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Security, Governance and Development Nexus

Background

In the recent academic and political discussions on global justice and development, more and more emphasis has been given to the concept of 'human security'. This is crucial, as there can be no sustainable development without peace and social harmony. However, peace cannot last without individuals, communities and nations agreeing on certain shared principles of justice that set criteria for just external interventions and regionally or nationally guarantee the legitimacy of political authority and fair distribution of resources. Without any such principles, the impact of any aid, interference or cooperation is short lived and the long-term result is political chaos, violence and lasting instability (as we have seen happening in Iraq, Somalia and Afghanistan). However, in order to find such shared impartial principles we need to work with both individual agents of change as well as with institutional structures; local, national and international.

Thus, despite the increased realization of this vital link between human security and development, the literature in this field has not provided a comprehensive approach that brings together the complex theoretical and practical elements of the issues of global justice, development ethics, and security. On the one hand, great deal of philosophical/analytical work has been rather abstract theoretical argumentation on the justifiability and applicability of the methodological framework of 'social contract' as the basis of liberal democracy, as well as its alternatives. On the other hand, there have been a high number of very directly practice-oriented peace and conflict as well as development case-studies that often are seen to show that circumstances across the world in relation to poverty, conflict and development are fundamentally different and that looking for any common universally guiding principles of justice may turn out to be a futile exercise. This research attempts to overcome this gap by studying the existing European and African ideologies and philosophies in relation to political practice and analyse their adjustment to the global ideological trends and changing power relations.

Detailed research plan

This research brings theory and practice closer together in the issues of global ethics, transitional justice, peace and development and argues for a universal set of principles of global justice:

Firstly, the research will study the problems of the theoretical frameworks that have been used to analyse the concepts of global, international and transitional justice. Secondly, the researcher will show why the various policy and practical approaches of international diplomacy, development cooperation, and other forms of international and internal interventions (such as structural adjustment, poverty reduction strategy papers, millennium development goals, various peace building and reconciliation efforts, international organizations such as World Bank, IMF, or ICC) tend only to work on paper and at international discussion forums, but not have serious impact in alleviating the world poverty, reducing impunity and increasing equality between have and have not's.

Thirdly, this research will suggest that we need to move from the Western embraced idea of 'development as liberal democracy with market economy' to wider concept of 'development as social justice'. This will also mean that we will take into account the role of the 'agents of change' (individual and communal) and move away from both: the abstract individualistic, methodological approach of 'social contract' and the communitarian 'embedded social agents' who are seen as victims of circumstances (whether geographical, environmental, historical, social or political).

This research is set to show that what tends to get lost in the between the theoretical and practical frameworks is the relationship between values and practices. Particularly evident this comes when we focus on the issues of transitional justice, human security and their relation to the concept of development. The author argues that there is too much political emphasis, particularly in the West, to see 'development' as 'democratic order' instead of on seeing development as 'social justice'. In practice, particularly in the conflict zones, the international community/development partners do no longer measure development with the statistic on achievement of MDG or poverty reduction, but rather with the existence of 'democratic procedures', such as multi-party elections or constitutional structures, or with economic growth within the market economy.

However, market economy, democracy and social justice do not always go hand in hand. Rather the contrary. Here the book will expand on Paul Collier's (2009, *Wars, Guns and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*) economic analysis to wider philosophical and political framework. The author claims that the Western insistence for 'free, multiparty elections based on majority vote within market economy environment, causes in many places ethnic and social tensions, conflict and violence rather than brings about political justice and equal participation. The examples on the violent consequences of failed or seriously flawed elections that were flawed with rigging, intimidation, corruption, bribery, buying and selling votes are here drawn from the Horn of Africa during the past decades. However, in many cases the international community is condoning this and accepting even the illegitimate leaders as their partners 'in global development business'. This creates 'a hostage situation' – international community remain hostage to its own requirement of using democratic procedures, even when the end state is partial, undemocratic and infected with inequalities.

The author analyses particularly why 'democracy is failing' Africa - rather than why democracy is failing IN Africa. She argues that the international community tends to see democracy from the Western 'social contract' tradition, in which the legitimate principles of well-ordered society are chosen between sovereign individuals: the rulers and those ruled. The overall framework for this contract is free market economy. However, in Africa this brings together two formerly incompatible frameworks. Firstly, many African disunited nations and fragile, weak and failing states are based on communitarian decision-making and very hierarchical reliance on ethnic/communal leaders rather than individual citizens' autonomous choices. Second, any contract made (or forced from above) without common commitment to shared humanistic values such as equality, sovereignty, tolerance, and fairness, the practices or processes of democratic system does not bring about social justice and social harmony – rather vice versa. Democratic processes can be used to create 'pseudo-democracy' that legitimates corrupt,

egoist and autocratic leaders who maintain the culture of impunity, ethnic and regional inequalities, social and political injustices and in general bad governance.

Particularly problematic this is in the context of *transitional justice*. The question transition to what, is not often clearly discussed but it is taken granted that we are talking about the processes through which conflict ridden, authoritarian, repressive or otherwise illegitimate regimes are transitioning into 'working democracies'. Again, if we hear look at the results in various countries in Middle East and Africa, the apparent transition towards democratic procedures has not brought about peace, security or justice. Instead, it has created a vicious cycle of competition for power and resources, ethnic and regional violence, impunity, instability and overall bad governance and even more suffering of the innocent.

The research hypothesis is that the external push for democratic procedures without serious commitment to the humanist values will dangerously ignore some of the main causes of conflict and disparity related to the issues of exclusion, gender and ethnicity. Here also the current use of the concept of state is questioned, new actors discussed, and attention will be paid on corruption, tribalism and ethno-centrism in countries, which are pushed to adopt to multiparty politics in a context where there is clear ideological vacuum. A critical analysis will examine 1) what really are the democratic choices in a political environment where there are no competitive ideologies that would set principles for social justice or the requirement of impartiality on the state, 2) what current political ideologies are prevalent today in Africa, 3) why the Western development ideal is failing, 4) what are the gender perspectives that should be taken into account in this changing context of global power relations.

The case studies are from Eastern Africa, particularly from Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi.