

SECURITY IN A NEW PERSPECTIVE

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I. TOWARDS A FRAMEWORK FOR A THEORY OF SECURITY

In the life of individuals, groups and nations, security has always been one of their principal concerns. In the realm of political action, for example, history reveals ever-present striving by nations for security at home and in their relations with other nations. Theories and strategies have been invented in great numbers to show how security may be conceivably attained by effective manipulation of social and political conditions.

So captivating is this idea that, in politics, the practitioners of this art or science devote to the study of security a major part of their time, funds, and energy. Indeed security here is often identified with survival of a nation itself. Yet despite such deep concern with security throughout the ages, it is increasingly apparent that the various approaches and models which have dominated security thought have not really led decision-makers to attain security.

A. Need for Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the possibility of a new direction in theorizing about security. Today, confidence in the possibility of a more lasting peace wavers. Current events do not attest to durable security arrangements. Yet, the relative absence of security may not be due to mere incapacity or blind self-interest of particular nations or groups of nations. Rather, it frequently has to do with their peculiar perception of what security is. This is partly an intellectual failure, manifesting itself through

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misperceptions. These are reflected in certain conceptual models to be examined later. Thus, the tenuous state of security arrangements appears to stem from inadequate conceptualization of security.

This study proposes a framework for exploring a possible alternative to the existing conceptions of security. It is argued that such a framework would allow us to perceive security in a new perspective. Moreover, the framework would provide us with a tool for understanding certain experiences which have until now escaped the searching eye of human curiosity.

In its general orientation, the framework proposes to treat security in a broad, comprehensive way and to highlight those ideas that have usually been omitted or have been underplayed in most conventional or traditional models of security.

Indeed, it may be argued that the conventional theories of security are frequently counter-productive of security. Consider the final, "Vietnam settlement" as viewed from the American side. It may be contended that one of the principal reasons for the inability of the United States to find a solution to the war in Vietnam in terms that could have been less costly to its global security was that it was highly committed to particular approaches to security, such as the balance of power concept and the popular domino theory. This commitment predisposed the Americans from the early years of the war to react in a rigid "either/or" manner which shunned all compromise and necessitated huge delivery of men and materiel to back up the war efforts in Vietnam. Yet this approach to security did not meet the war tactics used by Vietnam. Apparently, the United States was incapable to see alternatives to the rigid security approach. The consequences were a military defeat and the formation of a string of Marxist states, in effect, resulted in the reduction of US security.

The conventional approaches to security may also be assailed as rather antiquated when judged by current political realities. The contemporary world has been subject to a series of great transformations in many respects, particularly in the so-called emerging nations. There has been an awakening of such nations, accom-

panied by their increased self-confidence. These have come to realize that they are not or cannot be mere passive participants in the search for security. This, in turn, has frequently led them to form alliances to strengthen their security by group arrangements, whether political or economic or both. Indeed, such arrangements have changed the security map of the contemporary world.

Great changes have also occurred in the politics of big powers. Take, for example, Nixon's doctrine in behalf of American interests and Brezhnev's in behalf of the Russians. These have been, in effect, retreats from former security arrangements imposed on them by a new set of realities in international relations. In a world which in the past has been largely of their own making, both the United States and Soviet Union are increasingly becoming aware of the limitations upon their power.

B. Review of Literature: A Critique

1. Changing Perceptions of Security

a) Traditional Perceptions

Theoretical preoccupations with security is relatively recent in the history of intellectual and political thought. Yet the idea of security is not new. It underlies much classical philosophic thought both in the West and the East where it often acquired a profound spiritual or cosmic meaning. For the ancient thinker, this idea was intimately associated with concepts of stability and permanency of being or the idea of universal harmony. The universal order was viewed as essentially a harmonious thing. Harmony was a "natural" condition of existence while its opposite—disharmony, discord—was an "unnatural" condition. Lasting security was presumably found only in a state where universal order or harmony prevailed, which then implied a condition of perfect stability or permanency of being and of conformity with nature.

Viewing security from such a universal perspective, great philosophers of the past, both Western and Eastern, such as Plato, Aristotle and Confucius, spent much of their time and effort to

define or to suggest how to restore the natural condition of mankind identified as lasting security. A general state of security conceived as peace within the human soul and in the cosmic order as a whole was what the great men usually had in mind. Their theories were intended to indicate the path which man ought to follow if distortions in the natural order were to be avoided and universal peace attained. On man's inability or unwillingness to follow the path of righteousness, these philosophers blamed current misfortunes of mankind, wars among nations, human suffering, ignorance and the like. What is the path of righteousness? It is the path needed to achieve the desired condition of security or peace. In Plato such a path leading to security was presented in his ideal Republic. Here total security, both spiritual and material, was brought about by the creation of a new society with all its institutions based on the right principles of social existence. Plato related these principles to the idea of the universal Good as governing nature.

For Aristotle the quest for security was connected with his idea of fullness of being and ideal nature. This took the form of instinctive striving after perfection as embodied in the species. In the area of man's social or political life, security arrangements manifested themselves in certain types of social systems said to be in harmony with nature or in conformity with man's striving after full development of himself or the Good Life.

For Confucius, like the two Greek thinkers, security was associated with commitment to certain universal principles of conduct. The ultimate aim was to bring about a condition of universal social harmony and stability. Goodness of human nature was often assumed which, if damaged, could be restored mainly by proper education.

The desire to recapture the state of original security was sometimes cast in religious terms, as in Christian and late Stoic thought. Here security was perceived in terms of a quest for salvation owing to the fallen, sinful condition of mankind, on which then all earthly insecurity was blamed. It was associated with attempts of man to regain his original innocence of being, more broadly, to restore the harmony that marked God's original creation.

Idealism in the treatment of security is also found among modern thinkers such as Rousseau and Kant. In Rousseau, the quest for security took the form of man's attempt to return to his natural condition, which Rousseau portrayed as the natural goodness of man, and man's quest for political legitimacy. Legitimacy then was based on voluntary consent implying that man, while bound to his society, may yet regard himself as free. Thus, universal consent combined with natural virtue was viewed by Rousseau as conducive to more lasting harmony of different interests and as providing security in social or political life. In Kant, security meant the recognition of the rational possibility of a universal peace.

While idealism tended to view security in a holistic way and to identify security with a perfection of being, realism treated this concept in a more down to earth manner. Security was viewed largely in terms of persons or national units and in the context of stability of a social order. Early realist treatment of security is found, for example, in Aristotle's argument of social classes where the relationship among classes is analyzed with an eye on social and political stability or security.

To the pre-Christian era belongs also the conscious preoccupation with the well-being or security of the state as developed by the Indian thinker and statesman Kautilya. Holding the opinion that universal human egoism made permanent security impossible, Kautilya developed a system of security where this was treated as so many strategies by which, given the egoist nature of man, social living — or security — could be made manageable, and so, relative security might be attained.

