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Embedding Policy Sciences and Human Security: Why Relative Peace and Security Are Necessary but Not Sufficient Conditions for Nation-Building in the Sadc Region

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Teboho J. Lebakeng

Professor Security and Intelligence Studies

ORCID: 0000-0001-6425-3638

lebakj@unisa.ac.za



Rich Mashimbye

Post-Doctoral Fellow

Thabo Mbeki African School of Public and International Affairs

UNISA

Abstract

The thesis advanced in this article is that although relative peace and stability are important, they are not sufficient conditions for ensuring nation-building. Nation-building is better realised through intentional policies and the realisation of human security. In this article, the authors assert that while the peaceful and stable environment that security may offer is desirable, it must be complemented by appropriate, relevant, and effective policies to advance the human security agenda. Our analysis grapples with questions such as historical antecedents in the region, the leitmotif of nation-building, challenges of appropriate policy approaches, and obstacles to the realisation of human security. The conclusion reached is that as the SADC turns 32, the conditions

necessary for nation-building remain disappointing. The persistent occurrence of violent conflicts fuelled by ethnic and religious differences in the post-colonial era demonstrates that nation-building has not been fully achieved in some countries and that it is still a necessary initiative. This is so not only in areas where there are violent conflicts like Mozambique; deadly protestations like in Swaziland; denial of human rights in Zimbabwe; political instability and constant changes of governments as in Lesotho; and endemic corruption in South Africa, Malawi, and Angola but also in peaceful countries such as Botswana and Namibia. This conceptual article used desktop research complemented by autoethnographic experiences of the main author and expository analysis. A qualitative approach was adopted to explain and analyse the findings.

Keywords: *Human Rights, Human security; Nation-building, Peace and security, Post-colonialism, Southern African Development Community.*

Introduction

Nation-building as the process of forming a collective national identity within a given territory has been imperative for many African governments particularly after gaining independence. This was necessary to unite post-colonial societies that had been fractured by years of colonialism (Mukwedeya, 2016). Nation-building means that different ethnic, religious, social, and cultural groups work together as one nation to overcome challenges and achieve development goals. Additionally, efforts are made to develop the spirit of patriotism and solidarity to create a nation whose people have a shared identity.

However, post-colonial Africa has experienced a range of conflict situations, thus being aptly characterised as a volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous region (Blanton, Mason, & Athow, 2001; Omeje, 2015; Kieh, 2009). These conflicts have taken various dimensions ranging from those along ethnic lines to those based on social inequality, economic exclusions, and political subjugation. Part of the problem is the paradox of attempting to (re)construct state institutions without considering the socio-political cohesion of societies (Lemay-Hébert, 2009). Since decolonisation, many African countries have been faced with tremendous pressures and intense competition for highly limited and scarce resources to address the multitude of challenges confronting them.

The complexity and multiplicity of the challenges facing countries in the region were such that no individual country could possibly single-handedly address them. Contextually, decolonisation took place against

the backdrop of the intersecting devastating legacy of colonialism. For instance, Muyiwa and Anthony (2016) argue that colonial authorities that created Nigeria consciously prepared the new state for perpetual conflict and instability. Apart from geographic divisions, Africans in the colonies were divided along ethnic, religious, cultural, and social lines. The colonialists did this to satisfy their craving for the control of the people's minds and their resources.

This required state capacity building and training of competent public servants to deliver socio-economic developments and fundamental transformations. However, several factors, internal and external to the continent, conspired to undermine the capacity of the state to pursue nation-building, to ensure that different groups work together and that there is delivery on what is today referred to as "human security." The adjective 'human' in human security necessitates that, in the realm of public affairs, public policy must be directed at enhancing the personal security, welfare, and dignity of individuals and communities (Hendricks, 2006), within a secure, stable, peaceful and inclusive environment. Essentially, the core of human security is primarily ensured by meeting common aspirations that people cherish most, including food for the family, adequate shelter, good health, decent schooling for the children, protection from violence and crime, and freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights and safety. In this sense, it is anchored in people-centredness and trans-disciplinarity with state security as being complementary. The implication of this approach is that rather than displacing the state, state sovereignty remains a crucial factor in the crafting of a human security agenda of the region.

