

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**MANAGING SECURITY IN A CHANGING INTERNATIONAL  
ENVIRONMENT: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA 2000 - 2014**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this is my original research project and has not been submitted for any award in any other University.

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Signature \_\_\_\_\_

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the assigned University Supervisor.

**Dr. Patrick Maluki**

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Date \_\_\_\_\_

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my loving family.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I acknowledge my supervisor Dr. Patrick Maluki, for guiding me through-out the entire research process, up to this successful end. I also acknowledge the entire NDC fraternity for walking with me throughout the journey as well as all my colleagues for their support.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>AIDS</b>	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
<b>CITES</b>	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna & Flora
<b>HIV</b>	Human Immunodeficiency Syndrome
<b>ICRC</b>	International Committee of the Red Cross
<b>IHL</b>	International Humanitarian Law
<b>KEPHIS</b>	Kenya Plant Health Inspectorate Service
<b>KFS</b>	Kenya Forest Service
<b>KWS</b>	Kenya Wildlife Service
<b>LATF</b>	Lusaka Agreement Taskforce
<b>MDGs</b>	Millennium Development Goals
<b>NEMA</b>	National Environmental Management Authority
<b>NGOs</b>	Non-governmental Organisations
<b>NGOs</b>	Non-governmental Organizations
<b>ODS</b>	Ozone Depleting Substances
<b>PEV</b>	Post Election Violence
<b>SALW</b>	Small Arms & Light Weapons
<b>SDGs</b>	Social Development Goals
<b>TOC</b>	Transnational Organized Crime
<b>TOC</b>	Transnational Organized Crimes
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme

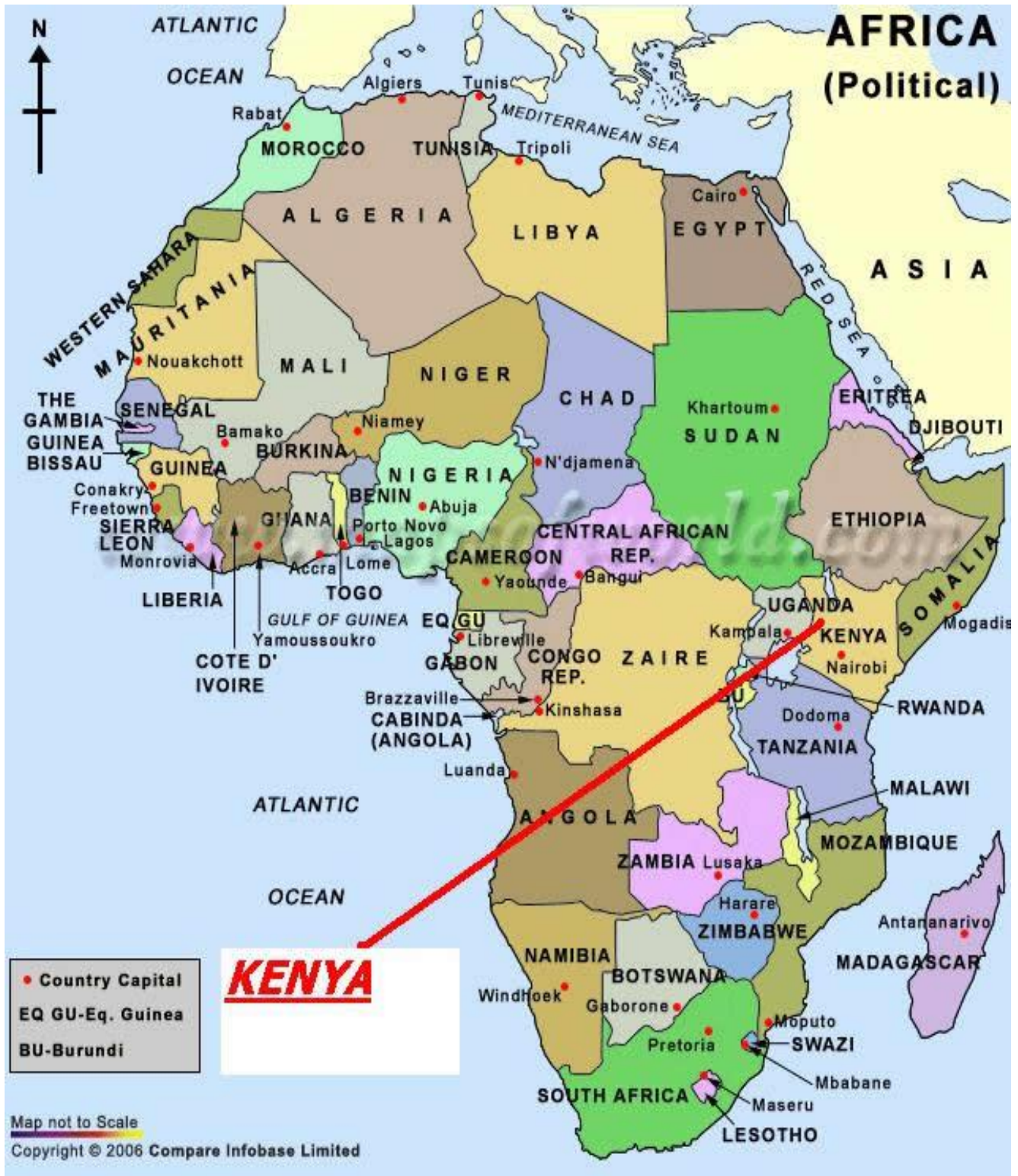


<b>UNODC</b>	UN Office on Drugs and Crime
<b>USA</b>	United States of America
<b>USSR</b>	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

## ABSTRACT

The end of the cold war had remarkable changes in the political, economic, social and cultural structure of the international system. Africa's current security challenges are rather complex, some are predominantly governance-related or intra-state conflicts, while the continent's ill-defined national borders remain a potent source of instability. This study aims to explore the changes in the international security arena have had in the management of security in Africa with a focus on Kenya. The study seeks to identify challenges occasioned by the security scenario and their effect on management of security. This study aims to contribute to effective policy making informed by provision of new understanding on the changes in the international security arena and how they impact on the management of security in Africa. The study utilized a triangulation of explanatory and case study research designs. The research relied on both quantitative and qualitative research techniques given that the study basically be relied on the views of those involved in the management of security. Specifically the study used the *neo-realist* approach to security which has also been christened the new security thinking. The collected data was sorted and analysed using document analysis and thematic analysis techniques, based on the emerging issues under study. Globalization has been the most important feature in transforming the international security landscape. Some scholars argue that defining something as a security issue might actually be counter-productive or even dangerous in that it legitimizes the suspension of civil liberties. The definition of human security is expansive and there is no one definition that has been agreed upon. One of the failures of traditional notion of security has been the inability to incorporate insecurity faced by people in day to day life. The other issue that affects security definitions today is intra-state conflict. The military might is declining in importance, with the modern era showing a steady drop in interstate war and a sharp increase in intrastate conflict. The literature reviewed concludes that African state capacities and societal conflicts appears more promising in terms of generating valuable insights into these issues than the literature which views them strictly through a lens of migration security, energy security or environmental security. The general objective was to explore the impact changes in the international security arena have in the management of security in Kenya. A total of 35 respondents successfully completed the questionnaire(s) out of the 50 originally administered for the study. On the changes in the international environment giving rise to new forms and sources of insecurity – majority (85%) of the respondents were in agreement, (10%) were in disagreement and (5%) were still undecided.

# MAP OF STUDY AREA



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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

The 20<sup>th</sup> Century marked the closure and the beginning of many things around the World. While it brought a closure to the dual super-power engagement in international politics it paved the way for a need to redefine some core issues in international relations such as those concerning international security.

Agostinho (2003) notes that the emergence of a new international security system raised fundamental issues of agenda setting in the new post-Cold War security framework.<sup>1</sup>

According to Mwangi, (2004) the end of the Cold War had remarkable changes in the political, economic, social and cultural structure of the international system. The changes were marked by the following factors; decline in ideological and super power conflicts, democratization process, technological changes and globalization.<sup>2</sup> Bruce observes that the wind of democracy swept Eastern Europe and Africa and saw changes such as political pluralism being embraced in these areas albeit reluctantly.<sup>3</sup>

Africa's current security challenges are rather complex, some are predominantly governance-related or intra-state conflicts, while the continent's ill-defined national borders remain a potent source of instability. Approximately half of all African countries have had to deal with boundary-related conflicts and disputes and have been key factor in the regional crises in the Great Lakes and Horn of Africa.

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<sup>1</sup> Agostinho, Z (2003). *Redefining Security from Cape to Congo: Southern Africa's Evolving Security Challenges* (Colorado: Lynne Rienner).

<sup>2</sup> Mwangi, Makumi (2004) *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalisation*, Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation.

<sup>3</sup> Bruce E. (1984), *African Security Issues – Sovereignty, Stability and Solidarity* Arlinghaus West View Press, Boulder p 7.

The wind of change swept through Africa in the 1990s and Kenya was no exception. The political scene has significantly changed in Kenya in the last two decades. The process has evolved over time starting with the first multi-party elections in 1992 and culminated with the promulgation of a new constitution in 2010. There were a number of milestones in the process and each has certain implications on how the government discharged its functions among them managing security.

Key among these changes is the shift from a state-centric approach to security that was more pronounced in the 70s and 80s to a perspective that increasingly embraced the human security perspective. From the human security perspective “issues of security are less clear cut, goals are not so well defined, the obstacles are less obvious, the identities of the enemies are blurred and the whole process is much more intricate and complex.”<sup>4</sup>

This poses a number of challenges key among them the expansiveness of the issues of human security and the subsequent dilemma of policy makers on how to prioritize the many issues presented by the new perception.

Mwagiru (2004) states that the end of the Cold War was accompanied by globalization which also had phenomenal changes on the international system. Globalization brought a phenomenon where borders are increasingly diminishing thus allowing for more interactions. This has enabled the thriving of such illegal trade in drugs, arms and people trafficking and, money laundering. An effort to contain these crimes “pits governments against agile, stateless and resourceful networks empowered by globalisation.”<sup>5</sup> In the light of this, the definition of security must acquire a new meaning that will take into account threats from external non-state actors.

Over the past years, academic and policy analyses have drawn attention to a definition of security that transcends parochial military considerations. In an influential study, Buzan (1991)

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<sup>4</sup> Bruce E. (1984), *African Security Issues – Sovereignty, Stability and Solidarity* Arlinghaus West View Press, Boulder p. 7

<sup>5</sup> Mwagiru, Makumi (2004) *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalisation*, Heinrich Boll Foundation. p. 5.

argued for a conception of security that encompassed political, economic, societal, environmental and military aspects and which was defined in wider international terms.<sup>6</sup>

The internet is also another notable factor that has had tremendous effects on security. As Mwangi (2004) states information revolution has created virtual communities and networks that cut across national borders. Technology has been diffusing power away from governments and empowering individuals.<sup>7</sup> This phenomenon is best exemplified by the Arab uprising where this modern technology was instrumental in mobilising and sustaining the revolution in the affected countries - Tunisia, Egypt and Libya.

On the background of the observed widening and deepening of the security concept, it is safe to conclude that the re-conceptualization of security has now been triggered by the end of the Cold War, by many processes including globalization, and by the gradual transition of the World into a global village. Therefore effective security will only be achieved when the dangers posed by manifold threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks are avoided, prevented, managed, coped with, mitigated and adapted to by individuals, societies, states, regional and global organizations.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Human security is a critical component of the global political and development agenda. Two ideas lie at its heart: firstly, the protection of individuals is a strategic concern for national as well as international security; secondly, security conditions for people's development are not bound to traditional matters of national defence, law and order, but rather encompass all political, economic and social issues enabling a life, free from risk and fear. Despite the consensus on the foundations of this concept, an uncontroversial definition of human security does not currently exist.

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<sup>6</sup> Buzan, Barry (1991). *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in Post-Cold War Era*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

<sup>7</sup> Mwangi, Makumi (2004) *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalisation*, Heinrich Boll Foundation. p. 27.

The end of the Cold-War had significant impact on the political, economic and social aspects of most countries in the world, Kenya included. Though issues of security are local oriented, the domestic scene cannot be seen in isolation from regional and international dynamics. In this regard, changes brought about by the end of the Cold War have had an impact on the management of security in Kenya. The changes heralded the following into the Kenyan scene; democratisation and political pluralism, rapid technological changes and liberalisation of the economy. These changes had a reciprocal change in the structure and function of the government including the management of security.

The changes in the political scene culminated in the promulgation of a new constitution in 2010 which changed the political and administrative structures along which the security structures had been fashioned. The democratisation process also changed the security concept from primarily the traditional state centred to people centred which identifies the individual as the key referent for security. The new concept has been referred to as human security, and thus the big question remains what are the current security challenges in Kenya brought about by the changing international security environment? And what is being done about it at the moment in the world and specifically in Kenya?

### **1.3 Objectives of the study**

The general objective of the study was to explore the impact changes in the international security arena have in the management of security in Africa with a focus on Kenya.

### **1.4 Specific Objectives**

**1.4.1** Identify how changes in the global security environment impact on the management of security in Africa with a focus on Kenya.

**1.4.2** Establish new forms of security threats brought about by the changed international environment that states such as Kenya has to deal with.

**1.4.3** Identify and explain the security challenges facing Kenya brought about by the changing international security environment.

## **1.5 Hypotheses**

**1.5.1** Increased security threats experienced by states emanates from the changed international environment in Kenya.

**1.5.2** Changes in the international environment have a positive effect on the management of security in States such as Kenya.

**1.5.3** Changes in the international environment gives rise to new forms and sources of insecurity facing countries like Kenya.

## **1.6 Justification of the Study**

In a complex and globalized security environment, having strong and capable partners on the African continent to tackle transnational challenges - greatly advances global security interests. In this regard, the study sought to add new knowledge to current security initiatives aimed at growing capabilities of African countries to effectively respond to regional security challenges.

The study intended to contribute to effective policy making that would be informed by provision of deeper understanding of the changes in the international security arena and how they impact on the management of security in Africa. In addition the study sought to contribute to action oriented strategies by governments, security managers, concerned agencies, actors and stakeholders in Kenya and the rest of Africa as a whole.

The professional and public responsibility of academicians is to investigate and create greater know-how of the concept of security and the current changes it has undergone. The study therefore also aimed to contribute to scholarly literature and promote greater academic appreciation for the changes in the global security environment and its impact on the management of security in Africa.



## 1.7 Literature Review

A number of scholars have made attempts to create the initial impression of the changes in the international security arena. The study looked at the problem globally and narrowed it down to the Region, Country, and Locality - giving a clear narrative of the problem and the impact it has had.

Holsti observes that the need for a new understanding of security is revealed by the changing nature of war over the last 250 years. In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, wars were generally short, lasting only two years or so between the declaration of war and the signing of the peace treaty. Since the experience of the two World Wars, however, the nature of conflict has changed.<sup>8</sup> Thus cross-border war has become a primarily "small- or medium-power activity," and thus the attention of great powers has been focused on other types of conflicts.

According to Beal, the end of the Cold War highlighted the limitations of the narrow paradigm that had conceived of security purely in terms of inter-state violence. In the context of the evolving international security setting, states are no longer the exclusive determinants of security. Nor do citizens always have confidence in the ability of governments to protect them.<sup>9</sup>

The Cold War had permeated every sphere of life in most countries and dictated the way they run their affairs such as relations with other nations, political structures, and perception of national security. Though the competition was ideally between the two super powers United States of America (USA) and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the contests were replicated throughout the world through their allies.<sup>10</sup> The end of the cold war therefore was a game changer and brought about readjustments in the political, economic, social and cultural structure of the international system.

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<sup>8</sup> Holsti, Kalevii (1996), *The State, War, and the State of War*, p. 25.

<sup>9</sup> Beal, Clifford (2002), *'Everything Has Changed... Nothing Has Changed'*, Vol. 38, No. 11, pp. 8 - 9.

<sup>10</sup> Fouad Ajami, (1992) *The Arab Predicament: Arab Political Thought and Practice since 1967* (Cambridge, updated).

Mills and Shillinger observe that international and national security dilemmas are the product of existential challenges and opportunities, as well as errors in policy and strategy.<sup>11</sup>

Four dominant approaches to security during the Cold War can be identified: balance of power, bipolar world, containment and deterrence.<sup>12</sup> Each of these approaches, constituted major issues of the study of security and international relations during the Cold War period.

In international relations, security has been defined and redefined by both academics and politicians alike. The classical writings of Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes and others have been much concerned with the insecurity of sovereign states.<sup>13</sup> During the post Second World War the issue of security gained special momentum, especially during the 1950s and 1960s, when doctrinal debates were carried out analyzing 'national security'.

The concept of security has become much more multifaceted and must be considered in a broader manner, incorporating aspects that were not previously considered to be part of the security puzzle such as economy, regional security, societal and environmental sectors. This has therefore brought a large number of combinations of actors and types of interactions or situations (governments, armed forces, national economy, economic regimes, social or religious groups, individuals) which must be taken into account in the security field.<sup>14</sup> This concept recognizes the complexity of the human environment and accepts that the forces influencing human security are interrelated and mutually reinforcing.

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<sup>11</sup> Greg Mills and Kurt Shillinger, (2005) *Trade, Development and Security in Africa – Report of the 2005 Tswalu Dialogue* (London: The Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies,), p.xi.

<sup>12</sup> Owen, J.H. (1994) *'How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace'* International Security, vol. 19, no. 2 (fall).

<sup>13</sup> Farahanaz Faizal, *Security Problems of small Island Developing States ( With particular reference to the Indian Ocean)* ,Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Hull ,February, 1996 pp.

<sup>14</sup> Peter J. Katzenstein (1996). *The culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World politics*, New York, Columbia University Press, p. 34.

The new concept of security therefore requires a transition from old to new sources, forms and remedies for insecurity. From a human security perspective it is possible for inhabitants of a secure state to suffer insecurity. This comes about in that individuals or communities could be affected by a number of non-military atrocities that threaten their wellbeing just as an invasion from a foreign army would. These factors include famine, ethnic strife, and discrimination in state resource allocation, diseases, religious and cultural persecution among others.<sup>15</sup> This would often happen in a state that is not facing the threat of aggression from external sources and therefore perceived to be secure from a realist perspective.

The state centred approach to security has been criticized for its emphasis on the state survival sometimes to the detriment of the inhabitants of that state. The new concept therefore tries to give prominence to the individuals and their needs arguing that the security of the individuals and communities within a state will cumulatively amount to national security. This approach advocates for the inclusion of such aspects as food, environment and economic welfare of the individuals besides the traditional aspects of sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Globalisation together with technological advancement has seen the emergence of non-traditional forms of insecurity in the form of transnational crimes such as drug and human trafficking, money laundering and cybercrimes.

Globalization has also had a significant impact on the concept and management of security. Globalization brought a phenomena where borders are increasingly diminishing thus allowing for more interactions.<sup>16</sup> Another phenomenon and one that is closely linked to globalization is information and communication technology penetration. Technological advancement and the adoption of the same across the globe have had an immense impact on security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

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<sup>15</sup> Mwangi, 2004.

<sup>16</sup> Mwangi, Makumi (2004), African Regional Security in the Age of Globalisation Heinrich Boll Foundation p 5.

Mwagiru states “the information revolution has created virtual communities and networks that cut across national borders. Technology has been diffusing power away from governments and empowering individuals”.<sup>17</sup> The power of the internet particularly social media to unite and mobilize people cannot be gainsaid. This phenomenon is best exemplified by the Arab uprising where it was instrumental in mobilising and sustaining the revolution in the affected countries, that is Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. Besides, this has been a convenient tool for facilitating communication and co-ordination among such groups as terrorists. Its power and influence transcends borders and reduces geographical distances thus the emergence of the ‘global village’.

Security in a globalizing world therefore cannot be provided on a purely national basis or even on the basis of limited alliances. A multilateral and even global approach is needed to deal effectively with the multitude of trans-boundary challenges hence the emergence of regional security.<sup>18</sup>

Consequently, many of today’s threats to security cannot be adequately handled by traditional state-centric security policies. This is informed by the fact that unlike traditional threats emanating from a determined adversary such as an attack from another state, many of today’s security challenges are risks and vulnerabilities shared across borders such as the effects of global warming.<sup>19</sup> In the light of this, the definition of security must acquire a new meaning that will take into account threats from external non-state actors such as terrorist groups or such elusive threats as climate change.

The assumptions and institutions that governed security in the cold war era are a poor fit with the new realities. Environmental pollution for instance transcends national borders and has no regard

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p 27.

<sup>18</sup> Rethinking Global Security (2006): *An African Perspective*, Heinrich Boll Foundation, p. 13.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p. 24.

for the sanctity of boundaries or national sovereignty. The geographical boundaries have also been rendered porous by the information and communication revolutions and the instantaneous global movement of financial capitals. Problems such as global warming, and pollution does not respect human-drawn borders, and may now be labelled “problems without passports” as their effects are always felt far and beyond their point of origin.

Wolfers, defines security as the “the ability of a nation to deter an attack or to defeat it”.<sup>20</sup> However, these interpretations of security reflect a common assumption based on the realist tradition that the nation-state is the main unitary actor in an anarchic world and that all states seek, or would have to seek, to enhance their power. The state that is powerful in relation to others, or is perceived to be powerful, will have achieved, or is on its way to achieving security. Similarly, the security problem of a state is the problem of physical protection of the state from external military threats from other states. Thus, as far as traditional realism goes, security relates to the actual security of the state, mainly from external threats. While this approach may have been relevant in the aftermath of two world wars security is a dynamic concept and there have been changes since then.

A key element of the changes experienced after the end of the cold war is the shift from a state-centric approach to security that was more pronounced in the 70s and 80s to a perspective that increasingly embraces the human security perspective which takes the individual and community as the referent for security. The state centred approach to security has been criticized for its emphasis on the state survival sometimes to the detriment of the inhabitants of that state. The new concept therefore tries to give prominence to the individuals and their needs arguing that the security of the individuals and communities within a state will cumulatively amount to national security.

Burton observes that if individuals and communities feel secure and protected from the threats that emanate from direct and structural violence - that is, if their basic human security is guaranteed -

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<sup>20</sup> Wolfers, Arnold (1962), *Discord and Collaboration: essays on international politics*, (The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1962) p. 150.

then human suffering on an individual level and conflict and violence on communal, regional and international levels can be significantly reduced.<sup>21</sup>

In contrast the violation of the basic human needs of individuals and communities leads to human suffering and social and communal deterioration, and therefore to more violence in its direct and structural manifestations. This, in turn, perpetuates the frustration of human needs.<sup>22</sup> Breaking this cyclical relationship hinges on the ability to reduce or avoid violence and thus provides human security.

This approach advocates for the inclusion of such aspects as food, environmental and economic welfare of the individuals besides the traditional aspects of sovereignty and territorial integrity. From the state centric approach threats to security are customarily associated with military threats emanating from beyond the borders or issues that affect the state as a unit. From a human security perspective there are increasingly non-military competitors for attention such as disease, poverty, transnational crime, and ethnic strife as well as environmental degradation.

Todd notes that modern terrorism tends in practice mainly to target civilians; the phenomenon derives in fact from the general evolution of political structures and the emergence of the mass media. In the West, political structures have evolved toward democracy since the late eighteenth century. The modern media, a critical component of liberal democracy, emerged in tandem. Now, the political legitimacy of a democracy and its elected representatives lies by definition with its citizens, which is why terrorism is more effective against democratic countries than against dictatorships. This is not, as is widely thought, because dictatorships are more efficient at finding and punishing terrorists- although they do have greater leeway than democracies in doing so-but because the impact of an attack is broader in a free country than in one whose people have no voice in government and the

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<sup>21</sup> Burton, J. (1990), *Conflict: Human Needs Theory*, St. Martin's Press: New York.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

media serve or are controlled by the state. It is therefore not inaccurate to affirm that modern terrorism is in part a consequence of democracy.<sup>23</sup>

The assumption that threats to security constituted those issues that affected the state as an entity has been questioned from many quarters with some arguing that the individual's security must be paramount. The argument further states that national security is influenced not only by political and military factors, but also by socio-economic and environmental factors.

In this regard definition of security has acquired a new broader meaning with an increasing promotion of human security as an overriding element in the definition of national security. The origin of the concept human security can be traced to a 1994 report of the United Nations Development Programme which identifies seven key elements that comprise human security.<sup>24</sup> These are economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.

The traditional conceptualization of security that used to be applied during post-world war two is relatively narrowly conceived. Its definition of security covers explicitly the security interest of the state especially its two core properties, namely territorial integrity and sovereignty and, to a limited extent, the security of the state leadership (the government), certain fundamental aspects of the way of life (national values) within the state, and values like democracy, freedom, and religion.<sup>25</sup>

This definition is state centric and uses the realist view of the state that is an abstract entity, autonomous from domestic society thereby down-playing the role and impact that domestic security issues have on national and international security. This realist definition of security presupposes

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<sup>23</sup> Todd, Emmanuel. 2002. *After the Empire: The Breakdown of the American Order*. New York: Columbia University Press.

<sup>24</sup> Roland, Paris (2001), *Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air*.

<sup>25</sup> Chweya L., *Emerging Dimension of Security in the IGAD Region*, in Mwagiru (ed), *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization* (Nairobi: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2004)pp. 31-48.

threats from other states in the anarchical world. Therefore the study of security during the post World war two (WW II) and Cold War period focused, above all, on the stable management of relations between two heavily militarized blocs that shared a common interest in avoiding direct confrontation, but nevertheless remained deeply divided along ideological lines. Security was limited to military, political and diplomatic relations of the state and other states. So long as there was no hostility between states there was peace.<sup>26</sup> The problem with this conceptualization is that a state can be free from aggression in the international system from other states, yet face more devastating threats from internal actors or from non-state actors. For example the most devastating assault on the United States (US) since Pearl Harbor in 1941 by the Japanese was September 11 terrorist attack necessitating the United States (US) to designate Al Qaeda terrorist network as one of the leading sources of threat to its security both at home and to its external interests.

Ullman defines threat to national security as an action or sequence of events that drastically degrade the quality of life for the inhabitants of a state or threatens to significantly narrow the range of policy choices available to the government, State or private non-governmental entities (persons, groups, corporations) within a state.<sup>27</sup>

Maclean *et.al* argues that human security includes security against economic privation, an acceptable quality of life and a guarantee of fundamental human rights<sup>28</sup>. Meanwhile, for Galtung human security means the security of people, their physical safety, economic well-being, respect for their dignity and worth as human beings, as well as the protection of their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid 32-33

<sup>27</sup> John Baylis & Steve Smith (2001), *The Globalisation of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, Oxford University Press, New York.

<sup>28</sup> Sandra J. Maclean, David R. Black & Timothy M. Shaw, (2006) *A Decade of Human Security. Global Governance and New Multilateralism*, Ashgate Publishing Limited Hampshire. p. 55.



Though there are numerous definitions of the concept they all have one common theme running through, that is the well-being of the individual. The individual is the referent object and occupies a centre stage and the state, particularly in the African region is seen as the means to the achievement of security as opposed to it being the object of security.

Kenya as a player in the international system has experienced changes as a result of global events and processes such as democratization especially in the last two decades. One of the notable changes is a variation in the definition of national security. Before the democratization process in Kenya, national security had been limited to state security and little thought given to the wellbeing of the individuals.

Threats to security were customarily associated with military threats emanating from beyond the borders or issues that affected the state as a unit. Though the fear of violent conflicts never completely disappears, there are increasingly non-military competitors for attention such as disease, poverty, transnational crime, ethnic strife and others.<sup>29</sup> During the clamour for democracy, the assumption of the identification of the state with security was assaulted from many quarters; some argued that the individual's security must be paramount and that the state is more of a threat than a guarantor of such individual security. Attempts to ensure individual security must have informed the changes that have been targeting the management of security in Kenya. The shift from state to human security entails a corresponding transformation in the nature and responsibility shouldered by the states.

The aforementioned scenario defines the new environment that security operators have to work in. It portends a number of challenges which therefore calls for an adjustment of the structures and techniques to be able to adequately respond to the challenges. The question the study seeks to

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<sup>29</sup> Jeffrey S. (2002) *Lantis, Strategic Culture and National Security Policy*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.

answer is; to what extent have changes in the international system affected the management of security in Kenya and how have security institutions adapted to the changes.

Equally a state can be secure – free from any external military threat or aggression that other state actors perpetrate – and yet its citizens suffer insecurity in terms of physical attacks or genocide that internal non-state aggressors commit. The incessant ethnic and clan conflicts such as those between Turkana/Pokot, Turkana/Samburu, Orma/Pokomo and Garre/Degodia have been a constant security concern to Kenya more than an act of aggression from any of its neighbours.

A state can have cordial relations with another state yet face threats from non-state actors operating in that country. For instance though Kenya is not at war with Somalia one of the biggest challenge to security at the moment is the threat of Al Shahab a terrorist group based in Somalia. Similarly a state can be free of aggression of different kinds from other states in the international system, yet face more devastating threats from non-state actors such as international terrorist organizations, cross border bandits, cattle raiders and drug, gun and human traffickers. For instance the most devastating external attacks that Kenya faces have been terror attacks - West Gate and Garissa attacks in September 2013 and April 2015 respectively.

Traditionally, security in the Kenya context has been seen as closely related to the threat or use of violence, and military means were regarded as central to the provision of security. This may once have made sense, when conflicts took place predominantly between different countries, territorial control was a key objective, and uniformed soldiers were the combatants. But over the last several decades, this type of conflict has become more the exception than the norm.

The significance of threats from such new sources has surpassed threats from states as the latter increasingly take a co-operative approach to dealing with matters of mutual interest in the post-cold war era. In this regard the source of insecurity has changed significantly with the traditional sources of insecurity giving way to new sources of threats in Africa, and Kenya in particular.

## 1.8 Theoretical Framework

The study adopted Realism Theory to explore the impact changes in the international security arena have in the management of security in Kenya.

Realism surfaced as a stronger, valid and logical theory in explaining the world politics as well as domestic politics during 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Century. This theory of international relations remained successful in satisfying the answers to questions about causes and effects of war. Realists figured out war as a recurrent event in world politics. Until the cold war ended, no other theory challenged its fundamental assumptions.<sup>30</sup> A key concept under realism is the international distribution of power referred to as system polarity. Polarity refers to the number of blocs of states that exert power in an international system. A multipolar system is composed of three or more blocs, a bipolar system is composed of two blocs, and a unipolar system is dominated by a single power or hegemony.

States employ the rational model of decision making by obtaining and acting upon complete and accurate information. The state is sovereign and guided by national interests defined in terms of power. Since the only constraint of the international system is anarchy, as there is no international authority, states are left to their own devices to ensure their own security.

Specifically the study used the *neo-realist* approach to security which has also been christened the new security thinking. This approach attempts to broaden the concept of security but still looks at the state as an important player in the provision and management of security. One of the major proponents of this approach is Barry Buzan. Buzan has broadened the meaning of security to include political, economic, social and environmental threats, in addition to sovereignty and territorial integrity. Although Buzan also looks at security from the individual's perspective he concludes that the most important and effective provider of security should remain the sovereign state.

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<sup>30</sup> Ian Wing, (2000) *Refocusing Concepts on Security: The Convergence of Military and Non-Military Tasks*, Land Warfare Studies Centre, Working Paper No. 111, November, pp. 7-9.

For the proponents of this approach, only if survival is assured can states seek other goals as environmental or food security. There is also an argument that the provision of these ideals will not happen in a vacuum and therefore the structures provided by the state are important hence if security of people is the end, the state is the means, thus its central position in as far as provision of security is concerned cannot be disputed. To understand the relationship between the state and security, there is need to look at what constitutes a state.

Most scholars give three important elements of the state which are government, people and territory. This therefore means that the whole (state), has a reciprocal relationship with the individual parts. The state cannot be secure if its constituent parts are insecure. At the same time, if the state as the institution representing its constituent parts is insecure its elements are ultimately affected.

The neo-realist approach looks at the two issues - human security and state security, as referent in the conceptualization of security. Buzan argues that the state becomes the referent of security as the representative institution of 'human collectivities' who in this case are the citizens of a state.

The basic argument is that the two entities are intertwined and their fate is mutually entangled thus the survival of one is highly dependent on the other. Structural violence has been a major source of threat to the survival of the state particularly in Africa. The perceptions of political alienation, inequitable distribution of resources are some of the factors that contributed to civil wars in such countries as the Democratic Republic of Congo. Though they are basically intrinsic to the individual or parts of the community, they threaten the survival of the state as an entity. Likewise when the state is faced with such issues as insurgency or threats from external sources such as belligerent neighbours, its ability to address such issues as food and environmental security is hampered thus threatening the security of the people.

In responding to issues raised that the state at times is a threat to the people, Buzan explains that the citizens have to decide on the lesser of two evils, that is either to accept the threats that come from the state, or accept the threats that arise in the absence of the state.<sup>31</sup> The assumption is that whatever threats emanate from the State are likely to be of a lower magnitude than those arising in its absence. A good example of this dilemma would be the state of affairs in Somalia after the fall of Siad Bare's government and the disintegration of the state of Somalia.

It is safe to conclude that many security scholars are now accepting that our understanding of what security means, what constitute threats to security, and how best to achieve security, is changing in important ways. According to Destler<sup>32</sup> the catalysts of this change remain under-theorized.

This provided an important gap for various important reasons. First, being that without an understanding of its catalysts, studies would not be sure whether some of the alleged redefinitions of security are transformative or fad-like. Second, the study needed a sense of the relative importance of the various catalysts of security redefinitions so as to visualize what the emerging and future security order might look like. As leaders and academics continually look for new security concepts and approaches for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it is useful to start by examining what causes changes to our definition and conception of security.

## **1.9 Methodology of the study**

This section covers the procedures that were followed in conducting the research. The procedures include; research design, research methods, target population, sampling methods, data collection and ethical issues.

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<sup>31</sup> Bary Buzan (1991), *People, States & Fears – An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era* p 19.

<sup>32</sup>I. M. Destler, (2009) “*Jonestown: Will Obama's National Security Council Be Dramatically Different?*”, Foreign Affairs Online.

### **1.9.1 Research Design**

This study utilized a triangulation of explanatory and case study research designs that sought to gain an in-depth understanding of the impact changes in the international security arena have in the management of security in Kenya.

