



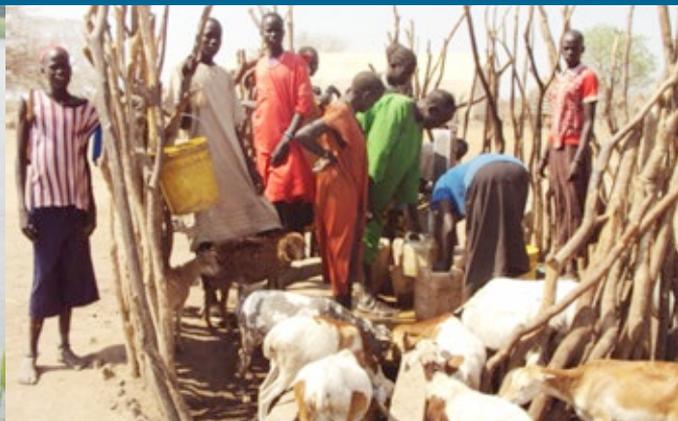
International Peace Support Training Centre Nairobi, Kenya

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Security and Development Nexus in Eastern Africa: Exploring Paradigms



Theory and Practice of Human Security (HS) in Eastern Africa

Effective Strategies for Responding to Contemporary Conflicts in Eastern Africa

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Foreword

The International Peace Support Training Centre (IPSTC) is a research and training institution focusing on capacity building at the strategic, operational and tactical levels within the framework of the African Peace and Security Architecture. IPSTC is the regional Centre of Excellence for the Africa Standby Force (ASF) in Eastern Africa. The centre addresses the complexities of contemporary UN/AU integrated Peace Support Operations. The Peace and Security Research Department (PSRD) produces research and curriculum design publications. The research conducted covers a broad spectrum ranging from conflict prevention through management to post-conflict reconstruction of peace and security. The Centre has made considerable contribution in training and research on peace support issues in the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa through design of training curriculum, field research and publication of Occasional Papers and Issue Briefs. The Occasional Papers are produced annually, while the Issues Briefs are produced quarterly.

The issue briefs are an important contribution to the vision and mission of IPSTC. The Third Quarter Issue Brief No. 5 (2014) has two titles on peace and conflict in Eastern Africa: *Security and Development Nexus in Eastern Africa: Exploring Paradigms and Theory and Practice of Human Security in Eastern Africa*. The Issue Brief provide insights into pertinent peace and security issues in the region that are useful to policy makers and aims to contribute to the security debate and praxis in the region. The articles in the Issue Brief are also envisaged to inform the design of the training modules at IPSTC. The research and publication of this Issue Brief has been made possible by the support of the Government of Japan through UNDP.

Brig. Robert Kabage

Director, IPSTC

Acronyms

ADB	Africa Development Bank
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
APF	Africa Peace Fund
ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
ASF	Africa Standby Force
AU	African Union
CADSP	Common African Defence and Security Policy
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Network
CEWS	Conflict Early Warning System
CHS	Commission on Human Security
CPIA	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment
DFID	Department for International Development
DPC	District Peace Committee
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EA	East Africa
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EU	European Union
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FGS	Federal Government of Somalia
FMECD	Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (German)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
GNP	Gross National Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report

HOAI	Horn of Africa Initiative
HS	Human Security
IGAD	Inter Governmental Authority on Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPA	International Peace Academy
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
KNFP	Kenya National Focal Point
LAPSSET	Lamu Port South Sudan Ethiopia Transport Corridor
LICUS	Low Income Countries under Stress
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MoD	Ministry of Defense
MSC	Military Staff Committee
NSC	National Steering Committee
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PSO	Peace Support Operations
RECSA	Regional Center for Control of Small Arms
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SID	Society for International Development
SSR	Security Sector Reforms
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nation Development Programme
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSOM	United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia
WDR	World Development Report

Introduction to the Issue Briefs

This third quarter issue brief examines two issues of utmost importance to peace and security in the Eastern Africa region. The first paper analyses the interface between security and development in Eastern Africa; and the second takes a critical review of the Theory and Practice of Human Security (HS) in Eastern Africa.

The first paper; *Security and Development Nexus in Eastern Africa: Exploring Paradigms*, presents an analysis of how the concept of security and development nexus in Eastern Africa applies to security and development conceptualization and planning. Given the high cost of conflict and the need for efficient allocation of resources for development in Eastern Africa, a clear conceptualization and practice of security and development nexus is long overdue.

The study surveys conceptual understanding of security and development from global, regional and national perspectives. A critical analysis of how this interpretation informs security and development programming in specific countries of Eastern Africa provides a realistic appraisal of conceptual application. This study has shed light on unstructured application of security and development paradigm in Eastern Africa, thus calling for enhanced study and application of well refined concepts and practices for mutual reinforcement of security and development.

In the second paper; *Theory and practice of Human Security (HS) in Eastern Africa*, underscores the meaning and practice of Human Security. HS means protecting fundamental freedoms that are the essence of life. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity. Commission on Human Security (CHS, 2003), indicates the complexity and the interrelatedness of both old and new security threats in Eastern Africa from chronic and persistent poverty to ethnic violence, human trafficking, climate change, health pandemics, international terrorism, and sudden economic and financial downturns.

“There will be no Development without Security and no Security without Development...and both development and security also depend on respect for human rights and the rule of law. Not only are Development, Security and Human rights all imperative; they also reinforce each other.”

In Larger Freedom’

Report of the Secretary General to the United Nations General Assembly, 21, March, 2005.

Security and Development Nexus in Eastern Africa: *Exploring Paradigms*

Joseph Kioi Mbugua

Introduction

The security-development nexus is a conceptual paradigm in theory and practice of security and development discourse. In recent years, this debate has been propelled by dual argument that, while the purpose of security providers is to provide a safe and secure environment, without broader human development, insecurity can re-emerge. Similarly, while poverty is seen as a cause of conflict, the cost of conflict has huge ramifications on development in terms of missed opportunities and low Human Development Indicators (HDI).¹ This dichotomy is well manifested in African countries which went through underdevelopment in pre and post independence period, a factor that heightened vulnerability and insecurity.

Over the years, development has increasingly been subjected to security concerns especially after the end of the Cold War (1989), where more internal conflicts took place. The 9/11 terrorists attack in the United States of America (USA) reinforced this perception and often informed future development assistance in Africa.

This notwithstanding, there is no coherence during conceptual interpretation, planning and implementation of security and development projects. The available body of knowledge shows that there is a wide spectrum of factors that affect the interface between security and development and more so their implication for peace and governance. Each factor can be analyzed according to its potential to contribute to effective integration of the two concepts.

The global debate on security-development nexus should inform appropriate interpretations and application of security and development projects in Eastern Africa that will advance the overall goal of peace and stability. Economic and political development, environmental protection and improvement in standards

¹ Lars Buur, et al (ed.) The Security-Development nexus: Expressions of Sovereignty and Securitization in Southern Africa, NordisAfrikaInstitutet, Uppsala, HSRC Press, Cape Town 2007, p.9

of living are the foundations upon which Eastern Africa's security and stability depends.² The subject of development assistance and investment by multinational companies especially in extraction of raw materials, and their relation to security in places such as DRC, South Sudan and Somalia should also be analysed.

The study articulates conceptual understanding of security and development from global, regional and national perspectives. Systematic elucidation of how this interpretation informs security and development programming in specific countries of Eastern Africa provides a realistic appraisal of conceptual application. Consistent with the analysis, this study recommends more research to inform integrated security and development planning in Eastern Africa. In view of the high prevalence and cost of conflicts in Africa, this paradigm could be deployed as one of the effective tools for conflict prevention, management and peace building. This research, similarly, contributes towards shaping debates underpinning security-development nexus in Eastern Africa as well as offers timely opportunities for designing appropriate security-development policies and programs.

This study is organized into four sections. The first section forms the introduction as well as explains the purpose of this research. The second section reviews relevant literature, and weaves this into theoretical and conceptual frameworks underpinning this research. The third section provides a critical analysis of the different interpretations of security and development nexus and its application by the United Nations, African Union, Regional Organizations and International Development Community and Eastern Africa. The fourth section makes conclusions and recommendations.

2 Clarence J. Bouchat, *Security and Stability in Africa: A Development Approach*, Strategic Studies Institute, 2010, p.23

Overall Objective

To examine the interface between security and development praxis and its bearing on security and development practices in Eastern Africa.

The specific objectives of this study are:

- To examine the impact of development/under development on security in the region.
- To identify effects of security stabilization on development in the region.
- To assess opportunities for national and international actors to enhance synergy between security and development initiatives.

This study is guided by the following research questions:

- To what extent does security influence development or vice versa?
- What are the linkages between security and development?
- What role do local and international actors play in enhancing the synergy between security and development in the region?

The following hypotheses have been formulated to assist in the critical analysis of the existing body of literature.

- The higher the level of security, the higher the development outcomes and vice versa.
- The higher the level and quality of participation of national and international players, the greater the security level and development outcome.

Statement and Significance of the Problem

National, community and individual insecurity have become the primary challenge for economic, social and health development in Eastern Africa. Underlying this problem to a large extent are the intrastate violent conflicts. Refugee flows, massive economic haemorrhage and organized crime inform the plight of fragile states.³ Most of the countries afflicted by this phenomenon are unlikely to achieve the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Reports on status of development in the region reveal that countries that are at the bottom of the Human Development Index (HDI) also happen to be the ones most vulnerable to violent conflict and human security challenges.⁴ Inability or unwillingness of developing states to provide security, justice and employment to their people is said to be one of the likely causes of instability and poverty.

A wide body of knowledge shows that lack of coherent interpretation and implementation of the security-development nexus leads to implementation of projects that are not sufficiently effective to advance synergy between security and development. Similarly, poor interpretation of the relationship between security and development may lead to ineffective management of intrastate conflicts and weak implementation of development projects.

More importantly, there is only very scanty evidence showing that development planning in Eastern Africa is informed by security considerations. Though Kenya Vision 2030 blue print recognizes the importance of peace and security for development, there are no clear linkages between the envisaged development projects and security plans.

Whereas, development partners have significant influence on security and development plans of developing countries, there are still no clear and strong linkages between development assistance and security support in Eastern Africa. This also is the case among Civil Society Organizations (CSO).

³ Necla, Tschirgi, *Security and Development Policies: Untangling the Relationship*, 2005, IPA

⁴ World Bank, *World Development Report, Conflict, Security and Development*, 2011, Washington DC, p.40-81

Ultimately, a clear conceptual interpretation and application of security-development nexus is totally lacking or very scanty. The adoption of a clear paradigm could go a long way to prevent conflict and accelerate development through implementation of the most appropriate projects.

Literature Review

There are arguments as to whether security and development should be merged or that the interdependence between the two concepts cannot be ignored (Cecilia Jacobs, 2011). It has been widely reported that after the end of the Cold War, there emerged more intrastate than interstate conflicts and therefore concerns about protection of civilians became more prominent (Frances Stewart, (2004), Mark Duffield, (2001), Cecilia Jacobs, (2011).

