

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

*The Role of Regional Peace Initiatives in Fostering
Human Security among Member States:*

A Case Study of the NEPAD Initiative in Kenya (2000 to 2005) //

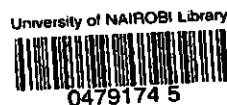
By MAKINI ROSE NYAKERARIO

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Supervisor
DR. ADAMS G. R. OLOO

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of the degree of **Master of Arts Degree in International Studies**



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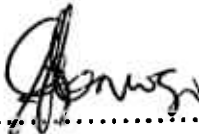
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DECLARATION

This Project, as presented in this report, is my original work, and to the best of my knowledge has not been presented for any other University award.

Signature:  Date 18th September 2007
Rose Nyakerario Makini, R/SO/P/8291/2002

This Project has been submitted as part fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts Degree in International Studies of the University of Nairobi, with my approval as the University Supervisor.

Signature:  Date 18/9/07
Dr. Adams G. R. Oloo.

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this work to my dear husband, Lameck Makini Osinde and my son, Carlton Osinde, who gave me invaluable support, motivation and inspiration to complete this project.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am deeply grateful to all those who assisted me in this research in whatever way. First, I would like to appreciate my supervisor Dr. Adams G. R. Oloo, without whose invaluable guidance, positive criticism and encouragement this project would have been impossible to complete.

I wish to thank all the respondents to my questionnaire, for taking their time to answer the questions, and more so, for those who created time for the face-to-face interviews. Special thanks go to the management of the NEPAD Peace Initiative in the Kenya Secretariat that participated in information gathering, for allowing the interviewer to use their records and allowing their employees to respond to the questionnaire.

ABSTRACT

Ordinarily the primary responsibility of a state is to maintain law and order and to safeguard its citizens from external aggression. But contrary to this popular myth, states have struggled over time to guarantee security to their people with partial success.

International organizations have been set up to fill the gap where states have failed to design security for their people.

This research is a case study of the NEPAD Peace Initiative in Kenya and it sets out to investigate its activities, objectives, achievements and challenges.

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is one such international peace initiative grounded in a vision of people living at peace with themselves. NEPAD is described as a "holistic" initiative with programmes that cover a broad range of activities that include peace and security, health, education, telecommunications, tourism, agriculture, good governance, infrastructure, an enabling environment for local and international investment and a common commitment of African countries individually and collectively towards achieving peace and security.

The findings in this case study are fully documented and they show that the NEPAD peace initiative complements the efforts of regional economic blocs in reaching out to the international community and it is an answer to Africa's internal problems and her marginalisation in world affairs.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ACRONYMS

APRM	-	African Peer Review Mechanism
AU	-	African Union
ASEAN	-	Association of South East Asian Nation
COMESA	-	Common Markets for East and Southern Africa
EAC	-	East African Community
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
EU	-	European Union
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
ICT	-	Information Communication Technology
IGAD	-	Inter Governmental Authority for Development
NAFTA	-	North Atlantic Free Trade Area
NEMA	-	National Environmental Management Authority
NEPAD	-	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NIC's	-	Newly Industrialised Countries
NSA's	-	Non-State Actors
OAU	-	Organisation of African Union
OAS	-	Organisation of African States
POA	-	National Programme of Action
SADC	-	South African Development Co-operation
UEMOA	-	West African Monetary Union
UN	-	United Nations
USA	-	United States of America
WTO	-	World Trade Organisation

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 REGIONAL PEACE INITIATIVES & HUMAN SECURITY: A CASE STUDY OF THE NEPAD INITIATIVE IN KENYA

1.1 Introduction

Global trends indicate that states are joining hands in an effort to tackle issues that are trans-boundary in nature. The states traditionally have single-handedly handled matters, both internal and external, which affect their populations. The departure from the norm of state responsibility to collective approach in resolving social, economic and political issues has put to test the realist tenets of states as the principal actors in international relations.

The emergence of international organisations to represent states in pursuit of national interest is a challenge to territorial integrity of states. However the concept of collective security is deemed to facilitate states to achieve certain interests both locally and internationally.¹ The main objective of regional integration is to create a common platform for states to address the problems that emerge within their context and are a threat to their interests. The states support the organisation's structures at regional level when they realise that achievements through the organisation are corresponding to national goals.

¹ M.G. Roski and N.O. Berry, *The New World of International Relations*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1997, p. 233.

1.2 Background

Africa has had various organisations in place at various times to foster continental or regional goals that focus on social and economic development. However most of those organisations like the Organisation of African Union (OAU), the former East Africa Community (EAC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and Southern African Development Cooperation (SADC), had internal weaknesses that led to inadequate gains in the economic, social and political fronts. The organisations were hindered in this effort due to political instability among member states, or political differences among state or government leaders. In retrospect these organisations did not endeavour to define the parameters for human development and security.

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is a new framework for collaboration and co-ordination within the Africa Union (AU). African leaders in Lusaka Zambia launched NEPAD² in July 2002. NEPAD is a pledge by Africa's political leadership to place their countries, individually and collectively on a path of sustainable growth and development. NEPAD is therefore an agreement, a resolve by African leaders to create a new initiative, a new platform of thought to steer the much-needed economic recovery of Africa. It is both an opportunity for the redefinition of Inter-African relationships. It is a window through which the outside world should view and interact with Africa.

The new partnership for Africa's development (NEPAD) is a product of the continuing search by African peoples and their leaders to create Pan-African

²P.A. Nyong'o, A. Ghirmazion & D. Lamba, (Eds) New Partnership for Africa's Development: A New Path? Nairobi, Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2002, p. 3

structures that can lead to the social and economic transformation of the continent in a rapidly globalizing world. NEPAD is also an instrument of the contestation between Africans seeking self-determination in their development efforts and those forces that seek the continuation of the exploitation of the continent's resources upon which the accumulation of their wealth depends. The linkage that brings about this contestation is a historical, one but also a concrete one in that it manifests itself in the continuing structures of imperialist domination of the African people through the Post-colonial state, which continues to be a neo-colonial instrument of domination.³ The African countries have been subjected to perennial dependency on Northern economies for internal sustenance. The path laid as a foundation for Africa's economy by colonial powers was on the production of raw materials. The Africans were to labour and produce the raw materials for the European industries.⁴ The primary goods Africa produces are of less value than the processed or manufactured products from the North. Africa is therefore subjected to excessive poverty since it must labour intensively to produce competitive products for the European market that pay poorly. Africa needs to overcome this market domination and imbalance through an institution framework. NEPAD is an instrument through which African leaders seek to transform the continent through pooling their resources into vital sectors for economic take-off.

³ D.W Nabudere, NEPAD: Historical Background and its Prospects. Heinrich Boll Foundation, Nairobi 2002, p. 24

⁴ W. Rodney, How Europe underdeveloped Africa. London, Oxford University Press, 1974, p. 49.

From this background, the core question that one should ask is: what roles do regional peace initiatives play in fostering human security among member states? The question can be answered by looking into a case study of NEPAD whose creation has received wide support from the continent. In this investigation the research will focus on NEPAD Kenya and its achievements in promoting human security.

1.3 Problem Statement

States are traditionally the main actors that can provide security to the people. It is postulated that the state is capable to rationally determine the threats to people and address them through the state organs. The term security is however contested among scholars. The term security refers to the absence of fear from threat among people.⁵ Security also refers to a state where there is peace and calm in a social set up. There are other aspects of human lives that are affected by social dynamics within peaceful situations that endanger their lives. Such dynamics would be social, economic or political. There is need to qualify human security to encompass some of these issues. States have struggled over time to guarantee security to their people with partial success. International organisations have been set up to fill the gap where states have failed to design security for their people. States require collective efforts in certain domains to address issues that affect their citizens especially on trans-boundary matters.

Human security is a phenomenon that cuts across nation-states and it has multidimensional attributes. It refers to the absence of fear from threat to human life and deprivation of basic needs that emanate from the social organisation structures.⁶ In this perspective the issue of human security encompass things like freedom from hunger, political oppression, health, human rights, food, shelter and economic welfare. These provisions should traditionally be guaranteed by the state. But states have been known to only serve interests of the ruling class at the expense of the masses. The issue of governance therefore becomes central in guaranteeing human security. But states in Africa have different levels of social, economic and political

⁵Cillier, J. Human Security in Africa: A Conceptual Framework for Review. Pretoria, The African Human Security Initiative, 2004. p 5

⁶Ibid

development, which result to the background leanings in growth and human development.⁷ To achieve meaningful development, the African continent therefore requires a common platform to plan, strategise and voice their development goals. Regional organisation becomes central in improving the human development and in return human security shall be achieved in the long run. But the dilemma that emerges is what should be the priority areas for improving human security? To what extent can international integration influence states in decision-making and implementation of programmes focusing on human security? These questions beg responses that can be ascertained through an intensive research based on regional organisations whose focus is to address human security issues.

This research evaluates the measures NEPAD has initiated in developing human-security programmes in Kenya.

1.4 Objectives

This research will have the following objectives: -

1. To find out the action plans of regional initiatives in promoting human security activities in Kenya.
2. To investigate NEPAD activities in the development of human security framework for Kenya.
3. To find out the sustainability of NEPAD initiated programmes in Kenya.
4. To make recommendations on the way forward for regional organisation towards human security in Kenya.

⁷ World Bank, World Development Report 2004. Washington, 2005

1.5 Justification

This study is justifiable both on academic and policy levels.

Academic Justification

At academic level this study shall be part of literature in security studies. Human security is a departure from the traditional nation-state studies in International Relations. This research will form part of the literature for reference and further research on the domain of human security. In addition this is a new field that should be explored to further the scope for students undertaking studies in Human Security and the role of international organisations in defining a common framework for managing human security.

Policy Justification

At policy level this research will help inform the governments and states on the value of focussing on human security issues. The governments and states should balance their goals of traditional military armament for state security and on societal security. States in the modern society are investing heavily in state security at the expense of human security. There should be information on what entails human security and what should be the approaches for effective intervention on human security matters. This document will provide consolidated insight on how to come up with sound policies and decisions that would reduce human security risks.

1.6 Literature Review

Literature review for this study includes that on international organisations and that on human security.

Literature on International Organisations

The African Non-Aggression and Common Defence Pact⁸ states that human security means the security of the individual with respect to the satisfaction of the basic needs of life. It also encompasses the creation of the social, political, economic, military, environmental and cultural conditions necessary for the survival, livelihood and dignity of the individual, including the protection of fundamental freedoms, the respect for human rights, good governance, access to education, healthcare, and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his/her own potential. This definition is intensive. When contextualised in Africa, majority of the inhabitants are vulnerable to security risks emerging from the fundamental freedoms. This particularly confirms the precarious situation the African countries find themselves in. Few states can put up sufficient infrastructure to take care of the poor and the vulnerable.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was created on May 28, 1975 in Lagos, Nigeria. ECOWAS was established to promote cooperation and integration in order to create an economic and monetary union for promoting economic growth and development in West Africa.⁹ ECOWAS has encountered many problems in the process of regionally integrating West Africa, including:

⁸ Text Adopted during the AU Summit Meeting of July 2004, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

⁹ www.ecowas.org Accessed on 15th February 2006.

political instability and lack of good governance that has plagued many member countries; the insufficient diversification of national economies; the absence of reliable infrastructure; and the multiplicity of organizations for regional integration with the same objectives. Several ECOWAS-member countries are currently part of the West African Monetary Union (UEMOA), a regional economic and monetary union which shares a common currency (the CFA Franc). The Francophone-countries of Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo, with Guinea Bissau (Lusophone), comprise UEMOA. From this overview it is indicative that regional organizations are out to pursue the common security strategy for member countries in the economic and socio-political fronts.

The Cotonou Agreement is a partnership between the African Caribbean and Pacific Countries and the EU. The partnership engages the countries from these areas in various programmes for developmental purposes. The area being emphasised by the Cotonou Agreement, is prominently that of peace and security. The two are essential for development to be realised. Article 4 of the Cotonou Agreement provides for the non-state actors involvement on cooperation policies and strategies in areas that directly affect them.¹⁰ To mention the word peace and security, various images come to mind. The main image is that of conflict, violence and lawlessness in a given environment. The African continent is not without its misfortunes. Conflicts are abound in Africa. The conflicts are internal like that of Sudan and Somalia, and others are inter-state like that of Uganda and Sudan, Ethiopia-Eritrea and Sudan-Ethiopia. Conflicts in these areas are caused by poor democratisation, human rights issues, economic and social injustice. These problems cannot be resolved by state organs *per se*. The gap between the government's performance and its expected goals

¹⁰ *The Cotonou Agreement, ACP-EU Agreement, 2000*

can be bridged through non-state actors' involvement. These non-state organs can be reflected in inter-state organisations like the current NEPAD.

The EU has also recognised the need to address conflict prevention in order to achieve development. Conflicts perpetuate poverty and social exclusion increases the risk of violent conflict. The EU has undertaken the effort to ensure that specific conflict prevention activities are supported.¹¹ The non-state actors have been allocated resources to run programmes that will bring an end to an existing conflict like that of Sudan and Somalia through IGAD mediation. Direct peace processes and peace building initiatives have benefited from the EU. Peace that is realised through non-state engagement is a pointer towards the role international organisations can play in promoting peace and security.

Ottaway¹² (2002) says wars will continue to flare up in Africa until a new order emerges. As this article points out, order could come from new political arrangements that reflect the balance of power among African forces, or the industrialized countries and the United Nations could impose and maintain with force. Owuor¹³ (2002) summarizes some of the weaknesses of the emerging AU and suggests that these are "teething problems" like those that occurred in the early stages of development of the EU. Thus, it will be especially important for all AU members to have a sense of belonging and an opportunity for constructive participation.

¹¹ Cotonou Agreement, Article 72

¹² Henry Owuor, Challenges for the African Union (World Press Review, October 2002).