A realistic treatment of security was also at the heart of the political thought of Hobbes and Machiavelli. For Hobbes, the self-centered man "is doomed" to instinctively seek satisfaction of his interests in a world where the presence of equality makes mutual striving and competition inevitable. Hobbes' argument of an organized society where "peace" or security prevails takes place in the shadow of the Leviathan-ruler, ever-prepared to use his sword to enforce the conditions of the social contract, which was the original choice of anarchic men. On the other hand, Machiavelli argues that the possibility of relative security could exist only if a

society or a statesman succeeds in generating a high level of civic virtue to make man behave as a disciplined and responsible citizen, or alternatively, if a regime is run in an authoritarian manner, with force being used generously to repress anarchic tendencies in man. The realist argument of Machiavelli and Hobbes advanced the understanding of security in many respects. Hobbes, in addition, made security scientifically respectable because he treated security issues in a comprehensive way, which also included a fairly solid motivational theory derived from contemporary science. The argument of both was, moreover, free from former references to supernatural elements, which suggests a fresh and "modern" approach to the treatment of security phenomena. This is particularly true of Hobbes whose "theory of security," couched in the language of power game, has become a classic and still remains, perhaps, the most comprehensive among works on the nature of security.

Theoretical interest in security from the perspective of realism acquired importance in the 16th and 17th centuries with mercantilist ideas of national protectionism. From this then grew the 19th and 20th century concepts of balance of power and a concern with "national interest," especially during the era of imperialist policy. More recently, some such emphasis on national interest has reappeared in the concern with the acquisition or preservation of "national unity," particularly among the emerging nations, in what these frequently perceived to be necessary in an exploitative and aggressively competitive world.

An important phase in recent thought on security has been the era of the "Cold War," where the search for national and worldwide security has tended to crystallize itself in terms of two competing camps, one associated with the Soviet Union and the other with the United States.

Most controversies concerning security may be viewed in the light of their historical origins. Hobbes would hardly have written on security of life and of states the way he did were it not for the string of shattering events that he experienced during his lifetime.

Neither can the current concern with security be understood without reference to the relations among nations, particularly the big powers' interest.

Likewise, post-World War II conditions of the Cold War undoubtedly colored thought on security in the direction of peculiar theories and strategies of security that were perceived to be appropriate to the then existing conditions.

Contemporary thought on security may also be viewed as an extension of a peculiar post-Cold War political climate, of attempts at detente in politics, and of the preoccupation with thermonuclear problems.

Our survey of some of the principal contributions to security thought throughout the ages reveals at least two things about the concept of security. It attests to the persistence of interest in security perhaps in all ages and all places. Here historical experience enriches man's understanding of this concept and may be expected to stimulate attempts to look for new views of security which suggests great mutability of this concept. Here history indicates the adaptability of security thought to new conditions of existence and its potential for development.

b) Contemporary Views

In dealing with the various conceptions of security, we are particularly interested in conceptions that have had an impact upon contemporary human thought and conduct. A survey of current works on security reveals not only great liveliness of interest in security concepts but also the limitations of such interest. For instance, comprehensive and systematic treatment of security can be found only in the literature of international relations, but is absent in the treatment of other areas of human experience.

One view of security prevalent today is that which defines security as the protection of values previously acquired (A. Wolfers) or as high value expectancy in the sense of continued unmolested enjoyment of one's possessions (Lasswell and Kaplan). Here, security, when viewed as a topic of international politics, is generally perceived as the ability of a state to protect its way of life, its "core values," meaning its territorial integrity and political independence. Stated in other terms, security consists in the ability to protect the physical intactness of national life from any external or political intrusions.

Another view of security prevalent today is that which identifies security with relations of power. Such identification of security with power is perhaps understandable. When such a view of security was formulated, the conceptual underpinning or prevailing analytic framework was the "struggle for power" paradigm. This reflected the rival interests of the emerging European nations whose leaders tended to perceive national interest in mutually antagonistic terms, which was often rooted in historical experience.

Within the context of the power paradigm, security conceived as the absence of threats to national status or values could be attained or maintained only through the accumulation of instruments of power defined, in the most general sense, as the ability to control the behavior of others. Power and security, therefore, became synonymous terms and security meant exclusively national power.

The power paradigm became prevalent in Europe in the late 19th century which was the heyday of self-conscious pursuit of power by sovereign states. This was symbolized, for instance, by the German statesman Bismarck whose view of security was based on the balance of power political formula. Later notions of security based on power became more complex in that as the number of great powers increased, even more states which were not "powers" became involved as pawns in the power game.

Another contribution to security thought is that by Spykman whose focus is the balance of power and the geopolitical factor. Spykman identifies the existence of states with military power and enjoyment of geopolitical advantages. To assure their survival, states try to preserve a balance of power. Hence, they "must make the preservation or improvement of their power position a principal objective of their foreign policy." This has led him to conclude that, because power is ultimately the ability to wage war, states must emphasize the building of military establishments.

A more recent statement of security related to the power paradigm is by Hans Morgenthau. Morgenthau sees the issue of security within the context of international politics where each sovereign state pursues its own peculiar national interest. Here the old-fashioned diplomacy, rather than a flamboyant foreign-policy style, is to be the main instrument leading to peace or security. In

this context, security is identified with avoidance of conflicts, in a positive sense, with "peace through accommodation" of the various national interests. Display of force should come into the picture only when the survival of the state is at stake. *Status quo* or balance of power is the preferred position.

Another prominent feature of contemporary views of security is the preoccupation with national interest. This usually goes hand in hand with the concern for power, but often it is emphasized by itself. Security is perceived as the protection of national interest from threats arising in the international environment. Problems of security are thus reduced to issues of international relations, while threats to security emanating from domestic sources tend to be disregarded. For instance, two definitions of security (1967), as the sum total of the vital national interests (H. Hartman) and as the sum total of the vital objectives of the state (K.J. Holsti), look to external rather than internal conditions as potential sources of threat to security. Similarly, Trager and Kronenberg, in their *Introduction to the Study of National Security*, define national security as that part of government policy-making whose objective is the creation of political conditions to protect the national values against adversaries. Likewise, Lippman, in his *U.S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic* (1943), defines security as a condition in which a nation does not have to sacrifice legitimate interests to avoid war and is able, if challenged, to maintain such interests by war.

Obviously, in contemporary security thought, there has been a tendency to emphasize balance of power and military power which are thought of as useful for protecting national interest or security. Thus the concept security has become identified with the strategies themselves, such as balance of power, alliances, military resources, deterrence, and even war.

2. Critique

a) Power-Oriented Approach to Security

The approach to security which is focused on power and the state may be assailed in many respects. It is limited in its perception of what security comprises and is frequently counter-productive in its results. It tends to link the concept of security exclusively to foreign policy and to the building of national power for self-

defense. Yet as current social and political researches indicate, internal factors, such as the presence of subversion or an ill-functioning political or social order, are often not merely marginal but crucial to security conditions, particularly in developing nations. Moreover, this approach, with its emphasis on the protection of whatever a state perceives to be its vital interest, tends to imbue security with conservative defensive connotations.

This approach to security may also be assailed because it tends to concentrate on threats, giving rise to the idea that security consists essentially of freedom from or the absence of threats. This is not a satisfactory definition because here security is viewed in terms of what should not be present rather than in terms of what the essential characteristics of security are. Also, by tending to equate security with protection of national interest, this approach treats what is essentially a strategy for achieving security as if it were security itself. Furthermore, protection of national interest tends to be thought of primarily in terms of reliance on coercive forces, especially on the military, thus encouraging theorists of security to equate security thought with military thought. Another point of criticism concerns the idea of preservation of the balance of power. This is said to have defensive connotation and to favor *status quo* conditions. This also tends to disregard the positive role which instability or change could play in making possible greater security and so fails to deal with the element of growth which is so important in a world that is subject to continuing transformations.