Case studies provide rich raw material for advancing theoretical ideas. They provide insight at all stages of the theory building process and probably most valuable in testing new theories, and new information that holds across many cases and can stimulate new theoretical thinking. In addition they can be used as a research tool.

The study was based on both primary and secondary sources, that is, journals, books, media reports and other academic publications and technical reports by International governmental and Non-governmental Organizations.

The study also used focus group discussion and content analysis. The effort to acquire primary materials involved discussing questions with key informant persons through interviews to obtain their views.

The process of content analysis involved investigating, recording and analysing past events with a view to discovering generalizations that are significant in understanding the past and present in order to predict and deal with the issue under consideration. To this end the study relied on documented literature. The study utilized both quantitative and qualitative research techniques for data collection to accomplish the set objectives. Quantitative approach in this case was meant to come up with numerical data and results. Qualitative approach aimed at corresponding with quantitative techniques by concentrating on data that is unquantifiable.

### **1.9.2 Data Collection Methods**

The research relied on both quantitative and qualitative research techniques given that the study basically depended on the views of those involved in the management of security. These could not be quantified hence the most reliable technique was the qualitative approach. For primary data the research used interview schedule method and supplemented by telephone interviews. This was informed by the fact that the target population was large and widely spread geographically and the limited time within which the research had to be conducted.

### **1.9.3 Target Population**

The security structures in the country were formally drawn along administrative boundaries from the lowest unit to the national level. These included Sub-Location, Location, Division, District, Province and eventually national level. With the new constitution the Administrative structures changed and the Provinces were dissolved and Counties created. These units are crucial in the management of security and were therefore the basis of the study.

The study targeted members of the County Security Committees. The members consisted the County Commissioner, the Head of the Kenya Police Service in the County, the Head of the Administration Police Service in the County, the Head of Criminal Investigations Department in the County, the Head of the National Intelligence Service in the County and where applicable a representative of the Kenya Defence Forces, Department of Immigration Services or the Kenya Wildlife Services or such other persons as may be co-opted from time to time.

The first schedule of the constitution of Kenya lists forty seven counties. These Counties include Baringo, Bomet, Bungoma, Busia, Elgeyo Marakwet, Embu, Garissa, Homa Bay, Isiolo, Kajiado, Kakamega, Kericho, Kiambu, Kilifi, Kirinyaga, Kisii, Kisumu, Kitui, Kwale, Laikipia, Lamu, Machakos, Makueni, Mandera, Marsabit, Meru, Migori, Mombasa, Murang'a, Nairobi,

Nakuru, Nandi, Narok, Nyamira, Nyandarua, Nyeri, Samburu, Siaya, Taita Taveta, Tana River, Tharaka Nithi, Trans Nzoia, Turkana, Uasin Gishu, Vihiga, Wajir, and West Pokot.

Given the expansiveness of the area and the limitation of time it was not possible to conduct interviews in all the forty seven counties. The study was a survey and aimed to achieve 30% of the total population under study.

#### **1.9.4 Sampling Method**

Sampling refers to the method of selecting items to be observed for a study. The forty seven counties as listed in the first schedule are numbered from 1 to 47. The research took the form of a survey and hence required five counties to constitute 30% of the population. To attain this, the study employed a systematic sampling by picking every third case as they are laid out in the first schedule of the constitution.

Systematic sampling is a method of selecting sample members from a larger population according to a random starting point and a fixed, periodic interval. Systematic sampling is still thought of as being random, as long as the periodic interval is determined beforehand and the starting point is random. Out of the 47 counties, the study picked every third (3<sup>rd</sup>) case. Then a few others were used as pilot tests. Therefore the Counties that were sampled systematically included the third, sixth, ninth, eighteenth, and others respectively.

The study applied proportionate stratified sampling technique to identify the sample size of the study. The research used this sampling design because it enables generalization of a larger population with a margin of error that is statistically determinable and also gives participants equal opportunity to participate.<sup>33</sup>

The stratification was based on the various security stakeholders in the chosen County. According to Mugenda and Mugenda, a sample of 30% is adequate for the generalization of the

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<sup>33</sup> Mugenda O & Mugenda A. (1999). *Research methods-quantitative and qualitative approaches*. Acts press, Nairobi, Kenya.



findings to the whole population if the sample size is more than 30 elements. Based on these, the study selected 30% of the population proportionately from each security category (department). After stratification, a simple random sampling technique was used in obtaining the actual respondents.

### **1.9.5 Data Analysis Methods**

The collected data was sorted and analysed using document analysis and thematic analysis techniques, based on the emerging issues under study. Document analysis is a form of qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning around an assessment topic.

Thematic analysis is a qualitative analytic method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organizes and describes the main data set in detail. However, frequently it goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic.

A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set. Adequate data will be presented to allow a reader to assess whether or not the interpretation is supported by the data.

The qualitative data generated from analysis of reports was categorized in themes in accordance with research objectives and reported in narrative form along with quantitative presentation. The qualitative data was used to reinforce the quantitative data.

### **1.9.6 Data Presentation**

The research is basically qualitative and the results of the study are presented in narrative form where the researcher identifies the various scenarios that emerge.

### **1.9.7 Ethical issues**

The researcher endeavoured to adhere to all the regulations pertaining to conducting a research and ensured that information was obtained in a proper manner.

Firstly, approval of the final proposal document and data collection tool was given by the assigned supervisor. This was followed by a data collection letter, whose permission was sought from the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi. The letter of data collection from the institution was then presented to the respective institutions (offices).

The key respondents to be sampled were identified and before the researcher interviewed or administered questionnaires the participants were properly oriented into the whole research study, and their consent obtained. At the same time they were informed of their right not to take part in the study. Full privacy and confidentiality was maintained during the interview sessions and the identity of the respondents will be kept secret. Personal information will only be used for the purpose of the academic study and the respondents will not be revealed to any other source.

Participants were informed of any potential limitations to the confidentiality of any information supplied. Procedures were put in place to protect the confidentiality of information and the anonymity of the participants in all the research materials. In addition, participants will be offered access to the results of the study after the whole research.

Besides all these, the researcher endeavoured to uphold such requirements as to adhere to the highest level of ethical consideration.

### **1.9.8 Scope and limitations**

The scope of the study was limited to content analysis on the impact, changes in the international system have on the management of security in Kenya. The study sought to identify challenges occasioned by the scenario and their effect on management of security.

The study encountered a number of limitations notably time and resource constraints. To ensure the quality of the data the research used an interview schedule. This ensured that the rate of response was high and also provided an opportunity for clarification. The research also used

telephone interviews to allow for flexibility where the respondent was only willing to grant that due to time constraints.

### **1.9.9 Definition of Terms**

#### **1.9.9.1 Security**

In this study security refers to freedom from danger or threats to a nation's stability, pursuit and promotion of its values and interests and enhancement of the well-being of its people.

#### **1.9.9.2 Security sector**

Security sector refers to organisations and entities that have the authority, capacity and/or orders to use force or the threat of force to protect the state and civilians. It also includes the civil structures responsible for managing such organisations.

#### **1.9.9.3 Management of security**

Security management refers to the authority to protect the state in all its elements – territory, population and institutions.

#### **1.9.9.4 Environment**

Environment refers to the framework and circumstances within which decisions concerning security are made.

### **1.10 Chapter Outline**

The chapter outline is made of different sections, starting with chapter one which consist of the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, literature review, theoretical framework and methodology. Followed by chapter two, that explores the extent to which changes in the global security arena impact on management of security in Kenya. The next one is chapter three, which identifies the new forms of security threats brought about by the changed

international environment. Chapter four identifies the challenges brought about by the changing environment. Finally the last part is chapter five, which consist of the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

## CHAPTER TWO

### IMPACT OF CHANGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM ON THE MANAGEMENT OF SECURITY IN KENYA

#### 2.1 Understanding Changing Security Dynamics

Galle (1962) states that the definition of 'security' has always proved too complex and caused dispute about its meaning. Scholars agree that security is essentially a contested concept.<sup>34</sup>

In international relations, security has been defined and redefined by both academics and politicians alike. The classical writings of Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes and others have been much concerned with the insecurity of sovereign states.<sup>35</sup> During the post Second World War the issue of security gained special momentum, especially during the 1950s and 1960s, when doctrinal debates were carried out analyzing 'national security'.

Some of the scholars who have offered definitions of security are Walter Lippmann, who defines security as;

"a nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war" <sup>36</sup> According to Bajpai, due to the complexity of the security concept, its dynamics, continuously change and due to the lack of an agreed definition, there has been very little literature that deals specifically with concepts of security. Most existing literature focuses on the empirical side, dealing with contemporary security problems and issues. In terms of national and international security issues, most of the literature analyses the foreign, military and economic policies of states.<sup>37</sup> The

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<sup>34</sup> Galle, W. B. (1962), *Essentially Contested Concept*, in Max Black (ed.), *The Importance of Language*, (New Jersey, Princeton Hall).

<sup>35</sup> Farahanaz Faizal, *Security Problems of small Island Developing States ( With particular reference to the Indian Ocean)* ,Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Hull ,February, 1996 pp.

<sup>36</sup> Cited in Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear: An agenda for international security studies in the post-cold war era*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, (Harvester Wheat sheaf, London, 1991), pp. 16

<sup>37</sup> Bajpai, Kanti (2002), 'Beyond Comprehensive Security: Human Security', *Comprehensive Security: Perspectives from India's Regions*, New Delhi, Delhi Policy Group.

concept of security is therefore seldom addressed in terms other than the policy interests of particular actors or groups, and the discussion has a heavy military emphasis.

Greg (2008) states that the meaning of "security" is often treated as a common sense term that can be understood by "unacknowledged consensus". The content of international security has expanded over the years.<sup>38</sup> Today it covers a variety of interconnected issues in the world that have an impact on survival.

It ranges from the traditional or conventional modes of military power, the causes and consequences of war between states, economic strength, to ethnic, religious and ideological conflicts, trade and economic conflicts, energy supplies, science and technology, food, as well as threats to human security and the stability of states from environmental degradation, infectious diseases, climate change and the activities of non-state actors.

Greg observes that while the wide perspective of international security regards everything as a security matter, the traditional approach focuses mainly or exclusively on military concerns.<sup>39</sup>

International security consists of the measures taken by nations and international organization, such as the United Nations, to ensure mutual survival and safety. These measures include military action and diplomatic agreements such as treaties and conventions. International and national security is invariably linked. International security is national security or state security in the global arena.<sup>40</sup> With the end of World War II, a new subject of study focusing on international security emerged. It began as an independent field of study, but was absorbed as a sub-field of international relations. Since it took hold in the 1950s, the study of international security has been at the heart of

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<sup>38</sup> Greg, Bruno. (2008), *The Evolution of Cyber Warfare*, Backgrounder (Washington DC: Council on Foreign Relations).

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Blair, Dennis (2010), *Annual Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence* (Washington DC: Senate Select Committee).

international relations studies. It covers labels like "security studies", "strategic studies", "peace studies", and others.<sup>41</sup> Security is a core value of human life. To be secure is to be untroubled by danger or fear.

Since the end of the Cold War the definition of international security has expanded to include more issues and actors.<sup>42</sup> Effectively confronting the threats of the 21<sup>st</sup> century requires careful engagement with this extended constituency and a new kind of integrated strategic thinking.

## **2.2 Impact of Changes in the International System on national Security**

The tectonic geopolitical shifts that have taken place since the end of the Cold War have led many to put forth a need to rethink and revise the concept of international security. The traditional definition, they assert, is no longer sufficient in the face of the modern era's most pressing security issues and threats.

Barber argues that in order to face the problems of the twenty-first century, scholars need a more comprehensive definition of security - one that encompasses the increasing number of threats as well as the increasing number of actors.<sup>43</sup>

Acharya observes that it is commonplace to assume that security concepts emerge or change in response to new events or threats. But ideas can be ahead of 'realities'. They can drive change, instead of simply reflecting change. Mikhail Gorbachev's "new thinking" and the Palme Commission's idea of common security both emerged well before the end of the Cold War. They contributed, rather than responded, to the end of the Cold War which in turn affected the global

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<sup>41</sup> Greg, Bruno. (2008), *The Evolution of Cyber Warfare*, Backgrounder (Washington DC: Council on Foreign Relations).

<sup>42</sup> Goodhand, J. and Sedra, M. (2009) 'Who Owns the Peace? Aid, Reconstruction and Peace-building in Afghanistan'. *Disasters* 34(1): 78-101.

<sup>43</sup> Acharya, Amitav (2009) *Changing Conceptions of Security in the 21st Century: Power, Institutions, and Ideas*.

security paradigm in significant ways.<sup>44</sup> In the same way that Gandhi's concept of nonviolence was not a response to his experiences in South Africa or simply inspired by a desire to end colonialism there or in India.

Acharya further asks what are the most relevant and appropriate concepts of security for Asia, Africa and the world in the 21<sup>st</sup> century? Which concept best captures the referent objects (who is being protected), threats (protected from what), and the impact zones (from where is the threat coming from and where is the response being directed) of security now and in the coming decades, looking at developments associated with new warfare and the growing academic and policy prominence of non-traditional security concepts.

Kaldor states it is difficult to deny that the sweeping changes wrought since the end of the Cold War have altered, and will continue to alter, the global geopolitical landscape. Conventional, "Great Power" warfare appears in precipitous decline.<sup>45</sup> Global civil society seems to be on the rise. In today's world, it is the international economy that matters most.

Bedeski argues that the true concept of 'human security' evolved at a time when the world was experiencing a marked shift from a bipolar to a unipolar system at the end of the Cold War. The end of the Cold War not only resulted in many non-traditional security issues becoming a focus in international relations, it also set the stage for a comprehensive re-evaluation of the world's concept of security.<sup>46</sup> This is reflected in changing threat perceptions and also changing attitudes to the nature of security.

In the times of the Cold War, the security scene was characterised and constantly affected by unexpected and sudden conflicts, tense ideological confrontations, territorial disputes, cross-border

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<sup>44</sup> Barber, Benjamin. 2008. "Shrunken Sovereignty: Consumerism, Globalization, and American Emptiness." *World Affairs* (Spring): 74-81.

<sup>45</sup> Kaldor, Mary (2003). *The Idea of Global Civil Society*. *International Affairs*, 79, (3): pp. 583-593.

<sup>46</sup> Bedeski, R.E. (1992) "Unconventional Security Threats: An Overview", North Pacific Cooperative Security Dialogue Working Paper No 11, North York, Ontario: Research Programme, York University.



destabilisation and continued militarisation. For instance during the Cold War, the security interests of African states were tied to the interest of their foreign powers' allies.<sup>47</sup> Domestically speaking, the pressures for African state to maintain coherent state formations were the new security drivers of the security assessments and choices made by African governments. The question now remains - did such issues as the arms race, deliberate interventions and bitter conflicts disappear after the end of the Cold War?

Preston, David and Don observes that the end of the Cold War has on the one hand significantly decreased the external threats to the nation states, but on the other hand, states particularly in Africa have been confronted with a series of intra-state violent conflicts of various origins and large-scale atrocities.<sup>48</sup> The geneses of these conflicts are varied, while the effects in the society have been enormous. Such violence not only poses various security challenges to the particular society or state in which it occurs, but often affects entire regions.

Africa's dynamic security environment is characterized by great diversity – from conventional challenges such as insurgencies, resource and identity conflicts, and post-conflict stabilization to growing threats from piracy, narcotics trafficking, violent extremism, and organized crime among others.

Bidwai is of the view that non-traditional threats to security in the less developed countries are among the worst in the world and are characterised by a high degree of both want and fear.<sup>49</sup> For instance several regions in Africa experiences the persistent threat of violent intra-state conflicts, authoritarian rule, the violation of democratic and human rights, bad governance, health hazards,

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<sup>47</sup> Kofi, Quinton (2005) *Chapter from Intelligence Sector*, p. 212.

<sup>48</sup> Preston, David and Don Hubert (2000), "*Towards Freedom from Fear: An Agenda for Human Security*", BIISS Journal, Vol. 21, No. 3, (Dhaka).

<sup>49</sup> Bidwai, Praful, (2000) "*Pokhran in Retrospect: The High Costs of Nuclearism*", The Times of India.

over-population, environmental degradation, constant risk of natural disasters, corruption, crime, terrorism, gender violence, and trafficking in of women and children.

Daniel observes that the threat of political instability which assumed ascendancy in the 1990s and first part of the 21st century included military and political adventurism, ethnic divisions and illegal exploitation of natural resources.<sup>50</sup> These were intensified by serious socioeconomic constraints, weak state institutions and the prevalence of illegal arms trafficking and mercenarism.

According to Byman, some of the old challenges to regional peace and security remain, in varying degrees and numbers, in many of the countries in the developing world especially in Africa. However, it has become apparent in very recent times that a number of relatively “new” potential drivers of conflict have been emerging.<sup>51</sup> It must be noted that at the global level the “emerging threats” are not new issues. However, they have gained prominence in recent years due to the significant scale in which they are beginning to be felt and the consequent challenges to regional stability that they now pose. States now faces a seemingly ever-increasing range of security challenges. The traditional threats of civil and border conflicts, crises of governance and military coups may have receded but they remain active. Meanwhile, other issues have risen to prominence, such as environmental, terrorism, increasing role and number of other non-state actors, poverty, natural disasters, peacekeeping and peace-building and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.<sup>52</sup>

Bremmer argues that Africa's current security challenges are predominantly governance-related or intra-state conflicts while the continent's ill-defined national borders remain a potent source

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<sup>50</sup> Daniel, Donald (2008). “*Whither Peace Operations?*” U.S. Institute of Peace Special Report (215): 2-10.