¹³ Chinua Akukwe Africa, NEPAD and the G-8 (World Press Review, October 2002).

Literature on NEPAD

NEPAD is grounded in a vision of people living at peace with themselves in a productive and prosperous Africa.¹⁴ It represents a new hope for a complete transformation of the continent. In NEPAD, African leaders are seeking a new beginning and a strategic direction to drive their economies. This would rescind the belief that the African continent is doomed to forever exist under the distressing burdens of poverty and backwardness. It seeks to utilize available human and physical resources to provide sustainable growth in Africa. NEPAD contains a collective vision of the future of Africa; relived from domestic and interstate conflict, governed under the principles of justice democracy, free from want and firmly on the road to sustainable growth and prosperity. NEPAD is a homegrown initiative that has diverse components including peace and stability, economic development strategies, sector-based programmes in agriculture, education, energy and infrastructure. On-going globalisation and Africa's increasing marginalisation from the global economic platform is raising an increasing awareness among the new generation of African leaders that the continent's future is truly in their own hands.

Randriamaro¹⁵ assesses how NEPAD can address gender equality in Africa. This is a serious human security concern socially, politically, and economically. Regarding gender equality considerations, critics have pointed out the gender-blindness of NEPAD, despite the fact that one of its long-term objectives is to "promote the role of women in all sectors".

¹⁴ NEPAD: Annual Report 2002, NEPAD Secretariat, Nairobi Pg. 2

¹⁵ NEPAD OP. Cit.

Rondriamaro explores its gender-blindness as well as how parts of its underlying framework and objectives actually undermine a gender equality agenda. The first part examines the main features of the economic paradigm underpinning the NEPAD from a gender perspective. The second part focuses on the gender implications of some of the initiatives proposed for mobilizing resources for development in the NEPAD while the third part outlines the challenges posed by the NEPAD for women's economic activity, and proposes alternative economic policy options to ensure women's economic empowerment and gender equality.

Stiglitz (2002) argues that regional integration for economic ends poses two antagonistic results.¹⁶ It may help countries attain higher levels of developments as they take charge of their own destiny in economic and trade decisions. On the other hand it can destroy a countries' economic stability, as they remain powerless against external forces beyond their control. African countries should expect NEPAD to have any of these eventualities. It is not likely that NEPAD will solve absolutely the economic problems in the continent that threaten human security.

Initiatives that have been initiated in other regions of the world bear no similarity to NEPAD. The Marshall Plan was initiated in Western Europe after the Second World War¹⁷. Its core objective was to address the infrastructure breakdown that occurred in the war period. The Plan was initiated through the American efforts. The initiative was targeting the region to curtail the spread of communism from Eastern Europe. The initiative worked in favour of its objectives since most European countries had put up industrial structures that easily jump-started their economies once

¹⁶Stiglitz J.E. Globalisation and its Discontents, New York, WW. Norton, 2002 p. 36

¹⁷Cheney H. & Moises Syraquin, Patterns of Development 1950 – 1970, London: Oxford University Press, 1975 p. 18

infrastructure was in place. This initiative has no comparable situation factors to extrapolate into NEPAD.

Another area that Non-State Actors get involved to promote peace and security is that of human rights. Governments in Africa are notorious in human rights violations. The NSAs are funded to carry out programmes on capacity building for governance and civic education.¹⁸ Human rights awareness and advocacy is a target for CSOs in the region.

Literature on Human Security

Literature on human security will provide insight on what security is in relation to human beings. Choucri postulates that security refers broadly to a feeling or condition of being secure or safe.¹⁹ It involves freedom from fear of threats that is physical or otherwise in the society.

Human security is a contested concept within the discipline of International Relations. First it is viewed to be a condition whereby people are free from any threats towards their day-to-day life. According to Cilliers²⁰(2004) human security involves freedom from physical hurt, injury, abuse or the threat thereof. This description is not inclusive but it reveals what is basic in human security. The African context however should expand this description.

¹⁸ Ibid, Article 7

¹⁹ N. Choucri and R. C. "North, Population and (in) Security: National Perspectives and Global Imperatives". In Dewitt et al, (1993) *Building a New Global Order: Emerging Trends in International Security*, Oxford University Press, Toronto p 229

²⁰ Cilliers, J., Human Security in Africa. Pretoria, African Human Security Initiative, 2004, Pp. 7-8.

Galtung²¹(1975) observes that human insecurity includes conditions of abject poverty or powerlessness that makes individuals vulnerable to physical violence during conflict. This position is applicable when extrapolated to the African context where poverty is rampant and the majority of the inhabitants survive on less than a dollar a day. The violent conflicts like those of Sudan and Somalia indicate that rebels or government forces hit the poor worst since they cannot run away from home without capital means.

Brock (1992) postulates that security refers to a universal aspiration to live in the expectation that life and physical integrity will not be threatened by any other person, group or society.²² This means security is freedom from social, psychological or physical threats in human life. Security is not fixed. It is dynamic and functions more like an organizing principle stimulating and steering a dynamic evolutionary process.

Security systems are total systems. The ways human societies organize for security involves and affects the whole fabric of society at conscious and unconscious levels. The guiding myths, religious and identity systems, structures of thought, gender roles, and leadership requirements as well as political and economic systems are all affected. It explains social status, that is, who is valued and who is marginalized. It determines who will lead and who will follow and who will rule and who must obey. States and leadership are greatly affected by a society's perception of who can make

²¹ Galtung, J., *Essays in Peace Research*. Vol. 1, Copenhagen, Christian Ejlertsen, 1975, pp. 42.

²² L. Brock, "Security Through Defending the Environment: An illusion in Boulding, E". *New Agendas for Peace Research: Conflicts and Security Re-examined*, (Lynne Rienner Publishers, London, 1992) p 95

the most important contribution to group security, and who is a burden, liability or threat to it.²³

Buzan et al (1983) define security as a speech act – the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and places the issue either as a special kind of politics or above politics. They conceptualise security as a structured field, in which some actors are placed in positions of power by virtue of being generally accepted as voices of security, by having power to define security.²⁴ Treating security as a speech-act provides, in principle, for an almost indefinite expansion of the security agenda. Not only is the realm of possible threats enlarged, but also the actors or objects that are threatened can be extended to include actors and objects well beyond the military security of the territorial state²⁵.

National security has traditionally emphasized the security of the state as its primary concern. Hence the objective use of the term “national” can be said to be incorrect. Since the units of the international system are states, the proper term should be state rather than national security. Moreover, the political loyalty that people have is to the state, and the state is the basic building block of the global system.²⁶ What this implies is that national security and state security are one and the same thing. From this perspective, anything that enhances the security of the state is beneficial, and

²³ M.P. Mische, *Security through Defending the Environment: Citizens say yes!* In (Boulding, E. 1992) Op.cit p. 105

²⁴ Buzan, et al *Security: A New Framework of Analysis.*(Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1983) pp. 23-31

²⁵ M.C. Williams, *Words, Images and Enemies: Securitization and International Politics.* *International Studies Quarterly*, (New York: Blackwell Publishing Inc., 2003) p. 513

²⁶ Ibid

anything that detracts from its security is harmful.²⁷ Human security can be extended from this postulation and be imputed in decision making for the benefit of individuals.

Pfaltzgraff (1984) contends that indispensable in the formation of national security policy is the decisional process and structure. In turn, the organizational framework within which such decisions are made reflects the basic characteristics of the society on whose behalf national security policy is formed. Ideally, the basis for national security policy rests upon the existence of a national strategy that flows from national goals and a conception of national interests. Moreover while decisional processes and structures inevitably form the context within which national security policy is shaped, they bear resemblance not only to the society whose interests they serve, but also reflect the scope and level of effort undertaken by the state. The greater the national security interests, commitments and capabilities of a state, the greater and perhaps more complex its decisional processes and structures are likely to be. This informs the conceptualisation of human security and its enforcement in the society.²⁸

Spanier (1980) argues that national security can be broken down into different categories.²⁹ At the base, national security means the physical survival of the state. A second more common meaning of national security refers to the preservation of a state's territorial integrity. A third meaning of national security is political independence, which refers negatively to a state's freedom from foreign control and, positively to the preservation of its domestic political and economic system. Spanier,

²⁷ D.M. Snow, *National Security Defence Policy in a Changed International Order*. (New York: St. Martins Press, 1998), p 24-25

²⁸ R.L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. "National Security Decision Making: Global Implications" in Pfaltzgraff, L. R. Jr. and Ra'anan, *National Security Policy: The Decision Making Process*. (New Delhi: Trans Asia Publishers 1984), p 29

²⁹ J. Spanier, *Games Nations Play*. (New Delhi: Macmillan India Ltd, 1980), p 76

argues further that security involves more than a state's physical survival and territorial security, it also includes the perpetuation of the values, patterns of social relations, lifestyles and varied other elements that make up a nation's way of life. At this point there is the objective extrapolation of the element of human security.

Buzan (2003), national security means the security of the whole socio-political entity.³⁰ It is about the country as well as the states. It concerns the way of life of self-governing people including their social, cultural, political and economic modes of organization and the right to develop themselves under their own rule. Both definitions of national security by Spanier (1983) and Buzan (2003), reaffirms the view of security in traditional terms where the security of the state by extension is the security of the people.

The traditional concept of security, borrows its core thinking from the realist school of international relations, which sees the international system as anarchical and determined by power. The traditional school of security, views security as the absence of threats from other states and as the major threat to the existence of states is the threat of war, military threats take precedence over any other threats.³¹

The modern concept of national security acknowledges that there are other threats to national security apart from military threats. Dewitt et al (1993), argue that security no longer presumes a principal concentration on challenges to a government and country from outside its borders, environmental degradation, absorptive capacity, illicit drugs, unregulated movement of large amounts of capital or people, epidemic

³⁰B. Buzan Quoted in M. Baregu and C. Landsberg. (eds) , *From Cape to Congo: Southern Africa's Evolving Security Challenges*. (Colorado:Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc, 2003), p 33

³¹ Z. Agostinho, "Redefining Security", in Baregu, M. and Landsberg, C. (eds) (2003) Op.cit. p 32

disease and terrorism, all are now seen by some, including governments and intergovernmental organizations, as potentially part of broadened security agenda.³²

Jinadu (2000) argues that national security and stability, largely rest on the ability of the individual states to meet economic and social needs of their peoples, observe human rights and afford all their citizens an opportunity to participate in political decision making processes.³³ While freedom from physical hurt, injury, abuse or the threat there-of constitutes the core of individual security, academic views of how far the communal concept of human security should or could be expanded from this core differ sharply. For some, hunger, disease and environmental contamination represent grave security threats – even worse than physical violence. Thus, conditions of abject poverty or powerlessness are viewed as not qualitatively different from vulnerability to physical violence during conflict. Others have argued that human security should include the notion of structural violence, referring to the structure of the relevant political-social system such as apartheid or the global trading system³⁴.

The African Human Security Institute observes that operationalising human security will take a traditional approach.³⁵ First, it makes a vertical distinction between at least five levels of security, namely: personal/individual, local/community, national, regional and international security. According to the dominant theories of international legal practice, both individual and international security is dependent

³² D. Dewitt, et al (1993) Op.cit pg. 2

³³ L. A. Jinadu, *Political Economy of Peace and Security in Africa*. (Ethno-cultural and Economic Perspectives, 2000) AAPs Books, Harare.

³⁴ The notion of structural violence was popularised by J. Galtung, *Essays in peace research*, Vols I and III, Christian Ejlertsen, Copenhagen, 1975 and 1978.

³⁵ Human Security Institute, www.ahs.co.za accessed on February 23, 2006

upon national security.³⁶ In practice, many factors impact upon local or community security. In much of rural Africa, security is provided by local organisations independent of national structures. Local or community security may be dependent upon traditional authority and allegiances (provided by local militias established by the community to provide security), dependent upon local warlords or politicians with their own armed forces. In selected areas, often in urban areas closer to the locations of state power, local government structures, such as the police, may play a role and citizens may have recourse to the courts and to the law. Elsewhere, private security companies may have largely replaced state structures where richer communities can afford such a service in adjacent suburbs.

State security, in most of Africa, is not threatened by conventional threats of armed attack by other countries but by more insidious measures many of which flow from the very weakness of the state and its absence of control over its own territory.³⁷ Other factors contributing to insecurity include resorting to extra-legal measures to gain and retain political power – such as support to armed factions in neighbouring countries favourable to its own domestic demands, etc.

Africa has traditionally followed an expansive approach to the concept of human security. For example, the draft African Non-Aggression and Common Defence Pact states: “human security means the security of the individual with respect to the satisfaction of the basic needs of life; it also encompasses the creation of the social, political, economic, military, environmental and cultural conditions necessary for the survival, livelihood, and dignity of the individual, including the protection of

³⁶ International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The responsibility to protect*, International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, December 2001.

³⁷ Ibid

fundamental freedoms, the respect for human rights, good governance, access to education, healthcare, and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his/her own potential.”³⁸

Apter (2001) examines the impact of globalisation on Africa and argues that the experiences of the continent illustrate many of the negative consequences that globalisation can have for vulnerable people, both in its presence and in its absence. He concludes that “the dysfunctions of globalisation” are troublesome in Africa.³⁹

From the review of the literature there is a gap that can be identified in the study of human security issues. The literature seems to focus more deeply on state security and prosperity. The literature dwells much on the aspect of human security under the auspices of national security. Human security needs to be linked between the state security and economic prosperity. This study will try and isolate the socio-economic components contributing to human security and get a regional connection on what measures states through intergovernmental efforts and regional organisations should engage in to promote and enhance human security.

The literature review also demonstrates a gap in the previous regional initiatives and human security. While the regional initiatives previously dealt with arrangements that used the state as the level of engagements, the current shift is towards the individual. NEPAD envisages an extensive programme on the pooling of energy between African

³⁸ Draft text as adopted by the first meeting of the African ministers of defence and security on the establishment of the African Standby Force and the Common African Defence and Security Policy, 20-21 January 2004, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 4(1). The text was adopted during the AU summit meeting of July 2004.

³⁹ Apter M. O., “An end to Africa’s Wars: Rethinking International Intervention” in Harvard International Review (Winter 2001).

states, a common agricultural development policy, science and technology, tourism, water and sanitation, e-education in schools, health and culture. It contains a common commitment of African countries collectively and individually to observe the norms of good governance in several critical areas; for example, peace and security being top on the agenda, democratic rule, macro economic stability, an enabling environment for private, local and foreign investment. This is the gap NEPAD is seeking to fill in the study.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study is guided by interdependence theory. It emerged in 1977 with Keohane and Nye.⁴⁰ Interdependence is a theoretical approach that can be traced to the political science and economics literature during the early stages of regional integration in Western Europe. Keohane and Nye used “integration” and “interdependence” interchangeably. Integration is any level of association between actors, on one dimension or another of various types of integration, such as economic, social, and policy integration. This places “integration” on the same analytical level as “interdependence” which is not closely associated with a teleological or process-oriented theory.⁴¹ The process of integration is for the common good of the society whose problems if resolved will enable people centred development.

This research utilized interdependence theory that is seen in the coming together of African leaders to form NEPAD to pursue programmes that will enable African states tackle problems that inflict their people and hinder the social and economic

⁴⁰ Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye Jr, *Op. Cit*, Page 366

⁴¹ Gerald M. Meier: *The old Generation of Development Economics and the New* in Meir, GM. and J. Stiglitz (Eds) *Frontiers Development Economics*, New York, Oxford, 2001, p. 14

development. One of the key priority areas of action of NEPAD is the Peer Review Mechanism that will review democratic governance in member-countries. AU leaders are willing to respect rules and work harmoniously for their common good. They have realized that stability of Africa can only be secured through a mutually agreed system of rules, binding on all member governments and enforceable through dispute settlement and economic prosperity. They have recognized that co-operation and integration in economic, social and cultural fields is indispensable to the desired transformation and sustained development.

Another conceptual framework that would help conduct the research is the model of structural transformation and extensive government involvement in development programmes and planning.⁴² This model is appropriate in the case study, as it looks into the requirements to increase human security through incremental per capita income. NEPAD seeks to reduce poverty in Africa through increase of GDP within states. It argues that if Africa is allowed market access in developed countries and exports from Africa increase, then Africa will have increased capital to accelerate economic growth. These models demand specific government policies if their hypotheses are deemed to succeed. Strong action are intended here to correct or avoid market failure in a less – developed economy. The newly conceived NEPAD strategy in Africa is for the economic welfare of Africa states. It provides a considerable framework for collective government action to correct the previous market failure by improving governance, and allowing for people empowerment through government instituted programmes in the public sector.

⁴² Harberger, AC, The Cost Benefit Approach to Development Economics, in World Development 11, 10 October 1983 PP 863 – 73.

NEPAD programmes in Kenya focus on four major thematic areas; Democracy and Political Governance, National Economic Governance and Management, Corporate Governance and Socio Economic Development. Alongside the thematic areas is the National Programme of Action (POA) which was developed from key recommendations spelt out by stakeholders. POA spells out the major objectives, problems or concerns identified, expected output, indicators, ongoing initiatives, estimated budget, time frame, implementing institution, stakeholders, and monitoring and evaluation agency. NEPAD represents the vision of a better Africa, free of political conflict, tyranny, hunger and poverty and this can only foster peace and human security in the region.

1.8 Hypotheses

- 1. NEPAD initiatives have led to improved human security in Kenya.**
- 2. NEPAD organisational structures are not sufficient to promote human security in Kenya.**
- 3. The regional organisations depend on state security to achieve human security development in Kenya.**

1.9 Definition of Concepts.

Regional Organisation:

An entity whose composition is sovereign states and it's strive to promote a common objective in a defined area in the globe.

Human Security:

The concept in this study would refer to the absence of threats of an individual in respect to the satisfaction of basic needs of life, the creation of the social, political, economic, military, environmental, and cultural conditions necessary for the survival, livelihood and dignity of the individual.⁴³

National security:

The concept of national security is used here to refer to the physical survival of the state. An additional meaning of national security refers to the preservation of a state's territorial integrity. Security involves more than a state's physical survival and territorial security, it also includes the perpetuation of the values, patterns of social relations, lifestyles and varied other elements that make up a nation's way of life.⁴⁴

⁴³ Cilliers, J., *Human Security in Africa*, Pretoria, Human Security Initiative, 2004, p 8

⁴⁴ Spanier J. (1990). *Games nations Play*. New Delhi, Macmillan India Ltd. pg. 76

1.9 Methodology of the study.

The study will rely on primary and secondary sources of data.

Sampling Procedure and Primary Data Collection

The research in NEPAD is specialised and the target population of the study is small. Therefore the research will rely on selective sampling in determining the area and population to be studied. In this regard specialised information and data will be gathered from the NEPAD Secretariat in Nairobi.

The primary data will be collected using various tools of research. The primary data about NEPAD will be obtained through interactive interviews with the officials responsible for NEPAD programmes in NEPAD-Kenya Secretariat and the Ministry of Planning in the Government of Kenya. The research instruments to be used would be questionnaires. The questionnaires will be structured and shall be used in face to face interactive interviewing. This form of questionnaires is relevant to gather data through deeper probing and clarification of any ambiguities. This data will later be sorted and analysed qualitatively and corroborated in the objectives of this study.

Secondary Data

Secondary data in form of published literature will be extensively used in the compilation of this study. These sources of secondary data include books, journals, newspapers, and public records and documents. The secondary data will be analysed qualitatively in view of the theoretical and academic debates developed in the proposal.

1.10 Chapter Outline

- Chapter 1** : **Background to the Study:**
- Chapter 2** : **Regional Peace Initiatives and Human Security**
This Chapter looks into Regional Initiatives in Europe, Asia, America and Africa that have been in place, their achievements and Challenges.
- Chapter 3** : **NEPAD and Human Security:**
Case Study of NEPAD - Kenya
This Chapter would do a case study of NEPAD Kenya and Evaluate the Socio-Economic programmes in Place, their Effectiveness and the Challenges Encountered.
- Chapter 4** : **Critical Evaluation**
This Chapter will present a critique on the level of NEPAD's Effectiveness in enhancing Human Security. The Constraints would be Pointed out and Shall inform the policy Issues. The Chapter shall also test the Objectives, Hypotheses and the theoretical Framework.
- Chapter 5** : **Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations**

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 REGIONAL PEACE INITIATIVES AND HUMAN SECURITY

2.1 Introduction.

This Chapter will present an expose of international organisations and their approaches to manage security within and between states. The survey shall focus on the approaches to security management and the viewpoints about conflict, which are the precursor to human insecurity.

Internal conflicts include competition for resources such as land for pasture, water and farming, unemployment, economic inequality due to inequitable distribution of land and imbalanced access to public resources, political conflicts especially the struggle for political power and constitutional disagreements, politicisation of ethnic groups, disregard for rule of law, violation of human rights, and land use conflicts among the communities among others.

Interstate conflicts focus on differences between Kenya and its neighbours, conflicts that arise from cattle rustling and banditry including cross-boarder incursions, shared recourses and boarder disputes.

The primary role of regional organisations is the prevention and reduction of intra and inter-state conflicts. The state throughout history is to maintain law and order internally and to safeguard the population (citizens and subjects) from external aggression attack. While conflicts are part and parcel of human society, the resolution of differences whenever they occur is a critical process for the state. Apart from the traditional interstate conflicts that threatened state security, there is need to find out the views that are coming up on the management of intrastate conflicts that threaten human security in a state.

This chapter will later collate the concepts of international organisations, their development, objectives and the current status in maintaining peace and security, and the development of human security issues. The modern states are confronted by a security of problems that are extra-territorial. The basis for managing these problems is no longer pegged on state-centric initiatives but rather collective interstate initiatives in form of regional organisations. The linkages will provide a basis for involving international organisations in the management of human security issues.

The next section shall review the status of regional organisations in Europe, America and Asia in relation to human security. Their foundational objectives will be outlined and the specific achievements in relation to set objectives in the states. In addition the section shall put in perspective the foundational basis of regional organisations in Africa and conceptualisation of the NEPAD as a regional peace initiative. This Chapter will provide the lenses for reviewing the human security issues in Africa through NEPAD.

The conclusion in this part will present a summary on how successful regional peace and security initiatives might be achieved at regional levels for social and economic growth. This overview will link the regional interstate cooperation and human security.

2.2 Background to Regional Peace and Security Initiatives

International organisations have evolved in the advent of Post-Westphalia Treaty that saw the creation of independent sovereign territorial units.⁴⁵ The rise of territorial sovereign units created a need for international cooperation. As the system expanded, states began seeking to fulfil more interests through cooperative approaches. This resulted in some formal treaties, which aimed at solving international problems.⁴⁶ The first major instance of this occurred with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and it concluded the thirty-year old religious conflict of Central Europe and formally established the contemporarily nation state arrangement in Europe.⁴⁷

Until 1914 when the First World War broke out, the world affairs were influenced by periodic conferences held in Europe. These were exemplified in the Paris Conference of 1856 the Berlin gathering of 1879 that dealt with the problems of the Balkans. The 1884-5 Berlin Conferences imposed some order upon the scramble for Africa. These conferences formed a background to resolve crises but they were inadequate in two ways. First there was no predetermined structure on who to call the conference and who to be in attendance. Secondly the invited states and those in attendance would only make decisions through unanimous agreement a factor which restricted the utility of consultative approach in resolving inter-state problems.⁴⁸

The 19th Century witnessed an upsurge of international non-governmental organisations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross founded in 1863

⁴⁵ Amerasinghe, E. F., *Principles of the Institutional Law of International Organisations*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 59.

⁴⁶ Shaw, M. N., *International Law*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 887.

⁴⁷ Gross, L., The Peace of Westphalia, 1648-1948, *42 Annual Journal of International Law*, 1948, p. 20.

⁴⁸ Shaw, M. N., *Op Cit*, P. 888

and the International Law in 1873.⁴⁹ These private international unions demonstrated a wide ranging-community of interest in specific topics and an awareness that cooperation should be international in scope to be effective. These institutions established some machinery for regular meetings and created secretariats to permanently engage in the core values of the organisation. The work performed by these organisations remains of considerable value in influencing governmental activities and stimulating world action.

The second half of the 19th Century also witnessed the development of public international unions that linked together governmental agencies for specific purposes.⁵⁰ These were functional associations that were set up through multilateral treaties and fulfilled the need for a more efficient method of international cooperation and regulation in an independent world. The first instances of such intergovernmental associations were provided by the international commissions established for the functioning of communication network in the Rhine and Danube Rivers and later for other rivers in Central and Western Europe.

The foundation of the international unions in 19th century restricted themselves to dealing with specific areas but were not comprehensive. However their existence provided a basis for the foundation of new ideas that paved way for the universal organisations of the 20th Century.⁵¹ These unions provided for the primordial notions on permanent secretariats, periodic conferences, majority voting, weighted voting and

⁴⁹ Bowett, D. W., *The Law of International Institutions*, 4th Ed. London: Cambridge University Press, 1982, pp. 64-65.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 6-9

⁵¹ Shaw, M. N., *Op Cit*, P. 889

proportionate financial contributions. All these were vital in the inception of contemporary international organisations.

The 20th Century achievement in international organisations is the foundation of a universal comprehensive organisation in the United Nations.⁵² The UN has played a prominent role in International Security. Its foundation is empowered by Sovereign states and the UN action is necessitated by their consent.⁵³ Although the UN strengthens world order, international anarchy is still abound due to unwillingness of states to surrender their sovereignty. Within its limits the UN continues to provide a global institutional structure through which states can settle conflicts with less reliance on the use of force.

From this overview international organisations portray a trend whereby states seek to pool their efforts to solve a common problem. The states find the cooperative approach inevitable due to the inability of unitary action to resolve global problems. The next section will try to present the general approaches to the study of international organisations.

⁵² Goldstein, J. S., International Relations. Washington D. C., Priscilla McGeehan, 2001, P. 298.

⁵³ Luard, E., & D. Heater, The United Nations: How it Works and What it Does. 2nd Ed., New York, St. Martin's Press, 1994, P. 24.

2.3. Approaches to the Study of International Organisations

To study and investigate the role of international organisations, one has to outline the various world-views that form the backbone of the discipline. This section will present these approaches that form the basis of studying international organisations.

The rationalist approach tries to link the notion of world order states to that order found within states.⁵⁴ This conceptualisation believes in the transformation of a society of states into a true world community based upon the application of universally valid moral and legal principles. This can be achieved through gradual increase in the influence and responsibility of international organisations in all fields of peace and security. This view presupposes that international organisations have a substantive and a procedural purpose that are intended to function above the just administrative convenience. Thus international institutions have a significant role to play upon the world stage rather than being only mechanisms to greater efficiency.⁵⁵

The second approach that helps to evaluate the role of international organisation is the international system is the revolutionary one.⁵⁶ It regards international institutions as objects for specific policy formulation. The primary aim of international institutions is viewed to be that of being utilised as a means of attaining a final objective as envisioned by the states. This view does not consider international institutions as primarily targeting to evolve a world community of states based on global association. This approach sees states as units that will benefit from global institutional structures.

⁵⁴ Goodwin, G., World Institutions and World Order; In C. Cosgrove & K. Twitchett, The New International Actors. New York, 1970, Pp. 55-7.

⁵⁵ Bowett, D. W., Op Cit, P. 73.