An example of security being mistaken for defense is a work edited by Davis B. Bobrow under the title *Components of Defense Policy* (1965). Here the explanation of security takes the form of an analysis of defense policy, focusing on four points: (1) the external world or strategic context; (2) the internal characteristics of the state of defense policy-making; (3) the choice from available military strategies or strategic alternatives; and (4) the quality control or rationality, flexibility and innovation in decision-making. Yet, the real nature of security remains unexplained.

A reliance on coercion is reflected in the persistence of the tendency to view security in terms of military capabilities. This is perhaps not unexpected or surprising. It is the product of the peculiar climate brought in existence by the politics of Cold War

and, perhaps, also by the revolutionary changes in the technology of violence as Bock and Berkovitz suggested in 1966. Yet it may be contended that such novel forms of Cold War struggle as co-existence and detente impel the superpowers to devise varied ways of meeting threats. This should make the possibility of military confrontation appear less likely. Although there may still be a need for a reliance on military preparedness, an exclusive concern with military strategies to the exclusion of alternative strategies, is likely to involve diversion of valuable resources on military expenditure which could be utilized otherwise to enhance real security. Moreover, excessive spending on military hardware may be interpreted as a provocative gesture which may result in escalated tensions giving rise to an arms race. In these are generated new tensions in an unending cycle of reactive moves.

Also, excessive preoccupation with military capabilities makes us frequently overlook or underestimate other aspects of security that could conceivably be explored otherwise. There are often more pressing and more subtle factors relevant to security than threats of direct arms confrontation. Some of these are due to disintegration of traditional values or failure in national leadership.

A consequence of focusing on military aspects is that some situations that should be recognized for their potential to disrupt security may be ignored and left unattended to until they reach unmanageable crisis proportions. Therefore, by virtually identifying security with the military factor, theorists of security may be shutting out other legitimate areas of security, thus making security more difficult to achieve.

Another weakness of the power-oriented approach to security is its undue emphasis on strategies. Most current theories on security dealing with the nature of security concentrate on problems of strategy. In effect, their overwhelming concern has been with the means of bringing about conditions for security rather than in finding out what security itself is. Discussions on security tend to take for granted a clear understanding of the nature of security. Their focus is usually on particular strategies, especially in the area of military defense. John Garnett's *Theories on Peace and Security* (1970) is a good example. Although claiming to deal with theories of peace and security, the work actually concentrates on strategies

of deterrence, disarmament, arms control and limited wars, identifying the goals of such strategies with peace and security. Not peace and security as such but strategies for "survival" are what these writers deal with.

Another example of security focused on strategies is found in the collection of papers on security edited by Dale J. Hekhuis, Charles G. McClintock and Arthur L. Burns under the title *International Security* (1946). Focusing the discussion of security largely on strategies for dealing with threats to the stability of the international system, the authors do not discuss security itself. According to them, such stability is threatened by radical social changes such as rapid growth of population, the rise of new states, the patterns of response by national elites and the like which often evoke violent reactions. The treatment of international security is reduced to an elaboration of strategies dealing optimally with threats generated by such changes.

Yet another example of an emphasis on strategies in security is the argument advanced by Robert S. McNamara, the former American Defense Chief, in his *The Essence of Security* (1968). In McNamara's sophisticated argument, the notion of security is enmeshed in the complex of technological and political factors that characterize contemporary political life. The security of the United States in particular is perceived as defense of the country which takes the form of collective security, strategic nuclear capability, flexible response to challenge to US power, and combat readiness.

Finally, a major weakness in the power-oriented approach to security is its excessive reliance on rational models which are based on the assumption of self-interest as basic to man's behavior.

b) The Systems-Oriented Approach to Security

In a review of security, not exempt from criticism is also the systems approach so popular with contemporary scholars in the social disciplines. Although at first blush these scholars appear to take a perspective different from that of the theorists of security based on power, they show no radical shift from the power theorists. They tend likewise to focus their attention on stability of conditions.

Systems theorists do not address themselves specifically to the question of security as such. It may be implied from their work, however, that security has to do with the ability of systems to persist in the face of change or to cope with and contain disturbing influences.

In the systems approach, national security tends to be viewed in terms of a nation protecting its internal or traditional values against external threats to such values. An example of this view is Kenneth Twitchett's "Strategies for Security" (1969). Here, stability is a condition requisite to security. Accordingly, it becomes the focus of security issues.

More generally, in this approach, with its emphasis on systems maintenance and equilibrium, security tends to be associated with preservation of existing values and institutions. It thus acquires a conservative bias, with preference for *status quo* conditions. This is likely to militate against more radical shifts in security perspectives and against exploration of new and more fruitful ideas of security. Yet, reality does change. Indeed, such changes are often regarded as desirable, if not essential to survival and prosperity. If so, the systems approach appears to contradict a considerable part of the experiences of units in current international affairs, particularly of developing nations. This also makes security thought based on the systems approach appear static and incapable of accommodating more radical changes which may be desirable and useful for any unit.

3. Methodological Commitments

The relative paucity or absence of studies on the nature of security need not be a permanent feature of contemporary thought. Recent advances in the social science disciplines, such as in the areas of organization theory, bureaucracy and social and political dynamics, encourage us to believe that more sophisticated and, ultimately, more adequate generalizations about security are within our reach and that they could be highly fruitful. Also, advances in the area of research methods involving more precise treatment of data and better conceptualization make us confident that our perceptions of security could be improved.

The argument advocated in this study intends to bring security thought in line with such recent intellectual and methodological in-

terests in the social sciences. The new methodological developments should then encourage us to reconceptualize old security concepts to make these more precise in their application to conditions involving security. By improving such concepts, deficiencies that have characterized security thought in the past will be conceivably overcome or at least minimized.

Four methodological commitments have been singled out in this study as the basis for reconceptualization of security.

First, there is a commitment to theoretical comprehensiveness. This calls for a broader treatment of security than has been done in the past. It is proposed to include as much as possible all the conceivable manifestations of security, as well as all the conditions under which security may be experienced, including conditions of threats. This treatment will also include the consideration of strategies and threats as related to security.

Second, there is a commitment to an empirical approach to the study of security. The concept is, as much as possible, fully operationalized into propositions which are related to observable conditions. Such propositions are open to easy empirical testing for their validity. Thus the study is descriptive rather than prescriptive or speculative. It may be added that testing as such will not be attempted here.

The third commitment involves a behavioral orientation which treats the experience of security as it is affected by perceptions, social and cultural values and objective conditions. Security as an experience becomes differentiated from security which focuses on institutions as if these represented security itself.

The fourth commitment involves enlargement of the study of security to the area of multidisciplines. No one area of knowledge and experience can be meaningfully isolated from other areas. If so, different social disciplines such as philosophy, anthropology, psychology, sociology, economics and others can also throw light on the issue of security. Indeed such orientation makes a multidisciplinary approach perhaps unavoidable. When conceived through the lenses of a variety of instruments, the concept security acquires a new dimension which it did not possess before.

II. THE FRAMEWORK FOR A THEORY OF SECURITY

A. The Approach to the Framework

1. Introduction

Five general tendencies may be said to characterize the framework for a theory of security proposed in this study. First, the framework focuses less on military aspects, more on other aspects of security, giving explicit recognition to these. Secondly, the concept of security is presented in a positive way, explaining what security is, instead of stating what should not be there, like "absence" of conflicts. Thirdly, the interest in security extends to non-military aspects and focuses on alternative types of security conditions some of which are "conservative" in character, and others "dynamic." Fourthly, the presence of change is recognized as one of the factors that accompany security. Change is accepted as concomitant with human growth and not necessarily in conflict with security interests but conceivably a valuable aid to increased security. Nevertheless, relative absence of change will also be acknowledged under certain favorable conditions. Finally, the framework may be applicable not only to the analysis of political life but more broadly to all aspects of social life or human interaction, since the need for security is a universal experience of man.