<sup>51</sup> Byman, Daniel. (2008). *The Five Front War: The Better Way to Fight Global Jihad*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

<sup>52</sup> Byman, Daniel. (2008). *The Five Front War: The Better Way to Fight Global Jihad*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

of instability. In fact, more than half of all African countries have engaged in boundary-related conflicts, and border disputes are a strong undercurrent affecting ongoing regional crises in the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa. Africa's regional bodies therefore need to develop stronger mechanisms to manage the disputes and threats that arise across the continent's many uncertain boundaries.<sup>53</sup>

According to Bremmer, security concerns are typically characterized by multiple, competing, and fluctuating interests at the local, national, and regional levels.<sup>54</sup> Effectively responding to these threats requires in-depth understanding of the multiple contextual layers in which illicit actors operate.

Significantly, although intra-state conflicts seem to have replaced inter-state conflicts as the principal source of instability on the continent since the late 1980s, the prospect of destabilising border conflicts is still very real, particularly against the background of Africa's ever-expanding population, which is accompanied by shrinking economic resources and opportunities, and high levels of migration.

Axelrod further notes that militant and terrorist groups, management of natural resources, market for illicit goods, border administration, and other factors are a prime source of insecurity in Africa.<sup>55</sup> To more effectively confront them, governments and civil society must collaborate to ensure both national ownership and the strengthening of collective security.

According to Haas, Africa's complex post-cold war security challenges are a function of three broad factors. The first set incorporates the region's natural resource endowments, the vulnerabilities inherent in its geographical location, and environmental and demographic factors. The second source

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid, pp 40-55.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

of insecurity relates to internal and international governance processes. Finally, regional and external geopolitics exert distinct pressures on the region's security architecture.<sup>56</sup>

Goldstone observes that the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has noted that in recent years West Africa has emerged as a key transit point for illicit drugs, in particular cocaine, from Latin American countries to Europe.<sup>57</sup> Not surprisingly, drug-trafficking has also now emerged as a credible threat to the ability of countries in West Africa to maintain peace and security. This is because of the drug traders' capacity to exploit and further undermine West Africa's already weak governance, impede its development, and potentially, to reignite its smouldering conflicts.

The Horn of Africa region has suffered through decades of destruction and extraordinary human suffering due to long and interrelated wars, a feature that has won the region the dubious image of being ridden with violent conflicts, is at war with itself, poor, sick, and deeply in debt. These problems are believed to be the cause and consequence of the violent conflicts in the region. To this day, all the countries in the Horn of Africa have experienced some level of armed conflict, though this varies in scope, intensity and nature and exhibit many of the factors that have bred discord and provoked civil wars elsewhere in Africa: strong ethnic divisions; highly polarized political issues, political manipulation, widespread corruption, rampant violence, highly skewed economic disparities, and lack of economic opportunities.

Studies highlight a number of non-military security threats to national security in the region. These include terrorism, disease and epidemics, environmental degradation, global warming, pollution, poverty, piracy, external influence and interference among others. These factors point to the fact that societies in all conflict phases are fragile and in danger of igniting, sustaining or

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<sup>56</sup> Haas, Mark L. 2007. "A Geriatric Peace?: *The Future of U.S. Power in a World of Aging Populations.*" *International Security*, 32 (1): 112-147.

<sup>57</sup> Goldstone, Jack (2010). "*The New Population Bomb: Four Megatrends that will Change the World.*" *Foreign Affairs*, 89 (1): pp 31-43.

regressing to open armed conflict. A combination of classical military and non-military security threats in the Horn of Africa are complex and intertwined.

Presently, the region experiences some levels of instability though varying in scope, intensity, and nature, and this is bound to go on in the unforeseeable future unless a robust peace and security strategy is developed and implemented. Major conflicts in the Horn of Africa are in South Sudan, Northern Uganda and Somalia. Other conflicts exist in each of the countries of the region but have not been given the required prominence though they continue to devastate the lives of the majority.<sup>58</sup> These include pastoral conflicts, land based conflicts, conflicts over water resources, ethnic conflicts and politically instigated violence among others.

Inglehart, has contextualized the studies concerned with security, which discuss the variety of threats to human security in the Horn of Africa. The failure to resolve the ongoing conflicts, lack of clear follow-up mechanisms for post peace agreements, and a structure for interventions in conflicts are some of the factors that concern the Horn of Africa. Anchored in the concept of human security, Inglehart acknowledges that all insecurity issues cannot be addressed in one volume of this nature and argues for a classification of the issues into four clusters namely physical security, governance, military and natural resource clusters.<sup>59</sup>

Small arms and light weapons (SALW) availability in Africa has a long history. While the political rhetoric around SALW control has become a mantra in almost all meetings of political leaders, the challenge has been to translate the political ideas into operational practical initiatives. There seems to be an obvious schism between two poles: first, there is a political process that perceives SALW availability as a threat to the human security of citizens and stability of states, and,

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<sup>58</sup> Inglehart, Ronald. (2000). "Culture and Democracy" in Samuel P. Huntington and Lawrence E. Harrison, eds., *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

secondly, a totally opposite view taken by citizens especially in conflict prone areas who identify access to and acquisition of SALW as part of their identity and security. This raises several questions of which the most important one is whether this apparent chasm reflects the non-convergence of the ideals of the leaders with the realities of their citizens.

Threats to human security, sustainable development and political stability particularly in Africa are posed by many factors such as poor institutional and political governance, illicit proliferation of small arms and light weapons, blatant violations of human rights, unhealthy competition and exploitation of resources, non-statutory armed groups, economic disparity, and violent conflicts. In order to tackle these problems, a broader comprehensive regional peace and security framework needs to take shape and gain momentum in the region. The need to develop a well-informed framework that paves way for sustainable, focused strategies to enhance the region's capacity in conflict prevention, management and resolution is even more urgent if the region is to address the ongoing conflicts including the potential ones, consolidate the outcomes of Sudan and Somalia peace processes and the emerging threats to human security.

The ability to project legitimate power, preserve territorial integrity, and assure the welfare of the people is the cornerstone of any sovereign state, and the UN primarily places primary responsibility for peace and security with member states. In the developing world of incomplete state formation, weak institutions, and competing demands between regime and human security, the state has often failed in this cardinal responsibility.

The reviewed materials notes that the actual indicators of insecurity remain unknown and decontextualized if sources of information are limited only to encounters with fellow elites while ignoring institutions (formal and informal) outside government hallways. Knowledge acquired outside the context of high level officials, from the local, practical realities of daily life, along with an

understanding of the social, political, and historical environments, will serve analysts and policymakers well when identifying threats in Africa.

### **2.3 Trends Influencing Security in Africa**

Globalization has been the most important feature in transforming the international security landscape. It has increased the interconnectedness between societies and states, led to a contraction of space and time thus creating global challenges as well as global public goods and decreased the capacity of any state to manage global security threats and risks alone.<sup>60</sup>

Mackinlay states that the current advancements in (Information Communication Technology) ICT more concretely, new technologies and the ease with which people, goods, money and ideas cross national borders have transformed international security in two ways.<sup>61</sup> They have contributed to altering the nature of war, leading to a diminution of inter-state wars and a multiplication of low-intensity conflicts, insurgencies, and ethnic and civil wars.

According to Slaughter, globalization has undermined the capacity of states to address security and military challenges on their own, and has changed the balance between state and non-state actors.<sup>62</sup> Particularly illustrative of the consequences of globalization is the centrality of networks in international security, whether epistemic networks fostering the creation of norms or covered networks engaging in illicit activities, ranging from terrorism to drug and human trafficking and the smuggling of nuclear know-how and materials.

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60 MacFarlane, Neil, and Khong, Foong (2006), *Human Security and the UN. A Critical History*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

61 Mackinlay, John (2002), "Globalisation and Insurgency", *Adephi Papers*, p. 352.

62 Slaughter, Anne-Marie (2012), "*A Grand Strategy of Network Centrality*", Washington, Center for a New American Security (CNAS), p. 45-56.

Tadjbakhsh, Shahrbanou, and Chenoy, observe that the notion of human security has emerged as one of the most influential attempts at re-conceptualizing security.<sup>63</sup> This approach advocates a people-centred, universalist and non-military focus that takes due account of threats to human life such as underdevelopment, poverty and deprivation.

Suhrke suggest that among the major conceptual and normative shifts that the concept of human security has brought about are a different view of the state and a questioning of its unsurpassable sovereignty in international security. Human security is premised on the assumption that, for many people around the globe, the state is not so much a security provider as in fact the main threat to the upholding of their basic rights.<sup>64</sup> The concept of human security has been criticized, however, for its lack of analytical rigour, particularly because it stretches security to such an extent that it becomes conflated with development, health, inequality and overall well-being.

Securitization pattern has affected a growing number of policy areas since the end of the Cold War. “Securitization” refers to the process by which specific problems are constructed as security issues. More specifically, securitization occurs when a concern is identified and declared as posing an existential threat to a designated referent-object and requiring the adoption of extraordinary or even emergency measures that usually extend the legal prerogatives of the securitizing actor while trumping the freedom of society at large. Analysts of securitization have overall been rather critical of its consequences.<sup>65</sup>

Freedman points-out that re-conceptualizing development in security terms has neither generated an increased flow of resources (financial, human or political), nor led to an overall

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63 Tadjbakhsh, Shahrbanou, and Chenoy, Anuradha (2006), *Human Security. Concepts and Implications*, Abingdon and New York, Routledge.

64 Suhrke, Astri (1999), “*Human Security and the Interests of States*”, *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (September), p. 265-276.

65 Ibid.



improvement in critical development problems.<sup>66</sup> Other scholars go further and argue that defining something as a security issue might actually be counter-productive or even dangerous in that it legitimizes the suspension of civil liberties.

## **2.4 Kenya's Position in International Security**

Globally speaking, effective international security lies at the heart of any effective criminal justice system, and many of the challenges faced by judicial systems in both developed and developing countries like Kenya, directly hinge on international insecurity matters on a daily basis.

Kenya has had an increase in population in the last decade, and these increasing populations and rising crime rates confronted by under-resourced police forces reduce the capacity of the police to prevent and investigate crime.<sup>67</sup> International crime, such as the illegal drug trade and money laundering, and the perception of widespread corruption at all levels of governance, further stretch the ability of the police to maintain public confidence.

When it comes to environmental crime, Kenya has not designated a single national institution to fight environmental crimes, but key institutions address various crimes. In order to address these crimes adequately, these institutions should be capacitated in terms of skills and personnel. Some of them should have an intelligence network and law enforcers or prosecutors to be able to adequately address the issues.<sup>68</sup> These institutions are the National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA), the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS), the Kenya Forest Service (KFS), the Police

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<sup>66</sup> Freedman, Lawrence (2002), *Superterrorism. Policy Responses*, Malden, Blackwell.

<sup>67</sup> Abrahamsen, Rita and Michael Williams. (2009). 'Security beyond the State: Global Security Assemblages in International Politics.' *International Political Sociology*, Vol. 3, pp. 1-17.

<sup>68</sup> ISS [Institute for Security Studies]. 2008. *Environmental Crime Status in Tanzania*. Report of the Validation Workshop held in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, October 2008. Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies.

Department, the Fisheries Department, the Kenya Plant Health Inspectorate Service (KEPHIS), the Lusaka Agreement Taskforce (LATF) and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs).

Presently in Kenya, when it comes to environmental crime, public disclosure of enforcement information is poor across various statutes and under various responsible institutions. Although steps toward more open government are being taken, these have not yet taken root in the environmental enforcement realm. The deficiencies in available enforcement information and the lack of proactive data disclosure undermine citizen participation in environmental enforcement.

The current incidence of religious or sacred terrorism<sup>69</sup> in Kenya is of great security concern. Kenya has recently been a target of global terrorism because of a combination of geographic, regional, historical, political, economic and socio-cultural factors. Some of these factors are direct justifications of attacks while others facilitate the attacks.

The perception of international and national security has undergone major changes in comparison with traditional conflicts of the past. Many states and governments including their ideological perceptions as potential sources of conflict we have to register non-state players and operators as aggressors and sources of conflict, or at least as violators of national and international penal law. Massive violation of human rights and commitment of genocide as well as civil wars are considered threats to international and in some cases to national security. Other factors particularly in the developing countries such as Kenya include ethnic conflict, political violence, economic

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<sup>69</sup> In the modern era, religious and or at times known as sacred terrorism has increased in its frequency, scale of violence, and global reach. Terrorism in the name of religion, religious extremism has become a central issue for the global community. Terrorism carried out in the name of the faith has long been a feature of human affairs. The histories of people, civilizations, nations, and empires are replete with examples of extremist true believers who engage in violence to promote their belief system. Some religious terrorists are inspired by defensive motives, others seek to ensure the predominance of their faith, and others are motivated by an aggressive amalgam of these tendencies. Religious terrorism can be communal, genocidal, nihilistic, or revolutionary. It can be committed by lone wolves, clandestine cells, large dissident movements, or governments. And, depending on one's perspective, there is often debate about whether the perpetrators should be classified as terrorists or freedom fighters.

disparities, environmental degradation and international criminal networks such as terrorists and drug, arms and human traffickers.

## **2.5 Chapter Summary**

The literature reviewed notes that re-conceptualizing development in security terms has neither generated an increased flow of resources (financial, human or political), nor led to an overall improvement in critical development problems. Other scholars go further and argue that defining something as a security issue might actually be counter-productive or even dangerous in that it legitimizes the suspension of civil liberties.

## CHAPTER THREE

### NEW FORMS OF SECURITY THREATS BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE CHANGED INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

#### 3.1 Changing Concept of Security

The end of the Cold-War had remarkable changes in the political, economic, social and cultural structure of the international system. The changes were marked by the following events; democratization process in various parts of the world particularly in Africa prompted by a decline in ideological and super power rivalry, technological changes and globalization.<sup>70</sup> Mwangi states that these factors had profound effects on security and while they did not eradicate the traditional threats to security, they have allowed other actors and issues gain prominence within the security field.

Fenton and Phillips observe that definitions of fragile states vary, and often focus on different dimensions of fragility. These may include a state's level of territorial control, its administrative capacity, prevalence of authoritarian or repressive politics, respect for the rule of law, levels of development and/or presence of violent conflict.<sup>71</sup> However, there is growing consensus among development actors that fragility relates fundamentally to the willingness and capacity of the state to perform certain core functions.

The definition of human security is expansive and there is no one definition that has been agreed upon. Despite the variance, most definitions of human security emphasize the welfare of ordinary people - the wellbeing of the individual occupies a central position in all the definitions. Human security stresses the individual's personal protection rather than simply the safeguarding of the state as a political unit. It involves the security of individuals in their personal surroundings, their community and their environment.

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<sup>70</sup> Makumi Mwangi (2004) *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalisation* , Heinrich Boll Foundation.

<sup>71</sup> Fenton, W. and Phillips, M. (2009) *Funding Mechanisms in Southern Sudan: NGO Perspectives*. ODI-HPN. London: ODI.

This approach seeks to relate security to conditions of existence and immediate vulnerability. Such an approach assigns importance to coping strategies and mechanisms in which individuals often as communities participate. Considering security from the standpoint of communities and their role in action and mediation implies a greater role than assigned within the traditional security framework where the state functioned as the provider of security and the communities were passive recipients.

One of the failures of traditional notion of security has been the inability to incorporate insecurity faced by people in day to day life. In adopting such an approach security policies often fail to identify the most pressing concerns of many people especially in the marginalized areas for whom the real security threat is basically how to survive until the next day. In these areas people are constantly plagued by such issues as hunger, loss of livelihoods due to such adverse weather conditions as drought or floods, inadequate health services, ethnic/clan based violence among others. The situation therefore calls for a need to redefine security from two perspectives, look at what constitutes threats to security and who are the actors.

From this perspective the concept of security has become much more multifaceted and must be considered in a broader manner, incorporating aspects that were not previously considered to be part of the security puzzle such as economy, social, health, environment and political security. This has therefore brought a large number of combinations of actors and types of interactions which include governments, non-state actors, economic regimes, social or religious groups, individuals etc which must all be taken into account in the conceptualization of security. This concept recognizes the complexity of the human environment and accepts that the forces influencing human security are interrelated and mutually reinforcing.

### **3.2 Emerging International Security Challenges**

One of the significant changes experienced after the end of the cold war is the shift from a state-centric approach that was more pronounced in the 70s and 80s to embrace the human security

perspective which takes the individual and community as the referent for security. The assumption that threats to security constituted those issues that affected the state as an entity has been questioned from many quarters with some arguing that at times the state is a threat to the welfare of its citizens in instances where it fails to respect and uphold the rights of the individual. The argument posits that national security is influenced not only by political and military factors, but also by socio-economic and environmental factors. In this regard definition of security has acquired a new broader meaning. Individual welfare and survival are key elements in the definition of national security.