Focus on security and development as linked concepts and practices took place more visibly after the Cold War, perhaps as a reflection of pre-eminence of intrastate as opposed to inter-state wars.⁵ Evidence from a host of studies has shown that there is a causal link between security and development. For instance, a study carried out by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (FMECD)⁶, revealed that 20 of the world's poorest countries are engaged in armed conflict, indicating that the poorer a country is the more the likelihood of violent conflicts. Another research by the World Bank also indicated that a country with an annual per capita income of 250US\$ has a 15% chance of civil war within five years, whereas a country with an annual income of US\$ 5000, the probability is less than 1%.

In a World Bank⁷ study on interface between security and development titled, '*Voices of the Poor*', involving 60,000 people in 60 poor countries, it was found out that the number one priority surpassing food and shelter, was security, World Bank, (2000). Some development partners have developed their support projects based on such findings; (Canada's *Human Security Program* and the UK's *Security Sector Reform Strategy*). However this developmental paradigm may not be shared by the intended consumers. It is necessary for local development and security providers to evaluate and understand development partners' interpretation of the security and development nexus. This will allow for joint planning and implementation.

5 David Chandler, The Security-Development nexus and the rise of 'anti-foreign policy', Journal of International Relations and Development, University of Westminster, p. 3, 2007

6 FMECD, Germany's Contribution to Achieving Millennium Development Goals, BMZ, 2005

7 World Bank, World Development Report, Conflict Security and Development, 2011

Some authors view the above research carried out by the World Bank as aimed to achieve pre-conceived ideas of the Bank rather than advance policy priorities of the poor.⁸ Francis Stewart (2004) observes that the security development nexus is negative rather than a positive policy guide and serves to negate development as defined in the Western world in order to lower expectations and shift the blame on developing countries. He argues that the relationship between security and development is still a vicious circle. There have been occasions where there is high level of security in Africa without commensurate development, or where there is development and no security especially in cases of inequality and marginalization.⁹ There have been instances where World Bank development prescriptions in Africa have led to instability and poverty such as the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) of the 1990s.

Countries such as Canada and Scandinavian have interpreted the security development nexus as a continuation of human security debate or an additional lens for understanding security sector reforms.¹⁰ There are Western perspectives of Security-Development nexus, associating this dichotomy with application of foreign aid in developing countries. The theorists and policy makers advocate for domestic policy changes in Africa that reflect the ‘Western’ view and interpretation of the nexus.¹¹

Increasingly, other authors have argued that the Security-Development nexus concept is meant to prioritize Western security interests in Africa especially in weak states. The United States Global War on terror is prioritized at the expense of poverty eradication in Africa; IPA, (2004); Stewart, (2004); Beall, et.al. (2006).

Mark Duffield asserts that this policy approach is just another attempt by the international-aid industry to recast its mandate. This approach has raised participation of foreign actors in security and development of recipient countries.

8 Silvia Forno, *Taking Seriously the Voices of the Poor: Does Representation Matter?* MA Thesis, Institute of Social Studies, 2008, The Hague, The Netherlands, P.11

9 Francis Stewart, *Development and Security*, Working Paper 3, CRISE, University of Oxford, 2004, p.19

10 David Chandler, *The Security-Development nexus and the rise of ‘anti-foreign policy’*, *Journal of International Relations and Development*, University of Westminster, 2007

11 *Ibid.* Chandler, p. 1-5

He avers that the said security meets the needs of donors more than development needs of the host countries and therefore funds for development are diverted to meet security needs of development partners.¹²

The linkages between security and development is said to be more anecdotal than based on empirical evidence, Heidi, (2012). The causal mechanism is/are not well enunciated. The author argues that it serves a political goal of legitimizing interventions for good governance with international community providing strong states tutelage. There has also been a global/systemic view of relationship between security and development especially after 9/11 among Western governments.

The concept of security has been expanded and it now encompasses diplomacy, development, defence and democratization. The United Nations (UN) and European Union (EU) prefer integrated security and development policies/approach in their security and development planning. According to (Necla, Tschirgi, 2005), there are multiple levels of confusion, contradictions and policy dilemmas.

12 Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security*, 2001

Theoretical Review

Social Constructivism

Constructivism asserts that there is a world of ideas and norms that determines states behaviour irrespective of the hard power.¹³ According to Martha Finnemore, International organizations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) can influence states behaviour by promoting specific norms. The norms of warfare and the establishment of the Geneva Conventions were spearheaded by ICRC. Therefore constructivists maintain that norms play a central role in influencing behaviour of international society.¹⁴ This is in stark contrast to the classical international relations theory (especially neo-realism) that assumes power (both military/economic) as the major determinant of States' behaviour in international relations.

This theory deals with the construction of norms in the constitution of states' interests and identity. International normative standards are diffused into domestic settings through international law and diplomatic avenues. States conform to international laws and standards in order to appear 'civilized'.¹⁵ International institutions, bilateral and multi-lateral government diplomacy and international civil society all contribute to diffusion of norms. They have capacity to influence security and development debates in host countries and can influence policy direction. Security and Development Nexus/Human security are seen as concepts that can assist in achievement of desired political and social outcomes. This calls for interrogation of such concepts in host countries in order to serve local interests and needs.

Prioritizing security among development partners may influence African countries to put more money in security (to combat international terrorism) at the expense of investment in development (health, education, energy, agriculture and infrastructure). In turn low investments in development lead to high unemployment, high cost of living and disillusionment/frustration in society.

13 Valentina, Fiatta, *Constructionist Theories of International Relations: Wendt, Finnemore and Katzenstein*, p.4

14 Martha, Finnemore (1996) *National Interests in International Society*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press

15 *Ibid.* p.26

Therefore African policy makers must understand whose norms are informing security and development planning and implementation.

Human Security Approach

According to the United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Africa (OSAA), 2005, human security embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and healthcare, while ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her own potential. Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict.¹⁶

Human security refers to protection of people (individuals or groups) from political violence and poverty.¹⁷ Available evidence show that interest in human security emerged in the mid 1990s. The UN's Secretary General's Report entitled, '*An Agenda for Peace*', in 1992 defined a pathway for early conceptualization of human security (Boutrous Boutrous Ghali, 1995). Another notable document was the UNDP *Human Development Report*, 1994. These publications recognized the changing nature of conflict after the end of the cold in 1989, where threats of interstates conflict were replaced by intrastate conflict. Security then was to be geared towards protection of the individual including the environment, health and political issues.

The foregoing notwithstanding, definition and meaning of human security is a contested subject. Human security challenges the traditional interpretation and practices of state security. This approach implies that there is space for domestic and international agents to influence domestic politics towards protection of vulnerable groups as per international norms and standards. It has extended the ground for human rights protection of vulnerable groups by state agencies. The concept provides suitable grounds for political agents to influence change at the right time. The post cold war political dispensation and the 9/11 global political disposition had different implications for external interventions.

16 United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Africa (OSAA), (2005), Human Security

17 Cecilia, Jacob, Human Security and Politics of Protection, The Australian National University 2011, p. 27

A human security framework can fuse security and development approaches that can inform policy of human rights protection for marginalized and vulnerable groups. Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is a principle underpinning global powers intervention in weak or failed states where the states are unable or unwilling to protect vulnerable populations against gross human rights violations or crimes against humanity.¹⁸ The action is also meant to prevent humanitarian disaster, high influx of refugees, internally displaced persons, illicit cross border trade and creation of a safe haven for terrorists. However R2P has also been used to undermine sovereignty of states like Libya and Ivory Coast in Africa. The line between sovereignty and foreign intervention among fragile states is currently blurred.

Human security is viewed as the nexus between security and development since it provides a wider lens through which security and development are analyzed. This study will employ both the social constructivist and human security approaches since conceptualization of security and development is a norm creation exercise.

18 Nicholas, Wheeler, Operationalizing the Responsibility to Protect: The Continuing Debate over where Authority should be Located for the use Force, NUPI Report, No.3, 2008, p.13-22

Conceptual Framework and Analysis

Security

Security has been defined as a sense of predictability at different levels of one's social system.¹⁹ The concept refers both to the stability of the state and the physical and psychological security of the people (Human security).²⁰ Security also means perceived threats to the survival of the state and individuals and the use of conventional means to counter the threats.²¹ Insecurity, on the other hand, refers to disruptions to both the structures and processes of a social system and could be either internal or external. At the state level, provision of security is necessary for development. While at the individual level, local grass-roots security provision is necessary to promote confidence in the state structures. Sometimes security is provided to elite groups at the expense of the masses.

In recent years, security has been redefined and broadened to cover not only the provision of security for the state, but also to communities and individuals. Thus,, security concerns are not only the threat of violence but also economic and social concerns such as welfare, employment and distribution of national resources.²²

National and Human Security

National security has been defined as the safekeeping of a nation's territorial integrity and vital interests via political, legal or military elements of national power.²³ It refers to the security of the state against armed attack or insurrection. The concept stems from a state centered approach to security provision. In most cases in Africa it was narrowed down to 'regime security', that is protection of the government in power.

Human security, by contrast, includes provision of security at the individual, national and international level.

19 Bjorn Hettne, *Development and Security: Origins and Future*, Security Dialogue 41, No. 1, p.33, 2010

20 Knox Chitiyo, *African Security and the Securitization of Development*, Royal United Servicemen's Institute, UK, 2011

21 Lars Buur, et al (ed.) *The Security-Development nexus: Expressions of Sovereignty and Securitization in Southern Africa*, NordisAfrikaInstitutet, Uppsala, HSRC Press, Cape Town, 2007, p.12

22 David Chandler, *The Security-Development nexus and the rise of 'anti-foreign policy'*, Journal of International Relations and Development, University of Westminster, p. 6, 2007

23 International Peace Academy (IPA) *The Security Development Nexus: Conflict Peace and Development in the 21st Century*, p.2, 2004, NY

The concept views individuals and communities as active participants in provision of security and peace building. It encompasses governance, democratic participation and protection of human rights. Human security is an integrative and broad approach to security conceptualization, envisaging protection of basic rights and protection from natural disasters and famine. Human security also takes cognizance of all forms of security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political.²⁴

Development

The traditional interpretation of development revolved around alleviating poverty, enhancing economic growth, infrastructure improvements, improving access to education, energy, health and social services.²⁵ However this concept has been redefined from traditional indicators of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and broadened to include psychological and material factors that determine human well being.²⁶ Development ranges from protection of human rights to environmental security and governance. This shift has been well reflected in World Bank led security and development research mentioned earlier in this paper.

Human development is interpreted as freedom from want and is widely known to contribute to both national and human security, by tackling the structural causes of conflicts and building capacity of societies to transform conflicts.²⁷ This may also refer to human rights protection, environmental sustainability, economic growth and governance. In this case, underdevelopment²⁸ can influence security and development nexus and therefore the interpretation and implementation in Eastern Africa should filter unproductive linkages that do not promote regional and national interests.

Nexus refers to a connection or a series of connections linking two or more things.²⁹ In this paper security and development nexus refers to the specific linkages between

24 UNDP, Human Development Report, Millennium Development Goals: A Compact Among Nations to End Human Poverty, p.4, 2003, NY

25 Ibid, IPA, p.2

26 Ibid, Chandler, p.6

27 S. Lodgaard, Human Security: Concepts and Operationalization, Oslo, p.9

28 Under development in this paper does not mean lack of or insufficient development but it is a product of development, it refers to neo-colonial forms of economic exploitation

29 www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/nexus

the two concepts and how investment in one can boost the success of the other. Currently the nexus is implied and not well articulated. It is not clear at what point and under what conditions security leads to development and vice versa, therefore the need for the current critical analysis.