⁵⁶ Goodwin, G., Op Cit, Pp. 57-91.

The third approach is projected by realist thoughts. In realist perspective international organisations are viewed as a forum for states searching for dominance.⁵⁷ States are in a constant search for power and supremacy. The eventuality of the 1st and 2nd world wars demonstrated that the foundation of the League of Nations and the UN reinforced the status quo of the new balance of power.⁵⁸ Thus what is described as the World Order is a reflection of the operation of the principle of the balance of power. Realists perceive the role of world organisations as reinforcing that balance and enabling it to safely and gradually altered in the light of changing patterns of power. This has led to some weaknesses on the part of international organisations to effectively tackle issues without causing intrigues among member states.

International institutions can be looked into more adequately by combining the above approaches and establish an inter-linkage between the various world-views. The inter-dependence of states has indeed compelled states to create viable organs for cooperation. Through international agreements, cooperation can be sustained to improve upon the basic political areas of peace.

2.4. Scope of International Organisations.

The scope of international organisations presents the level at which international organisations are founded and the extent to which they participate in international affairs. The states are the founders of international organisations and they seek to entrench the people's expectations when interacting in international relations. In this view the security of the people is considered inherent in the relations among states. They decide the issues that these organisations should handle and the formalities that

⁵⁷ Ibid, P. 62.

⁵⁸ Shaw, M. N., Op Cit, P. 890.

should be followed. This part is concerned with this categorisation and the mandate that is conferred upon institutions at regional and universal levels. The international organisations would be reviewed to determine if they look into human security issues in the programme initiation and implementation. The international organisation would be discussed as universal, regional and sub-regional and their contribution to human security initiatives.

2.4.1. Organisations of a Universal Character

Organisations of universal character encompass membership from across the globe. These types of organisations seek to promote international cooperation, peace and security.⁵⁹ The member states in the international system continue to face a wide range of new and unprecedented threats and challenges. To address them the states need cooperative efforts that transcend their regional territories. Some of these problems cannot be addressed by individual states. They include environmental threats, security, economy and international crime.

The developments in international cooperation has engendered supranational organisations like the UN and international regimes that seek to establish norms, rules, processes and organisation that help govern the behaviour of states in an area of international concern.⁶⁰ These regimes have been noted in protection of international bodies of water like the Regime for oceans and seas. The trade regime under the WTO has established regulations for international trade practices.

⁵⁹ Rourke, T. J., International Relations in the World State, 2002, P. 197.

⁶⁰ Ibid

The United Nation encompasses specialised agencies whose influence on government policies has gradually improved the nature of international relations.⁶¹ It is upon the UN to ensure peaceful settlement of disputes among states and also promote economic and social cooperation in a wide range of issues to achieve collective security.

In regard to the objectives of the UN, the human security issues are highlighted. The desire by the UN to have a peaceful environment where the rights of the people are respected socially, economically and culturally is a contribution towards the human security of the people in Africa.

2.4.2. Regional Organisations

Regional organisations emerged more prominently after the end of the 2nd World War. These are organisations that link together geographically and ideologically related states.⁶² These organisations have emerged across the continents and subcontinents with different objectives but they basically look forward to foster the aspirations of member states. The next section will dwell on the various regional groupings and their efforts to build peace and security in the respective areas.

⁶¹ Shaw, M. N., Op Cit, p. 892.

⁶² Ibid p. 893.

2.4.2.1 Europe

In Europe, NATO emerged to counter possible threats from the Soviet Union.⁶³ NATO member states included the US and Canada plus fourteen members from Europe. They sought to consult where territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of them has been threatened.⁶⁴ These states accepted an armed attack on one of them should be considered as an attack to against all. This approach aimed at enhancing the security of the member states and deter any external security threats. NATO has in effect managed to fulfil its mandate and in cooperation with the Western European countries managed to help implement UN sanctions in trouble areas like former Yugoslavia and Bosnia.⁶⁵ This shows that security is more guaranteed at regional level through inter-state cooperation and by collaboration with the United Nations.

Apart from NATO, the European Union was founded among the European nations to further economic integration and in the longer run a political federation.⁶⁶ The EU has endeavoured to protect the European economy from any external unfair trade practices. In addition it has been established organs of governance like the EU parliament to develop common external policies, political or economic policies that promote the welfare of member states. This institution seeks to protect the interests of the European citizens through spelling out common governmental policies on social, economic, and political development.

⁶³ Rourke, T. J., Op Cit, P. 200.

⁶⁴ Myers, K., NATO, The Next Thirty Years. London, Boulder, 1980, P. 14.

⁶⁵ Shaw, M. N., p. 895

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 898.

The EU has also recognised the need to address conflict prevention in order to achieve development beyond its region of membership. Conflicts perpetuate poverty and eventually lead to social exclusion increases the risk of violent conflict. The EU has undertaken the effort to ensure that specific conflict prevention activities are supported.⁶⁷ The non-state actors have been allocated resources to run programmes that will bring an end to an existing conflict like that of Sudan and Somalia through IGAD mediation. Direct peace processes and peace building initiatives have benefited from the EU. Peace that is realised through non-state engagement is a pointer towards the role international organisations can play in promoting peace and security.

2.4.2.2 South America

In the South of America there emerged the Organisation of American States after the Second World War.⁶⁸ It consists of the Rio Treaty of 1947 that aims to provide a collective defence system and the 1948 Treaty of Bogara. The organisation aims to entrench a collective system where an attack on one is deemed an attack on all.⁶⁹ The organisation consists of structures such as the General Assembly and Permanent Council whose responsibilities are to make facilitate decision-making on social and political affairs. In addition the OAS has adopted a human Rights Convention that spells out what the respective member-states should adopt in their territories regarding human rights issues.

The OAS institution has not only concerned itself on state security but it has sought ways to ascertain human beings are also secure within a secure territorial state. It is

⁶⁷ *Cotonou Agreement*, Article 72

⁶⁸ Shaw, M. N., *Op Cit*, p. 905.

⁶⁹ Wood, M., *The Organisation of American States*, in *33 Year Book of World Affairs (YBWA)*, 1979, p. 148.

important for states to understand that not only external aggression is a threat to state security but also domestic high handedness is a threat to people's security. Emphasis should be linked to human security of which states will build national security.

The North Atlantic Free Trade Area is another initiative established in the Latin America to create investment opportunities, free trade area and technological transfer.⁷⁰ The initiative saw America take lead in investing in the nearby regions to reduce the cost of production in their own country. The USA had encountered labour shortage and constraints in environmental management. The extensive industrial investment in Mexico for example led to environmental pollution. The labour unrest and ill health of workers continue dogging the country to date. The NAFTA that was intended to promote socio-economic welfare is a threat to it. The observation here is that the initiative did not get far in achieving the human developmental goals foreseen due to excessive entrenchment of US interests.

2.4.2.3 The Arab States

The Arab States established their own organisation to look into their welfare. The Arab League was founded in 1944 and it spelt out broad objectives on security and politics in the Arab world.⁷¹ It draws membership from Arabian Countries and some from the North and East Africa region. It is a forum for the formulation of Arab politics and encourages regional cooperation. The Council of the League is the supreme organ and performs a useful conciliatory role in conflicts. Other subsidiary organs of the league deal with economic, cultural and social issues.

⁷⁰H.W. Singer, The Strategy of International Development, London, Macmillan Press Limited 1980, p. 48

⁷¹ MacDonald, R. W., The League of Arab States, Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1965, Pp. 23.

The Council of the Arab League has been pivotal in peacekeeping operations. Notable in these are in Kuwait in 1961 when an Inter-Arab Force was established to deter Iraqi threats and in Lebanon in 1976 when it served as an umbrella for the operations of the Syrian troops.⁷²

From the viewpoint of Arab League involvements, the regional organisations are indeed a forum for states to promote regional peace, cooperation and security. The states are occupied with security issues that may generate insecurity. The states are also interested in promoting their welfare through ascertaining that their interests are not threatened by more powerful states. The case of Kuwait exemplified in 1990, after Iraq invasion, that a state is vulnerable to aggression if it is not a member of a regional organisation that can protect it within a contiguous zone of aggressive states. It is valid to assert that regional organisations are effective instruments for not only promoting national interest but also resolving disputes and enforcing peace.

2.4.2.4 Asia

In Asia the conspicuous regional grouping is the Association of South East Asian Nations. The organisation was founded in 1967 and it possesses both economic and political aims.⁷³ It operates on the basis of annual ministerial meetings and a series of permanent committees covering areas of trade, commerce and research.

The ASEAN has undergone changes since inception. In 1976 the member states signed an agreement on amity and cooperation.⁷⁴ In this agreement they reaffirmed the parties' commitment to peace and dealt with the peaceful settlement of disputes.

⁷² Bowett, Op Cit, P. 230.

⁷³ Shaw, M. N., International Law, Op Cit, P. 907.

⁷⁴ Ibid

In addition the members signed the Declaration of Asean Concord that called for expanded political and economic co-ordination and cooperation. The Permanent Secretariat that coordinates the national Secretariats was strengthened in 1992. It was given the mandate to foresee the other five Secretariats established in 1967. In 1987 the Treaty of Amity was amended to allow countries outside ASEAN to accede to the Treaty.

Although the ASEAN initiative in the South Asia region was founded to spur economic and industrial development.⁷⁵ The initiative was initially designed to create enabling environment for investment, trade and economic stability. The initiative thrived well to achieve its long-term goals till the 1997 East Asia Financial Crisis, which shook the financial stability of NICs. There are several lessons to be learnt from this scenario. First there is no guarantee that a regional co-operation will protect nations from external shocks. Secondly states in a regional co-operation need to pool resources to avert any financial crisis within the region. Finally states must contend with short-term investments in a region in terms of shares, stock and equity. These short-term investments create hot money that can be withdrawn as a form of investment in a short notice. The envisioned security becomes hindered to factors that are beyond the regional organisation's ability. Thus regional organisations may have a framework to resolve threats to security in states but they should be aware of other impeding factors in the contemporary global society.

The ASEAN case demonstrates that countries that share a common vision on social, economic and research development can team up to promote these ideals. To

⁷⁵A. Mattis, A Society for International Development, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1973, p. 118

effectively tackle these problems it is evident that the member states should be bound and they must have an established coordinating organ. The organisations are also required to be dynamic. They should change their goals and operate mechanisms to reflect the changes in the contemporary world.

2.4.2.5 African Regional Organisations

The African continent has had its fair share of regional groupings. However at continental level there has been one organisation operating formerly in the banner of OAU and currently the AU. The objectives of AU are social, economic, education, security and scientific in nature.⁷⁶ The organisation is equipped with a Commission of Medication, Conciliation and Arbitration for the peaceful settlement of disputes. The former OAU faced considerable problems in reconciling member states' policies especially in conflicts. For example Morocco withdrew its membership when the OAU advocated for the independence of Western Sahara in 1976. The organisation was also unable to successfully mediate the Chadian Civil War in 1983.⁷⁷

Apart from the continental body, there are other regional economic associations. There is ECOWAS in the West Africa, SADC in the Southern Africa region and COMESA in the Eastern and Southern Africa. The Sub-regional groupings have common aims. They all seek to promote trade and economic security of member states.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was created on May 28, 1975 in Lagos, Nigeria. ECOWAS was established to promote cooperation and

⁷⁶ AU Charter.

⁷⁷ Shaw, M. N., 'Dispute Settlement in Africa' in 37 Year Book of World Affairs, 1983, pp. 158-60.

integration in order to create an economic and monetary union for promoting economic growth and development in West Africa.⁷⁸ ECOWAS has encountered many problems in the process of regionally integrating West Africa, including: political instability and lack of good governance that has plagued many member countries; the insufficient diversification of national economies; the absence of reliable infrastructure; and the multiplicity of organizations for regional integration with the same objectives. Several ECOWAS-member countries are currently part of the West African Monetary Union (UEMOA), a regional economic and monetary union which shares a common currency (the CFA Franc). The Francophone-countries of Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo, with Guinea Bissau (Lusophone), comprise UEMOA. From this overview it is indicative that regional organizations are out to pursue the common security strategy for member countries in the economic and socio-political fronts.

The Cotonou Agreement is a partnership between the African Caribbean and Pacific Countries and the EU. The partnership engages the countries from these areas in various programmes for developmental purposes. The area that is focused prominently is that of peace and security. The two are essential for development to be realised. Article 4 of the Cotonou Agreement provides for the non-state actors involvement on cooperation policies and strategies in areas that directly affect them.⁷⁹ To mention the word peace and security, various images come to mind. The main image is that of conflict, violence and lawlessness in a given environment. The African continent is not without its misfortunes. Conflicts are abound in the Africa. The conflicts are internal like that of Sudan and Somalia, and others are inter-state

⁷⁸ www.ecowas.org Accessed on 15th February 2006.

⁷⁹ The Cotonou Agreement, ACP-EU Agreement, 2000

like that of Uganda and Sudan, Ethiopia-Eritrea and Sudan-Ethiopia. Conflicts in these areas are caused by lack of democratic institutions, human rights abuses, and economic and social injustice. These problems cannot be resolved by the state organs *per se*. The gap between the government's performance and its expected goals can be bridged through non-state actors involvement.

These non-state organs can be reflected in inter-state initiatives like the current NEPAD. The mandate of NEPAD captures the tenets of economic growth through integration. The first approach towards attaining successful economic growth and development is good governance. Good governance is a basic requirement that can guarantee a long-lasting investment and attract reliable investors in one that is peaceful and secure.⁸⁰ The investors will least prefer an environment where there are threats towards their capital and monetary investments. The African markets have been avoided over a long time as a result of poor governance. Poor governance, lack of democratic space and oppression has led to war in most African countries. These volatile situations have discouraged investments from the west that would help capital flows and create employment.

