

# The Security-Development Nexus

*Towards a New Policy Framework combining the Need for  
Security with the Strive for Development?*

Jens Brinkestam

# Abstract

It is frequently proposed that security and development are inextricably linked. Through history, development and security have constituted separate discourses, but during the 1990s matters of security and development were increasingly being discussed in concert, both in relation to discourse and policy, giving rise to what is commonly referred to as the security-development nexus. When the Millennium Development Goals were agreed on, goals relating to security and human rights were missing, despite being topics of much focus in the Millennium Declaration. This has led scholars to call for a comprehensive approach to development and security, stemming from a human security paradigm. This thesis examines the ideational processes shaping the security-development nexus. Further, it focuses on the possibilities for a concerted undertaking combining security and development policy, promoting development and responding to the threats the new security landscape poses to human security. Taking a social constructivist theoretical positioning, this thesis will argue that there is a need to re-think the idea of security policy if such an undertaking is to be realized, by constructing security and development policy based on a human security paradigm. To strengthen and test its arguments, the paper is drawing on examples from Liberia.

*Key words:* security-development nexus, ideational processes, Millennium Development Goals, human security, Liberia

Words: 10571

# Abbreviations

AWT	“At Work Together” (UN)
CHS	Commission on Human Security
CPAP	The Country Programme Action Plan
DaO	“Delivering as One” (UN)
IR	International Relations
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
UN	United Nations
UNDAF	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia

# Table of Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1	Background and Significance.....	1
1.2	Aim and Research Questions .....	2
1.3	Structure .....	2
1.4	Theoretical Positioning .....	3
1.4.1	Social Constructivism .....	3
1.5	Methods.....	4
1.5.1	Analytical Tool: Dimensions .....	5
1.5.2	Delimitations and Justification of Material .....	6
<b>2</b>	<b>The Security-Development Nexus: Ideational Trends .....</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1	Traditional Security Theory .....	7
2.1.1	Realism.....	7
2.2	Non-traditional Security Theory .....	8
2.2.1	Critical Security Studies.....	8
2.2.2	The Copenhagen School.....	9
2.2.3	Human Security.....	9
2.2.3.1	“Freedom from Fear” vs. “Freedom from Want” .....	10
2.2.3.2	Obstacles for a Human Security Policy Agenda.....	10
2.3	Overarching Trends Influencing the Nexus .....	11
2.3.1	The 1990s Humanitarian Turn coming to an end post-9/11.....	11
<b>3</b>	<b>Conceptualizing Security in Relation to the Millennium Declaration – Towards a New Policy Framework? .....</b>	<b>13</b>
3.1	The UN Millennium Declaration, Security and Development.....	13
3.2	Mapping the Road towards Millennium Security Goals and Beyond.....	14
3.2.1	Steps Taken towards a World “In Larger Freedom” .....	15
3.2.2	Policy Coherence: “Delivering as One” and “Whole of Government” .....	15
3.2.3	Millennium Security Goals .....	16
3.2.4	Adjusting to the New Security Landscape .....	17
3.2.5	Combining “Freedom from Fear” with “Freedom from Want” .....	19
<b>4</b>	<b>Liberia – What can be learned? .....</b>	<b>20</b>
4.1	The Country Programme Action Plan.....	20
4.2	From “At Work Together” to “Delivering as One” .....	21
<b>5</b>	<b>Conclusions.....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>References.....</b>	<b>25</b>

# 1 Introduction

It is frequently proposed within academia that security and development are inextricably linked. War is development in reverse, and violence and the threat of violence within communities are big obstacles for countries trying to ignite a development process. Looking at present trends, there is a common view that poor conflict-affected countries, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, have the bleakest outlooks for reaching the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (Addison 2008 p. 318; Hill, Farooq Mansoor and Claudio 2010 p. 562). Also non-conflict armed violence (e.g. criminal violence, urban gang violence, domestic violence) poses huge problems for many developing countries, taking a big toll on societies, not only in the form of human lives, but also in falling government spending on social services. To exemplify, in 2005 investment in security in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, was twice that of spending on education and five times that of health, to relate to MDGs 2 and 5 (CICS 2005). Evidently, there seem to be a strong connection between security and development, and within academia the former is often seen as a prerequisite for the latter. However, when the MDGs were agreed upon at the Millennium Summit in 2000, this connection was not acknowledged, as no MDG was formulated for the section in the Millennium Declaration concerned with peace, security and disarmament. This thesis will examine the debate about the relationship between security and development, as it will try to shed light on what many see as an overlooked area within the MDGs. It will scrutinize the possibilities for a similar undertaking relating to security and development, and elaborate on how a concerted effort within these areas can complement the MDGs.

## 1.1 Background and Significance

Former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan stated “*there will be no development without security, and no security without development*” (UN Larger Freedom 2005). The relation between security and development is often referred to as the security-development nexus, and this relation has seen much debate and contestation. The idea of connections between security and development thinking is not a new phenomenon. The Marshall Plan supporting the rebuilding of Europe after World War 2 is an example of such linkages, as the US sought to pursue the interlinked goals of stabilizing Europe and contain Soviet communism. Thus, developmental efforts have for a long time in various ways been seen as possible promoters of safety, and vice versa. The United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP) Human Development Report from 1994 brought new attention to the security-development nexus, as it sought to broaden the definition of security by putting emphasis on threats towards individuals. The concept of human security was brought to the fore of deliberation. A new, or at least revised,

security discourse was a growing concern, shifting the referent object of security from the state towards individuals. Traditional state security was no longer enough – human security seemed to be the answer. However, while promoted as a policy agenda, human security has not had the encompassing impact as a tool for policy-makers many of its proponents predicted, as the applicability of the concept is often questioned.

It is frequently proposed that the state of the security-development nexus is highly related to trends within security politics (Hettne 2010), trends emanating from agenda-setting events such as the terrorist attacks on 9/11, or the failure to prevent genocide in Rwanda. Thus, this research area is in constant change. There is also a common conception that the potential realization of a security-development nexus in terms of a policy agenda has not been adequately explored (see for example Picciotto, Olonisakin and Clarke 2007), therefore, it is relevant to further investigate the relationship between security and development, and examine the possibilities for a joint approach within global policy-making.

## 1.2 Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this thesis is to elucidate the possibilities for a comprehensive policy framework covering global issues related to a security-development nexus. Relating the discussion to the missing security aspect of the MDGs, it is my intention to shed light on the prospects of a similar approach as the MDGs, responding to the overlapping issues of security and development, by guiding policy directions of such a framework.

The main research questions for this thesis are:

- Examining the ideational processes shaping the idea of the security-development nexus; what implications do these processes have for the potential realization of a new global policy framework, unifying security and development policy? How could such an approach be constructed?
- Looking at the measures taken towards enhanced security for the sake of development in Liberia; what lessons can be learned from this context, and how can these lessons influence the forming of an agenda merging security and development policy on a global level?

## 1.3 Structure

The thesis will be divided into three main parts. The first part is called “The security-development nexus: ideational trends”. Within this part overall trends in the academic debate about a security-development nexus is presented, in order to give a clear view of past and present trends within this area, while putting focus on the way the security concept is influenced, constructed and understood.

The second part of the thesis is called “Conceptualizing security in relation to the Millennium Declaration – towards a new policy framework?”, and is

examining the Millennium Declaration and the MDGs in the light of the security-development nexus, emphasizing the missing link between security and development within the MDGs. This part highlights the debate about a potential global approach, stemming from a human security paradigm, seeking to combine security and development policy into a concerted undertaking complementing the MDGs. Drawing on the overarching debate about a security-development nexus from the first part of the paper, the second part will take a less abstract approach, as it will go into more detail about potential solutions for a merged security and development policy approach, and point to challenges herein.

The third part called “Liberia – what can be learned?” highlights measures taken in Liberia to enhance security for the purpose of meeting the MDGs, and foster a development process. With the overarching discussion carried out through the two previous parts in mind, this part will provide insight on a micro scale to how aspects of security and development are seen as mutually reinforcing within development planning. It is important to stress that this section does not seek to be deep and all-encompassing, but will instead be used to illustrate how the overarching problematization of the paper can be related to a real world context. Thus, this part of the thesis seeks to present an embodiment of the security-development nexus for an illustrative purpose, while also pointing to how lessons learned in Liberia can help inform the process towards a joint global policy agenda for security and development. I see Liberia as a relevant case for the task at hand as the Liberian government after the civil war has adopted a close relationship with the UNDP, and has been a forerunner in many areas relating to a security-development nexus, especially in matters of Peacekeeping and national security reform. Liberia will also as the first post-conflict country ever with an integrated mission implement the “Delivering as One” initiative, launching the “One Programme” in 2013, something that will be elaborated on in the paper.

