The security conceptualization by NATO, Canada, and Afghanistan's Local Perceptions
Comparative study in a context of multiple stakeholders

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Abstract
Canada took part in NATO's mission to restructure Afghanistan. The coalition removed the Taliban Government and made-way for a new Afghan Authority. Canada and its NATO allies identified the predominant issues it considered in the planning and implementation of its intervention. This thesis analyzes these assumptions and the influence they had on the construction of the intervention. It problematizes the concept of security, and builds a matrix of security concerns based on the social structures that compose the local and international actors in Afghanistan: namely NATO, Canada, and local Afghan perspectives. It seeks to outline the shared understanding and expectations of the Alliance, the resources which it has allocated, and the practices that have resulted from the intervention to this day. The analysis aims to identify which sectors are primarily made referents of security policies in the context of Canada's renewed role in international relations and the duality of humanitarian development and military intervention. The study will take into consideration the experience and interests of the observed actors and ask whether the reference of an international actor to the security concerns of a domestic actor is adequate. This research seeks to showcase the utility of the constructivist framework in understanding the plurality of identities. It identifies the fault lines between outsiders and insiders within the context, and the ways by which the construction of security changes from one social-structure to another. It considers the interaction issues related to the agent-structure question, by identifying issues of dominance by specific actors, the militarization of the context, and the ordering of security-values by different actors.

Keywords: Afghanistan, securitization, civil-military, NATO, Canada, development, militarization

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Introduction

This thesis examines the war in Afghanistan with a particular focus on three units and the securitization they make of the context. Securitization is the process by which a unit determines that a threat poses danger to a referent object. Securitization is the attention, protection, and resources paid to that referent object. The question of the thesis asks:

**How do NATO, Canada, and the local Afghan perspectives identify securitization within the particular context of Afghanistan?**

In searching for these answers, this thesis will show how these three participants define the security concept. It was chosen to limit the analytical section to three units, which represent a balance in the conceptualization of security within the context: NATO, the national government of Canada, and the local Afghan perspectives. The juxtaposition of security concerns creates a matrix of security issues to consider in Afghanistan. The analysis will be based on a discourse analysis to understand how security is interpreted by each unit. The concept of security will be defined here by the “pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile”. (Buzan 1991:432-433) The case study will seek to determine whether the rationalization and appreciation for security policies differs depending on the position of the stakeholder within the context. The study makes the assumption that reasoning about security is dependent to the identity of the unit. It is required that we produce a widening of the security concept through research which engages all stakeholders, in order to come to solutions based on common ground. To achieve this, it is required to use a theoretical framework which recognizes this plurality.

The security context in Afghanistan is characterized by a range of overlapping issues which concern some units more than others. Canada and NATO's mission in Afghanistan consists of ISAF forces. Canada’s mission focuses more particularly on the Southern region of Kandahar. Both units support institution building efforts and also the fight against the insurgency, an issue which takes a predominant part of the security discourse. Fighting the insurgency has been complicated by the side-effects it causes to the Afghan population. Distribution of resources to fight the insurgency has taken away resources from other projects that aim at the improvement of security for civilians. The side-effects of
war have also affected the perception that Afghan civilians have of the ISAF forces. The matrix of securitization produced by this research combines those issues in a way that promotes the use of a constructivist framework of analysis, and finds the links between securitization by some as opposed to the insecurity of others. This study finds that security has become politicized, and constructed according to the variables which define a particular social-structure. This framework proposes a perspective on understanding a plurality of social-structures within the same context.
Methodology

The goal of this section is to introduce the method of analysis that composes the case study. The context has been identified in the introduction: Afghanistan, and more particularly the zones where Canada and NATO play an active role: southern Afghanistan. The concept being put into question is the one of security, and how it relates differently to each unit. This section will outline the framework for answering the research question: How do NATO, Canada, and the local Afghan perspectives identify securitization within the particular context of Afghanistan?

The Case Study

A case study will be used to evaluate what the worth of the concept of security is in reference to the different units. It will provide a framework that locates patterns of the real-world practices through the norms, expectations, and understanding of security within the context. It will identify, through the constructivist approach, the ways by which each stakeholder interprets the concept of security and identifies the suitable practices that follow. The analytical model places the emphasis on the conceptual and methodological perspectives that allow the understanding of a broaden security concept. The enquiry will look for the way by which these concepts are applied by each stakeholder. The case study method gives some advantages to the research. It puts forward a clear framework of investigation onto the contemporary actions of different units within a real-life context, and does so when the threshold between the phenomenon studied and the context are not clearly evident. (Yin 1989:14) It also helps putting together multiple sources of evidence in order to arrive at a conclusion. (ibid:23) Running the program of analysis over different units, it is possible to observe the implication of one's actions in correspondence to other units of analysis. (ibid:7) Such checking allows for the evaluation of the validity claims associated to that securitization. The validity claim being the justification that dominant units have given for the allocation of resources, and the policies enacted to defend a certain conceptualization of security in Afghanistan. Therefore, a sub-question emerges: Is the securitization constructed by the international actors balanced with regards to the domestic stakeholders? This question and the design of the case study combine to promote further discussion and debate over the issues relevant to this context. (ibid:14) It provides a descriptive framework that allows the basis for that evaluation.
A case study research is composed of five main components. (ibid:29) First, the study question asked in the form of how and why: How is securitization treated by each unit and why does this take place. Second, it holds a proposition: that there might exist a fault line between outsider and insider conceptualization of security within the context. The purpose of this case study is to ask whether the dominant securitization is balanced with regards to other stakeholders. Third, it puts together a program for implementing the research. It does so by observing different units and how they control the same question of security. By this, we seek variations in how each unit relates to the context, and try to understand what factors formally contribute to the designation of security concerns. Fourth, the case study outlines the logic linking the data gathered to the proposition; the use of the constructivist framework on each unit allows the comparative method that will determine whether the dominant approach is adequate. Fifth, it announces the criteria for interpreting the findings: the adequacy of the dominant approach.

**The Data Gathering**
The collection of data will consist of reports produced by the various institutional organs of NATO and the Canadian Government. It will also consider research made on local Afghan perspectives of security. The discourse analysis will allow the understanding of the value that each unit gives to security concerns. The collection of data will also consider the material resources and practices which support the aims of the security policies and the reports on these practices will provide that. In order to understand the effects of security policies on other stakeholders, it was required to collect data from independent organs which had analyzed this dynamic. Therefore, reports from the United Nations (UN) and research institutes proved to be beneficial to a sound balance of facts about Afghanistan and the effect of the intervention. These organizations have the capacity to send observers which can report on the situation and recognize the areas that are successful with regards to the policies, evaluating also the other areas which require extra-attention. The diversity of texts highlights the wider perspective on societal discourses. This principle of “intertextuality” situates texts against each other, from which each one draws upon different identities and policies. These tend to make reference, revise, and draw upon one another. (Fierke 2007:93)

**The Discourse Analysis**
The data gathered will be subjected to a discourse analysis. This serves to answer the question about
how each unit identifies the concept of security. Each unit which will be analyzed represents a social-structure having a specific “ideological-discursive formation”: a speech community which encloses its particular discursive norms, expectations, and understanding. Individual development within that community is influenced by this structural formation and one can become so accustomed to the “ideological underpinnings” of his position within the formation, that his condition becomes naturalized. (Fairclough 1985:739) The naturalization process can condition factors for the orderliness, and coherence, of the interactions that it predisposes within its formation. (ibid:740) The component parts of the social formation know how to perform their actions appropriately, where the social-structure determines the properties of discourse. But notions that counteract with the validity given to that formation can in turn determine social-structures, by which social-change for example is given space to transform the prevailing norms. (ibid:739) The units involved in the context of Afghanistan represent those social formations and through the observation of the data gathered on their subject, the discourse analysis will recognize the prevailing norms, expectations, and understanding as they relate to the concept of security. But the assumption by which their conceptualization of security will be evaluated is to change from internal validity to external validity. Therefore, securitization must not only be coherent within a single community, but must also involve a dialogue with other communities that represent active stakeholders within the context. Based on the premise that an intervention refers to the application of a dominant discourse over another, this case study will operate under a framework that is explanatory of the “micro/macro” relationship within the context. (ibid:739) Therefore, it will contrast the background knowledge, assumptions, and aims of the different units. This will produce a matrix of identities, interests, and the process by which these variables are gradually transformed and reproduced through historical interactions. Rather than magnifying the differences between identities; the goal is an attempt to promote a renegotiation of “a different type of relationship between self and other”. (Fierke 2007:81) Within the context of Afghanistan, the structure of relationships between the actors is constantly renegotiated in the midst of development efforts and counter-insurgency tactics. This thesis captures the social communities within that process and looks at how the practical world works on the basis of the power relationships and hierarchies that hold it together. It questions the form of legitimacy derived from power on which that context is maintained. It challenges the assumptions by which “a particular constellation of identity and action is undermined and potentially transformed”. (ibid:82) Given the history of external intervention in Afghanistan and the failure of many who wanted to establish their control over that country in the past, it becomes interesting to look at what represents the
fault lines between outsiders and insiders. If the conceptualization of security between outsiders and insiders highlights that fault line, the matrix of that concept which is sought through the discourse analysis should give us the basis for finding a negotiable space between the actors. The third unit representing local Afghan perspectives contains certain reservations with regards to the delimitation of its boundaries. The purpose of analyzing this unit is to state the local contours of security and make an assessment of the security concept based on the perspective of power-holders and weaker units. It does not claim to represent all individuals in Afghanistan, but instead to represent the general view of “insiders”, as sources were made available to understand them.

