

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF POST COLD WAR EMERGING DIMENSIONS OF SECURITY: A CASE STUDY OF SOCIETAL SECURITY IN KENYA

By

**Johnson F. Ododa Opiyo
R47/60023/2008**

Supervisor

Prof. Makumi Mwagiru

Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Award of the Postgraduate Diploma in Strategic Studies, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi

SEPTEMBER 2008



11-27-77

88

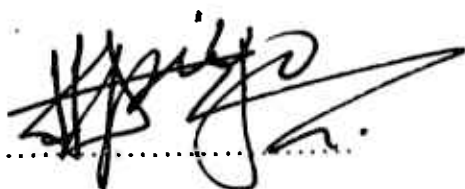
52

1153

406

DECLARATION

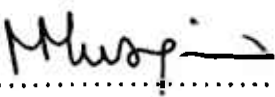
This project is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other University

Signature.....

Date..... 20 Nov 08

Johnson F. Ododa Opiyo

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University Supervisor

Signature.....

Date..... 26 Nov 2008

Prof. Makumi Mwagiru

Dedication

I dedicate this project to the members of my immediate family for understanding, encouragement and putting up with my constant demands while working on the project and at the same time missing my presence at home.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I sincerely acknowledge my indebtedness to a number of institutions and people for opportunity and facilities to undertake this study. I am thankful to the University of Nairobi for admitting me for this program. In the same token, my special thanks go to the Defence Staff College, and its staff for offering me the opportunity to participate both in the Grade Two Staff Course and the University of Nairobi program. Special thanks go to my fellow participants of Course 24-2008 at Defence Staff College, Karen for engaging me in serious academic debates about security.

I attribute the success of this piece of research to my supervisor Professor Makumi Mwangi. He provided a very understanding atmosphere from the initial to the final stages of my project. I must thank him for his overall guidance, encouraging comments and suggestions, which boosted my morale and enabled me to complete my project on time. I also thank him for taking time out of his busy schedule to read the draft chapters of this project and then guided me on the way forward towards refinement of the thesis. Special thanks goes to my family without whose support, I would not have gone this far. I will never forget their enriching prayers, sacrifice in the face of my absence from home, patience and support that they gave me during this study.

Abstract

The main purpose of this study is to investigate the societal dimensions of security in Kenya. In achieving this objective, the study has examined the debates relating to the concept of security. The study acknowledges that the understanding and the conceptualization of the term security is contested. The contestation arises from the neglect of the field of security studies for along time in favour of other subject areas in International Relations and the predominance of the state as the principal referent object of security. In the ensuing debates, this study recognizes the widened approach to the study of security in which issues in the sectors of economics, environment, society, political, in addition to the military are considered. In addition, the study recognizes the emergence of the concept of human security which while advocates for protection of fundamental freedoms, further broadens the conceptual lenses from which to examine the concept of security.

The debates on the societal dimensions of security are driven by putting the individual as the referent object of security and more specifically examining existential threats to matters of identity. Thus societal security issues are considered as those matters that threaten the survival of the society's identity, and therefore warrant some serious action above normal politics. Given the understanding of the concept of security and how the securitization process can be applied to a specific referent object, this study has identified corruption as a societal security issue in Kenya. The study concludes that, corruption, as an event put through the securitization process indeed passes as a societal security matter. The existence of corruption in Kenya and the existential threat it poses to the Kenyan society touches on the core values of Kenyans.

List of Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immunized Deficiency Syndrome.
IDIS	Institute fo Diplomacy and International Studies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IR	International Relations
KACA	Kenya Anti Corruption Authority
PAC	Public Accounts Committee
PIC	Public Investment Committee
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Developmment Program
UNHDR	United Nation Human Development Report
US	United States of America.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Cover Page	i
Declarations	ii
Dedications	iii
Acknowledgement	iv
Abstract	v
List of Abbreviations.....	vi
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION, LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	
Introduction	1
Literature Review	3
The Research Problem.....	15
Objectives	15
Hypothesis	15
The Theoretical Framework	16
Chapter Outline	17
CHAPTER TWO: EMERGING DIMENSIONS OF SECURITY AND ENSUING DEBATES	
Introduction	18
Human Security	18
Debates on Political, Economic and Environmental Security.....	25
The securitisation Process	25
Debates on Environmental Security.....	27

Debates on Political Security.....	30
------------------------------------	----

Debates on Economic Security.....	33
-----------------------------------	----

CHAPTER THREE: DEBATES ON SOCIETAL SECURITY

Introduction.....	36
-------------------	----

Development of Societal Security.....	38
---------------------------------------	----

Identity and Security Analysis.....	40
-------------------------------------	----

Human security and Societal security.....	44
---	----

Conclusions.....	47
------------------	----

CHAPTER FOUR: THE SOCIETAL DIMENSIONS OF SECURITY IN

KENYA

Introduction.....	50
-------------------	----

Securitisation.....	51
---------------------	----

Localising Theory to Kenyan Security Circumstances.....	54
---	----

The Speech Act.....	56
---------------------	----

Securitisation and Societal Dimension of Security in Kenya.....	57
---	----

Corruption as an Aspect of Societal security in Kenya.....	57
--	----

Securitisation of Corruption in Kenya.....	59
--	----

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS	64
--	----

BIBLIOGRAPHY	70
---------------------------	----

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION, LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The concepts of security and insecurity have been forever associated with scholarly contemplation in international relations. Thucydides wrote that real reason for the Peloponnesian War was linked to rising insecurity among the Spartans; what made war inevitable were the growth of Athenian power and the fear, which this caused in Sparta.¹

More than two millennia later, a similar idea is echoed; the feeling of insecurity, and the fears which it engenders, are undoubtedly the strongest potential causes of war in the world today.² Nonetheless, the conceptual arena of security has remained impoverished by the reluctance of international relations scholars to subject it to thorough scrutiny and sustained examination. It should be observed, for example, that the most influential textbook in international relations, such as Morgenthau's *Politics Among Nations*, does not address the idea of security directly. For the most part, the analysis of security was married to the dominant state-

¹ Baylis John, and Smith, S., (2001)' Introduction' in Smith, S. and John Baylis, (eds.) *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, London: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-12.

² Carr, E. H.,(2001), *The 'Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* With a New Introduction by Michael Cox, New York: Palgrave.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION, LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The concepts of security and insecurity have been forever associated with scholarly contemplation in international relations. Thucydides wrote that real reason for the Peloponnesian War was linked to rising insecurity among the Spartans; what made war inevitable were the growth of Athenian power and the fear, which this caused in Sparta.¹

More than two millennia later, a similar idea is echoed; the feeling of insecurity, and the fears which it engenders, are undoubtedly the strongest potential causes of war in the world today.² Nonetheless, the conceptual arena of security has remained impoverished by the reluctance of international relations scholars to subject it to thorough scrutiny and sustained examination. It should be observed, for example, that the most influential textbook in international relations, such as Morgenthau's *Politics Among Nations*, does not address the idea of security directly. For the most part, the analysis of security was married to the dominant state-

¹ Baylis John, and Smith, S., (2001) 'Introduction' in Smith, S. and John Baylis, (eds.) *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, London: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-12.

² Carr, E. H.,(2001), *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* With a New Introduction by Michael Cox, New York: Palgrave.

centric/anarchic-systemic model of international relations.³ Outside this realist framework, the concept of security has been emptied of meaning or sensibility.

This condition started to change by the early 1980s through a number of debates. Initially, a group of scholars began to systematically redefine the concept of security in a manner that directed attention towards the limited opportunity that military responses offered to security problems. The primary role of such activity was to redefine security in terms of an expanded idea to threat, with the implication of these efforts questioning the appropriateness of military solutions to matters of security. With the emergence of a clear post-positivist trend within IR by the late 1980s, a number of scholars began re definitional efforts along conceptual and empirical grounds. These latter, yielded important intellectual sanction for political movements, including women's organizations, labour groups, the urban poor and the ecological movement, that often considered ideas of security within the context of a broader and wider agenda.

International relations literature has currently reached at diverse points, that is, has currently reached where the breadth of intellectual activity regarding security reflects a wider scope to include matters in politics, environment, economics, societal in addition to the military. The exposition of the widened examination of security and the debates form the full scope of this thesis. Examining the main stream theoretical and conceptual debates has been at the fore front of the development of security

³ Morgenthau, H., (2001) *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* , New Delhi: Ludhianna.

studies. This study intends to examine in details the societal aspects of national security emanating from the wider debates on the concept of security.

Literature Review

The literature review encompasses examination of the major debates on the the concept of security and the emerging dimensions of security. Perhaps the most striking thing about the concept of security is its under treatment under discussions in IR. Although always implicitly central to any analytical framework within the field of international relations, the need to develop the concept of security appears to have been overridden by the attention given to the more central organizing concept of power. It is instructive to observe that the main textbooks in international relations failed to explore the concept of security directly.⁴

Barry Buzan has identified five reasons for the conceptual underdevelopment of security. First, the idea of security has been often considered too complex and has therefore been bypassed in favour of more manageable ideas. Secondly, he notes the overlap between the concept of security and that of power. In the realist accepted belief, Buzan writes, that power dominated both as an end and as a means. Security therefore shrank conceptually to being a way of saying either how well any particular state or allied group of states was doing in the struggle for power, or how stable the balance of power overall appeared to be.⁵ As a third point, Buzan notes that the

⁴ See for example Carr, E. H., (2001), *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* With a New Introduction by Michael Cox, New York: Palgrave, and Morgenthau, H.,(2001) *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* , New Delhi: Ludhianna.

⁵ Barry Buzan, (1983), *People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*, Wheatsheaf Books, p. 7.

assortment of revolts against the realist tradition within international relations have tended to shy away from the concept of security. With respect to the literature on interdependence, for example, he notes that the inclination was to push the traditional, military power-oriented realist model into the background, seeing its competitive, fragmented, force-based approach as increasingly irrelevant to the interwoven network world of international political economy.⁶

The nature of Strategic Studies as a sub-field lies in IR is behind the fourth reason for the conceptual underdevelopment surrounding security. Buzan notes that Strategic Studies at some point conventionally offered a shorter term policy oriented perspective, directly linked to state defense needs, and had primary concern with military matters. As Buzan notes; Security is about much more than military capability and relations, and this ... has made Strategic Studies an infertile seedbed for the further growth of the concept of security. Finally, and perhaps most provocatively, Buzan claims that any definitiveness around the idea of security would undermine the utility derived from its symbolic ambiguity;

‘an undefined notion of national security offers scope for power-maximising strategies to political and military elites, because of the considerable leverage over domestic affairs which can be obtained by invoking it. While such leverage may sometimes be justified, as in the case of Britain's mobilisation during the second World War, the natural ambiguity of foreign threats during peacetime makes it easy to disguise more sinister intentions in the cloak of national security... Cultivation of hostile images abroad can justify intensified political surveillance, shifts of resources to the military, and other such

⁶ Ibid., p. 8.

policies with deep implications for the conduct of domestic political life. At an extreme, the need for national security can even be evoked as a reason for not discussing it.⁷

Consequently, for most of the post World War II period, the field of international relations paradoxically employed the concept of security but failed to subject it to any critical scrutiny.

In an attempt to clarify the idea of national security, Wolfers identifies three distinct phases through which decision makers must pass. First, he speaks of security in terms of the protection of national values previously acquired, thus a nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values. While these values are not a given for Wolfers, which is, that decision makers must define them, it is clear this difficulty should not be overdrawn. He, as a matter of fact stresses that national independence must rank high not merely for its own sake but for the guarantee it may offer to values like liberty, justice, and peace.⁸ Secondly, the appropriate level of security must be targeted by decision makers in recognition of the fact that efforts for security are bound to be experienced as a burden.⁹ Wolfers writes that a number of different factors including the salience of external threats, national character and convention influence the degree of security that a nation

⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

⁸ Wolfers, Arnold, (1962), *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, pp. 163-164.