The framework also recognizes the importance of time and of relationships as two factors affecting security. The element of time becomes relevant when we try to identify security with greater precision. The feeling of security can be ascertained only if it persists over a reasonable period of time. A momentary feeling of security is not a useful condition on which to base a judgment or an action; it may lead one to take risks unduly and cause problems that have not been foreseen before.

More generally, the factor of time when related to feelings has at least two dimensions, namely, chronological and psychological. Chronological time refers to the sequential time dimension which can be measured in terms of days, months, and years. Psychological time refers to the perceived intensity of satisfaction. It depends on many factors which cannot be easily measured such as the state of health of the unit and the components of its health, the unit's self-

sufficiency, the amount or number and quality of values that are being enjoyed, the ability to utilize incremental benefits, the ability to cope with changes and to perceive threats and sort them out, the capacity to neutralize or overcome threats, and, if the actor is a unit consisting of interdependent sub-units, the duration and strength of interdependence among them. Chronological and psychological dimensions of time may or may not be related to one another. The time element in the framework is intended to suggest the subjective and relative changing character of security experience. It is suggested that with changing time perspective or changing nature of time, feelings of security will also be effected.

Like time, relationships will also affect security feelings. By "relationship" we refer to the interplay among different conditions or between conditions and units. These may take various forms; for example, relationships may be casual, reversible, or may be in the manner of a syndrome. Corollary to this, relationships are likely to vary under different conditions or, when they involve the interplay of conditions and units, they are likely to vary in intensity or degree. In both cases, they are likely to produce different security feelings.

The diversity of both conditions and security feelings suggests the necessity of a multiplicity of foci for the analysis of security. One of the foci for study are the links between units and conditions that produce security feelings, or between old and new values, or changes in one sector of a unit vis-a-vis the other sector within the unit, or among units in a relationship of interdependence. Another focus is a unit's perception or image of conditions that produce security or of security itself, and such perception as this is influenced by the unit's values, capabilities, and environment. The framework also recognizes change levels, such as when alterations in feelings are related to changes in levels of conditions, whether structures, values, expectations or capabilities. The philosophy of security may also be made a focus of study, as has been done in the introductory part, to give the reader a breadth for the concept of security.

A word of caution must be given about the proposed framework. In classifying feelings of security, we do not assume the possibility of determining with exactness such feelings or the condi-

tions that give rise to such feelings or of looking into the totality of real situations. The framework should be viewed as suitable for analytic purposes only. However, it may serve at the same time as a tool to suggest what specific conditions are being identified, at least theoretically. Another use of the framework may be that even in real situations, where such conditions are found in combination or in blended form, units who follow the framework should be able to sort out their feelings, in a manner of speaking.

The framework is useful in many respects. It has potential usefulness in the area of behavior involving choice, particularly for decision-makers. It neatly identifies the various facets of security which should be useful for decision-makers to know. It obliges decision-makers to reduce possible gaps between perceptions and the actuality of a situation. It makes them aware of the consequences of making decisions based on perceptions that have no congruence with existential realities. It also presses decision-makers to make realistic the ordering of values. Moreover, it enables them to select appropriate conditions for their security and to avoid the likelihood that they would divert their scarce resources. On another level, it enables decision-makers to identify threats to their security, which should allow them to assess such threats in a more realistic fashion.

The framework is also useful because it separates and clarifies the notion of strategies. It has been noted earlier that one of the weaknesses of past theories of security has been the tendency to identify security with strategies.

2. Assumptions

The framework is based on at least six assumptions. The first assumption is that security is a relative condition. In talking of security, it is assumed that there is no complete security for any unit in this world and that no specific kind or amount of security is present for all time. Security, therefore, is to be understood in a relative sense—that is to say, relative in both extent and duration. As long as the feeling of security experienced is sufficient for certain purposes of life, it can be said that there is security.

The second assumption is that there are no pure conditions of isolation, interdependence, *status quo* and change which exist

in this world. Life is a dynamic process, and therefore, all living things experience many conditions simultaneously. While a unit may be described as being in a state of isolation, such isolation can never be complete because parts of the unit would still be in communication with other units.

Similarly, a unit that is described to be in *status quo* is not absolutely at a standstill but may be undergoing some changes, which are, however, not disruptive enough of the system at the moment. Likewise, units which are parts of a system of interdependence may be in relative isolation from units outside their system or may be undergoing change at the time of their interdependency. In this study, then, what leads one to focus on a certain set of conditions are the dominant characteristics of the unit at the time of analysis. The classification of conditions is merely for analytical purposes and not for describing absolute conditions.

Closely connected with this is the third assumption that values and conditions change. Life is a dynamic process and so the values of a unit are mutable and never fixed for all time. Similarly, conditions are never fixed for all time but rather are subject to persistent change although not sufficient to lead to qualitative alterations in the short run. In the long run, however, incremental changes may produce qualitative transformations.

The fourth assumption is that references to security are based on perceptions of reality rather than on reality itself. As Kenneth Boulding would say, people do not respond to the "objective" facts of the situation but rather to their "image" of it. However, people do try very hard to have accurate perceptions by making these as close as possible to reality.

Still another assumption of this paper is that conflicts are normal conditions for any unit which is alive. Some measure of conflict is a permanent feature of existence, hence the problem of conflict will always be present. Conflicts need not, however, be regarded as detracting from security provided they remain within manageable levels. On the other hand, conflicts that are only latent may produce insecurity if they involve a high probability that when they break out into the open they will destroy conditions for generating security.

The last assumption is that upgrading values is desirable because it contributes to higher levels of enjoyment or satisfaction in life. Satisfaction does not mean the absence of a desire for greater enjoyment but merely that its presence enables one to increase such enjoyment.

3. Clarification of Concepts

Before presenting the framework, definitions of five concepts basic to the framework will be offered. These concepts are *security*, *value*, *conditions*, *threats*, and *strategy*. *Security* consists of the feeling that accompanies actual, perceived, or sustained satisfaction of values and/or the reasonable and stable expectation of their realization. It presupposes the presence of objective conditions that bring about this feeling. This definition implies that security is essentially a psychological condition, a feeling. It is a positive definition although it does not exclude from its legitimate scope the concept of threats.

Specifically, the feeling of security manifests itself variously under different conditions. In general, four particular types of security feeling may be identified. The first type refers to security associated with the enjoyment of prevailing conditions while the second type refers to security enjoyed under conditions of change. The third is derived from conditions of isolation, and the fourth is found in conditions of interdependence. Each of the four conditions has certain characteristics which are known to bring about specific feelings of security. These conditions are identified in more specific terms to enable the use of this framework at any level of analysis.

The definition of security advanced above involves value satisfaction. Hence, the term *value* must be defined. The term, as used in this framework, has at least two meanings. First, it refers to the standards of value or valuation. Here, values are simply the principle or measure according to which a thing is judged to be desirable or undesirable, useful or inutile, important or unimportant, worthy or unworthy of pursuit. This is the sense in which the term is used when referring to one's standards of values or value judgment. Conceived in this light, values are prescriptive and normative.