The analysis will be carried out gradually throughout the three main parts of the paper. The main findings of the analysis will be summarized within the conclusion, and here I will also point to future directions within this area of research.

## 1.4 Theoretical Positioning

### 1.4.1 Social Constructivism

The theoretical positioning for this paper is stemming from the social constructivist perspective in International Relations (IR) theory (Steans and Pettiford 2005 p. 181), drawing on the constructivist paradigm within qualitative research (Punch 2005 p. 134). By examining the ideational processes that shape the debate about the security-development nexus through a constructivist mindset, it is my intention to present patterns in this debate that could point to future directions in the area of a merged stance between security and development policy. Scrutinizing how such an undertaking could be structured, the constructivist paradigm will serve as an interpretive tool, pointing to how

contextual circumstances influence the crafting of understandings. As is common in the study of security discourse, a constructivist positioning is taken to scrutinize the construction of the concept of security, in order to identify differentiating positions within the debate about how the security concept should be understood, how it should be constructed, and how it should be utilized. Thus, the constructivist approach is used to analyse the “culture of security” (Steans and Pettiford 2005 p. 197). Within the constructivist vein of security studies, it is argued that security is what actors make of it, thus, being highly dependent on and influenced by discourse and context. As the aim of my thesis is to examine the possibilities for a concerted undertaking, merging security and development policy, it is of vital importance to scrutinize the possibilities for a broadening – a reconstruction - of security discourse, making such a joint undertaking possible. As social constructivism see reality as being constructed in the interplay between structure and agency (Steans and Pettiford 2005 p. 189), it is important to pay close attention to contextual interpretations of threats, as this is what ultimately shapes the concept of security. As Krause and Williams has stressed, a fundamental question the constructivist position asks is: What is the referent object of security? Who or what is to be secured? (Mutimer 2007 p. 57).

## 1.5 Methods

As the area of interest for this paper is broad in nature, this poses some challenges for the choice of appropriate methods. A main interest of the paper is to describe and interpret the ideational processes shaping the idea of a security-development nexus, thus, the use of a method based on the describing ideational analysis is adequate. The label “describing”, however, does not prohibit interpretations of the material as Beckman (2005 p. 48) points out, thus, reflections about findings will be made throughout the analysis. Because of the broad area of interest, the thesis will make use of the describing ideational analysis in a broader sense than what conventionally is the case. As often is the case when performing various forms of ideational analyses, the method practiced within this paper will share some characteristics of a discourse analysis (Bergström and Boréus 2005 p. 176), examining how security discourse is used. However, since the intention is to analyse ideational processes forming the overarching idea of a security-development nexus, a research procedure stemming from ideational analysis is to be preferred. As the material being analysed consists of various texts and literature – books, articles, and reports – it is natural to also utilize a text analytical method, something that is customary when doing various forms of ideational analyses (Beckman 2005).

An increasing number of social scientists claim that ideational processes have the potential to majorly influence politics and policy (see for example Beckman 2005), thus, the thesis’ aim is to examine what implications influential ideational processes shaping the security-development nexus have for the potential realization of a merged policy approach for security and development planning. The analysis is of idea centric nature (Beckman 2005 p. 17), meaning the analysis puts less emphasis on the actors presenting an idea, and is more concerned with the idea in itself. While an actor centric ideational analysis puts



more emphasis on the actors presenting an idea, and also on the contextual circumstances in which this idea is presented (Beckman 2005 p. 17), this thesis seeks to put the differentiating ideational processes of a security-development nexus in focus, by taking an idea centric stance. However, I will still put considerable attention towards the relevance of context when presenting differentiating ideas, as context has shown highly important, influencing ideational processes.

Considering how the understanding of the security concept is central for the security-development nexus, the thesis will present a variety of conceptions of security. Thus, the thesis will have an element of concept analysis. However, it is important to stress that the concept analysis is a *part* of the describing ideational analysis process (Beckman 2005 p. 31). Thus, the defining of concepts will vary throughout the thesis, depending on ideational standpoint.

### 1.5.1 Analytical Tool: Dimensions

The analysis will be carried out in a dimensional way (Bergström and Boréus 2005 p. 164). Using dimensions as an analytical tool helps to guide the research and sort the material, by relating a certain text or opinion to a certain dimension. The dimensional framework is being constructed to identify differentiating conceptions of one and the same opinion. The construction of my dimensional framework is taking its point of departure from the quotation of former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan in the beginning of this paper, stating that “*there will be no development without security, and no security without development*” (UN Larger Freedom 2005). When stressing the importance of “security”, the idea of what security means can be interpreted in many different ways. While the same can be said about “development”, within the overarching debate about the security-development nexus, a fundamental matter of concern is how to understand the concept of security (see Jackson 2008). Traditionally, security has been understood as state security. Many argue that if a security-development nexus is to be realized, a non-traditional, holistic understanding of security is needed. The choice of dimensions is influenced by the theoretical positioning (Bergström and Boréus 2005 p. 164), thus, my thesis makes use of the following dimensions, based on the aforementioned divide in security conception:

**The dimension of *traditional security* (state centric security):**

Prominent concepts shaping this idea: *nation, state, military, static, narrow.*

**The dimension of *non-traditional security* (non-state centric security):**

Prominent concepts shaping this idea: *global, individual, human, changing, holistic.*

Because the topic of interest is broad, a looser positioning in terms of methods is required. Thus, the dimensions used for this thesis are constructed as broad categories, and serves as a general guide to the analysis of the material. The use of the method based on ideational analysis, and the aforementioned dimensions, will be most evident in the first part of the paper, outlining the ideational processes shaping the security-development nexus. However, the results of this part will be essential when carrying out the text analysis of the

remaining two parts, as they are needed to interpret parts two and three. Thus, the thesis as a whole will draw on a combination of ideational analysis and text analysis methods.

### 1.5.2 Delimitations and Justification of Material

To delimit my research area, for the sake of time and space limitations, my thesis will take its point of departure from an analysis of the two main overarching ideational strands debating security discourse, shaping the debate about the security-development nexus: *traditional security theory* and *non-traditional security theory*. As a part of the traditional security area I have chosen to examine the Realist perspective, as this through recent history has been the most dominant approach of international security (Morgan 2007 p. 16). The perspectives chosen for examination falling under the non-traditional security area are Critical Security Studies, The Copenhagen School and Human Security, as these perspectives receive much attention in the debate about a security-development nexus (Jackson 2008 p. 374-382). Ideas stemming from these perspectives will be present throughout the whole thesis.

Motivating the choice of material, the first part of the paper utilizes texts written within the field of IR and its sub-discipline Security Studies. A variety of material has been scrutinized in order to identify ideational trends influencing the security-development nexus, focusing on influential authors within different areas of IR, such as David Campbell and Keith Krause (part of the field of Critical Security Studies), Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde (part of the Copenhagen School), and Thomas Hobbes and John Mearsheimer (drawing on the Realist perspective). Literature about the intersections between security and development, written by a variety of scholars drawing on theories and works from the abovementioned and other influential authors, has constituted the bulk of the material. The second part of the thesis builds on the findings of the first, but elaborates in more depth on the theories of Robert Picciotto, who advocates a joint approach for security and development stemming from a human security paradigm. This part also scrutinizes a variety of UN documents, to strengthen the arguments presented. The third part of this paper offers a practical insight to the situation in Liberia, where the need to tackle issues of security and development in concert is acknowledged. This part makes use of various documents presenting measures taken to enhance security for the sake of development, and will provide deeper understanding of the theoretical approach taken in the first two parts, as it will connect to and compare arguments made earlier in the paper.

## 2 The Security-Development Nexus: Ideational Trends

This chapter consists of a walkthrough of the main ideational trends influencing the security-development nexus. I will start discussing the most influential perspective shaping traditional security discourse, and then move on to non-traditional approaches, broadening the meaning of security. Chapter 2.3 will then examine overarching trends within the debate about the role of security in development, as a way to elucidate the role of the concepts outlined earlier in the chapter, and point to differentiating stances in this debate.