What has been distinct about the SADC is that the region has for a long time been in a state of relative peace and security since the end of destabilisation by apartheid South Africa in 1994. The colonial-apartheid destabilisation project had wreaked havoc on the region. Given the connection between peace and security, on the one hand, and nation-building, on the other, the article seeks to explore why nation-building has remained elusive in the SADC region. However, we concur with Bondarenko and Butovskaya (2019) that the past plays not only a significant but also an ambiguous role in nation-building in post-colonial countries.

The problem statement underpinning this conceptual article is that although the SADC has been recognised as a relatively peaceful and stable sub-region, it has not managed to ensure nation-building. This condition could result in disgruntlement of certain sectors of these

societies, reversal of democratic gains, and long-term instability. The authors hypothesise that despite relative peace and security, the conditions necessary for nation-building have not been created because of the absence of undergirding policy sciences and embedded human security. The use of human security in this article, as the broadening and deepening of the security agenda, focuses on problem-solving (Newman, 2010), hence it's being paired with policy sciences as twin ingredients. As a problem-solving approach, it relates to policy sciences, which is a trans-disciplinary field that studies the process of deciding or choosing and evaluating the relevance of available knowledge for solving problems. Central to policy sciences are evidence-based approaches to developing solutions, implementation, and best practice. The relevance of the transdisciplinarity of policy sciences and human security should be understood in the context of the devastations wreaked by colonialism and a deferred dream of the African continent (Lebakeng & Matebse-Notshulwana, 2023). This conceptual and expository article uses desktop research to retrieve relevant readings complemented by autoethnographic regional travels, engagements, and experiences of the main author. Considering the travels by the main author, the article uses the autoethnography approach as a more appropriate qualitative research method to incorporate experiences from the countries travelled. According to Adams et al. (2014), autoethnography 1) uses a researcher's personal experience to describe and critique cultural beliefs, practices, and experiences, 2) acknowledges and values a researcher's relationships with others, 3) uses reflexivity or deep and careful self-reflection to name and interrogate the intersections between self and society, the particular and the general, the personal and the political, and 4) balances intellectual and methodological rigour, emotion, and creativity.

Historical Antecedents

The SADC is a regional economic community for Southern African countries which was formed in 1992. It currently comprises 16 member states – Angola, Botswana, Comoros, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Eswatini, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Initially established in 1980 as the Southern African Coordination Conference (SADCC), the grouping sought not only to reduce economic dependence on the then apartheid South Africa but also to forge

economic links for the creation of a genuine and equitable regional integration through the mobilisation of resources for the promotion of interstate and regional policies. However, the SADCC was transformed into the SADC on 17 August 1992 in Windhoek, Namibia, by the founding members, which included Namibia. In this sense, the establishment of the SADC was organically a continuation of efforts to strengthen collective self-reliance within the Southern African region under changing geo-political conditions (The Treaty of the Southern African Development Community, 1992).

In addition, there was an appreciation on the part of the regional leadership that economic development cannot be realised without a changed peace and security landscape; hence, political stability became a central focus. The SADC was now moving from strict traditional security that characterised the period when the sub-region was facing constant attacks and incursions from the racist colonial-apartheid regime of South Africa. Flowing from that, the newly revised regional body now rechristened the SADC incorporated political issues within its principal mandate and also, member states considered regional integration as a critical route to economic development within the region. Thus, from its inception, the SADC has been guided by the desire to accomplish a regional integration bloc to link regional economies, strengthen the region's economic performance and enhance the region's political stability (The Treaty of the Southern African Development Community, 1992).

The establishment of the SADC as a regional economic bloc was thus not only meant to enable them to collectively grapple with the region's socio-economic progress but also to strengthen member countries' positions on the global political landscape and bargaining power on international issues. This is so because the complexity and multiplicity of the evolving challenges facing countries in the sub-region were such that no individual country could possibly single-handedly address them.

Premised on the preceding exposition, regional integration can be understood as the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings see the wisdom of owing some (not all, given their respective national interest) of their loyalties, expectations, and political activities to a new centre. Inevitably, the institutions of such centre possess or demand some kind of jurisdiction over pre-existing national states, making the result of a process of political integration a new political community that is superimposed (Haas, 1968) without

necessarily destroying them. Accordingly, regional integration has manifested historically in America and Europe, and now in Africa as a bureaucratic effort to facilitate political unification and expansion and to strengthen regional agency in regional and international affairs (Chingono & Nakana, 2008).