**Theoretical Tradition: Constructivism**

The theoretical orientation of this thesis relies extensively on the constructivist approach. This method of analysis takes as its point of departure the actors involved in the context and seeks to understand how they define their role, the issues, their beliefs and their aims. (Hollis & Smith 1991:2) Employing this method of analysis enables the researcher to distance himself from the approach of his subject of study. This operation aims at seeking how two actors could define the same issues differently, and how these perspectives can be joined together into a policy based on consensus. By widening the reach of observations to different actors, the research can treat their individual assumptions, cultures and preferences as equal, in the sense that they are given a fair and even look to understand the respective constructions.

“Constructivists think that state interests are in important part constructed by systemic structures”. (Wendt 1995:72) While neorealists think that the international system is based primarily on the distribution of material capabilities, constructivists think it is also made of social relationships. (ibid:73) Social-structures should therefore be used to understand how units relate to the context and this should be done in light of three elements which constructivists believe make the composition of a social structure. The first element is that of shared knowledge about the context through the form of mutual understanding, expectation and knowledge. This shared system incorporates all of what makes a security policy chosen by a unit: its role, the issues it observes, and the way by which it regards possible alternatives to that policy, its beliefs and aims. (ibid) The second element is represented by the material resources held by the unit. Wendt contrasts this notion of material resources to the understanding that neorealists hold of these same capabilities. The argument lies in the dissocialized
view of these capabilities held by neorealists. Rather than considering military means as natural to the international system, constructivists see these same resources only through the meaning it has acquired through a shared understanding of human action. This understanding emerges from its embeddedness into a structure of shared knowledge. (ibid) The link between human understanding and its environment is more deeply considered through Constructivism and this theoretical approach is therefore capable of linking changes in the material world to the social relations that it conditions. (ibid) The third element represents the practice by which shared knowledge and material conditions come to form a process that constitutes the social structure.

The theoretical base of this thesis is the use of a critical approach to International Security, to evaluate whether the securitization prone by dominant units can benefit the security of Afghanistan. Rather than following a theory which prone the fixation on a particular definition and assumption to security issues, the constructivist approach identifies what those particularities are for each actor. (Fierke 2007:3) The starting point reflects the opinion that the practices of the real-world are product of the assumptions stakeholders bring to day-to-day interactions. States, democracies, international institutions, power politics, humanitarian interventions, or economic sanctions only exist by virtue of the social, ideological, cultural or political structures by which they are given meaning and imbued with legitimacy and power. (ibid) To accept a renewed conceptualization of security draws on a critical approach to this term which implies a methodology that problematizes the constitution of knowledge and its consequent practices. (ibid: 4) The integration of multiple conceptions of security emanates from the evaluation of different stakeholders in the way they construct the concept. (ibid)

This thesis takes a look at the different stakeholders in Afghanistan and asks which issues are securitized and why. It highlights that security is “an essentially contested concept”. (ibid:34) This derives from the fact that some threats are elevated above others and securitized. The questions we ask through the framework of this thesis do not resonate in the traditional approaches to security. From this, questions of identity and the method of discourse analysis are not considered by the researchers because the character of all states are considered in the same light, that is power and interests. (ibid:7) To picture security issues in such a way legitimizes a set of principles and actions for which a limited amount of sectors is treated with complete attention while other sectors lack the resources to ensure that security. The focus on military threats as a significant cause of danger drives governments to place their attention on the use of force and the militarization of a context. (ibid:34) In this context, the
consequences for societal and economical security must also be considered because war can have a considerable effect on these sectors. In the case we observe, the nexus between militarization and development is the cause of much of the interest given to the context of Afghanistan. This type of research is not new to the field of security studies. For example, the Cold War was criticized as being ethnocentric because the focus of the participants and the academic circles was primarily set on the importance of western security concerns. (ibid:36) At one point, nuclear deterrence focused on state security came to jeopardize the security of individuals which states had a responsibility to protect. (ibid:44) The consciousness of the social-structures changed, incorporating new perspectives. Thereby, the advantage of the constructivist framework in this thesis serves as a tool for understanding the security concerns of those who live in the shadows of great powers. (ibid:38)

It was chosen to decorticate the context along the construction that each participant holds. By doing so, the researcher can find if the units make an independent contribution. The difference of the emplacement of the unit analyzed can influence its preferences. (Hollis & Smith 1991:90) To explain the behaviour of only one of these units would miss the point. The goal is to reach an approach that moves beyond the simple “national interest”, or other prior assumptions. (ibid:29) An approach concentrated on a diversity of units is based on a scientific method that is suspicious of objective certitudes. (ibid) It takes into consideration the subjective latitude of each stakeholder in reference to the application of policies and concepts. (ibid) The scientific rigour that offers this framework supports the importance of responsible policy-making over issues that have incidence on important events such as war and peace.

**Limitations**

The limitations of this work rest on the availability of sources that compose the analysis. Raw data that can draw a helpful understanding of the situation in Afghanistan is difficult to obtain. The security situation prevents researcher and journalists from reporting on the region with ease. This especially affected the section of the thesis dealing with local Afghan perspectives, where the information use was gathered from secondary sources of analysis, much less from discourse analysis. The sociological research in Afghanistan must consider the limitations posed by the security situation.

The case study serves to show how the theoretical framework can be useful in understanding different
identities and their reference to the concept of security. It is not the aim of this research to produce new strategies for Canada, and NATO's course in Afghanistan. It only claims to prove how a specific theoretical approach can produce new observations which may prove useful in elaborating those new strategies.
Theoretical discussion

The theories referenced in this thesis offer a framework from which security concerns can be understood. The legacy of security studies reflects the importance of war and peace in the field of International Relations. (Sheehan 2005:1) The theories used here represent the more recent turn in IR, that of constructivist thought and critical thinking. Its usefulness is drawn from its capability to map the concepts that are owned by each unit. It also places responsibility on an ethic of pluralistic understanding. This section is important because it connects the question being asked and the methodology that follows with the theoretical propositions and the criteria used to interpret the findings of the case study. (Yin 1989:36) It puts a light on the dominant proposition of this case study, and the rival theories drawn from the field of security studies. This section will help the reader to understand “the blueprint of the study” and the reasoning about how to interpret the data collected. (ibid:36) The criteria is that units consider the security concept in a way that is particular to its knowledge and interests. The proposition is that we widen this concept to reach a broader understanding of the context and establish a framework upon which dialogue can replace power-politics. This is the assumption that drives the purpose of the exploration and upon which in can be judged successful. (ibid:37)

Traditionally, the concept of security has been treated as a given, leaving way for an “unacknowledged” consensus over legitimate knowledge about the social world. (Sheehan 2005:2) The construction of the security concept in the west went according to a state-based meaning of security. This meaning derived from the accepted discourse that states held about power and violence. Issues of national-security and the militarization of international relations were the symbols of the Cold War. This later shifted towards a more diversified approach which focused on the recognition of new stakeholders onto the field of International Security. (ibid:3) This study makes a distinction between a traditional and a contemporary security agenda, identifying the ways of thinking about security. (ibid:3) The contemporary security agenda has been embraced by many actors of international relations: States, International Governmental Organizations (IGO), Non-governmental Organizations (NGO), the United Nations (UN) and the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). These have incorporated new security domains into their procedures. (ibid:3) This widening scope over security concerns has an effect on the issues addressed, the sense of urgency given to them and the commitment to national-resources. (ibid:3)
Widening the concept has come from the result of negotiations between actors over which sectors and issues would count to be securitized. (Buzan and Waever 2003:86) This debate between various social-structures came to form the social and political discourse of security. The base of this thinking rests in the constructivist belief that “security is a social construction”. Meaning that the word “security” is not defined by itself but rather through the “intersubjective consensus” that releases its definition. (Sheehan 2005:5) The social construction of a security concern reflects value judgments and an ordering of priorities. (ibid:7) This construction becomes highly dependent on cultural factors, national and regional, which organize the assessment of a threat and the response to it. (Katzenstein 1996:1-2)

This new conception of security has faced criticism, and this most notably from Stephen Walt, leading realist thinker, who underlines the fact that the main focus of the field must rest on traditional security concepts such as military strength. He argues that “the main focus of the field bears directly on the likelihood and character of war”. (Walt 1991:213) Walt mentions that “broadening the field to non-military phenomena risks destroying the intellectual coherence and make it more difficult to devise solutions to any of these important problems”. (Ibid) In the context of Afghanistan, this view highlights the predominant space granted to military security.

There are three main theoretical points from which constructivist theory takes root. (Fierke 2007:74) First, the assumption that war is a product of man's unchanging human nature does not hold the ground under constructivism. It is rather a social construction which gives prevalence to violence as a point of departure that renders the socialization of units on the basis of militarization and aggressive roles. From this, units come to find solutions to security issues within the means that their social structures allow. Secondly, the assumption that units are constrained by anarchy in the international system which, by the material distribution of power, comes to influence their rationality and behaviour is also contrasted by constructivist assumptions with the “agent-structure problem”. Constructivist theorists point to the Cold War where they found that units outside the established structure of superpower bipolarity acted “as if” this latter structure did not exist. (ibid:74) This second assumption coincides in a sense with the context of Afghanistan, where a dominant discourse on security is set by the international and national units. But for units who occupy a different space, such as non-governmental organizations, and civilians, the perspective on the context and the discourse is different. The third constructivist assumption looks at the possibility of change inside a particular context, where the traditional
assumptions link the cause of that change to the fluctuations of the material interest and power of dominant actors. For constructivists, different units form the interactions by which their different positions influence their reason, their actions, and in the process also construct the possibility for their actions. (ibid:74) Each of these highlights the point that the international system is not an objective given, defined first and foremost by the material distribution of power, but a “world of our making” in which historically situated actors engage in a continual process of construction. (ibid:74)

**Militarization and Conflict Spirals**

Security conceptions based on the primacy of the military sector can lead to conflict spirals in areas that are the subject to decades of militarization. A unit's capabilities, preferences and beliefs are affected by its interaction with other units. This is the belief of Robert Jervis who sees conflict as an interaction that “hardens attitudes and drives people to extreme positions in addition to mobilizing those who had not been previously involved”. (Jervis 1997/1998:576) This notion has a direct influence on the analysis of a unit as it shows that people can live through positive or negative change as they are affected by the experiences they live by choice or by force. (ibid) Jervis adds that “in a system, actions have unintended effects on the actor, others, and the system as a whole, which means that one cannot infer results from desires and expectations”; this includes governments’ willingness to restrain undesired behaviour through laws and policies. (ibid:580) Violence feeds violence, and so the relationship between the system and its actors is mutually-reinforcing and “states caught in a conflict spiral believe that they have little choice but to respond in kind to the adversary's hostility.” (ibid:577) Similarly, the focus of a political community against the perception of difference with an outside threat reproduces the need for protection against violent others. (Fierke 2007:35) These assumptions question the use of force, as the primary means of securitization. By reproducing violence and otherization, it brings the discourse away from a dialogue where differences are understood.

**Knowledge and Interests**

The constructivist theory holds that units take part in the construction of their interests and as the following section will prove, they do so based on their accumulative knowledge. This section is important because it brings further insight behind the claims that it is the position and the violent experience of these units which builds their actions. Humanitarian interventions often involve a validity claim stating that the world will be made better for the units whose affairs are being intervened into. The assumption of this case study concerns the knowledge of the units and the dependency of their
interests related to it. Because of the subjectivity involved in that knowledge, the concern is that institutional settings in IR could be developed so that arguments towards consensus “prevail” over struggles for power. (Diez & Steans 2005:129)

Following a model based on dialogue and the discourse analysis of ethical concerns, the model of Jurgen Habermas sought ways of moving ahead from the problematic which resulted in power politics. Habermas criticized the positivist pretention of extrapolating, as in exact sciences, and generalizing through analytical epistemology while disregarding the specificity of social sciences. (Habermas 1978:9) Human knowledge becomes embedded in norms of power and anarchy, making the interests of that social structure reflect the privileged status of these standards. The point made here is that reality represents more than the objective knowledge argued by positivists. Knowledge and interests are self-constitutive and the approaches which seek to explain objective knowledge through a narrower scope, such as Neorealism, suffer from that limitation in perspective. (Diez & Steans 2005:129)

Relating to IR, the theoretical assumptions of Habermas are identified by three forms of knowledge which give shape to particular interests. (ibid:132) The first is represented from knowledge which emerges from a technical interest in understanding and extending control over nature and society. The second form is that of knowledge which is put to the service of a practical interest in understanding how to create and maintain orderly communities. The third form of knowledge searches for emancipation through the identification and eradication of unnecessary social confinements and constraints. (ibid:132)

For Habermas, social-structures organize their experiences under these interests, which represent the technical cognition by which humans “produce from nature what is needed for material existence through the manipulation and control of objects” and this by means of tool-making and language-use. (Held 1980:255) Through the interest of emancipation, humans enter the exercise of communication for the purpose of reflection because through the struggle for self-preservation, reflection encourages the search for consciousness of issues which were unacknowledged.

By this form, our social arrangements are directly characterized by our knowledge and vice-versa. The patterns of inequality, domination and resistance influence knowledge. The seemingly natural state of the world reflects the knowledge we have over our social arrangements and imposes limits on the
possibility for practices which can occur. Our ability to understand an issue and do something about it infers directly from the restraints that these issues reflect on us. Nonetheless, the theoretical assumptions offered here provide “a useful guide to how beliefs and actions could be made accountable to others, and how they could then be subjected to scrutiny and accepted or contested by participants engaged in dialogue”. (Diez & Steans 2005:132) This “dialogic ideal” can be observed in the case of an intervention like the one in this case study. The central task will aim to facilitate the development of arrangements that respect a form of dialogue on knowledge and interests. (Ashley 1981:227) This guide to procedures in IR also follows an ideal of democratic governance, while acknowledging that norms and institutions must be looked at with more scrutiny and deliberation to ensure legitimacy and a sense of ownership for the involved stakeholders. (Diez & Steans 2005:132) This logic needs to be applied in the context of interventions, in reference to the validity claims which are driven by knowledge. The subjectivity of one assumption must not take predominance. This underlines the defence of a morality in which all people have a right to be involved in a dialogue on decisions and issues that affect them, thus challenging all boundaries and systems of exclusion. The process turns back reflexive agents upon their habits and assumptions, and subjects them to a “communicative interrogation and evaluation”. (ibid:134) To make such interactions possible, dialogues must aim at integrating those in marginal social positions. (ibid:135) An ethic of pluralization is gaining importance under the conditions of globalization, and what can be seen as the rise of hegemonic approaches to issues; its methods must be incorporated into IR. (ibid:140)

The constructivist framework enables a socialized view of the security concept. Taking into consideration the knowledge and interests of the social-structures we have identified; using a constructivist methodology opens the way to a broader conceptualization of the security concept. The purpose is to encompass additional sectors and units which are made referent of securitization. The meaning we give to securitization is subject to change on matters of material shifts in the external environment, and internal changes in the ways that units come to think about security issues. (Sheehan 2005:43) This conceptual reevaluation was evident at the end of the cold-war, during the assessment of a growing north-south divide and the divide between people and states. (ibid) Individuals became referent of security, as were states. Environmental, Societal, and Economical security became as much of a legitimate concern for security, as the military and political sectors. (ibid:44) The process of socially constructing the conceptualization of security is the consequence of political struggles over the legitimacy of different representations”. (Fierke 2007:86) The legitimacy of securitization takes place
under two types of operation: first, through a process of interpellation, where the security concerns of a particular unit are identified; second, through articulation, where securitization is determined by a dominant unit and other units are constrained by the received assumptions. (ibid:86) Ensuring the legitimacy follows a process of naturalization and conventionality, where a particular representation becomes part of the accepted culture. (ibid:86)

**Securitization**

The theory of securitization combines the constructivist assumptions which define the interests of a unit with a framework that allows drawing a clear picture of what those interests are. This framework will enable this research to explain how different actors came to securitize the same context differently. Put into the words of Barry Buzan, his approach on security consists of taking a particular threat as being necessarily subjective, and asking how a social structure can come to the point of designating a threat as a security issue worth the concern. (DFAIT 2010)

This thesis will apply the theory of securitization to units which are found on different levels of analysis. Moving along this ladder, it will be sought how state, sub-state and supra-state units interpret security concerns. Securitization, notwithstanding the type of unit, is done in relation to a referent object. This referent object is what the units safeguard itself against. Securitization is done by means of the unit's communicative knowledge and its material capabilities, meaning that it can use either force or diplomacy to resolve the issue. The unit can be the securitizing actor and referent object of security. Therefore, a state can count as a referent object its borders, or the responsibility to protect its citizens. It can also seek a securitization process outside its border, by wishing to protect human rights for example. Depending on the nature of the unit, it will seek to securitize a different set of objects. An individual can count as referent objects his health, economic status, or property; while a state can focus on its borders. It is necessary to understand that units can “attempt to construct anything as a referent object”. (Floyd 2007:40) The analysis will turn to the claims that units have made in “processing” what securitization ought to be, in order to analyze if a debate exists when this claim points to another free-thinking unit.

There are two ways of considering security according to Barry Buzan. First, there is the assessment which is based on military, political, economical, environmental, and societal security. Each one of these sectors represents a source of focus and concern in the analysis. (Sheehan 2010:47) The second
assessment is more sociological, based on the processes by which a menace becomes threat. A threat is posed against something which has high value to a group. When this process takes place, there raises an urgency to protect. The difference between normal political circumstances and circumstances that have a sense of urgency become noticeable, because a unit makes it an important factor. The important characterization highlights a way of ranking security priorities, sometimes balancing one sector over another. (ibid)

Buzan is not sure himself if objective security is a possibility. (DFAIT 2010) Politics are never clear, which is a concern in the search for objectivity. (ibid) It all depends on the values that different stakeholders bring to the discussion. These differences between stakeholders' experiences, interests and values, are the subject of many controversies. The acceptance or rejection of securitization must be researched on a case to case basis, by considering the discourse of the stakeholders and how they conduct themselves within the context that is analyzed. The discourse of securitization can be accepted or rejected. The difference lies in the practice that occurs through communicative action of the stakeholders.

The other issue that will be represented has to do with the fact that some units have more than one security concern to serve a guarantee for. The new paradigm of intervention which is in action in Afghanistan will serve that case. It will analyze the way by which intervening forces in the security of that state must guarantee military security, while developing the state along guarantees of economic, political and societal security. This thesis uses securitization theory to understand security concerns as they occur in practice. It allows following patterns of security policies. (Floyd 2007:41) For the securitization of a particular concern to be applied by specific actors, it requires the “means” to give value to their concerns in practice. (ibid)

There are five sectors by which securitization will be observed in the case study. The first sector is that of military threats. Often treated as the most pressing concern, it can affect all components of the state, put into question the very basic duty of the state to protect its citizens, and have an adverse effect on the layers of social and individual interest. It can take on different levels of importance, but the involvement of the use of force distinguishes it from the other sectors. (Buzan 1991:119)
sector is that of a political threat. This sector is more difficult to identify in comparison to military threat. An entity may consider a political threat what it sees in the possible weakening of its political identity in various ways. This can be through the competition with another ideology, or the challenge caused by its institutions or ideals. (Buzan 1991:120) Failure to have its claims recognized in the political arena can also represent a political threat. The third sector is represented by economic threats. The nature of the economic system may pose some trouble in analyzing the degree of this threat, but the lost of economical strength can resolve a social structure to find ways of alleviating this situation in order to return to what it considers normal economic health. According to Buzan, the normal condition of actors in a market economy is one of risk, aggressive competition, and uncertainty. This situation can be highly subjective depending on the level-of-analysis we use to understand the problem. (Buzan 1991:124) Therefore, some units may consider the market economy as a system that is less threatening than others. The fourth sector is that of societal security, which represents the identity and balance within the state. (ibid:130) This sector is subjective, like all four others, to the level-of-analysis we make abstraction to. It makes reference to identities and cultures, which can sometimes represent a sub-state social-structure. The margin between inclusion and exclusion can be very narrow in this case. The environmental sector holds a limited space in the analysis.