Second, the term value refers to the things that are considered worthy; in other words, the "valuables" themselves. Here, values refer to these things, tangible and intangible, material and non-material, to which individuals or groups attach high priority as indicated by repetitive preferences for such things. In this sense, values are neutral, that is, void of moral content, in that any object may be desired differently by different people; what may be of value to some people may not be of value to others. Conceived in this light, a value is anything that is desired. It may be added that since what is desired depends, in the first place, on one's standard, such standard defines also his values or "valuables." Values used in both senses belong to the realm of perception.

This framework views values as subjective phenomena, for what is preferred is always subjective. However, subjectivity must be viewed in a creative way, for what is desired may change, for example, in the context of perceived new opportunities. A revolution of rising expectations is one illustration when conditions widely accepted as natural have come to be perceived in terms of relative deprivation. Thus new perceptions of capabilities of a unit or of the environment give rise to values that have not been actually held in the past. Viewed from the perspective of the environment, values may change as a consequence of changed conditions in the psycho-social and physical milieu, while they also help to change these different aspects of the environment. In this framework, values are changing and dynamic phenomena. Thus, values current in the past may be discarded in favor of new ones, or values that have declined in popularity may re-emerge perhaps with greater appeal.

Another term that needs defining is the term "conditions" used in connection with security. These refer to situations produced by factors external to the unit. They serve as objective basis for feelings. Thus, although related to feelings, they are different from them, for feelings, unlike conditions, originate from within the unit itself. The framework attempts not only to define the variety of specific feelings, but also to suggest the objective conditions that give rise to such feelings.

To be defined next is the concept of *threat*. Threats are conditions that are perceived as constituting impairment of the enjoy-

ment or satisfaction of values. Threats vary in intensity depending on how the unit perceives such conditions and the unit's abilities to neutralize, meet, or cope with them. Threats reduce the alternatives of a unit to satisfy values or offset the conditions that produce security. When a threat is perceived as engaging a unit's total capabilities, and if all other conditions for producing security are reduced to nil, then the unit may be said to have reached the survival point at which there is no security to speak of.

Threats may be classified into three: actual, potential and fictitious. (1) Actual threats are existing conditions that can, at any moment, reduce the enjoyment or satisfaction of values; (2) potential threats are conditions tending to reduce enjoyment or satisfaction of values but are not transformable to actual threats due to some constraints; (3) fictitious threats are conditions that are perceived to reduce security but do not really exist.

In case of threats, the following measures may be availed of to maintain a degree of security: (a) priority is given to defense capabilities; (b) production of goods is increased to support defenses and to prevent deprivation of normal needs; (c) value expectations are reduced; (d) problem is shifted to the environment such as by appealing to the international community; (e) new alternatives are developed; and (f) priorities are constantly reordered.

Finally, the concept of *strategy* needs clarification. *Strategy* may be defined as a plan that is employed in order to secure far-reaching advantage for the one who uses it. Strategies range widely in their scope. They are positive in character when they are intended to enhance the conditions that produce or increase a unit's security, such as by upgrading the quality and quantity of resources, development of new alternatives for resources, cooperation with other units, alliances, multiple relations and the like. Or they are negative when they are intended to deal with threats such as by ignoring threat, shifting the problem to the environment, manipulating conditions to minimize the impact of threat, or escaping from the scene, or a combination of these. Or strategies are focused on the source of threat and are intended to remove this by either non-violent or forcible means such as by non-cooperation, detente, deterrence, coexistence, disarmament, undercutting the capabilities of the source of threat or by military devices or other devices involving the use of coercion and firepower.

In this definition strategies are essentially instrumental in character, that is, devices to get certain things done, in this case to bring about security. Hence, they should be treated as conceptually separate from security itself.

The separation of security from strategy will be elaborated further not only because this is crucial to this study, but also because the failure to recognize clearly such a separation is one of the principal weaknesses of current theories and practices of security. This separation implies that strategies are not interchangeable with security. Rather, security is the goal, strategies are the means. When this relationship is disrupted or becomes unbalanced or unclear, security is likely to be adversely affected. On this thesis, strategies that have no clear reference to security-goals tend to be easily misguided and to lead to results opposite to what is wanted. Thus they diminish security. Or excessive reliance on strategies may produce conditions that are very different from those that produce security and may even be counter-productive for it. Here the real purpose of striving for security may be lost sight of under the weight of heavy commitment to particular strategies. Or excessive focus on some strategies may lead to the oversight or disregard of new developments in reality itself which then causes the failure of such strategies to produce security. This thesis implies the presence of means-ends relationship in strategy and security and the need to keep these two conceptually apart. Such separation should help to overcome or decrease the confusion between the two aspects which has been frequently responsible for the fact that individuals, organizations or states would waste or misdirect their scarce resources and yet would be unable to achieve security.

4. Need For Security in Human Nature

Security appears to fulfill a biological need for the survival and well-being of man, not only in the narrow physical sense but also in the Aristotelian sense of spiritual development, which is also expressed in the Stoic, Christian, Confucian and other great philosophic traditions. The quest for well-being, at whatever level of existence, suggests that the need for it is deeply ingrained in the nature of man, and is not directly dependent on the social environment, although the influence of society tends to give it a particular expression and flavor, apart from providing the opportu-

nity to develop notions of security related to civilized human existence.

B. The Framework

This section focuses on the framework for a theory of security. It sets out to define security not as the absence of threat, but in a positive way, as satisfaction of values or as a stable expectation of their realization. More specifically, security will be defined in terms of the most general types of feeling that may be said to be involved as well as in terms of conditions that give rise to such types of feeling. Threats have not been omitted from the construction of this framework. They have been, however, considered within the context of the positive definition of security and not as a separate category.

This framework is stated in terms of certain propositions which, because of their theoretical nature, are naturally to be taken as only tentative until they are validated by empirical research. However, this should not detract from the value of the undertaking, for a conceptual scheme is always a necessary initial step toward the creation of any valid theory. ¹ (Harf, Moon and Thompson in Rosenau, 1976). This framework will conceivably provide the premises upon which empirical research can be based and suggest the general character of the causal links which help to produce conclusive statements.

Definition:

Security consists of the feeling that accompanies actual, perceived or sustained satisfaction of values and/or the reasonable and stable expectation of their realization. It presupposes the existence of favorable objective conditions.

Security is manifested in several ways under different conditions.

1. Security in Prevailing Conditions

Security in prevailing conditions is one type of security feeling presented in the proposed framework. Here the unit prefers the prevailing conditions to all the alternatives, such as innovation or

radical change. This particular type of feeling manifests itself in several ways.

1) *The unit is convinced that its current demands are being met widely.* As the unit finds that its demands, whether traditional or new, are accommodated, it feels little stimulus to seek change.

2) *The unit is also confident that the prevailing conditions provide a scope for the upgrading of the quality and quantity of its expectations on a major range of activities.* This makes alternative sentiments in favor of change unattractive, and the given conditions appear as most desirable.

3) *The unit believes that major changes do not preclude the capacity to return to the former conditions.* Here, changes are found sentimentally acceptable because it is felt that no major tampering with the prevailing conditions is intended or at least that an option is always on hand to choose in favor of the "familiar," should the alternatives fail to strike a responsive note.