Broadly, regional integration can be defined as a process that involves separate or individual states that agree to come together to form a single community for the attainment of some shared objectives. These can be in the form of the promotion of unity, peace, and security; market expansion and economic development; infrastructure development; socio-cultural interactions; and technology development. An important lesson from the European Union (EU) is that the more integrated a region is (in terms of the size), the more likely it is to experience economic growth. Moreover, the stronger the potential economies of scale are and the rapid the autonomous productivity advances, the more likely the integration will lead to growth (Mwasha, 2015).

In Africa, ironically, a continent rich in natural resources but behind the rest of the world in economic advancement and ranked low in human security indexes, regional integration is seen as a means of promoting trade and securing economies of scale (Khandelwal, 2004; Chingono & Nakana, 2008; Lebakeng, 2024). Therefore, the motive of Africa's regional integration under the auspices of the African Union (AU) has been the coming together of countries to achieve large markets for themselves, reap the benefits of economies of scale, and attain a coherent political cooperation (Alexander & Garba, 2021). Hence, the SADC Treaty presents economic integration as holding the key to the achievement of economic growth, self-sustaining development, and management and sustainable utilisation of natural resources. At the time of the adoption of the SADC Treaty (many), states in the SADC region were essentially going through the processes of state-building. This was expected since following the liberation era and the inauguration of new dispensations in the sub-region, former liberation leaders in Southern Africa had social contracts with their citizens as adumbrated in their respective national Constitutions. In essence, these social contracts stipulated the existence of states through a contractual agreement, with one of the *raison d'être* of the state as being to promote the interests of citizens with a responsible exercise of state power. These new objectives heightened with the transition from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU). This shifted the priorities of the

continent from decolonisation and defence to good governance and nation-building.

The SADC and the Leitmotif of Nation-building

Following years of mainly defence and security-orientated agenda during anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles, the SADC began to focus on nation-building. According to Olzak (2015), whereas state-building should be understood as obtaining legitimate authority and administrative rights to govern a territory, nation-building is about building a sense of shared identity in a population. Olsen (2004: 146) expands that “nation-building refers to a process of cultural standardisation and homogenisation within national borders, and differentiation from the rest of the world.” Arguments have been advanced that the idea of nation-building finds its justification within the African worldview and the assumptions that Africans hold (Ugwuanyi, 2017).

However, in literature, nation-building has been theorised through or as (1) structural explanations as a structural process intertwined with industrialisation, urbanisation, social mobilisation, (2) result of state-planned policies that aim at the homogenisation of a state along the lines of a specific constitutive story (Deutsch & Folt, 1966), (3) contingency, events, and demonstration effects as the product of top-bottom processes that could originate from forces outside of the boundaries of the relevant state; and as the product of bottom-up processes that do not require any state intervention to come about, or (4) resulting from episodes of heightened social mobilisation around national loyalties, emphasising how bottom-up processes can powerfully reshape, reinterpret, and repurpose nation-building trajectories. These definitions range from essentialist ones that reify certain characteristics as purely national ones (Herder, 2004; Fichte, 2008) to more constructivist ones highlighting collective ascription as a key element for the existence of a nation (Renan, 1995; Anderson, 1983), but all concur with the explanation of Grotenhuis (2016: 212) that nation-building is an inherently dynamic and ongoing processes, and that “national identity is an ongoing process of change and adaptation.”

In line with its mission, the SADC was supposed to promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and socio-economic development through efficient, productive systems, deeper co-operation and integration, good governance, and durable peace and security. The

objective was to ensure that not only does the sub-region emerge as a competitive and effective player in continental and international relations and the economy but also that there is realisation of human security. Pursuant to this, the SADC member states were thus to be guided by the following principles: (i) sovereign equality of all member states; (ii) solidarity, peace, and security; (iii) human rights, democracy, and the rule of law; (iv) equity, balance, and mutual benefit; and (v) the peaceful settlement of disputes (Article 4 of the Treaty of the Southern African Development Community, 1992). These principles were meant to acknowledge and recognise the sovereignty and equitable contribution of each member state. In addition, they were to add a people-centred dimension to the traditional security, development, and human rights frameworks while locating human security in the area where they converge. These were, by all accounts, lofty principles.