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is a product of the continuing search by Africa people and their leaders to create Pan-African structures that can lead to the social and economic transformation of the continent in a rapidly globalizing world. NEPAD is also an instrument of the contestation between Africans seeking self-determination in their development efforts and those forces that seek the

⁸⁰A.D. Ball, & B. Wendall, *International Business*, New York, McGraw Hill 2002, p. 236

continuation of the exploitation of the continent's resources upon which the accumulation of their wealth depends.

The linkage that brings about this contestation is a historical, one but also a concrete one in that it manifests itself in the continuing structures of imperialist domination of the African people through the Post-colonial state, which continues to be a neo-colonial instrument of domination.⁸¹ The African countries have been subjected to perennial dependency on Northern economies for internal sustenance. The path laid as a foundation for Africa's economy by colonial powers was on the production of raw materials. The Africans were to labour and produce the raw materials for the European industries.⁸² The primary goods Africa produces are of less value than the processed or manufactured products from the North. Africa is therefore subjected to excessive poverty since it must labour intensively to produce competitive products for the European market that pay poorly. Africa needs to overcome this market domination and imbalance through an institution framework. NEPAD is an instrument through which African leaders seek to transform the continent through pooling their resources into vital sectors for economic take-off.

NEPAD therefore endeavours to restore peace and security in Africa to provide a stable environment for human and social development. In this process poverty will be eradicated and programmes will be instituted to pool resources to achieve a regional set of objectives. The pillars of NEPAD include good governance, democracy, peace and security, sound economic policy-making and execution, productive strategic

⁸¹ D. W Nabudere, NEPAD: Historical Background and its Prospects, Heinrich Boll Foundation, Nairobi 2002, p. 24

⁸² W. Rodney, How Europe underdeveloped Africa, London, Oxford University Press, 1974, p. 49.

partnership and domestic ownership and leadership.⁸³ These pillars make an allusion to what constitutes human security.

2.5 Conclusion

From the preceding overview of international organisations, it emerges that international organisations serve different purposes in the international system. It is evident that International organisation serve three major roles. First international organisations serve as instruments for meeting the goals of member states.⁸⁴ This is so because independent states are Sovereign and limited in ability to act across their territories. It is vital for these independent units to realise some of the desired goals through inter-governmental cooperative arrangements. Therefore intergovernmental organisation will reflect the values of member states' aspirations.

Secondly, International organisations are forums within which interstate action takes place.⁸⁵ The organisations provide meeting places for member states to interact, discuss, argue and cooperate or disagree. These forums are deemed neutral and provide an arena for airing views and reinforce diplomatically their values and policies.⁸⁶ This means member states can call upon other states to consider certain approaches in trying to solve problems that affect them or their citizens regionally or universally. Albeit disagreements that may arise states will gradually through negotiation formulate strategies for tackling any teething problems.

⁸³ NEPAD, Annual Report 2002, Pretoria.

⁸⁴ Archer, C., International Organisations. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983, P. 130.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, P. 136.

⁸⁶ Hoffmann, S., International Organisations and the International System in International Organisation. Vol. 24, 1970, Pp. 389-413.

Thirdly, international organisations play the role of independent actors in the international system. This means international organisations act in the World Scene without being affected significantly by the external forces.⁸⁷ In this view the organisation's responses are not predicated even from the most thorough knowledge of the environment and it possesses stable and coherent decision-making machinery within its boundaries. The entities are therefore actors in the international arena and compete with the nation-states in resolving international matters. However since these entities are a creation of states they are able to identify with the interests of member states as they champion their cause. The international organisations' capacity to act depends on the resolutions, recommendations or orders that emerge from its organs. This compels the member governments to act differently from the way in which they would otherwise act in pursuing their national interests.

The observations above provide a basis for analysing the effectiveness of international organisations in managing peace and entrenching human security further on. These organisations have the institutional legal framework from where to launch the activities within and between states. In addition these institutions have the mandate of states to carry forward the values upon which they were founded. Treaties that give rise to specific international organisations bind states and in case there are any biting problems, the disagreements can be negotiated to arrive at a peaceful solution. From this end states will achieve stability where international peace and security will be reassured.

⁸⁷ Deustch, K., External Influences in the Internal Behaviour of States; in Farrell R. B. (Ed.), Approaches to Comparative International Politics. New York: Free Press, 1966, P. 7.

The regional peace initiatives have set the agenda to enhance peace and stability in states. But they have been more reactive than proactive to most threatening situations to the human lives. The objectives of the regional initiatives in Africa have over a period of time sought to increase security in states by looking at extra-regional actors to mitigate in threats to state and human security. The human security perspective at present is shifting to emphasis on state centric restructuring of public management approaches of those sectors that would increase the people's potential to minimise suffering. Due to interdependence in the global processes, human security will be enhanced when states seek to implement common programmes in a region. It is recognisable that one problem in a state is potentially capable of spilling over to neighbouring states thus destabilising its, economic and social order. The overview presented here has given a framework on what are the challenges that face regional initiatives in promoting peace and security. The engagement of the African states through NEPAD is would point a step forward to improving human security situation in Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 NEPAD AND HUMAN SECURITY IN KENYA

The notion of human security will be investigated here within the framework of NEPAD. The study will focus on Kenya as a case study to find out if the NEPAD initiative has designed a programme aimed at enhancing human security. The programmes that will be evaluated are based on human security framework as defined in Chapter 1. In addition the Chapter will seek to find out the pertinent role the continental initiative is playing to achieve social and economic goals that are pro-human security.

The Chapter will make observations through documented evidence and oral interviews with the staff at the NEPAD offices. The emerging issues from oral interviews will be corroborated in the documented information. The NEPAD programmes that have been launched in Kenya to date are on information dissemination and stakeholder engagement, agricultural development, health, gender empowerment, infrastructure, information communication technology, environment and African peer review mechanism. All these are going to be examined in the foregoing sections to determine the level of NEPAD participation in the domain of human security.

The NEPAD-Kenya secretariat is tasked with the role of intensifying Kenya's participation in NEPAD activities at all appropriate levels. It also seeks to oversee the implementation of national development goals in relation to NEPAD activities. In this perspective the secretariat provides a better coordination of the activities of NEPAD in Kenya and enhances participatory capacity at national, regional and international levels.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Ibid

3.1 NEPAD and Information Dissemination and Stakeholders Engagement Programme

Information dissemination and stakeholders' engagement are basic to NEPAD-Kenya secretariat if it intends to run and achieve its goals. Information dissemination is the process through which NEPAD-Kenya secretariat endeavours to make the public informed of its existence, its purpose and its ultimate objectives. The secretariat disseminates this information through print and electronic media, open forum workshops and campaigns.⁸⁹ The current endeavours are focused on creating awareness at provincial and district levels. NEPAD –Kenya secretariat has designed schedules that will lead to various meetings in form of seminars and workshops at provincial levels. The seminars are to strategize on how to reach district levels and sensitise the communities on their role in realizing the Millennium Development Goals. The participation of the local communities in these programmes will endear the NEPAD programmes to the people and the pace of economic growth and security would be enhanced. The poverty eradication programmes also target this population who should understand their position and role in contributing towards economic emancipation.

Stakeholders' engagement focuses mainly on civil society and private sector in coming up with specific programs tailored to improve the social and economic welfare of the society. The civil society is involved in this aspect since by its nature of being voluntary, self-supporting and autonomous from the state it can win the public

⁸⁹Interview with Principal Economist NEPAD – Kenya Secretariat, See Interview Questions, Appendix 1

trust in the development initiatives.⁹⁰ It therefore engages citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interests, values and ideas. In addition there is exchange of ideas and information on how to achieve mutual goals, make demands on the state and hold state officials accountable.

In Kenya the role of civil society in public issues has strengthened over time and currently it is an important vehicle in community development. Before the onset of multiparty, civil society was muzzled by the KANU regime. But the situation has changed since 1992.⁹¹ The number of registered NGOs has increased and their participation in public is more tolerated especially after the 2002 general elections when Kenya witnessed a transition on the presidency. For example it directly mobilizes people around the on-going constitutional review process through the Ufungamano initiative and other lobby groups. This engagement demonstrates the level of influence civil society can exert on the people. NEPAD–Kenya stands a chance to succeed in its programmes through civil society participation.

Civil society organisations in Kenya proliferated during the period of 1974–1986. These are notably dominated by non-governmental organisations whose number has grown from 125 in 1974 to 400 in 1986, with the figure presently standing at 2,257 and many more thought to be operating illegally.⁹² It is also argued that about 60 per cent of those registered are not active. The number of voluntary non-profit organisations in Kenya is however estimated to be over 150,000. Today, NGOs have become such common features in the Kenyan socio-economic and political life that it

⁹⁰L. Diamond, "Rethinking Civil Society" in Crossroads, USIS Newsletter, Lagos, February 1995, p. 9

⁹¹ F. M'boge, & S. Gbaydee Doe, African Commitments to Civil Society Engagement: A review of eight NEPAD Countries, Pretoria, Africa Human Security Initiative, 2005 p. 33

⁹²Institute of Development Studies, Kenya Development Report, Nairobi, 2002. p 8

is not possible to exclude them from social and public policy discourse.⁹³ These organisations are in the front to help begin community based project to help generate income and reduce dependence on government input in poverty reduction strategies. This approach secures the communities a more guaranteed economic livelihood.

The NEPAD secretariat in Kenya has put up programmes through media houses and campaigns to create public awareness.⁹⁴ The secretariat aims to capture a wide range of participants in its programmes especially from the private sector. The purpose of the exercise is to pool resources to improve the infrastructure, which may contribute to increased investment and job-creation to reduce poverty in the country. The consistency of the private sector contribution to infrastructure development will secure a source of reliable financing and capital investment aimed to increase efficiency and stimulate economic growth.

NEPAD – Kenya secretariat has also sought to spearhead Kenya’s participation in the African Peer Review Mechanism.⁹⁵ APRM is a programme that has been designed to enable African leaders pressurise one another to adopt democracy and economic governance in their countries. Since July 2003, the APRM has engaged leaders from Ghana, Rwanda, Kenya and Mauritius in steering forward the adoption of NEPAD sectoral programmes as frameworks for National Development plans. The priority areas have been education health, agriculture, rural development, energy, water and sanitation, and Information Communication Technology.

⁹³ Civil Societies in the South, www.valt.helsinki.fi (accessed 28th July 2005).

⁹⁴ Ibid

⁹⁵ NEPAD Annual Report, 2003/2004, NEPAD Secretariat, S.A. p 14

The engagement of private sector in NEPAD-Kenya programmes focuses on the major areas identified as priority for the development of the country.⁹⁶ The private sector is assumed here to be efficient and effective in resource allocation. The government's MDGs are about resource re-allocation to improve human conditions. The re-allocation of resources in the public sector should be in conformity to private sector reforms. The private sector forms the alternative source of employment, investment and community development. The NEPAD-Kenya secretariat finds the private sector a forum for initiating the main programmes like infrastructure, health, information communication technology and agriculture more efficiently.

3.2 NEPAD and Agricultural Sector Development

Agriculture is the basic drive of most African economies. The contribution of agriculture to Kenya's economy is enormous.⁹⁷ The sectoral statistics shows it can be used to improve an economy if it is properly attended to at policy level. Research statistics indicate that there is a need to reallocate resources into the sector for sustainable growth.

The total share of Agricultural GDP between 1990-2000 indicated that it contributes about a quarter of Kenya's GDP.⁹⁸ However the trend shows a gradual decline in the sector. This can be attributed to two factors. One is the decline in world prices of major crops like tea and coffee and secondly there has been neglect in the sector due low allocation of government expenditures to extension services and training of

⁹⁶Interview with the Principal Economist, NEPAD-Kenya Secretariat, op cit

⁹⁷Central Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Abstracts 1990-2000.

⁹⁸ Ibid

specialised personnel.⁹⁹ In Kenya the sector has been neglected over time and the levels of production have gone down. The impact has been reflected in food shortages in most areas. Kenya has been relying on relief food to nourish part of its population. Massive imports of grain foods have stepped down the balance of trade. The sector needs a revamp to guarantee food security and protect the country from excessive importation, which weakens the economy. The food security is a basic concern for NEPAD. This forms the basic reason for NEPAD to steer the sector forward to ensure food security in the country.

NEPAD-Kenya has made it a priority to mobilize national budgetary allocation for agricultural development.¹⁰⁰ The allocation of resources in this sector is vital for the elimination of extreme poverty and hunger. The vision of NEPAD is to improve Africa's social and economic welfare and it begins with the individuals in a state. The focus on agricultural sector will overcome the first barrier to development, extreme poverty and hunger. Increased food supply is the only guarantee to this objective.

In the Agriculture sector, NEPAD Agricultural programme Action Plan 2003-2015 has been adopted to prevent shortages. The ministers were also challenged to mobilize national budgetary allocations for agricultural development in line with the African Peer by the Regional Economic communities.¹⁰¹ The comprehensive Agriculture Development programme in Eastern Africa has focused on land and water management, infrastructure and market access, increasing food supply, agriculture research and technology dissemination and adoption. African ministers of Agriculture

⁹⁹ Sessional Paper No. 2, 1999, The Liberalization and Restructuring of the Tea Industry, Nairobi, Ministry of Agriculture, p 57

¹⁰⁰ Ministry of Planning and National Development, The Planning Bulletin, Vol 2. 1 Jan 2005, p. 68

¹⁰¹ Ministry of Health, The Ministry of Health Report 2003 – 2004, Ministry of Health, Nairobi 2004, p. 88

after holding the 23rd Regional conference in March 2004 in South Africa, agreed to continue reviewing and tracking the implementation of the agricultural food policies Review Mechanism (APRM) for the sector and create more employment opportunities for the continent.