4) *The unit perceives a congenial environment where structures are adaptable, sympathetic, versatile or relatively stable; thus these structures are viewed as supportive of the prevailing values.*

5) *There is confidence that the unit can manipulate resources to meet new demands made upon itself.* The unit is confident that it can avail itself of many options and that it has the necessary flexibility to deal constructively with new situations. Hence there is little emotional incentive to depart from prevailing conditions.

6) *The unit is convinced that even a hostile environment can be managed without alterations in its condition.* It feels that it can withstand threats because it possesses the necessary resources to defend itself and because it finds sentimental support within itself. Hence, the incentive to depart from the prevailing condition is lacking.

What then are the prevailing conditions that produce security? At least seven prevailing conditions may be cited.

1) Structures are able to cope widely with demands.

- a. Institutional frameworks are flexible enough to handle the complexity of modern life and to satisfy a wide range of values.
 - b. Skills are present to identify new demands and needy sectors, and to provide the necessary strategies to meet such demands.
 - c. Dominant social and political symbols exhibit sufficient attraction so as to prevent undue pressures for new orientations in case of change in demands and expectations on a wide range of issues.
 - d. Capabilities have been developed both in the human and production aspects, allowing established organizations to respond constructively to demands even for manifold changes.
- 2) The existing institutions are conducive to the upgrading of values.
- a. There is an equitable distribution system for basic benefits to improve the general human standards, i.e., the quality of human existence.
 - b. There is an enlargement of the scope of opportunities due to relatively easy access to certain agents of developments like education and skills training. This allows individual units to improve themselves in many respects -- their social status, spiritual well-being and otherwise.
 - c. Institutional concern for continuous development of new skills and attitudes in an organization brings about, in a participating unit, higher appreciation of the organization's rationality and goals, thereby enhancing the unit's sense of participation in and personal responsibility for the organization.
- 3) Changes that take place are only incremental in character and do not really upset the conditions that produce security.
- a. The gradualness of modernizing or innovative efforts poses no major threats to dominant traditions; such efforts are, therefore, not regarded as contradicting cherished institutional values.
 - b. Agents of development, like universal education, are deployed in certain specific technical areas; hence they are

not perceived as substantially affecting the traditional beliefs and arrangements. Here the traditional framework is adequate to cope with innovative trends.

- c. Flexibility present in a traditional system makes possible considerable modifications in operating such a system when modifications are needed under pressures for innovation, whether such pressures are generated domestically or externally.
- 4) There exists an environment that is supportive of the unit.
- a. The atmosphere of liberality exhibited by the environment allows a degree of tolerance of deviation from the dominant norms and attitudes. This implies acceptance of individual diversity in the enjoyment of values and helps to dissipate some of the feelings of inadequacy which is frequently the consequence of the unit's having to follow more rigid, non-permissive or totalitarian behavioral models.
 - b. Affinity in general outlook or feeling makes institutions sympathetic to the unit's condition and development.
 - c. Versatility and adaptability of institutions allow for a wide range of self-expression which encourages rather than obstructs the unit's natural growth.
 - d. Widespread values deeply held have a reinforcing effect on the satisfaction with such values. This appears to be a human tendency whether it be viewed as a natural impulse or as a protective mechanism against risky alternatives or uncertainties entailed by any departure from familiar patterns of choice.
- 5) Institutions have the capacity to manipulate resources to meet new demands made upon them.
- a. Planning machinery is such as to allow for periodic adjustments and reordering of priorities in order to increase savings and achieve greater efficiency in the use of resources.
 - b. A given set of resources is put to alternative uses when changing demands give rise to new needs and tastes.
 - c. Relatively rapid transfers in the use of resources are possible from one area to another in case of emergency of some kind.

- d. The utilization of multiple skills rather than of one specific skill prevents unbalanced development when a wide variety of new demands arises.
 - e. The use of new institutions is not precluded so long as these operate within the prevailing institutional framework.
- 6) Institutions are stable over a reasonable period of time.
- a. Stability over time predisposes the unit to be in favor of conventional attitudes and institutions by invoking images of peace and contentment when these are associated with the past.
 - b. A pool of goodwill has been accumulated toward traditional values and institutions, becoming political capital by which the legitimacy of such values and institutions and loyalty to them are enhanced.
 - c. Institutions have produced a sense of well-being in the unit to such an extent that the creation of alternative institutions are seen to involve great risks.
 - d. Familiar and well-established processes make rational calculations possible and inhibit the unit from trying the unknown or the unpredictable.
 - e. Absence of major conflicts over time acts as an obstacle to the introduction of more radical changes or, at least, makes the unit reluctant to seek changes in anticipating major conflicts that might upset the unit's relative well-being.
 - f. Organizations demonstrating success in their operation are unlikely to introduce major changes such as in their methods of administration and of production, despite the presence of increasing pressures to develop radically modernizing outlook.
- 7) Institutions possess resources and sentimental support to meet threats to their existence.
- a. A wide range of resources, or some strategic resources, are present, material or human, which convince the unit that these are adequate to meet the challenge to its existence. Hence it has little incentive to change the prevailing conditions such as by forming alliances.

- b. Technological progress and superiority in skills allow the unit to develop confidence that it can successfully handle changes to its authority and well-being without a major disturbance to these.
- c. Sentimental attachment to established institutions and values is strong enough to compel the unit not to yield to new institutions and values to be imposed under conditions of threat. Such attachment strengthens the unit's resolve to defend the established arrangements; this makes threats emotionally bearable.

Any condition above may be perceived, at least for a limited period of time, to uphold a unit's belief that its values are being satisfied, albeit such a condition is not actually sufficient to bring about security.

2. Security in Conditions of Change

Security with change defined as innovation and/or alteration in basic parameters of physical, psychological, political, social, and economic environment may be equated with feelings characterized by the following:

1) *The unit believes that emerging or evolving values are as desirable as or preferable to old values*. Processes of change are viewed to create and foster values that enhance feelings or perceptions of well-being rather than eliciting resentment and frustration when old values are submerged. There is a perception that social-institutional changes allow for both the expression of values and their realization.

2) *The unit believes that change in one sector or simultaneous changes in important sectors lead to mutual upgrading of values and of their satisfaction or realization*. Change is perceived as facilitating the effective translation of wants into demands and their effects are viewed not as isolated ones but as influencing the whole system. An increase in benefits to one unit or area is perceived as an increase of benefits for all. Ability to transform wants into demands likewise is perceived to lead to even more demands and wider choices, which means that there is a feeling of upgrading of satisfaction.

3) *The unit perceives that major structural alterations are*

accompanied by the ability to fully adjust to such alterations and to discard incompatible values. Rates of change are viewed to be within the capacities of systems or units to absorb. Hence, it is trusted that adjustment processes can take place through acceptable, generally peaceful means, and that, therefore, major sources of conflict can be avoided. Such perception may also involve the belief that dysfunctional units can be abolished and so the unit's adaptive and responsive capabilities can be increased.

4) *There is a conviction that new structures and institutions can accommodate new demands or expectations rather than be in conflict with them.* New structures and institutions reflecting changing needs and values are found acceptable and become legitimized because they are believed to permit the effective translation of wants into demands and to heighten the probability of the satisfaction of such demands.

5) *The unit believes that the burden of adjustment to change may be shared with others or shifted to others or the environment.* When the rates of change are beyond its capabilities to absorb, the unit is confident that it can avoid breakdown or destruction by influencing the behavior, decisions or policies of other units, by making these share the burden of adjustment. Alternatively, or as a corollary, there is confidence that the environment may be modified by the unit so that the nature, characteristics, and structures of the environment may be made to diffuse the onus of adaptation.