Ademola notes that the concept human security gained prominence in 1994 through a report by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) - the Human Development Report that “broached an entirely new way of thinking about security”<sup>72</sup> The report identifies seven key elements that comprise human security. These are economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.<sup>73</sup> The 1994 Report introduces a new concept of security, which equates security with people rather than territories, and roots for sustainable development as a solution to insecurity.

The concept of security has thus undergone changes. It has been broadened to include a number of basic human needs which are viewed as being indispensable for the survival of an individual as captured in the UN report.

### **3.2.1 Organized Crime**

Transnational organized crimes (TOC) poses a significant and growing threat to national and international security, with dire implications for public safety, public health, democratic institutions, and economic stability across the globe.<sup>74</sup> Not only are criminal networks expanding, but they also

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<sup>72</sup> Ademola Abass, (2012) *An Introduction to Protecting Human security in Africa in Protecting Human Security in Africa*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, p. 1.

<sup>73</sup> Roland Paris, (2001) *Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air*. University of Ottawa.

<sup>74</sup> Mayall, J. (ed.). (2003). *Nationalism and international society*. pp.5–69 and pp.111–25.

are diversifying their activities, resulting in the convergence of threats that were once distinct and today have explosive and destabilizing effects.

### **3.2.2 Human Trafficking**

Human smuggling is the facilitation, transportation, attempted transportation, or illegal entry of a person or persons across an international border, in violation of one or more countries' laws, either clandestinely or through deception, whether with the use of fraudulent documents or through the evasion of legitimate border controls. It is a criminal commercial transaction between willing parties who go their separate ways once they have procured illegal entry into a country. The vast majority of people who are assisted in illegally entering the United States and other countries are smuggled, rather than trafficked.

### **3.2.3 Drug Trafficking**

Drug trafficking, despite demonstrable counterdrug successes in recent years, particularly against the cocaine trade, illicit drugs remain a serious threat to the health, safety, security, and financial well-being of developing Countries. The demand for illicit drugs, both in the developed and developing worlds, fuels the power, impunity, and violence of criminal organizations around the globe.

### **3.2.4 Money Laundering**

International concern at the growing incidence of organised crime, corruption and terrorism and the debilitating effects these problems have on peace, security and development signals a need for concerted action. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) study on Crime and development in Africa (2005a) documents the emergence of organised crime on the continent and its links to conflict. It notes that the growth in international commerce and transport has made Africa, with its weak law enforcement capacity, an ideal conduit through which to extract and trans-ship a range of illicit commodities. Drugs, firearms and human beings are being trafficked, and gemstones

and other minerals, petroleum, timber and ivory are being illegally extracted from the continent.<sup>75</sup>

Challenges of international security fuel money laundering. Money laundering has a major impact on a country's economy because it affects economic growth. Both money laundering and terrorist financing can weaken individual banks, and they are also a threat to a country's overall financial sector reputation.

### **3.2.5 State Failure**

Nation-states fail because they are convulsed by internal violence and can no longer deliver positive political goods to their inhabitants. Their governments lose legitimacy, and the very nature of the particular nation-state itself becomes illegitimate in the eyes and in the hearts of a growing plurality of its citizens. The rise and fall of nation-states is not new, but in a modern era when national states constitute the building blocks of legitimate world order the violent disintegration and palpable weakness of selected African, Asian, and Latin American states threaten the very foundation of that system.

### **3.2.6 Illegal Immigrants**

Irregular migration poses very real dilemmas for states, as well as exposing migrants themselves to insecurity and vulnerability. Most states have, nevertheless, failed to manage or control irregular migration effectively or efficiently. Irregular migration will continue for the foreseeable future, although it may be possible to reduce its scale. One reason is that the forces that determine the scale of international migration are powerful for example growing disparities in the level of prosperity and social security systems in different societies.

### **3.2.7 Terrorism**

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<sup>75</sup> Goodhand, J. and Sedra, M. (2009) 'Who Owns the Peace? Aid, Reconstruction and Peace-building in Afghanistan'. *Disasters* 34(1): 78-101.



Terrorism is the systematic use of terror, often violent, especially as a means of coercion. In the international community, however, terrorism has no legally binding, criminal law definition. Common definitions of terrorism refer only to those violent acts which are intended to create fear (terror); are perpetrated for a religious, political, or ideological goal; and deliberately target or disregard the safety of non-combatants (civilians). Some definitions now include acts of unlawful violence and war. The use of similar tactics by criminal organizations for protection rackets or to enforce a code of silence is usually not labelled terrorism, though these same actions may be labelled terrorism when committed by a politically motivated group.<sup>76</sup>

Terrorism remains a major threat worldwide. No matter what its origins or what form it takes, terrorism is a crime that no grievance can justify or excuse. It threatens not only the very fabric of a free and pluralistic society, but the rights of every individual too. Even if there is no internationally accepted standard definition of terrorism, there is widespread consensus concerning what a terrorist act actually is, namely a deliberate assault on civilians with the aim of intimidating people or pressurizing a state or international organisation into acting in a certain way or refraining from certain actions.

Indeed, Al-Shabaab is Al-Qaeda's only self-proclaimed ally that wields substantial territorial control, and it has been used as an example of an Islamic form of governance by prominent ideologues such as Anwar Awlaki. The organization is also global, in the sense that it has reached out to the Somali diaspora, a fact that has made Western countries more concerned over Al-Shabaab's activities.<sup>77</sup>

Thalif states that these factors might have contributed to the United States declaring it a terrorist organization in 2008, Australia doing the same in 2009, and the United Kingdom and Canada

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<sup>76</sup> Thalif Deen. 2005. "*Politics: UN Member States Struggle to Define Terrorism*". Inter Press Service, 25 July 2005.

<sup>77</sup> Thalif Deen. 2005. "*Politics: UN Member States Struggle to Define Terrorism*". Inter Press Service, 25 July 2005.

following suit in 2010. It has also been targeted by the United Nations Resolution 1844, as well as the EU's EC 356/2010 directive, supporting the definition of Al-Shabaab as a terrorist organization.<sup>78</sup> The group also has training camps indoctrinating youths in the teachings of Al-Qaeda, and it functions as a practicing ground for recruits inspired by the global worldview of Al-Qaeda drawn to Somalia by a quest for jihad but potentially able to take the struggle back home.

Boko Haram, officially called Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'Awati Wal-Jihad (People Committed to the Prophet's Teachings for Propagation and Jihad), is a militant Islamist movement based in northeast Nigeria. Membership has been estimated to number between a few hundred and a few thousand. The group is designated as a terrorist organization in New Zealand, Australia, the United Kingdom, Canada, the United States and the United Nations Security Council, which declared it an al-Qaeda affiliate and imposed the al-Qaeda sanctions regime on the group.

### **3.2.8 Environmental Crimes**

Environmental crimes can also be broadly defined as illegal acts which directly harm the environment. They include: illegal trade in wildlife and wildlife products; smuggling of ozone depleting substances (ODS); illicit trade in hazardous waste; illegal, unregulated, and unreported fishing and illegal logging and the associated trade in stolen timber.<sup>79</sup> These issues are articulated under the umbrella of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) which is the authority in as far as environmental crimes are concerned. Environmental crimes therefore refer to acts committed in contravention of national law, and at the international level, to violations of the CITES.

Environmental crimes affect all of society. It can have detrimental consequences on the economies and security of a country. For individuals and communities, it may impact on public

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Environmental Refugees: The Forgotten Migrants – a panel discussion – May 2007.

health, livelihoods, and lower property values, as well as impacting on non-human species, nature itself and future generations. The effects of a single environmental offence may not appear significant but the cumulative environmental consequences of repeated violations over time can be considerable.<sup>80</sup> Despite the recent advances, attitudes to environmental crime have arguably continued to suffer from a ‘mind-set’ that has underestimated its consequences or, at best, instilled a sense of ambivalence towards it.

### **3.2.9 Piracy**

The pirates of the Horn of Africa are mainly in the trade for the huge ransoms that they get in exchange of release of crew taken hostage. Following the ousting of the Somali president, Siad Barre, Somalia was thrown into a complex conflict of rivalries between warring factions.<sup>81</sup> Post 1991, the state has remained without any central government that led to a general collapse of all semblance of institutions and government. The seas much like the land area was left unguarded and the international illegal fishing companies took advantage of the situation to plunder the Somali waters of all their resources.<sup>82</sup> Unfortunately, international toxic waste handling companies turned Somalia waters into a dumping site for at times even radioactive material. This angered the local fishermen and they started attacks to protect their heritage.

The problem escalated from that of safeguarding their resources to some factions appointing themselves marine guards who would be the ‘Somali marine government’. With the help of local warlords, they armed themselves and engaged in attacking ships and holding the crew hostage

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<sup>80</sup> Michael O’Hear (2004) “*Sentencing the Green-collar offender: punishment, culpability and environmental crime*” 95:1 Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology.

<sup>81</sup> Cockburn Andrew (2002) “*Somalia\_A failed state*” National Geographic. <http://www7.nationalgeog.com/ngm/2007/feature3/index.html>

<sup>82</sup> Khalif Abdulkadir “How Illegal Fishing Feeds *Piracy*.” *Somaliland Times* Issue 200

awaiting ransom payment. These resources would further finance more high tech pirate attacks and also be used to exert their presence on the land.<sup>83</sup>

Piracy in Somalia is deeply rooted in a number of socio-economic factors, predominantly poverty, hunger and civil insecurity of the coastal population. Puntland is currently the epicenter of piracy. This is partially due to the fact that vessels can be identified and targeted much more easily as they travel through the Gulf of Aden. Several groups of pirates currently operate in Somalia waters, according to reports from the United Nations Secretary General and an experts group convened by the Secretary General's Special Representative for Somalia in November 2008.<sup>84</sup> Organized predominantly along clan lines and based in distinct, remote port towns, the groups have varying capabilities and patterns of operation, making generalized responses more difficult. Somali pirates allegedly get help from the Somali in Diaspora.

### **3.2.10 International Arms Trade**

The rapid increase in the number of arms held by groups who are otherwise not supposed to have them and which cannot be accounted for is on the increase. These arms often threaten security, governing processes as well as the social and economic power of the state. The arms trade, for instance is said to play a major role in Somali's conflict. During the Cold War, the two superpowers supplied a large number of light weapons to Africa, which have been used in many conflicts all around the continent. Somalia was not an exception, and indeed much of the weapons find their way

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<sup>83</sup> Mohamed BSc. MSc. Abdullahi Elmi "Causes and Effects of Deforestation and Hazardous Waste Dumping in Somalia." Somali Centre For Water and Environment

<sup>84</sup> Hermann, Wilfried (2004). Naval Forces, Volume 25 issue Ikken, Massip Farid, New African Publication, soma.

into the war torn countries<sup>85</sup> such as Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, and Central African Republic among others.

The human security perspective advocates for the inclusion of such aspects as food security, environmental security, economic welfare and access to health care as well as participation in the political system as aspects of a country's security. Such issues as disease, poverty, transnational crime, ethnic strife, environmental degradation, political exclusion are therefore considered threats to national security.

Globalization affects definition of security. Globalization is a notoriously slippery concept that requires elaboration. Naim defines globalization as the “widening, deepening, and speeding up” of economic, political, and social interconnectedness among individuals, groups, organizations, states, and other important actors in the international system.<sup>86</sup> Globalization is largely a technology-driven phenomenon and the rapid rate of technological change has facilitated this explosion of connection across the globe.

The definition outlined above consists of four primary aspects: the economic, the political, security and the social. For one, globalization has been defined by a rapid expansion of global economic interconnectedness, with trade, investment, global production, and international aid bringing states, organizations, firms, and individuals closer together than ever before. And while some argue this is a positive force for peace it is often viewed as a double-edged sword for in the same measure it becomes the train on which such threats as cybercrime, money laundering, terrorism, etc ride on.

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<sup>85</sup>Gebrekal, M. (2002). *The Horn of Africa: The Changing Nature of Security in the Aftermath of the Cold War* (PhD thesis, University of London).

<sup>86</sup> Naím, Moisés. 2009. “*Think Again: Globalization.*” *Foreign Policy*, pp. 28-32.

The other issue that affects security definitions today is intra-state conflict. The military might is declining in importance, with the modern era showing a steady drop in interstate war and a sharp increase in intrastate conflict. Ripsman states that the increase in intrastate conflict has led to the rise in the importance of peace operations as a tool for dealing with global conflict. Theory and practice in the areas of peacekeeping, peace-building, and conflict mediation have seen great advances since the end of the Cold War. With this, we have seen global militaries reduce in size, going from 28 million in 1985 to 19.8 million by 2006. Complementing this trend has been a massive increase in non-military tools of statecraft such as the use of economic sanctions, up 50% from the 1980s to the 1990s.<sup>87</sup> This increase in intrastate conflict has led to the rise in the importance of peace operations as a tool for dealing with global conflict.

Levy notes that the final concern for academia is that security studies will be fundamentally altered by this new wave of theories and theorists, and will be left unrecognizable to its core experts.<sup>88</sup> If the field of security studies is no longer centrally concerned with the causes of war, alliance politics, deterrence, arms races and control, the use and control of force, terrorism, and ethnic and nationalist conflict, and instead becomes the study of poverty, of demographics, of environmental change, and of global health, the voices that have brought the subfield thus far will be entirely drowned out.

According to Levy, a number of today's oft-cited threats to international security, on the other hand, are rightly categorized as such. The traditional issues of interstate conflict, military threats, arms races, nuclear deterrence, and contestation of the commons obviously continue to fit the

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<sup>87</sup> Naím, Moisés. (2009). "Think Again: Globalization." *Foreign Policy*, pp. 28-32.

<sup>88</sup> Levy, Marc. (1999). "Is the Environment a National Security Issue?" *International Security*, 20 (2): 35-62.

definition.<sup>89</sup> Some of the more-recent threats, too, such as nuclear proliferation among “rogue” and weak states, increased international piracy, expanding organized crime rings, and international terrorism all have international implications, therefore befitting the classification as international security problems.

Deibert, Ronald and Rohozinski observes that even many emerging threats can be considered as such. Cyber-threats, for instance, fit this classification if they are carried out with the intent to threaten the state, its military, or its people.<sup>90</sup>

Traditionally, the concept of security has been most closely associated with “national security,” namely, external military threats to the nation state. Over time, however, the limitations of this definition grew glaringly apparent. By defining threats solely in terms of foreign militaries, one misses out on the vast number of non-military threats of the modern era, such as terrorist groups, transnational criminal organizations, piracy networks, environmental degradation, epidemics and the like.<sup>91</sup>

Further, if the threatened agent is defined simply in terms of the nation state, one ignores the fact that threats and violence can be directed exclusively at certain groups, classes, families, and even individuals within states, and can, in many cases, emanate from the state itself.

Considering these problems, security theorists have called for a “broadening” of what constitutes a security threat, and an “extending” or a “deepening” of who can be considered “threatened”.

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<sup>89</sup> Levy, Marc. (1999). “*Is the Environment a National Security Issue?*” *International Security*, 20 (2): 35-62.

<sup>90</sup> Deibert, Ronald J., and Rafal Rohozinski. 2010. “Risking Security: Policies and Paradoxes of Cyberspace Security.” *International Political Sociology*, 4 (1): 15-32.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

The recent past issues concerned with economic development have captured attention both nationally and internationally. This has been exemplified by such initiatives as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and their successor Social Development Goals (SDGs). They have been conceptualized at the international level and embraced by national governments and regional bodies such as the AU. The ideals have been cascaded and adopted by regional bodies and countries. For instance the importance placed on sustainable development can be seen through the objectives of the African Union. Under Article 3 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union item (j) the AU aims to “Promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies”.<sup>92</sup> To actualize some of these ideals the AU has come up with Agenda 2063 which among other things seeks to attain an inclusive and sustainable economic development. Some of the aspirations expressed in the Vision include:<sup>93</sup> “a Prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development; an Africa of Good Governance, Respect for Human Rights, Justice and the Rule of Law and an Africa whose development is people-driven, especially relying on the potential offered by its youth and women”.

These ideals have been adopted by countries and are captured in various development blue prints. In Kenya for instance Vision 2030;

“aims to create a globally competitive and prosperous nation with a high quality of life ..... to all its citizens by 2030 in a clean and secure environment”.<sup>94</sup>

These are indications that states are generally accepting that the welfare of the individual is paramount and pays attention to issues that inhibits the realization of the desired situation. Policy makers are increasingly acknowledging such issues as poverty and unemployment are sources of

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<sup>92</sup> [http://www.au2002.gov.za/docs/key\\_oau/au\\_act.htm](http://www.au2002.gov.za/docs/key_oau/au_act.htm)

<sup>93</sup> <http://agenda2063.au.int/en/about>

<sup>94</sup> <http://www.vision2030.go.ke/index.php/vision>.



insecurity and the importance of the issue in relation to national security can be seen through the numerous initiatives aimed at provision of gainful employment and taking care of vulnerable groups such as women and people with disabilities. These include such initiatives as the youth fund and the stipend given to the aged.