⁹ Ibid., p. 153.

targets. Finally, decision makers must find the means to obtain the targeted level of security as;

‘it may be good advice in one instance to appear for greater effort and more armaments; it may be no less expedient and morally advisable in another instance to call for moderation and for greater reliance on means other than coercive power.’¹⁰

Consequently, Wolfers drew attention to the political nature of appeals to national security, and attempted to minimize this ambiguity by identifying the process through which national security could be established.

For a long time, the concept of security remained in an emaciated state for most of the Cold-War period. Beginning in the late 1970s and continuing throughout the 1980s, however, there has been much intellectual activity around the concept of security. This intellectual effort received stimulus from three high profiles on security. The first was the Brundtland Report by the World Commission on the Environment and Development entitled ‘Our Common Future’. The second was the Palme Report by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues entitled *Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival*.¹¹ These studies contained a number of pivotal themes, especially the need to demilitarize the concept of security, that were simultaneously scrutinized in the scholarly literature.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 165.

¹¹ *Our Common Future: World Commission on Environment and Development*, (1982) [Chairman Gro Harlem Brundtland, Norway] (Oxford University Press, 1987); *Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival*, [Palme Report], Oslo: Simon and Schuster.

This revitalized inquiry into security contains two basic directions. The first concerns the attempt to afford the concept its due by expanding its relevance in international relations theory. The second and most importantly, are focused upon the need to expand the definition of the concept of security beyond its more conventional militaristic connotations. The first theme develops the status of the concept of security in international relations. The first attempt at this may be found in Barry Buzan's work who begins by noting that the basic concepts of power and peace have dominated the field of international relations for a long time. The concept of power emphasizes the parts of the international system at the expense of the whole, and the dynamic of conflict at the expense of harmony. It does, however, identify a factor which is universal both as a motive for behaviour and as a description of the relative status of actors.¹²

In view of this conceptual inability to be examined thoroughly, Buzan offers the concept of security as a synthesis between the two contending poles. He begins by observing that the struggle for security is a basic condition of international relations, the basic problem, which underlies almost all interest in international relations, is insecurity. He stresses that the power perspective and the peace perspective are valuable to the extent that they have offered insight on this basic problem. Nevertheless, their ability to address the struggle for security is insufficient. The power and peace perspectives have at best offered a partial view of the security

¹² Barry Buzan, (1984), "Peace, Power, and Security: Contending Concepts in the Study of International Relations," *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 21 No. 2.

problem. Buzan stresses the need to view the struggle for state security as an impetus by itself; if security is recognised as an important motive for behavior in the international system, then it provides a view of international relations which is quite distinct from that which sees security merely as a possible outcome of power relations. Through the examination of security as a broader behavioural motive for states, then, Buzan blends the power-realist- and Peace-Idealist- perspectives in order to create a realist-idealism.¹³

Mohammed Ayoob's work on the Third World also offers an opportunity to see the concept of security assigned a weightier role in the behavioural nature of states. Ayoob posits the concept of security as the matrix of state behaviour. Ayoob contends that the seemingly contradictory behaviour of Third World states as an intrusive collectivity bent on reordering the international order on the one hand and as individual states trying to maintain some semblance of political and economic stability on the other are manifestations of two sides of the same security coin for these new members¹⁴ of the system of states.¹⁵

More specifically, the struggle to reorder the rules more favorably to Third World states reflects the struggle for international status. The perceived security if not the survival of these states, he writes, hinges upon the terms on which they interact

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ The Third World States especially in Africa got independence in 1960's therefore they are considered new in the international system.

¹⁵ Mohammed Ayoob, (1995) *The Third World Security Predicament: State Making, Regional Conflict and International System*, Boulder CO.: Lynne Rienner,.

with the dominant powers of the global north. At the same time, the salience of internal security threats predisposes individual Third World states to protect the world order as far as possible. Ayooob concludes that the contradictory behaviour is more apparent than real, reflecting basic considerations of security in both cases. Ayooob also suggests that security concerns are the driving force of state behaviour, and that considerations of power and status take on an important role. In the end, Morgenthau's axiom of 'interest defined' as power is dramatically reworded as interest defined as security.¹⁶

Another writer notes that much writing and most political debates about national security policy seemed obsessed in the era of strategic studies with the inputs to military defense such as weapons systems, manpower, logistics, and research and development on military technology and the planning, strategy, and tactics of organized violence.¹⁷ In his assessment of the concept of security, Richard Ullman argues that American national security has been defined in excessively narrow and excessively military terms.¹⁸ Ullman adds that militaristic notions of security guide American political leaders, and may cause them to miss potentially even more harmful dangers while leading to the excessive militarization of international affairs.

¹⁶ Ibid and Morgenthau, H., (2001) *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* , New Delhi: Ludhianna.

¹⁷ Abdul-Monem M. Al-Mashat, (1985), *National Security in the Third World*, London: Westview Press, p. 34.

¹⁸ Richard H. Ullman,(Summer 1983) 'Redefining Security', *International Security* Vol. 8, No.1, pp. 129-153: 132.

In order to avoid this path Ullman explicitly calls for a more comprehensive definition of security.¹⁹

As part of this expanded notion of security these writers focus upon an expanded notion of threat. The logic behind this move is rather straightforward. If threats are no longer of a military nature, then a military response is simply inappropriate. An illustration suffices, in the context of oil supplies, as Baldwin demonstrates this logic; the overwhelmingly military approach to national security is based on the assumption that the principal threat to security comes from other states. Nevertheless, the threat to security may now arise less from the relationship of nation to nation and more from the relationship of man to nature. Dwindling reserves of oil ... now threaten the security of nations everywhere.²⁰ National security cannot be maintained unless national economies can be sustained, but, unfortunately, the health of many economies cannot be sustained much longer without major adjustments. All advanced industrial economies are fuelled primarily by oil, a resource that is being depleted. While military strategists have worried about the access of industrial economies to Middle Eastern oil, another more serious threat, the eventual exhaustion of the world's oil supplies, has been moving to the fore.²¹

Another example of an expanded notion of threat may be found in Azar and Moon. Working with an expanded concept of security which includes military,

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 134.

²⁰ Baldwin, David, A., (1997) 'The Concept of Security' *The Review of International Studies* Vol., 23, pp. 117-141.

²¹ Ibid., p. 137.

economic, ecological and ethnic considerations, Azar and Moon argue that there is a need to examine the complexity which surround the nature of threats. Each dimension of security, they argue, has an array of corresponding threat types requiring different policies. A military threat may be overt and internal, for example, economic threats can be subtle and internal in nature. According to Azar and Moon, in order to understand the security dilemma as it faces most Third World states, there is need to consider these subtle and complex internal threats.²²

Beginning in the late 1970s and continuing throughout the 1980s, an attempt was made to revive and rework the concept of security. The task was largely related to finding the appropriate definition of national security. This approach sought to provide an expanded view of threats to states, and thereby stressed that the security response of states must move beyond the narrow military realm. The problem of national security was uncritically accepted as the central animating concern. The highly political, but seldom recognized, assumption that the problem of security for the state, operationalized and addressed in terms of the national security problematic, should form the legitimate point of scholarly departure was never called into question.²³

Within the context of this uncritical posing of the fundamental issue writers drew attention to politically suspect definitions of national security. In the absence of a consensus on fundamental issues and in the absence of open political debate and

²² Edward Azar and Chung-In Moon, (1988) *Rethinking Third World Security*, London; Edward Elgar Publishing.

²³ Ibid.

contest, many of these -Third World-states have been ruled by regimes with narrow support bases - both politically and socially - which usually come to power by means of a *coup d'état* and which hang on so tenaciously to office that they have to be, more often than not, physically liquidated to pave the way for any form of political transition. Since it is these regimes, and their bureaucratic and intellectual hangers-on, who define the threats to the security of their respective states, it is no wonder that they define it primarily in terms of regime security rather than the security of the society as a whole. Security ... has been traditionally defined as the protection and preservation of core values.²⁴

However, in the case of many Third World states, the core values of the regime - with self preservation at the very core of this core - are often at extreme variance with the core values cherished by large segments of the populations over whom they rule. Once again, given these discrepancies in the definition of core values and, indeed, of security itself, it is no wonder that major threats to the security of these regimes emanate from within their own societies.²⁵ This demonstrates that the attention to the political nature of security problems, and acknowledge that other subjects of security must be considered. Nonetheless, there is no meaningful movement in the literature away from the view that the national security problem is basic and fundamental. From the literature, there is acknowledgement that some

²⁴ Mohammed Ayoob, (1986) "Regional Security and the Third World," in *Regional Security in the Third World*, London: Westview Press.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11

definitions of national security can be seriously called into question, as been argued above.

In his later works, Barry Buzan presents the dominating issues of the concept of security that feature prominently within the idea of national security. Thinking about security through a national approach easily led to the pre-occupation with security, whereas in the real world of everyday human existence, people were affected by threats in the political, economic, societal and environmental areas as well.²⁶ Buzan therefore argues that, in today's world, the national security problem needs to be seen in terms of general systemic security agenda in which individuals, state and the system all play a part, and in which economic, societal and environmental factors can be as important as political and military ones.²⁷ Buzan's presentation raises two important aspects in discourse about security; first, he raises the level at which security should be assessed, whether at individual, national, or international levels. And secondly, Buzan proposed a broadening of the number of the domains in which security threats should be perceived. Thus, according to Buzan, the security of human collectivities is affected by factors in five major sectors;

'military security concerns the two level interplay of armed offensive and defensive capabilities of states and states' perceptions of each other's intentions. Political security concerns access to the organizational stability of states, systems of government and the ideologies that give them legitimacy. Economic sector concerns access

²⁶ Buzan, Barry, (1991), *Peoples, States and Fear*, op cit , p.15.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 368.

to resources, finance and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power. Societal security concerns the sustainability, within acceptable conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture and religious and national identity and custom. And environmental security concerns the maintenance of local and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend.²⁸

Buzan suggests that there are three main reasons for wanting to broaden the concept of security. First, broadening was needed in order to capture the changing realities of the world. Second, he argued that the concept had useful political qualities. Various groups in society would want to securitise, particular issues in order to make governments prioritize them. Third, security and potential as an integrative concept for international relations as a field of inquiry and notoriously fluid boundaries. Buzan argues that the 'rising density of international system is producing new realities. By density he meant the frequency and complexity of the networks of interaction that tie the international system together. In other words, the continuing effects of interdependence.²⁹ From the literature, there is evidence of a large number of writers that discuss the concept of security as relates to threats in a number of ways. There is however, no literature that enlightens on the discursive issues as relates to the societal aspects of security in Kenya. It is this gap that this study intends to capture.

²⁸ Ibid, pp. 19-20.

²⁹ Sheehan, Michael (2006) *International Security: An Analytical Survey* London: Lynne Rienner Publishers. pp. 46-47.

The Research Problem

The most recent approach in the study of security is the attempt by wideners to explain the concept of security in terms of the sectors such as the environment, economics, politics, societal in addition to the military. This study investigates the societal aspects of national security in Kenya. The understanding of the concept of security has for along time been contested, and this has therefore made it difficult to analyze it as a discipline. There are a number of conceptual and theoretical attempts at understanding security. Taking the wider approach to the study of security, The contested nature of the concept of security has made it possible to critically consider security in its simplest terms and examining the societal dimension of security serves this purpose.

Objectives

Three objectives are to be examined as follows; to examine conceptual debates in security, to examine emerging aspects of national security and to examine the societal dimensions of national security in Kenya.

Hypothesis

In order to achieve the objectives of this study, the following hypotheses will be examined; national security is a function of societal aspect of security, in post Cold War era, societal security aspects are increasingly dominating politics and lastly, there is no relationship between societal security and national security.