### 2.1 Traditional Security Theory

#### 2.1.1 Realism

The discourse shaping the traditional security concept is conventionally studied within IR theory, seen from a westernized or Eurocentric Realist point of view, meaning that what is to be secured is the state (Baldwin 1997; Barkawi and Laffey 2006 p. 331; Jackson 2008 p. 374). Through recent history, this tradition of security studies has dominated the security conception in international politics (Morgan 2007 p. 16). The Hobbesian tradition, drawing on the ideas of seventeenth-century English political philosopher Thomas Hobbes, is strong within the Realist perspective. Hobbes' understanding of traditional security, and his theory of the social contract between the state and its people articulated in the landmark book *Leviathan* published in 1651, is frequently cited in various fields of security studies (see for example Campbell 1998; Krause and Williams 1997; Morgan 2007). Traditionally, the state is the provider of security for its citizens within its territory. Hobbes' social contract theory explains how the state offers protection to its citizens in return for legitimacy, and absolute sovereignty and non-interference in domestic affairs makes security concerns a matter for the state alone (Herring 2007). Although there are differentiating conceptions of security also within the Realist perspective (for instance neo-realism, and "offensive" and "defensive" Realists, advocating either expansionist or defensive behaviour of states; see Mearsheimer 2001), emphasis is put on military threats to the state, and inter-state conflict. Since the birth of the nation state, within IR traced to the peace of Westphalia in 1648, states has played a central role in security thinking, and in the field of traditional security. Although the transition was anything but clear-cut or rapid, scholars of IR see how from this juncture and onwards the role of religion as central in the social order eventually got surpassed by the emerging

states, which took the role as the main object of social identity in the new order (Campbell 1998 p. 40-46; Hettne 2010 p. 35-37). It was also due to this shift in world order that *intra-state* sources of conflict became conflicts of *inter-state* nature, where sovereign states clashed in an anarchic world order. Here, the articulating of discourses of danger (Campbell 1998 p. 47-51) is essential for a state to survive and legitimize itself, as well as to the understanding of state-behaviour and the nature of security for Realists within IR.

## 2.2 Non-traditional Security Theory

### 2.2.1 Critical Security Studies

Non-traditional and critical approaches to security are examining how the traditional security discourse is constructed, and seeks to elucidate the need for new conceptions of security. This study of security is given the diffuse label “Critical Security Studies”, and includes a variety of schools, drawing on influential constructivist and post-modernist thinkers like Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida. Although the term “Critical Security Studies” is broad, and holds many “schools”, the state is still prominent in many approaches within this view, but the role of the state is different compared to the Realist view of security (Mutimer 2007). Critical Security Studies show how politics of identity is used to construct traditional security discourse, and frame certain issues in terms of security thinking. Within traditional security discourse, there is always a need to frame security discourse in terms of identity, and a need to identify an enemy; whether the enemy might be a foreign nation state, communism, or a “non-traditional” security matter, as we shall see later in this paper.

Debating the conception of security, there are tensions between Realist scholars who advocates a more “static” view of security, and Critical Security scholars who see security as highly dependent on contextual circumstances (Krause and Williams 1997; Mutimer 2007), thus, seeing security discourse as being in constant change. Much of the criticism against the traditional conceptualization of security can be traced to the reluctance of contextual sensitivity of the Realist view of security. In an influential article from 1983, Richard Ullman argued that the military focus of security would get in the way of realizing how non-military threats could have a deterring effect on nations (Ullman 1983 p. 130). Ullman also brought up the idea that nation states themselves can constitute a threat towards its population, thus implying how Hobbes’ theory of the social contract could work in reverse. Drawing on similar arguments, many alternative security approaches gaining prominence during the 1990s emphasize the need for contextual sensitivity to changing circumstances in the range of threats (see for example Collins 2007; Hettne 2010; Stern and Öjendal 2010).

Next, we will turn to two of the most influential alternative approaches to security getting much attention during the 1990s, frequently discussed in relation

to development; The Copenhagen School and its theory of “securitization”, and the concept of human security.

### 2.2.2 The Copenhagen School

The Copenhagen School gained prominence in the 1990s, as it sought to broaden the conception of security by also focusing on non-military threats. One of the ways the Copenhagen School seeks to do so is by identifying five categories of security; military, environmental, economic, societal and political security (Emmers 2007 p. 110), pointing to the constructivist nature of security. Arguably the most prominent contribution of the Copenhagen School is the theory of “securitization”, explaining how non-military issues can be considered matters of security even though they are not posing a direct threat to the state (see Buzan, Waever and de Wilde 1998). When an issue becomes “securitized” through a speech-act it also becomes a matter demanding immediate attention. Topics labelled as critical to national or international security gets attention from higher authority, and gets prioritized in resource allocation. If the topic is seen as severe enough, it may even connote a state of emergency that puts the topic above normal legislation (Buzan et al. 1998). The securitization of an issue can be “de-securitized”, meaning the reversed process is taking place as an issue no longer is seen as an existential threat (Emmers 2007 p. 111-113). The idea of securitization can have severe implications for development matters. Many scholars argue that we saw the securitization of development during the 1990s (Hettne 2010 p. 44), something that will be further elaborated on in chapter 2.3.

### 2.2.3 Human Security

The way human security separates itself from the traditional, state-centric conceptualization of security is that security should be a matter of individual, people-centred, security. While being a broad conception of security, holding two main “schools”, the shift of focus - from the state towards the individual human being; from exclusively be a matter of military concerns and armed conflict towards a broader interpretation of security - is the overarching defining element of human security (Kerr 2007; Liotta 2002). The concept of human security “promotes policies that not only empower individuals to benefit from economic growth and development but also protects them in times of insecurity and crisis. And, in this regard, human security recognizes and enhances the inter-linkages between security and development” (United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security). Human security, as described in the UNDP’s 1994 Human Development Report, is to be seen as an approach that do not only address the results, but more importantly the root-causes for human insecurities. The approach is often referred to as a bridging approach between security and development, as the link between (human) security and (human) development is explicit (Werthes and Debiel 2006), and within the UNDP report it is stated how human security should be the backbone to a new development paradigm (UNDP, Human Development Report 1994, chapter 2).

At the core, the human security-approach seeks to integrate solutions to people's insecurities into one comprehensive approach. Matters of rights, security, development and humanitarian concerns should be met and dealt with by an overarching multidimensional framework, a framework that at the same time is dynamic and sensitive to changing realities of insecurity. The Commission on Human Security (CHS) is defining human security as the protection of "the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms [...] It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity" (United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security). Given the definition, the human security-approach encompasses more than the absence of violent conflict, and puts heavy emphasis on human rights, good governance and access to economic opportunity, education and health care. It recognizes the importance for individuals and communities to be able to ensure their own security. This makes evident a holistic understanding of security, with characteristics of both traditional and non-traditional security theory. Already an encompassing concept, it also aims for contextual sensitivity, something that has caused critics to argue that the human security-approach is too broad to be operational, and several scholars points to the vagueness of the concept (see for example Timothy 2004). This has, in part, to do with the two different schools within human security; "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want".

#### 2.2.3.1 "Freedom from Fear" vs. "Freedom from Want"

The narrow school within human security, referred to as "freedom from fear", advocates a narrower understanding of human security, not drastically different from the conventional Realist security discourse, except that it is the individual that should be secured from violence, not the state. The broader school of human security, understood as "freedom from want", advocates a broader understanding of human security, acknowledging a vast array of threats – stretching from natural disasters to substance abuse. This divide, and the confusion that surrounds the concept of human security, is commonly seen as its biggest constraint from being broadly utilizable (Kerr 2007).

#### 2.2.3.2 Obstacles for a Human Security Policy Agenda

The concept of human security held great promise in terms of serving as a bridging approach between the security and the development agendas. However, the divide within human security and the vagueness that surrounds the concept is commonly seen as its biggest constraint from being broadly utilizable, and the main hindrance to utilize human security as a bridging approach between the security and development agendas. Within the scholarly debate about human security, it is clear that the "freedom from want"-perspective has seen most criticism due to its "all-encompassing" approach (Floyd 2007; Kerr 2007). An example of such criticism is that the broad school of human security "encompasses everything from substance abuse to genocide" (Kerr 2007 p. 95). If

human security should be seen as a policy agenda, it is to be seen as one of the alternative approaches to security, competing for policy-makers' attention (McDonald 2002 p. 283). It is frequently proposed that this debate is being even more challenging considering the friction within human security. Hence, the question about the definition of the concept (e.g. "freedom from fear" versus "freedom from want") aggravates the ability for adoption within policy-making. Should environmental aspects be included within human security? Or should it be seen in terms of "responsibility to protect"? As Timothy (2004) stresses, the utilization of human security within UN policy-making has been handcuffed due to the vagueness of the approach, and the lack of agreement on a set definition of the concept. Sabina Alkire (2004) elaborates on how there are over thirty definitions of human security, and because of this unclarity it is sometimes argued that it would be better to treat human security as a "political leitmotif", a discourse containing a loose set of values that could *influence* security policy, instead of a policy agenda in itself (see for example Ewan 2007; Floyd 2007; Werthes and Debiel 2006).