Broadening the concept of security is a way of capturing the changing realities of the world. The goal is to understand the different perspectives on the concept, in order to be able to describe its nature. Holding the assumption that the field of inquiry has fluid boundaries, it captures the rising density of the international system, the frequency and complexity of the networks of interaction that tie it together. (Sheehan 2005:48) In this way broadening the concept of security challenges the “value-hierarchy” of society. (ibid:52) Securitization promotes prioritization and the use of exceptional measures. (ibid:53) Securitization of a new issue gives it a higher value and a commitment of greater resources to solving the threat. The structural character of the security field is evident due to the position of power by which powerful units generally represent the accepted voice of security practices. (ibid) Due to the legitimacy that surrounds the concept of security, the case for securitization becomes a matter of dispute. The subjectivity of the concept creates misunderstandings that can be difficultly negotiated. (ibid) Broadening the field thus opens the possibility for assessing threats that are not encountered by all units, but which nevertheless compose the interdependency of the system. (ibid:57)
Regional security

Regionalism plays an important role in the conceptualization of security. Security is a relational concept, by which a given state can find its security concerns to be interdependently connected to the context in which it is situated. (Buzan 1991:187) This can occur whether it would be in the case of neighbor states, or states that are composing a security alliance. To comprehend this notion of security, it is necessary to move beyond the simple context of the balance of power. By this, Constructivism holds that relationships of amity and enmity among states can be attributed to the concepts of ideology, territory, ethnic lines and historical precedents. (Wendt 1995:73) These concepts, embedded in the social-structures that are problematized, can have an effect on the type of relationship that two states may have, whether it be one based on friendship, alliance, or fear. A security complex represents a “group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another.” (Buzan 1991:190)

High-level politics, or the reference to a threat based on universal but subjective assumptions can lead to what Buzan and Waever refer to as “macro-securitization”. Often described as such from a unit which finds itself at the top of a social-structure, macro-securitization occurs when security issues are framed to impose an agenda, and a structure of relationships that are meant to influence the entire system. (Buzan 2006:1) There are two reasons for why this phenomenon takes place. First is the effect of globalization and the second is the belief by influential units in a universal ideology. Just as the Cold War produced an instance of macro-securitization, the “War on Terrorism” could rise to the same level. (ibid:5) This new contextual space creates the power to change everyone's relation to security, by maintaining its reference to the context at a higher level of priority than other units' issues of concern.

Combining the assumptions of constructivism to the securitization theories of Buzan allows for a methodology that could not be appreciated if knowledge was taken at face value. In this analysis, it will seek to offer a useful platform from which problems can be understood from different angles.
Analysis

This section will now use the theoretical framework to compose the matrix of security conceptualizations within the context of Afghanistan. The analysis will be separated in three distinct sections that will seek to understand the securitization of the following social structures: NATO, the Canadian Government, and the local Afghan perspectives. It will seek variations on how each unit relates to the context. It will look for the possible factors which contribute to the designation of security concerns. It will answer the main question of the research: How do NATO, Canada, and the local Afghan perspectives identify securitization within the particular context of Afghanistan? This research should showcase the utility of the constructivist framework in understanding the plurality of identities in their relation to the security concept. The criteria for interpreting the study will be based on the toolbox this framework creates to obtain these answers. The other criteria will be to ask the question: Is the dominant securitization adequate with regards to a plurality of stakeholders?

Securitization: NATO

NATO plays a major role in the world today which ten years ago, it sought to reinvent. At the 1999 NATO summit in Washington, the time had come to find a new “strategic concept” which would reinvigorate the alliance with a sense of purpose. NATO is the transnational alliance which holds the largest, and strongest military capabilities. (Coulon & Liégeois 2010:25) September 11th 2001 set the field for the alliance to use these capabilities in a new security context, the War on Terror. From air strikes and counter-insurgency, to installing strong democratic institutions, NATO has demonstrated that it is interested on deploying its capabilities over a wide variety of contexts. But while it’s sheer military force is unparalleled, it's “know-how” in terms of conflict resolution and peace-building is more limited and it often requires the assistance of other organizations such as the UN and the EU to handle a large component of its peace operations. (ibid) Based on the assumptions mentioned in the theoretical discussion: constructivism, knowledge and interests; this part of the thesis uses a discourse analysis to understand how NATO goes about with the securitization of the context in Afghanistan. It is the understanding of this study that the position of the US as the strongest member of the alliance, and its construction of the security concept after the events of 9-11, has highly influence the aims of the alliance that will be explained here. Based upon this, the guiding principles, objectives, and priorities of the alliance within the context of Afghanistan highlight particular technical and practical interests which have great influence on reproducing these interests over other units, thus making it the dominant
The role of NATO is an important factor in the analysis of securitization in the Afghanistan context, and the War on Terrorism. This starts on the day after the events of September 11th 2001 when by invoking Article V of its constitution, NATO placed a strong emphasis on the importance of 9/11 in the way that it would define the security context. This study finds that these expectations about the beliefs and aims of the alliance would prove to be a change in the experience of its composing members. Used for the first time on September 12th 2001, this clause was untested before. (Bratt 2007:3) The issue of terrorism was understood in the way that an attack on one of the NATO members, would be an attack on all. NATO pressured its members to commit to troops, security protocols and a mandate in Afghanistan. The treatment of that particular factor became an issue recognized as having repercussions on national security for the members of NATO. Canadian officials claimed that the country lost citizens in the attacks of 9/11 and that weak border restrictions at the US-Canada border could have opened the door to terrorists inside the US.1 (Societe Radio-Canada:September 13th 2001) This study's discourse analysis notes the particular wording of that issue and the effects it would have on the mandate in Afghanistan. US President George W. Bush dubbed the attacks and the anticipated response: “The first war of the 21st century”. (ibid) It is the assumption of this study that such characterization sent the signal that the intervention in Afghanistan would immediately mean that the priorities are based on the premise an articulation of the security concept founded on principles of retribution for the events of 9/11. This contrasts the principle of interpellation, a concept which would seek to recognize the local security concerns in Afghanistan, and perhaps make use of more prudence in the wording and actions taken by NATO. This study finds that on September 13th 2001, in an interview, the Foreign Minister of Canada highlighted this ambiguity. (ibid) While the US President made explicit use of the word “war”; Canada's Foreign Minister preferred to use more caution, talking about collecting facts first, and bringing the perpetrators of the 9-11 attacks to justice. Canada's Foreign

1 See Bibliographical note for reference. (Translated from French) The clip shows an interview by journalist Pierre Maisonneuve with Foreign Minister John Manley. The journalist opens the interview with a statement by US President George W. Bush: “The first war of the 21st century (...) We will drive the world to a victory”. The Hon. John Manley states that Canada is not at war, “These attacks on the US are also attacks on Canada, this is what Article V claims.” The journalist notes the prudence used in the wording of the Canadian Government, it displays the state of mind of Canada at that time: The US is an important partner, but Canada prefers to talk about justice, and facts, than right-out war. On the issue of “payback vs diplomacy”, the Hon. John Manley hopes to see some space reserved for diplomacy, while stating that there cannot be diplomacy with terrorists. On the issue of the US-Canada Border, he states that Canada must satisfy the American standards. When asked why there is so much talk about NATO, and little talk about the UN, he states that the UN is not a military organization, giving some level of importance to a militarization of the context.
Minister hoped that there could be place for “diplomacy”, but that on the other hand it was out of the question “to do diplomacy with terrorists”. (ibid) It is the assessment of this study that this particular moment shows the significance of terrorism in the way that NATO would come to think about the context of Afghanistan, and particularly the concept of security; this from the very moment after 9-11.

The Bonn Agreement outlines the guiding principles for the role of the international community in Afghanistan, and the rights of the Afghan state. (Bonn Conference 2001) The signatories were determined to end the conflict, promote national reconciliation, peace, stability and respect for human rights. It reaffirmed the independence of the state of Afghanistan, its sovereignty and territorial integrity. It also considered the perspective of the people of Afghanistan in freely determining their political future: in parallel with principles that were already theirs such as Islam, democracy, pluralism, and social justice. NATO also mandated its role, to train security forces and to withdraw its military personnel where UN forces are deployed so that over-militarization would not cause harm. This would also be more desirable for the UN to be more effective in its work of rehabilitating Afghanistan's infrastructures. (ibid)

The guidelines of the Afghanistan Compact written five years later reiterated the same principles, and added the assessment of the insurgency which challenged the context. (NATO 2006:2) By noticing the full implementation of the Bonn Agreement in the Afghanistan Compact, signatories recognized that its goals had been achieved, granting political security to the State of Afghanistan. Afghanistan “regained its rightful place in the international community”, doing so by adopting a new constitution and holding elections. (ibid) The Afghanistan Compact remained mindful that peace and stability was not yet assured, and that a strong “international engagement” would still be required. (ibid)

By this the Afghanistan Compact's summarized account of the road that lied ahead included: 1) NATO's resolute stance to overcome the legacy of conflict in Afghanistan “by setting conditions for sustainable economic growth and development”, 2) strengthening state institutions and civil society, 3) removing remaining terrorist threats, 4) meeting the challenge of counter-narcotics, 5) rebuilding capacity and infrastructure, 6) reducing poverty, 7) meeting basic human needs. (ibid)
A close reading of the 2009 NATO report found that the alliance sought a particular target in its missions which had as its priority: the defeat of the Taliban insurgency. This security concern put a heavy accent on the militarization of the country, especially in the South, and particularly in the region of Kandahar where Canadian Forces operate. In the opening lines of NATO's Afghanistan Report for 2009, it states: “The International Community, including NATO, is helping the Afghan Government enhance security, improve governance and step up reconstruction and development. Progress in all three areas is essential in helping Afghanistan establish itself as a secure, stable country that poses no threat to itself or the International Community”.2 (NATO 2009:4) Through this, NATO establishes its role in Afghanistan as primarily a guarantor of military security. The improvement of governance and efforts of reconstruction and development depend, in NATO's sense upon that security.