Statistics from the government show that agriculture increasingly absorbs more and more people into employment as a result of its informal nature.¹⁰² There are more people getting into the sector expecting to be well catered for in remuneration. Due to its diversity, the sector will continue to involve more people in wage employment. This requires the government to allocate more resources in the sector since it plays a major role in the country's economy.

The Kenya government has resolved to mobilize resources to support agriculture and rural development to resolve food insecurity and unemployment.¹⁰³ The government has engaged the UNDP, ICRAF and the Global Hunger Task Force in research and funding for projects in the rural areas. The research is focused on identifying agricultural crops tenable in different areas for high yield production. Funding on research is paramount from partners to realize this goal. The areas to benefit from these programmes require sensitisation exercises before actual launching. The Government has taken steps to run sensitisation exercises through workshops, training of trainers and public gatherings. This approach fits in NEPAD initiative as it emphasise on partnership in appraising agricultural production. The masses are also involved since they will own the programme once they are sensitised.

¹⁰² Ibid

¹⁰³ Ibid

The initiative to improve agricultural production is a solution that will be sustainable in eradicating food insecurity. Hunger is a specific point of departure for eradicating extreme poverty not only in Kenya but also in the entire continent. In Kenya the initiative is poised to succeed if the government acknowledges the importance of the sector and reinstates government funded extension programmes. Research should continue playing a central role in improving agriculture production. Identifying partners to work with in research should continue to be Kenya's continuous exercise. Funding and research expertise is resourceful from partners. Kenya does not have adequate researchers and funds to launch long-term programmes aimed at increasing agriculture productivity. Therefore NEPAD initiatives in agricultural sector are enhancing the country's ability to secure long-term prospects in food security.

3.3 NEPAD and the Health Sector Program Initiatives

Health services are basic to human survival but very scarce for majority of the people in Africa. The absence of health infrastructure, personnel and drugs is a threat to the human lives. The treatable diseases lead to high mortality rates in the continent Kenya included. The African continent is faced with numerous health threats. They range from child mortality, maternal deaths, HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases. The development of a country will mainly depend on the health status of its people. A sickly country or a country with majority of its people ailing will exhaust its budgetary allocations on health and require more from exchequer to address disease outbreaks. This scenario will cut down resources for development and people will have less or no saving to invest. The economic growth envisaged will not be achieved soon if these factors persist.

The MDGs in Kenya have designed programmes to fight major killer diseases - malaria and HIV/AIDS. The prevalence rates of HIV/AIDS in Kenya are huge and threaten the manpower in a developing economy. The medical requirements are an emphasis in the MDGs to attend to the needy cases.¹⁰⁴

The statistics from the ministry of health indicate that health will continue to be a focus of high expenditure among the people in Kenya. The prevalence rates for HIV infections are indicating that most provinces exhibit a rate of above 10% except North Eastern whose population is scarcely distributed. The prevalence in provinces therefore point out that health services should be provided by the government in order to curb the rising trend of HIV infections and curb both maternal and infant mortality rate.¹⁰⁵

The MDGs mirror some of NEPAD's objectives in the health sector.¹⁰⁶ NEPAD emphasises that child mortality and improved maternal health are paramount for a country's sustained growth. The NEPAD initiative provides that governments should expand the health facilities into the rural areas where majority of the population reside. The Ministry of Health in partnership with UNDP and the WHO has launched programmes to fight malaria in rural Kenya. The programmes envisage providing mosquito nets to prevent Malaria infection especially among the children and mothers. The programmes will further sensitise the people on their vulnerability to dangerous diseases. This will form a significant step towards removing health threats to human lives.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

¹⁰⁵ Ministry of Health Bulletin, 2000.

¹⁰⁶ Ministry of Planning, The Millennium Development Goals, March 2005

In the health sector, the NEPAD healthy strategy has prompted Kenya to increase its budgetary allocation to health.¹⁰⁷ The NEPAD health strategy stipulates that governments should allocate more resources to build more health facilities and ensure the poor access health services cheaply. The object is to reduce infant mortality, improve maternal health care, prevent malaria infections and reduce HIV/AIDS prevalence. The NEPAD secretariat has also engaged the government for greater mobilization of resources for health. The support granted by UN agencies has made a greater contribution and forged close relationships with African countries to promote the WHO goals. The Kenya secretariat is engaging other civil society organizations and health institutions to take the health strategy forward.¹⁰⁸

The programmes on health sector development are not comprehensive. The programmes on health have focused on infant mortality and maternal health programmes but the HIV pandemic is not highlighted. The health programmes seem to be focused on sectoral health management. The sectors to be addressed first might leave other emerging problems. The NEPAD programmes in Kenya have in essence begun to identify the health critical areas to enable them intervene and avert prevalent threats to the state.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Programme Officer, Communication, op cit

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Programme Officer, Communication, NEPAD Secretariat, op cit

3.4 Gender Equality and Empowerment

Gender means the state of being either male or female. The male and female genders define and characterise all human beings in society. The two genders are distinguished from one another by physical, that is, biological sexual differences. The term has however increasingly acquired a social meaning where the word gender defines how the male and the female gender relate in society.¹⁰⁹ Gender mainstreaming demands that there be a gender equality perspective incorporated in all policies at all levels and stages. Indeed a gender analysis elicits different questions about the causes and effects of insecurity in different sectors of the society. It provides a better understanding of unequal social hierarchies and inequality and oppression, which are prevalent in societies experiencing conflict.

Gender empowerment is taking a centre stage in public policies. The traditional approach to handling gender issues has rested on men who happen to make decisions at domestic and public level. This phenomenon segregated women from rising to their full potential in most public sectors. The anomaly requires concerted efforts by the Governments to empower women. This can be achieved by enlightening and sensitising women on their capabilities in social and economic framework.¹¹⁰ The exercise can have effectiveness through education.

¹⁰⁹ Miller, E., *Gender, Power and Politics* in I. Skjelsbaek & D. Smith (Eds), *Gender Peace and Conflict*, Oslo, Sage Publications, 2001, p 83

¹¹⁰ Zurayk, H. C. & Fidia Saadeh: *Women as Mobilisers of Human Resources in Arab Countries*; In Khoury Nabil & M. M. Valentine. (Eds.) *Gender and Development in the Arab World*, (1994), p. 35.

The Education sector has been given priority by NEPAD. The secretariat in Kenya has approved the basic education systems. In focus the secretariat has endeavoured to promote gender equality in primary and secondary schools.¹¹¹ The NEPAD initiative has taken consideration that the education system is gender imbalanced. The gender desk at the secretariat has designed programmes in collaboration with the civil society that will enable girl-child to attain higher education. Once the gender parity is attained at higher institutions the initiative will be at a position to entrench its influence in gender sensitive programmes in education institutions.

3.5 Infrastructure Development

Infrastructure enables an economy to be sustainable if it is consistent and reliable. Infrastructure includes transport and communication means, banking and insurance services, electricity and water supplies. Infrastructure is one of the vital areas for economic growth and development. Africa experiences one of the poorest infrastructure in the world. To resuscitate any economy, emphasis must be drawn into this sector. In economic perspectives the level of infrastructure development determines how goods and services are distributed to the consumers. Consumers can be able to buy what they desire if it can be delivered to them. With poor infrastructure it becomes expensive for consumers to access goods in the market. Thus the demand of any product is reduced if the infrastructure is poor in a given region.

¹¹¹Interview with Programme Officer, Communication, NEPAD Secretariat, op cit

NEPAD secretariat has been consulting with cooperating partners and development finance, institutions such as the ADB, WB, EU commission and the development bank of Southern Africa on a number of infrastructure projects to be commissioned in 2004/2005 period.¹¹² In Kenya the improvement of major roads has been spearheaded by EU under the programme of NEPAD. The Secretariat is affirmative that the continued negotiations with G8 will grant Kenya more aid to improve its road network.¹¹³

3.6 Information Communication Technology Initiative (ICT)

Information communication technology entails use of modern electronic and satellite technology to transfer information efficiently in a shorter time interval and more conveniently. The third world has lagged behind in ICT and continues to rely on the developed world to access these services at a high price. NEPAD initiative seeks to make ICT cheaper and affordable to enhance information dissemination in Africa. The rationale for this approach is derived from the view that any growing economy, information should be available for both sellers and buyers.¹¹⁴ Imperfection in information will lead to exploitation of the buyers or producers. Africa needs incursion from the market anomalies through efficient communication systems. To secure the African continent from massive exploitation, NEPAD seeks to mobilise resources to create a link between Africa and rest of the world through broadband network.

¹¹² NEPAD, Annual Report 2002, op cit, p 32

¹¹³ Interview with Principal Economist NEPAD, op cit

¹¹⁴ S. Jacobson, & T. Sigardson (Eds), Technological Trends and Challenges in Electronics: Dominance of Industrialised world and responses in the Third World, University of Lund, Lund, 1983 p. 88

NEPAD recognizes the central role of ICT in accelerating economic growth and development. It is particularly important in the context of achieving common market and continental integration.¹¹⁵ To achieve the goal of ICT in Africa, literacy on ICT must begin early in the education cycle. With this recognition, the NEPAD secretariat in Kenya has started to implement the e-school initiative in some schools. The aim is to equip primary and secondary schools with ICT apparatus such as computers, phones and fax machines, scanners digital cameras and to connect them with Internet.

In Kenya six secondary schools will be linked to 16 others in Africa via satellite under the KSh.40 million programme. The implementation of this programme from September 2005 will benefit Isiolo Girls (Isiolo), Mumbi Girls (Muranga), Menengai High School (Nakuru), Chavakali Boys (Vihiga), Wajir Girls (Wajir) and Maranda Secondary (Bondo). The programme will train and monitor the school and community officials through a South African consortium company.¹¹⁶

The NEPAD ICT infrastructure programme aims to connect all African countries to a broadband terrestrial fibre-optic network. This network will in the long run be connected to the rest of the world. The e-Africa commission has also established a submarine-optical fibre system along the East coast of Africa. These features will provide easier connectivity and reduced communication costs. By December 2003, 11 telecommunication network operators and services from East and Southern African countries agreed to participate in the development and implementation of the ICT project in collaboration with NEPAD and the e-Africa commission.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*

¹¹⁶ Six Schools to benefit from Sh.40m Nepad ICT Project. *The Standard*, July 28,2005

From this participation Kenya is party to the program and will be a beneficiary in terms of trade, social and cultural development.¹¹⁷

To ensure ICT is understood and embraced NEPAD-Kenya secretariat has engaged the ministry of Education in launching pilot project for e-schools.¹¹⁸ The Ministry has identified the location of six centres in the country to begin the programme. If the programme provides desirable results, they will be taken as models for other schools to participate in future. The schools are the foundation of communities, information dissemination, training and transformation. The project will take the country strides ahead if ICT training will begin at primary school level. The NEPAD initiative will assist schools establish the curriculum for ICT and provide computers and accessories to facilitate the project take-off.

NEPAD has also recognized the role of science and technology for sustainable development.¹¹⁹ The secretariat took an initiative in November 2003 and congregated Ministers to design flagship programmes to address science and technology issues. The initiative decided to launch similar programmes in the region for effective communication networking and policy formulation as they strategise for regional integration.

The secretariat has established centres of excellence to spearhead bioscience research to improve agricultural productivity. The centres will also be used to attract African scientists based in Europe and the US to return and conduct research in these centres.

¹¹⁷Ibid

¹¹⁸ Interview with Programme Officer, Communication, op cit.

¹¹⁹Ibid

The centres in South Africa, Senegal, Ghana, Egypt and Tunisia may help reverse brain drain that has been witnessed heavily in Kenya and other African countries. The majority-qualified personnel can be offered jobs at competitive rates to retain them in Africa for their expertise. The centres will also come up with topical science policy issues such as intellectual property protection and technology development, trends in bio-diversity science, trends in water sciences and technologies, funding of research and development,

The NEPAD-Kenya secretariat will posit some progress in initiating ICT programmes both for public and private sectors. The initiative will be a debut for Africa to begin relying on its own homegrown solutions to ICT. The ICT will be a parameter for securing Africa continent from external exploitation in the modern world where information availability on a timely basis will enable Africa carry out transactions at an equivalent level with the developed world.

3.7 Environmental Management & Sustainable Development

Environment and human security are linked at the point where the environment sufficiently caters for the basic human needs or fails to do so. Environment refers to the milieu where human beings stay and carry out activities for economic or social welfare. Environment can be described as the space on the earth's surface the subterranean, the waters and the atmosphere.¹²⁰ If these aspects of the environment are not well managed, conflict arises and economic development is stunted.

¹²⁰ J. Lind & K. Sturman (Eds), Scarcity and Surfeit: The Ecology of Africa's Conflicts, Pretoria Institute of Security Studies, 2002, p. 24

Some conflicts have emerged in the society as a result of environmental concerns. Some of these are in the riverain areas where national projects are being put up. These include that of constructing hydroelectric power stations without considering their impact on upstream inhabitants. The conflicts that arise between the locals and the government arise from inappropriate compensation for displacement and loss of economic benefits of the land. The cases of Tana River and Sondu Miriu are the recent examples in Kenya.¹²¹ The NEPAD initiative sees a fundamental guarantee in economic growth and development through proper environmental management. The NEPAD initiative emphasises that the environmental use should not threaten the livelihoods of communities. But rather their should be a comprehensive consultation in the process of project initiation to avoid future threats to human lives.

The overall objective of environment management and sustainable development in Kenya is articulated by National Environment Management Authority (NEMA).¹²² NEMA is charged with the responsibility of policy formulation and enforcement in all matters appertaining to environment. The body to date liases with NEPAD-Kenya secretariat to harmonize government objectives and those spelt out by NEPAD. NEMA is progressive in the implementation of its programmes. It has adequate staff and resources to inspect, sanction or recommend any industrial, construction or mining project subject to how each project may be a threat to the environment or will be sustainable in the long run.

