



Assessment of Development Outcomes in Conflict-prone IGAD Member States and the Implications for Revitalizing their Cooperation¹ for Durable Peace and Sustainable Development

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Abstract

Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) comprises eight member states, namely: Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda. Its mandates are promoting cooperation among the member states for securing regional peace and sustainable development. Despite the IGAD region's abundant natural resource endowments, strategic location, and hardworking people, it has remained one of the world's poorest regions with wide spread human sufferings because of various intra and interstate conflicts, extreme weather events such as droughts and intermittent floods and lack of employment opportunities. The overall objectives of the study were: first to empirically assess development outcomes in the IGAD member states which have been affected by different types of conflicts. Second, underpin the dire need for renewed cooperation among the member states, and thirdly, exploring possible areas of cooperation that would deepen their national and regional peace, stability and sustainable development. The findings of the study were that in the IGAD member states which have been affected by conflicts of different nature, duration and scales, there has been little structural transformation in their economies; the real gross domestic product (GDP) growth rates of the IGAD member states showed declining trends during the period 2010-2016 and their future real GDP growth rates are not expected to be robust while the countries remain prone to conflicts of different scales; the Human Development Index (HDI) of IGAD member states have been low and they are ranked in the low human development, characterized by high youth unemployment. Raging civil wars, interstate conflicts and lack of economic opportunities have also produced large numbers of refugees and internally displaced people. As a result, most IGAD member states still have high incidences of multidimensional poverty, where large sections of their populations are deprived of basic necessities. Thus, the greatest challenge to peace and sustainable development in the IGAD member states is lack of human security which emanates from interlinked factors such as conflicts, vulnerabilities, poverty, social injustice and discrimination and environmental shocks.

Notwithstanding the persistence of conflicts in the different parts of the IGAD region, the foundational factors point to the logic of regional cooperation to overcome their regional

¹Cooperation is a component of international relations that seeks to generate the conditions needed to facilitate the processes of peace and stability, promote trade and investments which have mutual benefits for the countries which concluded cooperation agreements. Although IGAD member states have interest in their national sustainable development and shared interest in regional stability, cooperation among the member states, to date, has not been fruitful. This is because the cooperation mechanisms have been shaped by conflicting national interests of the member states and geostrategic interests of global powers. As a result, there are several types of conflicts within and among the IGAD members awaiting settlement through appropriate conflict resolution mechanisms and renewed commitment of governments to work wholeheartedly for their national and regional interests. This can be done by collaborative efforts in economic, social, environmental and political areas. The renewed commitment and cooperation will result into the creation of a peaceful new IGAD regional order which ensure regional stability, promote sustainable development nationally and regionally. Cooperation in this paper therefore refers to constructive engagement of the IGAD member states to achieve national and regional development objectives through joining their knowledge, skills, resources and technical knowhow guided by the principle of respect for national sovereignty. Through genuine cooperation IGAD member states will reverse the legacy of their past uncooperative games which contribute to insubstantial national development results.

challenges, particularly with respect to climate change, human and animal diseases, pests, human trafficking and terrorism. Peace and stability can be most effectively sustained when it is conceived as regional public good in which all IGAD member states have shared responsibility. Because peace and stability are both an enabler and an outcome of sustainable development, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is a strategic entry point for sustaining peace. Thus, IGAD member states have vested interest to work jointly for the same regional agenda: sustaining peace and sustainable development. Regional stability and sustainable development in the IGAD region can never be imposed externally. Renewed cooperation should be nationally and regionally owned and of high national and regional priority and should be achieved through constructive processes of cooperation among the member states in different areas in order to overcome structural causes of conflicts in the IGAD region. Revitalization of cooperation among the IGAD member states is non-compromising option as there are structural factors which compel them to cooperate for achieving regional, peace, stability and sustainable development. With promising future for renewed commitment of IGAD member states to peace and stability following the peace agreement between Eritrea and Ethiopia in 2018, this paper identified the following areas for renewed cooperation among IGAD member states: (i) Demonstrable readiness and recommitment of governments for cooperation to maintain durable peace in the IGAD region; (ii) Renewed cooperation to combat organized crime, human trafficking and terrorism; (iii) Renewed cooperation in health and human development; (iv) Renewed cooperation on natural resources management and environment protection. (v) Renewed cooperation on natural disaster risk reduction and management. (vi) Renewed cooperation for economic integration and for the creation of free trade area. In order to overcome the colossal challenges which pose critical security and development challenges to the IGAD member states, the following measures are recommended: (i) Demonstrable readiness of governments of all IGAD member states for renewed cooperation to maintain durable peace in the IGAD region; (ii) Increase financial contribution of member states to make IGAD organization self-financing and reduce its dependence on foreign financing, thus increasing its autonomy in channeling its available resources to areas of regional priority; (iii) Strengthen institutional capacity of IGAD organization in order to engage proactively in regional priorities of mutual interest, particularly in promoting peace, stability, environmental protection and economic integration; (iv) Refraining of those in different circles from promoting discourses which disturb long-term harmony, peaceful relations among peoples by creating tensions and conflicts among different social or ethnic groups. (v) Refraining of global powers from divisive and destructive interventions in the IGAD region. (vi) Demonstrable efforts of governments of IGAD member states to people-centered development and social justice in order to eliminate poverty and secure national stability. (vii) Investments in civic education and expand it in all levels of education, including tertiary education, and subsequently promote discourse which strengthens social harmony and respect for other peoples' values, and to subsequently contribute to national peace and regional stability.

Key words: *IGAD, intrastate, conflict, interstate conflict, global powers, cooperation, social justice, national stability, regional stability, 2030 agenda for sustainable development*

1. Introduction

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) comprises eight member states, namely: Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda. The region stretches over an area of 5.2 million km² and with a coast line of about 6960 km. (IGAD, 2016a:25). The region is endowed with substantial natural resources such as vast arable land, marine, water livestock resources and wildlife; various energy resources such as oil and gas reserves, hydroelectric, solar and geothermal (IGAD, 2016c:18). The IGAD region has also a population of over 230 million, and the vast expanses of territory coverage provide a sizeable market, with high potential to attract both domestic and foreign investments (IGAD, 2016a:18).

Despite the IGAD region's huge natural resource endowments, strategic location and hardworking people, it has remained one of the world's poorest regions with wide spread human suffering, socially, economically and politically (IGAD, 2016c:14). This is mainly because of various intra and interstate conflicts, and severe weather events such as intermittent droughts. Notwithstanding the conflicts of different natures and scales that still exist in many parts of the IGAD region, a new opportunity for renewed peace and cooperation has emerged since 2018 as Ethiopia officially declared that it accepted fully the Algiers Agreement and the Ethiopian-Eritrean Border Rulings (Afrika-Komitee Basel, 2018). The announcement was welcomed by the Eritrean Government. On 9th of July 2018, both countries announced a joint declaration of Peace and Friendship agreement and clearly stated that war between Ethiopia and Eritrea has come to an end and that a new era of peace and friendship has been opened (Afrika-Komitee Basel, 2018). The signed agreement symbolizes complete overturning of the belligerent relation of the two countries and the agreement reached has been hailed by many because it signifies renewed commitment for peace and cooperation for mutual benefits. Most governments of IGAD member states have also shown their willingness for renewed cooperation in order to achieve durable peace and sustainable development in the wider IGAD region.