It must be underlined that there are limits to NATO's report and by the same way, the information that it releases about its operations in Afghanistan. Therefore, the analysis of NATO's security conceptualization rests on the general look it offers, not all activities. The wording of that general look is nonetheless very helpful in understanding the roles, aims, and issues that NATO pays attention to.3

Statecraft
It is the assumption of this study that NATO, in the Afghanistan Report 2009, outlines the security concerns from a level-of-analysis that is closely focused on the belief that statecraft is a primary tool in security. NATO reiterates its support for the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) to guarantee “the provision of security throughout the country.” (NATO 2009:5) NATO underlines here the growth in strength and capacity which allowed ANSF to take more responsibility in 2009.

In respect to the National, Provincial, and local levels of governance, NATO concurs that its capacity remains “limited and suffers from corruption”. (ibid) NATO recognizes that insecurity, criminality and the influence of narcotics trade, have “impeded efforts to improve good governance”. (ibid) While most

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2 Statements from NATO Spokesman, and Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy.
3 In NATO's report on Afghanistan 2009 (p.4): the following limitations are enumerated in the opening statement: “This is the second Annual Report on Afghanistan produced by NATO's Public Diplomacy Division. It does not attempt to catalogue each and every activity being carried out by all international actors, individual nations and the Afghan Government. It does, however, offer a general look at progress in each of the three main lines of effort in which NATO-ISAF is involved, directly or in a supporting role: security, governance and development. And it goes beyond setting out only what NATO-ISAF has done; it attempts to provide the reader with a broader and more balanced picture, including both elements of progress and those areas in which more needs to be done.”
of the work to alleviate these problems is done through the central government, the international community and the government of Afghanistan have started to work on initiatives at the local level, in hopes of creating better communication with the central authority. (ibid)

Regarding economic security, NATO recognizes that Afghanistan remains one of the poorest countries in the world, but it underlines a steady increase in the country’s economy by looking at its rising Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of 7.5% in 2008 and also the increased trade with Afghanistan's neighbors. The signs of that recovery are very blurry, especially when considerations are given to more precisely where the money goes, and how that recovery is affecting units on the lower levels-of-analysis.4 (Norton-Taylor 2008) NATO reports that “International support for the redevelopment of Afghanistan was invigorated at an International Conference held in Paris in June 2008 where more than 80 donors pledged 21 billion USD”. (NATO 2009:5) It affirms that the donors “aligned themselves with the priorities set out by the Afghan Government in the Afghan National Development Strategy (ANDS)”. (ibid) This, NATO argues, underlines now the capacity of Afghanistan “to guide its own future”. Which actor guides this recovery in Afghanistan raises some questions. According to the UN, corruption is a large concern for the population. (UNODC 2010) The report states that: “Poverty and violence are usually portrayed as the biggest challenges confronting Afghanistan. But ask the Afghans, themselves, and you get a different answer: corruption is their biggest worry”. (ibid) This shows that accountability is a big concern to the Afghan population, and the lack of it has a great impact on their economic and societal security.5

“Effective governance and socioeconomic development need time and space to take root. To this end, NATO-ISAF’s primary role in Afghanistan is to support the Afghan authorities in bringing peace and security to the people.” (NATO 2009:6) By this, it is the assumption of this thesis that NATO's role is to provide the structure for peace-building to take root, along with development. Roland Paris defined peace-building as “the efforts to identify and support structures that will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict”. (Paris 2010:1) Roland Paris attests to the principal

4 A report by Acbar claims that “Afghanistan is being deprived of $10bn of promised aid, and 40% of the money that has been delivered was spent on corporate profits and consultancy fee”.

5 Notes on the report (see reference in bibliography): “Corruption in Afghanistan: Bribery as Reported by Victims is based on interviews with 7,600 people in 12 provincial capitals and more than 1,600 villages around Afghanistan. It records the real experiences (rather than just perceptions) of urban as well as rural residents, men and women, between autumn 2008 and autumn 2009.” The survey reveals that “an overwhelming 59 per cent of Afghans view public dishonesty as a bigger concern than insecurity (54 per cent) and unemployment (52 per cent).”
problem of peace-building in Afghanistan that: “peacebuilders exercised such expansive powers that they effectively squelched genuine political participation and locally-driven reforms”. (ibid:9) The sense was that greater “local ownership of the processes” is needed. (ibid) Some take note of the discourse outlined in the official documents signed by NATO, the UN and the Afghan government; they criticize the rhetoric of partnership and ownership, for being detached from the “fundamental realities on the ground”. (Goodhand, Sedra 2010: S79) They note “the asymmetry of power-relations between internal and external actors, the fractured nature of international and domestic governance, and the trade off between desirable long-term development goals and short-term security imperatives”.6 (ibid) Based on the constructivist assumption of this study, this structural impact shapes the negotiable space between each stakeholder and their own security concerns; it also subjects the weaker units to dominant ones, because of their position and the way this shapes their interactions.

Another sign that the International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) are working to reinvigorate the strength of the Afghan State apparatus is through the role it took in the processing of the presidential elections in 2009 and the beliefs it holds about them. Deemed “an important milestone in the development of Afghanistan's constitutional democracy”, NATO underlines its belief of what it considers important in matters of security and development for Afghanistan: providing responsible governance through democracy. Before the elections, NATO supported the claim that democratic governance would guarantee a bright future for Afghanistan, by simply looking at the practice of an electoral process. It did not question the role of that system, the priorities in terms of security that had the elected representatives. Prospective success was observed in two ways: first, the effective voter registration (4.4 million newly registered voters) and second, the guarantees of security provided on voting day by the Afghan National Police, the Afghan National Army and ISAF troops. (NATO 2009:8)

**Political Security**

With regards to providing a working political apparatus to Afghanistan, NATO assesses that the work has proven challenging. “The Afghan Government's capacity is limited because of inadequately educated, trained and paid staff that have limited capabilities and who are vulnerable to corruption.”

6 The authors also write: “an increased amount of donor funding is targeted towards ‘iconic’ or ‘quick impact’ projects (QIPs) in the south and east, in the belief that development can bring security by winning ‘hearts and minds’ (WHAM) and assisting in the legitimization of President Hamid Karzai’s regime. The tactical deployment of aid risks undermining the higher policy goal of state-building, overstates the transformable potential of development, and fails to appreciate the processes through which legitimacy is constructed in the Afghan context.” (Goodhand, Sedra 2010: S79)
This problem, qualifies NATO, is rampant from the ministries to the local administrations. What causes problems to the efforts of securing good governance, according to NATO, is the “continuing insecurity, criminality and, in places, the pervasive influence of the narcotics trade”. (ibid)

Societal security
A startling account of NATO's perception on societal security comes from its assessment of civilian casualties. There is a sharp contrast between what NATO perceives as its understanding on that matter, from what other units of the international community assess the problem to be. When reporting on the issue of civilian casualties, this study finds that NATO takes the stance of wanting to show a clean image to the world, and this underlines its belief that public perceptions of its operations are more important than the actual work that the operations are meant to do. Under the headline “Respect for the Afghan Civilian Population”, it opens this section of its analysis by numbering the percentage of civilian death attributed by the insurgency. (NATO 2009:9) It is important to note here that the Taliban insurgents relate to the issue of civilian casualties in very similar ways: winning hearts and minds while increasing militarization. In 2009, the Taliban released a “code of conduct” book in which it talked of “limiting suicide attacks, avoiding civilian casualties and winning the battle for the hearts and minds of the local civilian population”. (Al-Jazeera 2009) In November 2008, the ISAF Commander issued “detailed and reinforced direction with instructions for minimizing the risk to the civilian population and any possible offense to Afghan culture”, a directive which guides ISAF Forces in their operations of “close air support, escalation of force procedures, house searches, reporting, and joint investigations”. (NATO 2009:9)

The war has brought intense bombardments and “massive” fighting operations, which leads to the perception by many Afghans that international forces are involved in a war on their country, more than they are present to bring efforts to rebuild their country and help resolve the problems. Based on the figures captured by the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), 5,978 civilians were killed or injured in 2009. Of the 2,412 deaths, 45% occurred in the most violent region that is the South of the country where Canadian Forces operations take place. 67% of these deaths were caused by anti-government elements, and 25% resulted from pro-government forces. The other 8% could not be attributed to any of the conflicting parties, and could have occurred because of cross-fire, or
unexploded weapons. (UNAMA 2009:6) The UN is concerned that civilian deaths are attributed to the proximity of military bases to civilian centers. It is also concerned that the ISAF forces are not responding in a timely manner to its engagements for reducing civilian casualties. (Ibid:6)

Military Security

While Afghanistan has suffered from 30 years of conflict, NATO countries makes donations of small arms. (NATO 2009:14) It also has a program for the transition of the Afghan National Army's (ANA) equipment from Warsaw-Pact weaponry to NATO-standard weaponry. There is in place a trust-fund to give NATO-ISAF nations more flexibility to support the ANA. “The development of the Afghan National Police (ANP) continues to lag behind that of the ANA. The ANP remains vulnerable to accusations of corruption and inefficiency and, for those reasons, does not currently enjoy the broad confidence and support of the population needed to improve the security environment.” (NATO 2009:15)

Summary

This section has linked the theoretical framework with the analysis, by representing the securitization of NATO within the context of Afghanistan. By doing so, it has outlined the reasoning of the dominant discourse on security which has an impact on both Canadian and Afghan perceptions. It has shown the impact of 9/11 in shaping the interests of the NATO's alliance, and the importance of the United States in influencing the position of Canada on the matter. It has proven that the technical and practical knowledge and interest of NATO lays most particularly in the military domain, over the peace-building and conflict resolution efforts. This section has outlined the guidelines set forth in NATO’s mandate, and has begun to offer some criticism regarding its strong reliance on structural support, and the negative impact these policies have had on local ownership. This study makes the assessment that NATO's securitization is centered upon its own experience and interests, it relies too much on high politics and fails to gain legitimacy in the eyes of local stakeholders. The mandate set by NATO is self-constitutive from the security concept recognized by NATO.
Securitization: Canada

The role of this section is to underline the security conceptualization of Canada. Canada has shared its values and experience on the international scene, through humanitarian assistance, development initiatives, etc. (Coulon J., Liégeois M. 2010) At the same time, its role is somewhat influenced by the special relationship it has to its powerful neighbour and largest trading partner: the United States. (USITC 2009) Canada had not fought a war since the 1950’s in Korea, choosing to work under the UN umbrella instead, and financing different development missions through its agencies: the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and its Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT). The aim of this section is to recognize the securitization made by Canada in the context of Afghanistan, particularly the highly complex region of Kandahar where the largest part of its operations take place; which is also often dubbed “a Taliban stronghold”. (CBC News Online, January 27th 2004) In December 2011, Canada will end its military operations in Afghanistan and by understanding the concept of security within the current context, this study seeks to provide an assessment which can inform the debate about the past, present, and future of the mission. (CBC News, February 10th, 2009)

Based on the assumption of this study which recognizes the agent-structure dichotomy, it is recognized that Canadian independence holds its limitations in the shadow of the United States and NATO. The presumption that agents can decide to construct their role differently, is somewhat evident in this case where Canada will not continue its military role in Kandahar after December 2011. This section will outline Canada's securitization of the context with hopes of understanding the upcoming post-2011 interaction. In his 1965 work “Lament for a Nation”, George Grant sees the defeat of Canadian nationalism to the power of the United States. He writes that Canadians have accepted, and benefited from, “all the advantages of that empire” but have retain some level of political independence to “keep out of some of the dirty work necessary to that empire”. (Grant 2005:11) Therefore, this study assumes that the position of Canada in comparison to the United States influences in some way the conceptualization it makes of international events because the conditions lead to a closely constructed reasoning and this influence has persisted for a long period. Today, the Canadian Government offers statements which go in that direction: “Canada is one of the safest counties in the world. It has low levels of crime and violence, excellent relations with our closest neighbor, the United States, and a
positive reputation in the international community (…) The Government of Canada has a responsibility to monitor threats to the interests of Canada and Canadians so it can take action. It also has an obligation to contribute to international attempts to counter organized crime, terrorism, weapons proliferation and similar activities”. (Privy Council of Canada 2001:1)

The type of training received by an army has a direct incidence on the way it will conduct its operations; where guidelines take their initial steps. This study takes into consideration the relationship between knowledge and interests, to make an assessment of the technical and practical interests of the units. Over the question if whether the Canadian Military is trained for peacekeeping, or peace enforcement, the myth behind the Canadian Military has it that it is trained for peacekeeping, as opposed to the American Military which is trained for peace enforcement. But in interviews with senior officials of the Canadian Defense Department based on the role of the Canadian Military in some missions in Afghanistan, some authors have come to recognize that it is in fact trained for combat missions. (Coulon J., Liégeois M. 2010:68)

The legacy which seems to support the idea that Canada is a peacekeeping nation is certainly palpable in the attitudes of Canadians, and this idea resonates all the way to Canadian politicians who act as if it is beneficial politically to follow and advocate such a line of policy. (ibid:41) A 2008 survey commissioned by the Department of National Defense found that “Canadians are unsure of the difference between maintaining peace and re-establishing peace” and interpreted this re-establishment of peace to the diplomatic and political missions, rather than to the military domain.7 (ibid: 46) Continuing on the subject, this survey showed that Canadians preferred missions which were synonymous to its previous international mandates: humanitarian, observation and surveillance roles. (ibid) Often, The Department of Defense has prone an approach that would be seen favorably by the population. In 1994, it issued its White Paper Report on Security in which it showed a continuous preference for multilateral operations that are seen as more balanced in terms of its plurality of voices which produces the mandates. But this report also compared UN and NATO in terms of its effectiveness to act within the mandate. It could be read that like minded nations tended to act with more rapidity. (White Paper 1994:25)

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7 This study assumes the importance of this survey due to the measure of importance given by the Department of National Defense who decided to withhold its release, until it was eventually leaked to the press. (Coulon J., Liégeois M. 2010: 46)
The situation of technical and practical interest which favors a more militarized approach represents a shift in the type of mandate Canadian Troops now work to enforce. According to reports, Canadian Troops long awaited the moment to engage in actual combat operations. (Coulon J., Liégeois M. 2010:43) This desire was subtle and represented in the understanding and expectation developed by Canadian Troops through their engagement in new security contexts. New challenges were rising, so was the desire to respond to them, and that priority resulted in increased fighting operations of Canadian troops. Canadian Forces now emphasized its commitment to NATO, the fight against terrorism, and the military's capability to support rebuilding efforts in “fallen states”. (ibid:43) The Canadian Government's approach in Afghanistan was titled “3D” for defense, diplomacy and development. It changed title under the Conservative Minority government in 2006, to now carry the name of the “whole-of-government approach”, but the role largely remained the same. (ibid) In light of this new security complex, the Government chose to downplay the “war factor” by reiterating its role as a founding nation of peacekeeping, confusing the terms with the war against terrorism. (ibid:44)

According to some, this change in context led to a shift in Canadian policy from low to high politics. This meaning that Canada's role shifted from the more difficult work of advocating for security of individuals, to the macro-securitization context of the war on terror. This shift was well identified in Canada's increased budget spending on the Department of Defense and the militarization of its resources. (Bratt 2007:3) The shift also occurred in Canada's diplomatic corps where cultural diplomacy shifted to improve relationships of military, political and counter-terrorism issues. (ibid) Canada was going to war for retribution, said Defense Minister under the Conservative Party Gordon O'Connor. (Ottawa Citizen, January 21st 2007) In 2001, Special Forces were deployed to bring assistance to the US in its Operation Enduring Freedom, a mission aimed at catching terrorists directly. (Bratt 2007:4) Then in 2003, Canada committed 1700 troops to Kabul as ISAF units to provide security to the interim Afghan Authority and prepare for elections. In 2006, redeployment was effectuated to Kandahar where Canadian Forces took charge of the Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT). Deemed a dangerous province, its combat responsibilities increased. Also, Canada's military spending has increased by $23.1 US billion from its 2000-2001 budget, with half of it going to the Afghanistan mission. (Robinson 2009:1)
Canada identifies the context in Afghanistan by reminding the struggle against the legacy of violent conflicts, civil war, poverty, corruption and abuse of power in the country. It also considers the insurgency and how this further frustrates development efforts. (Government of Canada, December 10th 2009:5) In light of this, this analysis has found that Canada's securitization of the context makes reference to the political, military, social, and economical realms of security that follow.

**Military Security**

The model which Canada has put in place in Afghanistan is named Operation Kantolo, and is aimed at protecting civilians first rather than seizing terrain and killing insurgents. The process is to first clear a village from insurgents, hold this village, to then proceed to development work. (Government of Canada, December 10th 2009:8) This model is now adopted by the ISAF General Commandment for a wider implementation. (ibid:4) Canada also aims at the enhancement of border security, by facilitating bilateral dialogue between Afghanistan and Pakistan. (ibid:4) What seems to be the cornerstone mandate for the Canadian Government is the training and mentoring of Afghan National Police (ANP) and Army forces (ANA). According to the Canadian Forces, the ANA exceeded its targets by taking responsibility for more security operations. (ibid:6) ANA, ANP and other Afghan agencies continued to seize significant amounts of narcotics and explosives with the support from Canadian Forces. (ibid:6) Canada is pursuing goals of transformation of the rule-of-law system in Kandahar, by seeking improvements in the police, judicial and correctional sectors. It acknowledged problems of corruption, extortion and drug abuse in the society. It also recognized issues over poor salaries of Afghan troops, substandard equipment and low moral because of the insurgency. (ibid:6)

**Canadian Forces Security**

The issue of Canadian casualties represents an important concern for the Government, and Canadians at home. To some degree, it influences the way Canada sees the context of the war. This study took as an example the reaction of Canada's Prime Minister Stephen Harper to the insurgent attacks which occurred on the main Canadian base in Kandahar, and took the lives of 3 Canadian soldiers in May 2010, bringing the total to 145 since 2002. (CBC News, May 24th 2010) On this, he told journalists that casualties show that our troops are facing constant danger in Afghanistan, and that these unfortunate events show their dedication to Canada and Afghanistan's well-being. (Toronto Star, May 22nd 2010) This study finds that a great security concern for Canada is the safety of its troops. Canada's bears the
brunt of military casualties in Afghanistan compared to all other NATO members. (Toronto Star, September 19th 2006)

**Political Security**

Canada's securitization in the context of Afghanistan also refers to the political security of the Afghan Authority, led up by the intervention. It qualifies the security of Afghan Governance as one of its top-priorities, and supports its strengthening in various roles. In its report of September 2009 on its engagement in Afghanistan, the Government of Canada issued its assessment about the result of the Afghan Presidential Elections that took place on August 20th 2009. Canada had placed its hopes in the success of those elections: “we had expected that the results of the August 20th Presidential election would have been officially announced before the end of September; indeed, we had expected to focus on the elections and their outcomes in our report. Unfortunately, allegations of fraud and electoral irregularities were raised, resulting in investigations led to a recount at certain polling stations.” (Government of Canada, December 10th 2009:Foreword) Nevertheless, the Canadian Government wanted to underline the significance of these elections by reiterating the fact that the process had indeed taken place notwithstanding how it had unfolded. It underlined that these were “the first Afghan-led elections in three decades”, that there was public debates, and that millions of Afghans exercised their right to vote “despite intimidation and violence from the insurgents”. (ibid) Canada stated that “allegations of fraud were reported and the bodies charged with investigating and resolving allegations performed their duties”. (ibid) It led to the establishment of the Electoral Complaints Commission, and this institution was able to carry out its tasks. The Canadian Government also saw of the elections some successes which represent achievements of democratic security, through publicizing voting procedures and locations, voter registration, openness of the nominating procedures, neutral and unbiased media, impartial processing of complaints, accessibility, and efficient supervision and administration. (ibid:2)

The security of the elections was provided by the ANP and ANA forces which had been trained and mentored by the Canadian Forces. “There was numerous security incidents that day, but no major disruptions” was brought by the insurgents’ activities. (ibid:Foreword) In opinion polling shortly after the election, respondents in Kandahar pointed to “poor security” as the main reason for not voting. (ibid: 3) Nonetheless, the Canadian government refers to the Free and Fair Election Foundation of
Afghanistan, an umbrella group of Afghan non-governmental organizations, which said that the turnout demonstrated that Afghans have the “commitment and interest to progress toward an institutionalized democratic system”. (ibid)

Canada also said that its role is to facilitate Afghan-led efforts of political reconciliation within the country. (ibid:4) Referring to that particular topic, Minister of National Defense Peter Mackay responded to allegations that Canada was “paying the enemy”: handing money to contractors who would then use this money to pay the insurgency so that it would not attack convoys on Afghanistan's Highway 1 and 4. Minister Peter Mackay stated that Canada does try to bring in some former members of the Taliban by giving them jobs, etc. (CBC News, April 27th 2010)

Societal Security
In its quarterly reports, Canada underlined its efforts to support the capacity of women in Afghanistan, namely to participate in elections, and its wish to further that support for female candidates who were successful in the elections. (Government of Canada, December 10th 2009:3) Canada's aim in terms of societal security is to “provide humanitarian assistance for extremely vulnerable people”. (ibid:4) In the educational sector, Canada sees that it has made progress on matters of education for girls and literacy classes for adults which also hold a majority of women. (ibid:9) It made available funds to upgrade a teacher training college. It is also providing funds to fight corruption in the Education Ministry. Canada's role also involves the clearing of landmines on fields which are then released back to communities, who can use them for agriculture. (ibid:7) Canada also supports a polio vaccination program for children affected by the disease, and sees a positive increase in the efficiency of this program in the year 2009. It sees the percentage of inaccessible children as having decreased “significantly”. (ibid:2)

Accusations of Detainee Abuse
The Government of Canada has been in the hot seat since the release of information regarding its handling of Afghan prisoners. In 2009, former Canadian Diplomat Richard Colvin leaked the information that in his judgment there were problems regarding the Canadian policy and practice regarding Afghan detainees which the military had transferred to Afghan authorities. (Colvin R.,

8 Highway 1 stretches from Kabul to Kandahar, Highway 4 stretches from Kandahar to the border of Pakistan.
He affirmed his concern for the treatment of those detainees following their transfer. During his affidavit before the Military Police Complaints Commission, R. Colvin made the point of having sent multiple reports to different branches of Canadian authorities about his findings on the treatment of Afghan prisoners for the period of April 2006 to June 12, 2008. (ibid:1) Andrea J. Prasow, of Human Rights Watch, also reported evidence to the abuse during her hearing before the Special Committee on the Canadian Mission in Afghanistan. (Prasow May 5th 2010:2) She identified the implication of those accusations in the international humanitarian law and human rights law context which prohibits torture. She stated that Canada's role is important because, as the guiding principles of international law indicate, not only states are prohibited from using torture, but they also cannot transfer someone to the custody of another state to face torture. (ibid:6) The response of the Government of Canada has ignited a political battle with the opposition. First, when the initial allegations occurred, the Government decided to do a prorogation of the parliament for 3 months, the second since its elections, causing a stoppage of all parliamentary proceedings and delaying the debate over this issue. (Naumetz, March 22nd 2010) When the parliament went back to work in March 2010, the government was forced to release documents detailing the torture scandal to the Military Police Complaints Commission; it decided to release a highly censored selection of those documents, stating matters of national security. The government was then forced to make a compromise and release the documents to certain opposition members who then had to take an oath of confidentiality. (CBC News, May 14th 2010)

Economic
Canada's aim on matters of socioeconomic development is done through the strengthening of Afghan institutional capacity to deliver services and promote economic growth. It holds the belief that this will procure confidence-building measures for Kandaharis with regards to their government. (Government of Canada 2009:7) These services focus on education, health care, sanitation, roads, irrigation, and agriculture. Canada has dubbed these measures it's “signature projects” and sees progress in the education and irrigation projects that were put in place.

Summary
This section outlined the securitization of Canada within the context of Afghanistan. It drew an analysis of the historical and current relationship with the United States, by corroborating how Canada
constructs its role internationally in accordance with the goals of the NATO-US discourse. The analysis made reference to the technical and practical interest of Canada and how it is influenced by its construction of international relations. Through this, this study underlined the fact that Canada's military is trained for combat operations, despite its historical construction of IR based on peacebuilding. It also showed the willingness of Canadian Forces to take up the combative mandate in Afghanistan. It displayed how Canada now favors NATO mandates because of its efficiency due to the cohesiveness of the member states. Based on the constitution of this social-structure in its reference to the concept of security in Afghanistan, Canada chose to downplay the war-factor of its mandate. This thesis makes the assumption that Canada's construction also refers to the macro-securitization seen from the influence of its NATO partners, and largest trading partner: the US. Canada's securitization is also closely linked to the context in Kandahar, where counter-insurgency measures occupy most of the security agenda. Canada gives a lot of importance to the military security of Afghanistan, and its population. It does so by training security personnel. Canada's know-how in institutional development is also used in reference to improving the governance of Afghanistan. It is the assumption of this study that Canada's casualty rate influences its role, and the boundaries of its mission. Through this analysis, it is found that Canada's security agenda refers mostly to high-level concerns of military, political and economical security; its role at lower levels-of-analysis within the Afghan population is for the most part limited. Although some projects seek to certify a certain level of human security; this study finds that the case of detainee abuse could slip into a worsening situation, particularly discrediting the mission at home and within the Afghan context. This occurs because the socialization of the war leads to the construction and re-evaluation of Canada's mandate. In reference to the security framework, this situation displays the limitations of Canada's outreach towards the formal and informal actions that are part of Afghan institutions.
Securitization: Local Afghan Perspectives

Moving along the level-of-analysis to that of the population of Afghanistan and its securitization of the concept. To shine light on the macro-securitization efforts made in the country since 2001, this unit must be addressed as the stakeholder who is the main beneficiary of the intervention. An Afghan experience of the context in Afghanistan represents a different understanding and expectation than that of the foreign community which has come to Afghanistan to fulfill their own securitization aims. It is therefore taken that their interests are different and this must be considered if there comes to be a pluralistic dialogue on security issues in Afghanistan. It is the assumption of this study that such an achievement would help to create a more durable stabilization of the context both for the better of the international actors and Afghan communities.

Taken from the constructivist presumption that the position of a unit within a structure frames the way by which it constructs its actions, this study makes the assessment that Afghan experiences of modernity have sharply contrasted that other units within the context. Struck by 30 years of war, Afghanistan bears the marks of conflict. It has shaped the attitudes of people, and their cognitive reasoning. Not only do the material factors influence Afghans in their choices, but their culture plays a big part. Therefore, NATO and Canada's mission in Afghanistan must take this situation into consideration when enabling policies. To gain legitimacy, the aims of the international community must reach the social structure of the Afghan society in a way that acknowledges its shared knowledge, material resources, and practices.

