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Heiduk, Felix (ed.) (2014), *Security Sector Reform in Southeast Asia: From Policy to Practice*

Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, ISBN 978-0-230-22896-2, 264 pages

Successful security sector reform (SSR) has been regarded as essential to achieve a successful transition from authoritarianism to democracy. However, the scholarly focus has appeared to be somewhat limited: whilst there have been numerous in-depth case studies assessing military reform, there has been an absence of analysis within the other fields of SSR. Felix Heiduk, together with the individual chapter authors, moves to remedy this and widen the scholarly focus in this highly original and engaging examination of SSR in Southeast Asia. The authors refreshingly break from the military-centred approaches that dominate existing examinations, and instead offer analysis based on various policy areas. The book contains 10 chapters, each of which analyses a specific part of SSR, including local ownership, executive and legislative control of security forces, gender and police reform, and the role of civil society. The book moves away from the restriction of simply assessing the role of government and military generals, instead widening the scope to include intelligence agencies, civil society, and the police.

The book also breaks with tradition and moves away from an assessment of outcomes, focusing instead on process. The majority of scholars examine SSR primarily by comparing the output of implemented reforms with the official reform objectives and targets laid out in official documentation. However, Heiduk et al. take a more sophisticated process-based approach. This allows for an assessment of how SSR is interpreted and subsequently implemented, and a focus on whether there has been a transition from policy to practice.

The empirical chapters trace the policy process, thereby identifying the shifts that take place in the transfer of SSR norms from the international to the domestic sphere, the domestic institutional contexts in which these reforms take place, and the impact of these changes on SSR. This allows a far more real-life practitioner-based approach to governance developments within Southeast Asia. With its refreshing approach, this book advances considerably on the existing literature and goes a ways towards bridging the gap between academics and practitioners.

The book declares that it sets out to address various sets of critical questions or, as the author terms them, puzzles. Puzzle one: how have SSRs been turned from policy to practice? Puzzle two: how have key actors in the process interpreted SSR? If the interpretations differ, what alternative interpretations can be found? Puzzle three: what has been the

outcome of the SSRs within their principal context? And how can we explain the outcomes? In order to address the three puzzles, the book is divided into 10 chapters.

Chapter one provides an overview of SSR in Southeast Asia and challenges the narrow approach of the scholarly literature to date, suggesting that there is a need to move away from a restricting theoretical approach. It emphasises that academic attention has been somewhat limited because of its tendency to focus solely on reforms “directed at the military apparatus” (p. 10). Heiduk argues that this limited focus has “marginalized various other ongoing reforms [and] [...] shifted attention away from other national actors involved” (p. 12). Moving away from the narrow focus of contemporary analysis, Heiduk provides a “whole-of-government approach,” analysing the role of all actors, both military and civilian, involved in the security sector (p. 12). The subsequent chapters demonstrate how a new approach can be effectively undertaken.

Chapter two, by Hernandez, is a general overview of SSR in Southeast Asia. It provides a historical account of external SSR since the Second World War, before discussing patterns that arise in countries making a transition from authoritarianism to democracy. The chapter argues that whilst SSR was slow to develop in Southeast Asia, it has gained impetus through the support of various actors in recent years. The chapter ends by outlining the future developments and challenges for SSR in the region.

Chapter three continues along the lines of chapter one and discusses the contested character of SSR. Krepel, the chapter’s author, provides an engaging analysis of the normative debates surrounding SSR, including the applicability, and suitability, of Western concepts and models in Asia (pp. 72–77). Krepel argues that Western actors have obstructed the implementation of SSR in non-Western states by failing to fully appreciate the uniqueness of other countries. The chapter ends by claiming that local ownership is critical to achieving successful SSR changes and advancements (p. 75).

In chapter four, Kocak and Kode use Thailand as their case study to demonstrate the importance of a historically informed analysis of state–society relations and to provide a thorough assessment of the preconditions for the implementation of SSR. The authors use the model of “path dependency” to highlight critical moments throughout Thailand’s history.