## 2.3 Overarching Trends Influencing the Nexus

The discussion about whether or not the security and development agendas should be merged is not without critics, who points to more overarching concerns about a security-development nexus. This criticism stems from both development and security scholars. There is a conception that traditional security scholars see development as a means helping the nation to increase safety and autonomy, and expressing a reluctance for a broadening of the security concept beyond state security, fearing it will become redundant and lose its analytical approach (see for example Jackson 2008 p. 375). Related to the idea of "securitization" discussed earlier, development scholars express the risk of development issues being used as a pretext for security concerns, and that powerful international actors see underdevelopment as a security threat against (their own) national and global security, pointing to the imbalance in the security-development nexus (see for example Barkawi and Laffey 2006; Beall et al. 2006; Dóchas 2007; Duffield 2006). Issues like these puts the intent behind a merging of the two fields into question. However, this argument seems to work both ways, as development issues could benefit from being linked to security. Development issues could "capitalise on the political doors that opens" (Waddell 2006 p. 539) when development concerns are presented as potential threats to security, considering how matters of security are seen as high politics, hence getting immediate attention. Thus, the securitization of development could have both positive and negative outcomes.

### 2.3.1 The 1990s Humanitarian Turn coming to an end post-9/11

The mid-1990s is frequently considered an important time for the possibilities of a broadening of the security discourse (see Ewan 2007; Hussein, Gnisci and Wanjiru 2004 p. 11; Molier 2006; Waddell 2006 p. 535). The UNDPs 1994

Human Development Report, and the failure to respond to genocide in Rwanda and the Balkans, gave rise to the discourse of “humanitarian intervention”. This offered an extension of international development assistance, giving it a coercive form that challenged the principles of territorial sovereignty – and, thus, also traditional Realist security discourse. These events are commonly seen as the reason different schools and approaches within alternative security studies got increasing attention, for instance the Copenhagen School’s theory of “securitization”, and the concept of human security (McDonald 2002; Molier 2006). Scholars points to an originating trend of transnational responsibility for human welfare - the responsibility to protect. The shift towards a “humanitarian”-approach within security discourse brought attention to the security-development nexus, as it gave rise to a post-national logic, where human security is being contrasted to traditional state security (Hettne 2010; Pattison 2008).

The terrorist attacks on the USA in 2001 brought some scholars to, at the time, predict an even greater convergence of national and human security (see for example Liotta 2002). However, a turn in this discourse after 9/11 is widely acknowledged (see for example Duffield 2006; Hobden 2008; Liotta 2005; Molier 2006; Rogers 2007), with increasing unipolarity and unilateralism. The discourse is seen to have moved from “humanitarian intervention” towards “pre-emptive intervention” and “war against terrorism” (Hettne 2010 p. 45). The events of 9/11 clearly illustrate the challenges for alternative conceptions of security to get foothold. The attacks were not carried out in line with traditional security discourse, but could instead be better explained with human security discourse. They were carried out by non-state actors, not using conventional weapons, and targeted civilians. Thus, it would seem plausible that the humanitarian turn seen in security discourse during the 1990s would gain even further strength. However, the US-response was articulated in traditional terms of security discourse using “discourses of danger”, by declaring war on a foreign nation-state. Some scholars see this response as a way to “re-capture” the traditional security discourse (see for example McDonald 2002 p. 290). Thus, the events of 9/11 make evident the divide between national and individual security, and that a change in security discourse is a process facing much contestation. By articulating traditional security discourse as the response to a non-traditional security threat, traditional security mechanisms were able to be presented as protectors of threats towards individuals. Hence, reviewing alternative approaches of security was not necessary. Considering traditional Realist security thinking, power-politics, and the importance of “discourses of danger” in terms of state-legitimization, it was also most likely not desirable (McDonald 2002).

It is frequently proposed that the response to 9/11 and the turn in security discourse, from a humanitarian logic towards a coercive logic framed in conventional security thinking, have hampered the possibilities for a concerted open dialogue towards a combined security-development policy agenda (see for example Hettne 2010). However, Picciotto and others (2007 p. 55) argue that the “sobering up” process after these events can prove to increase the chances of a merged approach between security and development policy. The hard lessons learned during the first decade of the “war on terror” could turn out to help shaping a comprehensive policy approach, acknowledging how mutual benefits can be gained through a relation based on equal partnership. How such a solution could be structured will be looked at under chapter 3.



### 3 Conceptualizing Security in Relation to the Millennium Declaration – Towards a New Policy Framework?

The MDG-initiative is the biggest concerted commitment to the developing world ever undertaken, attracting much attention and often serving as a guide for policy directions. Thus, the missing security link is unfortunate, considering the commonly stressed intersections between security and development. The discussion about the missing link between security and development within the MDGs has to be understood in the light of the political climate at the time for the Millennium Summit in September 2000. The debate about a security-development nexus was a topic given considerable attention both in academia and within the UN after the Cold War, and throughout the 1990s (Stokke 2009 p. 322-323, 436), and a humanitarian turn in security discourse took place. As we have seen, one of the main reasons for this was the UNDP's 1994 Human Development Report, bringing the concept of human security to the fore of deliberation. This, in turn, has to be seen in the light of the genocides in Rwanda and the Balkans, which made it painfully clear that the conventional understanding and practice of security – namely state security – was no longer enough. Given this background, the securitization of development taking place in the mid- to late 1990s shows that the connection between security and development was a topic receiving much attention. As we shall see next, topics concerning security and human rights are well represented in the Millennium Declaration.

#### 3.1 The UN Millennium Declaration, Security and Development

Examining the Millennium Declaration makes it clear that the UN at the time for the design of the MDGs recognized the connection between security and development. Not only the chapter concerned with “Peace, security and disarmament” (UN Millennium Declaration 2000 p. 2), elaborating on for example peacekeeping and arms control, is stressing the need for global security, but several indications were made about the linkages between security and development throughout the declaration. For example, the declaration states that people should have the right to live their lives and raise their children free from hunger and without fear of violence, oppression or injustice. Further, the nations of the world should multilaterally manage economic and social development as well as threats to international peace and security, and here the UN “must play the

central role” (UN Millennium Declaration 2000 p. 2). However, the security concerns of the Millennium Declaration were never translated into the MDGs.

The missing security-aspect within the MDGs is a topic of debate within academia, and there are opinions voiced over how security is blatantly overlooked within the MDGs (see for example Hill et al. 2010). Four years after the Millennium Summit a ninth goal, acknowledging the importance of security, was adopted. However, this is a goal for Afghanistan alone, as the Afghan government did not endorse the MDGs until 2004 due to the Taliban regime being in power in the year 2000. In 2004, the Afghan government saw the need to “enhance security” as their main goal to achieve social and economic development. Supported by the UNDP, the UN sees the importance of enhancing security, not only for the Afghans themselves, but also for global stability (MDGs in Afghanistan). In the case of Afghanistan, uneven but overall positive results have been measured within the process of meeting the MDGs, and many scholars (see for example Hill et al. 2010) see this as a result of the security measures taken, and are of the opinion that the link to security is overlooked within the original MDGs: “First, conflict must be addressed if progress is to occur: the context within which the MDGs are monitored is critical [...] the addition of what it sees as an obvious and overlooked goal of security, has reframed the MDGs” (Hill et al. 2010 p. 562).

As many countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, voices the need for security reforms as a prerequisite for the work towards the MDGs (see Ayissi 2008), some scholars call for “Millennium Security Goals”. Former vice president and Director General, Evaluation at the World Bank Robert Picciotto advocates this idea, and elaborates on how the human security-approach could translate into a set of “joined up” national policies, including military, policing, diplomacy and development functions (Picciotto 2006 p. 119-120). He stresses how the UN has failed to reach consensus in many of the security areas of the Millennium Declaration, and points to how two major UN conferences both before and after 9/11 – the Millennium Summit in 2000, and the Development Conference in Monterrey in 2002 – failed to include goals enhancing global security and conflict prevention (Picciotto 2006 p. 112-113). The failure to reach consensus on several issues relating to global security, including the definition of the human security concept (Outcome Document 2010 p. 2), is still leaving many questions unanswered.