2. Problem Statement

Following the end of the 2nd world war, many African countries declared their independence and the newly independent countries created Organization of African Unity (OAU) which has recognized colonial boundaries and the principle was enshrined in the 1964 resolution and has remained the OAU policy since then (DFID, 2011:7). However, since their independence, most countries in the Horn of Africa have remained plagued with interstate border disputes and intrastate conflicts (Daniel, 2013: 166; Kim, 2006:2; ECA, 1993). According to Elfatih (1995:2) conflicts in the IGAD region are categorised into three: (i) Intrastate conflicts which include armed insurgencies which effectively challenge the authority of the central governments; (ii) Interstate conflicts such as the Ethiopia-Somalia and Somalia-Kenya conflicts; and (iii) Interventions of global powers which exacerbate the instability situation in the region. Habte Selassie, (1980:17) indicates that conflicts in the IGAD region are due to three legacies of the past: (1) The legacy of Ethiopian imperial territorial expansion; (2) the divisive legacy of European colonial rule; and (3) the legacy of interventions of global powers in the cold war period which deepened conflicts in the region. From a broader perspective conflicts in the IGAD region are because of several interlocked factors: border related interstate conflicts, struggle for self-determination because of marginalization of certain social groups, competition among nomadic people for grazing land and water resource and super power rivalry which worsen instability in the region (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2004:6). The different natures of the conflicts that occur in the IGAD region have attracted scholars from different perspectives, ranging from political science to history, international law and economics. Some discourses from some circles, however, have made contributions to the perpetuation of conflicts in some member states in the region by: (i) deepening division and conflicts among different social groups through politicization and stereotyping. (ii) Producing what they consider are 'evidences' for wars because of exploitation of certain ethnic and religious groups by others (Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2006:66-67). The ultimate goals of those who promote divisive discourses are to win their respective constituents by promoting ethnic politics in their ethnically divided countries (Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2006:66-67; Siraw, 2015:49).

According to Sorensen (2014:49), in ethno-plural societies that are divided and mobilized along ethnic and cultural lines, inter-ethnic cooperation, reconciliation, social and economic development becomes challenging. Governments thus create imaginary national security threats and they lay the basis for entering into conflicts with countries of their own selection as means of distraction from the ethnic conflicts they faced. This reflects the behaviour of successive Ethiopian leadership, particularly with respect to Eritrea. The 1952 Federal arrangement between Eritrea and Ethiopia was abrogated by Ethiopia in 1962 and Eritrea was incorporated as the province of Ethiopia

(CEA, 2013:4). The abrogation of the Federal arrangement by Ethiopia led to 30 years of war of independence and the decision was reversed with the liberation of Eritrea in 1991. Notwithstanding the 30 years of devastating war, another catastrophic war was fought between Eritrea and Ethiopia during 1998-2000 as Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) dominated Ethiopian Government began incursions into Eritrean territory, which eventually led to border war during 1998-2000. Under the cover of ethnic federalism, the "divide and rule strategy" of the EPRDF regime, have weakened interethnic harmony and has exacerbated ethnic-based conflicts in the country (Siraw, 2015:49; Samuel, 2011:11). Thus, the two-year war against Eritrea was because of obsession of Ethiopia's leadership with territorial expansion and as a cover-up to the ethnic conflicts which emanated from ethnic-based federalism. Such expansionist approach was waste of resources in the country and a distraction of Ethiopian leadership from the real economic and social development challenges the country has faced.

In 2000, the Algiers Agreement established a ceasefire and under Article Four of the Algiers agreement, the Eritrea Ethiopia Border Commission (EEBC) was charged to delimit and demarcate the border based on colonial treaty of 1900, 1902, and 1908 (Lyons, 2009:168). The OAU, EU, UN, Algeria, and the USA committed themselves to guarantee the agreement until the determination of the common border on the basis of colonial treaties (Funag, 2013:260). The Algiers Peace Agreement was an important first step toward the search for a comprehensive resolution of the conflict, entailing the demarcation of the borders, the resettlement of displaced civilians, and the rehabilitation of both countries. Although the ceasefire was held, implementation of border demarcation decided by the EEBC in 2002 had been impossible due to Ethiopia's refusal. While Eritrea has international law on its side in relation to the border ruling with Ethiopia, its guarantors – namely the UN, the EU, the AU and the US did not enforce Ethiopia's compliance, a failure of the international community (Müller, 2016:5). As a consequence, in the long period of "no-war-no-peace situation", great development opportunities were lost because implementing the border ruling was a necessary prerequisite for normalization of relations between the two countries.

Proximity of the Horn of Africa to the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden has also made the region a shatterbelt because the region is marked by intra-regional conflicts and the center of gravity of rivalry of global powers. Throughout the Cold War, the world's hegemonic powers in effect determined the direction of conflicts and cooperation among the countries in the Horn of Africa. As a result, the Horn of Africa was one of the regions which suffered from conflicts linked to super power rivalry (NORDISKA AFRIKA INSTITUTET, 2015:24). In the post-cold war, the global powers have continued to pursue their respective policies in order to secure their geo-strategic interests and ensure their access to the abundant natural resources of the IGAD region. To these ends, they have continued to increase their spheres of influences using both hard power (military force, economic sanctions and regime changes) and soft power (diplomacy and foreign aid) (Versi, 2017). Foreign aids provided to the IGAD member states are expected to fill their domestic resource gaps and overcome their development challenges, and subsequently enable the countries to move along a path of sustainable development. Foreign aids, however, have strong political component and the major global powers which provide foreign aid continue to promote their spheres of influence in order to safeguard their geostrategic interests in the IGAD region. Thus, external powers have exacerbated the conflicts in the IGAD region by exploiting ethnic and cultural differences among the people and by deepening mistrust and misunderstanding among the member states rather than supporting the countries to overcome their development and security challenges (LPI, 2018:13).

The IGAD region is also a region affected by natural calamities as peoples in different parts of the region continue to suffer from ecological adversities such as intermittent droughts and floods. As a result, the affected people have been forced to shift from place to place in search of pasture, land and water. The consequence has been continued conflicts between nomadic peoples and nomadic and non-nomadic peoples in many parts of the IGAD region (Elfatih, 1995:3). In order to mitigate the effects of the recurring severe droughts, combat desertification and other natural disasters, Intergovernmental

Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) was established in 1986 (IGAD, 2016a:2). The formation of IGADD in 1986 owed much to the international community and particularly as a reaction to the famine that swept across the region in the earlier years of that decade (Redie 2013:155). It was revitalized and renamed IGAD in 1996 with an expanded mandate of promoting peace, cooperation and sustainable development. In pursuit of these goals, IGAD has embarked on four priority areas namely: (i) Agriculture, Natural Resources and Environment- to promote attainment of food security and sustainable management of the environment and natural resources; (ii) Economic cooperation and Integration and Social Development - to promote regional economic cooperation, integration and social development; (iii) Peace and Security and Humanitarian Affairs - to promote good governance, peace and security, and to address humanitarian crises; (iv) Corporate Development Services - to enhance the corporate capacity of IGAD to effectively deliver its mandate (ecdpm, 2017:5; IGADb, 2016:23; HESPI 2013:9). Notwithstanding the declared objectives of IGAD, to date, conflicts of different scales have sustained and deepened in many parts of the region: civil wars in Somalia, South Sudan and Darfur-western Sudan. This reflects the weakness of IGAD as a regional organization to influence the member states to be involved actively in promoting regional peace and stability (ecdpm, 2017:3). The reasons for the weakening of IGAD as a regional architecture for regional peace and development are too complex to analyze in detail in this section. Suffice to mention that belligerent stance of some member states, conflict of interest among the member states, competition among pastoralists for the control of natural resources such as grazing lands and water as well as divisive intervention of external global powers to secure their geostrategic interests have contributed to the weakening of the IGAD organization.