Environment has been assigned an action plan by NEPAD. Environment initiative seeks to improve the environmental conditions in Africa in order to contribute to

¹²¹ *The East African*, July 5-11, Nairobi, 2003.

¹²² Interview with Deputy Chief Economist, Regional Integration op cit.

economic growth and poverty eradication.¹²³ The areas of focus that are included in the environmental Action Plan are: combating land degradation, conserving Africa's wet lands; preventing, controlling and managing invasive alien species; conserving and sustainably using marine and fresh water resources, combating climate change; management of cross-border natural resources and incorporating environment issues in health, poverty, technology transfer and disaster management.¹²⁴

NEPAD Secretariat in Nairobi is in the forefront to ensure adequate participation by stakeholders and the government in forums deliberating issues aforementioned. The participation in the first NEPAD cities consultative forum in May 2004, Nairobi participated alongside the seven NEPAD cities namely: Bamako, Douala, Durran, Lagos, Lusaka and Rabat. The forum drew the G-8 members into participation to discuss and review NEPAD goals. At top of the agenda was on sustainable cities. The sustainable cities would be achieved through good governance, sustainable economic development and the restoration of peace and security.¹²⁵ The rationale for calling on sustainable cities is to attract investors into towns that are secure and their investments can provide adequate returns. The G8 members attribute poor DFI into Africa as a result of uncertainty on stability of African cities.

Kenya is making strides to achieve sustenance in its cities through various sectoral programmes. There is an agenda to fight crime through community policing.¹²⁶ The government is also engaged in a programme with UN-habitat and donors to upgrade slum areas. The government further is in partnership with the UNEP to clean up the

¹²³ Ibid

¹²⁴ Ibid

¹²⁵ Interview with Principal Economist, NEPAD – Kenya Secretariat, op cit

¹²⁶ The Government Launches Community Policing, Article in the Daily Nation. 12th March 2005

polluted water bodies in the Nairobi City. All these are aimed to make Nairobi city a sustainable environment for habitation and economic investment.

From this overview the environment management and human security are intertwined. The NEPAD initiative recognises this relationship and has engaged the government of Kenya in realising its objectives in environmental management.

3.8 African Peer Review Mechanism

African Peer Review mechanism was established by NEPAD to engage individual countries' leadership in spearheading review of policies in the member countries to establish the best practices and comply with established standards, principles, codes and other agreed commitments.¹²⁷ Leaders in Africa should improve governance to create the conditions for growth and development through the continent's own efforts and by attracting investments and development assistance from international partners. There are only eight countries under APRM out of the nineteen that have acceded to it. Kenya is among these nine countries, which include: Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, Algeria, Ethiopia, Uganda and South Africa.

Kenya falls in the eight countries owing to its institutional and political stability. The NEPAD-Kenya secretariat was located in Nairobi due to this consideration. Kenya therefore enjoys a regional representation image where data required for effective APRM is available.¹²⁸ NEPAD-Kenya secretariat has facilitated the exercise by advocating for government accountability in all sectors by presenting reports through ministers and the office of the president. The government is currently subject to civil

¹²⁷Cillier, J. Human Security in Africa: A Conceptual Framework for Review, Pretoria, The African Human Security Initiative, 2004 p. 2

¹²⁸Ibid

society engagement in setting agendas for the country.¹²⁹ The process would make Kenya a strong democracy with favourable environment for long-term investment. Currently the country is in the footpath to achieve high political scores but hindrances continue pitching the government especially with its failure to enact a new constitution after promising to do so three years ago. Investors will feel confident to invest in a stable political environment because they can predict the trend of macro and micro policies over a long duration. This will determine the turnover of investors into the country and will accelerate economic growth.

The most pronounced programme in the NEPAD initiatives is the APRM. In the Nairobi secretariat, the programme is managed by a technical team and volunteers from UNDP, in collaboration with the Civil Society. The technical team and the volunteers take charge in operations for review as described by the APRM core documents.¹³⁰ The core document ascribes to democracy, political, economic and corporate governance. These are the definite variables that set standards and agreed codes on the evaluation exercise. The Nairobi NEPAD secretariat facilitates the participation of Kenya in the APRM programme.¹³¹ It provides a consultative forum for the executive on how to prepare for and participate in APRM. It also specifies particular roles and responsibilities of the various stakeholders in APRM programme. The APRM programme is vital in Kenya because of the planned action to improve on governance, economic management and corporate governance. APRM countries with high rating will also attract investors because of the perceived improved

¹²⁹F. M'boge & S.G. Doe, African Commitments to Civil Society Engagement: A Review of Eight NEPAD Countries. Pretoria, African Human Security Initiative, 2004 p. 33

¹³⁰ NEPAD, Annual Report 2003/2004, op, cit p. 38

¹³¹ Interview with the Principal Economist, NEPAD Secretariat op cit.

governance.¹³² This will create more jobs and improve household incomes in the country. In this respect, the freedom of the people to freely engage in democracy, economic investment, and corporate governance, leads to an increased sense of personal growth and human security. Therefore there is need for sound leadership in a state for these positive achievements to be attained. The NEPAD has sought to entrench this basic value of human security in Kenya through APRM.

NEPAD-Kenya secretariat recognises the central role of civil society and the private sector in articulating some of its programmes.¹³³ NEPAD-Kenya secretariat seeks to include rural populations, religious groups, trade unions, the media, women and youth in spearheading APRM. The programmes are on course and are expected to achieve effect in terms of democratisation and governance in the country. The rating of Kenya from this end will be higher than the majority of African countries. This score will be at the fore in promoting the country's welfare in social and economic aspects. The APRM is more concrete and innovative in strengthening democracy and political governance, economic governance and management, corporate governance and socio-economic development.¹³⁴ The NEPAD-Kenya secretariat has made initiatives to address intra-and inter-state conflicts through regional institutions and civic bodies.¹³⁵ The support of regional bodies like IGAD in the mediation of the Somali and Sudan conflicts is floated in NEPAD. This will enable countries to have peace and entrench constitutional democracy, protect social, economic, cultural and civil rights. The protection of these fundamental rights will in turn create a system of transparency basic in economic investment. APRM will inspire countries to adopt an appropriate

¹³² Ibid

¹³³ Ibid

¹³⁴ Ibid p. 6.

¹³⁵ Kairo Nancy, "The Spirit of NEPAD" Paper presented to the 5th Resource based conference, November 26th 2004, New Site, South Sudan.

approach for public sector management. In Kenya public scrutiny on the government actions is yielding positive outcome to government initiative to curb corruption. The government through Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission is prosecuting the public civil servants who engage in corrupt actions. These actions point to a community that in future seeks to make the general population achieve social, political, and economic goals at ease. The absence of the constraints to achieve these goals improves the human security in a state.

3.9 Conclusion

NEPAD-Kenya has endeavoured to champion the core goals and objectives of human security. It has sought to streamline the attainment of human security goals through private sector and government agencies. This approach is integrative and cohesive since human security entails social and government responsibility.

The initiatives outlined by NEPAD encompass the basic protective measures that are paramount for the attainment of basic human needs in the society. The regional initiative is developing measures whose objectives are embedded in human security principles. Accordingly NEPAD has chosen to appraise the core socio-economic sectors to reduce threats to human lives. The sector such as agriculture, infrastructure, information communication technology, health and environment management, if improved to high standards then there is assurance by to the society to have improvement in economic development.

Every individual strives to achieve economic goals to effectively live and survive in his or her environment. The agenda of developing oneself economically raises the concept of security in broad terms. This confirms that the human security initiative

by NEPAD is founded on the premise that human beings can be developed and sustained through programmes that are designed to alleviate suffering or threats to human life.

The Chapter also observed that through sound political structures, a state is able to make strides towards human security. The democratisation process in a state is a step towards human security. People are able to participate in decision-making and determine the way they should be governed. This provision engenders particular sense of security that emanates from the belongingness to the system of government. The concept of human security is reversed in non-democratic institutions.

The Chapter has finally sought to establish the role of regional cooperation in entrenching values of human security in the continent. The NEPAD initiative has established APRM to engage government leaders and heads of states to draw benchmarks for improving human security. The initiative recognises that there is little progress a state can achieve on its own when surrounded by states that are not carrying out similar initiatives to reduce threats to human security. In tandem with the core objective of eradicating poverty, NEPAD continues to devise strategies that are focussed in intergovernmental cooperation for faster socio-economic development.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

This section of the research will dwell on analysing critically the previous chapters to make a synthesis of the role of regional peace initiatives in the development of human security. It will also bring to fore the challenges that surround the regional peace initiatives in promoting human security. The synthesis of the chapters will be achieved through cross-reference to issues that emerged in the chapters and tying them up with the proposed objectives of the study.

This research set out in chapter one to find out the role of regional peace initiatives in enhancing human security. The chapter laid a foundation for carrying out the study by defining the concepts of regional initiatives and human security. The concept of human security was viewed as to surpass the traditional perspective of national security that mainly concentrates on territorial integrity and preservation of sovereign. Human security was therefore was illuminated to encompass the absence of any threat towards humanity. States have traditionally sought solutions to problems within their territory of control with the emergence of trans-boundary issues that threaten human security, it is no longer possible for individual states to pursue comprehensively the agenda of security. Regional Peace initiatives have been engendered to fill the gap in socio-economic development where states cannot meaningfully pursue a human security goal in isolation.

Chapter one identified human security to be based on five levels based on a traditional approach.¹³⁶ These levels are reflected at the personal, community, national, regional

¹³⁶ Human Security Institute, Op Cit.

and international perspectives. The need to enhance security at all these levels is first identified by states. The research established in Chapter two that regional peace initiatives have evolved in the post-Westphalia Treaty to engage states in cooperation to fulfil more interests. The states were here observed to make decisions through unanimous agreement to resolve inter-state problems. The states remain bound to decisions through treaties.

Chapter two also observed that the modern international organisations portray a trend whereby states seek to pool their efforts to solve a common problem. The states are compelled rather than by choice to cooperate due to the inability of unitary action to resolve global problems. Hence supranational organisation like the UN creates a forum and structures through which states can settle conflicts and initiate international development. This approach ties well with the inception of NEPAD by African states pursuing common national objectives as illustrated in Chapter three.

Chapter two also indicated that the realist international organisations act as a forum for states searching for dominance.¹³⁷ The international peace initiatives are not there for small states to benefit but rather the more powerful states to assert their influence more effectively. This notion was well demonstrated by investigating into the more active member states in the NEPAD programmes Chapter three on discussing the APRM programme it emerged only a few states are participants. The notion of dominant states emerges when it is evident that only countries that are economically well established like Kenya, South Africa, Nigeria and Ethiopia, Ghana, Senegal, Uganda and Algeria are pioneers in APRM.

¹³⁷ Goodwin, G., Op Cit, p. 62

This means that the APRM will be a programme of the rich African states whose values are intended to be adopted by the other states.

The international organisation established in various regions are focused to assist member states achieve an immediate goal that forms a major threat to their survival. The member states have to achieve this goal through inter-state cooperation and inter-linkage with other international organisations. This approach works more concretely because the regional problem is networked with the international system to get a wider solution. This means the perspective of human security is broadened beyond territorial boundaries for easier resolution. This basis was further reflected in Chapter three when extrapolating the objectives of NEPAD and their nature of work programmes. NEPAD in pursuing the core objective of eradicating poverty and seeks to initiate cooperation within Africa and networking with other regional organisations such as the EU to help open markets for Africa's products. The initiative seeks to protect the interests of African citizens through spelling out common governmental policies on social and economic levels.

The correlation between different regional organisations and NEPAD tie at the level of searching for stability among member states and create an enabling environment for economic development. The ASEAN, the Arab League, ECOWAS, and the AU were all founded to stabilise their regions to foster socio-economic development, which are the foundation of determining the human development and human security. The regional institutions thus fill the gap between the government's expected goals and actual performance. The international peace initiatives are therefore a catalyst towards achieving quicker and accelerated human security indices.

The NEPAD initiative is founded on this premise and endeavours to achieve human development through national programmes aimed at reducing threats to individuals.

Chapter three explored the efforts that NEPAD has initiated in member states to promote human security. The case study of Kenya indicated the various approaches NEPAD has utilised to alleviate threats to human security. The Chapter at the onset identified that its regional agenda is to initiate measures that are meant to help reduce human suffering in the society. The main programmes adopted include information dissemination and stakeholders' engagement, agricultural sector development, health sector, gender equality and empowerment, infrastructure, information communication technology, environment and Africa Peer Review Mechanism.

The sectors enumerated above are multi-dimensional and complement one another in reducing threats to human livelihoods. The information dissemination programme has been initiated by NEPAD to ostensibly deal with informing the public on its endeavours to reduce poverty, suffering and threats to human life. The principal goal of this programme is to seek support at the grassroots so that the population and the communities understand their role in economic development. To this end the first objectives of this study was illuminated.

NEPAD secretariat in Kenya is also responsible for initiating agricultural sector reform programmes. Agricultural sector is the source of food security and economic emancipation in the third world countries Kenya included. Chapter three indicated how NEPAD-Kenya has made arrangements to mobilise resources to adequately produce agro-based products for domestic consumption and for export.

The NEPAD-Kenya has identified the potential in Kenya's agricultural production. In pursuing its economic interests, this sector will bear a competitive advantage.

The NEPAD secretariat in Kenya also seeks to network African countries with external markets for easier access and guaranteed revenue. Agricultural sector development will also enable the Kenya labour market expand its base. This will actually form part of the employment security for citizens. The assurance of employment through agricultural sector development shall reduce the threat of subsistence among the job seeking communities.

