INTERGOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY ON DEVELOPMENT AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN EAST AFRICA: ACHIEVEMENTS, CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

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ABSTRACT: *This study focuses on the activities of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in promoting regional integration among member countries since its transformation from Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) to IGAD in the 1990s. The data for the study are derived from the secondary sources such as textbooks, articles journals, theses, and other relevant documents both offline and online. The theory of liberal intergovernmentalism is adopted for the purpose of analysis. From the findings, the paper notes that so far, the organization has been able to achieve some objectives, including the establishment of IGAD Climate Prediction Application Centre (ICPAC) which relays reports on climate change to member states every 10 days; establishment of IGAD Women's Desk in 1994 to Foster gender mainstreaming and promote Women's participation in IGAD Programmes; mediation etcetera. However, the organization is yet to achieve economic union it proposed in 2009. There are also challenges of incessant conflicts/wars among member states. Equally, the issues of harsh weather conditions-drought and desertification- of the region as well as multiplicity of regional organizations with overlapping membership and functions have equally affected the process of integration among IGAD's member states. Finally, the study makes some recommendations among which are as follows: Member states should focus more on development programmes that will boost the economy of the region so that the goal of integration can be attained; Member countries should avoid joining several organizations with huge cost implications and concentrate on the ones that can help them achieve regional integration among them; The mediation arm of the organization should be strengthened with proper funding while members should remain neutral during mediation to enable the organization meets it goal of peace in the region, Etcetera.*

KEYWORDS*:* Intergovernmental Authority, Development Regional Integration, Achievements, Challenges*,*

INTRODUCTION

Europe has always remained the first port of call when it comes to regional integration as it was the first region to kick- start the process of integration with the formation of the European

Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952 (Lausen, 2008:3) and gradually transformed it into the European Union in 1993. With the successes recorded by the European nations, many states across different regions in the world have come to embrace regional integration as a way of addressing some challenges peculiar to their regions. In Africa, the call for integration of the continent began shortly after the independence by African leaders. However, it was until 1970s and 1980s that committed efforts were in place to either re-launch or establish some frameworks for integration at various sub-regions (Niekick, n.d). While some have achieved high level of results like the European society in their efforts towards integration, in East Africa the story of regional integration has been a mixed bag as a result of numerous challenges such as drought, harsh weather condition, desertification and to worsen the situation, unending conflicts in Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan thereby slowing down the pace of integration in the region.

The challenges of drought and desertification propelled the formation of Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) by member countries but following "the new emerging political and socio-economic challenges, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, meeting in Addis Ababa in April 1995, resolved to revitalize IGADD and expand areas of cooperation among Member States" (IGAD 2019:1). This led to the establishment of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development as the main integration framework established "with strategic objectives geared towards alleviating the recurrent problems of drought and development, resolving conflicts and maintaining peace within the region" (Olu and Dauda, 2015:135). The organization was also to facilitate the economic integration programme of the region beginning in 2009 with the creation of a free trade Areas (Abdi and Seid, 2013:2).

The paper, therefore, looks deeply into the activities of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development with the intent to ascertain how it has fared in terms of meeting its goals of integration among the member countries. To achieve this, the paper is structured as follows: Introduction, Conceptual Clarifications, Theoretical Framework, Historical Background to the Formation of IGAD, Achievements, Challenges, Prospects and concluding remarks.

Conceptual Clarifications

Regional integration has attracted several definitions from scholars. Accordingly, the European Commission (2019) defines the concept of regional integration as "the the process of overcoming barriers that divide neighboring countries, by common accord, and of jointly managing shared resources and assets. It is a process by which groups of countries liberalize trade, creating a common market for goods, people, capital and services". To Hartzenberg (2011:1), "Regional integration is seen as a rational response to the difficulties faced by a continent with many small national markets and landlocked countries". Consequently, African governments have established many regional integration arrangements with several overlapping membership. Another important definition is by Farida (2015), who sees regional integration as the process in which neighbouring states enter into an arrangement in order to upgrade cooperation through common institution and rules. The author further added that regional integration is the process by which two or more nations states agree to cooperate and work closely together to achieve peace, stability and wealth". The foregoing review of some scholars' definitions of regional integration reveal that regional integration involves the coming together of more than one states to establish an institutions, sign accord for the purpose promoting economic activities and other related objectives among themselves. Regional

integration can also be initiated to pursue political goals. In addition, regional integration plays some fundamental roles. This, according to Langenhore and Lombaerde cited in Sheriff and Nwokedi (2017:170) includes:

> *Contribution to peace and security in the region; strengthening of trade integration in the region the creation of an appropriate enabling environment for private sector environment development ; the development of infrastructure programmes in support of economic growth and regional integration; the development of strong public sector institutions and good governance; the reduction of social exclusion and the development of an inclusive civil society ; the building of environment programmes at the region level and the strengthening of the regions interaction with other regions of the world.*

