

INSECURITY AS A BASIS FOR STATE (RE) CONSTRUCTION: A CASE FOR  
SOCIAL POLICY SHIFT

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## Introduction

While exploring the issue of security over years, positions that appeared include bandit economies in the rural frontiers, then in the urban settings and now the consequences of the inclination towards state collapse on the basis of the missing link between that and social policy. The argument here is that insecurities or the perception of insecurities are a reflection of the inability of the state to invest in the processes of social policy engagements. To understand this, we have to look at the career of the state, importation of the idea of state in Africa, the realities and insecurities of the state and find an alternative model through which insecurities can be addressed.

## The Career of the State

The crisis of insecurity provides a challenge for state reconstruction, reconstitution and a chance for social integration within the current context of Kenya. A state must have a territory, sovereignty, population and government. We are initiating our discussion on sovereignty. However, if we do so, we will be preoccupied by power. Then we miss out the factors that power is not located in one specific class or individual rather it is something that circulates within the structural logic of the society and that power has a capacity to produce domains and the objects within those domains and to reproduce the rituals of truth. Thus one who controls power does not necessarily have the last word. It is on this basis that one sees the necessity of the state to accumulate and dominate the instruments of power and thus be able to guarantee security to people. In the Prince of Machiavelli, the head of the state is not trying to add value to society but looks at the society as his personal property. Machiavelli propagated the idea of keeping your territory by accumulating power to the extent to which you are better feared than loved. This aspect has the converse of it which is the logic of pastoral power. This raises a number of opposing questions of how people govern themselves as individuals and as a collectivity thus the reason of governance. The attempt to find answers in the Bible is therefore inevitable. The analogy of the pastor and the flock for instance depicts that the pastor accounts for all his sheep such that when one of them is missing, he goes out of his way to find it. But the sheep also have a role to respect and obey the will of the shepherd. Several aspects emerging from this analogy include the necessity to develop knowledge about the sheep, the modes and forms of facilitating that control of obedience from the sheep. From the Christian perspective, the assumption is that moral rectitude should be improved and the necessity to look out for others is inevitable. So, if one thinks about social policy interaction, he thinks about the way and means in which the sheep will obey the pastor because it is in the interest of the sheep to do so. In this case the pastor gets his value return out of his

investment. Other than the enhancement of the power of the pastor, the power of the sheep also increases and the two form the essence of the state.

The role of the state is more than assuring its own protection since it also has to ensure the functionality within it in terms of enhancing its capacity to grow. Thus, a state is seen not as a divine project but as a reality that is situated in a certain geographical domain. This also gives room to understand the state by generating knowledge about it and also evolving new modes and forms of trying to discover scientifically what that state can be, how it can be enhanced and the implications of the enhancement of that state, what Fouco calls the techniques and technologies of enhancing the state.

The emergence of self government, that is, the morality on how people should govern themselves and how they should evolve to enhance value and their own capacity to govern arises. Within self governance there is the *o-economy* which seeks to enhance the collectivity and individuality of families. The third issue involves the science of politics particularly focusing on the question of ruling and how ruling is going to evolve in order to facilitate and sustain the state. This then produces the science of police. Taken from the French version, science of police- 'politique', has a negative manifestation with the objective of protecting the state from its enemies both within and without. However, from the German perspective 'polizie', the positivity of police work that began in the 17<sup>th</sup> upto the 19<sup>th</sup> century is manifested. This refers to the techniques and methodologies that seek to generate happiness among the population and enhance its capacity. These techniques could include knowledge about the population, the evolution of social statistics, the science of state, the use of modern techniques to be able to control that population and to assure the religious and the moral aptitude of the society, health supplies and resources, roads and public safety and so on. During this time, 'polizie' unfolded into the logic of bio-power which in the French perspective 'bio-pouvoir' has two elements. The first element is the anatomo-political practices of discipline. Before coming to the question of disciplining a human being, you need to understand how the state has evolved. From the feudal period, the King was divine, that is, he had the power over human beings. Therefore, if one had to defy the King, he would be publicly eliminated in a ceremony with the aim of reconstructing the power of the King. This meant that the King had power over life.

However, from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the divine rule of the King was dymistified. Therefore he had no motivation to cut off peoples' heads since his had already been cut off. The King is seen to be interested not in taking away life, but in investing in it. Evaluating the concept of bio-power therefore, it is imperative to look at an individual as a collectivity thereby finding

out how one can be able to subdue people and coming up with new mechanisms that enable him to control them together in one specific space and in one specific time. Then, one can render the masses more efficient and effective in the logic of production. Anatomico-political practices then are a basis on which capitalism becomes a method of organizing politico-economic reproduction within the society.