What then are the conditions of change that produce security? At least five conditions may be examined as follows:

1) Emerging or evolving values are as desirable as or preferable to old values.

- a. The operational or objective environment provides opportunities for the continued enjoyment of traditionally cherished values.
- b. There is preservation of major cultural and political symbols and myths.
- c. If the change is brought about by the loss of compatibility between old values and contemporary requirements of life, values that are more in tune with human needs are

- allowed to be articulated so that wants may freely emerge as well as be translated into effective demands.
- d. New structures and associations engender a feeling of belonging to a community in the case of a shift from an old to a new social structure.
 - e. In the case of change in economic conditions, development is oriented to growth with equity as expressed in policies and strategies.
 - f. In the case of development of resources, procedures and techniques are present to prevent or limit ecological damage or to prevent pollution and non-wastage of natural resources.
- 2) Change in one sector or simultaneous changes in important sectors lead to mutual upgrading of satisfaction or realization of values.
- a. Change or improvement in one area of capability is associated with change or improvement in other areas. Access to better skill results in access to more remunerative opportunities and higher standard of living.
 - b. Flexible boundaries among units allow the transfer of the effects of beneficial change to other units involved.
 - c. Institutional and structural mechanisms for cooperation are present to support changes and to spread benefits to all sectors.
- 3) In the face of major structural alterations, the unit has the ability to adapt itself fully to such alterations and to discard incompatible values.
- a. There are adequate resources to compensate for lost values.
 - b. The structures of the unit are flexible enough to absorb the consequences of such major alterations.
- 4) New structures and institutions can accommodate new demands and expectations rather than be resistant to them.
- a. Mechanisms of integration are present to assure harmonious involvement of all sectors and to sustain values from which are derived emotional, psychological, and other types of satisfaction.

- b. The environment can be manipulated to provide resources at a rate commensurate with expanding aspirations.
- c. Technological and material advances are matched by changes in outlook and structures and vice-versa.
- d. New structures enable a unit to actualize its potential rather than result in structural violence.
- e. Institutional norms provide support for universalistic demands as against particularistic demands.
- f. New structures facilitate a wide sharing of resources and insights.
- g. Changes occur in attitudes towards the larger strata of society allowing these a fairer share in the society's benefits. Institutions are present through which all sectors can become involved in the production and enjoyment of new values in relatively easy ways.

5) There are mechanisms that allow the burden of adjustment to change to be shared with others or shifted to others or to the environment.

- a. Structures and institutional arrangements are present which induce all units to adapt themselves to changing conditions.
- b. Groups exist to counterbalance one another.
- c. There are mechanisms to absorb or to distribute the burden of accountability arising from changes.
- d. In a systemic and structural relationship among units, a framework exists which is favorable to the satisfactory solution or management of complex and systematically linked problems and issues and disturbances.
- e. Mechanisms are present that allow for all categories of units to be active participants in decision-making.

Any condition mentioned above may be perceived, at least for a limited period of time, to uphold a unit's belief that its values are being satisfied, albeit such a condition is not actually sufficient to bring about security.

3. Security in Isolation

Security in isolation is another type of security feeling presented in the proposed framework. Isolation is a condition in

which a unit is relatively out of significant influences of other units or has the option to exclude such influences. This means that a unit relies for its existence upon itself for a major range of its activities. Five aspects of security feeling may be considered as follows:

1) *A unit has security in isolation if it believes that conditions generally facilitate a major range of its activities as that there is no need for dependence on external resources.* It also believes or is confident that it can sustain its resources at adequate levels.

2) *A unit is confident that it can manage satisfactorily by itself any change in its conditions.* For instance, if the unit perceives that there is an impending reduction in its resources, it feels ready or able to change attitudes from negative to positive, that is, from disappointment to evolving new values and skills.

3) *The unit is confident that it can extract benefits to itself from the environment without getting really involved in it.*

4) *The unit believes that its isolation is respected by others.* It feels that such respect reduces the need to worry about pressures upon it from outside units and allows it to use its capabilities for supporting a certain level of existence.

5) *Lastly, the unit believes that it can refuse to have any interaction with external units despite provocations from the outside.* It is confident that its resources are adequate enough to cope with externally generated pressures. It feels compelled to violate its isolation only when it perceives that such external pressures are likely to affect adversely its very existence. It is also convinced that it has superior resources in terms of skills for manipulating the external environment to its advantage without having to break its isolation.

What then are the conditions of isolation which produce security? Five conditions of isolation-producing security may be examined as follows:

1) *Existing structures meet the demands widely and facilitate*

a major range of activities with their own resources and without the need of intrusion from the outside. The unit has the ability to identify and integrate short- and long-term needs. There are varied skills within the unit. The system is fairly integrated to act as a mechanism for managing and resolving conflicting demands and optimizing the use of resources. There are adequate employment opportunities for the labor force. There are widely accepted ways of resolving internal conflicts. Thus dissipation of resources is prevented.

2) *When existing institutions tend to degenerate due to the absence of supportive agents or materials, the unit can be restructured with a minimum of violence for the purpose of optimizing the use of resources and satisfying major values.* Socialization takes place to change attitudes from negative to positive and towards evolving new values and skill. Education and training are available to develop skills for increasing output and for increasing the number of high achievers in the society. Internal mechanisms are also present to cut the unit off from disruptive external influences.

3) *Existing resources are used by the unit to manipulate the environment to produce benefits to itself without getting involved with other units.*

4) *The condition of isolation is respected by others and the unit is allowed to use its resources to meet its own demands/needs.* There is a manifest determination and ability to preserve isolation at all times. Alternatively, the unit makes it known that any undue interference in its affairs will not be profitable for the violators. The institutions will prove difficult to sway one way or the other in favor of the violator.

5) *There are institutions and skills that maintain resources at adequate levels for coping, when necessary, with demands originating from the environment.* There are mechanisms for mobilizing or transforming the functions and resources of the structures strengthening the unit's coping mechanisms. The unit in isolation has also the ability to refuse any interaction with external units because it has the capacity to reject or to cope with external pressures.

Any condition mentioned above may be perceived, at least, for a limited period of time, to uphold a unit's belief that its values are being satisfied, albeit such a condition is not actually sufficient to bring about security.

4. Security in a Condition of Interdependence

Interdependence is defined as mutual responsiveness among partners on commonly accepted values. In a situation where a certain number of units are interdependent, the feeling of security as experienced by each unit becomes manifest as follows:

1) *A unit perceives that an increase in the benefit to one will be a benefit to all, including itself.* Each unit expects to satisfy or sustain the enjoyment of its values from the benefits derived by the other units with which it is interdependent.

2) *A unit also believes that the resources of the other units will be mutually shared in their use or that its needs for the resources of others will be accommodated.*

3) *If a unit experiences change or a need for a change due to pressures impinging on it, that unit believes it will not be left alone to absorb the consequences arising from such pressures.* The unit believes that the other units will generate corresponding changes to help absorb such consequences and/or that the other units will generate support for the unit experiencing the change.