## 3.2 Mapping the Road towards Millennium Security Goals and Beyond

As there is no corresponding commitment similar to the MDGs focusing on peace and security, and considering the absence of security aspects within the MDGs, the security-development nexus has not been adequately translated into a set of agreed upon targets, formulated in concert by the worlds nations. While there in the years after the 9/11 terrorist attacks have been increasing talk about the interconnectedness of security, human rights and development, the measures taken have been few and far between, and as previously discussed in this paper, the road towards a joint approach has rather been aggravated in the post-9/11

world order. This chapter will scrutinize the challenges as well as the opportunities to realize such a commitment.

### 3.2.1 Steps Taken towards a World “In Larger Freedom”

As we have seen, many scholars advocate an integrated approach towards security and development as a way to reach and perpetuate development aid to fragile and conflict-prone states. Turning to the debate within the UN concerning a security-development nexus, we find that the need for a similar solution was acknowledged by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan in the 2005 *In Larger Freedom* report. In this report, Annan put much emphasis on how security, development and human rights are to be seen as inextricably linked, and Annan emphasized the need to realize three “freedoms”; the “freedom from want” and the “freedom from fear” (corresponding to human security), as well as the “freedom to live in dignity”. The report further argued that today’s threats demanded “broad, deep and sustained global cooperation. Thus the nations of the world must create a collective security system to prevent terrorism, strengthen non-proliferation, and bring peace to war-torn areas, while also promoting human rights, democracy and development” (UN Larger Freedom 2005). The message being sent in the *In Larger Freedom* report was that the aspirations set out in the Millennium Declaration can be achieved, but it will take concerted effort in all areas to do so. Thus, the report is to be seen as an important reminder of the significance of acknowledging all areas within the Millennium Declaration, including those that did not translate into MDGs. Steps towards a realization of these visions were taken when agreement was met about forming a Peacebuilding Commission, with the purpose of following up and monitoring post-conflict situations for purposes of enhancing security and promoting development. The 2003-6 High-level Panel on Threats, Challenge and Change acknowledged a set of new transnational threats faced by states all around the globe (Mac Ginty and Williams 2009 p. 62-63), and with the implementation of the Peacebuilding Commission in 2005, this proved that the UN member states were willing to take concerted action towards promoting peace supporting operations.

Given the scope of matters that are coinciding with both the security and the development agenda, a converging solution is seen as a way to comprehend and operationalize a security-development nexus, as well as to guide policy directions. In order for such an approach to be effective, a coherent policy undertaking spanning over both developmental- and security concerns is thought to be materialized simultaneously, reinforcing one another. An approach like this coincides with what scholars see as “developmentalized” security, or the securitizing of development (see for example Hettne 2010; Picciotto et al. 2007), and will be discussed next.

### 3.2.2 Policy Coherence: “Delivering as One” and “Whole of Government”

Looking at the specialized agencies within the UN, bodies dealing with security, development and human rights are traditionally working separate from each other,

even though attempts have been made to mainstream human rights policy within different bodies. Scholars continue to stress the lack of coordination in areas concerning security, human rights and development (Domínguez Redondo 2009 p. 30) and this has led to a feeling of lip service in the debate about a converged security and development agenda. As a step towards a unified UN system, the “Delivering as One” (DaO) initiative, adopted in pilot countries in 2007, seeks to deliver coherence in development undertakings. DaO stems from the High-level Panel on UN System-Wide Coherence in the areas of development, humanitarian assistance and environment. “As the World Bank shifts its approach to failed states, the Security Council considers taking up climate change as a global security issue, and progress on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) continues to lag, the necessity of coordinating the major actors on shared issues becomes more urgent” (UN Delivering as One 3 2007 p. 11). As the first post-conflict country with an integrated mission, Liberia applied to be part of this initiative in 2010, something that will be further elaborated on in chapter 4.

Effective policy coherence is fundamental to a joint commitment between the security and development agendas. Picciotto and others advocates a “whole of government” (Picciotto et al. 2007 p. 21, 31) approach structuring security and development policy. They point to Sweden’s Shared Responsibility bill (Picciotto et al. 2007 p. 29) approved in 2003 as a forerunner, as this approach forms an encompassing conception covering issues relating to development and social transformation, and translates well in accordance with a human security paradigm. This bill has acknowledged the need for policy coherence, by bridging the gap between security and development policy. A model similar to Sweden’s Shared Responsibility bill adapted on a global level could prove highly relevant embodying the security-development nexus in global policy. Committing to a human security paradigm, such policy coherence could be realized, merging security and development policy.

### 3.2.3 Millennium Security Goals

A commitment that addresses the need for security and human rights in relation to development is to an extent closely related to many previous approaches proposing a rights-based approach to development practice (see for example Nelson and Dorsey 2008). Such a commitment is thought to stem from a human security-based approach, making the policy coherence for development embrace a wide range of concerns relating to human security. It is commonly stated that the security challenges in a globalized world can not be met with policy instruments constructed for the bipolar world order of the Cold War (Picciotto et al. 2007 p. 98). Instead, concerted action towards human security is proposed to be the base for addressing what people of the developing world perceive as the most urgent threats (see Mac Ginty and Williams 2009; Picciotto 2006), building on a holistic view of security. Even though Picciotto and others acknowledges the hardships of reaching consensus on a definition of human security, they propose that if the 101 recommendations of the UN High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change can be agreed on and put into concerted action, this would be the first important step towards a comprehensive joint approach for global, collective, security (Picciotto et al. 2007 p. 99) reinforcing development efforts. These recommendations are in line with the issues concerning Peace, Security and

Disarmament being brought up in the Millennium Declaration. Picciotto and others (2007 p. 99-100) see the following eight major security goals, embedded in the High-level Panel report:

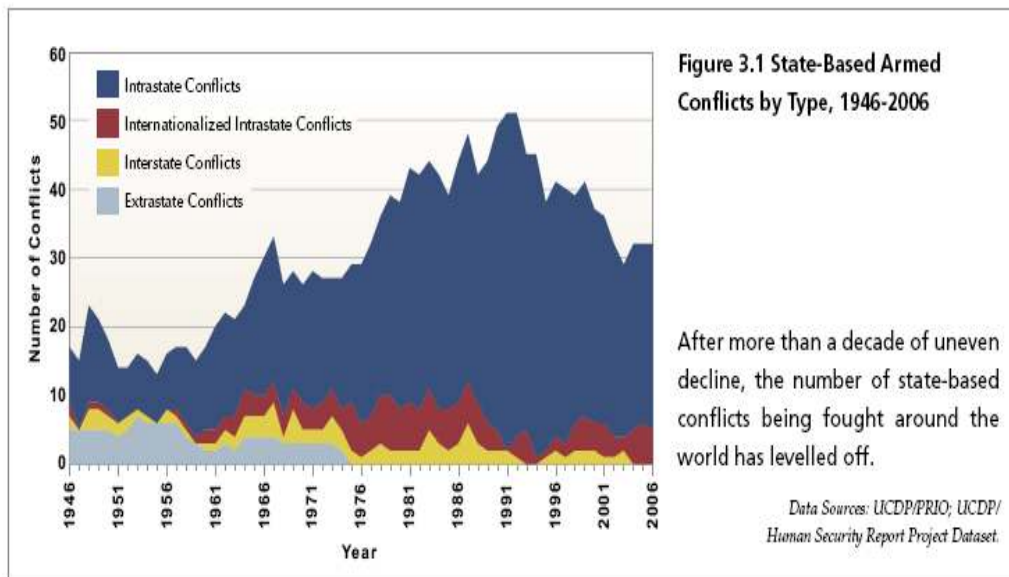
- (I) Reduce the number, length, and intensity of conflicts between and within states.
- (II) Reduce the number and severity of terrorist attacks.
- (III) Reduce the number of refugees and displaced persons.
- (IV) Regulate the arms trade.
- (V) Reduce the extent and severity of core human rights violations.
- (VI) Protect civilians and reduce women's and children's participation and victimization of war.
- (VII) Reverse weapons proliferation and achieve progress towards nuclear, radiological, chemical, and biological disarmament.
- (VIII) Combat trans-national crime and illegal trafficking.

By attaching measurable indicators along with these goals, Picciotto and others see that endorsement of such goals would function as a complement to the existing MDGs, and help meeting the challenges for human security (Picciotto et al. 2007 p. 100). This would offer an extension of the current development agenda, making it more holistic by adding additional "tools" to the "tool-box". Agreement within the UN on a similar approach as the MDGs, shaping Millennium Security Goals, would help direct policy decisions in security matters concerning areas of mention within the Millennium Declaration, as well as filling holes that the MDGs fail to address.