Bio-political techniques of interventions and regulations emphasize on controlling the life of collectivity. They focus on biological processes that deal with the propagation of life, birth, mortality rates, health and life expectancy. The necessity to ensure that populations as a collectivity are growing becomes critical. The issue of race then comes to the fore. The government sees the need to invest in that race in order for it to. The collectivity of these elements produces the state's bio-power. As the state's power grows, it has to look for other ways of reproducing itself by extracting. Therefore internally the state's purpose is to consolidate itself and enhance the well being of its citizens through policies that are geared towards that process. In fact some liberal theories have argued that the state's capacity to regenerate itself would be much higher if its tentacles are reorganizes so as to create space for the individual to be able to manage his own economic affairs. This gives rise to two notions: Laissez-faire emerged at a certain time in Europe when the state had consolidated control over society and had penetrated the society such that it had a wider level capacity to be able not only to provide security but also to provide reproduction. The second notion involves 'doing what I say but not what I do'. In this case, one will be forced to replicate the logic of laissez-faire but in so doing he is facilitating his own death by not investing in his own citizenship and therefore socially deconstruct his society.

### **The Case of Kenya**

In Kenya, there occurred a total stoppage of the process of fusion within the society. If the colonial system had not interrupted the process of social formation and development, there would not be tribes in Kenya today. When the colonial system establishes itself, it has no obligation to construct a state but it is not constructs a space for extraction of resources. This quest evolves into legal instrumentalism, that is, the necessity to use legal instruments for purposes of inflicting pain and punishment to others so that others can live. Therefore, let others die for others to be able to live. A best example is the life of the Maasai who were expelled from their space of reproduction to the southern part of the Kenya territory. They therefore loose their means of production (the cow) and they cannot resustain those means because they have been imposed in an inhabitable area. This situation has reproduced itself consistently with the subsequent state policies (both colonial and post-independence) that are marginalizing. This reality can also be mentioned of the frontier citizen who is excluded out of

a wide range of state resources, socio-economic and political infrastructure. This phenomenon is evident in the Pokot, Turkana and so on.

The consequence of this exclusion, he argued, is the violence that is seen in border areas such as cattle raiding, the proliferation of small arms which permeate the whole country so that everybody is affected. This is a reflection of the essence of social policies in a state. Before independence, the colonial system re-entrenched itself by accumulating the means of production, rationalizing them thus creating ethnic identity. This resulted into the identity crisis that Kenya faces up to today. There are several levels of identity crisis; the first is at the level of institutions marking their inability to penetrate the society. Such inability renders the state redundant by bringing at the fore contested sovereignty. The second level encompasses the crisis of participation where members do not participate together as forging a new identity but they put themselves in political groupings according to their ethnic ties. The media worsens the identity crisis since there are different ethnic radio stations projecting dangerous theses to their ethnic folks. The third level is the crisis of resource distribution and allocation which by its reinforcement results into social polarities. This crisis is the basis upon which mobilization has to take place. Major social polarities in Kenya can be depicted by the allocation of resources for road building report given by the Government in the course of the referendum campaign. There were a number of irrationalities in the process of resource allocation at the time. Assume there is a community that produces fish which is vital to those who suffer from cholesterol yet there is another community that is endowed with the production of coffee. The latter community has control over the process of resource allocation and therefore wants to build roads in his area only. This is illogical since their coffee must find market in the area from which fish is produced and they must access the fish which is vital to their health. Therefore, having roads in your area may not be useful since it will not add value to your production. There is also the crisis of conflict management and resolution. As the crisis becomes impossible to facilitate, the three elements that constitute the state (its ideas, its institutions and physical base) conflict.

Ideas-what ideas surround the making of the state, how do the citizens organize their politics and how do they perceive what is national or communal. Where the ideas of the state assert that they are exclusive then competition and insecurity emerges. The institutions of the state include its infrastructure, the roads, its ministries and so on. The practice of institutions defines the ideologies that are existent in that society. So, if the institutions are excluding by way of practice then the generation of insecurities emerge. Those excluded will fight those institutions through sabotage.

The physical base of the state refers to the resources of the state which can be the basis of conflicts, insecurities and development of the state. Due to the dead capital in Kenya, building of economic and social networks is necessary. The logic of investment should be maximized at three levels; the individual, the local investor, and the foreign investor should be the last one to attend to. Joint ventures in this case should be encouraged so that the foreigner is not a donor but a partner in development. There needs to be political will, decentralization and devolution for such issues to be addressed adequately.

The first role of the state is to enhance the security of its citizens. The role of a social scientist in the society is to construct knowledge and to argue that in terms of social planning the future is not determined. We can create several scenarios and work toward them.