All conflicts of different nature and duration have several costs in the IGAD region: (i) loss of human lives; (ii) Destruction of the economic foundations of the countries, including public institutions such as government administrative centers, roads and bridges; transport and communication facilities; schools and hospitals; (iii) Destruction of civilian property, businesses and other sources of livelihoods. (iv) Deterring socioeconomic progress and increase in the incidence of poverty; (v) Diverting scarce human and financial resources away from public services and socioeconomic development to the war effort; (vi) Transferring able-bodied, productive self-sufficient families into internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees who rely on emergency relief and international hand-outs; (vii) Expanding intra-state conflicts to neighboring countries, thereby spoiling political and economic ties with the neighboring countries (ECA, 2016:10). According to a study made by the World Bank, people living in countries affected by violence were twice as likely to be undernourished and 50 percent more likely to be impoverished than their counterparts in peaceful countries. Their children were three times as likely to be out of school; poverty rates were 20 percentage points higher in countries affected by repeated cycles of violence. For every year of violence in a country, poverty reduction lagged by nearly one percentage point (WB, 2011:5).

3. Objective of the study

Building human capabilities is the prime requisite for the development of IGAD member states. Human capabilities are built by creating the necessary economic, social and political conditions in which people acquire the required capabilities and engage in more productive employment (UNDP, 1996:17). Building human capabilities would require large investments in education, health care, sanitation and in the creation of productive employment. To date, efforts of most IGAD member states to develop their human capabilities and achievements of inclusive sustainable economic growth have not brought robust development results due to: (i) Inability of the governments to ensure social harmony in their societies, and subsequently leading into ethnic- based conflicts; (ii) Inter-state conflicts which have negative regional spillovers; (iii) Extreme weather events such as droughts and floods; (iv) Emergence of international terrorism and criminal networks, human and drug trafficking, illicit use of small arms and light weapons (IGAD, 2016:24; International Peace Institute, 2008:7; IGAD, 2016:20). In addition, there are other regional development challenges such as environmental

degradation, pests, and communicable diseases such as cholera, HIV/AIDS and malaria (University for Peace, 2011:80). These challenges with the characteristics of cross-border could affect the economic prosperity and stability of the IGAD region.

Recognizing that conflict and development are deeply intertwined, the building of sustainable peace and human development in the IGAD region would require genuine cooperation among the member states in order to usher a new era in which all people prosper in peace and dignity. Thus, a new paradigm of cooperation, which is non-rhetoric, would be required to overcome the natural and man-made calamities and to promote socio-economic development in line with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Sustainable Development Goal 16 states “promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels” (UN, 2015:14). Thus, there are strong economic and political foundations for renewed cooperation among the IGAD member states to enhance sustainable development. One aspect of cooperation is regional economic integration. For effective regional economic integration, several important functions must be fulfilled: (i) Creation of enabling environment for private sector development; (ii) Development of infrastructures in support of economic growth and regional integration; (iii) Development of strong public institutions and good governance; (iv) elimination of social exclusion and the development of inclusive societies based on the principle of social justice; (v) Demonstrable efforts to peace and security both at national and regional levels; (vi) Strengthening trade relations among the member states in the region and (vii) Strengthening of the region’s economic interaction through trade and investments with other regions of the world (De Lombaerde and Langenhove, 2007: 379-383).

All societies including those in the IGAD region possess attributes that contribute to sustaining peace, whether their institutions, their policies, culture or the norms of interaction between individuals and different social groups in complete (IPI, 2018:14). Thus, nurturing the culture of tolerance can foster peaceful societies at national or regional levels. In the envisioned new era of cooperation, what is required is capitalizing on what people binds them and on their common benefits through building consensus on a long-term vision in favor of peace, stability, sustainable development and regional cooperation so that peoples in the IGAD region would live in peace and lead a dignified life . Since its revitalization in 1996, IGAD has been mandated to promote peace and stability, economic integration and sustainable development. Despite its good intentions, one of the main weaknesses of IGAD is that it functions through ad hoc processes and few systematic, institutionalized approaches to address regional common interests (ecdpm, 2016:11). Ethiopia shaped IGAD’s actions in a hegemonic manner, particularly after the eruption of Ethio-Eritrean border conflict in 1998. Moreover, Ethiopia’s and Kenya’s interventions in Somalia in 2006 and 2011 respectively were deeply problematic and had less to do with stabilization in Somalia than with promoting their national interests (NORDISKA AFRIKA INSTITUTET, 2015:49).

To date, IGAD member states have been suffering from various conflicts of different duration and scales. Arguably, the effects of these conflicts to their socio-economic development are far-reaching. Despite IGAD institutional weaknesses, the paper underscores that renewed political will and genuine cooperative approach is still the main driving force for achieving regional stability as well as for promoting national sustainable development. Revitalizing cooperation among the IGAD member states would also help them to have a common stance in countering the divisive interventions of global powers. Such cooperative approach while respecting sovereignty of each IGAD member state would deepen trust and understanding among the member states and to reach consensus on regional priorities of mutual benefit. When the member states recommit to coordinate their efforts, the outcomes would be regional stability which attracts investments that create more employment opportunities and achievement of inclusive economic growth. The overall objectives of the study were to assess empirically development outcomes in IGAD member states which have been affected by different types of conflicts and explore possible areas for renewed cooperation which would reduce the risk of

conflicts, and subsequently enhance regional peace, stability and sustainable development. The specific objectives are:

- Analyze the social and economic development of IGAD member states in which conflicts of different scale and nature presumably have great impacts;
- Underpin the opportune time for renewed cooperation among IGAD member states which has mutual benefits ;
- Explore possible areas for renewed cooperation among IGAD member states that would permanently transform the region into a region of peace and sustainable development; and
- Suggest measures that would enhance renewed cooperation among IGAD member states for regional stability and for sustainable development and prosperity in the region.

In line with the problem statement and objectives of the study, this paper aims to address the following research questions: (i) Why has genuine cooperation among the IGAD member states been so difficult to achieve? (ii) What are the emerging substantive political, economic, environmental and social dimensions that could be the foundation of constructive cooperation among IGAD member states? (iii) How can IGAD as a regional organization be revitalized and become an effective regional organization that promotes cooperation among the member states for mutual benefits?

4. Methodology

This study is basically desk review. This involves reviewing, analyzing and synthesizing different sources such as books, scholarly articles, and reports of regional and international organizations as well as Google search engine in the internet. In addition, observation of the writer of this article, particularly while teaching development challenges of sub-Saharan African countries in general and the Horn of African countries has also been used as input in conducting this reach work. The secondary data gathered from different sources were contextualized and analyzed using excel sheet.

Following sections 1-4, (introduction, problem statement, objectives and methodology), Section 5 deals with conceptual framework on regional cooperation, regional peace and sustainable development. Section 6 is the main body of the paper; it deals with the empirical findings on development outcomes of the member states and exploration of possible areas for renewed cooperation among the member states for a new IGAD regional order that would ensure durable peace and sustainable development. Section 7 is an extension of the previous sections and focuses on discussion, conclusions and recommendations

5. Conceptual Framework on Regional Cooperation, Regional Peace and Sustainable Development

One characteristic feature of contemporary international system is the creation of Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) through formal agreements among countries which have mutual interest (Befekadu, 2014: 2). Cooperation among member countries through creating IGO that intends to promote regional trade, peace and development draws mainly on two theories: (i) classical theory of international trade which indicates mutual benefits of trade to the trading nations as it brings efficiency gains for producers and consumers as well as national and regional political stability because it increases interdependence among the trading countries (Dunn and Ingram, 1996:181; IISD, 2007:23). Expansion of international trade also spurs domestic economic activity, creates more employment, and subsequently increases domestic stability. (ii) International relations (IR) theory, on the other hand, argue that trade by itself is not sufficient to ensure the absence of conflict. In certain cases, it can exacerbate conflicts or trade wars. Thus, a country's decision to trade or go to war depends on its potential gains from international trade and on its expected volume of trade in future

(IISD, 2007:23). Thus, from IR theory perspective, countries make choices between conflicts or trade based on the relative benefits of their trade. If a country perceives that its trading partners will gain more from trading, it will deem it in its interest not to liberalize its trade. IR theory argues that the gains from trade are likely to be asymmetrical among the trading countries, and is unlikely to ensure political stability among the trading countries (IISD), 2007:23). From international relation theory perspective, proponents of realism consider international relation as a tool to advance national interests in an anarchical international system (Rana, 2015:3). Realists believe that states are chiefly motivated by their desire to ensure military and economic power rather than achieving mutual benefits (Rana, 2015:3). Therefore, proponents of realism underscore countries have little reason to trust each other, while dealing with their economics and political affairs (Mearsheimer, 1994/95:9). Rather, countries would struggle for power, where each country strives not only to be the most powerful actor in the system, but also to ensure that no other state achieves that lofty position (Mearsheimer, 1994/95:9). Although cooperation between countries can take place through creation of regional institutions, proponents of realism thus envision a world or a region in which member states remain fundamentally competitive and with conflict of national interests. Realists, therefore, believe that regional institutions are not important factors for maintaining regional peace because regional organizations are not a form of regional governments (Rana, 2015:3). As a result, regional organizations have minimal influence on the behavior of member countries, and thus hold little promise for promoting peace and stability at a regional level (Mearsheimer, 1994/95:7).

Institutionalists directly challenge the view of realists and argue that institutions can alter the preferences of member countries and therefore can change their behavior. In their view, institutions can discourage the member states from their belligerent behavior or from entering into destructive war/conflict that has negative effects at national and regional levels (Mearsheimer, 1994/95:7). Supporters of liberal institutionalist theory, particularly underpin that regional arrangements among countries can contribute to regional peace and stability by promoting constructive cooperation among the member countries. As rational actors, the member countries of a regional organization are likely to commit to institutionalised cooperation that will serve their mutual interests. Through cooperation, the member countries can achieve one or more goals or solve one or more problems which have region dimensions (Nathan, 2010:4). Similarly, neo-functional theory of integration which is based on the Post World War II European experience, underpin that increasing economic cooperation and functional interdependence among the member countries within a region have a pacifying effect and reducing the risk of hostilities among the member countries (Nathan, 2010:4). Regional organizations can also contribute to conflict prevention through: (i) Building trust among the member states by creating an environment for frequency of interaction to have a greater grasp of the historical background of a conflict, thereby avoiding costly destructive conflicts on human, economic and environmental resources; (ii) Providing opportunity for organizing forums to decrease tensions and promote and facilitate a comprehensive regional approach to cross-border security, trade and other regional issues; (iii) Encouraging member states to maintain security and social harmony in their respective countries; (iv) Providing platforms for strengthening cooperation among the member states and coordination on cross-border security problems such as illegal trade in goods and arms trafficking (UN, 2001:32).

The condition of IGAD region may also be considered as “regional security complex”. Regional security complex is a group of countries whose primary security concerns are linked together sufficiently and that their national securities cannot realistically be considered separately from one another (Buzan, 1991:190). From regional security complex perspective, IGAD member states would need to cooperate in order to realize a peaceful and prosperous IGAD region. Moreover, IGAD member states have subscribed to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development which has three interconnected elements of development: economic, social and environmentally sustainable development (IGAD, 2016:34). Thus, there is a convergence of the overall development objective of IGAD member states and an objective basis for revitalizing their cooperation for regional peace,

inclusive economic growth and environmental sustainability. Thus, in the envisioned new era of renewed cooperation among IGAD member states following peace agreement between Eritrea and Ethiopia in 2018, there are foundational/structural factors for a shift to a new paradigm towards constructivist-inspired cooperative approach to achieve stability and sustainable development in the IGAD region. The term cooperative approach connotes consultation rather than confrontation, reassurance rather than deterrence, transparency rather than secrecy, prevention rather than correction, and interdependence rather than unilateralism (Solomon, 2015:57). In the constructivist-inspired cooperative approach, IGAD member states would need to renew their cooperation because it is in their common interest and the expected results of the renewed cooperation are national prosperity and regional stability. In the context of IGAD region, the constructivist, cooperative approach fits well and is used as a conceptual framework for mutual beneficial renewed cooperation among IGAD member states in order to transform the region into a new IGAD order that maintain durable peace and sustainable development.

6. Findings of the Study

6.1 Development Outcomes in IGAD Member States

6.1.1 Structural Transformation in IGAD Member States

IGAD member states need structural transformation in order to sustain pro-poor growth, increase employment to cope with the increase in their youth population and to become competitive in the global economy.