Theoretical Framework

This study uses the wider agenda of the examination of security as the theoretical framework. The wider agenda keeps the security agenda open to examination in many different threats in addition to threats emanating from the military. For the wider agenda, existential threat can only be understood in relation to the particular character of the referent object in question. In this study, the referent object is the state, Kenya and therefore understanding the existential security threat would imply that the characters of the state that involve economics, politics, environment, societal in addition to the military are considered.

These aspects can be divided for the purpose of analysis but still remain apart of the whole. In this case then

‘military security concerns the two level interplay of armed offensive and defensive capabilities of states and states’ perceptions of each other’s intentions. Political security concerns access to the organizational stability of states, systems of government and the ideologies that give them legitimacy. Economic sector concerns access to resources, finance and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power. Societal security concerns the sustainability, within acceptable conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture and religions and national identity and custom. And environmental security concerns the maintenance of local and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend.³⁰

From the above discourse then the study examines the aspect of societal of security issues to explain the security as a phenomena in Kenya.

³⁰ Buzan, Barry, (1991) *Peoples, States and Fear*, op. cit , pp. 19-20. See also Buzan, Barry, Ole Waever and Jaap deWilde, (1998), *Security: A New Framework of Analysis* London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

The basis of traditional examination of security relied on the traditional-military political understanding of security. In this context, security is about the survival. It is when an issue is presented as posing existential threat to a designated referent object-traditionally, but not necessarily, the state, incorporating government, territory and society. The special nature of security threats justifies the use of extraordinary measures to handle them. The invocation of security has been the key to legitimizing use of force. Traditionally, by saying that security a state representative declares an emergency condition, thus claiming a right to use whatever means are necessary to block a threatening development.

Chapter Outline

This study is organized into five substantive Chapters. This part forms chapter one which discusses the introduction, theoretical framework and literature review. Chapter Two examines the emerging debates and dimensions of security, Chapter Three critically examines societal security debates, Chapter Four examines the societal dimensions of security in Kenya and finally the conclusion forms Chapter five. The thesis will also have a section on the bibliography.

CHAPTER TWO

EMERGING DIMENSIONS OF SECURITY AND ENSUING DEBATES

Introduction

This Chapter examines the emerging debates on the concept of security. The Chapter examines the debates in human security, environmental security, economic security and political security as the emerging dimensions of security. Even though there are a number of military aspects of security in the emerging debates, it is contended that this aspect of security is within the realist view of security debates.

Human Security

The concept of human security was first elaborated by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in the 1994 edition of its annual Human Development Report.¹ The report called for a reconceptualization of security, where the emphasis would shift from securing the nation-state from the threat of a nuclear attack, to protecting the human security of people. The goal of the UNDP was to improve the quality of human life by ensuring that people may live their lives in free and safe environments. This objective corresponded with the vision of former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who claimed that threats to global security extend beyond the military sphere and include phenomena such as environmental degradation, drought, and disease.²

¹ United Nations Development Program, (1994), *Human Development Report*. New York: Oxford University Press.

² United Nations Secretary-General, (1992), *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking, and Peace-keeping*. Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by

The UNDP's recommendations reflected the perspective of the 'widening' school of security studies.³ The widening school recognizes, first, that actors other than the state, such as individuals or nations, may also serve as referent objects of security; and second, that threats to security may appear in non-military as well as military forms. This approach challenged the view of the 'traditionalists', dominant during the Cold War, that the security of the state from military threats should be prioritized.⁴

Three perspectives of human security have since then emerged. The first perspective is the 'rights-based' approach to human security. The objective of this approach is to bolster normative legal frameworks at the global and regional levels, while simultaneously strengthening both human rights law and legal and judicial systems within nation-states. The second conception of human security is the 'safety of peoples' or 'freedom from fear' perspective.⁵ In this view, a clear distinction is made between combatants and non-combatants in war, and it is believed that the international community has a moral obligation to intervene in conflicts in order to protect non-combatants from endangerment.

the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992. UN General Assembly and Security Council, A/47/277-S/24111 (17 June).

³ Buzan, Barry, (1991) *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, 2nd edn. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

⁴ Walt, Steven M. (1991) 'The Renaissance of Security Studies', *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 35, pp. 211–239.

⁵ Hampson, Fen Osler, with Jean Daudelin, John B. Hay, Holly Reid and Todd Martin (2002) *Madness in the Multitude: Human Security and World Disorder*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University.

Furthermore, advocates of the safety of peoples approach argue that international interventions should go beyond the provision of emergency humanitarian relief to include efforts at addressing the underlying causes of conflicts. The third, and broadest, view of human security is the 'sustainable human development' or 'freedom from want' approach. Proponents believe that in order to address the multiple types of human security threats, humanity must first resolve fundamental problems of inequality and social injustice. As Jessica Tuchman Mathews argues, human security should be 'viewed as emerging from the conditions of daily life;- food, shelter, employment, health, public safety;-rather than flowing downward from a country's foreign relations and military strength'.⁶

Development of the human security paradigm in the early 1990s initiated a whole range of new debates in security studies, in particular, and in the discipline of International Relations, in general. The primary focus of the debates was over the fundamental questions of security for whom and how it should be viewed and achieved. The United Nations Development Program's 1994 Human Development Report, which focused exclusively on the theme of human security, occupied centre stage in the debates. The 1994 Report launched a virulent attack on the traditional realist paradigm of security and drew worldwide attention mainly because of two factors; firstly, it emphasized individuals, as opposed to states, as the fundamental referents of security; and secondly, it focused on non-military sources of insecurity that exposed individuals to perennial threats and contributed to the collapse of state

⁶ Tuchman, Mathews, Jessica, (1997), 'Power Shift', *Foreign Affairs* 76: 50–66: 51.

structures in the long term. Proponents of human security claimed a paradigm shift from traditional state-centric security to human security.

However, the identification of human security argument has become inconsistent. On the one hand, authors question the 'threat parameters' which seem too expansive. The UN's identification of seven quite specific sources of human insecurity, makes human security tenets immeasurable, and thus by implication unworkable in policy terms. What this means is that economic, food, health, environmental, personal and community sources of human insecurity⁷ are difficult to implement in terms of policy.

The notion of human security claims to bring the focus of security to the level of the individual, thereby recognizing the constraints of a solely state-oriented security perspective and acknowledging the importance of security at non-state levels. Thus, the individual or personal perspective becomes important. The concept of human security itself has also been gendered.⁸ As a widened security concept, it has become merely sentimental, feminine, utopian, and therefore incapable of transfer to the international arena for rigorous analysis.⁹ This 'feminization' of human security or a widened security concept is not meant to be complimentary. It broadens too much the concept of security to an extent that it is difficult to conceptualise thus

⁷ All identified in the UNHDR.

⁸ Hoogensen, Gunhild & Svein Vigeland Rottem, (2004) 'Gender Identity and the Subject of Security', *Security Dialogue* 35(2): 154–171.

⁹ McSweeney, Bill, (1999), *Security, Identity and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 15.

implying that human security does not measure up in order to stand the conceptual test.

The realist response to the demand for broadening the concept of security has been rather defensive. While some realists have attempted to refine the paradigm to respond to the new developments, others have come forward to resist any incorporation and to protect its original theoretical powers and purity. Barry Buzan, for example, sought to revise and reform the realist security paradigm by accepting a wider definition of security, but failed to come out of the parameters of the paradigm. He argued that 'a notion of security bound to the level of individual states and military issues is inherently inadequate' and that 'the concept of security is, in itself, a more versatile, penetrating and useful way to approach the study of international relations than either power or peace'.¹⁰ He expanded the traditional concept of military security to include the political, economic, societal and ecological dimensions of security, but the state still remained the fundamental referent of security.

Stephen Walt and Mohammed Ayooob, on the other hand, strongly argued for upholding the realist security paradigm pure and simple. Apparently, they turned a deaf ear to the changes occurring in the international security environment and were less prepared to lose the intellectual vigor and theoretical purity of their paradigm. Walt argued that the danger of war still remained as serious as in the Cold War period, and that the inclusion of non-military threats like poverty or environmental

¹⁰ Buzan, Barry, (1991), *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, op cit, p. 3.

hazards would 'destroy its intellectual coherence and make it more difficult to devise solutions to any of these important problems.'¹¹ Organized violence and risks of war, according to him, remained the central problems in human existence and there was no way to de-emphasize such problems. Similarly, Mohammed Ayoob warned against making security a catch-all concept on the grounds that an inclusive approach would not only make it elastic but also destroy its usefulness as an analytical tool. He strongly urged the security studies community to retain the state-centric and war-centric focus of the realist security paradigm.¹²

The Commission on Human Security provides a more comprehensive definition of human security. It justifies a shift in security thinking in the twenty-first century on the grounds that many states fail to fulfill their security obligations and even some states themselves endanger the security of their own citizens. The Commission emphatically defines human security as protection of 'the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment. However, it refrains from identifying or listing the 'vital core of all human lives', leaving the matter to the peoples of different societies, who will interpret it differently. The Commission further adds that;

'human security means protecting fundamental freedoms — freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical

¹¹ Walt, Steven M., (1991), 'The Renaissance of Security Studies', *International Studies Quarterly* op cit, p. 213.

¹² Ayoob, Mohammed, (1991), 'The Security Problematic of the 'Third World' *World Politics*, Vol. 43, pp. 257-283: 259.

(severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity.¹³

What merits special attention is that the paradigm of human security is characterized by a multiplicity of institutional as well as academic views and perspectives. It lacks a consensual definition, the boundaries of the very concept of security are too broad and there are no well-formulated sets of assumptions about how security for individual humans can be achieved. Its emergence was marked by a radical shift in security thinking but it gradually became watered down, just like the concept of sustainable development in development studies. The apparent reason is that the idea of human security is rooted normative values and assumptions.

In the post-Cold War context of the early 1990s, when the continued applicability of the realist security paradigm became suspect, the liberal camp pushed forward the catch-all concept of human security. The radical nature of the concept for example demanded such radical action as distributional justice, empowerment of the poor through land reforms within and across states, but the liberals were reluctant to undertake and implement such radical reforms. Consequently, the concept of human security has become de-radicalized but still remained ineluctable in the changed security context.

¹³ Commission on Human Security (2003) *Human Security Now: Protecting and Empowering The People* (New York: COMmission on Human Security). Also available at: <http://www.humansecurity-chs.org>.

The most striking features that really differentiate the human security paradigm from the realist paradigm of security are the ontological claims made by the former. The human security paradigm not only rejects state-centric security but also accepts individuals as the fundamental referents objects of security. This is indeed a radical break from the well-established realist paradigm of security. The nature and sources of threats also had to be reinvented and reinterpreted. There was an emphatic emphasis on non military sources of threats and other vulnerabilities that endangered human life and security. Naturally, the normative goal of human security has become the achievement of human political, economic, social and cultural rights that enable humans to lead a meaningful life.

Debates on Political, Economic and Environmental Security

Other emerging debates in the field of security include examination of matters that threaten the lives of people in the economic, political, environmental and military aspects of security. It should be registered out rightly that in order to carry on with debates, it is vital to consider the securitization process.

The Securitisation Process

In making a matter a security issue, it must be considered more essential than other issues and should therefore be given absolute priority. The securitisation process has at least three interconnected components. The matter must first exhibit existential threat to a referent object, it must be requiring emergency action, and lastly

it must be having effects on inter unit relations.¹⁴ The idea of securitising matters for a particular sector such as economics, environment and politics is important because, in principle, for matters to be considered as security depends upon circumstances and time. Security thus is a self-referential practice, because it is in this convention that a matter becomes security issue, not necessarily because the issue is presented as a threat.

Recognising the securitising process is crucial for this study because when an issue is identified as a security matter, it can be independently examined at one point, time and place. This then poses serious problems because, one needs to know the threshold of matters of security, and as Buzan et al explains;

‘a discourse that takes the form of presenting something as an existential threat to a referent object does not by it self create – securitisation, this is a securitising move, but the issue is securitised only if and when the audience accepts.’¹⁵

The threat evident from continual existence of an issue can then lead to detrimental damage to the referent object. In this case then, an issue is designated as a security matter because if weighed against other matters;

‘it can upset the entire process of weighing such that if the problem is not tackled, everything else will be irrelevant because the referent objects will not exist or will not be free to deal with it in their own way.’¹⁶

¹⁴ B. Buzan, et al, (1998), *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, op cit, p. 25, Accepting does not necessarily mean in civilized dominance free discussion. It only means that an order always rests on coercion as well as on consent. Since securitization can never only be imposed, there is some need to argue one’s case.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 24.

Such an argument then presents a need for clarity in securitisation process. What emerges is the requirement to grasp an issue to be identified and thus securitised as a threat that really endangers some referent objects to be defended or secured. Rather, it is to understand the process of constructing a shared understanding of what is to be considered and collectively responded to as a threat.

Debates on Environmental Security

The environmental feature of security is open to question. It is debatable because it has been difficult to locate the right place in which the environment falls as relates to security. The difficulty arises because matters of the environment present themselves as two distinct agendas: scientific and political agendas. These two agendas have only come to the fore since the United Nations Conference on Human Environment in 1972.¹⁷ This conference started to highlight the matters of the environment not necessarily as security issues but as factors that affect humanity.

The scientific agenda is basically embedded in the natural science and non-governmental organization. Within this agenda, there is an attempt to revolve outside the core of politics. The scientific agenda presents scientists and research institutions and offers a list of environmental problems that already or potentially hamper the evolution of present civilization. On the other hand, the political agenda entails governmental and intergovernmental efforts of public decision-making process and

¹⁷ J. M. Trolladen, (1993), *International Environmental Conflict Resolution*, OSLO & Washington: World Foundation for Environment and Development.

public deal with environmental concern.¹⁸ Here, for instance, matters related to the scientific agenda can be debated and certain policy processes decided. The debates occur normally in the media and conferences. In order to show the overlaps Buzan, Weaver and Wilde identify three areas that the political environmental agenda, normally addresses; first is the;

‘state and public awareness of issues on the scientific agenda—that is how much of the scientific agenda is recognised by policy makers; their electorates,-intermediaries- the press. Secondly, the acceptance of political responsibility for dealing with these issues and lastly *and most importantly*, the political management questions that rise: problems of international cooperation and institutionalisation. In particular regime formation, the effectiveness of unilateral national initiatives, distribution of costs and benefits.’¹⁹

The overlap of the scientific and political environmental agendas is complicated and requires interpretation in order to deal with the environmental issues and are broad. These range from disruption of ecosystems – which include climate changes, loss of bio-diversity, desertification, and erosion are few examples.²⁰

The environmental issues also embrace energy problems such as depletion of natural resources such as wood, fuel, pollution, population growth and consumption

¹⁸ B. Buzan, Ole Weaver and Jaap de Wilde, *Security : A New Framework of Analysis*, op cit pp. 71 – 72.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 72.

²⁰ Vicente Sanchez, (1994) ‘The Convention on Biological Diversity: Negotiation and Contents’ in Vicente Sanchez and Calestous Juma (eds.) *Biodiplomacy: Genetic Resources and International Relations* Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies Press, pp. 7-17; and Gerachaw Mengiste (2001) *BioProspecting in Ethiopia: Enhancing Scientific and Technological Capacity* , Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies Press.

beyond the earth's carrying capacity.²¹ Epidemics, poor health, declining literacy rates, matters of politically and socially uncontrollable migrations, form major environmental sector problems. Environmental issues, also include economic problems such as protection of unsustainable production modes, societal instability inherent in growth break down. More importantly, matters of civil strife, touching on war related environmental damages on one hand and violence on the other count squarely on the matters of the environment.²² It is very difficult thus to pin point matters of the environment that are instrumental towards in security.

The above argument notwithstanding, still there can be away of executing the endeavour to find the environmental aspects that fall within security framework. This effort can be achieved not by enlisting the whole environment or some strategic part of the environment as the referent object in terms of security. If such a reference is done then the discourse digresses to the realm of politics rather than in matters of security.²³

Being able to locate the position of environmental security, one requires being concerned with the preservation of existing levels of civilisation. A threat to

²¹ Carrying capacity depends on numbers, technology and life styles, see for example E. Anne Ehrlich 'Building a Sustainable Food System' in Phillip B. Smith, S. E. Okoye, Jaap de Wide, and Priya Deshingkar (1994) (eds.), *The World at the Crossroads: Towards a Sustainable Liveable and Equitable World*, London: Euretscan, pp. 21-38.

²² Paul Rogers, (2000), *Loosing Control: Global Security in the Twenty-First Century*, London: Pluto Press, pp. 87-93.

²³ See for example Sverre Lodgaard (1992), 'Environmental Security, World Order and Environmental Conflict Resolution' in Nils Petter Gleditsch (ed.), *Conversion and the Environment*, OSLO: International Peace Research Institute-PRIO, pp. 115-136, and Norman Myers, (1993) *Ultimate Security – The Environmental Basis of Political Stability*, New York: WW Norton.

civilization forms the basis of environmental security. In this case, the ultimate referent object of environmental security is the risk of losing achieved levels of civilization while apparently being able to prevent doing so.²⁴

Environmental security concerns the maintenance of the local and planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend.²⁵ But this should not be mistaken to mean that environmental security is about threats to nature or the earth as such. This position is not viable because from geological point of view the earth has been in existence for billions of years and what has been happening on its crust since, say, the industrial revolution is rather unimportant. Matters such as a hole in the ozone layer or the disappearance of dinosaurs may not explain the existing security matters as of now. What requires understanding is that the existence of human activity is not merely determined by the environment; an interdependent position exists between human activities and the environment. Certain activities by human beings thus threaten the environment.

Debates on Political Security

Under normal circumstances, matters of politics involve the shaping of human behaviour for the purpose of governing large groups of people.²⁶ Thus, the political is used to cover the institutionalisation of the rule and the stabilisation of authority. In

²⁴ Here civilization is the improvements in life, and any positive attributes to life items that are associated with it.

²⁵ B. Buzan, *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for Security Studies*, op cit, pp. 19-20.

²⁶ B. Buzan, Charles Jones and Richard Little (1993) *The Logic of Anarchy: Neo-realism to Structural Realism*, New York: Columbia University Press.

which case, authority is expressed by certain units particularly states. So if threats are made to states' sovereignty in such a manner that there exists a non-military danger to political units then there is political security agenda. In essence, If conditions of individuals can not measure up to an extent that persons feel protected then that is the starting point of political security agenda. In this case then, political threats are aimed at the organizational stability of the state. Often, the purpose may range from pressuring the government or a particular policy through attempts to disrupt the political fabric of the state to weaken it prior to a possible military attack.²⁷

What emerges then is that the idea of the state, especially its national identity and organizing ideology, and institutions, which express it as normal target of political threats. And because a state is a political entity, political threats can be as much feared as military ones, and this is particularly so if the target is a weak state.²⁸ Most of the third world states such as Uganda and Kenya are all still very young and formative in terms of organizational structure. The fabric that helps to stabilize the existence of such society is not as stable as that of states like the US or Britain.

So in order to locate the idea of political security, one has to be careful to ensure that the right unit of analysis is identified. It is normally tempting to have

²⁷ Mohammed Ayoob, (1992), 'The Security Predicament of the Third World State: Reflections on the State Making in a Comparative Perspective' in Brian L. Job *The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States*, op cit, pp. 63-80.

²⁸ B. Buzan, (1991), *People, States and Fear: Agenda for International Security Studies in Post Cold War Era*, (Second Edition), op cit, p. 118.

some units such as the state dominating analysis as is put forward by realists.²⁹ But besides this, there are many other units particularly individuals. What emerges is that the political threats appear mainly at two levels: threats to internal legitimacy, which affects primarily ideologies and constitutions, ideas and issues depriving the state. Nevertheless, at a certain level, threats may come from external sources.

In a democratic society, the government is supposed to provide law and order that ensures internal security, and when this is not the case, then there is a major security problem. Noticing that there could be systemic referent objects, makes such a study to be broad enough to include all units that can possibly be affected. It is based on a critical evaluation that one can locate the threats and vulnerabilities under political agenda of security. The existential threats to a state for example normally involve matters of sovereignty, because it is sovereignty that defines a state as one. Moreover, sovereignty is about providing security and maintaining order, certain level of legitimacy on all traits of governance and claim to ultimate right of self-government.³⁰ The ultimate right of self-government presents a situation in which the leadership and instruments of leadership must be evident in all parts of a state. In cases where this is not the case then there is a major insecurity problem. A

²⁹ See for example Morgenthau, (1995) *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* and E.H Carr (1939) *The Twenty Years' Crisis: 1919-1939. An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, London & Basingstoke: Macmillan.

³⁰ For a conducive discussion on the normative framework of sovereignty see for example, Francis M. Deng, Sadikiel Kimaro, Terrence Lyons, Donald Rothchild, and I. William Zartman (1996), *Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa*, Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, pp. 1-33.

number of matters arise; first there must be evidence of legitimacy and assurance of protection in order to have political security. The protection against threats is the responsibility of a government, thus if this is not the case, then it becomes difficult to claim that the state is performing its responsibilities.

Debates on Economic Security

The last debate is about economic security which under normal circumstances has generated unresolved and major debates. The issue of economic security has been difficult to isolate and locate separately from matters of political economy.³¹ The economic sector is intrinsically intertwined with the political sector such that the political anarchy and economic structure cannot easily be separated.³² One cannot easily debate matters of economics separately from those of politics.

The difficulty in separating the two especially at state level can be explained from different theoretical bases. Main examples include Mercantilists and neo-mercantilists who consider economic stability and prosperity to be closely related to politics. Here the state has to provide conducive social and political environment in order to encourage generation of wealth. The conducive environment thus is reflected in society necessary for communities to function. What this reflects is that economic security is a part of the wider priority given in the idea of 'National' security.

³¹ See for example the 'Introduction', which discusses the link between economics and politics, in Joan Edelman Spero, (1990), (4th Edition) *The Politics of International Economic Relations* (London: St. Martin's Press Inc., 1990), pp. 1-17.

³² Barry Buzan, (1991), *People, States and Fear: An Agenda*, op cit p. 230.

Another view in matters of economic security, which is equally important, is the liberal view that puts economics first.³³ The economy is considered as the root of all social fabric and any market should be left alone to operate freely as possible without interference. In liberal consideration, states should only provide politico-military security to support the social fabric in areas in which the market fails. Thus, here the main objective of economic security is to develop rules that create factor mobility among national economies by enforcing economic efficiency and taking positive actions that encourage investments.

A part from the liberals, mercantilists and neo-mercantilists, there are also socialist thinkers who fall in between the two. Here the argument is that economics is at the root of the entire social fabric and that, the task of states is to tame economics towards social and political goals of justice and entities.³⁴ In this case, to achieve equity, the focus of security is to ensure that the economically weak are not exploited by the economically strong. The socialist position is difficult to defend in the environment in which the study is conducted. This is entirely because there is difficulty in maintaining economic and political stability in an environment where there is widening gap between the rich and the very poor.

In these circumstances, unrestricted markets tend to generate inequality while simultaneously moving points and functions of states. In such circumstances, then

³³ Scott Burchill, (1996), 'Liberal Internationalism' in Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater (eds.) *Theories of International Relations*, London:Macmillan Press Ltd, pp. 28-66.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 39.

the issue is how to maintain order and sanity in a liberal international economy.³⁵ At the same time, the role the state ought to play is difficult to detach from its international role. This is because the internal dynamics are very different from those of the international system in many ways. While at international level states consider matters of economic security to be geared towards determining and increasing power in the system, internally there are parts of the state that are always left behind.

³⁵ R. Gilpin, (1987), *The Political Economy of International Relations* Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

CHAPTER THREE

DEBATES ON SOCIETAL SECURITY

Introduction

Societal security is a concept designed to address the limitations of existing conceptual tools in analyzing contemporary developments in security analysis. Societal security as a concept that grew from debates about security in Europe in the post-Cold War era. It was developed as a conceptual approach by a group of scholars affiliated to the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute whose research was stimulated by developments unleashed by the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union.¹ They were concerned that 'nation' and 'state' do not mean the same thing in most states around the world and that national security was becoming an increasingly irrelevant framework with which to study post Cold War security developments. Some authors proposed the term 'societal security' and a focus on the insecurities of societies understood as national, ethnic, or religious communities.

Established understandings of security have assumed state and society to be synonymous. The tension between the security needs and interests of the state and of the society is resolved by assuming that the state, society, and the nation are one and the same. Post-Cold War developments such as the ethnic cleansing in Rwanda in 1994 have demonstrated, however, that the security needs and interests of the state and society do not always coincide. When there is a clash of interests between the

¹ Waever, O. Buzan, B; Kelstrup, M and Lemaitre, P. (1993). "Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe." Copenhagen: Center for Peace and Conflict Research.

two or competing claims to sovereignty within the same state, the 'national security' framework is not very helpful as a guide for the study and practice of security.² In such conflicts as was in Rwanda what is secured is an idea, a 'we' feeling. From this, society becomes the referent object of security.

Ole Waever defines societal security as the; 'ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats. The sustainability, within acceptable conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture, association, and religious and national identity and custom.'³ The killings in Rwanda in 1994 is a typical example that illustrate how such societal insecurities can lead to violent conflicts. Although the 1994 crisis in Rwanda had a number of causes, including economic decline, constitutional conflicts, and ethnic discord, which had been glossed over for along time, it can be argued that the effective cause was the competing societal identities of the Hutus and Tutsis.

Following the end of the Cold War, each of these groups in Rwanda for example, chose to view each other's identity as a threat in an attempt to strengthen their own sense of who they were, thereby giving rise to a dynamic that resembles a security dilemma. The difference between this process and the classic security dilemma is that instead of threatening each other by building their militaries, the constituent societies in Rwanda – Hutus and Tutsis- threatened each other by

² Posen, Barry, (1993), 'The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict' *Survival* Vol. 35, pp. 27–47. This was also typical of the situation in Kenya after the 2007 elections.

³ Waever, Ole., (1993) 'Societal Security: The Concept'. In Ole Waever, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup, and Pierre Lemaitre (ed.) *Identity, Migration, and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, London: Pinter.

emphasizing the dominance of their identities. This method of using ethno-national symbols to strengthen the idea of nationhood 'we' feeling among one's own populace led to each of the ethnic group feeling threatened and, in turn, adopting policies to strengthen their own identity. The genocide that resulted in Rwanda vividly indicates the ways in which security and identity dynamics interact.

Development of Societal Security

As noted earlier, the developments that occurred in matters of security following the end of the Cold War prompted a re-evaluation of the study of security, and a debate regarding the broadening and deepening of the concept.⁴ The Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, associated primarily with Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, observed that 'nation' and 'state' are not synonymous in most countries around the world, and that the traditional concept of national security studies was increasingly irrelevant to study post-Cold War developments.⁵ In the cases where state and nation do not coincide, the security of a nation will often increase the insecurity of the state.⁶ In such instances, the activities of states often represent the primary threat to societies, such as is very common in the situation in Zimbabwe

Waever argues that scholars can best understand societal security by examining the processes whereby a group comes to perceive its identity as threatened

⁴ Booth, Ken, (1991) Security and Emancipation. *Review of International Studies* Vol. 17, pp. 313–326.

⁵ Pinar, Bilgin, (2003). "Individual and Societal Dimensions of Security." *International Studies Review* Vol. 5, pp. 203-222.

⁶ Waever, Ole. (1998). "Societal Security: The Concept." in . Buzan, O. Waever, and J. de Wilde. Boulder: *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, op cit.

and when it starts to act in a security mode; a process he refers to as securitisation.⁷ The securitisation approach to security claims that societal communities argue within themselves as to what constitutes a threat to their community.⁸ Unlike states, societies lack a final arbiter of security decisions. Elites within the society act as securitising actors, by naming threats to the group and attempting to persuade or coerce the society of the validity of their claim. Once the claim is accepted by society, it enacts extraordinary means to alleviate the threat. The process by which actors in a society or state argue and decide what constitutes a threat depends on the established rules of that society. Ultimately, Buzan concludes that perceptions of threat cannot only be imposed, societies must be convinced or persuaded that certain other groups or actions constitute a threat.⁹

In an effort to have society stand on its own as a referent object of security that is distinct from the state, Waever offers a view of society that differentiates it from the traditional conception of society as 'civil' society or as the source of the state's legitimacy. To make this distinction, he provides a definition of society that separates society from any link to the state but in doing so, makes the units of analysis far less obvious. Furthermore, Waever argues that societal security should not be viewed as the aggregate sum of smaller groups within society. Waever concludes

⁷ Waever, Ole, (1995). "Securitization and Desecuritization." in R. Lipschutz (ed.) *On Security*, New York: Columbia University Press.

⁸ Buzan, B. (1998). "Societal Security, State Security and Internationalisation." B. Buzan, O. Waever, and J. de Wilde. (ed.) *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

⁹ Buzan, B, O Waever, and J de Wilde. (1998). *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

that societal security can only be understood by examining large-scale, we-identities or collective units that constitute themselves as social and political realities by interacting in an international system.¹⁰

This means that the concept of security is tied to very specific forms of political community, such as nations, ethnic groups or religious communities.¹¹ While the Copenhagen school concedes that all societies contain a number of groups carrying their own identities, they conclude that ethno-national groups and religions have become the primary units of analysis for societal security. To further limit the definition of society, Waever concludes that in security analysis, 'society' is mostly understood as meaning nations or other ethno-political communities modeled on the nation idea.¹² Thus Waever claims that societal security is about the sustainability, within acceptable conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture, association, custom and religious and national identity.¹³

Identity and Security Analysis

That some groups identified the 'other' as threatening, as in the case of the Rwanda in 1994 and Kenyan in 2007 stands in contrast to situations where groups did not identify the 'other' as threatening. The introduction of identity into the field of security studies helps to explain some of this variation, unfortunately it has

¹⁰ Waever, Ole (1998), 'Societal Security: The Concept.' in, B. Buzan, O. Waever, and J. de Wilde. (ed.) *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* Boulder: Lynn Reinner.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

introduced a whole new set of problems; problems with which security scholars have not fully engaged. When security studies were dominated by realism, identity was not problematic for two reasons, firstly the states were the only referent object and secondly, states were understood as like units, in that they had similar identities and interests; and facing certain developments were expected to respond in a similar manner.¹⁴ Constructivists noticed the theme of identity, and used it to explain a number of important issues in international security; including the relations between states in the international system, the non-use of certain weapons or the adoption and implementation of certain international norms.¹⁵ However, this utilization of the concept of identity was still tied to the state in that it was the identity of the state and the 'other' state(s) that impacted the nature of their relations

Unfortunately, few had theorized how the construction and re-construction of state identity may be perceived as threatening to societies or minorities contained within that state. That the state may indeed be conceived as a threat to societies or vice versa, focused attention on the process of how state and sub-state communities' identity is constructed. Anderson's book, *Imagined Communities* ushered in a new wave of scholarship focusing on how national and ethnic identity was socially constructed, rather than a primordial given that had influenced ethnicity and

¹⁴ Bull, Hedley (2001), *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

¹⁵ Jepperson, Ronald; Wendt, Alexander and Katzenstein, Peter. (1996). "Norms, Identity and Culture in National Security." in P. Katzenstein (ed.) *Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press.

nationalism.¹⁶ . The construction of group identity necessitates a distinction with the 'other' and how this process of identity construction may lead to conflict with 'others' outside the group, or to the manipulation of symbols and myths associated with the construction of group identity by elites.¹⁷ One limitation of these works was lack of a generalizing theory to apply their findings to identity groups besides ethno-nationalists groups employing violence against the state.

This is where Buzan and Waever's conception of societal security argue that 'societies', which include ethnic groups, religions and potentially other communities based on gender, sexuality or class, may construct threats from a variety of sources, including from other identity claims or from the state. Thus, for the Copenhagen school, societies potentially face four distinct types of threat: migration, horizontal competition, vertical competition and depopulation.

It is important to put this distinction in perspective in order to help in understanding the dimensions of analysis. Horizontal competition entails a transformation in the identity of a society due to the overriding cultural and linguistic influence from a neighbouring culture.¹⁸ Fundamentally, there are communities that have been culturally and linguistically influenced. In such a manner, there is evidence that in some societies, the linguistic outlook has changed and is subsumed into the

¹⁶ Anderson, Benedict, (1991),. *Imagined Communities*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁷ Kaufman, Stuart, (2001), *Modern Hatreds: the Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*, Edited by R. Art, R. Jervis, and S. Walt. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

¹⁸ Buzan, B, O Waever, and Jep de Wilde, (1998) 'Security: A New Framework for Analysis' op cit.

bigger or more influential society. At the same time, it is possible to get a situation where a society has been submerged and absorbed linguistically. In Kenya, a good example of where a horizontal competition is evidence is amongst the Suba community. Even though the Suba community consider themselves as a distinctive society, the language and cultures have had overriding influences from the Luo. The Suba society does not speak their language fully as would be expected. In fact they practice and behave like the Luos culturally. As such, in order to protect their identity, which they perceive as threatened, the Suba have responded by asking for their own district, vernacular radio station and demanding a larger share of national appointments. All these demands are intended to and aimed at achieving their lost identity. Such a matter is considered a threat to security.

The second aspect is vertical competition where there is integration into a wider cultural definition or disintegration into smaller cultural units. This process can better be illustrated by the integration into the larger Luhya community. For as much as each of the smaller societies such as Bukusu in Luhya identify that, want to identify themselves as a community.

The major source of societal insecurity in many societies is migration. Migration threatens the identity of a society by causing a shift in the composition of that society. The large-scale inflow leads to that culture becoming dominant. For instance, the large numbers of migrants to Nairobi, which was initially Masaai land has influenced the cultural texture of the Masaai. Lastly, is the issue of insecurity for societies either from conflict or ethnic cleansing, disease or to a decline in natural

population growth. In terms of societal security, the realization and actual securitization is constructed by the society involved. Upon construction, such a society that make others behave that indeed the issue is really a security matter. That is what has happened in majority of societal security issues not only in Kenya and in Africa in general but in the rest of the world.

Human Security and Societal

Matters of societal security may be confused with matters of human security mentioned in Chapter Two. As was mentioned, the matters of human security came into focus with the United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) Human Development Report.¹⁹ The UNDP report pointed out two ways in which the concept of security should be changed; firstly, the stress put on territorial security should be shifted toward people's security, and secondly security should be sought not through armaments but through sustainable development. The report made four points concerning the need to move away from a national security approach toward an approach that emphasizes human security. First, the authors of the UNDP report presented human security as a universal concern that is relevant to people across the world regardless of geographical location. The report observed that, the process of globalization has created a third world within the first world as well as a first world within the third world. Secondly, the report maintained that the components of security are interdependent; distress in one part of the world is likely to affect other

¹⁹ The United Nations Development Program's, (UNDP) Human Development Report UNDP report, 1994.

parts of the world. Third, human security is best ensured through prevention rather than intervention after the crisis takes its toll. Fourth, the report argued that the referent for security that is, the focus for security thinking and practices should be the people rather than states.²⁰

This fourth point is the most radical as far as security analysis goes and therefore relates closely with societal. After all, the need to adopt a more people-based approach to security was recognized early by the founders of the United Nations. According to the United Nations Development Program report, after the San Francisco conference that set up the United Nations, the US Secretary of State reported to his government that:

‘The battle for peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of an enduring peace. . . . No provisions that can be written into the Charter will enable the Security Council to make the world secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and their jobs.’²¹

The difference between this statement from the 1940s and the one from the 1990s is that in the former the central concern for practitioners was the achievement of enduring peace understood as stability. Accordingly, individual human beings’ security was viewed as important in so far as it threatened international stability. Although in the 1990s, the United Nations still gives priority to enduring peace, its

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., p. 24.

human security approach is designed to ensure that an international economic breakdown does not recur.²² The UNDP report are more open in urging a move away from a state-centric approach that seeks peace understood as stability toward a people-centric approach that seeks peace through change however incremental it may be.

An early recognition of the difficulty of reconciling the needs and interests of states with that of individuals and social groups was noted in the Report of the Commission on Global Governance titled *Our Global Neighborhood*.²³ The commission maintained that the security of states and individuals should not be viewed as mutually exclusive in that “states cannot be secure for long unless their citizens are secure. Thus, the commission’s recommendation favored upholding the right of states to security while at the same time making the protection of people and their security one of the aims of global security policy.

Thus, the UNDP report is clearer than that of the Commission on Global Governance as to whose security they ascribe utmost priority. The former Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, also embraced human security as a strategic guide to action and pointed to the existing conception of state sovereignty and the narrow and of ten self-centered definition of national interest as obstacles to effective action for human rights in humanitarian crises. Annan introduced the

²² International economic breakdown occurred in the 1930s and was preceded by World War II.

²³ Mcsweeney, Bill, (1999) *Security, Identity, and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p, 73.

concept of 'individual sovereignty' to try to deal with the first of these obstacles. For Annan, individual sovereignty comprises the human rights and fundamental freedoms of each and every person as already enshrined in the United Nations Charter. With reference to national interest, Annan said that, "in a growing number of challenges facing humanity, the collective interest is the national interest."²⁴ For the United Nations, then, human security is a strategic term used to direct attention to humanitarian crises.

Conclusions

Consider, for example, how the scenarios in Kenya after the 2007 general elections unfolded. It is evident that even in urban constituencies such as Lang'ata, the ethnic orientation is still evident. The largest number of persons in Lang'ata constituency are believed to come from the same ethnic group as the elected Member of Parliament. This is, the same case with Embakasi constituency. It is reflected that the voting patterns are related to the ethnic group that is more numerically in Embakasi. A more potent example is the advent of Mungiki in Kenya. The group, even though is considered illegal, has certain identity issues that are societal in nature, As such, any threat to such community or groups may be considered insecurity. It is in this sense that the concept of societal security helps in understanding under what conditions societies may become significant as political actors. Furthermore, by examining societal security, it is possible to discern how societal identities can arise

²⁴ Annan, Kofi, (1999), Human Security and Intervention: Individual Sovereignty Vital Speeches of the Day 66, (No. 1).

that are independent of the state. Having made these points, one can also point to a number of difficulties with giving high priority to the insecurities of societies, especially for policy purposes.

First is the problem of having to judge the competing identity claims of different national, ethnic, and religious groups. When a community, say Turkana, Pokot, Kikuyu, or Luo perceive threats to their identity as the cause of any conflict then who is the aggressor decided and who is the victim?. Secondly, when societal security is used to guide policy, society becomes treated as constant and unchanging. Such a fixed conceptualization is a problem because the main contribution of societal security as an alternative approach to thinking about security results from the attention paid to the ways in which society constitutes itself in an attempt to secure its identity. To deal with this problem, the concept of societal security needs to allow for a more fluid notion of society-as a process of affirmation and reproduction instead of as an objective reality or independent variable. Along these lines, McSweeney has proposed that there is need refuse to privilege claims to separate identity in security analyses, 'the security problem is not there just because peoples have separate identities; it may well be the case that they have separate identities because of the security problem.'²⁵ Thus, clashes over identity are not the cause but the outcome of a process through which conflicts over economic and political interests are reframed and presented in terms of identity.

²⁵ Mcsweeney, Bill (1999) '*Security, Identity, and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations*' op cit..

Following McSweeney, the concept of societal security should be further developed to allow for understanding, how societies create and re-create their identities and interests through practice. Such an approach would help in understanding for example how people, who have lived side by side for years, could turn against each other and define their neighbors as the source of their societal insecurity as during the 2007 elections in Kenya. It would also help in learning how people who fought for political change in Kenya in the 1990s could choose to redefine their identities and interests in a way that permitted them to construct a security problem in their neighbours

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOCIETAL DIMENSIONS OF SECURITY IN KENYA

Introduction

This Chapter sets out to identify and discuss the societal dimensions of security in Kenya. Kenya as a state has many societies. The societies in Kenya are in terms of communities that form the tribes as well as communities that form the races. In terms of races, there are the Africans, Asians, Caucasians, and Arabs. All these groups have their own aspects of identities in a way which is unique and different to each other case. For instance, what rallies the African, who are further divided into tribal groups, is not the same as what make the Arabs come together. In circumstances where identity is criteria for construction of a 'we' in a tribe such as Mijikenda, is not the same as what brings together coast province people. Nevertheless, in this Chapter, the dimensions of societal security to be brought forth are those that bring together the whole of Kenyan people as a state. These are issues that Kenya as a state regard as threat to its existence.

In this context, therefore, a threat to national security of Kenya is considered identifiable, often immediate, and requires an understandable response. At the outset for example, military force has been traditionally been sized against threats to defend a state against external aggression, to protect vital interests, and enhance state security.¹ While this Chapter is examining and considering threats resulting to societal security nationally, it is vital to mention that threat in short are either clearly

¹ P. H. Liotta, (2002), 'Creeping Vulnerabilities and Reordering Security' *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 35, No.1 pp. 49-70: 51.

visible or commonly acknowledged. This distribution of threats is important at the outset because it is sometimes tempting to consider issues that are in the realm of vulnerabilities as threats. While threats are what has been mentioned above, vulnerabilities are often indicators, often not clearly identifiable, linked to complex interdependence among related issues, and does not always suggest a correct or even adequate response.² In this case then, while hunger, unemployment, crime, conflict, criminality, political repression and environmental hazards are at least somewhat related issues and do affect the security of states and individuals, the best response to those related issues, in terms of security, is not all clear. Moreover, a vulnerability unlike a threat, is not clearly perceived, often not well understood, and almost always a source of contention among conflicting views. What this discourse points to is that the dimension of societal security so identified will have to be a threat to the specific referent object, the state, which in this case is Kenya.

Securitization

In order to achieve the objective of coming up with the correct societal dimension of security, there is a need to revisit the securitization process mentioned in Chapter Two. In that case then, in *Security: A new Framework for Analysis*, Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap deWilde argue that security can be broadened to include other threats beyond the traditional military and political domain. In general, the authors further argue that security depends on the character of the referent object in question. Meaning that the authors understood the significance of core values,

² Ibid., p. 51.

threats, and capabilities in order to understand what security is.³ Accordingly to securitized, the authors, mean that the issue is presented as an existential threat, requiring emergency measures and justifying actions outside the normal bounds of political procedure.⁴

In order to understand why certain threats are securitized, further explanation is necessary. Firstly, an existential threat is more important than other issues, thus taking priority due to its incompatibility with the actor's core values. Secondly, extraordinary measures are warranted in order to counter the objective or subjective threat. This suggests that an actor can break normal political rules such as keeping secrecy, placing limitations on otherwise inviolable rights, or focusing society's energy and resources on a specific task. Accordingly this, does not mean that an actor must adopt extraordinary measures, only that the existential threat has to be argued and just gain enough resources for a platform to be made from which it is possible to legitimize emergency measures or other steps special measures that would not have been possible had the discourse not taken the form of existential threat perspective.⁵

The difference between emergency measures and special measures both categorised as extraordinary require further classification. The scale of the threat is paramount in order to distinguish between the two. The term emergency measure implies large-scale action such as nationwide action, whereas special measures suggests more moderate action such as new legislation, campaigns, regional or

³ Buzan, Barry, Waever, Ole and De Wilde, Jep, (1998), *Security: a new Framework for analysis*, Lynne Rienner: Boulder.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 23-24.

⁵ Ibid, p. 24.

provincial based action. Furthermore, the audience must accept these emergency measures or special measures. This point is of paramount importance in order to understand successful securitization. According to Buzan et al to accept does not necessarily mean in civilized, dominance-free discussion; it only means that order always rests on coercion as well as consent. Since securitization can never only be imposed, there is some need to argue one's case. In a sense the securitizing agent needs to obtain permission from its audience to override rules that would normally bind it. Thus at some point it must be argued in the public sphere why a situation constitutes security and therefore can legitimately be handled differently. Securitization is not fulfilled only by breaking rules nor solely by existential threats but by cases of existential threat that legitimize the breaking of rules.⁶ Note ably, also its an important distinction by stating that there are cases where the violation of rights and other extraordinary means are common place and where security arguments are not needed to legitimize such acts. Autocratic states, such as Zimbabwe, have a tendency of non-adherence to rules. Nevertheless, states where rules exist in all societies, and when an actor uses the rhetoric of securitization, the issue in question is placed beyond normal bounds of political procedure.

It should also be noted that there are significant differences between autocratic states, some are ruled by a dictator, such as Zimbabwe, and others that are democratic such as Kenya. It is proper to argue that the successful securitization has three general steps, existential threat, emergency action or special measures, and

⁶ Ibid, p. 25-28.

acceptance by the inter unit by breaking free of rules. Successful securitization is thus based on unit or inter unit acceptance.

Localizing Theory to Kenyan Security Circumstances

The individual usually does not have the capacity in the present international system to provide security for himself or herself. The state on the other hand has adequate resources needed to counteract threats.⁷ However, the symbiotic relationship between the state and individuals in the context of securitization suggests that individuals have a certain degree of power that can be used to alleviate the importance of individual core values, thus promoting their own existence or human security.⁸ Securitization, suggests that the people of Kenya can for example, either approve or disapprove a securitizing move when an actor presents an issue as a threat. The actor in this case according to logic is bound to be the state, due to the fact that the state has the capability, sufficient resources, to counteract a threat by adopting emergency measures or special procedures. The element of capability, thus limits the issues that can be securitized.

In this case then, individuals, except in extreme cases, cannot usually dictate what issues should be presented as being existential to a nations security. The social contract between the state and its citizens makes such a move very difficult. Therefore, the individuals such as the President, Prime Minister, Minister, senior civil servant, acting on behalf of the state usually holds this privilege. However, with

⁷ At least in terms of state responsibility.

⁸ Chapter Two.

reference to the logic presented by Sheehan, for securitization to be successful an issue must first constitute a threat to the state's core values as well as be incompatible with the peoples' core values who accept the securitization move thus making an issue successfully securitized. Moreover, the incompatibility between the threat and the core values of the people and the state can remain mutually exclusive.⁹ For example, in Kenya, terrorism is regarded as a threat to national security, and the people regard terrorism to be incompatible with human rights or personal security. This dual incompatibility gives the state the legitimacy to conduct extraordinary measures due to its acceptance by the people, who regard such measures as being beneficial to their own existence. This dual relationship gives power to the individual thus promoting Human Security.¹⁰ But for Buzan et al securitization can be considered in the following way; the way to study securitization is to study discourse in terms of speech and political constellations and while doing that, there is need to ask; when does an argument with a particular rhetorical achieve sufficient effects to make an audience tolerate violations of rules that would otherwise have to be obeyed? If by means of an argument about the priority and urgency of an existential threat the securitizing actor has managed to break free of procedures or rules he or she would otherwise be bound by, then there is a case of securitization.¹¹

⁹ Sheehan, Michael, (2006), *International Security: An Analytical Survey* London: Lyne Reinner Publishers.

¹⁰ See Chapter Two.

¹¹ Buzan, Barry, Waever, Ole and De Wilde, Jep (1998), *Security: a new framework for analysis*, op cit.