Consequently, following years of defence and security-orientated agenda from the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles, the SADC was to focus on nation-building and the provision of human security. There was an appreciation that the threats to security in Southern Africa are not primarily military (and certainly do not involve obvious threats of external aggression), but revolve mainly around poverty, unemployment, exclusions on religious and ethnic grounds, underdevelopment, lack of good governance, and corruption. Many of these issues are interlinked as they are political, economic, environmental, and social, and any of them (or any combination of them) can provide a potential flashpoint which could lead to an escalation of conflict (Cawthra, 2008). Little wonder that the inability to resolve these issues has had serious peace and security implications. The persistent occurrence of violent conflicts fuelled by ethnic and religious differences in the post-colonial era demonstrates that nation-building has not been fully achieved in many countries and that it is still a necessary initiative (Mukwedeyo, 2016).

In terms of achievements, the SADC has been able to (1) demonstrate that regional integration and co-operation are possible and desirable, (2) inculcate a sense of regional belonging as well as a tradition of consultation among the peoples and governments of Southern Africa, and (3) put in place a regional programme of action, namely the SADC Programme of Action, which encourages co-operation in various economic sectors. More importantly, under the auspices of the SADC, several infrastructural projects have been undertaken to rehabilitate roads, rail, and harbours as a way of improving communication, transportation, and carriageways across the region. It has also been noted

that the SADC has maintained growth trends, recording a growth rate of over 4.1% by 2004, but this had since declined to about 2.7% owing to the electricity and economic troubles experienced by the region's economic hegemon, South Africa (African Development Bank, 2023). These achievements have at least provided a foundation on which the Southern African region through the SADC can make progress to achieve nation-building (SADC, n.d.).

Being aware that regional political instability can divert attention away from economic integration initiatives, the SADC has made considerable strides towards preserving political stability in the region. Consequently, although Southern Africa is a region defined by its anti-colonial and civil wars, it is undoubtedly enjoying an unprecedented measure of peace and stability, despite continued tensions in Zimbabwe and conflicts in the Democratic Republic of Congo, a raging war in Mozambique, and intense demonstrations and looting in South Africa. These tensions and conflicts do not necessarily threaten regional peace and stability, and the SADC remains relatively peaceful by all accounts.

Fault Lines towards Nation-building

Notwithstanding some of the above-mentioned achievements, the crisis of governance and corruption have conspired to prevent the realisation of social service delivery (Dorasamy & Fagbadebo, 2021). Regarding the crisis of governance and corruption in the sub-region of Southern Africa, it is noteworthy that several countries in the sub-region were, in different times, latecomers in gaining independence from colonisation, and their ruling parties were directly involved in the liberation struggle that subsequently governed such as in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, and South Africa. Even those countries that were not engaged in the liberation struggle such as Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, and Tanzania were also affected as they supported the liberation struggles. Malawi was an exception as the leadership of Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda supported colonial-apartheid South Africa. Consequently, they share a common history of struggle for decolonisation, as they fought against the British and Portuguese rulers and the regional destabilisation by colonial-apartheid South Africa (Temu & Tembe, 2019).

Precisely because of their joint struggle for independence and common opposition to colonial-apartheid subjugation, there is a sense of brotherhood among the SADC member states, which has defined the nature of regional cooperation. This historical mission continues to

define, in no mean way, the nature of governance, politics, and political culture in the sub-region (Albuquerque & Wiklund, 2016). Their brotherhood and comrade spirit impedes strictures to be levelled against any of them even when there is grand corruption (as has been the case in Angola, Malawi, and South Africa), mismanagement and crisis of governance (Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland, and the Democratic Republic of Congo), and politics of regional biases and exclusion (in Mozambique and Namibia). The personality cults of leaders of former liberation movements such as Robert Mugabe, Sam Nujoma, Samora Machel, and Augustine Neto stunted the legislative potency to hold the executive to be accountable and responsive to the people. In turn, the legislative organs were themselves not accountable and responsible.

The case of Zimbabwe has demonstrated that the SADC's institutional framework for regional peace and security is undermined as leaders are unwilling to enforce democratic principles, thus negatively affecting the realisation of human security. According to Ibrahim (2012), this also demonstrates quite clearly that a good fighter is not necessarily a good governor as it takes different skills to run a country. This is important to note considering the expectation of populations in the SADC region from those who led the liberation struggles in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa to build solid nations. According to Aeby (2018), a growing body of literature does suggest that some of the current challenges can be traced back to the liberation movement and guerrilla army legacy of current governments. To that effect, the findings of the Afro Barometer (2012) on the influences and thrust of leadership in the bloc further presents a bleak picture of the prospects for nation-building.