As shown in Table 1, the share of agriculture as percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) was highest in Somalia (60.2) and lowest in Djibouti (3.6%) in 2015. On the average, Ethiopia showed encouraging structural transformation in which the share of agriculture was reduced from 50.5% of GDP in 2008 to 39.2% in 2015. This progress is also reflected in the increase in the share of total industry from 11.1% of GDP in 2008 to 17.7% in 2015. Another feature of the IGAD member states is that their service sectors had largest shares in their respective GDP. The highest share of service sector was observed in Djibouti (76.8%) and the lowest was observed in Somalia (32.5%) in 2015. In the IGAD region, the largest share of service sectors in their respective GDP took place without significant development of manufacturing sectors with the exception of Kenya where the share of manufacturing sector reached 11.5% of the GDP in 2015. With the dominance of low productive service activities, the socio-economic progress in the IGAD member states will continue to remain low because the production structures in the IGAD member states were not associated with normal processes of structural transformation. In the normal process of structural transformation, economies begin with a high share of agriculture in GDP, and as development process deepens, the share of agriculture declines and that of manufacturing industry rises. The process continues until an economy reaches a relatively high level of development, where both the shares of agriculture and manufacturing to GDP fall and that of the services such as banking, insurance, communications, tourism, education and health care continue to rise (Todaro and Smith, 2011). The policy implications are that more investments in manufacturing and high productive service sectors would be required to enhance the processes of structural transformation of the member states.

Table1: Sectoral share as % GDP in IGAD member state economies, selected years, 2008, 2015

Country	Agriculture		Industry		Manufacturing		Services	
	2008	2015	2008	2015	2008	2015	2008	2015
Djibouti	3.5	3.6	20.2	19.5	3.5	3.2	76.3	76.8
Eritrea	17.4	17.2	26.9	23.5	6.8	6	55.8	59.3
Ethiopia	50.5	39.2	11.1	17.7	4	4.8	38.4	43
Kenya	25.4	32.9	21.3	19.5	13.8	11.4	53.4	47.5
Somalia	60.2	60.2	7.4	7.4	2.5	2.5	32.5	32.5

South Sudan	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Sudan	29.9	32	29.7	20.6	7.7	10.5	40.5	47.3
Uganda	26	25.6	23.8	21.5	10.5	9.2	50.2	53
Africa	15.5	16.4	40.2	29.2	10.3	11.1	44.3	54.4

Source: ECA, AfDB and AUC, African Statistical Yearbook, 2017:51

6.1.2. Real GDP Growth Rate

Economic growth is a powerful instrument for reducing poverty and improving the quality of life of peoples in the IGAD member states. As shown in Table 2, real GDP growth rates of IGAD member states were not steady. The growth rates fluctuated from year to year, with a declining trend during the period 2010-2016. The real GDP growth rates in Ethiopia decreased from 12.4% in 2010 to 7.6% in 2016. In Uganda, the real GDP growth rate decreased from 8.2% in 2010 to 4.8% in 2016. In South Sudan, real GDP growth declined from 5.5% in 2010 to negative 13.1% in 2016, the largest decline in the IGAD region. Several factors including inadequate investments, droughts and conflicts have contributed to declining trend in their growth rates. Studies conducted indicate that civil war reduces annual growth by 0.01 to 0.13 percentage points and high-intensity interstate conflict reduces annual growth by 0.18 to 2.77 percentage points (IZA, 2010: 3). Taking into account the prevailing conflicts of different scales in many parts of the IGAD region, in the foreseeable future, real GDP growth rates of the IGAD member states are less likely to be robust.

Thus, for rapid structural transformation and sustained economic growth in the IGAD member states, focus should be given on three major areas: (i) Improvement in the security situation in the member states, a key factor for attracting domestic and foreign investments needed for their development; (ii) private-sector development, through creating conducive business climate and mobilizing resources to meet growing investments needs in the priority sectors of the member states; (iii) Ensuring inclusive economic growth through creating employment opportunities, particularly for the youth. For inclusive economic growth, the IGAD member states would be required to save at least 25% of their GDP, which is considered a threshold necessary for achieving real GDP growth rates of 7%-8% in order to have an impact on poverty reduction (UNCTAD, 2012:4).

Table 2: Real GDP growth rate of IGAD member states, selected years, 2010-2016

Country	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Djibouti	3.5	4.3	4.8	5	6	6.5	6.3
Eritrea	2.2	8.7	7	3.1	5	4.8	3.8
Ethiopia	12.4	11.2	8.6	10.6	10.3	10.4	7.6
Kenya	8.4	6.1	4.6	5.7	5.3	5.6	6
Somalia	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	3.7	2.7	
South Sudan	5.5	-4.6	-46.1	26.7	16.1	2	-13.1
Sudan	6.5	0.9	1.4	4.4	2.7	4.9	3
Uganda	8.2	5.9	3.2	4.7	4.9	5.4	4.8
Africa	5.7	2.9	6.2	3.9	3.7	3.4	2.3

Source: ECA, AfDB and AUC, African Statistical Yearbook, 2017:51

6.1.3 Human Development Index

A society with fair distribution of social and economic resources is more likely to realize high human development and to own high capacity in managing tensions that might arise among different social groups with low risk of institutional and social breakdown than a society marked by low human development faced by destabilizing conditions such as pervasive poverty, extreme socio-economic

disparities and systematic lack of economic opportunity for certain social groups (Funag, 2013:49). Human Development Index (HDI) is calculated using three basic dimensions of human development: life expectancy, mean years of schooling and expected years of schooling and gross national income per capita (UNDP, 2016:17). The value of HDI varies between 0 and 1. The higher the value, the higher is the human development. Table 3 shows that HDI in Kenya was 0.590, the highest in the group, while HDI in South Sudan was 0.388, the lowest in the group in 2017. Prolonged civil war left South Sudan with an extremely poor, underdeveloped infrastructure and human capital. With the exception of Kenya, all IGAD member states were ranked in the low human development in 2017. The HDI of most IGAD member states were even lower than the HDI of SSA (0.537) and the least developed countries (0.524) in 2017. The low HDI in the IGAD member states suggest that large sections of the populations lacked access to basic social services and productive employment opportunities. As a consequence, large sections of their populations have been hit by economic hardships. The implication is that huge investments in social sectors such as education and health care and in productive sectors which create more employment would be required in order to achieve high human development.

Table 3: HDI of IGAD member States, 1990-2017, Selected Years

Country	1990	2000	2010	2017
Djibouti	NA	0.363	0.449	0.476
Eritrea	NA	NA	0.416	0.440
Ethiopia	NA	0.283	0.412	0.463
Kenya	0.468	0.451	0.543	0.590
Somalia	NA	NA	NA	NA
South Sudan	NA	NA	0.413	0.388
Sudan	0.331	0.402	0.470	0.502
Uganda	0.311	0.398	0.486	0.516
Least developed countries	0.346	0.400	0.484	0.524
Sub-Saharan Africa	0.398	0.421	0.498	0.537

Source UNDP, 2018:27-28

6.1.4 Labor Force Participation and Employment

Full employment and high labor participation rate are major macroeconomic goals of any nation, including IGAD member states. Table 4 shows that, employment-to-population ratios in the IGAD member states range between 43.4% in Somalia and 78.2 % in Ethiopia in 2017. On the average, employment-to-population ratios in the IGAD member countries were similar to the average ratio of SSA, which was encouraging taking into account the different nature of conflicts that exist in the region. Total unemployment rates ranged between 11.5 %, highest in Kenya and 2.1%, lowest in Uganda in 2017 (See Table 4). Youth unemployment, however, remained higher than total unemployment rates. Youth unemployment varied between 2.9 %, lowest in Uganda to 26.2%, highest in Kenya in 2017.