4) *A unit is confident that the limiting boundaries among the units can be set aside in order to allow the unhampered transfer of desired capabilities from all to any one of the units needing them.*

5) *In case of presence of threat, a unit also believes that its capacity to meet such a threat will be increased by the aggregate capability of the other units.*

Conditions that Bring About Security in Interdependence

Interdependence implies that among a number of units, a development that affects one unit affects also the rest of the units. This is because there are strong communication lines among these units and because relationships among them have more intensity

than those with external units. It also implies that the relationships are such that even if there are changes within any of the related units, such changes do not affect the commitments to mutually accepted goals.

Interdependence may be brought about by several factors such as similarity in backgrounds, interests and values, and commonality of problems. In some cases, the units may have interlocking interests. Or a condition of interdependence produces benefits to one unit in particular and to the rest of the units at the same time. Interdependence also increases the capability of all. In this condition, each unit has a responsibility to the rest to meet its commitments arising from this relationship.

In a situation of interdependence, an important condition which produces security is the expectation that commitments will be upheld. Commitments may be verbal or real. Verbal commitments may be adequate to give a feeling of security. Such commitments may in turn be transformed into real ones, for example, if an interlocking of interests could be brought about in which the partners involved would take cognizance of their mutual responsibilities.

In any case, whether verbal or real, commitments should be sustained by some appropriate arrangements undertaken by each unit in case of actual need even if only to sustain the belief.

The following five conditions bring about security in interdependence:

1) *An increase in benefits to one will be an increase in benefits for all.*

This can happen if:

- a. The principles of interdependence are widely accepted by all and shared among the units.
- b. Structures in the component units are present which can utilize the benefits that accrue to any of such units.
- c. Where functions essential to interdependence must be performed, structures corresponding to such functions must exist in all the interdependent units.

- d. There are channels or mechanisms that make it possible for the benefits that accrue to anyone of the units to be shared by the rest of the units.

2) *There is mutual accommodation of the needs, and there is sharing in the use of the resources of each partner unit.*

- a. There is an actual or expressed commitment among partner units to accommodate the needs of others and to share the use of resources in case of need.
- b. Language and symbols have a common appeal and are made intelligible to all for clear reading of expressions of commitments and needs.
- c. In the absence of efficient and viable lines of communication, there is a control mechanism for identifying the needs and resources of the partner units and for allocating resources.
- d. Structures and techniques are versatile and sufficiently adaptable to accommodate mutual needs and to share the use of resources.

3) *A need for change in one unit will generate appropriate changes and/or support in other units.*

- a. Institutions in partner units are structurally and functionally flexible enough to absorb the consequences of change in any of the units.
- b. Partner units have reserved resources which can be used to support any of the units undergoing change.
- c. The possibility of disruption of a balance in relationship due to change, whether beneficial or prejudicial, in any one unit causes the other units to introduce corresponding changes intended to absorb the consequences of such changes.

4) *Among partner units, boundaries which normally regulate transactions are flexible enough to allow the unhampered transfer of capabilities from all to any of the units.*

- a. Formal and legal requirements peculiar to each partner unit can be set aside to enable units to share in trans-unit benefits or advantages.

- b. Local boundaries may be abolished or modified because they assume less importance than trans-unit services which contribute to the upgrading of values or creation of new values.
- c. There are a number of goods and services that can provide common benefits to partner units once barriers to free flow are removed.

5) *When a threat to a unit arises, the aggregate capability of all units will be used to neutralize or remove it.*

- a. There is a mechanism by which threat perceptions of the partner units and their way of ordering of priorities are harmonized.
- b. There is a method or an agency that can authoritatively pull together the various resources of the partner units to meet the threat immediately.

Any condition mentioned above may be perceived, at least for a limited period of time, to uphold a unit's belief that its values are being satisfied, albeit such condition is not actually sufficient to bring about security.

C. Security in a New Perspective

The conceptual scheme developed in this study views security as a network of interlinked aspects in the life of a unit or of its legitimate sectors. For the purpose of analysis, these aspects are identified in the diagram below and are treated as distinct. In this connection, three basic assumptions have been made, namely, that decision-makers are rational persons, that resources available are scarce, and finally that security is a relatively perceptual phenomenon.

In this scheme, security is perceived with the initial identification of values (V) sought by the unit and with the choice of the objective conditions (OCS) which the unit believes to be conducive to, or are likely to sustain, the enjoyment of such desired values. Security (S) as such is the product of the initial choice of values and the presence of objective conditions. It consists of the enjoyment of desired values or the stable expectation that such values will be realized; it implies the well-being of the unit.

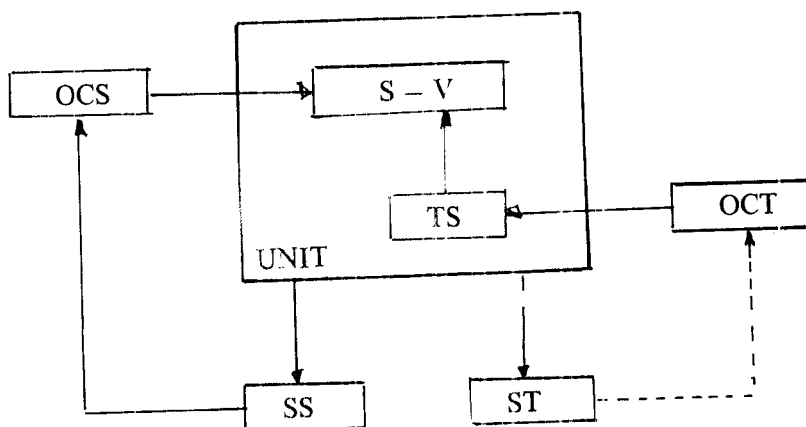
As security is, however, exposed to changes in internal and external conditions, a unit seeking security is likely to experience some instability in the enjoyment or satisfaction of values. The unit will, therefore, make an effort to develop strategies (SS) to produce, sustain, or strengthen the objective conditions that give rise to security. This, in turn, should have a reinforcing effect on the unit's feeling of security, strengthening its enjoyment of what it values.

This scheme also recognizes in security situations the presence of a "negative" element, which implies perceptions of threats (TS). Such feelings are, however, treated as strictly outside the orbit of security proper, for security implies the well-being of units. Still, the reality of threats is not denied. Threats are related to security in the sense that they impinge on it, generating disturbances in the environment, thus affecting the feeling of security. Threats take different forms; they may be internally generated or may originate in the external environment; they may be actual, potential, or even fictitious.

The feeling of insecurity generated in a unit by threats arises from perceived objective conditions (OCT) that produce or sustain threats. Suffering from insecurity, the unit attempts to develop strategies (ST) either to neutralize the sources of threats or to cope with threat situations. Such strategies should help to alter the original objective conditions of relative insecurity in the desired direction of relative security by removing obstacles to the enjoyment of desired values caused by the presence of disturbing conditions. The unit should now be in a position to regain security.

Diagram: Security in a New Perspective

E N V I R O N M E N T



Legend:

- V -- Values
- S -- Security consists of the feeling that accompanies the actual, perceived or sustained satisfaction of values and/or in the reasonable and stable expectation of their realization. It presupposes the existence of favorable objective conditions.
- TS -- Threats to security as perceived by the unit. Threats may be actual, potential, or fictitious.
- OCS -- Objective conditions favorable to security.
- OCT -- Objective conditions that produce threats to security.
- SS -- Strategies to produce or sustain conditions favorable to security.
- ST -- Strategies to cope with conditions that produce threat or with threats themselves.
- Broken line suggests "negation of" or "removal of."
- _____ Solid line indicates "production of."