Security in a globalizing world therefore cannot be provided on a purely national basis or even on the basis of limited alliances. A multilateral and even global approach is needed to deal effectively with the multitude of trans-boundary challenges hence the recognition of regional initiatives in handling security issues. Consequently, many of today's threats to security cannot be adequately handled by traditional state centric security policies. This is informed by the fact that unlike traditional threats emanating from a determined adversary such as an attack from another state, many of today's security challenges are risks and vulnerabilities shared across borders such as the effects of global warming. In the light of this, the definition of security must acquire a new meaning that will take into account threats from external non-state actors such as terrorist groups or such elusive threat as climate change.<sup>95</sup>

Ripsman observes that security is gradational rather than dichotomous: you can have neither perfect security, nor perfect insecurity, only security by varying degrees. Security and insecurity also have objective and subjective aspects: things can at times appear more threatening to one's security than they are in reality, and at times less, leading some to label them as "socially constructed" concepts.<sup>96</sup> Security also involves, and in fact requires, a threat; and threats, in the traditional-security-sense, are made up of a combination of the capability and intent to do harm or enact violence.

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<sup>95</sup> Rethinking Global Security: An African Perspective, Heinrich Boll Foundation, (2006).

<sup>96</sup> Naím, Moisés. 2009. "Think Again: Globalization." Foreign Policy, pp. 28-32.

Human security, non-traditional security, and other, more expansive concepts, also contain many aspects that are inherently difficult to operationalize. This doesn't completely refute their importance as phenomena worthy of study in social science, but it is undoubtedly a challenge for these emerging fields. The concern is, given their relative abundance of "social facts" like threatened "identity security" or "cultural security," whether it would be possible for human security theorists to effectively validate or invalidate hypotheses. A more clearly defined field will enable scholars to separate and test individual elements, and avoid the problems of endogeneity that the grab-bag method seems to invite. This, in turn, will allow academic debate and discussion to take place on a more equitable and mutually discernible level, sharpening all of our analyses and insights.

The perception of international and national security has undergone major changes in comparison with traditional conflicts of the past. Many states and governments including their ideological perceptions as potential sources of conflict have to register non-state players and operators as aggressors and sources of conflict, or at least as violators of national and international penal law. Massive violation of human rights and commitment of genocide as well as civil wars are considered threats to international and in some cases to national security.

It is apparent that the response to the multi-faceted threats to international and national security leads to a broad spectrum of security strategies, which include all sorts of non-military components for crisis management, conflict prevention, post conflict rehabilitation and state and nation building. Every phase of the conflict situations needs to be addressed and responded to within the framework of a comprehensive economic and socio-political strategy.

### **3.3 Responding to New Security Challenges**

Ikenberry argues that two decades after the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the process of redefining the international security setting, it is clear that there have not been many critical inputs

from African perspectives. The result of this lack of critical inputs from an African perspective has been that the new international security system has been unfolding without critical African participation.<sup>97</sup> The result of this has in effect been that, though the current definers of international security can convince themselves that they have the whole picture about the new system, that picture may be incomplete on many fronts.

The challenge of addressing security issues that have emerged particularly in the post Cold War era has elicited debate on the variety of actors and stakeholders that can meaningfully improve responses. The roles of civil society, individual states, sub-regional organizations and the United Nations in that framework, define some of the complexities of developing responses to conflicts on the African continent, Both the UN and AU recognize the role of regional organizations, but it is only recently that these organizations have begun to conceive a role for civil society. The African Union has adopted a ‘building blocks’ principle by naming certain regional organizations as the building blocks for peace and security. The engagement with civil society’ or with the public at large is thus a relatively new area in the annals of the UN and the AU. There is no denying that a regional framework must incorporate perspectives from a wide range of actors.

Threats to human security, sustainable development and political stability in the region are posed by many factors such as poor institutional and political governance, illicit proliferation of small arms and light weapons, blatant violations of human rights, unhealthy competition and exploitation of resources, non-statutory armed groups, economic disparity, and violent conflicts including pastoral ones. In order to tackle these problems, a broader comprehensive regional peace and security framework needs to take shape and gain momentum in the region. The need to develop a well informed framework that paves way for sustainable, focused strategies to enhance the region’s

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<sup>97</sup> Ikenberry, G. John. 2009. “*Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of Liberal World Order.*” *Perspectives on Politics*, 7 (1): 71-87.

capacity in conflict prevention, management and resolution is even more urgent if the region is to address the ongoing conflicts including the potential ones, consolidate the outcomes of the numerous peace processes and the emerging threats to human security.

The region lacks credible deterrent and emergency preparedness capabilities at a time when it is most vulnerable to external destabilization and climatic shocks, thus making it increasingly susceptible to terrorist incursions, irregular migration, food insecurity, natural disasters and environmental emergencies.

The ability to project legitimate power, preserve territorial integrity, and assure the welfare of the people is the cornerstone of any sovereign state, and the UN rightly places primary responsibility for peace and security with member states. In the developing world of incomplete state formation, weak institutions, and competing demands between regime and human security, the state has often failed in this cardinal responsibility.

### **3.4 Future Security Threats**

According to Pape, there is an absence of Africa in the agenda setting for international security; but he has also argued that Africa should be an active participant in the process of rethinking the international security agenda.<sup>98</sup> Africa's problem has so far been positioned by the operative epistemological perspectives; and it was argued in this respect that there needs to be methodological pluralism on the security issues, and that more relativism should be adopted as Africans engage in these debates.

The study notes that many experts and governments alike argue that terrorism should be recognized as a major threat to national and international security, in contrast to the past, when terrorism was a second-order security issue. Some argue that the 9/11 events established a new form of terrorism, "hyper-terrorism" or "super-terrorism", capable of significantly disturbing international

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<sup>98</sup> Pape, Robert A. (2005), *Dying to Win. The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*, New York, Random House.

security and severely wounding even the most powerful states by inflicting potentially massive damage on civilian targets.

Rogers notes that the human security approach underlines that terrorism has come to be the principal challenge to international security, despite the fact that, even in its “hyper” or “super” form, it is still a minor issue in terms of global human security if compared to the impact of wars or malnutrition, whose victims can be in their millions.<sup>99</sup> This is so because terrorism targets civilians and produces a high level of public anxiety.

According to Rogers migration, energy, the environment and health have increasingly been securitized on the international agenda. Security challenges emerging in these domains are, however, often indirect and complex, with securitization patterns often in fact running counter to effective ways of addressing these issues.<sup>100</sup> The author further notes that the acuteness of the risks and threats stemming from migratory, energy and environmental dynamics lies less with these phenomena per se than with states’ ability to cope with them.

Most recently, environmental security issues have regularly featured on the policy agenda of governments and intergovernmental organizations in two prominent ways. First, national security has been broadened so as to include extraordinary challenges – including the repercussions of climate change mentioned above – that can endanger large numbers of people and provoke the disruption of state institution.

Anyone living in the Horn of Africa, along the Nile, or near Lake Chad knows that water-related issues are among the most severe and wide-reaching security threats in Africa, and have been for some time now. International partners have, however, been slow to get on board, often grouping water with other ‘future’ or ‘emerging’ challenges. Water-related security threats are only future

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<sup>99</sup> Rogers, Paul (2008), “*Terrorism*”, London and New York, Routledge, p. 171-184.

<sup>100</sup> Rogers, Paul (2008), “*Terrorism*”, London and New York, Routledge, p. 171-184.

threats in that, unlike with other types of threats, hard science can predict that water-related insecurity in Africa will inevitably become more severe, but this in no way detracts from the severity of the effects of water insecurity today.

### **3.5 Chapter Summary**

The literature reviewed reveals that African state capacities and societal conflicts appears more promising in terms of generating valuable insights into these issues than the literature which views them strictly through a lens of migration security, energy security or environmental security.

The literature notes that the impending famine in the Horn, conflicts over Nile watershed water usage, and insecurity surrounding the shrinking of Lake Chad urgently demand a reframing of the conceptualization of what water insecurity in Africa entails. In addition the literature points out that Al Shabaab have effectively exploited drought-related disasters as opportunity to appeal to the grievances of these displaced and disenfranchised communities. Some of Al Shabaab's most effective 'hearts and minds' activities have provided water services supporting farmers and pastoralists. Al Shabaab has also been a major obstacle in allowing humanitarian aid from reaching those affected most by famine. The group failed to foresee the extent of the 2011 famine, and therefore was limited in how it made use of the crisis for its own purposes.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **CHALLENGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE CHANGING ENVIRONMENT**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presented the outcome of the analysis of the data collected during the research study. The collected data was sorted and analysed using document analysis and thematic analysis techniques, based on the emerging issues (contents analysis) under study. The results of the study are presented in narrative form.

This part is divided into seven sections. Section 4.1 covered introduction, section 4.2 gave summary of the respondents' profile, section 4.3 conceptualization of the key concepts under study, section 4.4 gave information on changes in the global security environment, section 4.5 gave information on new forms of security threats, section 4.6 gave information on security challenges in Kenya, and finally section 4.7 gave the chapter summary.

This study aims to contribute to effective policy making informed by provision of deeper understanding on the changes in the international security arena and how they impact on the management of security in Africa. In addition this study seeks to contribute to action oriented strategies by governments, security managers, concerned agencies, actors and stakeholders in Kenya and the rest of Africa as a whole.

#### **4.2 Study Response**

The general objective was to explore the impact changes in the international security arena have in the management of security in Kenya. A total of 35 respondents successfully completed the questionnaire(s) out of the 50 originally administered for the study. This represented (70%) response rate which the study considered adequate for the analysis.

### **4.3 Conceptualization**

The concepts considered in this study for the respondents to articulate included; changes in the global security environment and their impact on the management of security, new forms and sources of insecurity brought about by the changed international environment and finally security challenges brought about by the changing international security environment.

### **4.4 Changes in the Global Security Environment**

The respondents were asked to rate the impact the changes had on a five point Likert scale. The response scale was 1 = strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = undecided or Neutral, 4 = Disagree and 5 = strongly disagree respectively.

When it came to the extent increased security threats experienced by Kenya emanates from the changes in international environment. The respondent's range was strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5). The study found that most of the respondents strongly agree (75%), agree (20%) and undecided (5%) respectively.

Some stated that; *interconnectivity of telecommunication systems have made the world a global village resulting in new threats like cybercrimes*. Another stated that; *international war on terror had led to increase in security threats, especially for Kenya that has to fight a major terrorist enemy*. Generally majority of the respondents cited terrorism, money laundering, cybercrimes, piracy, terrorism, radicalization among other security threats that are currently experienced as a result of the changes in international security.

These findings were in agreement with Barber who stated that in order to face the problems of the twenty-first century, scholars need a more comprehensive definition of security - one that encompasses the increasing number of threats such as terrorism, piracy and hacking, as well as the



increasing number of actors.<sup>101</sup> Acharya on his part argues that it is commonplace to assume that security concepts emerge or change in response to new events or threats.<sup>102</sup> It has become commonplace to assert that the gravest dangers to Africa and world security are no longer military threats from rival great powers but transnational threats emanating from the world's most poorly governed countries. Since the end of the Cold War, weak and failing states have arguably become the single most important problem for international order. This emerging threat perception has quickly become conventional wisdom at home and abroad. Government officials, academics and the media have linked poorly performing developing countries to a vast array of threats to global security and well-being, from transnational terrorism to international crime, humanitarian catastrophes, regional instability, global pandemics, mass migration and environmental degradation.

The respondents were asked to rate the extent to which change in the international environment requires a redefinition of security. The range was strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5). The study revealed that most of the respondents strongly agree (60%), agree (30%) and undecided (10%) respectively. Majority stated that; *redefinition of security should include terrorism, which was now a major security concern in Africa and the World at large.* Others felt that *the traditional definition of security has been greatly eroded and a redefinition will ensure a comprehensive and seamless approach to security.*

In addition some respondents (60%) felt that human security for instance has no true definition. This group of respondents argue that in today's world threats to 'security' come as much from factors that occur within states as from the historically significant threat of war between states. Therefore security is being more broadly defined away from the traditional state-centred focus on 'national security' and in terms of the well-being of whole populations, the need for equitable

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<sup>101</sup> Acharya, Amitav (2009) Changing Conceptions of Security in the 21st Century: Power, Institutions, and Ideas.

<sup>102</sup> Barber, Benjamin. 2008. "Shrunken Sovereignty: Consumerism, Globalization, and American Emptiness." World Affairs (Spring): 74-81.

development and sound inter-group relations, and the human needs of both sub-national groups and individuals within a state's borders.

Walter Lippmann, defines security as the extent to which a state is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war.<sup>103</sup> The end of the Cold-War had remarkable changes in the political, economic, social and cultural structure of the international system. One of the failures of traditional notion of security has been the inability to incorporate insecurity faced by people.

Some of these revelations from the majority of the respondents seem to be leaning more towards similar studies by the United Nations that stated that definition of security has acquired a new broader meaning with an increasing promotion of human security as an overriding element in the definition of national security. The origin of the concept human security can be traced to a 1994 report of the United Nations Development Programme which identifies seven key elements that comprise human security.<sup>104</sup>

Agostinho on his part notes that the impending emergence of a new international security system raised fundamental issues of agenda setting in the new post-Cold War security framework.<sup>105</sup> Traditionally, four dominant approaches to security during the Cold War can be identified: balance of power, bipolar world, containment and deterrence.<sup>106</sup> Each of these approaches, constituted major issues of the study of security and international relations during the Cold War period.

Therefore according to the majority of the respondents, the concept of security has now become much more multifaceted and must be considered in a broader manner, incorporating aspects

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<sup>103</sup> Cited in Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear: An agenda for international security studies in the post-cold war era*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, (Harvester Wheat sheaf, London, 1991), pp. 16

<sup>104</sup> Roland, Paris (2001), *Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air*.

<sup>105</sup> Agostinho, Z (2003). *Redefining Security from Cape to Congo: Southern Africa's Evolving Security Challenges* (Colorado: Lynne Rienner).

<sup>106</sup> Owen, J.H. (1994) 'How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace' *International Security*, vol. 19, no. 2 (fall).

that were not previously considered to be part of the security puzzle such as economy, regional security, societal and environmental sectors. This has therefore brought a redefinition that added a large number of combinations of actors and types of interactions or situations (governments, armed forces, national economy, economic regimes, social or religious groups, individuals) which must be taken into account in the security field.

On the changes in the international environment giving rise to new forms and sources of insecurity – majority (85%) of the respondents were in agreement, (10%) were in disagreement and (5%) were undecided.

These respondents noted that the Global change processes have also led to two major transformations of political institutions, namely, weakening of the state and the rise of alternative forms of social governance. Many states are increasingly unable to exercise coherent control over territories and peoples. This has allowed for the infiltration of organised crime, facilitating the building of international criminal networks, which has obvious consequences for violence and the rule of law. At the same time, state institutions are increasingly challenged by local-level non-state forms of social governance. Informal institutions such as gangs, vigilantes and unofficial justice systems can emerge to bring order within localised ‘governance voids’.

On the same point - changes in the international environment giving rise to new forms and sources of insecurity, the respondents further argue that the concept of human security represents a significant paradigm shift for scholars and practitioners working in the fields of development, democracy, human rights and humanitarian assistance.

According to these group(s) of respondents traditional approaches and policies in international relations have placed the state and its interests at the centre of concern, while the interests, grievances and collective experiences of individuals remained subsumed under the larger analytical unit of the state.

In such approaches, security is thought of in terms of national security, conceived in such terms as territorial integrity, political viability, power, prestige, sovereignty and economic interests. Threats to national or state security include interstate conflict and warfare; the proliferation of traditional and nuclear weapons; intra-state conflict, rebellion, revolution, terrorism; trade disputes, retaliation and protectionism.

The study found that their argument (of the 85% respondents) was aligning with the United Nations Commission on Human Security, who stated that;

Human security is concerned with safeguarding and expanding people's vital freedoms. It requires both shielding people from acute threats and empowering people to take charge of their own lives. The demands of human security involve a broad range of interconnected issues [such as] conflict and poverty, protecting people during violent conflict and in post-conflict situations, defending people who are forced to move, overcoming economic insecurities, guaranteeing the availability and affordability of essential health care, and ensuring the elimination of illiteracy and education deprivation and of schools that promote intolerance.<sup>107</sup>

The study found the argument of the remaining 10% respondents, suggested that security should not necessarily have new forms, but instead it should be nationalized or looked at from purely within the state context and based entirely on the country under discussion. They stated that while security challenges have shifted since the Cold War, the way in which threats in Africa are framed remains entrenched in traditional or mainstream security thinking.

According to these respondents (the 10%), a critical approach reveals the underlying social, political, and historical structures within the state that must be taken into account to successfully assess what is and what is not a true security threat. The "state," for example, has kept its place of importance in security narratives through government-to-government interactions and consultations as well as weapons sales and training. As the predominant concerns of security strategists have

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<sup>107</sup> United Nations, Commission on Human Security, (2003) *Human Security Now: Final Report* (New York: United Nations Commission on Human Security).

changed, however, there has also been a more fundamental rethinking of the very framework of state security. If many of the newly created states of the formerly colonized world are still quite weak, perhaps the security of the state apparatus may, after all, be the oppressive tool of an elite group.

A new concept, at times given the name of "human security," has been suggested to express the need of individuals for safety in other arenas of basic needs like access to food and clean water, environmental and energy security, freedom from economic exploitation, protection from arbitrary violence by the police, gangs, among others. However, while this concept may be useful in indicating the variety of human needs that must be satisfied, it is far too expansive to be an effective policy goal, and does not offer an appealing alternative to traditional conceptions of security.