Speech Act

Thus in order to answer the research question of coming up with societal dimensions of security in Kenya one has to consider speech act as a tool that enables a matter to be securitised. A threat that becomes a securitized one, must focus on the process of securitization where upon the speech act also called framing and problem definition becomes of paramount importance. The speech act can be explained as a rhetorical act, where an actor or actors formulate an issue in a manner that commands national attention.¹² The utterance itself, that is, that the act, it is a question of depicting and representing an issue, a phenomenon – for example, something such as corruption is perceived as threatening – in such a way that others listen and are convinced or are at least persuaded to pay attention to the issue.

An illustration here may suffice, for example, a tank crossing a national border. This tank can either be categorised as hostile or friendly, thus it is not the vehicle that is the attribute of this categorisation but the socially constructed relationship formed in an actor. In which case if a speech act explains that the tank is dangerous and therefore a threat, then the society, and in fact, the national army may respond by taking retaliatory action. But if it is a friendly one, say on transit from a friendly neighbour, then nothing much would happen, in terms of the mental perception. It must be noted that certain threats – mostly relating to military and political threats, have been institutionalised. Institutionalised threats are also related to cognition, in the sense that states can take emergency measures to defend

¹² Weaver, Ole (1993), 'Societal Security, The Concept' in Ole Weaver, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup. And Pierre Lemmire (ed) *Identity, Migration, and a New Security Agenda in Europe*. London: Pinter..

themselves against military attack. This kind of threat does not need to be accepted by the people because extraordinary measures have been adopted by states in the past and are automatically regarded as legitimate. For example the people of Kenya have automatically accepted emergency measures taken by the state in matters of corruption, AIDS, droughts, and famine.

Securitization and Societal Dimension of Security in Kenya.

Against this background therefore, this research considers that Kenya as a state has securitized two issues amongst others. One issue, corruption, will be discussed below to show how the theoretical under pinnings of the wider security debate can be argued out. Only one matter, corruption will be discussed al beit to show the application of theory to reality. Corruption as a tenet of societal dimension of security will be put through the securitization process above and then qualified as the a real security issue. The agents of the security in these cases are the president, who have made a securitization move in order to thwart the threat posed by AIDS and corruption. Speech acts have been promulgated to the people of Kenya and extraordinary measures have been taken. This includes measures to counter AIDS epidemic and declaring it as a national disaster. The following section will illustrate what has been said and subsequently done in order to thwart these phenomenon, especially corruption.

Corruption as an Aspect of Societal Security in Kenya

In Kenya, corruption has been endemic for a long time especially during the single party era. Corruption became a part of everyday life of Kenyans. It could not

be discussed and therefore could not be managed effectively. It is noticeable that during the Cold War, there was no deliberate discussions of the consequences of corruption in Kenya. The inability to discuss it coupled with official withholding of information about corruption made even national public dialogue on the subject matter difficult and impossible. Besides, the extent of corruption was difficult to outline. Even though there was little discussion, on matters of corruption, there was evidence of corrupt practices everywhere, and in fact had indeed become away of life.

In order to understand why Kenya has recognized corruption as a threat to its societal security some explanation is warranted on this phenomenon itself and its links to other threats that affect security of individuals and states. Corruption has devastating effects on society and individuals. In Kenya, just like in many other places in Africa and the world, there is widespread consensus that corruption destroys socio-economic and political fabric of society, it eats into and stunts the moral fiber of society and human entrepreneurship. Corruption dehumanizes the rich by distorting their work ethics, giving impression that quick riches through illegal and dirty deals are preferable to hard work as a means to achievement and progress. Lastly, among other issues, corruption denies the majority of both rich and poor people the opportunity for fair competition.

In Kenya, there is a close correlation between poverty and corruption and both have devastating effects on the psyche of citizens, the perception of their self and those they interact with. In terms of poverty, hungry citizens who feel equally unprotected from those exploitations of corruption then are bitter persons whose

actions become unpredictable.¹³ It is even possible to argue that Kenya's future stability depends on the manner the issues of corruption are handled. What ever efforts, policies or strategies are put in place to eradicate poverty would be meaningless unless the issue of corruption is seriously addressed.

Corruption is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon and given Kenya's socio-economic and political culture, it would be presumptuous to assume that in the short or even medium term it would be easy to attain a society with zero tolerance to corruption. It is possible, however with commitment and concerted effort from all stakeholders, to evolve a society from one where there is low-risk and high-gain into a high risk low-gain society.¹⁴ Even though the attainment of numerically less corrupt society would require that the entire society and in particular the leadership, undertakes strategic political, economic and public policy analysis to determine the factors that compromise anti-corruption initiatives and available options is the fight against corruption. Given this introductory statement, about corruption, the next part shows how corruption has societally been securitized.

Securitization of Corruption in Kenya

The post Cold War Kenyan governments have framed corruption as an issue that demands national attention. The move on matters of corruption is one that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics. In practice, this has a number of

¹³ Kivutha Kibwana, Smokin Wanjala and Oketch-Owiti (1996) (eds.) *The Anatomy of Corruption in Kenya: Legal, Political and Socio-Economic Perspectives*, Nairobi: Claripress.

¹⁴ Patrick Chabal and Jean Pascal Daloz, (1999) *Africa Works: Disorder as a Political Instrument*, London and Oxford: International Africa Institute, p.106.

implications. Evident in Kenyan government practices and action. For instance, from 1991, when the multiparty politics started in Kenya, the Kenyan government undertook measures to eradicate corruption, matters of corruption became item of preoccupation. Naturally, Kenya's parliament made significant steps towards fighting corruption by undertaking immediate amendment to the prevention of corruption Act, Chapter 65 of Laws of Kenya. Another crucial amendment which established Kenya Anti-Corruption law through the constitution of Kenya (amendment) No. 2 Bill 2001, which sought to establish the anticorruption authority within the constitution. At the same time, multilateral and bilateral institutions such as IMF and World Bank made effort with collaboration with the government to fight corruption.

The government went further to arraign corruption charges to courts. Some of the persons arraigned in court included a former cabinet minister, a former permanent secretary, a former town clerk and a spouse of a serving minister.¹⁵ In addition, Kenya developed ethical codes for public servants including public and annual declaration of wealth.

In order to show that the government has taken extraordinary measures above normal call, it has put in place measures to entrench concepts of institutional rule through norms, value principles and social philosophy. But in addition, the Kenyan leadership has hastened prosecution of corruption cases by the attorney General. Also, the involvement of law society of Kenya in prosecution, the Kenya government revitalized the public Accounts Committee (PAC) and Public Investment Committee

¹⁵ These were Kipng'eno arap Ngeny, Wilfred Kimalat, Zipporah Wandera and Mrs. Ongeru.

(PIC) all indicate extra measures to combating corruption. Both PAC and PIC now investigate government and public sector expenditure and have unveiled massive corruption. To show how serious the government is on dealing with corruption, Ad Hoc Committees, such as the Mbogua Report, parliamentary select committees or corruption have been put in place. Additionally procurement process are being streamlined through public procurement bill.

The above literature shows that the government has taken extraordinary measures because before the securitization of corruption, the situation was different. The only existing legislation was the 1956 law, Chapter 65 of the Laws of Kenya. It can be argued that during the Cold War, the attempt to fight corruption received halfhearted treatment. Before the current existing laws were enacted, Chapter 65 of the laws of Kenya was the principle means of fighting corruption. Additionally, corruption was dealt with in the sectoral administrative codes and in ordinary courts of law. These included code of regulations for civil servants, which entailed codes for categories of employees such as teachers, some organizations such as the Law Society of Kenya who have their codes of conduct, in which they set out disciplinary measures in the case of lawyers. But that is as far as these matters went. These disciplinary machinery which was instituted on the basis of specific codes against errant officials had little impact on corruption. At best, sectoral discipline measures succeeded in weeding out some of officials who had flouted certain provisions of the respective codes. At most, they simply provided a façade to demonstrate to prospective culprits the certainty of punishment in the event of specific code.

For a long time, the other robust institution for fighting corruption, at the behest of the Attorney-General in his capacity as the Director of Public Prosecutions, had been the judiciary. During the Cold War, as corruption assumed monstrous proportions and was consuming the Kenyan society, the Attorney-General's office had not only been sluggish but unwilling to prefer corruption related charges against government officials. This is evidenced by the Reports of the Controller and Auditor General which had over the years unearthed monumental cases of corruption. Inaction by the Attorney-General in this regard could be explained by the fact that the latter is part of the government in his capacity as its principal legal advisor.

Notwithstanding the declaration of his independence by the constitution, it was almost impossible for the Attorney-General to independently commence and complete a prosecution against an individual who is part of the government and who enjoys the protection of the chief executive. Yet government functionaries including cabinet ministers had been repeatedly named as the main perpetrators of corruption. The government's refusal or failure to act against named suspects continued in the 1990s even in the face of the emergence of opposition-led and more intrusive and assertive Parliamentary Accounts and Investments Committees. By far, the most dismal failure by the Attorney-General to use his constitutional powers and the due process of law to fight corruption is illustrated by the Goldenberg corruption scandal, involving a complex network of government ministries, departments and officials,

through which enormous amounts of money were siphoned from the exchequer. The facts leading to the Goldenberg cases are well documented.¹⁶

It is evidence from the matters arising that Kenya had regulations and institutional set up to fight corruption. Dealing with corruption was a normal political endeavour, in which the normal instruments of government were used to deal with it. The normal procedures were taken to ensure that there were prosecutions done. But corruption became a societal threat, one that required extra ordinary measures to deal with. It all started by the parliament and government ministers prioritizing and ensuring all measures are directed at combating corruption. All measures towards fighting corruption were after the end of the Cold War unique in their own way and therefore warranted it being a security issue based on the securitization act that the government did.

¹⁶ See Kivutha Kibwana, Smokin Wanjala, Oketch-Owiti (1996) (Eds) *The Anatomy of Corruption in Kenya: Legal, Political and Socio-Economic Perspectives*, Nairobi, Claripress, op cit, for a case study of the Goldenberg Export Compensation payments.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

The debates about security have taken many perspectives and that is how the issue of societal security come to fore. The idea come to bear as the concept of security realized major shift from the statist-realist framework to a more broad one, one in which issues of sectors are examined. That is how matters of economic security, environmental security, political security and societal security in addition to the military became aspects of security to be studied and analyzed. Indeed the idea of the broadening of the idea of security analysis became necessary in order to capture other realities in the study of security. The security realities depict the interactive realities of the international system. That is what Buzan claims as rising density of the international system which produce new realities. By density, Buzan meant the complexity of networks of interactions that tie the international system together, especially in terms of interdependence.¹⁷

That aside, there have been deliberate attempts in the field of security to offer other definitional meanings which have made efforts to come up with other major ways of defining the concept of security. That is how an attempt to examine the concept of security in terms of what the United Nations Development Program attempted did. The report called for re-conceptualisation of security, where emphasis was made on the shift from securing the state from threats such as nuclear attack to

¹⁷ Buzan, Barry, people, (1991) *States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*, London: Wheatheaf books.

protecting the individual.¹⁸ This is the essence of the concept of human security. While the attempt was made to include large number of issues in the matters of security, this research is of the opinion that the concept of human security had its net 'too wide much to include. The concept of human security tries to bring focus of security to the level of the individual, thereby recognizing the constraints of a solely state oriented security perspective and acknowledging the importance of security at non-state levels, it is flawed. The Human security concept has become merely sentimental, utopian and therefore incapable of transfer and adoption as a basis for security analysis. The human security thus fails to stand up to the conceptualisation of security because it, for example, advocates for safety of peoples and brings in multiple of threats to humanity that are apart of the daily lifestyles of the communities. That is why as argued above, human security is viewed as considering emerging issues of daily life such as food, shelter employment and health which are not necessarily security matters. While these could be issues of threats, to humanity, they do not create existential threats to the society. Further more the argument of matters of human security are so widened that it is not easy to draw the threat parameters.¹⁹

The debates on the concept of security are diverse and apart from the ones mentioned above, that is, the political, economic, and environmental, there are others that were not discussed. But more importantly, the concept of societal security is engraved on the process of securitization process. The securitization process is

¹⁸ See Chapter Two.