Let us now go deeper into the debate about why conventional security thinking no longer is adequate, and why there is a need to broaden the understanding of security.

### 3.2.4 Adjusting to the New Security Landscape

The security landscape has changed in many ways since World War 2. Statistics show how the number of intra-state conflicts increased vastly after 1945 (and peaked in the early 1990s), while the occurrences of inter-state conflicts saw an uneven, but relatively steady, decline:



Human Security Brief 2007

Source: Human Security Report Project 2007

This new landscape poses new challenges to security policy. As previously proposed, the security landscape is in constant change, and can not be dealt with adequately by using tools designed for another era, based upon the logic of inter-state conflict. After the end of the Cold War, the new world order caused imminent conflicts rooted in nationalism to break the surface. For example, the civil wars in the former Yugoslavia, the Horn of Africa, southern Sudan and the Great Lakes region in Central Africa are all seen as typical examples of post-Cold War conflicts (Stokke 2009 p. 424), not only causing horrific human suffering and forcing millions of people into becoming refugees, but also posing a tremendous threat to development in these regions. Considering how the security domain has shifted from an inter-state towards an intra-state logic, this shift demands new solutions for ensuring the security of human beings. The new security landscape can not be fully understood using logic based on the traditional conception of security, but need to allow for a context sensitive interpretation when constructing the concept of security. With the rise of “threats without a passport”, increasing attention is put towards the securitization of transnational threats such as international terrorism, infectious disease and transnational crime (Jackson 2008 p. 378-386). A new framework stemming from a human security paradigm could better respond to such challenges. New ways towards thinking about “security” and “development”, and the way both agendas are related, is needed. The new security landscape demands it, as causes for insecurity exists on many levels. The 2008 Chronic Poverty Report stressed the need for a “social protection MDG”, or the extension of the existing MDGs to include a social protection target (Chronic Poverty Report 2008-09 p. 16). People lacking access to health care and other social services gets marginalized, and social protection is essential to ensure the societal participation of the poorest (ODI Briefing Paper, September 2008 p. 2). Development activity based on social equity and gender equality is frequently seen as a way to address the root causes of violent conflict within fragile states (see for example Michel 2005 p. 60), and adopting a framework stemming from a united human security paradigm could offer the tools to tackle these problems.

The importance of locally connected policy measures shines through on many levels, but is often believed to be rooted in historical and cultural causes. Thus, the need to understand and appreciate the historical and anthropological setting in conflict ridden developing countries is stressed as a major key towards implementing fitting policies for security and development (see for example Mac Ginty and Williams 2009 p. 105-106). Context sensitivity and local ownership are also closely tied to risk management for development planning, as risk perception is highly dependent on context and individual circumstances (see Picciotto et al. 2007 p. 36). Thus, the need to structure policy coherence towards areas relevant for the particular context in which they are being adopted is crucial. Lessons within this area could be learned from the UNs DaO initiative, especially considering how Liberia has become part of this program, launching in full capacity in 2013.

### 3.2.5 Combining “Freedom from Fear” with “Freedom from Want”

At the heart of a human security paradigm underpinning a joint policy approach for security and development is the importance of combining “freedom from fear” with “freedom from want”. Agreeing on the definition of human security as an encompassing tool for security and development policy is a fundamental concern if the challenges of the new security landscape shall be met. As discussed elsewhere in this paper, human security does have the tools to be a bridging approach between security and development policy. As the broad toolset can be argued to be the greatest strength of human security, it can likewise be argued to be the greatest weakness. As previous parts of this paper has shown, the lack of conceptual clarification, due to its broad nature and different conceptions, is seriously hampering the utilization of human security. Therefore, a general accepted definition of human security, combining “freedom from fear” with “freedom from want”, is of essential importance for a security-development nexus.

Agreement on a new definition on human security, reached in consensus, has shown problematic. As Picciotto and others points out, a new definition should be broad enough to encompass different countries’ concerns, but also narrow enough to be useful as an analytical framework (Picciotto et al. 2007 p. 35). This statement epitomizes the whole debate around a security-development nexus, and the different ideas on how security should be conceptualized. As discussed in both chapters 2.2.3 and 2.2.3.2, the same pattern can be found – scholars arguing that the vagueness of human security hampers its applicability. Going forward, this will continue to be a crucial problem to be solved, in order to realize a joint effort in policy-making.

Let us now examine how the security-development nexus has been embodied, by looking at how Liberia is considered a forerunner in many areas relating to a security-development nexus.

## 4 Liberia – What can be learned?

As discussed in the early stages of this paper, Liberia is one of the countries expressing the importance of security when trying to reach the MDGs. The fourteen years of civil war between 1989 and 2003 has put Liberia in recovery mode. United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) was established in 2003 to assist in peacekeeping and national security reform, including educating national police and reforming the national military force. UNMIL is an “integrated mission”, which means it provides support for humanitarian and human rights assistance. Progress towards development and reaching the MDGs is to be achieved through the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) initiative, focusing on governance, rule of law and peace building, as well as on infrastructural build-up and social service delivery (LMDGR 2010 p. 4). In the planning stages to formulate the PRS towards reaching the targets, the need for a holistic approach acknowledging the need for peace, stability, growth and inclusion was immediately recognized. The PRS consists of four pillars, designed to be mutually reinforcing (LMDGR 2010 p. 5):

- Pillar 1 - Consolidating peace and security
- Pillar 2 - Revitalizing the economy
- Pillar 3 - Strengthening governance and the rule of law
- Pillar 4 - Rehabilitating infrastructure and delivering basic services

Reading the most up-to-date Millennium Development Goals report focusing on Liberia (LMDGR 2010), the importance of security for development is immediately present. The report stresses how the implementation of MDG-efforts in Liberia has suffered due to the civil war, and the subsequent breakdown of social and public infrastructure, as well as due to the conflicting focus of peace keeping and building, poverty reduction strategy, and solidifying governance, security and the rule of law (LMDGR 2010 p. 35). Stating how “... the requirements of a post-conflict fragile state and exogenous crises detract from the MDGs” (LMDGR 2010 p. 3), it also becomes clear how much resources post-conflict reconstruction ties up.

### 4.1 The Country Programme Action Plan

The current UNDP programme, The Country Programme Action Plan (CPAP) in Liberia seeks to “promote an integrated approach to peace building, recovery reconstruction, sustainable economic growth and development of Liberia with the view of accelerating progress towards the MDGs” (LCPAP Mid-term Review, 2010 p. v). The Country Programme Action Plan Mid-term Review 2008-2012 outlines the progress made and future solutions of the partnership between the



government of Liberia and the UNDP. The two main pillars of the programme are “Pro-Poor Economic Development” and “Democratic Governance”. Here, the most urgent actions needed for development planning are presented, and peacebuilding and security enhancements are integral parts of this work, as a section under “Democratic Governance” consists of efforts within “Peace and Security Consolidation”. The intention is to achieve joint programming by pointing to linkages between these pillars (LCPAP Mid-term Review 2010 p. 9). The report further stresses how “[p]overty reduction, achieving the MDGs and maintaining peace and security are intertwined” (LCPAP Mid-term Review 2010 p. viii), and points to the importance of promoting and reinforcing human rights principles and conflict sensitive development strategies. Of special importance is “addressing the causes of the conflict [...] seeking social and political inclusion and participation” (LCPAP Mid-term Review 2010 p. 6), strengthening the opinion that there is a need for new ways to address security and development policy intersections, discussed under chapter 3.2.4. Outlining the most vital needs going forward in the collaboration between the Liberian government and the UNDP, it states that formulation of UNDP-supported interventions “should be done with greater conflict sensitivity and inclusiveness”, and an interesting remark is made, pointing to the need for “translating national standards of democracy, governance, security, peace, human rights, economic and human development into a framework that can be understood and agreed upon by all” (LCPAP Mid-term Review 2010 p. 52). Thus, if the case of Liberia is any indication, the demand for an integrated holistic approach addressing the threats to human security is clearly requested from conflict-ridden and fragile states. Examining several reports, further statements are made that can be traced to the previous analysis throughout parts one and two of this paper. For instance, the importance of supporting “the restoration of security at the local level in order to lay the foundations for local development” (LCPAP 2008 p. 11), and the statement that the CPAP will “seek to address those factors which negatively impact on the physical security of individuals and community members, Small arms, HIV and AIDS, sexual and gender-based violence, disasters etc.” (LCPAP 2008 p. 11), elucidates how the new security landscape poses new threats to human security, threats demanding a holistic conception of security.