By 2050, the population of IGAD is expected to reach 400 million, which is a substantial increase from today's 230 million population. More than 55 per cent of this population will then be at a relatively young age (IGAD, 2016a:16). Thus, the consequences of not fully developing and harnessing the youth's potential in the IGAD member states could have dire consequence, including significant economic losses, and political instability (Brookings, 2013:10). Thus, IGAD member states need to increase their investments to build their human capacity by improving access of the populations to education and health care services, and by expanding employment opportunities for the youth. In order to make the youth population productive, IGAD member states need to pursue employment-led growth strategy through increased investments, particularly in micro, small and

medium enterprises in order to increase employment opportunities for the young people, and subsequently to promote inclusive economic growth.

Table 4: Labor Force Participation, Total Unemployment and Youth Unemployment in IGAD Member States, 2017

Country	Employment		Unemployment	
	Employment to population ratio % ages 15 and above	Labour force Participation rate (%)	Total % of labour force	Youth % ages 15-24
	2017	2017	2017	2017
Djibouti	55.6	59.0	5.8	11.7
Eritrea	76.2	81.4	6.4	11.3
Ethiopia	78.2	82.5	5.2	7.4
Kenya	57.9	65.4	11.5	26.2
Somalia	43.4	46.1	6.0	11
South Sudan	64.0	72.3	11.5	17.6
Sudan	49.5	54.2	8.8	17.7
Uganda	69.2	70.7	2.1	2.9
SSA	64.5	69.5	7.7	13.6

Source: UNDP, 2018:61-63

6.1.5 Human Security

The ultimate goal of IGAD member states is improvement of the welfare of their populations through promoting human security (IGAD, 2016a, p.14). Human security is about protection of people from fear and threat, as well as creation of opportunities which enables individuals to meet their basic needs such as food, clothes, shelter and health care (Francis, 2006 p.4). In the absence of human security, individuals are unlikely to meet their basic needs because of deprivations, while remaining vulnerable to any form of killing or torture because of their religion, ethnicity, political view (Francis, 2006:4). Wide spread human insecurity thus acts as a force that pushes people to leave their country or force them to remain internally displaced within their country (Francis, 2006:4).

The IGAD region is conflict-prone characterized by multifaceted socio-economic, political, environmental and security challenges (Africa Center for Strategic Studies, 2017:11). According to Institute for Environmental Security (2011: 12), five million people in the Horn of Africa remained permanently displaced and forced to live in refugee and IDP camps. The 2015 Report of ECA indicated that there were 2,728,503 refugees by country of origin and about 6,575,230 IDPs, making the Horn of Africa, the region of the world with the highest population of refugees and IDPs (ECA, 2016:12). A major impact of the refugee is felt on female gender because 70%-80% of the refugee households are headed by women (ECA, 2016:12). This means that there is high human insecurity in the IGAD region. Raging civil wars and interstate conflicts particularly have produced refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs) in the region. Table 5 indicates that Somalia had 986,400 refugees in 2017, the largest number of refugees, reflecting the collapse of the Somali central government and the civil war in that country has forced hundreds of thousands of Somalis to seek refuge in Kenya and other parts of the world. Djibouti had the lowest refugees, constituting 1,800 people in 2017. With respect to the internally displaced people, with the exception of Djibouti and Eritrea, all member states have large IDPs; Ethiopia had the largest internally displaced people, constituting 1,078,000, while

Uganda with 24,000 internally displaced people ranked lowest in the group in 2017. The implication is that huge investments would be required to create employment opportunities, particularly for the youth and ensuring peace and stability by putting social justice as a top national priority to promote human security and inclusive economic growth.

Table 5: Refugees and Internally Displaced People in IGAD Member States, 2017

Country	Refugee by country of origin, (Thousand)	Internally Displaced people(Thousand)
Djibouti	1.8	0
Eritrea	464.1	0
Ethiopia	87.5	1,078
Kenya	7.6	159
Somalia	986.4	825.
South Sudan	2439.8	1,899
Sudan	691.4	2,072
Uganda	6.4	24

Source: UNDP, 2018:65-67

6.1.6 Human Capabilities and Access to Basic Necessities

Human development is basically about building capabilities of every human being in every country (UNDP, 2016:5). According to the capabilities approach, poverty is the result of deprivation of basic necessities and opportunities for a better life (Sen, 1999). Large sections of populations in the IGAD member states have been disproportionately exposed to conflicts; they lack access to capability-enhancing resources and opportunities such as health care, education and employment opportunities (IGAD, 2016a:15). As a consequence, they have faced multidimensional poverty. The Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) is a measure which provides insight into the varying degrees of overlapping deprivations of the poor in three dimensions: (i) Education which has two indicators (years of schooling and child school attendance; (ii) Health which has two indicators (child mortality and nutrition); and (iii) Standard of living which has six indicators (access to electricity, improved sanitation, safe drinking water, use of modern cooking fuel, ownership of assets and flooring area,) (OPHI, 2016:3). Each person's deprivation across the three equally weighted dimensions and the ten indicators are considered in calculating MPI. A person is identified as multidimensionally poor if he/she is deprived in at least one third or more of the ten weighted indicators. The value of MPI ranges between 0 (no deprivation) to 100% (perfect deprivation). The intensity of poverty is measured by the number of deprivations a person experiences across the ten indicators. Intensity of the deprivation varies between zero (no deprivations) to 100% (perfect deprivation). The contribution of deprivation to multidimensional poverty index is attributed to deprivations in each of the three dimensions of poverty (education, health and standard of living (UNDP, 2016:219).

Table 6 shows that the value of MPI is highest in South Sudan (55.1%) and lowest in Djibouti (12.7%). In South Sudan, 89.3% of the population was categorized as multidimensionally poor based on headcount completed in 2010; in Ethiopia, 88.2% of the population was considered multidimensional poor based on headcount of 2011. The intensity of deprivation remained high for most IGAD member states, the highest being in South Sudan (61.7%) and lowest deprivation was in Kenya (46.1%). The major contributing factor of deprivation is attributed to standard of living, constituting 51.9% in Uganda, highest in the IGAD member states and 41.2% in Djibouti, lowest in the member states. The deprivations which contribute to highest share of multidimensional poverty were lack of modern cooking fuel, lack of access to electricity and sanitation (OPHI, 2016:1).

Table: 6 Multidimensional Poverty for IGAD Member States by Year of Survey

Country	Multidimensional poverty Index		Population in Multidimensional Poverty		Contribution of deprivation in dimension to overall poverty %		
	Year of Survey	Index Value	Head Count %	Intensity of Deprivation %	Education	Health	Standard of living
Djibouti	2006	0.127	26.9	47.3	36.1	22.7	41.2
Eritrea	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Ethiopia	2011	0.537	88.2	60.9	27.4	25.2	44.2
Kenya	2014	0.166	36	46.1	12.3	32.2	55.5
Somalia	2006	0.5	81	61.1	33.7	18.8	47.5
South Sudan	2010	0.551	89.3	61.7	33.9	14.3	46.3
Sudan	2010	0.290	53.1	54.6	30.4	20.7	48.9
Uganda	2011	0.359	70.3	51.1	18	30.2	51.9

UNDP, 2016:218-219

The intensity of deprivation indicates that large segments of the populations in most IGAD member states still lack capabilities, resources, or opportunities because of exclusion, discriminatory social norms and values, and persistent intra or interstate conflicts of different scales. Human insecurity which emanates from deprivations and high incidence of poverty remains the paramount challenge to peace and security in the IGAD member states. This is because deprivations of large sections of the populations in the member states create situations which could lead to intra-state conflicts. The policy implications are increase investments in education and ensure compulsory education up to grade 12, where parents also play their role in ensuring that their children successfully complete their high school education; creating programs for universal health care and requiring all citizens to enroll in such programs, for instance, through launching compulsory health insurance. In addition, increase investments in micro, small and medium enterprises to create employment opportunities for the poor.

6.2 Possible Areas for Renewed Cooperation among IGAD Member States for Durable Peace and Sustainable Development

The need for renewed cooperation among IGAD member states emanates from five rationales: (i) Existence of long-run or hard-to-change structural challenges such as drought, climate change and environmental degradation which support the logic of regional cooperation among the IGAD member states to address their challenges jointly; (ii) Negative sum game of past and prevailing conflicts as they inflict heavy damages for all IGAD member states affected by the conflicts. Experiences of IGAD member states have shown that conflicts are very costly in terms of loss of human life, property and the destruction of public infrastructure and foregone development opportunities and thus need to be reversed through constructive engagement; (iii) the IGAD region is considered as a regional security complex, which includes a community of states in which the security of any one member state is intimately connected to the security of other member states. This security interdependence is as strong as the economic interdependence and springs from connectivity of communities across boundaries of the member states which make spread of conflicts to neighboring member states easy; (iv) IGAD member states have endorsed the 2030 agenda for sustainable development. Achievement of sustainable development goals will foster peaceful, just and inclusive societies which are free from deprivation, poverty, fear and violence. In this regard, there is a convergence of the overall

development objective of IGAD member states which requires revitalization of their cooperation in order to improve economic, social and political life of their respective populations; (v) There is a pressing need that IGAD as a regional organization has to depend on resources of the member states and reduce its dependency on foreign financing in order to live up to its stated objectives. IGAD member states are jointly responsible for maintaining regional peace and stability and sustainable development, and to these ends, member states need to mobilize adequate resources and recommit themselves for renewed cooperation. As revitalization of cooperation among the IGAD member states is non-compromising option, this paper identified six areas for renewed cooperation while admitting that they are by no means exhaustive. These are:

(i) Demonstrable Political Will of Governments for Renewed Cooperation to Maintain Durable Peace in the IGAD Region.

Despite the declared objectives of IGAD member states to regional peace and development, conflicts of different natures have hit at the very core sources of their development: human resources, material resources and to a certain extent natural resources (IGAD, 2016a:64). As peace and security are pre-requisites to their national and regional sustainable development, there is an objective reason for IGAD member states to shift in their paradigm from realism and belligerent stance to constructive engagement in order to build fundamental conditions and processes conducive to durable regional peace and sustainable development. To these ends, established political will of all IGAD member states for renewed cooperation to regional peace and sustainable development would be required. Revitalizing regional cooperation would also be expected to counterbalance the interventions of global powers that might want to worsen conflicts in the region to their own advantages.

(ii) Renewed Cooperation to Combat organized Crime, Human Trafficking and Terrorism

In the era of globalization, criminal networks have high potentials of taking advantage of modern communications, transport and financial services, particularly in countries which have low national capacity and absence of workable cooperation among neighboring states (WB, 2011:57). In the foreseeable new era of constructive engagement of the IGAD member states, it is possible to expect expanding business transactions, increase in the inflow of foreign investments, transfers of remittances, increase in passenger and freight volumes and expansion of inter-regional transportation (IGAD, 2016c:15). As a result, the IGAD region is likely to be more vulnerable to money laundering, drug trafficking and other trans-national acts of terrorism (IGAD, 2016c:15). Each IGAD member state, however, has limited national resources and capacity to deter organized crimes and trafficking. As organized crimes and trafficking are common challenges to the IGAD member states, there is an objective reason for renewed cooperation among the member states to overcome their common challenges and for the creation of peaceful and secured region.

(iii) Renewed Cooperation in Health and Human Development

With respect to health and human development related renewed cooperation, IGAD member states could achieve two objectives. First, combat various diseases such as HIV/AIDs, malaria, cholera, livestock and crop diseases which could easily extend to their neighboring countries because of cross-border mobility of people and livestock. Second, cooperation in science and technology would also help the countries address their development challenges related to human resourced development, share experiences in natural resources management and sustainable livelihoods, particularly in the border areas.

(iv) Renewed Cooperation on Natural Resources Management and Environment Protection

Sustainable development Goal 15 (SDG 15) states “Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss” (UN, 2015:29). However, 95% of original ecosystems in

the IGAD region have been degraded severely by several interlinked factors, including climate change, frequent droughts, high population growth, reduced fallowing, expansion of agricultural areas, overgrazing, deforestation, land degradation and soil erosion and desertification (IGAD, 2016a:21). This means degradation of natural resources has become a threat to human security in the IGAD region as it undermines sustainable development. As natural resources have cross-border dimension, this offers a logical basis for integrated regional actions on environmental and natural resource protection and management. Renewed cooperation on environmental and natural resources management would help IGAD member states achieve SDG 15, and to ensure sustainable development and wise use of their natural resources. Cooperation among the IGAD countries would increase the effectiveness of investments in natural resource protection such as soil and water conservation and afforestation. Cooperative approach would also enable member states to share experiences on sustainable management of natural resources, particularly sustainable land management as well as environmental impact assessment and for conducting joint research that promote sustainable livelihood systems in border areas which have similar geo-climate.

(v) Renewed Cooperation on Natural Disaster Risk Reduction and Management

The IGAD member states are prone to natural disasters, extreme weather events such as droughts, floods and to certain extent earthquake and volcanic eruptions (IGAD, 2013:13). When hazards such as droughts occur, the whole agricultural production system is likely to collapse with disastrous consequences for the affected population. Huge financial resources would then be required for humanitarian aid and even more to recover the production systems and livelihoods of the affected population. The required resources and institutional capabilities are often beyond the means of the affected country. The IGAD Drought Resilience and Sustainability Initiative (IDDRSI) aims at addressing the effects of natural shocks in holistic manner (IGAD, 2013:8). However, there is a big gap between the declared objectives and the achievements so far. Renewed collaborative and synergistic actions among IGAD member states would help member states to effectively respond to any natural disaster, particularly in operations of lifesaving and delivering of relief in time of need. Renewed cooperation would also promote exchange of information on climate-related issues such as early warning that would enable IGAD member states to make necessary preparations and to reduce negative consequences of potential natural disasters.