Security and Development Nexus

Both fields of security and development have hitherto operated independently with different frames of reference. Both concepts are broad and elusive. There are a number of conceptual and practical constraints facing theorists and policy makers alike in defining the security and development nexus. There is no scientific proof of vivid causal link between security and development or vice versa. In other respects, security and development nexus emerges as a framework for addressing human security.

In view of the prevailing overlapping interpretations, there are lingering questions of what ought to be the salient ingredients of a harmonised security and development framework. There are a range of theoretical, practical and policy interpretations of the security-development nexus. Sometimes securitization of development is seen as a globalization tool used to legitimize Western intervention in weak countries political systems.³⁰

Western scholars and civil society advocate for coherence of development partner's programs with developing countries' plans. This approach has been criticized as serving political interests of Western countries and not being coherent with the desired outcomes in local national development priorities.³¹ Security and development nexus has also been seen as a Western band aid approach with a goal of providing a, 'one size fits all', solution to complex problems in the developing countries.³²

It has been noted that there is minimal input or consideration of African research products on security and development in international development planning, policy

30 Chesterman, S, Iganitief, M and Thakur, R, *Making States Work: State Failure and the Crisis of Governance*, 2005, Tokyo and New York, United Nations University, Krasner, S and Pascual, C (2005) *Addressing State Failure*, *Foreign Affairs*, 84, No.4, pp. 153-164

31 David Chandler, *The Security-Development nexus and the rise of 'anti-foreign policy'*, *Journal of International Relations and Development*, University of Westminster, p. 9, 2007

32 IPA, 2006: 7, Chandler, 2006b

and practices.³³ Effective security and development nexus projects must generate policies and practices that are commensurate with developing countries needs and priorities.

In planning foreign disbursement, the security and development nexus has meant militarization of humanitarian and development assistance, to the detriment of the latter. It has been noted that international development funds allocated to USAID have been falling as the ones for the Department of Defense have been rising.³⁴ In the UK, foreign and defense policies are jointly planned in Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), Ministry of Defense (MoD) and Department for International Development (DFID). However this merging of different sectors could mean obfuscation of development funds.³⁵

Table 1: Security and Development Mutually Reinforcing Investments

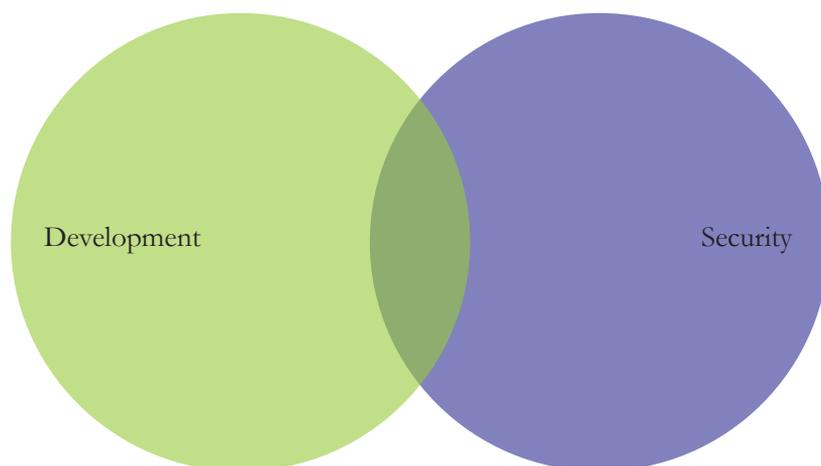
Security	Nexus	Development
Early Warning Systems	Conflict warning, climate prediction	Food security
Regional security cooperation	Movement of goods and services Cross border security	Infrastructure Regional trade and investments
Security Sector Reforms	Rule of Law and Human rights protection	Private sector investments in a corruption free environment
Counter terrorism capacity building	Protection of civilians	Tourism investments
Peace Support Operations	Protection of civilians, IDPs and refugees Pacification of illicit armed groups Rule of law Human rights protection	Access to health and education Private sector investments/job creation Humanitarian relief and development assistance
Protection of the environment	Sustainable development	Economic growth, Renewable energy and technologically efficient and innovative investments

33 Jarat Chopra and Tanja Hohe, Participatory Intervention, *Global Governance*, 10, 2004, pp. 289-305

34 Clarence J. Bouchat, *Security and Development in Africa: A Development Approach*, 2010, p.101

35 Ibid. Beall. P. 19

Figure 1, Security and Development nexus Conceptual Linkages



Measurements of Development

The Human Development Index provides a wider lens beyond economic growth reported in Growth Domestic Product (GDP). HDI is a holistic approach that disaggregates individual position from the mass national data. Focus is on social well being not aggregate national growth that does not indicate inequality or impact on the environment.

Table II: Development and Human Development Index

Development	Human Development Index
GDP/GNP/GNI	Economic – Income equality, External debt, National saving rates
Purchasing Power Parity (PPP)	Social (education, health and empowerment), food security, governance
Per Capita Income	Bearable, equitable, viable, Sustainable
	Environment / ecological (Corporate Social Responsibility)

Measurement of Security

This section demonstrates different measurements of security/insecurity at the macro-level. It is meant to draw attention to linkages between security and development indicators to inform development planning.

The Index of States Weakness in the Developing World is a comparative indicator of performance of states that can be used by policy makers in their planning.³⁶ This tool reviews 141 developing countries ranked on the basis of performance with rating of 0 (lowest)-10 (highest). The tool considers economic (*GNI, GDP, Income inequality, Inflation, Regulatory quality*), political, security and social welfare indicators. The tool demonstrates a very close relationship between low income and conflict. It also indicates that good performance at the political/governance level translate to better security of the citizens and social welfare.³⁷ However this is only one variable in determining onset of conflict, there are societies with low income but there are no violent conflicts, which means there could be other intervening variables that influence the outcome.

Countries that perform well at the economic level also tend to be better providers of social welfare.³⁸ Other measurements of security and development are; *Ibrahim index of African governance*, the *Failed States Index (Fragility States Index)*, *Global Peace Index (GPI)* and *Conflict barometer*.³⁹ According to GPI index of 2014, Kenya is ranked number 132 out of 162 countries with GPI of 2.452 and the cost of violence valued at US\$ 5, 205,000,000, a staggering figure indeed for any developing country.⁴⁰ All these indices have specific additional value in understanding the status of peace and security in a particular country and can be used concurrently. A country can also adapt its own index by selecting relevant indicators from different indices. Given research demonstrated correlation between ranking in such indices and probability of conflict, policy makers in Africa cannot afford to miss such opportunity in their security and development planning.

36 Weakness is defined as countries lacking capacity or willingness to foster an environment conducive to sustainable and equitable growth, to establish and maintain legitimate, transparent and accountable political institutions, to secure their population and territory and to meet basic human needs, see (Susan Rice and Stewart Patrick, *The Index of State Weakness in the Developing World*, Brookings Institution, Washington DC, 2008)

37 Ibid. p.8

38 David, Hastings, *A Human Security Index: An Update and a New Release*, HumanSecurityIndex.org, 2011

39 Susan Rice and Stewart Patrick, *The Index of State Weakness in the Developing World*, Brookings Institution, Washington DC, 2008, pp.5-8

40 *Global Peace Index, Measuring Peace and Countries at Risk*, Institute of Economic Affairs, 2014, p.6

Security and Development Nexus in Eastern Africa

This section attempts to survey application of security and development concepts in Eastern Africa based on the above analysis. There are a number of volatile spots in Eastern Africa such as Somalia, South Sudan, Eritrea and cross border areas.⁴¹ There are challenges of security threats stemming from porous borders, weak governance system including the security sector, high rates of unemployment, non performing economy, inequality and poverty. Internal and external organized armed groups such as Al Shabaab and Al Qaeda are operating primarily in Somalia and the neighbouring states.⁴² The protracted conflict in Somalia continues to impede national stability and the effects continue to spill over to the adjacent countries.

Existing evidence show that development planning in this region does reflect concerns about security and development but not in a coherent design. A number of development partners including the United States, UK and Germany provide assistance in building capacity of the security sector in the region. The US has been assisting Kenya and Ethiopia to build capacity for rapid deployment with remarkable success.⁴³ Overall, development partners focus on their perceived threats of global terrorism and local interests are not the primary interests in their funding priorities. However there are areas of common interests such as the fight against Al Shabaab.

Kenya has been facing significant security challenges due to its proximity to Somalia. The Al Shabaab/ Al Qaeda terrorists groups do not only pose a challenge to the Kenya Defense Forces (KDF) in Somalia but have also imposed significant impact on political, security and economic well being in the country. The long border between Kenya and Somalia cannot be easily monitored.

Kenya formally recognized the security and development nexus as agreed during the 2005 UN World Summit on development, security, human rights and reforms.

41 Eastern Africa in this paper refers to the countries of Great Lakes region and Horn of Africa such as Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Seychelles, Mauritius, Comoros, Djibouti, Somalia

42 Richard Jolly, Deepan Basu Ray , Human Security - National Perspectives and Global Agenda: Insights from National Human Development Reports, 2007

43 Lt. Col Eric Flowers, Leveraging the Security-Development Nexus in East Africa, United States Army War College, MSS Thesis, p.23, 2012

The country has also been one of the members spearheading Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development. A number of strategies and activities have been implemented at the Global, Regional, National and County level.

Security is recognized as the foundation for sustainable development as indicated by Kenya's national development blue print, Vision 2030 and a Special edition for Arid and Semi Arid Lands (ASAL).⁴⁴ One of the key pillars of Vision 2030 is ensuring protection of individuals and property, thereby recognizing that provision of safety and security is a necessary precondition for social and economic development. Widespread insecurity, high levels of crime, inter-communal conflicts and SALW proliferation are recognized as impediments to national peace and development.⁴⁵

However, proper integration of security in development planning is yet to be achieved. Integration of security to national development would increase its political recognition. Development of infrastructure such as roads and railways appear to be supported more by China than Western countries. However there is a European Union (EU) and IGAD project; Horn of Africa Initiative (HOAI), to link the major trading hubs in Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Uganda, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Djibouti.⁴⁶ Development of infrastructure is considered by security experts as an important bulwark against insecurity. More investments in this direction would enhance the security interests of the region and development partners.

As the 2007/8 post election violence demonstrated, there is a need for continuous capacity building in a broad range of security and development sectors such as negotiation and mediation, management of elections, governance, democratic promotion and institution building, support to political parties, parliament and constitution making. There has been a confluence in approach among development partners spearheaded by the UN, AU, EU and World Bank. However this depends on specific states context and there are still discrepancies in specific security and development sectors policy and practice.

44 GoK, Vision 2030 Development Strategy for Northern and other Arid Lands, 2011, 45-49, Vision 2030 is a development and security blue print that aims at producing an economic growth rate of 10%. It also envisages a society 'free from danger and fear'.

45 GoK (KNFP), Kenya's Response to United Nations Secretary General's Request for Views on Interrelation between Armed Violence and Development, 2011

46 Opp.cit, Flowers, p.27

The private sector has not been very prominent in the security and development nexus though this interface has significant bearing on business performance. There is huge and unexploited potential in harnessing global innovative technologies to serve security and development agenda in Eastern Africa.⁴⁷ Just like civil society, the private sector needs to be actively involved in security and development dialogue, planning and implementation both at the national and regional level. The Kenya Public-Private Partnership Act was enacted in 2012, a factor that underscores the country's determination to work with the private sector in order to realize the ambitious goals of Vision 2030, especially funding of major infrastructural projects.⁴⁸

Civil society organizations in Eastern Africa have not taken the leading role in security and development. The East African Civil Society Organizations' Forum (EACSOFF), based in Tanzania, has a mandate to promote human security but its activities have not been widely visible. The Africa Peace Forum (APFO) based in Kenya has been advancing security and development agenda in collaboration with European organizations such as Swedish Institute of International Affairs.⁴⁹ However APFO has not been conspicuously vocal on national or regional security and development policy advocacy.

Security Sector Reforms

The concept of Security Sector Reforms (SSR) came about due to recognition that states lacked democratic and professional security forces especially during post conflict situations. A number of strategies and measures were put in place to create accountable defence ministries, professional armed forces and police, correctional services, judiciary, intelligence forces, parliamentary oversight committees, national human rights commissions and other independent oversight commissions.⁵⁰ Security sector reforms are geared to protection of civilians, peace support operations, conflict prevention, governance, accountability and public safety. SSR has been

47 Johan, Bergenas, *Combating the Undercurrents of Globalization in the Developing World: The Next Frontier for the High Technology Industry*, Occasional Paper, No.16, 2013, Swedish Institute of International Affairs, www.ui.se

48 Ibid, Bergenas, p.1-24

49 Johan, Bergenas (2013) *Combating the Undercurrents of Globalization in the Developing World: The Next Frontier for the High Technology Industry*, Occasional Paper, No.16, Swedish Institute of International Affairs

50 Ann M. Fitz-Gerald, *Addressing the Security-Development Nexus: Implications for Joint-up Government*, Policy Matters Vol. 5, No. 5, 2004

interpreted and implemented with modifications by different actors such as international development community, governments, civil society and academia. This has had an effect also on the methods and results of its evaluation.⁵¹ It is well acknowledged among the international community that development cannot take place in post conflict transitions without comprehensive security sector reforms. It has also been realized in previous experiences such as Haiti and Dominican Republic, that investments in particular areas of SSR such as police may not work if commensurate changes in other sectors such as the Judiciary are absent.⁵² SSR works best if all the sectors are transformed concurrently.

Kenya

The government of Kenya in collaboration with development partners and civil society has been implementing security sector reform programs involving governance, justice, law and order sectors. A number of reforms have been made in the police service where the Constitution of Kenya (2010) reorganized the police service and established independence oversight mechanism for the police. The necessary acts of parliament have been enacted and institutions established to guide the operations.

Some of the institutions established to foster peace and security are: National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict Management (NSC), Kenya National Focal Point on SALW (KNFP), District Peace Committees, Community Policing Committees and County Peace Forums (CPF). The NSC is also the focal point for coordination of IGAD-CEWARN framework for early warning and response.⁵³ There are a number of challenges against effective security and development nexus projects in the country. The country does not have a comprehensive guiding policy and strategy on security and development that cuts across all the ministerial sectors. Engagement with development partners is also ad hoc and projects based rather than predicated on a broad and long term programmatic strategy.

The success of the Sierra Leone SSR program was associated with comprehensive approach and long term development partners' commitment.

51 Ibid,p.9

52 Ibid. p.10

53 GoK (KNFP), Kenya's Response to United Nations Secretary General's Request for Views on Interrelation between Armed Violence and Development, 2011

Therefore it is important for developing countries and development partners to collaborate and ensure that donor interests and core values do not override development of accountable and transparent security sector in the host country.

Somalia

Somalia has been in open and widespread conflict since 1991 and it is regarded as one of the classical cases of failed states.⁵⁴ The country faces significant challenges, not least in the development of the security sector. State institutions, social services and basic infrastructure were destroyed and are being slowly rebuilt with the assistance of the international community. There remains much work to be done before the Government can exercise greater control in order to fulfill its constitutional mandate in service of the Somali people. The human cost has been devastating: hundreds of thousands of people have been internally displaced and killed, or forced to flee their homeland. Without effective central authority, the provision of even basic services has proved very difficult to achieve.

Somalia is developing an affordable, sustainable and integrated National Security Plan (NSP). It is informed by a variety of sources and existing programmes including: a Somali-owned security sector assessment prepared by former senior Somali military officers; the National Security and Stabilization Plan 2011-14 (NSSP); an action plan for security force development; a plan for the future Somali Armed Forces; and development plans for the Police and Justice sectors. The NSP is not designed to replace these documents, but rather it aims to harmonize and build on work that has already been completed in order to support the prioritized implementation and delivery of security sector development.⁵⁵

The NSP will also further define and outline policies for a number of essential issues, including the development of a national security architecture that assures civilian leadership and democratic oversight; the promotion of and adherence to human rights and international humanitarian law; the rebuilding and development of the Armed Forces, the Police and the Judiciary; militia integration; and the creation of a maritime security strategy.

54 Ahmad, Rashid Jamal, *Identifying Causes of State Failure: The Case of Somalia, Failed States in Sub Saharan Africa*, Universitat Konstanz, Politik – Und Verwaltungswissenschaften, 2011, p.2

55 A Framework for a National Security Plan, Federal Government of Somalia, 2013

The Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) created a harmonization group to bring coherence to the development of the security sector.⁵⁶

Peace Support Operations

Peace Support Operations (PSO) is a process whereby diplomatic, police, civil and military activities are employed to re-establish peace in conflict-affected environments.⁵⁷ This process is usually initiated by the UN, AU or Regional Economic Communities or Mechanisms.

PSO have an important role of creating conditions for security stabilization and development in crisis torn or post conflict countries. Evolution of peacekeeping practices has produced multi-dimensional transitional mechanisms that involve the military, police and civilians. Peace Support Operations are a crucial sector of advancing security and development nexus. PSOs are part and parcel of the security-development spectrum and are essential in creating suitable conditions for democratic and stable governance.

For PSOs to be successful in their broad missions, they must adapt to the local context by understanding and working together with local government structures, civil society and other actors in the security and development sectors. This is often done through social programmes such as education and training of the military, police and civilians on their vital roles in security stabilization. African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM) have been building capacity of Somalia National Police (SNP) and the Somalia National Army (SNA) through training and equipment provision.⁵⁸

The direct role of PSO in development is still a grey area but their action on security creates conditions for the private sector to thrive, civil society and humanitarian organizations to perform their services in conflict areas. Some PSO have delivered health services, water, education, environmental conservation and supported food security programs in collaboration with other development partners.

56 Ibid.p.1

57 For more information on meaning of PSO see, Alex Bellamy, Paul Williams and Stuart Griffins, *Understanding Peacekeeping*, Polity, 2004, Cambridge

58 Federal Government of Somalia (FGS), *A Framework for a National Security Plan*, 2013

PSO missions in Liberia United Nations Assistance Mission in Liberia (UNAMIL) and Sierra Leone United Nations Assistance Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) performed not only security role but also engaged in peace building activities.

The UN established the Peace building Commission and adapted the integration principles to help missions integrate the security and development paradigms.⁵⁹ There is often a time lag between stabilization and reconstruction. Development projects cannot be initiated before there is security in the operation areas. It has been difficult for AMISOM and United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) to support long term development due to security challenges.

PSO are commendable efforts to stabilize communities and set them back on the path of development. They provide a relatively new arena where civilians and the security agents work in tandem to restore law and order and create favourable conditions for development.

59 Chiyuki, Ayo, Peace Support Operations: Contemporary Challenges and the Role of Japan, RISPS Policy Perspectives, No.3, 2007, P.5

Institutional Application of Security-Development Nexus

United Nations

Three fundamental documents aligning peace-making, peace keeping and post conflict peace building of the UN demonstrate the changing perceptions about the relationship between security and development: (*An Agenda for Peace*, 1992; *An Agenda for Development 1994*; and *Brahimi Report* 2000). Further acknowledgment of the nexus between security and development in the UN is marked by the Report of the High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, '*A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*', (2004), the report of the Millennium Project; '*Investing in Development: A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals* and the UN Secretary General Report; '*In Larger Freedoms: Towards development, security and Human Rights for all*' (2005).⁶⁰

The UN initiative to eradicate poverty under the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), initiated the new way of defining security among practitioners. The new perspective looked more broadly into a state's or individual's protection from violence originating from state, non state actors or weaknesses in the structural socio-economic structures. There is still no clarity on specific linkages at the geographic point of focus: national, regional or global level and causal relationships. A number of questions can be raised: does human security bring about development or security or is the reverse also true? Or does the nexus between security and development operate the same in different levels of conflict management such as conflict prevention and peace building?⁶¹ The nexus is also applied to humanitarian action and terrorism without conceptual clarity.

UNSCR 1373 (2001) on Counter-terrorism and SCR 1540 (2004) on non proliferation also informs UN's engagement in security and development in Eastern Africa. Assistance provided to countries in the region (counter terrorism, health and non proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) helps to meet both global and national security concerns.⁶²

60 Necla, Tschirgi, Peace building as the Link between Security and Development: Is the Window of Opportunity Closing?, 2003, International Peace Academy, NY

61 Ibid. Necla Tschirgi, 2003, p.4

62 Brian Finlay, et.al, Beyond Boundaries in Eastern Africa: Bridging the Security Development Divide with International Security Assistance, The Stanley Foundation and The Stimson Center, 2012, p.11

The UN conducted strategic reviews of the UN mission in Somalia and for AMISOM that resulted in UNSCR 2093 that established a new integrated UN mission in Somalia, with a strong focus on strengthening Somalia's key security sector and rule of law institutions. The United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM) opened on the 3rd of June 2013. A framework for cooperation with the FGS was subsequently established to support the Somali security sector.⁶³

The FGS articulated its priorities in its key documents such as the Provisional Constitution (2012), the President's Six Pillars Policy and the Government Political Programme which demonstrates that security is the number one priority. The priorities for security have also been captured in, the '*New Deal Compact's Peace building and State building Goals*', (PSG).⁶⁴ Despite these grand initiatives, security and development still remain elusive in Somalia. However there is an elected government in place that is operating under severe threats from Al Shabaab militia.

The World Bank

The World Bank has also been concerned about the global debate on aid effectiveness with respect to security and development governance, policies and institutions. The Bank has its own measurement for security and development indicators. The Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA), rates countries based on a number of performance indicators: economic management, structural policies, policies for social inclusion and equity, public sector management and institutions. The Low Income Countries under Stress (LICUS) of the World Bank defines fragile states as characterized by very weak policies, institutions and governance.⁶⁵ The bank maintains that provision of development assistance to these countries does not work well due to structural limitations. LICUS ranking is based on CPIA assessment. Countries that perform better in this rating have a higher likelihood of using development assistance to boost security and development for the population.

The Bank has been using LICUS since 2001 to guide its development assistance to poor countries.⁶⁶

63 Defence Working Group (DWG) Work Plan for 2013-14, UNSOM, Mogadishu, 2013

64 Ibid, DWG, p.2

65 [www://ieg.worldbankgroup.org/data/reports/licus_approach/paper_pdf](http://ieg.worldbankgroup.org/data/reports/licus_approach/paper_pdf), accessed June, 24, 2013

66 Ibid. World Bank, LICUS

Taking into account the earlier criticism of the Bank, it is important for the Bank's projects to be informed by local socio-economic and political context.