The sectors that NEPAD secretariat in Kenya has also earmarked for concerted appraisal include infrastructure, ICT, gender equality, health environment and APRM. Each of these aspects has a role to play in enhancing human security. Infrastructure will facilitate the movement of people and goods at any one time irrespective of their residence. ICT will strive to update and keep abreast individuals on international issues and enable the country compete in information networking. The health sector is vital for preventing treatable diseases and reducing mortality rates. The absence of health infrastructure is a threat to human lives. To alleviate this problem investment in health sector is paramount.

The NEPAD-Kenya programmes aim is to sensitise, educate and inform people on disease vulnerability and remedies available. With this knowledge and availability of health infrastructure human lives can be saved in the country. The NEPAD-Secretariat also seeks to harmonise gender issues in the development programme. The gender imbalances in public and private sectors threaten one human security in the society. Women become disadvantaged and vulnerable to other socio-economic

threats when not allowed to access similar services as men in the society. NEPAD-Kenya initiative has designed programmes with the civil society to enable female-gender access education, and future opportunities in employment. This approach is meant to ascertain the security of both genders in economic empowerment.

On environment, NEPAD secretariat in Kenya observes that human lives depend on it for sustenance and its poor management will lead to its demise. The NEPAD-Kenya through NEMA has advocated for formulation and enforcement of sound measures in environmental management. Through improved environmental management, people will be secure from environmental disasters.

The last aspect of human security addressed by NEPAD-Kenya Secretariat is the APRM. It seeks to encourage African leaders to improve on governance, and create conditions for growth and development. APRM seeks to make governments accountable encouraging strong democratic principles. The strength of a country's democratic practice will encourage trade, foreign investment and high turnover of trade. This will accelerate economic growth and protect a state from threats of economic collapse, inflation and unemployment all of which threaten human lives.

The research was thus able to demonstrate its first and second objectives through the evaluation of NEPAD-Kenya programmes. The first objective was to find out the role of regional initiatives in promoting human security.

This has been demonstrated through explaining the role of NEPAD in domestically various programmes in Kenya through the assistance of government departments, development partners and the donor community.

The second objective set out to investigate into the structures and programmes of NEPAD in the development of human security framework in Kenya. The programmes initiated by NEPAD-Kenya are in partnership with the Kenya government and its relevant agencies. The government departments are cooperative and strive to improve performance in service delivery through partnership. The ministries identified as key in the development of human security include: Ministry of Planning, Health, Transport and Communication, Roads, Gender, Agriculture, Education and Environment. All these ministries are linked to the NEPAD-Kenya Secretariat at the level of programmes initiated. The programmes are initiated by NEPAD-Kenya and the ministries facilitate their implementation. All the programmes as previously mentioned are to expand the base of productivity, develop the people's welfare at community level and protect general citizens from any future threats, physical or non-physical. This arrangement by NEPAD strives to strengthen human security of people in a state.

The third objective undertook to find out the sustainability of NEPAD-Kenya initiated programmes. The research evaluated the status of the projects on the ground and it established that they are at the inception stage. The element of sustainability for these projects would be long-term if there will be continuous allocation of resources from the government. The NEPAD-Kenya programmes are tied to external funding, government resources and private sector contribution. This is a multi-source funding

NEPAD-Kenya programmes. The implication of multi-source funding is that the projects will not stall because of one source not responding at one point. The multi-donors financing NEPAD programmes also helps the projects incepted to realise their objective, in the long run. The NEPAD-Kenya programmes would be sustainable in the long run if the funds required at the initial stages are sufficient to move the projects from the take off stage. If the government realises that human security forms a basis for national security and stability, it will not sabotage the same programme but rather continue allocating more resources to attain NEPADs objectives more comprehensively.

The last objective on recommendations will be demonstrated on the next Chapter to bring out the opportunities, challenges and the way forward with NEPAD-Kenya.

The hypotheses of the study were tested and verified throughout the study. The first hypothesis asserted that regional initiatives could promote human security in Kenya. This hypothesis was manifested in the discussions that ensued in Chapter Two and Three. In Chapter Two it was indicated that regional initiatives in Asia, Arabia, America, Europe and Africa seek to promote economic and security welfare of member states. With that precedence, NEPAD has fully espoused those values. In Chapter Three it was ultimately demonstrated how NEPAD-Kenya has strategically advocated for resource mobilisation to improve key socio-economic sectors that reduce poverty and suffering and encourage economic growth. These are perspectives for promoting human security.

The second assumption asserted that NEPAD-Kenya programmes are not sufficient to promote human security. This statement was falsified in the study. The NEPAD-Kenya programmes as revealed in Chapter Three indicate that indeed they are meant to accelerate economic development and reduce the poverty levels in the country. The other programmes like gender equity, health and ICT are concerned with access to service without which human lives are threatened.

The last assumption noted that regional initiatives programmes on human security are sustainable. This statement was confirmed as true and therefore corroborated into the study. The NEPAD-Kenya programmes as envisioned will engage different stakeholders to strengthen the financial and resource base to run. This approach is a guarantee that projects would not be abandoned mid-way. The sustainability is also guaranteed when people own the initiated projects. NEPAD has set to sensitise and inform the public on the specific role it can play in socio-economic development. The information dissemination and stakeholders engagement is a method through which NEPAD-Kenya will win the public confidence in supporting its programmes. This makes the human security to have long-term bearing in the society.

The Chapter has evaluated emerging issues and corroborated the objectives of the study with the research findings. The study has therefore managed to accomplish its purpose in the field. To investigate human security issues the research concludes that regional initiatives inevitably are a sound basis for states to launch long-term and sustainable socio-economic development. The next Chapter will seek to make concluding remarks and make suggestions for the way forward.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This section of the research makes concluding remarks about the study on NEPAD-Kenya. It shall draw some recommendations that will make a way forward for the NEPAD-Kenya initiative. The conclusions and recommendations shall be a basis for policy makers to re-engineer NEPAD-Kenya programmes to comprehensively tie together the aims and objectives of enhancing human security.

The NEPAD initiative is founded on the premise that Africa's poverty is engendered by the unfair position it occupies in the world's trade and market access. This is a basic threat to human security. In addition other domestic issues like governance are a fundamental hindrance to initiating programmes that are aimed at promoting human security. The NEPAD initiative has identified this gap and it is upon the change of the traditional approaches to pursuing national interest that Africa will benefit from its own economic potential. To enable Africa benefit from its natural resources, the manpower and its vast market, the trend of trade that favours the northern market should be reversed. The northern market traditionally has presupposed Africa to produce primary goods for their industries whose value is low compared to their manufactured products. The trend has seen these developed countries import primary goods from Africa, use their technology to add value to these products and re-export them to Africa at exorbitant prices. The issue of technology has placed Africa at the receiving end in the global economy.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ H. W. Singer, The Strategy of International Development, Macmillan Prem Ltd., London, 1975, p 67.

Globalisation has put into question the rationale of leaving Africa out of the developed countries' agenda in socio-economic development. This is the debut of human insecurity in African states. Africa's poor position in the global economy had led to social and economic insecurity in the developed countries.¹³⁹ The major concern for donor countries to resolve the economic stagnation stems from the fear that continued stagnation of Africa will lead to lopsided development. Lopsided development has led to escalation of human insecurity as a result of terrorists, internal conflicts and environmental degradation.

The NEPAD initiative hence has set the agenda for African states and development partners to begin resolving Africa's underdevelopment. To achieve the desired results there should be a consensus among Africa governments to create an enabling environment for economic take off at national levels. Kenya has embraced this recommendation and has spearheaded the NEPAD-Kenya programmes to eliminate any threats to human security.

The creation of such an environment will require certain changes in political and economic practices. The political practice in Africa presents an issue of concern when dealing with government bureaucracy to establish business. The investors find Africa too unreliable for long-term investment and discourages many in giving it a priority. Investment should be long-term to attract investors to move their capital into a location. To this end Kenya through APRM has geared towards establishing a democratic culture to reassure security for long-term investment in the country. Kenya's embrace of democratic values and liberal practices to attract foreign

¹³⁹ J. Stiglitz, *Globalisation and Its Discontents*, op cit. pp 112-114

investment would lead to accelerated inflow of FDIs and generate a faster pace in economic development. This will assure Kenyans of economic emancipation and secured opportunities for employment.

NEPAD-Kenya initiative is complementing the efforts of regional economic blocs in reaching out the international community for support in trade negotiations. Africa has been carrying out the agenda of trade negotiations and search for international market at individual basis. There is now an opportunity for regional organisations such as ECOWAS, COMESA, EAC and SADC to champion the cause of the African continent through harmonising their trade and economic objectives under the umbrella of NEPAD

NEPAD-Kenya through APRM initiative should reinforce other African regional initiatives to quicken the pace of implementing its programmes. Country efforts by Kenya could not achieve much without cooperation from the regional states in initiating human security programmes. Hence African leaders should be led into identifying the necessity of integrating regionally for the purpose of harmonising economic practices that will benefit the continent. Individual countries cannot achieve certain economic feat to spur economic growth across the continent. The African countries can only achieve reasonable and purposeful regional economic integration only if political will is present. Political will entails government actual commitment to spend resources in implementing policies agreed and specified in trade and economic protocols. This extends further into governments extending cooperation among them and holding consultations on how to reach common goals. It

will again seek to entrench good governance and rid the continent of violent conflicts.¹⁴⁰

Before recommending programmes for the government of Kenya, NEPAD should ascertain that the heads of state have acceded to NEPAD ideals. There would be no success for the NEPAD initiative in Kenya if the head of state were non-committal. If that continues to be the situation then the pace of Kenya's progress in the economic front will be slow.

The issue of financing NEPAD-Kenya is critical to the success of its intended programmes. Most of the NEPAD-Kenya programmes are well intentioned but states fall short of revenue for launching them. There is a need for Kenya to re-allocate resources to more productive sectors of the economy. These programmes have been identified in Chapter Three.¹⁴¹ The pledge by the donor community to fund some of the NEPAD-initiated programmes is not a guarantee for their success. The donor community is known in shifting goal posts to suit their interests before releasing funds. Since NEPAD intends to propel the continent to prosperity, dependency on donor community will defeat the purpose of its programmes. To this end decision-makers in the country should pool resources from the public and private sectors and reallocate resources effectively to move away from donor dependency.

The NEPAD initiative in Kenya should move from rhetoric to action. Previous economic initiatives have been outlined on paper but most of the goals remained unachievable due to lack of resources to mobilise some of the programmes. The

¹⁴⁰ G. P. Okoth, & B. A. Ogot, (eds.) Conflict in Contemporary Africa, Nairobi, Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 2000. p.7

¹⁴¹ For details refer to Chapter Three.

NEPAD initiative in Kenya has formulated its document and identified stakeholders responsible for economic growth. The participation of the private sector and civil society has been known to enhance long-term and reliable economic governance. The participation of the private sector and civil society also enhance economic governance through people participation in economic affairs.¹⁴² Poverty eradication should be people centred and the government programmes must be designed to incorporate people's representation before launching them. People-centred programmes will make the people embrace them and help the governments achieve their objectives in economic governance.

From these observations and recommendations, the Kenya government has a wide range of options on how to tackle the underdevelopment that has perpetuated poverty over several decades. The Kenya government should seek to alleviate poverty through proper planning at domestic levels. The MDGs already provide a pathway for combating extreme poverty. In the Kenyan context, the Ministry of Planning has taken charge in harmonising the MDGs with the NEPAD goals.¹⁴³ The country specific efforts are necessary in enhancing the social and economic development of the people.

The decision-makers, diplomats and political leaders need to play their roles adequately to achieve the ultimate goal of Kenya's economic growth and development. The NEPAD secretariat in Kenya should endeavour to coordinate the programme activities focused on jumpstarting economic growth. Despite the resource

¹⁴² F. M'boge & S.G. Doe, African Commitments to Civil Society Engagement: A Review of Eight NEPAD Countries, Pretoria, op cit, p. 33

¹⁴³ Ministry of Planning and National Development, The Planning Bulletin, Vol 2. 1 Jan 2005 pp 14-15

constraints, through collaborative approaches, Kenya would assert its appropriate position in economic growth.

This research has accomplished its ultimate objective to identify the place of regional peace initiatives in the promoting human security. NEPAD initiative although founded on the notion of tackling underdevelopment in Africa is indeed geared towards enhancing human security as demonstrated in the NEPAD-Kenya. NEPAD is an instrument that has endeavoured to define contextual factors that will help reduce social and economic threats in Africa. It has laid down a foundation on how to resolve the imbalanced economic and trade practices that continue to exploit Africa's resources and lead to human suffering. Engaging individual states and governments is opening an opportunity for pursuing human security goals.

Therefore it is an opportunity for Kenya through the Nairobi NEPAD Secretariat to realise human security in the 21st century. Through NEPAD-Kenya, despite the emerging challenges Kenya has an opportunity to use the forum to redefine its socio-economic goals with the focus on human security. Kenya despite the emerging challenges can initiate human security programmes and incorporate stakeholders in defining the strategies for raising resources and the priority areas to allocate the resources. This will accelerate economic growth in the country and reduce the suffering experienced by citizens as a result of poverty.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE TO NEPAD SECRETARIAT

My name is Rose Nyakerario Makini from the University of Nairobi.

I am undertaking a research on regional peace initiatives and human security. I am seeking for information to help in drawing generalisation on the role of NEPAD in fostering human security. Help me with your insights to fulfil this goal.

1. What is your portfolio in this organisation and what does it entail?
2. Since NEPAD – Kenya Secretariat was established, what has been its focus?
3. The government and NEPAD – Kenya have been co-partnering in implementing the socio-economic programmes. What have been the challenges in this arrangement?
4. The NEPAD – Kenya Secretariat is not an independent initiative of the state. How does it raise resources for the programme implementation?
5. What is the public response to the NEPAD programmes?
6. Kenya's level of economic growth is still slow. What is your view about the sustainability of NEPAD – Kenya programmes?
7. What would you suggest as the way forward for NEPAD – Kenya to fully achieve its goals?

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