There is a significant danger in defining security as including everything that's good in life or everything that's considered 'necessary.' If it were so defined, it would be impossible for there to be trade-offs between security and other values, and policies could only represent choices for one type of security as opposed to another. The word itself thus loses its effectiveness at delineating a particular realm of political priorities. The most oppressive and exploitative dictatorship may, if sufficiently entrenched, appear stable and secure from the outside.

Therefore some the respondent's still feel that the changes in the international environment does not necessarily give rise to new forms and sources of insecurity. Security comes under harshest attack from the groups (10% respondents) who argue that shifting the focus to concentrate on people does nothing to render security analysis more pertinent. Furthermore, according to (10% respondents) the increase in the number of elements labelled as security threats only makes it more difficult to study the connections between them.

#### 4.5 New Forms of Security Threats

The respondents were asked to rate the extent of the new forms of security threats brought about by the changed international environment. The range was strongly agree (45%), agree (35%), disagree (10%) and undecided (10%) respectively.

The majority of respondents who agree and strongly agree acknowledged that the 21<sup>st</sup> century had brought about new forms of security threats. They generally stated that these current security threats mainly included; *environmental, economic, demographic, criminal, terrorist, health, information, immigration and other aspects, which have now been all triggered by the change in the international arena.*

These respondents (the 45% and 35%) further point out that; *apart from these categories of new threats, there are security concerns that are not limited by borders. These transnational security concerns include ethnic conflict, weapons of mass destruction, political instability, and international organized crime (such as drug and human trafficking).*

The respondents' further noted that in order to better understand new forms of security threats brought about by the changed international environment, one has to envisage the link between changed environment and livelihood strategies of human beings at the local level and the broader impact of these environmental changes on a society. These dimensions help define environmental issues as important factors of security.

The study therefore notes that advocates of new forms of security threats brought about by the changed international environment are divided between those who are content with a narrow definition of security, focusing exclusively on factors that perpetuate violence and those for whom a broad definition which encompasses issues of human rights and underdevelopment is to be preferred.

In determining and explaining the security challenges brought about by the changing international security environment one respondent observed that in Kenya today national security had

shifted from a concern with domestic economic problems to external threats stemming from ideologically opposed, and thus presumed hostile, powers, such as the Al Shabaab in Somalia. Another respondent states that *security has now expanded beyond the military sector and the use of force*.

Some respondents pointed out that, *the international security environment has shifted to a new strategic situation and generally view the new period not as a bipolar situation (like the Cold War) or a unipolar situation (like the post-Cold War era), but as a multipolar situation characterized by renewed competition among three major world powers, mainly United States, China, and Russia*.

Some respondents argue that, because a state is a geographical entity, its security environment will above all be shaped by the shield or barrier derived from its geographical boundary. However, external forces constantly challenge these barriers. Therefore, external forces that can penetrate the geographical barrier are also factors shaping the security environment. And since most of the time those forces are based on military (or dual-use) technologies, military technology is also a factor shaping the security environment. However, external forces constantly challenge these barriers.

Others respondents noted that because a state's external behaviour is at least partly conditioned by its positioning within the international structure (defined as the relative distribution of power), international structure is also an important factor shaping the security environment.

In summary in order to determine and explain the security challenges brought about by the changing international security environment, majority (65%) respondents state that it is important to focus on the major factors that shape a state's security environment, such as, geographical barriers, state-to-state interaction, international structure, and military technology.

In explaining the security challenges brought about by the changing international security environment in Kenya; the respondents observed that along with the political transition sweeping the

region, several African states face significant social problems due to the economic deficiencies coupled with rising unemployment rates.

Most respondents also noted that one of the most significant challenges which faces the whole African region is particularly terrorism, which requires concerted international efforts to combat the phenomena and condemn all its forms, starting with extremism to the incitement of violence. Thus, there is a need to develop an international mechanism in fighting terrorism.

The respondents noted that proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) affects security while anti-personnel mines and explosive remnants of war kill people. Both can have destabilizing effects on social, societal and economic development and can represent major challenges to regional and national security in Africa Kenya included. Another emerging challenge comes from the context of Cyber Security.

The study found that (90%) of the respondents were in agreement that transnational crimes should be recognized as a major threat to national and international security, in contrast to the past. The respondents noted that transnational organized crime (TOC) poses a significant and growing threat to national and international security, with dire implications for public safety, health, democratic institutions, and economic stability across the globe.

Many respondents observed that criminal areas of potentially heightened terrorist involvement include money laundering, human smuggling, arms and other manufactured commodities and contraband trafficking, extortion, kidnapping, and petty crimes. Observers suggest that such criminal-terrorist links are the result of mutual opportunities for financial benefit. Such relationships may be temporary to meet the short-term needs of both the terrorist and criminal organizations and may not mature into a sustained partnership.

These findings are in agreement with National Security Council, who stated that developing countries with weak rule of law can be particularly susceptible to TOC penetration. TOC penetration



of states is deepening, leading to co-option in a few cases and further weakening of governance in many others.<sup>108</sup> The apparent growing nexus in some states among TOC groups and elements of government and high-level business figures represents a significant threat to economic growth and democratic institutions. In countries with weak governance, there are corrupt officials who turn a blind eye to TOC activity.

The challenge of addressing security issues that have emerged has brought in a variety of actors and stakeholders into the security sector who must now be considered in the decision making process – the respondents noted that human security is about recognizing the importance of the security needs of people along-side those of states. It is about minimizing risks, taking preventive measures to reduce human vulnerabilities and carrying out remedial action when preventive measures fail. Non-state actors, from armed groups to private corporations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), play a critical role in the management of security particularly human security.

The measures required to enhance human security often call for action from numerous non-state actors, particularly NGOs. These include, for example, addressing the needs of displaced populations, advocating stronger control of the arms trade and helping governments preserve and restore fragile environments. Human security can act as a platform to help state and non-state actors alike address the causes of global insecurity. Non-state actors are particularly well suited to engendering human security in the new world context. Indeed, in failed states, they are the only actors who are present to do so.

The study observed that there are, however, many problems associated with the increased role of non-state actors in the protection of human security in conflict situations. The multiplicity of unofficial

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<sup>108</sup> National Security Council (2008) *Transnational Organized Crime: A Growing Threat to National and International Security*. United States of America. White House.

actors can mean that efforts are uncoordinated and accountability is unclear. Non-state actors may also have insufficient political influence or resources to bring about their ends. They may lack information or awareness about important issues, which may then lead to their taking sides in conflict. In addition, it can be argued that their focus on civil society rather than on state institutions draws resources away from a struggling state.

In accessing the challenge of addressing security issues that have emerged and brought in a variety of actors and stakeholders into the security sector, the study revealed that the term non-state is applicable to a large number of very different actors with distinct roles in societies in conflict. Non-state actors include armed groups, NGOs, corporations, educational institutions, private donors, religious organizations, the scientific community, private individuals, the media and, increasingly, the Internet community. Their few shared characteristics result from their distinctly unofficial nature (compared with state actors), their greater flexibility and, often, their unaccountability under national and international laws. There is an acute need to distinguish the various types of non-state actor more comprehensively.

The study further notes that despite the increased role of non-state armed groups in internal conflicts, international humanitarian law (IHL) and human rights standards offer only limited opportunities to persuade armed groups to comply, whereas a collection of legal instruments has been developed to supply state actors with a comprehensive framework, guiding the conduct of their combatants. This discrepancy between state and non-state actors reveals the extent to which the development of humanitarian law has been subjugated to political considerations, denying less protection to armed groups than to state actors.

The study also reveals that the definition of security depend on the context and interests and strategies of each of these key stakeholders. A non-exhaustive list could include; UN bodies; The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC); other governments and multilateral institutions (both as donors

and policy-makers); armed actors; NGOs (either national or international); religious institutions; Private corporations; the mass media; among many others.

Therefore the major difficulty with establishing which strategies and actions are being undertaken by stakeholders in the security sector is that the relationships between them are not clear-cut, or may even be non-existent. Many duty-bearer stakeholders, particularly governments, security forces and opposition armed forces, cause or contribute to human rights violations and a lack of protection for non combatants. Some stakeholders, who would otherwise share the same protection concerns, may also have competing interests, such as among other governments, UN bodies and NGOs. These factors, along with those inherent in conflict scenarios, project a complex picture of the working environment as a whole.

Kenya's security governance challenges play out at the local, regional, and international levels. Crime and insecurity persist as major challenges in both urban and rural areas. It seems the daily reality for many Kenyans is defined by the fear of becoming victim to violent robbers, car hijackers, sexual predators, and burglars, terror attacks among other criminal activities. The country's northern parts are prone to banditry, cattle rustling border conflicts and resource based conflicts which have claimed the lives of hundreds of Kenyans.

According to Ajuang, the fact that Kenya's security sector is in need of far-reaching reforms has been evident long before the Post Election Violence (PEV) engulfed the country in 2008. To be sure, the post-election crisis vividly exposed the grave shortcomings of the Kenya security sector whose image was badly tarnished by the illegal and unjustifiable actions of some of its members. For a start, many Kenyans perceive the security sector, particularly the Kenya Police, as an inefficient, brutal, anti-people institution that lacks transparency and accountability.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Ajuang, Debra (2006). "Police Accountability in Kenya." Kenya Human Rights Commission, Unpublished.

The greatest challenge in the management of security is the wide range of issues included in the security agenda in the new perspective. In Kenya, the national development plan entitled “Kenya Vision 2030” applies a comprehensive and multi-sectoral approach which is built on the principles of protection and empowerment.

Accordingly, the plan’s economic and social pillars envisage a just, cohesive, equitable, clean and secure environment where individuals and communities are empowered to enjoy greater prosperity and a better quality of life across all regions of the country.

#### **4.6 Security Challenges in Kenya**

The respondents were asked to rate the extent that globalization affects definition and perception of security. The range was strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5). The majority of the respondents (60%) agree that globalization affects security. One respondent stated that, *sometimes security is considered a state of mind, signifying that someone feels safe from intentional harm; safety then becomes freedom from unintentional harm.*

Globalization has not radically changed international relations, but has rather altered the means through which international relationships are channelled.

According to the respondents (60%) looking to the security side of the globalization analysis, security became so complex and multi-dimensional, traditional national border-setting type of security perception is not capable of recognizing new threats that transcend the national borders. According to majority of the respondents a globalized world has to face an immediate threat: international terrorism. This problem has been recognized not only by one nation, but also in the era of globalization when the nations became much more connected and interdependent, it became a threat to international security. Some of the states have witnessed terrorist threats since many years.

Terrorism became the main topic on the top agenda for many nations and institutions. Today, global terror is a giant problem for all humanity, especially in Kenya that has suffered a number of attacks.

The study notes that the role of globalization in the world system has been the subject of numerous and often conflicting interpretations. In recent years, a growing number of world order theories have highlighted the declining importance of state by drawing attention to several contemporary trends; notably the erosion of the dividing line between domestic and global politics and the ineffectiveness of government in many critical areas of policy.

Transformation of communication through information technology and economy through globalization catalyse some of the dangers such as global warming, ozone depletion, acid rain, environmental problems as well as terrorism and crimes such as fraud and money laundering.

Globalization has been the most important feature in transforming the international security landscape. It has increased the interconnectedness between societies and states, led to a contraction of space and time thus creating global challenges as well as global public goods and decreased the capacity of any state to manage global security threats and risks alone.<sup>110</sup>

The respondents were asked to rate the new approach to security that emphasises the wellbeing of the individual rather than simply the safeguarding of the state as a political unit.

A conceptualization of security that is centred primarily on the individual or community can be understood as human security. This notion grows from the assumption that there are needs, problems, and issues that are common to all of mankind no matter what part of the world they live in. For example, poverty; the spread of communicable diseases; environmental degradation; the loss of faith in institutions; population pressures; and economic crisis. It is imperative that we view these concerns in terms of global trends and forces that affect the individual. These trends include such

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<sup>110</sup> MacFarlane, Neil, and Khong, Foong (2006), *Human Security and the UN. A Critical History*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

processes as: the depletion of non-renewable resources; drug trafficking; human trafficking; the rapid spread of communication technology; the rampant growth of capitalist markets with no controls to avoid the excesses of the capitalists; poverty, inequality and human misery; and the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

Security therefore, then, primarily relates to the safety and well-being of people everywhere. It has been found that a sense of insecurity among certain groups invariably leads to group conflict and political instability.

The respondents were asked if Information and Communication Technological positively affects the management of security. The range was strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5). The range was strongly agree (15%), agree (40%), disagree (35%) and undecided (10%) respectively.

The group that strongly agree (15%), agree (40%), generally indicated that the greatest effect of ICT on individual security is the huge increase in access to information and services that has accompanied the growth of the Internet. Some of the positive aspects of this increased access are better, and often cheaper, communications, such as VoIP phone and Instant Messaging. In addition, the use of ICT to access information has brought new opportunities for personal security, leisure and entertainment, the ability to make contacts and form relationships with people around the world, and the ability to obtain goods and services from a wider range of suppliers.

Some of the respondents stated that; *the high tech vision of peace is tempered by the belief that technological progress must be accompanied by progress in the moral and spiritual evolution of human beings.*

The (40%) who agreed, further state that the use of ICT can also solve or reduce some security problems, such as, Encryption methods can keep data safe from unauthorized people, both while it is being stored or while it is being sent electronically. This is important for reasons such as data

protection legislation or commercial secrecy. ICT enables physical security systems such as fingerprint, iris or facial recognition.

The (35%) who disagreed, basically argue that in spite of profound increases in human security deriving from technological development, the history of technology does not inspire confidence that further technological development can reduce fear and want because technology is itself the source of terrible, global threats. The reason for such technological threats lies with the location of science and advanced technology in the global political/economic system. This location has allied technological development with capital thus governments and private corporations are the primary stakeholders in, and beneficiaries of, technological innovation.

This group sees technology as a potential problem on its own; *there is always a problem for any organisation that uses ICT. Data must be kept secure, Internet connections must be protected from attack, new viruses and other forms of malware are released nearly every day.* Organisations will usually have legal obligations to protect data such as customer information. Even if the organisation does not have to comply with a specific data protection law it will usually be in the organisation's interest to protect data from rivals.

The same group of respondents who strongly agreed felt that; *with the exception of those people included in the material benefits of technological development there are more millions who resent the ideological package in which advanced technologies are wrapped.*

According to them (35% respondents), societies may attempt autarky but in the modern world, this is not very feasible. As interaction with foreign peoples, institutions and products is increasing at a rapid rate, a plethora of social systems are being subjugated to a dominant social system that owns/controls technological development. These societies are forced toward a homogenization of economy, socio-political structures and culture that may deny important aspects of their identity. Identity is an important component of societal security and thus technology becomes a threat.

The study therefore found that probably the largest effect that ICT use has on society is allowing members of society to have greatly increased access to information. This can have numerous positive effects, such as: increasing opportunities for education, improving security, communication and allowing people to participate in a wider, even worldwide, society.

On the same breath, the study found that probably the largest effect that ICT use has on society is allowing members of society to have greatly increased access to information. This can have numerous negative effects, such as: causing a digital divide between those who can access information, those who cannot, causing serious security breaches, reducing levels of education and understanding due to the vast amount of incorrect and misleading information that is available and causing moral and ethical problems due to the nature of some of the material available.

In addition, the study found that technology has been central to national governance in trying to organize human security concept, which emerged in the mid 1990's and began to develop considerable institutional depth. The Kenya government has given priority to technology in its National development plans since her political independence. The Kenya government, stakeholders and citizens have over the years invested significant resources to expand and improve technology at all levels. Since technology is a fundamental strategy for human security development, it has been viewed as an important input in improving human security process through the human capital that is embodied in and embedded on its beneficiaries.

Finally the study found that the increasingly pervasive nature of technology is a security concern in itself. Technology is unpredictable, and rapidly changing interaction between ICT and society brings with it a wide range of new human rights risks and ethical dilemmas for companies in the ICT industry, especially on how to protect and advance freedom of expression and privacy online. Besides, ICT provides the opportunity for traditional crimes such as fraud and theft to be committed in non-traditional ways and thus hard to combat using conventional means. The way in which private



sector corporations respond to these risks and dilemmas will affect the lives of billions of ICT users all around the world.

The respondents were asked if due to the complexity of the security concept, its dynamics and continuous change, there is lack of an agreed definition. The respondents generally felt that the end of the Cold War highlighted the limitations of the narrow paradigm that had conceived of security purely in terms of inter-state violence. In the context of the evolving international security setting, states are no longer the exclusive determinants of security.

According to Sheehan, the meaning of "security" is often treated as a common sense term that can be understood by "unacknowledged consensus". Sheehan states that security is a core value of human life. To be secure is to be undisturbed by danger or fear.<sup>111</sup> The desire for security is a defensive and self-protecting response to the fact or threat of harm from other human beings.

Some respondents observed that what is often understood as the "traditional" concept of security was a result of internationalization of politics in the modern era. The balance of power was the dominant theory of foreign policy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was believed to be most effective to stabilize international society where states pursue national interests without super-state authority.