African Union

The African Union Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) is the structure that manages issues of peace and security in the continent. APSA establishes diplomatic, military, information and economic ways to address peace and security challenges. The structure has several organs as defined in the Common African Defense and Security Policy (CADSP); the Peace and Security Council (PSC), Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), the African Standby Force (ASF), Military Staff Committee (MSC), the Panel of the Wise (POW) and the African Peace Fund (APF).

CEWS objective is to anticipate and prevent conflict. The department compiles reports about factors influencing peace and security in the continent. A special fund for supporting the peace and security activities was established by the AU and also receives contributions from member states. Since inception the fund has raised about US\$ 96 million, a quarter of which came from member countries and three quarter from outside donors.⁶⁷

The Common African Position (CAP) on the UN Post 2015 Development Agenda signed in June, 2014 is the most current document that establishes a firm position of the AU on integrated security and development agenda. The overall goal of CAP is to eradicate poverty and ensure human development as captured in the following pillars: structural, economic transformation and inclusive growth, science, technology and innovation, people centred development, environmental sustainability, natural resources management and disaster management, peace and security, finance and partnerships.⁶⁸ This is however an ongoing project which does not offer opportunity for evaluation.

67 Ulrich, G. (2004) *Africa's Evolving Security Architecture*, Maputo, Fredriech Ebert Foundation (FES), p.8

68 The Post 2015 Development Agenda is a UN initiative to re-affirm commitment to global integrated peace and security agenda as the MDG's time frame comes to an end. The AU has domesticated this agenda within its framework and it is providing good guidance for integrated security and development agenda, AU, Common African Position (CAP) on the Post 2015, Development Agenda Launched, June, 2014, ea.au/int/content/common-African-position/cap-post-2015-development-agenda-launched

It is important to note that proper integration of security and development in the African Union though well expressed in many agreements and treaties among members states, is a nascent and ongoing project.

Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)

IGAD is one of the institutions that were primarily established to manage cross border security and development issues in Eastern Africa. IGAD was instrumental in developing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) for Sudan and initiated the peace process that culminated in the current Federal Government of Somalia. IGAD implements a number of security initiatives such as Conflict Early Warning Network (CEWARN). It also has a capacity building program against terrorism aimed at building capacity of the region to fight terrorism and enhance regional security cooperation.⁶⁹

IGAD has been boosting integration in the region through development of a common investment code in order to promote investments. A regional infrastructure (roads and information communication technologies) development project to link the major trading hubs among member countries has been developed. The proposed LAPPSET project will join Lamu port in Kenya, Nairobi, with Isiolo, Moyale and Addis Ababa through roads and railway. IGAD Climate and Prediction and Applications Centre (ICPAC) provide early warning information for disaster relief and risks reduction on climate hazards.

Eastern Africa has also a Regional Center for Control of Small Arms (RECSA) that collaborates with IGAD. This organization builds capacity for prevention, management and control of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. These activities are meant to improve security of the people and create suitable conditions for development to take place.⁷⁰

The Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) was started by riparian countries of the River Nile to manage the Nile waters to the benefit of all. This is an important indicator of how development needs (food security) in Eastern Africa can be met without generating conflict with downstream countries that are highly dependent on the Nile waters.

⁶⁹ Stimson, P.5

⁷⁰ www.recsa.int/index.php/en/

European Union

The European Union's security and development plan appears to be well informed by a human security approach. The partnership focuses on peace, security, human rights, gender equality and environment. Just like the United Nations views, security, development and human rights are seen as three inseparable elements. The EU's priorities focuses on strengthening stability and democratic governance, conflict prevention and management including post conflict recovery and support for defence and measures against organized crime.⁷¹ The EU *African Peace Facility* had provided about 500 million Euros by 2012 in support of AU's agenda. The EU has provided capacity building to Somalia security services since 2009 where more than 3000 troops have been trained so far.⁷² Eastern Africa can also learn from EU in terms of organizational structure of managing peace and security at a continental and national level. The subsidiarity principle applied in Europe, defines appropriate levels of managing affairs and subsequent relationships and synergy between the stages.⁷³

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development Assistance Committee (OECD – DAC) adopted *Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations* in 2007. These principles are meant to act as guidelines for engagement with weak or failed states. The principles recognize the interdependence of security, development, politics and focuses on state building as a strategy of meeting both domestic and international community's security interests.⁷⁴

As stated above, the EU has an ongoing collaborative mechanism with the African Union on a number of security and development fronts. The EU has been a leading partner in the implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture. Establishing mutually beneficial and effective partnership and cooperation model for security and development however is still an ongoing process. Lessons have been learned from previous projects implementation and improvements made in project design and planning.

71 Spanish Institute for Strategic Studies, European and African Response to Security Problems in Africa, CASA AFRICA, 2010, p.37

72 Patrick Ferras, Security Stakes and Challenges in the Horn of Africa, 2013, p.52

73 Opp.cit, CASA AFRICA

74 OECD, Whole of Government's Approaches, www.oecd.org, accessed June 23, 2014

Challenges for Linking Policy and Practice

The pre-eminence of security in development planning has been referred to as ‘securitization of development’. There are risks that when many organizations are expected to implement security and development policies, there may be loss of strategic responsibility. The responsibility and accountability for policy formulation and implementation has been ‘democratized’, to many actors, thereby reducing the responsibility of the state.⁷⁵

There are questions of what is to be integrated to what, at what level and for what purpose. It is difficult to use the nexus to draft policies on specific sectors such as energy, health, homeland security.⁷⁶ There are also political questions on whose security is at stake? Whose development is affected and whose agenda takes precedence? The security/development nexus approach is interpreted differently by the donor communities depending on perceived effects of their interests. Therefore interpretation of its meaning in the Palestine/Israel, North Korea, DRC and International terrorism conflicts is varied.⁷⁷

Security-Development nexus takes specific interpretation with respect to policy levels (International, National, local) and also according to the conflict management spectrum (conflict prevention, state-building, peace building).⁷⁸ In Somalia, the lack of economic recovery and employment opportunities, impedes disarmament, demobilization and reinforces armed conflict. States failure and attendant lawlessness breeds poverty and poverty breeds lawlessness producing a vicious circle that is often difficult to break.⁷⁹

When development and security are intertwined, reform of the security sector and governance becomes high priorities for development partners in Somalia. They assume a herculean task of addressing the political and economic roots of conflict. Given project based and short term funding, this re-orientation of development assistance becomes a very challenging venture. However currently there is no

75 Ibid, Chandler, p.3

76 Tschirgi, Necla, Peace building as the Link between Security and Development: Is the Window of Opportunity Closing?, International Peace Academy, 2003, NY, p.4)

77 Ibid. Tschirgi, p.5

78 IPA, 2006, p.2

79 Ken Menkhaus, Vicious Circles and the Security Development nexus in Somalia, *Conflict, Security and Development*, 4-2, Carfax Publishing, 2004, p.2

alternative to this vicious circle. For the case of World Bank, it prioritizes incremental project based assistance that hopefully would make a difference in the long run.⁸⁰

In a research carried out by Jolly and Basu (2007) through analysis of the Human Development Report (HDR) of 13 countries, it was found that human security influences both analysis and policy making. National development planning is geared towards people centered needs. This approach creates sub-sets of interpretation of human security within national borders.⁸¹

The security and development paradigm requires domestic interpretation in Eastern Africa founded on positive global parameters. The interpretation of these concepts that tend to favour Western interests such as counter terrorism and non proliferation should be accommodated within the local national interests and needs. In previous research carried out in Burundi, there was a feeling that the development partners were still focusing more on security issues while the most pressing needs for the population were economic such as jobs creation.⁸²

There is a case for development planning in Eastern Africa both long term and short term, to take cognizance of the security and development dynamics in the region so as to support systemic conflict prevention mechanisms as opposed to the use of re-active approaches that are more common in the region. Given the well established contribution of resources to conflicts in the region, pro-active security and development planning will turn resources from being perceived as curses to blessing. The current conflict in South Sudan, Somalia, Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, insecurity in Kenya, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda, do not portend well for effective fusion of security and development planning and implementation. However given the ongoing bilateral, multi-lateral, regional and continental peace and security initiatives, the countries can get back on track to implement a long term security and development agenda.

80 Ibid. Menkhaus, p.4

81 Richard, Jolly and Deepan Basu Ray, Human Security - National Perspectives and Global Agenda: Insights from National Human Development Reports, 2007

82 Joseph, Mbugua, Cross border Insecurity in Eastern Africa: Case of the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, Occasional Paper, Series. 4, No.1, 2013, IPSTC

Towards Effective Security-Development Alignment

There are a number of salient findings in this study that reveal suitable conditions for development projects to succeed:

- Responsibility and accountability for policy formulation must be well defined
- The inter-linkages between security and development must be clear
- Beneficiaries of security and development must be clear
- There should be clarity on national and regional interests and needs
- Clear geographic and thematic delineation
- Short and long term planning
- Pro-active rather than reactive planning and response

Integrative security and development paradigm for accelerated global and regional sustainable development is an evolving undertaking. Africa is poised to take advantage of this conceptual framework that serves its cardinal goal of alleviating poverty and building capacity for protection of human rights and vulnerable populations.

The foregoing analysis has shown that national and regional Development Plans should be more security-sensitive. From the design phase, special attention ought to be given to overt contribution of projects to security. Evaluation must consider how projects augment security or how security projects boost development through monitoring and assessment of impact.

The security and development interface identified in this study point to the need for security and development analysis framework that enables countries and key stakeholders to gauge mutual reinforcement. Projects must contribute to enhancing mutual trust among governments, societies as well as catalyze sustainable cooperation through regional integration. Communities must be involved in public security and development projects including civil society to boost participation and local ownership.

Projects should be inclusive at the national or regional level and more so strategies should be put in place to ensure compliance of parties who may undermine projects implementation. Government development projects should consider equality among regions to forestall economic inequality based grievances.

Regional integration framework should have a comprehensive security and development design that incorporates the findings of this study. Mutual regional security, peace and defence pacts must have a development component. Regional economic cooperation through sharing resources such as electricity generation, infrastructure development and trade are linked to security cooperation. There are still many grey areas in research and practice on how security and development nexus relate with state building, nation building and peace building in Eastern Africa. The indicators of peace, security and development in Africa presented in this study neither appeal to emerging security challenges nor provide hope for resolutions of problems enunciated in this study.

Conclusion

This study reveals that conceptualization and application of security and development nexus in Eastern Africa is not yet fully appreciated. Though there is recognition of the paradigm among development planners in Somalia and Kenya, there are no multi-sectoral policies and strategies to inform national security and development planning.

The study has also shown the significance of the security/development and human security paradigms given the impact of insecurity and violent conflicts in Africa. The contribution of the UN, AU, IGAD, EU, World Bank and national governments indicates the need for more collaboration of these institutions in refining conceptual understanding and application of the security and development nexus.

There are still no scientifically proven universal frameworks for effective security and development trajectory though there are areas where strong correlation has been found as demonstrated in this research. At the moment each country requires to have tailor made governance, security and development plans for effective human security regime. It is noted that efforts to mount effective and expeditious prevention of violent conflicts through integration of security and development in Eastern Africa is replete with unprecedented challenges. In view of the dangers posed by violence in the region, more efforts can be invested in this kind of analysis in order to create a clear and coherent framework for conflict prevention and management.