## 4.2 From “At Work Together” to “Delivering as One”

Liberia has been working with a UN initiative called “At Work Together” (AWT), a joint effort seeking to coordinate different UN agencies in development planning within Liberia. The UNMIL has been working together with other UN agencies present in the country, in an undertaking to streamline development efforts (UN At Work Together). Taking the next step, in early 2010 Liberia sought to be part of the UN “Delivering as One” (DaO) initiative, becoming the first country implementing this approach in a post-conflict integrated mission context. DaO represents the UN system’s efforts to bring coordinated, effective and relevant support to governments, and respond to the challenges of a changing

world (UN Delivering as One). The idea behind this initiative is to provide development assistance where most needed through context sensitive solutions, drawing on a joint effort by relevant UN agencies. Basing the work on four principles - one leader, one budget, one programme, one office - the aim of coherence is to create synergy as different UN agencies are focusing on shared objectives and mutually reinforcing approaches. Drawing on all parts of the UN system, whether based in the country or not, the DaO initiative is striving for even greater coherence between UN agencies than possible during the AWT initiative (UN Delivering as One 2 2010 p. 9-11).

The DaO initiative in Liberia is still in the early stages, and will not be fully initiated until 2013. The current UNDP programme is working towards integrating the DaO initiative as a part of the development process in Liberia, as the UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) initiative ends in 2012, and the UNMIL mission is gradually winding down. As the DaO initiative is still in its infancy, it is not yet possible to draw any conclusions on its impact. However, the vision of DaO in Liberia is to jointly carry out “planning and implementation of activities by drawing on the full technical capacities of all UN Agencies and the UN Mission. This will result in the UN maximizing its delivery, as well as the quality and impact of the assistance...” (UN Delivering as One Fact Sheet 2012 p. 1). As the programme launches in 2013, much coordination will be going through UNMIL (UN Delivering as One Concept Note 2010 p. 12). Seeing how it is a step towards policy coherence between different UN agencies, the implementation of such an approach in a post-conflict context can have major implications for the future policy intersections between security and development on a global level. As discussed under chapter 3.2.4 in this paper, it is crucial to structure policy coherence towards areas relevant for the particular context in which they are being adopted. The DaO implementation in Liberia can provide valuable lessons within this area, as this is one of the main strengths of the initiative.

## 5 Conclusions

This paper has examined the ideational processes shaping the idea of a security-development nexus, with the purpose of identifying possibilities and challenges for a merged stance within security and development policy. Within the first part of my analysis, it became visible that the concept of human security can serve as a bridging approach between security and development, as this approach has characteristics of both traditional and non-traditional security theory. However, it became equally clear that the vagueness of the approach is hampering such utilization. While a broad conceptualization of security allows the concept to be contextually sensitive, agreement on a definite definition of human security is crucial for it to be operationalized, and to allow human security to get foothold on a broader policy level. The contemporary way human security is presented is often perceived as vague, and there is a need to combine “freedom from fear” with “freedom from want”. This paper has also made evident the challenges for new conceptions of security, as the “humanitarian turn” that was seen in security discourse in the 1990s lost momentum in the post-9/11 world order. However, the “sobering up”-process after many failures in the “war on terror” could prove beneficial for a human security paradigm.

Advocating “Millennium Security Goals”, in accordance to Picciotto's proposal, could be the first step towards guiding security and development policy on a global scale, as such an undertaking would fill holes in areas the MDGs fail to address. It is important to apply context sensitivity for the sake of risk management, to be able to direct policy into areas relevant for a particular context. The adoption of a new policy framework – preferably stemming from a human security paradigm – able to take concerted action against the threats of the new security landscape is vital, hence the importance of reaching consensus on a definition of human security. This paper has made it clear that the conventional understanding of security is not adequate to respond to the challenges of the new security landscape, thus a holistic understanding of security is needed. A joint policy framework stemming from a human security paradigm would be able to address the overlapping security and development concerns on multiple levels, by streamlining a human security commitment into development planning.

Such a framework should be built around a “whole of government” approach, as Picciotto stresses. I also propose the combination of a “whole of government” approach with an approach *similar* to the “Delivering as One” initiative within the UN. Doing so, UN policy coherence could be realized in relation to the issues corresponding to a security-development nexus. The applicability of this initiative in a post-conflict integrated mission context is yet to be seen, therefore it will be of much interest to follow the implementation of the DaO initiative in Liberia.

Examining the case of Liberia, many lessons have and can be learned. Looking at the previous work with PRS strategies based on mutually reinforcing pillars of security and development policy, the security-development nexus becomes embodied. Going forward, as the first post-conflict country with an

integrated mission to adopt the DaO initiative, important lessons can be learned when it comes to evaluating how such a coordinated UN initiative works in post-conflict societies, and can provide further understanding about how a similar approach could be structured on a global scale. Drawing from these lessons, further knowledge can be gained about the policy intersections between security and development, and the realization of a joint global approach within policy-making. Thus, fully launching its DaO program in 2013, Liberia will be a case to follow closely in the coming years, and something that will be of great interest for future research purposes.

## 6 References

Addison, Tony, Development, in Peter Burnell and Vicky Randall (ed.), *Politics in the Developing World* (pp. 315-332). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd ed. 2008.

Alkire, Sabina, 2004. "A Vital Core that Must Be Treated with the Same Gravititas as Traditional Security Threats", *Security Dialogue*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 359-360.

Ayissi, Anatole, 2008. "Peace, Security and the Millennium Development Goals in West Africa", *Disarmament Forum: The Complex Dynamics of Small Arms in West Africa*, no. 4, pp. 21-26.

Baldwin, David, A., 1997. "The Concept of Security", *Review of International Studies*, vol. 23, pp. 5-26.

Barkawi, Tarak and Laffey, Mark, 2006. "The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies", *Review of International Studies*, vol. 32, pp. 329-352.

Beall, Jo, Goodfellow, Thomas and Putzel, James, 2006. "Introductory Article: On the Discourse of Terrorism, Security and Development", *Journal of International Development*, vol. 18, pp. 51-67.

Beckman, Ludvig, 2005. *Grundbok i Idéanalys: Det kritiska studiet av politiska texter och idéer*. Santérus Förlag.

Bergström, Göran and Boréus Kristina, (ed.) 2005. *Textens Mening och Makt*. Studentlitteratur.

Buzan, Barry, Wæver, Ole and Wilde, Jaap de, 1998. *Security. A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder.

Campbell, David, 1998. *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, Manchester University Press.

Chronic Poverty Report 2008-09:

[http://www.chronicpoverty.org/uploads/publication\\_files/CPR2\\_ReportFull.pdf](http://www.chronicpoverty.org/uploads/publication_files/CPR2_ReportFull.pdf).

Accessed: 2012-04-03

CICS 2005: Centre for International Cooperation and Security: *The Impact of Armed Violence on Poverty and Development*,

[http://www.undp.org/cpr/documents/armed\\_violence/AVPI\\_Synthesis\\_Report.pdf](http://www.undp.org/cpr/documents/armed_violence/AVPI_Synthesis_Report.pdf)

. Accessed: 2012-04-03

Collins, Alan, (ed.) 2007. *Contemporary Security Studies*, Oxford University Press.

Dóchas 2007: *What Happened to Human Security? A Discussion about Dóchas, Ireland, the EU and the Human Security Concept*, Draft One, April 2007: Dóchas: The Irish Association of Non-Governmental Development Organisations: [http://www.dochas.ie/shared/files/2/human\\_security\\_note.pdf](http://www.dochas.ie/shared/files/2/human_security_note.pdf). Accessed: 2012-04-04

Domínguez Redondo, Elvira, 2009. "The Millennium Development Goals and the human rights based approach: reflecting on structural chasms with the United Nations system", *The International Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 29-43.

Duffield, Mark "Human Security: Linking Development and Security in an Age of Terror", in Klingebiel, S. (ed.), 2006. *New Interfaces Between Security and Development: Changing Concepts and Approaches*, German Development Institute (DIE).

Emmers, Ralf, Securitization, in Alan Collins (ed.), *Contemporary Security Studies* (pp. 109-124), Oxford University Press 2007.

Ewan, Pauline, 2007. "Deepening the Human Security Debate: Beyond the Politics of Conceptual Clarification", *Politics*, vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 182-189.