Chapter five is an excellent analysis by Chambers of the attempt by the post-Marcos government in the Philippines to establish civilian control over the armed forces. Here the significant role of the executive in

achieving successful SSR is examined. The author uses Huntington's distinction between subjective and objective control over the armed forces, applying it to the post-Marcos government to show that where the executive was effective in applying control, this success was frequently based on the informal cooperation of high-ranking military offices and the political elite, and therefore subjective by nature. Chambers also demonstrates that where civil control was established, it was a result of informal strategies of cooperation, acquiescence, and appeasement. He concludes by arguing that whilst these subjective control techniques may have been sufficient in preventing a coup d'état, they were insufficient in creating entrenched and sustainable forms of civilian control.

In chapter six, Fabio Scarpello delivers an informative and engaging examination of the role of civil society organisations (CSOs) during the first six years of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's term, from 2004–2010. The chapter argues that CSOs played a significant role in monitoring state institutional reforms during the initial years of *reformasi*. However, this early progress was not sustained; instead, organisations became “locked in a downward spiral of decreasing effectiveness” (p.138). Scarpello argues that the decreasing effectiveness and shrinking scope of CSOs was the result of an absence of interest from President Yudhoyono and the Indonesian parliament, and the decline in international pressure for SSR. Scarpello hints at a mixed picture, highlighting an active SSR-CSO community that pushed its role as a watchdog but did not have any real influence on policymaking.

In chapter seven, Carolin Liss focuses on the use of private security/military companies in Indonesia's maritime sector. Liss makes a substantial contribution to the literature, focusing on an area that has to date been under-studied. As Liss states, the focus has so far been on “the transformation of the public security sector,” whilst the private security sector has been largely ignored (p. 160). Using Indonesia as a case study, Liss superbly demonstrates that the private security sector plays a crucial role in “either supporting or undermining reform efforts” (p. 160) and therefore needs to be integrated into the literature on SSR.

Chapter eight makes another substantial contribution to the field by also engaging with a relatively under-examined area. Myrntinen offers an insightful examination of gender mainstreaming in security sector policy reform. The chapter compares gender mainstreaming in the reform process of the national police vis-à-vis the UN, and more specifically, the United Nations Police stationed in Timor-Leste. Myrntinen states that the implementation of gender mainstreaming in Timor-Leste has been “patchy and narrow” (p. 188); the focus has been largely limited to in-

creasing the number of female officers in the National Police Force and reducing the rate of gender-related abuse. However, the Timorese government has attempted to take other steps. For example, Prime Minister Xanana Gusmão has supported the process through ministerial appointments. In 2012 Maria Domingas Fernandes Alves was asked to take on the role of defence minister. Though she declined the position, the proposed appointment not only represented an attempt to incorporate women into the security sector but also provoked discussion about the role of women in the sector. The chapter finishes by suggesting that the international community has made far less headway towards integrating gender issues into SSR than has Timor-Leste.

In chapter nine, Lemay-Herbert continues the book's examination of Timor-Leste, discussing the success and failure of UN engagement in SSR. Here the difficulties experienced by the UN in creating, and strengthening, stable security institutions are explored. Lemay-Herbert argues that in order to understand the demise of the country's security institutions we need to take into consideration the role of "international adviser fatigue." The author highlights the fact that whilst the UN was welcomed in 1999, by 2001 it was perceived by some as engaging in "neo-colonialism." He explores international-local relations, providing the reader with insight into the factors that impede efforts to achieve SSR.

The only criticism of the book is that it appears to suffer slightly from the absence of a shared analytical base. Heiduk, in the introduction, chapter 10, and the conclusion, makes a clear attempt to sew the chapters together and weave a consistent narrative, but he is not entirely successful. Whilst each chapter is superb in its own right, the book reads more like a collection of conference papers on the theme of SSR than a coherent book. This is manifested in the frequent repetition of certain discussions, and in the different definitions of concepts used by several of the authors. However, the book, or series of chapters, makes a significant contribution to our understanding of SSR. Each chapter is accessible, engaging, and insightful, and will surely spark interest and further analysis.

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