Recommendations

- Innovative and transformative policies to guide integrative security and development planning in Eastern Africa are required.
- Forward planning is necessary to address structural causes of conflict through security and development projects.
- Development of appropriate security/development/human security, policies, strategies and implementation plans is recommended.
- At the regional and national level, there should be a coherent theoretical interpretation of security and development nexus, followed by policy formulation, action plans, budgeting, implementation, monitoring and evaluation as well as wider information dissemination of emerging key lessons.
- Measurement of states weakness must be accompanied by research based evidence to enable design of appropriate strategies for sustainable security and development.
- Continuous research in security and development nexus is highly required in Eastern Africa in order to inform sustainable development planning as well as pre-empt sources of under development.

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Theory and Practice of Human Security

Dr. Eunice Njambi

Introduction

According to UN definition, Human Security covers efforts geared towards creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity (UN, 1994). Studies have illustrated that there is usually a relationship between high human security index, lifestyle and other sectors related to the lives of citizens of a country (i.e. countries ranked higher on the index tend to be secure). By contrast, countries that rank lower on the security index also tend to perform poorly in other sectors such as health and the economic sectors (UNDP, 2013).

Over the years, countries have initiated interventions aimed at promoting and stabilizing the human security sector. More importantly, there has been funding that is directed to United Nations and its allied partners that work on humanitarian programmes such as the International Red Cross Committee (IRC). The two organizations coordinate and provide oversight of humanitarian support targeting affected individuals of a given country.

African countries have been experiencing protracted political upheavals in recent decades including violent conflict within their borders; revolutions as in the case of North Africa; the overthrowing of governments like in the case of Central Africa Republic; fighting between the government and rebels like the case of Angola. All these unfolding events have left the region in a fragile state with attendant humanitarian crises in countries such Rwanda, The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and South Sudan. These situations underline the importance of understanding the interconnectedness between security and holistic development.

The state of Human Security in Africa has been poor. According to United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2005), several factors account for the conflicts

that are experienced in Africa. Factors such as scarce resources and remote sources are some of the immediate causes of conflict in Africa. The remote sources include the colonial heritage of authoritarian governance and artificial boundaries; conditions of widespread extreme poverty, and scarcity of basic necessities of life. The inter-mediate causes include competition for land, oil or other natural resources; support for internal conflicts by outside actors, government policy and poor resource allocation.

The health security trend shows that the quality of life in East African Community (EAC) has been deteriorating over the focus period, though positive indications are beginning to appear starting 2009. The EAC average Human Development Index (HDI) also shows the deterioration of the quality of life among the people. In this region life expectancy is at 52.5 years as compared to global averages of 63 years and over 75 years for the developed world.

Background of East Africa

East Africa (EA) can be divided geographically into three regions: The Great Lakes Region that includes Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi. The second is the Horn of Africa which comprises of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, Djibouti, and Somalia. The last region is the Indian Ocean islands of Comoros, Mauritius and Seychelles. The differences of the regions are created based on the nature of vegetation, availability of water and topography of the region.

Demographic Profile

According to United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2012), East African population is growing and urbanizing at a rapid pace. The region's population has grown by 24 million since 2005 and was estimated to be 139 million in 2010. It is projected that by 2030, the region will have a population of 237 million people of which 178 million (80%) will be children and youth. A total of 31% people will be living in the urban areas, and this will have a strain on the scarce resources in the region. This accounts for a large population of the table in the society and can spark a development in the economic front of the region. (UNDP, 2012). The population density in the region is recorded highest in Rwanda and lowest in Tanzania. This can be attributed to factors such as the population or the geography of a region

whether it is favourable for human settlement. In 2010 fertility rates in East Africa were highest in Uganda at 5.9% children per woman, down from 7.1 in 2005, and lowest in Burundi with 4.1% children. Tanzania's fertility rate increased slightly from 5.1 in 2005 to 5.4% in 2010, as did Kenya's from 4 to 4.6%. Fertility rates in Rwanda and Burundi fell during this period to 4.6 and 4.1% respectively. By comparison, the average fertility rate in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) was 4.8, demonstrating that East Africa's fertility rates are on average slightly higher at 5 % (SID, 2012).

Economic activities

The region's economy is one of the most diversified in Africa. Kenya leads the region in economic growth with an average of 4.78% from the year 2004 to 2014. The main economic activity in the region is mostly agriculture which also earns the region its top foreign exchange income. Kenya known for its huge and high quality tea presents the highest income earner while Tanzania accounts for a large amount of irrigated land in the region. The region, however, lags behind in industrialization owing to poor policies (IMF, 2010).

In 2009, the presidents of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda signed a common market protocol in Arusha. The EA economy is now on the brink of a new era of opportunities, growth and development. Reports have highlighted the fact that businesses, entrepreneurs and its leaders will play a crucial role in ensuring that the region takes up this challenge. Some of the fastest growing countries in Africa are in the region, and have implemented regulatory reforms to promote growth and increase the ease of doing business thereby attracting overwhelming Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs) and diaspora remittances in the last decade (World Bank, 2012).

EA is forecast to be the fastest-growing region in the continent. The Economist Intelligence Unit predicts that in addition to the newly discovered resources, countries such as Kenya are predicted to become the key financial and business hubs. Similarly, the Kenyan economy is expected to grow by 5-7% from ongoing structural development and reforms. It is argued that the discoveries of oil and gas will boost development and growth in the region. Furthermore, key mineral producers such as Tanzania, will also perform well, as will strong agricultural economies like Ethiopia, (Aragie and Abdi, 2011).

Increasing evidence shows that the Eastern Africa will become an important food supplier to global markets. Countries without major resources but with a strong reform record, such as Rwanda, have also joined the ranks of high growth achievers based on the World Bank ease of doing business. But much more needs to be done to consolidate the gains. Most countries face structural, economic, security, social, unemployment and endemic problems. Courage and vision are required from the current leaders to transform and drive economies to enable them to play a more prominent role in today's changing global economic order. Rwanda has gone through an effective structural changes and sustainable economic growth after the 1994 civil war.

With the large population being the youth in the region, it is suffice to say they can be used to catalyze development in the region. But if left to linger in squalor and poverty they can also bring harm to the region by being lured with tokens/gifts/financial rewards to advance the interest of criminal groups. The overarching question is, however, can regional countries overcome current economic and social development barriers to realize growth potential?.

Socio-Cultural Characteristics

East Africa has a large population of ethnic groups that can be grouped largely into three main groups. These are the Bantu, Cushites and the Nilotes. The groups traverse the international boundaries though they speak the same language. For instance, the Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania, The Luo of the Lake basin region of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda speak the same language.

Most of the communities are deeply religious though they follow different practices in the methods of worship. Traditionally, the use of shrines and burning of offerings was one of the main religious practices that were generally used in the region. Conflicts were resolved through existing traditional mechanisms and structures. Resolution to conflicts was the preserve of the council of elders who would meet to mitigate in matters and chart the way forward.

Over the years, the EA region has experienced both prolonged and intermittent conflict, turmoil and mayhem. For instance, during the last two decades of the 20th century, 28 sub-Saharan African countries engaged in violent conflict.

These events have exposed weaknesses in the state-centric concept of security. More importantly, it highlights the interface of development, security and human rights. In addition, it underscores the need to understand and deal more fully with the root causes of conflict, conflict prevention and peace building.

Problem Statement

The human security development in Eastern Africa (EA) has been slowed down by civil wars characterized by violence against citizens, unspeakable acts of gender based violence, the emergence of child soldiers, large scale displacement of people with a severe impact on the structural, social and psychological fabric of the societies. The commission on Human Security reports that there has been signing of many peace agreements over the past two decades and this has seen a reduction in violent conflicts but still the human security indicators are low. The complexity and the interrelatedness of both old and new security threats in East Africa from chronic and persistent poverty to ethnic violence, human trafficking, climate change, health pandemics, international terrorism, and sudden economic and financial downturns.

The Commission on Human Security (CHS) argues for the need of Eastern African nations to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment. This is consistent with Human Security definition, the protection of fundamental freedoms that are the essence of life. In essence, HS requires a comprehensive approach that utilizes the wide range of new opportunities to tackle such threats in an integrated manner as this cannot be tackled through conventional mechanisms alone. Based on the above background this paper describes the theory and practice of human security in EA.

Research Questions

This exploratory study is guided by the following questions:

- What is the current state of the human security practice in Eastern Africa?
- What determines Human Security in Eastern Africa?
- What are the current regional human security policies in Eastern Africa?

Objectives

Broad Objective

Describe the theory and practice of human security in Eastern Africa.

Specific Objectives

The specific objectives are to:

- To assess the regional state of human security in the region.
- To describe the human security practices and threats in Eastern Africa.
- To assess regional human security policies in Eastern Africa.

Justification of the Study

Evaluating the HS in Eastern Africa is currently on the Peace Building Commission (PBC's) agenda for its human security dimensions. A review of the theory and practice of HS will shed light on the missing link between human security and development in Eastern Africa.

Literature Review

Human Security Theories

Theories of International Relations

Various attempts have been made to provide an adequate conceptualization of HS. There are two main contemporary theories of international relations. On one end of the continuum is an approach based on a neo-realist theoretical framework, which maintains a continued emphasis on the primacy of the state within a broadened conceptualization of HS. Some call this approach the new security thinking. Postmodernist or critical HS approach that is rooted within the pluralist theory of international politics represents the other end in this security discourse. This approach is based on a set of assumptions that essentially attempt to dislodge the state as the primary referent of security, while placing greater emphasis on the interdependency and internationalization of non-state actors. The neo-realist approach to HS has been advocated by ‘structural’ or neo-realists. Barry Buzan examines security from the three perspectives of the international system, state, and individual, and concludes that the most important and effective provider of security should remain the sovereign state (Agaren and Naidoo, 2009).

Constructivism Theory

The main constructive theorists are Alexander Wendt, Martha Finnemore, Nicholas Onuf and Peter Katzenstein. Their views are based on collective identity, national preference, language, norms and cultural identity. They assume that interdependence shapes collective identity and promotes cooperation; rules, institutions, and values alter a country’s preferences, the power of knowledge shapes norms through the process of interaction; and national identity alters a country’s interests and actions. They view human security as being derived from the values of collective identity. That the practice of human security results from alterations of a country’s preferences, knowledge-building transformed from language and the shaping of culture and identity (Yu-tai Tsai, 2009).

Theory of the Politics of Scarcity: Environmental Theories

According to the theory of the politics of scarcity, scarcity may develop into international conflict when there is restricted access to vital non-renewable and renewable natural resources such as oil, coal, water as well as food. Thomas Homer-Dixon is one of the key proponents of this school of thought (Homer-Dixon 1991, 1994). Other prominent environmentally concerned theorists and policy advocates include Lester Brown and Jessica Mathews (Brown 1986; Mathews 1989). The thrust of their argument is that global environmental threats or social and/or political disorder can be caused by “environmental refugees” moving across national borders. Richard Ulluman in 1983 broadened the concept of security to include natural disasters such as earthquakes, (Hiroshi Ohta, 2009).

Social Determinates of Health Theories

The social determinants of theorists argue that individual, communal conditions under which people live, including the availability of resources to access the amenities of life, working conditions, and quality of available food and housing among others determine their health outcome. Three frameworks have been developed to explain how social determinants influence health (Watt, 2002).

The materialist explanation is about how living conditions and the social determinants of health that constitute these living conditions shape health. The neo-materialist explanation extends the materialist analysis to the psychosocial, economic, quality of individual development, family life and interaction, and community environments conditions that affect health and well-being. The wealth of nations and the material conditions of life lead to differing likelihood of physical (infections, malnutrition, chronic disease, and injuries), developmental (delayed or impaired cognitive, personality, and social development), educational (learning disabilities, poor learning, early school leaving), and social (socialization, preparation for work, and family life) problems. Overall wealth of nations is a strong indicator of population health. For instance, the fight or flight reaction chronically elicited in response to threats such as income, housing, and food insecurity, among others lead to poor health outcomes.

Measuring Human Security

Human security brings together the human elements of security, rights and development. As a people-centered concept, HS places the individual at the centre of analysis. HS is also based on a multi-sectoral comprehensive, context-specific, prevention-oriented of insecurities. Therefore, HS entails a broadened understanding of threats and includes causes of insecurity relating to economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security. Each of these dimension can be measured separately. The economic security measures the levels of persistent poverty, unemployment for individuals in the society and in turn measures the personal security or the communal security (Kaldor, 2007).

Food security focuses on the availability of food and diseases that hamper development and the growth of individuals. It measures the food insecurity as a consequence of soaring food prices and also sheds light on the critical interlinkages between food security and overall Utilization of food through adequate diet, clean water, sanitation and health care to reach a state of nutritional well-being where all physiological needs are met (FAO, 2006).

Health security measures the need for humans to always stay healthy and be able to carry out their duties. The World Health Organization defines health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. This includes access to basic health services, essential medicines and basic health education for individuals and the community (WHO, 1948).

UNEP defines environmental security as the protection and prevention of environmental degradation. The environment should be protected so as to prevent global warming, environmental pollution and also the occurrence of natural calamities. This is because the environment is closely related to humans. A case in point is the human wildlife conflict ecosystem.

Personal security is one of the most violated aspects of the sector in the region. This is attributed to lack of peace and the overall security of people. To achieve personal security, the state invests in security personnel and relevant equipment. Linked to personal is community and political security. According to (Kaldor, 2007), community security assesses the threat from another community or persons,

social harmony through having regional and practicing equality in all aspects of government appointments or in job appointments. While political security ensures freedom from political repression and human rights abuses as they can be exploited to harm individuals in a given society.

The HS approach not only requires a thorough assessment of the vulnerabilities and the capacities of the affected countries/community(ies), it also demands an assessment of the strategies needed to help prevent and mitigate the recurrence of insecurities. It is through this dual assessment that the interconnectedness between threats, vulnerabilities, capacities and strategies can be most effectively analysed.

The practice of HS is based on perspectives that aim to address complex situations of insecurity through collaborative, responsive and sustainable measures that are:

- (i) people-centered,
- (ii) multispectral,
- (iii) comprehensive,
- (iv) context-specific, and
- (v) prevention-oriented.

In addition HS employs a hybrid approach that brings together these elements through a protection empowerment framework as indicated in table 1 below

Table 1: Strategies and Capacities Needed for Addressing Human Insecurity

Human Security Components	Strategies to enhance protection and empowerment	Capacities needed
Economic security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assured access to basic income • Public and private sector employment, wage employment, self employment • When necessary, government financed social safety nets • Diversify agriculture and economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic capital • Public finance • Financial reserves • Diversified agriculture and economy
Food security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entitlement to food, by growing it themselves, having the ability to purchase it or through a public food distribution system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversified agriculture and economy • Local and national distribution systems

Health security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to basic health care and health services • Risk-sharing arrangements that pool membership funds and promote community-based insurance schemes • Interconnected surveillance systems to identify disease outbreaks at all levels 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Universal basic education and knowledge on health related matters • Indigenous/traditional health practices • Access to information and community-based knowledge creation
Environmental security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable practices that take into account natural resources and environmental degradation (deforestation, desertification) • Early warning and response mechanisms for natural hazards and/or man-made disasters at all levels 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural resource capital • Natural environment recovery processes (e.g. forests recovering from fires, natural barriers to storm action) • Biodiversity • Indigenous/traditional practices that respect the environment
Personal security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rule of law • Explicit and enforced protection of human rights and civil liberties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coping mechanisms • Adaptive strategies • Memory of past disasters
Community security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explicit and enforced protection of ethnic groups and community identity • Protection from oppressive traditional practices, harsh treatment towards women, or discrimination against ethnic/indigenous/refugee groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social capital • Coping mechanisms • Adaptive strategies • Memory of past disasters • Local non-governmental organizations or traditional organisms
Political security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protection of human rights • Protection from military dictatorships and abuse • Protection from political or state repression, torture, ill treatment, unlawful detention and imprisonment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good governance • Ethical standards • Local leadership • Accountability mechanisms

**Adopted from the UNDP Human Development 1994*

Methodology

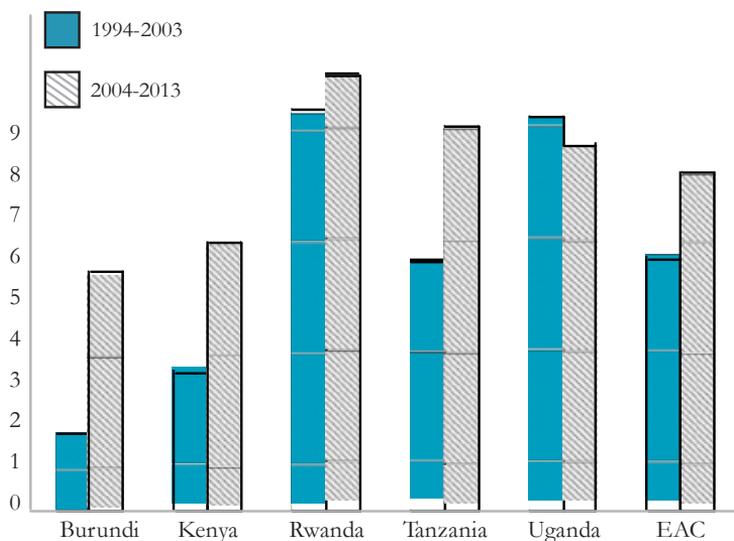
This is a qualitative survey of randomly sampled both international and regional publications infused with local experiences. The analysis is built on the strength on critical content analysis.

Current State of the Human Security Practice in East Africa

Economic Security

There is general consensus that economic security is difficult to determine owing to the nature of the economic environment itself. According to Buzan, (2003), the normal condition of actors in a market economy is one of risk, aggressive competition and uncertainty. He argues that the insecure nature makes economic security hard to comprehend. The threshold of what is acceptable based on an inherent instability and what is a threat can be difficult to identify. The economic sector is also a clear example of how the different sectors interact with one another. More importantly, the economic security can be considered a key indicator of the overall security of a state. A quick review of economic survey reports has revealed that EA aimed to achieve middle income status in the Strategy (2004-2013) and a sustained economic growth rates in excess of 7 % which is currently at 6 %.

EAC Average Real Growth Rate(In percent)



Source: World Economic Outlook, International Monetary Fund. Notes: For Burundi the growth series starts in 1997 to exclude the period of rapid contraction in the first years of the civil war. For Rwanda, the series starts in 1998 to exclude the genocide-related contraction in 1994 and the subsequent sharp rebound in 1995-97.

Health Security

The state of health in the region has frequently come under critical scrutiny. Diseases such as malaria and HIV/ AIDS have severely affected the region. Kenya's, Tanzania's and Uganda's HD declined from Medium to low HD, 2009. The HD trend shows that the quality of life in EAC has been deteriorating over the period under review, though positive indications are beginning to appear as from 2009. The EAC average HD also shows the deterioration of the quality of life in the EAC region. On average, the EAC life expectancy is at 52.5 years as compared to global averages of 63 years and over 75 years for the developed countries. Medical facilities have also been reported to be weak resulting in poor response even to commonly preventable diseases. Infant mortality rates are also high in the region. This can be attributed to poor facilities and also inadequate numbers of physicians in the region and the cost of getting medical cover.

Food Security

As a basic need, food security constitutes a fundamental element of development and growth. EA is recognized as low income food-deficit by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) 2006. Food comprises between half to three quarters of household purchasing power in these regions, a condition which World Bank states is a margin for survival (Kuntjoro and Jamil, 2008). The EA is frequently affected by food shortages and pockets of hunger although the region as a whole has a huge potential and capacity to produce enough food for regional consumption and a large surplus for export. In 2011, EA experienced a severe drought which was recorded in some areas as the driest or second driest year on record since 1951. The drought experienced in EA has had devastating impact compounded by rising food prices, creating a food security and acute livelihood crisis for almost 12 million people. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) 2006 statistics indicate that currently, nearly 20 million people in the Eastern Africa region are food insecure and are depending on food relief.

Widespread poor and erratic weather patterns resulting in massive food shortages and rising food prices are largely to blame for food insecurity in the region. Food security situation in the region varies from country to country.

Environmental Security

EA is largely a semi-arid and arid region with annual rainfalls that are below 500mm. Amounts of rain and their distributions are highly unpredictable, both from year to year and in terms of distribution within a given year (FAOSTAT, 2000). These conditions make the sub-region particularly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change on food production and security of livelihoods. These are accordingly priority issues. EA has experienced at least one major drought in each decade over the past 30 years. Persistent deficits in rainfall in EA have had serious impacts including total crop failure which has led to increasing food prices and dependency on food relief in Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda (DMC, 2000). Severe water shortages and rationing, continued reductions in water quantity and quality, increased conflicts over water resources, and the drying up of some rivers and small reservoirs have contributed to death of livestock from hunger, thirst and disease, and increased conflicts over grazing belts.

Communal Security

While it is difficult to separate this from the political dimension, communal threats are more linked to factors such as identity, equity and balance, e.g. representation in the government, equality in job employment that can be found within any given state. The available evidence has increasingly demonstrated that weak states are usually not well equipped to deal with conflicts fuelled by tribal and political alignments as well as cultural rivalry. In East Africa, one can see that the differences in culture, ideology and ethnicity, which make up tribal boundaries found within each state, are not easily reconciled. For instance, complaints raised in one part of the country/region can spill over to other regions that share same ethnicities and identities. This illustration shows that societal security is deeply connected with political and even military security. Most conflicts that are prevalent now are those that have a societal element. However, it is also important to stress that the notion of communal security is difficult to apply. The reason being it deals with identities and cultures which are essentially subjective and contextual constructions (UNDP, 2009).

Personal Security

Personal security is one of the important aspects of human security. For humans to do their daily business they ought to be assured of their security. The police to population ratio have declined over the last 15 years: the ratio was 1 to 711 in 1991; 1 to 875 a decade later; and 1 to 1150 in the year 2004 (DFID). Constant attacks from Al-Shabaab militia groups and rebels in countries such as northern Uganda, DRC and South Sudan have made the region less secure. It also impacts on the other sectors negatively because it reduces movement and thereby affecting overall performance of the economy in the region.