Floyd, Rita, 2007. "Human Security and the Copenhagen School's Securitization Approach: Conceptualizing Human Security as a Securitizing Move", *Human Security Journal*, Vol. 5, pp. 38-46.

Herring, Eric, Military Security, in Alan Collins (ed.), *Contemporary Security Studies* (pp. 129-145), Oxford University Press 2007.

Hettne, Björn, 2010. "Development and Security: Origins and Future", *Security Dialogue*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 31-51.

Hill, Peter S., Farooq Mansoor, Ghulam and Claudio, Fernanda, 2010. "Conflict in Least-developed Countries: Challenging the Millennium Development Goals" *Bull World Health Organ*, no. 88, pp. 562.

Hobden, Stephen, The Developing World in International Politics, in Peter Burnell and Vicky Randall (ed.), *Politics in the Developing World* (pp. 71-86). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd ed. 2008.

Human Security Report Project 2007: [http://www.hsrgroup.org/docs/Publications/HSB2007/Figures/2007HSBrief\\_fig3-1-StateBasedArmedConflictsByType.jpg](http://www.hsrgroup.org/docs/Publications/HSB2007/Figures/2007HSBrief_fig3-1-StateBasedArmedConflictsByType.jpg) Accessed: 2012-04-18

Hussein, Karim, Gnisci, Donata and Wanjiru, Julia, 2004 "Security and Human Security: An Overview of Concepts and Initiatives – What Implications for West Africa?", *SAH/D (2004) 547* Or. Eng. December 2004

Jackson, Nicole, Security, in Peter Burnell and Vicky Randall (ed.), *Politics in the Developing World* (pp. 374-391). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd ed. 2008.

Kerr, Pauline, Human Security, in Alan Collins, (ed.), *Contemporary Security Studies* (pp. 96-106), Oxford University Press 2007.

Krause, Keith and Williams, Michael C., From Strategy to Security: Foundations of Critical Security Studies, in Krause, K. and Williams, M. (ed.), *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1997.

LCPAP 2008: Liberia Country Programme Action Plan (2008-2010): <http://www.lr.undp.org/Documents/RecentPublic/Final%20CPAP-signed.pdf>  
Accessed: 2012-05-14

LCPAP Mid-term Review 2010: Liberia Country Programme Action Plan, Mid-term Review 2010: <http://www.lr.undp.org/Documents/RecentPublic/UNDP%20CPAP%20MTR%20Report%20-%20final.pdf>.

Liotta, Peter H. 2002. "Boomerang Effect: the Convergence of National and Human Security", *Security Dialogue*, vol. 33, no. 4. pp. 473-488.

Liotta, Peter H. 2005. "Through the Looking Glass: Creeping Vulnerabilities and the Reordering of Security", *Security Dialogue*, vol. 36, no.1, pp. 49-70.

LMDGR 2010: Liberia Millennium Development Goals Report (2010): [http://www.lr.undp.org/Documents/RecentPublic/MDG%20Report%20\\_Final.pdf](http://www.lr.undp.org/Documents/RecentPublic/MDG%20Report%20_Final.pdf)  
. Accessed: 2012-04-15

Mac Ginty, Roger and Williams, Andrew, 2009. *Conflict and Development*, Routledge.

McDonald, Matt, 2002. "Human Security and the Construction of Security", *Global Society*, 16:3, pp. 277-295.

MDGs in Afghanistan: United Nations Development Programme, Millennium Development Goals in Afghanistan: <http://www.undp.org.af/MDGs/index.htm>.  
Accessed: 2012-04-03

Mearsheimer, John, 2001. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: Norton.

Michel, Louis, Development Cooperation as a European Tool of Conflict Prevention, in Anders Mellbourn (ed.), *Development, Security and Conflict Prevention* (pp. 59-75), Anna Lindh Programme on Conflict Prevention, Gidlunds Förlag. 2005.

- Molier, Gelijm, 2006. "Humanitarian Intervention and The Responsibility to Protect After 9/11", *Netherlands International Law Review*, 53:1, 37-62, Cambridge University Press.
- Morgan, Patrick, Security in International Politics: Traditional Approaches, in Alan Collins (ed.), *Contemporary Security Studies* (pp. 13-32), Oxford University Press 2007.
- Mutimer, David, Critical Security Studies: A Schismatic History, in Alan Collins (ed.), *Contemporary Security Studies* (pp. 53-73), Oxford University Press 2007.
- Nelson, Paul J. and Dorsey, Ellen, 2008. *New Rights Advocacy: Changing Strategies of Development and Human Rights NGOs*. Georgetown University Press, Washington, D.C.
- ODI Briefing Paper, September 2008: Overseas Development Institute Briefing Paper, no. 43, September (2008): <http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/docs/2578.pdf>. Accessed: 2012-04-25
- Outcome Document 2010: Outcome Document UN summit on the MDGs September 2010: <http://www.un.org/en/mdg/summit2010/pdf/mdg%20outcome%20document.pdf>. Accessed: 2012-04-10
- Pattison, James, 2008. "Whose Responsibility to Protect? The Duties of Humanitarian Intervention", *Journal of Military Ethics*, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 262-283.
- Picciotto, Robert, 2006. "Why the World Needs Millennium Security Goals", *Conflict, Security & Development*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 111-120.
- Picciotto, Robert, Olonisakin, Funmi and Clarke, Michael, 2007. *Global Development and Human Security*. Transaction Publishers.
- Punch, Keith F., 2005. *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Sage Publications.
- Rogers, Paul, Peace Studies, in Alan Collins (ed.), *Contemporary Security Studies* (pp. 36-50), Oxford University Press 2007.
- Steans, Jill and Pettiford, Lloyd, 2005. *Introduction to International Relations: Perspectives and Themes*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Pearson Longman
- Stern, Maria and Öjendal, Joakim, 2010. "Mapping the Security-Development Nexus: Conflict, Complexity, Cacophony, Convergence?", *Security Dialogue*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 5-30.
- Stokke, Olav 2009. *The UN and Development: From Aid to Cooperation*. Indiana University Press



Timothy, Kristen, 2004. "Human Security Discourse at the United Nations", *Peace Review*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 19-24.

Ullman, Richard H., 1983. "Redefining Security", *International Security*, (JSTOR), Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 129-153.

UN At Work Together: [http://www.unliberia.org/doc/atworktogether\\_uninliberia.pdf](http://www.unliberia.org/doc/atworktogether_uninliberia.pdf). Accessed: 2012-05-14

UN Delivering as One: <http://www.undg.org/?P=7>. Accessed: 2012-05-14

UN Delivering as One 2 2010: How Delivering as One Adds Value: [http://www.undg.org/docs/11313/DaO-Thematic-Report\\_final.pdf](http://www.undg.org/docs/11313/DaO-Thematic-Report_final.pdf). Accessed: 2012-05-14

UN Delivering as One 3 2007: <http://www.undg.org/docs/7220/Next%20Step%20for%20a%20Unitfied%20UN%20system.pdf>. Accessed: 2012-05-14

UN Delivering as One Concept Note 2010: <http://www.unliberia.org/doc/nlmcn.pdf>. Accessed: 2012-05-14

UN Delivering as One Fact Sheet 2012: <http://www.unliberia.org/doc/DaOfactSheetUpdatedMarch2012.pdf> Accessed: 2012-05-14

UNDP, Human Development Report 1994 chapter 2: [http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr\\_1994\\_en\\_chap2.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr_1994_en_chap2.pdf). Accessed: 2012-03-26

UN Larger Freedom 2005: <http://www.un.org/largerfreedom/annex.htm>. Accessed: 2012-04-09

UN Millennium Declaration 2000: <http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.pdf>. Accessed: 2012-04-10

UNMIL: United Nations Mission in Liberia 2012: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmil/index.shtml> Accessed: 2012-04-06

United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security: <http://ochaonline.un.org/humansecurity/QA/tabid/2188/language/en-US/Default.aspx>. Accessed: 2012-04-29

Waddell, Nicholas, 2006. "Ties that Bind: DfID and the Emerging Security and Development Agenda", *Conflict, Security & Development*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 531-555.

Werthes, Sascha and Debiel, Tobias, Human Security on Foreign Policy Agendas: Introduction to Changes, Concepts and Cases, in Tobias Debiel and Sascha

Werthes (ed.), *Human Security on Foreign Policy Agendas: Changes, Concepts and Cases*, INEF Report 80/2006, Institute for Development and Peace 2006.