(vi) Renewed Cooperation for Economic Integration and for the Creation of Free Trade Area

Economic cooperation is the positive side of conflict and that no economic cooperation could be realized without the desire of partners to cooperate. Regional economic cooperation/integration has both economic and political dimensions. From the economic perspective, economic integration creates larger market in which all trading nations are able to exchange their products based on their comparative advantages. In political terms, economic integration is the result of political will of the governments of countries and their firm commitment to the promotion of regional trade which have mutual benefits. Increased regional economic integration promotes mutual economic dependence among the member states and subsequently engender peace by increasing opportunity cost of conflicts (ecdpm, 2016:17). In this regard, regional integration among IGAD member states is an appropriate development strategy because it can accelerate regional growth, reduce conflicts and deepen integration through creation of free trade area. Formation of free trade area would require IGAD member countries to remove their tariffs and quotas for goods originating within the member states, while maintaining import restrictions on goods of non-member states (HESPI, 2013:4). Formation of free trade area would thus enhance welfare by enabling the populations to procure goods from the cheapest sources based on comparative advantage of the trading nations. Trading nations would also benefit from economies of scale, product differentiation and efficient resource allocation within their respective domain. Thus, commodities produced within the IGAD member states would be cheaper as they would enjoy preferential treatment compared to commodities

imported from non-member states, consequently making member states' products more competitive in the free trade area (HESPI, 2013:4). In addition, creation of free trade area would also provide IGAD member states the opportunity to build their domestic production capacities, enhance industrialization and create employment in different sectors. Therefore, creation of free trade area among IGAD member states would enhance structural transformations and overall economic growth by strengthening forward and backward linkages in their economic sectors. These six areas identified for renewed cooperation, however, should not be read as outright dictum; rather they underpin the importance of constructive engagement among the IGAD member states for regional peace and sustainable development.

7. Discussions, Conclusion and Recommendations

IGAD was established with the objectives of promoting peace, economic integration and sustainable development. Following its formation, IGAD has produced several policy documents and agreements related to cooperation and common/regional strategies to seize the opportunities for cooperation, peace and sustainable development. The initial euphoria of IGAD, however, has not made much progress beyond declarations on peace and development. IGAD as a regional institution lacks institutional capacity and power to enforce implementation of commitments made. There is lack of enforcement of IGAD resolutions, especially when conflict breaks between member states because unhealthy rivalry among some member states undermines the achievement of a broad-based consensus on conflict resolution. IGAD region has also been vulnerable to external interventions as powerful global powers continued to define their national interests in non-altruistic ways that undermine cooperative initiatives of the IGAD member states. Moreover, for decades, IGAD member states have been suffering from conflicts of different natures, duration and scales. Arguably, the effects of the conflicts to their socio-economic development have been far-reaching. The overall objectives of the study were: (i) to empirically assess development outcomes in IGAD member states which have been affected by different types of conflicts. (ii) Underpin the timely need for renewed cooperation among the IGAD member states and (iii) to explore possible areas for cooperation which would reduce the risk of conflicts, and subsequently enhance regional peace, stability and sustainable development.

Over the study period, the findings of this study indicate that there has been little structural transformation in the economies of IGAD member states. The real GDP growth rates showed declining trend during the period 2010-2016. In addition, most IGAD member states were ranked in the low human development coupled with high youth unemployment. The low development scores in the member states indicate the prevalence of major deficiency in their human security due to lack of equity and economic opportunities, intrastate conflicts, interstate wars, and high incidence of poverty, environmental degradation and natural resource scarcity and emergence of extremism. Raging civil wars, interstate conflicts and lack of economic opportunities have, in turn, produced refugees and internally displaced people and high level of multidimensional poverty and deprivation of basic necessities of large sections of the populations in most member states. The intensity of poverty and deprivations of basic necessities suggest that large segments of the populations in the IGAD member states lack capabilities, resources, or opportunities needed to better their lives. Despite the IGAD region's huge natural resource endowments, strategic location and hardworking people, it has remained one of the world's poorest regions with wide spread human sufferings, socially, economically and politically basically because of conflicts and extreme weather events, natural resources degradation, and lack of employment opportunities. Experiences, to date, have made it clear that those conflicts among or within IGAD member states have been costly in terms of loss of human life, property, destruction of public infrastructure and foregone development opportunities.

From a regional security complex perspective, the IGAD region stands clearly on its own as the locus of cooperation for the member states. Thus mutual mistrust, unequal and unsteady commitment for cooperation have to be overcome if IGAD member states are to pave the way for genuine cooperation that would lead to durable regional peace, stability and sustainable development

nationally and regionally. The paper, therefore, concludes that constructive cooperation among IGAD member states is still a top priority and member states are expected to overcome their common and deepening challenges related to climate changes, diseases, pests, illegal trade, human trafficking and terrorism. IGAD member states have to demonstrate their renewed political will for renewed cooperation for their mutual benefits. The envisioned renewed cooperation is not normative policy description; it emanates from logical reasoning that all IGAD member states are losers in terms of their development outcomes in the absence of genuine cooperation that addresses their regional development challenges. Thus, what is required is a change in paradigm towards national and regional peace and development through promoting constructive engagement. In line with this, the envisioned renewed cooperation in the new era is a self-empowering transformation, which put people at the centre since they are the victims of the various conflicts as well as beneficiaries of cooperation, peace and prosperity. Since the signing of peace agreement between Eritrea and Ethiopia in 2018, a new promising era has emerged that may usher in renewed regional peace and sustainable development. Although it is too early to draw a lesson, the peace and cooperation agreement between the two countries is a good start in the right direction as it could lay a solid foundation for a new IGAD order that would usher in national and regional peace stability as well as sustainable development.

With the promising renewed commitment of IGAD member states to peace and stability in the horizon, this paper identified six possible areas for renewed cooperation that could contribute to the achievement of development outcomes that would have positive impacts on the quality of life of the populations in the region. These are: (i) Demonstrable political will of governments for renewed cooperation to maintain durable peace in the IGAD region; (ii) Renewed cooperation to combat organized crime, human trafficking and terrorism; (iii) Renewed cooperation in health and human development; (iv) Renewed cooperation on natural resources management and environment protection; (v) Renewed cooperation on natural disaster risk reduction and management and (vi) Renewed cooperation for economic integration and for the creation of free trade area. In order to make the envisioned renewed cooperation among IGAD member states effective, the following measures are suggested: (i) Renewed commitment of member states to regional cooperation for durable regional peace and stability; (ii) Increase financial contribution of member states to make IGAD organization self-financing and reduce its dependence on foreign financing, increase its autonomy in channeling its available resources to areas of regional priority; (iii) Strengthen institutional capacity of IGAD organization in order to engage proactively in regional priorities of mutual interest, particularly in promoting peace, stability, environmental protection and economic integration; (iv) Refraining those in different circles from promoting discourses which disturb long-term harmony, peaceful relations among peoples by creating tensions and conflicts among different social or ethnic groups; (v) Refraining of global powers from divisive and destructive interventions in the IGAD region ; (vi) Demonstrable efforts of governments of IGAD member states to people- centered development and social justice in order to eliminate poverty and secure national stability and (vii) Investments in civic education and expand it in all levels of education, including tertiary education and promote discourse which strengthen social harmony and respect for other peoples' values, and to subsequently contribute to national peace and regional stability.

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