Political Security

Political security comprises of the ability to defend against any form of political oppression. It is concerned with whether people live in societies where there is protection of the basic human rights: the right to basic services, right to life and security and the right to be heard as well as assembly. EAC political integration includes harmonization and coordination of regional policy frameworks with regard to good governance, democracy, peace and security, defence, human rights and social justice, as well as international relations. Peace and security are pre-requisites to economic and social development within the Community. The key achievements in the last ten years include the establishment of the cardinal regional institutions (Parliament, Court,) linked to national frameworks. The institutionalization of regional mechanisms and programmes for early warning and disaster preparedness, Conflict Prevention Management and Resolution (CPMR), refugee management, combating proliferation of illicit small arms and light weapons is ongoing; Forums such as the EAC Forum of Electoral Commissions; Forum of National Human Rights Commissions; Anti-Corruption/Ombudsman agencies, and Forum of Chief Justices.

Threats to Human Security in East Africa

Threats to HS are interconnected in different ways. First, they are interlinked in a domino effect, whereby each threat feeds on the other. For example, violent conflicts can lead to deprivation and poverty which in turn can lead to resource depletion, infectious diseases, and collapse of education institutions. Secondly, threats within a given country or neighbouring areas have a spill over effects; can internationalize and have negative effects for regional and international security, (CHS, 2003). Table 4 indicates the type of HS and main threats affecting each HS.

Table 4: Types of Human Security Threats

Type of Security	Examples of Main Treats
Economic security	Persistent poverty, unemployment
Food security	Hunger, famine
Health security	Deadly infectious diseases, unsafe food, malnutrition, lack of access to basic health care
Environmental security	Environmental degradation, resource depletion, natural disasters, pollution
Personal security	Physical violence, crime, terrorism, domestic violence, child labour
Community security	Inter-ethnic, religious and other based tensions
Political security	Political repression, human rights abuses

**Adopted from on the UNDP Human Development Report 1994*

Human Security Policies in East Africa

Economic Policy

The East Africa Community has had numerous trade agreements to allow for fair competition in the market and the quality of goods. The policy also gives more room for the locally manufactured goods to have a fair share in the regional markets compared to imports from abroad. The policy also covers aspects to do with quality of goods, customs when clearing of goods at boarder points of the different countries and also axle capacities allowed on roads (Protocol on the establishment of the East

Africa Common Market, 2009). Infrastructure is also addressed in the protocol as one of the key economic drivers in the region. This commitment was witnessed more recently when the member countries went to the coastal city of Kenya for the ground breaking ceremony for the construction of the standard gauge railway. Issues of investments, labour mobility and competitiveness which raise fears among the member countries in the region are addressed through a report (Addressing the Fears, Concerns and Challenges of the East Africa Federation, 2011).

Food Policy

The EA Food Security Action Plan has been developed to address food insecurity in the region. It forms the initial step of implementing the provisions of the EAC Treaty as set out in Chapter 18 Articles 105 -110 which stipulate the dissemination and distribution of information, quality standards of factors of production such as fertilizers and seeds. The EAC food security action plan (2011) furthers that the main objective of the treaty is to achieve security and rational agricultural production. The EAC- Food Security Action Plan will guide coordination and implementation of the joint programmes and projects emanating from this plan. The plan includes; agriculture and rural development policy and the rural development strategy and the food security action plan.

Health Policy

The EAC, (2005) approved the establishment of the EAC Health (REACH) Policy. REACH is designed to link health researchers with policy-makers. It connects these constituencies through shared and dynamic platforms that support, stimulate and harmonize evidence-based and -informed policymaking processes in EA. The policy serves researchers by harvesting, synthesizing, re-packaging, and communicating their policies in a user friendly manner. It provides policy makers and governments in the region with evidence, identifying gaps, setting priorities, and expressing their policy needs in the form of questions that can be investigated scientifically. (REACH policy initiative, 2005)

Environmental Policy

The main objective of the EAC policy on environment is to promote sustainable growth and development of partner states through sustainable use and management of the environment and natural resources. This is done through prevention of activities that are harmful to the environment and natural resources. The EAC protocol calls for cooperation and coordinated management, conservation, protection and utilization of the environment and natural resources and more corporations in integration of the region and working towards poverty alleviation by the member states that is done through capacity building and environmental awareness in environment and natural resources management. The environment protocol promotes the need for shared responsibilities and corporation in the management of environment and natural resources including those that are trans-boundary in nature among the states.

EA political economy is deeply ingrained with its history of the exploitation and mismanagement of its mineral and natural resources. More than 500 years after commercial exploitation of resources continues to host large and unexploited deposits of minerals globally. The African Mining Vision, jointly developed by the AU, ECA, ADB and other UN agencies was adopted by the African Union Heads of States in 2009. The Vision advocates for “transparent, equitable and optimal exploitation of mineral resources to underpin broad-based sustainable growth and socio-economic development” (Africa Mining Vision, 2009).

Security Policy

The security strategies aligned to EAC charter play an unrivalled role in enhancing the EAC spirit of co-operation in regional peace and security. This brings into effect the collective responsibility in provision of security by the Partner States. It encompasses collaboration on cross border crimes, auto theft, drug trafficking, terrorism, money laundering and other crimes (EAC Peace and Security protocol 2013). It is envisaged that the collaboration on security front will create a good environment for peace to flourish. This will ultimately translate to guaranteed protection of property and persons hence factors of production would be protected thereby fostering development. To achieve optimum security, there has been formulation of a single structure/framework to ensure sharing of information and lessons across member

states. This includes creating structures that will incorporate intelligence in joint operations, and exchange of criminal intelligence among states to enhance technical capacity for production of criminal intelligence. It is argued that this will help in the dissemination of information to the relevant authorities. A number of protocols at different stages of formulation are due to be completed including: the Protocol on combating and preventing corruption; the Protocols on Good Governance; Peace and Security; and on Cooperation in Defence. The Protocol on foreign policy coordination was adopted and is undergoing ratification. Full implementation of the Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in Defence on areas including joint trainings, military exercises, joint operations, technical cooperation, and visits/exchange programmes for security personnel is yet to be fully achieved.

Conclusion

In Eastern Africa Countries, the institutional framework consists of the Executive, the Legislative and the judicial arms. The functions, mandates, and operational frameworks of these Organs and Institutions as set out in the Treaty, Protocols, and Rules of Procedures is to widen and deepen economic, political, social and cultural integration in order to improve the quality of life of the people of East Africa through increased competitiveness, value added production, enhanced trade and investment.

The HS is a dynamic and practical policy framework for addressing widespread and cross-cutting threats facing governments and people. Recognizing that threats to human security vary considerably across and within countries and at different points in time, the application of human security calls for an assessment of human insecurities that is people-centred, comprehensive, context-specific and preventive. Such an approach helps focus attention on current and emerging threats to the security and well-being of individuals and communities in the wider region.

Furthermore, by identifying the concrete needs of populations under stress, human security directly and positively affects the daily lives of people threatened in their survival, livelihood and dignity. As a result, the advancement of human security gives rise to more immediate and tangible results that comprehensively address the root causes underlying the threats; identifies priorities based on the actual needs, vulnerabilities and capacities of Governments and people; and reveals possible mismatches between domestic, regional and international policies and responses. The combination of these elements helps to strengthen actions taken by governments and other actors in support of human security.

The region as a whole is committed to meeting the MDG targets. The proxy for poverty reduction under MDG 1, youth employment (aged between 15 to 24 years), in the EAC region is high ranging between 59 % and 76 %. The EAC is working towards better access to medical services so that the effects of HIV/AIDS, malaria and TB diseases (MDG 6) on economic growth and development are reduced. The HIV/AIDS prevalence in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi remained at 6 per cent, 3 % and 2 % respectively between 2006 and 2008. In Tanzania, HIV/AIDS prevalence declined from 7 % in 2006 to 6.7 % in 2014(Kenya AIDS response progress report).

One of the objectives of the EAC in article 5 (c) of the Treaty is collaboration among partner states towards maintenance of sustainable utilization of natural resources and protection of the environment, which is consistent with MDG 7.

The forest cover among some EAC partner states has declined greatly below the United Nations benchmark of at least 10 % or more forest cover in a country. Tanzania, Rwanda and Uganda are the countries in East Africa with over 10 % of forest cover. Kenya and Burundi have the lowest forest cover which remained at 5-6.1% between 2006 and 2011(World Bank, 2011).

Lastly, human security is best safeguarded through proactive and preventive actions to current and emerging threats. By examining how the particular constellations of threats to individuals and communities can translate into wide scale insecurities, human security promotes the development of early warning mechanisms that help to mitigate the impact of current threats and, where possible, prevent the occurrence of future threats.

Recommendation

- East African countries should open the political sector by engaging non-state actors on the analysis of the respective country's threats of human security. Individual communities and the state must realize the achievement and maintenance of a positive peace involving mutually beneficial pacts between rulers and ruled, government and civil society.
- East African countries need to strengthen the regional policy framework based on the mutually reinforcing pillars of protection and empowerment. Application of this framework will offer a comprehensive approach that combines top-down norms, processes and institutions with a bottom-up focus in which participatory processes support the important role of people as actors in defining and implementing their essential freedoms.
- There is need to integrate the responses of relevant actors in a more coherent and efficient manner because human security builds upon existing capacities of governments and people through integrated and comprehensive responses that capitalize on the comparative advantages of a wide range of actors. This ensures coherence in the allocation of resources, goals and responsibilities across and among actors at the local, national, regional and international levels, thereby eliminating duplication and advancing targeted, coordinated and cost-effective responses.

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Highlights of Key Messages in the Issue Briefs

Security and Development Nexus in Eastern Africa: *Exploring Paradigms*

- There is no clear and common understanding and application of security and development nexus in Eastern Africa.
- There is need for more research in order to understand and apply the concepts of security and development and their interconnection.
- Innovative and transformative policies to guide integrative security and development planning in Eastern Africa are required.
- At the regional and national level, there should be a coherent theoretical interpretation of security and development nexus, followed by policy formulation, action plans, budgeting, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.
- International development assistance, transnational investments and their security priorities should be in line with regional/national development and security interests/needs and priorities of Eastern Africa.

Theory and Practice of Human Security (HS) in Eastern Africa

- The East Africa Community has had numerous trade agreements. This strategy informs the EA commitments and in particular global issues of climate change and its effects on the environment, food security; residual effects of global financial crisis and persisting insecurity occasioned by terrorism, piracy, and democratization processes.
- Further, the strategy leverages on existing political and macro-economic stability, national and regional competences and resources to strengthen the policy and regulatory frameworks. Democracy is critical in the achievement of sustainable economic growth and development.

- The EAC Partner States are working towards greater democratic environment. The countries have held multi-party elections through transparent and open processes.
- The greatest hindrance to democratic consolidation in EAC is the perennial conflicts within the horn of Africa and the great lakes region, terrorism and piracy threats including the proliferation of small arms and influx of refugees into the region. The EAC is participating in initiatives to improve peace and stability in the region with a view to increasing economic development prospects.
- The main objective of the EAC policy on environment is to promote sustainable growth and development of partner states through sustainable use and management of the environment and natural resources. It covers collaboration on cross border crimes, auto theft, drug trafficking, terrorism, money laundering and other crimes.
- The socio-economic performance among the East African Partner States has shown remarkable improvement as the region seeks to integrate further.

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