These executive and the legislative branches lacked a supra-organisation to provide oversight for them because of the OAU principle of non-interference in the affairs of member states. Recognising the fault lines of non-interference, Mandela told his fellow leaders at the SADC heads of state-and-government summit in Blantyre, Malawi on 8 September 1997 that:

“Our dream of Africa’s rebirth as we enter the new millennium, depends as much as anything on each country and each regional grouping on the continent, committing itself to the principles of democracy, respect for human rights and the basic tenets of good governance” (Mandela, 1997).

He further pointed out that Southern African leaders are under obligation to defend the principles of the SADC Treaty whose “obligations bind” them to undertake measures to promote the achievement of the SADC’s objectives and

to refrain from any measures likely to jeopardise the sustenance of these principles (Mandela, 1997).

Premised on the preceding, he asked two critical questions. The first question was: can we continue to give comfort to member states whose actions go so diametrically against the values and principles we hold so dear and for which we struggled so long and so hard? The follow-up question was: where we have, as we sadly do, instances of member states denying their citizens these basic rights, what should we as an organisation do or say? Although he acknowledged that these are difficult questions, he urged his colleagues:

“To think about them seriously if they wished to retain credibility as an organisation genuinely committed to democracy, human rights and good governance. These questions were asked with the objective of reminding the SADC leaders of their supreme mission of eradicating the social, economic and political suffering of the people of the sub-region and its constituent countries” (Ibid).

However, mismanagement, crisis in governance, corruption, and the lack of socio-economic dividends ensured that such leaders are alienated from their citizens. This has resulted in constant and sometimes economically destructive instability, hopelessness, despair and decay of societies. Recalcitrant and refusing to listen to the citizens, these leaders have resorted to dictatorships and authoritarianism as seen in Zimbabwe and Angola. In South Africa, we have experienced the emergence of pretentious and bogus leaders who use bigotry and divisive methods to avoid accountability to the citizenry. Many of the leaders in the sub-region have become victims of entitlement and overstay in power as in the case of Robert Mugabe. Given the thrust of corruption, it can be concluded that liberation struggle credentials do not bestow one with virtues of ethical and transformative leadership. As pointed out by Melber (2009), studying the history of the anti-colonial liberation struggles in Southern Africa can make for a better appreciation of the current processes of modified but continued forms of rule, which show clear limitations to genuine emancipation and liberation (Melber, 2009) and why solidarity and not emphasis on accountability triumphs (Nathan, 2011). Little wonder then that a critical organ such as the SADC tribunal had to be discontinued simply because some countries, particularly Zimbabwe, had serious objections to its existence.

Historically, liberation struggles against colonialism and white minority-settlerism in Southern Africa took place in the context of the

Cold War. Instead of the struggle being waged by the oppressed as a common cause and for a common purpose, the liberation organisations were divided along ideological lines and orientations that undergirded Western neo-liberalism and Eastern socialist policies. Talk of non-alignments were untenable as the world was literally divided into two camps. It is difficult to know what would have happened had the Soviet Union not collapsed, resulting in the world moving from multipolarity to unipolarity. What can be grasped is that liberation movements had to forcefully accept a capitalist system and neo-liberalism imposed by Western powers as socialism was in retreat following the dissolution of the Soviet Union (Soler-Crespo, 2019). The legacy of the divisions within liberation movements became an obstacle for nation-building for the independence of African states in the sub-region.

In contradiction to what the liberation movements stood for, there was an introduction of new policies, reforms, and initiatives in the form of structural adjustment programmes (fiscal discipline by reducing the fiscal deficit and restructuring public expenditure to priority areas). This followed the 1989 World Bank (WB) report entitled “*Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*”. The report identified personalisation of power, the prevalence of unaccountable and authoritarian governments, violation of human rights, rampant corruption, absence of the rule of law, state intervention in the economy, and the lack of decentralisation as primary causes underlying the crisis in sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, the Bank stated in no uncertain terms that the road to emancipation of the continent was wholly hinged on getting rid of these ills and bad practices (World Bank, 1989). What the sub-region inherited were contrived policies that were imposed.

That the World Bank and the IMF introduced such policies and conditionalities was unfortunate but understandable. After all, the entitlement leadership of the former liberation movements displayed the characteristics of kleptomaniacs which enabled self-aggrandisement and ensured that their families and close friends became rich. The case of Angola is instructive as the daughter of the president became one of the richest women on the continent. Public procurements were targeted as these involve administration of large volumes of financial and material transactions as their cash cow. The manifestation of this public procurement corruption includes the misallocation of resources to unnecessary projects, poor- and low-quality infrastructural facilities, rigging of tenders with collusion with the public officials and the bidders,

irregular tender processes, and inflated prices of goods and services (Ambe & Badenhorst-Weiss, 2012; Munzhedzi, 2016).

Instead of being both a strategic tool and a mechanism that is used in the public sector to enable governments in the sub-region to implement policies for socio-economic development and infrastructural expansions, the process was subverted for personal and parasitic accumulation (Dorasamy & Fagbadebo, 2021), and these were accompanied by major corruption scandals and perceptions that the democratic governments were failing to fulfil their promises of prosperity (Pinto 2023). The failure of post-colonial leadership and post-colonial states to address these multi-faceted challenges has meant that they continue to persist in the post-colonial period and negatively undermine nation-building.

For instance, some 34.2% of the population of Southern Africa is below the age of 25, and that proportion is growing rapidly. In the absence of improved economic and educational opportunities, the region is likely to experience more social unrest in the foreseeable future. Added to this demographic trend is that the region has become a migration hub of desolate, disillusioned, and desperate youths from as far as Ethiopia, Somalia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nigeria. This outsourcing of unemployment by governments outside the SADC bloc is a major threat to the stability of the region as it creates contestations, tensions, and divisions in crowded spaces in poor areas within the sub-region.

It can, therefore, be argued that the Southern African region is ideal for regional nation-building given the fact that it is characterised by most countries having small economies, less diversified populations, and an environment which is ideal for interstate trade and forging of economic links (Mapuva & Muyengwa-Mapuva, 2014), and its levels of human development in the region are higher than in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa (Albuquerque & Wiklund, 2015). Unfortunately, nation-building remains elusive because sub-regional leadership is not attuned to the transformation imperatives. To that effect, most states in the sub-region are plagued by cronyism (the exclusion of all but friends), corruption which erodes trust, and tribalism (rivalry between tribes within the nation). The almost unlimited scope of presidential powers in African countries has been enhanced by the inability of the legislature to hold the executive to account (Angelo, 2022).

Embedding Policy Sciences and Human Security in Nation-building

According to Wimmer (2018a; 2018b), three factors tend to determine the success of nation-building over the long run, and these are the early development of civil-society organisations, the rise of a state capable of providing public goods evenly across a territory, and the emergence of a shared medium of communication. Although the process of nation-building can involve the use of propaganda, this is sometimes unsustainable. The more effective way is to erect major infrastructure development to foster social harmony and inclusive economic growth resulting in human security beneficitation. Hence, the SADC must, of necessity, effectively operationalise the integration of human security approach into its constructions of, and policy frameworks for, not just peace and security but also for nation-building. Rather than mere peace and security, the alternative security paradigm of human security should drive nation-building. The concept of human security represents a departure from orthodox security studies, which focus on the security of the state from threats.

Thus, the basics of human security are primarily ensured by meeting common aspirations that people cherish most. These include food for the family, adequate shelter, good health, schooling for the children, protection from violence, and freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights and safety. What comes out is that human security reveals a people-centred and multi-disciplinary understanding of security which involves several research fields, including development studies, international relations, strategic studies, and human rights. Critically, "the concept represents a malleable tool for analysing the root causes of threats and their multidimensional consequences for different types of insecurities. It can be operationalised through applying specific principles to policymaking and can be used as an evaluative tool for gauging the impact of interventions on the dynamics of other fields" (Tadjbakhsh, 2014).

Although the SADC currently embraces the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) understanding of human security contained in the Human Development Report of 1994 (Mhango, 2013), it has not effectively embedded it in nation-building. This is important considering the seven dimensions of human security articulated by the UNDP in 1994 which are economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security. This points to the fact that

the starting point of human security approach is the human being in terms of rights, needs, aspirations, and well-being. Moreover, the UNDP maintains that human security has four essential characteristics: it is universal, its components are interdependent, it is best ensured through prevention, and it is people-centred (Landman, 2006: 15; King & Murray, 2001: 589).

As the SADC turns 32, the state of human security remains disappointing not only in areas where there are violent conflicts like Mozambique; deadly protestations like in Swaziland and Zimbabwe; political instability and constant changes of governments as in Lesotho; and corrupt states as in South Africa, Malawi, and Angola but also in peaceful counties such as Botswana and Namibia. It is noteworthy that the human development challenges have been exacerbated by the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 pandemics in the sub-region. To that extent, if the UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI) can be taken as a measure of human security, then southern Africans suffer deeply from human insecurity (Cawthra, 2008). For instance, despite general increases in per capita incomes, 70% of the region's population lives on less than \$2 per day and 40% lives on less than \$1 per day. Human security is decidedly normative and belongs to the realm of ethics – traits which have not been displayed by former leaders of the liberation movements.

Thus, the search for human security dividends in the SADC region continues to this day mainly because, as Ake (1996) points out, with few exceptions, it is a fallacy to analyse development in Africa in terms of a failure to achieve it. The naked reality is that “the problem is not so much that development has failed as that it was never really on the agenda in the first place” of most African political leaders. Primary on their agenda has been their struggle to prolong their stay in power through the maintenance of peace and stability.

Both peace and stability were aimed at ensuring that there were no disruptions to their long stay in power. Effectively, with the concerted efforts to prolong their stay in power being inevitably “so absorbing and distracting, “everything else, including development, was marginalised” (Ake, 1996: 5). As poor people became restive and dissatisfied with the growing poverty and the slow pace and level of delivery of human security, the regimes resorted to the suppression of their desires. Hence, relative peace and stability in the sub-region are necessary but are not sufficient conditions to guarantee human security. These conditions are sufficient only if governments in the region can “legitimately exercise power and authority over the control and management of the country's

affairs in the interest of the people and {in} accordance with the principles of justice, equity, accountability and transparency” (Moyo, 1997: 65).

Herein lies the relevance of embedding policy sciences to direct the realisation of human security. Through policy sciences as a trans-disciplinary field, the leadership is better positioned to decide/choose and evaluate the importance of available knowledge for addressing challenges. The selection of policy instruments and the attendant interventions are crafted with the objective of fostering human dignity for all (Ascher, 2020). Therefore, policy evaluation needs to investigate the issues necessary for determining the appropriate instrument and its level of implication for a controlled resource flow (Ali, 2013). As opposed to the contrived policies imposed by the World Bank and IMF, central to policy sciences are evidence-based approaches to addressing challenges. Unlike misplaced interventions such as structural adjustment policies, policy sciences has normative aspects speaking to its emphasis on contextuality and deriving from its trans-disciplinarity as the challenges being addressed are fundamentally multiple and multi-faceted (deLeon, 1981). This is important because colonisation and colonial-apartheid left wide-ranging challenges, and contextuality is about understanding the context of socio-political processes and situations, and decisions made are part of a broader social process (Lasswell, 1971). Policy sciences would thus take as its point of departure the need to ensure nation-building by focusing on the realisation of human security, hence the dire need to embed both. This would imply engaging with the legacy of policies in Africa including from accounts of indirect rule to African socialism and structural adjustment programmes; the socio-economic effects of policies have loomed large in debates regarding colonisation, post-colonial development, and the historical trajectory of African societies (Powers, 2022).

Concluding Remarks

While it is acknowledged that the SADC has, since its inception, achieved numerous positive developments, in terms of its institutional frameworks and achievement of relative peace and stability, these achievements and benefits have been bedevilled by the challenges of nation-building. The statist approach to addressing issues has meant that state security takes precedence over human security. Granted nation-building hinges on a conducive environment characterised by peace, security, and stability.

While the peaceful environment that political stability may offer is desirable, it must be complemented by appropriate, relevant, and effective policies and intentional and purposeful objective to advance the human security agenda.

Hence, the thesis advanced in this article that although relative peace and stability are important, they are not sufficient conditions for ensuring nation-building as illustrated by the case of the SADC. For many years since decolonisation and the end of colonial-apartheid, the SADC has experienced relative peace and stability. However, other factors must, of necessity, come to play for the dividends of peace and stability to translate into nation-building. We have posited these to be policy sciences and human security. In fact, the realisation of inclusive human security that considers all citizens regardless of ethnicity, religion, gender, and age can guarantee peace and security. It is important that leaders in the sub-region realise that peace and security are urgently interwoven to the human satisfaction of the citizens. The onus is on the individual countries to begin to address human insecurity with a deep sense of responsibility and commitment.

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Notes on Contributors

Teboho Josiah Lebakeng is professor of security and intelligence studies at the Thabo Mbeki African School of Public and International Affairs, UNISA.

Rich Mashimbye is a post-doctoral fellow at the Thabo Mbeki African School of Public and International Affairs, UNISA.

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