Political Security

“The Afghan context is increasingly characterized by new trends in the nexus between the insurgency, economic criminality and weak, corrupt or absent rule of law”. (BAAG-ENNA 2008:6) The situation in Afghanistan has come to make it more difficult to distinguish between criminal and pro-government elements. And in some areas, these pro-government entities, including the security forces, have become increasingly predatory. (ibid) In their consultations with the population, PRTs are perceived as not listening or not taking lessons from its exchanges with the locals. (ibid) The current emphasis of the PRTs is on simplistic models development, which Afghan power-holders are well versed in grasping the benefits for themselves. The Afghan population feels that good governance should therefore reach
According to a study tracking the “livelihood trajectories” of Afghans living in Kandahar, a number of themes seem to characterize the political and social context of the region: the presence of a “social, largely landed, elite” which uses the informal structure of the society to “capture the formal resources almost exclusively for their own advantage”. (AREU 2010:2) The position which these elites hold has made them very prosperous; to the ears of the international donors, and NATO-ISAF, they communicate “the collective welfare of their villages as subject of their own”. (ibid:2) The study composed by the AREU comes to the assumption that these elites do not hold a developmental perspective. (ibid:2) This means that the scope by which they understand and base their actions according to the concept of security is narrowed to their own interests. Patronage is highly visible: Members of the Provincial Council interfere in different segments of government to collect their own benefits. (ibid:9) In another measure, they introduce their relatives to these departments in order to get jobs or contracts for different projects. (ibid:9) In the context of Afghanistan we find the presence of a strong social hierarchy. (ibid:15)

Weak governance in Afghanistan also produces setbacks. The threatening internal security context makes service delivery and representative governance challenging and within this, the ability of the ANA and ANP to protect the population is doubtful. Programs implemented in Afghanistan generally lack the sufficient integration into a legal and governmental framework that could provide accountability, for example merit-based selection of governmental job candidates. (CAP 2010:29) The long-term impact that these programs would have, counting the internal balance of political power, after the departure of international forces is questionable. (ibid)

Military Security
Security from attacks is seen as a priority for Afghans, especially those living in the most violent regions: Kandahar for example. Criminality there is high and the Afghan Government along with NATO forces have failed to protect people from corrupt elements, and the violence brought by the fighting. (BAAG-ENNA 2009:8) The militarization of the context brought by the international presence operates outside formal boundaries, with the support by NATO to arm actors outside the state structure. (CAP 2010:33) Much of this militarization follows a “tribal interpretation” of Afghanistan's
social structure, which only represents “one of several potential forms of social organization” possible; according to studies, it does not guarantee effective social control. (ibid) Polls show that a majority of the population does not feel confident towards this practice of supporting local commanders and militias to provide security; most see a reduction of their power positively. (ibid) Lack of judicial accountability towards the past crimes committed by these actors is unfavorably seen amongst the population. (ibid) This tactic used by NATO undermines long-term peace in Afghanistan, efforts to disarm and demobilize militia groups, and reducing weapons throughout society. (ibid:34) Instead, it risks igniting further dangers within an already divided, impoverished and embattled region. (ibid)

**Economical Security**

The assistance being delivered to the people of Afghanistan often comes under the form of the “winning hearts and minds” doctrine which can be perceived as “patronizing, instrumentalist and unsustainable” by the local population. (BAAG-ENNA 2009:6) This paradigm of humanitarian development pays little attention to the beneficiaries of that aid, and interprets their role as the one of representing the deserving poor and affected populations. The aid which is provided under the form of handouts and services does not pay sufficient attention to the complexity of the local context, and the “unintended consequences of injecting resources into conflict-affected communities”. (Ibid:6) The importance of concepts such as ownership and empowerment must be included in the mindset of the military development model. The Afghan population can feel that the PRTs are often secretive entities, and that the money they spend is not cost-effective or transparent. Therefore, they have addressed wishes for transparent community-based monitoring and auditing of the aid resources. (Ibid:6)

The capacity of actors which hold a lower social hierarchy to achieve a degree of economic independence has been limited but not impossible. (ibid:23) The livelihood trajectories study has found that there is a group of poor households who remain dependent on these elites for means of living, with access to credit for example. Their capacity to break these ties is limited. (ibid:2) An intermediate group which occupies the space between the poor, and the rich, has found ways to break ties with the higher class through hard work and skills: improving their standards by, for example, relying on support from their network of relations to gain “informal” access to credit. (ibid:2) This same study concluded that the old structures are solidly entrenched, and that the capacity for collective action to perform changes to those structures and enhance “public good availability” is limited. (ibid:58)
The livelihood trajectories study also took note of the context in Kandahar, where economies based on urban reconstruction, war and the black market influence the socioeconomic scene; this highlights the extensive influence of patronage and connections to the government in Kabul and the international actors. (ibid:2)

The other issue of economic security as seen from the local perspective involves the contracting model of development employed by the PRTs. This organization of reconstruction and development work functions on an auction-based contracting model in an environment that offers little transparency. Contractors can siphon-off funds and produce low-quality work. This leads to tense relations and the low-confidence in the population. (BAAG-ENNA 2009:8)

The “hearts and minds” approach prone by the international military forces generates strong support for those who can taste the benefits directly; adversely it has so far demonstrated little evidence of creating long-term stability, or good outcomes. (CAP 2010:32) These projects are “aim to achieve quick results”, but their quality of execution, appropriateness with regards to the goals of the community and their capacity to involve the community renders them to be unsustainable. (ibid)

Social Security
Based upon this contextual arrangement, the analysis of the civil society in Kandahar finds “socially conservative villages” in which, for example, access to education is “limited for men” and “absent for women”. (AREU 2010:15) The degree of possibility in breaking these bonds was demonstrated in the livelihood trajectories study, where the power of “traditional village leaders” was shown.9 One example of the study showed the power-struggle over a school for girls. (AREU 2010:22-23) Where a literate family was working in partnership with a NGO to hold classes for girls in their home; the salary of the teacher was sought by the malik who used his power to subdue the villager in transferring the school to his own home, where the malik's illiterate wife would be the teacher. This eventually led to the failure of the project: “Everyone knows that the malik and his wife are not educated but he took over the class for profit (...) that course was in his house for one year but finally failed (...) when the NGO learned that the malik’s wife was not educated, they closed the class.” (AREU 2010:22-23)

9 Also referred to as “malik”. (AREU 2010:vi)
Summary
The analysis comprised in this section found that the security concerns of the Afghan population contrast those of the international actors. Based upon the theoretical assumptions of constructivism, the ability of weaker agents within the Afghan population is limited in terms of the way by which it can interact outside the established formal and informal structures. This study found that the political, military, economic and social context undermines the possibility for emancipation of the weaker agents. The context does not offer the good governance required to offer greater possibilities to wider sections of society, apart from landed elites. Because of the elite’s situation, the developmental perspective they share is limited. Militarization does not display guarantees of effective social control, and reinforces the social-structures that support the power-holders. Based on the theoretical approach of this study, this condition of militarization further reinforces a conflict spiral on the context. The condition of conflict spiral also limits the possibilities for units to interact outside of these established power-structures. In turn, this also affects the negotiable space between actors of different social-strata, because the development perspective is taken as successful in its current form; power-holders define the development taking place as successful based on their own advancement opportunities, not the one of their entire community. Nonetheless, the construction of each actor is based on their own experience of the context, and this consciousness limits itself to that.
Conclusion

The framework of analysis of this study allowed drawing a matrix of how three different units construct securitization within the context of Afghanistan. Based upon the assumptions of constructivism, it analyzed how those units constructed their own hierarchy of security values based upon their knowledge and perspective of the context. By doing so, it produces a socialized view of the security concept which is linked to the experiences of each unit that composes the analysis.

This study found that the dominant discourse of NATO's securitization underlines the primary concern of military security through the analysis of NATO's mandate and self-described goals in Afghanistan. It found that defeating the insurgency plays a large role in NATO's securitization, which leads to weaker empowerment of local actors within the developmental efforts. It finds that through its securitization, NATO contributes to furthering the militarization of the context. It makes the assessment that the articulation of NATO's security concerns derives largely from its experience within the context of the war on terrorism, leveling its contribution in Afghanistan to that of fighting the insurgency, and working on a mandate that seeks to empower local actors who can bring their allegiance to that mission.

The analysis then took a look at Canada's securitization of the context, drawing the dominance of its international cooperation with NATO and its members through a discourse analysis which taps into the way Canada constructs its role internationally. Corroboration between this role and the way that Canadian Forces are trained further identified this construction, also showing the link to Habermas and the way by which the interests construct the technical and practical means of controlling a social context. It further identified the macro-securitization constructed from the war on terrorism, and the influence of the fight against the insurgency in shaping the development goals in Afghanistan. It identified two domestic factors in Canada that contribute to the construction of its mandate: the high-level of Canadian casualties, and the issue of human rights abuse. This poses the risk of undermining support for the mandate. The analysis of securitization found that concerns for military, political and economical security are important to Canada. To a lesser extent, Canada identifies its role towards human security with its “signature projects”.

The final part of the analysis considered how securitization relates to the local perspectives on the context. This clarified the link between the informal and the formal structures of the context, illustrating the interactions of local actors; it demonstrated the limits of this interaction and the construction of security it allows. This study found that the political, military, economic and social context undermines the possibility for emancipation of the weaker agents. From this, the analysis showed that the securitization of international actors undermines to a certain degree the security of local actors. The securitization of Afghan formal and informal structures by NATO and Canada does not offer the good governance announced and limits the development. Instead it causes the reinforcement of a few power-holders over the weaker actors. Militarization of the context does not guarantee social-control and undermines the security of the wider social-structure of Afghanistan, creating what theorists refer to as a conflict-spiral. The interaction of some to act outside this social-structure is limited by that context.

This study concludes that the dominant securitization is not adequate when compared to the security concerns of local perspectives. Some reservations are held with regards to this, and the first is the context in Afghanistan which is extremely difficult. The insurgency and the conservative culture of society undermine efforts of securitization constructed by international actors. Secondly, this study found that the conceptualization of security is based on the value-hierarchy which derives from the structure in which each actor is found, therefore relating to constructivism in finding that the way experience shapes the interests of a unit is extremely important.

The framework used is in the opinion of this study successful, because it offers the possibility to propose a communicative interrogation of security values between the units; meaning that the framework offers a basis for further discussion on whether the dominant securitization is adequate. It identifies the fault lines between outsiders and insiders within the context, and also the ways by which the construction of security changes from one social-structure to another. It identified the interaction issues related to the agent-structure question, by identifying the dominance of specific actors, the militarization of the context and the ordering of principles by different actors.
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