The respondents were asked if lack of a consensus on the definition of security is a challenge to the management of security. The majority of the respondents (80%) stated that the concept of security has become much more multifaceted and must be considered in a broader manner, incorporating aspects that were not previously considered to be part of the security puzzle such as economy, regional security, societal and environmental sectors. This has therefore brought a large number of combinations of actors and types of interactions or situations (governments, armed forces, national economy, economic regimes, social or religious groups, individuals) which must be taken

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<sup>111</sup> Sheehan, M. (2005), *International Security: and Analytical Survey*, London, Lynne Rienner Publisher.

into account in the security field.<sup>112</sup> This concept recognizes the complexity of the human environment and accepts that the forces influencing human security are interrelated and mutually reinforcing.

Based on the responses, the study revealed that majority of the respondents were of the view that the new concept of security therefore requires a transition from old to new sources, forms and remedies for insecurity. From a human security perspective it is possible for inhabitants of a secure state to suffer insecurity. This comes about in that individuals or communities could be affected by a number of non-military atrocities that threaten their wellbeing just as an invasion from a foreign army would. These factors include, ethnic strife, discrimination in state resource allocation, diseases, religious and cultural persecution among others.

This revelation agreed with King and Murray, who stated that the hope that conceptual clarity can ease the job of operationalizing human security does not seem to be an isolated view.<sup>113</sup> These authors conducted informal off-the-record interviews with politicians and officials in several countries that describe and observed that every person they spoke with was concerned that there existed no widely accepted or coherent definition of human security, and that there were considerable conceptual problems in relating human security, human development, and the development focus on poverty together in the articulation of their foreign policy.

The study established that it is important to know that human security is not negating traditional security because it incorporates traditional threats and means. Naturally, extreme stressing of one of them leads to exposing conceptual differences. The concepts are different, but at the end they are both human-centred, in that, they directly or indirectly bring human to the forefront. This

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<sup>112</sup> Peter J. Katzenstein (1996). *The culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World politics*, New York, Columbia University Press, p. 34.

<sup>113</sup> King, Gary and Christopher Murray. (2000). “*Rethinking Human Security.*” Working manuscript.

means that human security is complementing the notion of national and international security by focusing it more on the human component.

At the moment human security has become a fundamental element of the concepts and policies of national, regional and international security. It has become also a logic that determines to a certain extent how these policies will be formed and implemented. Human security brings together the ‘human elements’ of security, rights and development.

In conclusion the study found that reducing conflict and increasing human security are among the greatest challenges of humankind. Human security is a term that encompasses many facets, including ‘economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political considerations’.

#### **4.7 Chapter Summary**

Based on the literature reviewed, the study noted that redefining security meant not just the content of the notion of ‘security,’ but also the role of the different actors and regions of the world in the emergent international security system.

Africa’s absence from international security agenda setting can also be explained by the suspicious relationship between academics and practitioners. It is true, for example, that there are a number of African academics contributions about the role of Africa in international security. But these are not reflected in the diplomatic arena, because of the suspicious relationship between academics and practitioners.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Summary

This chapter covered the summary of the key findings, conclusions, policy recommendations as well as areas for further study. The general objective of the study was to explore the impact changes in the international security arena have in the management of security in Africa with a focus on Kenya.

In a complex and globalized security environment, having strong and capable partners on the African continent to tackle transnational challenges - greatly advances global security interests. In this regard, this study seeks to provide new body of knowledge to current security initiatives aimed at growing capabilities of African countries to effectively respond to regional security challenges.

In such approaches, security is thought of in terms of national security, conceived in such terms as territorial integrity, political viability, power, prestige, sovereignty and economic interests. Threats to national or state security include interstate conflict and warfare; the proliferation of traditional and nuclear weapons; intra-state conflict, rebellion, revolution, terrorism; political violence trade disputes and protectionism.

The majority of respondents who agree and strongly agree acknowledged that the 21<sup>st</sup> century had brought about new forms of security threats. They generally stated that these current security threats mainly included; *environmental threats, economic, demographic, terrorism, health, information, immigration, economic disparities and other aspects, which have now been all triggered by the change in the international arena.*

In explaining the security challenges brought about by the changing international security environment in Kenya; the respondents observed that along with the political transition sweeping the region, several African states face significant social problems due to the economic deficiencies coupled with rising unemployment rates.

Human security is a critical component of the global political and development agenda. Two ideas lie at its heart: firstly, the protection of individuals is a strategic concern for national as well as international security; secondly, security conditions for people's development are not bound to traditional matters of national defence, law and order, but rather encompass all political, economic and social issues enabling a life, free from risk and fear. Despite the consensus on the foundations of this concept, an uncontroversial definition of human security does not currently exist.

The study found that most respondents also noted that one of the most significant challenges which faces the whole African region is terrorism, which requires concerted international efforts to combat and condemn all its forms, starting with extremism to the incitement of violence. Thus, there is a need to develop an international mechanism in fighting terrorism.

The study found that there was a significant danger in defining security as including everything that's good in life or everything that's considered 'necessary.' If it were so defined, it would be impossible for there to be trade-offs between security and other values, and policies could only represent choices for one type of security as opposed to another. The word itself thus loses its effectiveness at delineating a particular realm of political priorities.

In summary in order to determine and explain the security challenges brought about by the changing international security environment, the majority (65%) respondents state that it is important to focus on the major factors that shape a state's security environment, such as, geographical barriers, state-to-state interaction, international structure, and military technology.

## **5.2 Conclusions**

The study employed Realism Theory to explore the impact changes in the international security arena have in the management of security in Kenya.

Realism surfaced as a stronger, valid and logical theory in explaining the world politics as well as domestic politics during 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Century. This theory of international relations remained

successful in satisfying the answers to questions about causes and effects of war. Realists figured out war as a recurrent event in world politics. Until the cold war ended, no other theory challenged its fundamental assumptions.<sup>114</sup>

Security Studies could be classified according to their levels of analysis. State-to-state level of analysis deals with security issues between states. This type of analysis is especially important for scholars who are close to Realist school of thought, since they believe that nation-states are the primary actors in international relations and they “claim to be the ultimate authority in resolving conflicts between them” according to Kolodziej.<sup>115</sup>

States are the key actors in the realist world because they represent the greatest concentrations of power, especially in having the greatest capacity to use military force to do harm. States are insecure because they often come into conflict, some-times very intensively, and because they can harm each other in very serious ways. Their power, and the insecurity it produces, dominates their relations. The result is that security is their constant preoccupation.

Thompson notes that various attempts have been made to provide an adequate conceptualization of human security. The study found that there are two main contemporary theories of international relations. At one end of the continuum is an approach based on a neo-realist theoretical framework, which maintains a continued emphasis on the primacy of the state within a broadened conceptualization of human security.<sup>116</sup> Therefore the study concludes that neo-realist approach to human security has been advocated by ‘structural’ or neo-realists such as Buzan.<sup>117</sup> This scholar argued that the ‘straitjacket’ militaristic approach to security that dominated the discourse

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<sup>114</sup> Ian Wing, (2000) *Refocusing Concepts on Security: The Convergence of Military and Non-Military Tasks*, Land Warfare Studies Centre, Working Paper No. 111, November, pp. 7-9.

<sup>115</sup> Kolodziej, Edward A. (2004), “*Security and International Relations*”, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>116</sup> Thompson, L. 2000. *Theoretical Approaches to Security and Development*. ISS Monograph No. 50.

<sup>117</sup> Buzan, B. 1991. *New Patterns of Global Security in the 21th Century*. International Affairs Vol. 67, No. 3, pp. 431-451.

during the Cold War was 'simple-minded' and led to the underdevelopment of the concept. Buzan subsequently broadened it to include political, economic, social and environmental threats, in addition to those that are militaristic. Hubbard and Suzuki point that human security approaches have the potential to contribute to improved health for several reasons.<sup>118</sup> The study chose this theory because as a human-centred approach, human security focuses on the actual needs of a community, as identified by the community – that finally affects the State.

In the view of realists/neo-realists, international relations is fundamentally about power and security in the relations among states. The core of the subject is states, their power and, given the implications of anarchy, their insecurity. All realists hold that the manifestations and impact of power and insecurity are what give international politics, and the field of study devoted to it, a distinctive identity. The many other aspects of international relations are regarded as of lesser importance and relevance. It was to assert that this conception most closely accorded with the activity being studied that the label 'realist' was first adopted.

Therefore in realist conceptions of security the clear referent point is the state. The study defines threats to states in three senses: to the idea of the state (nationalism); to the physical base of the state (population and resources); and to the institutional expression of the state (political system). However, there is debate over whether one definition suffices for the entire world or whether different parts of it require different notions of security. In the former camp are most neo-realists, who, seeing the system as dominant, necessarily suggest that security anywhere is derived from the system's anarchic nature.

When it came to looking at the hypothesis that that increased security threats experienced by states Kenya included emanates from the changed international environment the study found that

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<sup>118</sup> Hubbard S, and Suzuki T. (2008) *Building resilience: human security approaches to AIDS in Africa and Asia*. Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange.

most of the respondents strongly agree (75%), agree (20%) and undecided (5%) respectively. The majority of the respondents cited terrorism, money laundering, cyber-crimes, piracy, terrorism, radicalization among other security threats that are currently experienced as a result of the changes in international security. Barber found the same when he stated that in order to face the problems of the twenty-first century, scholars need a more comprehensive definition of security - one that encompasses the increasing number of threats such as terrorism, piracy and hacking, as well as the increasing number of actors.<sup>119</sup> The study therefore concludes that increased security threats experienced by states emanates from the changed international environment – as seen through the influence of globalization.

The study further concludes that globalization affects definition of security. Globalization is a notoriously slippery concept that requires elaboration. For one, globalization has been defined by a rapid expansion of global economic interconnectedness, with trade, investment, global production, and international aid bringing states, organizations, firms, and individuals closer together than ever before. And while some argue this is a positive force for peace it is often viewed as a double-edged sword for in the same measure it becomes the train on which such threats as cybercrime, money laundering, terrorism, thrive on. Naím defines globalization as the “widening, deepening, and speeding up” of economic, political, and social interconnectedness among individuals, groups, organizations, states, and other important actors in the international system.<sup>120</sup> Globalization is largely a technology-driven phenomenon, and the rapid rate of technological change has facilitated the explosion of connection across the globe.

When evaluating if changes in the international environment have a positive effect on the security of states Kenya included the study found that the response range was strongly agree (15%),

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<sup>119</sup> Acharya, Amitav (2009) *Changing Conceptions of Security in the 21st Century: Power, Institutions, and Ideas*.

<sup>120</sup> Naím, Moisés. 2009. “*Think Again: Globalization*.” *Foreign Policy*, pp. 28-32.



agree (40%), disagree (35%) and undecided (10%) respectively. The group that agreed indicated that the greatest effect of ICT on individual security is the huge increase in access to information and services that has accompanied the growth of the Internet. Some of the positive aspects of this increased access are better, more efficient and often cheaper, communications, such as phone and Instant Messaging. In addition, the use of ICT to access information has brought new opportunities for personal security, leisure and entertainment, the ability to make contacts and form relationships with people around the world, and the ability to obtain goods and services from a wider range of suppliers as well as transact business across continents. The study therefore concludes that the largest effect that ICT use has on society is allowing members of society to have greatly increased access to information that often leads to effective security management.

In assessing the hypothesis that changes in the international environment gives rise to new forms and sources of insecurity in Kenya the study noted that Kenya as a player in the international system has experienced changes as a result of this world event especially in the last two decades. One of the notable changes is a variation in the definition of national security. Before the democratization process in Kenya, national security had been limited to state security and little thought given to the wellbeing of the individuals. The study therefore concludes that Kenya, just like other emerging countries is starting to experience more in terms of international crime, such as the illegal drug trade and money laundering and other transnational crimes further stretch the ability of the police to effectively enforce law and order. The worst amongst them being the current incidence of religious terrorism in Kenya is of great security concern. Kenya has recently been a target of global terrorism because of a combination of geographic, regional, historical, political, economic and socio-cultural factors. The transparency that is facilitated by access to information heightens the perception of widespread corruption at all levels of governance thus eroding public confidence.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

Based on the findings, the study recommends that;

**5.3.1** The study recommends that there is need for practitioners to reconcile the true meaning of human security. Academics have not been any more successful in seeking a universally accepted definition and conception of human security either. Scholastic attempts to define the term have been largely circumscribed by the widely divergent meanings that human security has been able to generate, and the various contexts to which it applies.

**5.3.2** The study recommends co-ordinated prevention of insecurity from the perspective of different stakeholders. Characteristically, human security is universal (it is relevant to all nations and people, rich or poor); its components are interdependent (threats to human security break down the barrier of territorial immunity so that the misfortunes of one people at one end of the world could trigger a chain of events with devastating consequences for people at the other end); it is much easier to prevent threats to human security than resort (mostly belatedly) to expensive humanitarian actions; and finally, human security is people-centred (it is concerned with how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercise their many choices).

**5.3.3** The study recommends that states should step up on their human rights, as a way to promote human security. Human security and human rights are mutually reinforcing and, as with human development and human security, are complementary. Certainly, respect for human rights is at the core of human security, the protection and empowering of the people.

**5.3.4** The study recommends the promotion of human development, as a cure for insecurity. This is because human security is a critical component of the global political and development agenda. Two ideas lie at its heart: firstly, the protection of individuals is a strategic concern for national as well as international security; secondly, security conditions for people's development

are not bound to traditional matters of national defence, law and order, but rather encompass all political, economic and social issues enabling a life, free from risk and fear.

## **5.4 Further Research**

**5.4.1** Human security and human development

**5.4.2** Human security from the African context

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26<sup>th</sup> February, 2015

**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

**RE: RESEARCH ASSISTANCE**  
**MS PURITY N MASIKONTE**

The above mentioned Senior Officer is studying at the National Defence College (NDC) for a one year course that will lead to a University of Nairobi award of Master of Arts in International Studies.

In fulfillment of the MA, she is required to write a thesis on '*Managing security in a changing international environment: A case study of Kenya 2000-2013*'. She is expected to distribute research questionnaires in order to obtain the necessary data in support of the thesis.

Kindly accord her any assistance she may require in the research which will go a long way in fulfilling the requirements of the University of Nairobi and her academic endeavors.

**CORINA**  
Lieutenant Colonel  
for Commandant



## **Appendix A: Structure Questionnaire**

### **Consent Form**

My name is Purity Masikonte. I am a Masters student at National Defence College/University of Nairobi. I am currently undertaking an academic research and it is a requirement that I collect field data for my academic research work on ‘Managing Security in a Changing international Environment’, with special reference to the Republic of Kenya.

You have been selected to be part of this research. Kindly take your time to fill this questionnaire. Your consent is welcome and be assured that all your details and all the information you provide will be treated with utmost privacy and confidentiality and will be strictly used for the purpose of this study. Your cooperation and support is most appreciated.

Thank you.

Sign.....

Date.....

## **Appendix B: Structure Questionnaire**

Kindly fill this questionnaire to enable me collect data for this study. The questionnaire is meant to collect information to explore the impact changes in the international security arena have in the management of security with a focus on Kenya. Please answer the questions by writing a brief

statement or ticking in the boxes provided as applicable. The information provided will be treated as strictly confidential and at no instance will your name be mentioned in this research.

**Instructions**

The following depict changes in the international security arena which have an impact on the management of security in Kenya. How would you rate these factors and state why? Where 1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Un-decided, 4 = Disagree and 5 = Strongly disagree respectively.

No.	Description	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A.	Increased security threats experienced by Kenya emanates from the changes in international environment.	Rate : Why :				
B.	Change in the international environment requires a redefinition of security	Rate : Why :				
C.	Changes in the international environment gives rise to new forms and sources of insecurity.	Rate : Why :				
D.	The new concept of security requires new solutions to insecurity.	Rate : Why :				
E.	The end of the Cold War highlighted the limitations of the narrow paradigm that had conceived of security purely in terms of inter-state violence.	Rate : Why :				
F.	Determine and explain the security challenges brought about by the changing international security environment for Kenya.	Rate : Why :				

G.	Transnational crimes should be recognized as a major threat to national and international security, in contrast to the past, when they were placed as a second-order security issue.	Rate : Why :
	The challenge of addressing security issues that have emerged has brought in a variety of actors and stakeholders into the security sector who must now be considered in the decision making process (that can meaningfully improve responses).	Rate : Why :
H.	The response to the multi-faceted threats to international and national security requires a broad spectrum of security strategies.	Rate : Why :
I.	The greatest challenge in the management of security is the wide range of issues included in the security agenda in the new perspective.	Rate : Why :
J.	Security in a globalizing world cannot be provided on a purely national basis or even on the basis of limited alliances.	Rate : Why :
K.	Globalization affects definition and perception of security.	Rate : Why :

L.	The new approach to security emphasises the wellbeing of the individual rather than simply the safeguarding of the state as a political unit.	Rate : Why :
M	Information and communication Technological positively affects the management of security	Rate : Why :
N.	Due to the complexity of the security concept, its dynamics and continuous change, there is lack of an agreed definition.	Rate : Why :
O.	The lack of a consensus on the definition of security is a challenge to the management of security	Rate : Why :
P.	The assumptions and institutions that governed security in the cold war era are a poor fit with the new realities in Kenya today.	Rate : Why :

Q	Closing remarks.	Rating : Why :