal societies.<sup>14</sup> Different social groups possess widely different power, resources and interests, and a dispassionate, hard-headed analysis is required to identify where change is possible and who will and can deliver it. External agencies must eschew their typical preference for finding and aligning with ideologically committed partners – typically, likeminded experts and technocrats. These groups, although usually supportive, are typically too weak to alter prevailing power structures. For example, although the Indonesian Veterinary Medicine Association enthusiastically supported FAO and WHO intervention around avian influenza, as a politically weak organisation, its capacity to help them realise their objectives was very limited.<sup>15</sup> Instead, interveners should focus on building *tactical* alliances, which may be based on a narrow or temporary convergence of interests, with a variety of social groups capable of helping them attain *limited and achievable outcomes*. Realistic outcomes need to be identified on the basis of what is plausibly achievable, given interveners' resources and the kinds of coalitions they can reasonably expect to assemble. Some of the groups interveners must engage may not be their preferred

<sup>14</sup> This is based on Hutchison, Jane, Wil Hout, Caroline Hughes and Richard Robison (2014). *Political Economy and the Aid Industry in Asia*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>15</sup> Hameiri and Jones, 'The Political Economy of Non-Traditional Security'.





partners, but they are necessary to create the political leverage required to enact meaningful change in specific areas, and/or to help find creative ways to secure the buy-in of sceptical or hostile groups capable of overwhelming local political economy considerations. Furthermore, as the situations we are observing are dynamic, external agencies must continue to closely monitor developments and adjust their tactical alliances and objectives accordingly.

This is a tall order, reflecting the deep challenges associated with governing NTS. External interveners simply cannot dictate the outcome of security governance innovations, which are powerfully conditioned by local power relations. Thus, they must choose their battles carefully, identifying and targeting areas where potential coalitions exist to enact real change, and avoiding areas where there is no realistic prospect of change to avoid wasting energies and resources.

This approach would also require a sea-change in the way many of the agencies of powerful states and international organisations operate. Too often they are excessively focused on expending their budgets and scoring quantifiable but superficial ‘quick wins’ – number of officials trained, capacity-building workshops held, reports submitted, and so on – to engage in the hard, long and often fruitless task of political coalition-building. Often, their personnel work in institutional and bureaucratic contexts that make it difficult to operate otherwise. However, the perceived urgency of NTS threats may help capable policymakers to push for creative experimentation. Certainly this is imperative if these threats are to be tackled effectively.

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