¹⁹ See Debates in Chapter Two.

extremely important for it is in this that one is able to come up with the existential threats that directly affect any referent object. In addition, the securitizing actor must also be considered as a government agent in order to be able to come up with the required security issues and sector. This process is important on matters of societal security. That is how and why if one has to identify an issue as a security threat, then the issue has to be so important that if nothing is done about it, then, the referent object would not be there at the end of the whole process. It is on this basis that this study has only examined the debates on matters of security from the environmental, economic, and political sectors. These were chosen only to show how the debates have been generated and what they mean for the development of the concept of security.

The debates on societal security have taken different perspective. Societal security debates are a part of the widened concept of security debates in which its understanding is highly pegged on the comprehending of the threats to society. The societal debates therefore presents a situation in which the major existential threat to society is based on what threaten the identity of the society. The threat must be in such a manner that the survival of the society's identity is threatened to an extent that the society has to take some serious action above normal local politics to be able to deal with the issue. In making sure that the securitization process is referent object oriented, there is need for correlation between issues of human security and identity.²⁰ Given the understanding on the concept of security and how the

²⁰ See Chapter Three.

securitization process can be applied, this study has identified corruption as a societal security threat to Kenya. It might look unique that corruption is considered as an existential threat to Kenya as a state, but all said and done, the study considered a threat that touched on the core values of Kenya as a society. Corruption as an event put through the securitization process indeed passes as a societal security matter.²¹ The existence of corruption and the damage it causes to the Kenyan society touches on the core values of Kenyans not as tribal enclaves but as the wider national society.

While that is the case, in which the idea of societal security can easily pass as a good way of debating matters of security, it has some few critiques. The idea of societal security tends to rely too much on the idea of the identity of society. Because of their equation of societal identity with national identity, this approach has been accused of making and linking the society and identity in ways that are untenable and potentially dangerous. In fact, societal security defines society as having a single identity, which risks supporting the rise of intolerant identities that make conflicts more likely. Even though in defense of societal security one might argue that the primary contribution of societal security: is precisely under the conditions of securitisation that can easily identify and isolate matters of security, this is not true. Even the proponents of the concept, especially the Copenhagen school, admit that all societies have multiple identities and that a situation in which identity is being securitised is one in which this reality is being denied and seeking to be transformed. More importantly, the move to study societal security has merely inserted societies

²¹ See Chapter Four.

into the study of security in place of the state, which hides the identity of a society the same way that traditional security studies have glorified the state. Critics of the concept argue that treating society as unproblematic ignores the processes that create and re-create societies' identity.

With regards to the overall societal security situation in Kenya, the diminishing possibility of traditional military state conflict in the neighborhood especially after the end of the Cold War, almost automatically motivate the requirement to examine matters of security especially in terms of societal security issues. However, the economic, environmental, political and particularly, social conditions in Kenya and third world countries in general have not sufficiently been securitized. It ought to be clear that securitization of societal matters as threats to identity groups are extremely important. In sum, identity and the link between identity and societal security has moved to the forefront of matters of state security analysis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdul-Monem M. Al-Mashat,(1985) *National Security in the Third World*, London: Westview Press.
- Anderson, Benedict (1991), *Imagined Communities*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Annan, Kofi, (1999) Human Security and Intervention: Individual Sovereignty. Vital Speeches of the Day 66, No. 1.
- Ayoob, Mohammed, (1986), *Regional Security in the Third World*, London: Westview Press.
- Ayoob, Mohammed (1991), 'The Security Problematic of the Third World' *World Politics*, Vol. 43, pp. 257-283: 259.
- , (1992) 'The Security Predicament of the Third World State: Reflections on the State Making in a Comparative Perspective' in Brian L. Job *The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States*, pp. 63-80.
- , (1995) *The Third World Security Predicament: State Making, Regional Conflict and International System*, Boulder CO.: Lynne Rienner, .
- Azar, Edward and Chung-In Moon,(1988) *Rethinking Third World Security* London; Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Baldwin, David, A., (1997), 'The Concept of Security' *The Review of International Studies* Vol. 23, pp. 117-141.
- Baylis John, and Smith, S., (2001) 'Introduction' in Smith, S. and John Baylis, (eds.) *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations* London: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-12.
- Booth, Ken, (1991) 'Security and Emancipation' *Review of International Studies* Vol. 17, pp. 313–326.
- Bull, Hedley (2001), *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Pres.
- Burchill, Scott, (1996), 'Liberal Internationalism' in Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater (eds.) *Theories of International Relations*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd. pp. 28-66.

- Buzan, Barry, (1984) 'Peace, Power, and Security: Contending Concepts in the Study of International Relations, *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 21 No. 2.
- , (1991) 'Is International Security Possible? In Ken Booth (ed.) *New Thinking About Strategy and International Security*, London: HarperCollins, , pp 31-55.
- , (1991) *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, 2nd edn. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- , (1993) Charles Jones and Richard Little *The Logic of Anarchy: Neorealism to Structural Realism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).
- , (1997) 'Rethinking Security after the Cold War', *Cooperation and Conflict* Vol. 32, pp. 5-28.
- , (1998). 'Societal Security, State Security and Internationalisation.' in B. Buzan, O. Waever, and J. de Wilde. (ed.) *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, Boulder: Lynn Reinner.
- Buzan, Barry, Ole Waever and Jaap deWilde (1998) *Security: A New Framework of Analysis* London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Carr, E. H. (2001), *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations With a New Introduction by Michael Cox* New York: Palgrave.
- Chabal, Patrick and Jean Pascal Daloz, (1999), *Africa Works: Disorder as a Political Instrument*, London and Oxford: International Africa Institute.
- Commission on Human Security, (2003) *Human Security Now: Protecting and Empowering The People* (New York: Commission on Human Security). Also available at: <http://www.humansecurity-chs.org>.
- Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival*, (1982) [Palme Report], Simon and Schuster.
- Deng, Francis M., Sadikiel Kimaro, Terrence Lyons, Donald Rothchild, and I. William Zartman (ed.) (1996) *Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa*, Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, pp. 1-33.
- Ehrlich, E. Anne, (1994) 'Building a Sustainable Food System' in Phillip B. Smith, S. E. Okoye, Jaap de Wide, and Priya Deshingkar (eds.), *The World at the Crossroads: Towards a Sustainable Liveable and Equitable World*, London: Eurethscan, pp. 21-38.
- Getachaw Mengiste (2001) *Bio-Prospecting in Ethiopia: Enhancing Scientific and Technological Capacity* Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies Press.

- Gilpin, R., (1987), *The Political Economy of International Relations*. Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Hampson, Fen Osler, with Jean Daudelin, John B. Hay, Holly Reid and Todd Martin (2002) *Madness in the Multitude: Human Security and World Disorder*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Hay, Robin Jeffrey (1999) 'Present at the Creation? Human Security and Canadian Foreign Policy in the Twenty-first Century', in F. O. Hampson, M. Rudner and M. Hart (eds) *Canada Among Nations 1999: A Big League Player?*, Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Herz, John H. (1950), 'Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma', *World Politics Vol. 2*, pp. 157-180.
- Hoogensen, Gunhild & Svein Vigeland Rottem, (2004), 'Gender Identity and the Subject of Security' *Security Dialogue Vol. 35*, No. 2, pp. 154-171.
- Huntington, Samuel, (1997), *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Touchstone.
- Irwin, Rosalind, (2001), 'Linking Ethics and Security in Canadian Foreign Policy', in R. Irwin (ed.) *Ethics and Security in Canadian Foreign Policy*, pp. 3-13. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Jepperson, Ronald; Wendt, Alexander and Katzenstein, Peter, (1996). "Norms, Identity and Culture in National Security." in P. Katzenstein (ed.) *Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kaufman, Stuart, (2001), *Modern Hatreds: the Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Kivutha Kibwana, Smokin Wanjala and Oketch-Owiti (eds.) (1996), *The Anatomy of Corruption in Kenya: Legal, Political and Socio-Economic Perspectives*, Nairobi: Claripress.
- Krasner, Stephen D., (2001), 'Rethinking the Sovereign State Model' *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 27, pp. 17-42.
- Liotta, P. H., (2002), 'Creeping Vulnerabilities and Reordering Security' *Security Dialogue Vol. 35*, No.1 pp. 49-70.

- Lodgaard, Sverre (1992) 'Environmental Security, World Order and Environmental Conflict Resolution' in Nils Petter Gleditsch (ed.), *Conversion and the Environment* OSLO: International Peace Research Institute-PRIO, pp. 115-136.
- McSweeney, Bill, (1999), *Security, Identity and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morgenthau, H., (2001) *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, New Delhi: Ludhianna.
- Myers, Norman, (1993), *Ultimate Security—The Environmental Basis of Political Stability* (New York: WW Norton.
- Our Common Future: World Commission on Environment and Development*, [Chairman Gro Harlem Brundtland, Norway], Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Pinar, Bilgin, (2003), 'Individual and Societal Dimensions of Security' *International Studies Review* Vol. 5, pp. 203-222.
- Posen, Barry, (1993), 'The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict' *Survival* Vol. 35, pp. 27–47.
- Richmond, Oliver P. (2000) 'States of Sovereignty, Sovereign States and Ethnic Claims for International Status' *Review of International Studies* Vol. 28, pp. 381-402.
- Rogers, Paul, (2000) *Loosing Control: Global Security in the Twenty-First Century* London: Pluto Press.
- Rothman, Jay (1997) *Resolving Identity Based Conflicts; in Nations, Organizations and Communities* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Sanchez, Vincente, (1994), 'The Convention on Biological Diversity: Negotiation and Contents' in Vicente Sanchez and Calestus Juma (eds.) *Biodiplomacy: Genetic Resources and International Relations*, (Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies Press, pp. 7-17.
- Sheehan, Michael (2006), *International Security: An Analytical Survey* London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 46-47.
- Spero, Joan Edelman (1990), (4th Edition) *The Politics of International Economic Relations*, London: St. Martin's Press Inc.
- Taylor, Trevor, 'Power Politics' in Trevor Taylor (ed.) (1978) *Approaches and Theory in International Relations*, London: Longman, pp 122-140.

The United Nations Development Program's (UNDP), (1994), Human Development Report UNDP report, 1994.

Theiler, Tobias, (2003) Societal Security and Social Psychology *Review of International Studies* Vol. 29, pp. 249-268.

Trolladen, J. M. (1993), *International Environmental Conflict Resolution* OSLO & Washington: World Foundation for Environment and Development.

Tuchman, Mathews, Jessica, (1997) 'Power Shift', *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 76, pp. 50–66.

Ullman, Richard H., (Summer 1983) 'Redefining Security', *International Security* Vol. 8, No.1, pp. 129-153: 132.

United Nations Development Program, (1994), *Human Development Report*, New York: Oxford University Press.

United Nations Secretary-General (1992) *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking, and Peace-keeping*. Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992, UN General Assembly and Security Council, A/47/277-S/24111 (17 June).

Waever, O.; Buzan, B; Kelstrup, M and Lemaitre, P. (1993). *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe.* Copenhagen: Center for Peace and Conflict Research.

Waever, Ole., (1993) 'Societal Security: The Concept'. In Ole Waever, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup, and Pierre Lemaitre (ed.) *Identity, Migration, and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, London: Pinter.

Waever, Ole, (1995). "Securitization and Desecuritization." in *On Security*, R. Lipschutz (ed.) New York: Columbia University Press.

Waever, Ole (1998), 'Societal Security: The Concept.' in B. Buzan, O. Waever, and J. de Wilde.(ed.) *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, Boulder: Lynn Reinner.

Walt, Steven M. (1991) 'The Renaissance of Security Studies', *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 35, pp. 211–239.

Waltz, K., (1979) *Theory of International Politics*, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

Wolfers, Arnold, (1962) *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.