Theoretical Framework

The study adopts Liberal Intergovernmentalism to analyze IGAD and regional integration process in its member countries. The theory was developed by Andrew Moravcsik in 1993 to provide an explanation for European integration process. It is an improved version of intergovernmentalist theory with a combination of neo-liberal and realist perspectives (Cini and Perez, 2015). According to Laursen (2008: 3) Moravcsik formulated the theory to explain the European integration process based on the combined liberal theory of national preference formation and on intergovernmental theory of interstate bargaining to substantial outcome. And that Moravcsik adopted three steps in his analysis of integration viz; national preference formation, interstate bargain and institutional choice, stressing with regard to the first, that economic interest are more important than the geo-political (Lame: 2007:19). In a nutshell, the main thrust of this theory "is that member states are main drivers of European integration process. Member states have interests and it is based on those interests that they decide whether they will pursue a certain policy or not" (Lame: 2007:19).

Using the theory the paper argues that since the decisions and activities of IGAD are still being controlled by member states liberal intergovernmentalism remains the suitable framework for analysis. Also since the founder of the theory has made the framework "a general one, which can be applied to any kind of regional integration" (Lame, 2007:21), its adoption here is in order.

RESULTS/DISCUSSION

Historical Background to the Formation of Intergovernmental Authority on Development

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development was established following the effects of the drought and famine which devastated the horn of Africa between 1984 and 1985. The suffering that came with this development compelled the United Nations' proposal for the creation of a regional body that would address the issues of perennial drought in the area. This gave rise to the formation of Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) in 1986 by Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Djitouti, Sudan, and Uganda (Hassan, 2017:7). Accordingly, IGADD was charged with the responsibility of coordinating and overseeing, conservation of the environment, enhancing food security, and natural resources management (Hassan, 2017:7). However, the emergence of security challenges occasioned by conflict among member countries necessitated the call for an organization with and expanded scope than IGADD (Olu

and Dauda, 2015:135). Consequently, in April 1995, a proposal was made to that effect and discussion went on smoothly during the extraordinary Summit of Heads of State held Addis Ababa were Ministerial committee to spearhead amendment to IGADD Charter was constituted with the main task to develop "proposals in an attempt to increase the capacity of the member states in order to address the deterrence handling and dealing of conflicts both inter and inter-state conflict amicably" (Hassan, 2017:8). At the Nairobi summit Meeting in March 1996 the proposed amendments were endorsed thereby leading to the establishment of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). The IGAD was subsequently launched at the 5th Summit of IGAD Assembly of Heads of State and Government held on 25-26 November 1996 in Djibouti. The Summit endorsed the decision to enhance regional cooperation in three priority areas of food security and environmental protection, economic cooperation, regional integration and social development peace and security (IGAD. 2019:1; Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), N.d,:3; IGAD, 2016:3).

Vision: The vision of IGAD is "to be the Premier Regional Economic Community (REC) for achieving peace and sustainable development in the region" while its **mission** is "to promote regional cooperation and integration to add value to member states efforts to achieve peace, security and prosperity" (NEPAD Agency, 2015:2).

Aims and Objectives of Intergovernmental Authority on Development

According to the 7th Article of the Agreement Establishing IGAD, the aims of the organization shall include the followings:

1. Promote joint development strategies and gradually harmonize macro-economic policies and programmes in the social, technological and scientific fields;

2. Harmonize policies with regard to trade, customs, transport, communications, agriculture, and natural resources and environment, and promote free movement of goods, services, and people within the region.

3. Create an enabling environment for foreign, cross-border and domestic trade and investment;

4. Initiate and promote programmes and projects to achieve regional food security and sustainable development of natural resources and environmental protection, and encourage and assist efforts of Member States to collectively combat drought and other natural and man-made disasters and their consequences;

5. Develop and improve a coordinated and complementary infrastructure, in the areas of transport, telecommunications and energy in the region;

6. Promote peace and stability in the region and create mechanisms within the region for the prevention, management and resolution of inter-State and intra-State conflicts through dialogue;

7. Mobilize resources for the implementation of emergency, short-term, medium-term and long-term programmes within the framework of regional cooperation;

8. Facilitate, promote and strengthen cooperation in research development and application in science and technology.

9. Provide capacity building and training at regional and national levels; and

10. Generate and disseminate development information in the region(IGAD, 2019:2, Economic Commission for African n.d.:3 and Dersso,2014:4)

Membership of Intergovernmental Authority on Development

Membership of IGAD includes the founding members such as Djibouti (1986), Ethiopia (1986) Somalia (1986), Sudan (1986), Kenya (1986) and Uganda (1986). Others are Eritrea (1993) and South Sudan (2011) which later joined the organization. This membership spread across the horns of Africa, the Nile valley and the Great Lake (Sheriff in Olu and Dauda, 2015:135) .

Table 1: Basic Data of IGAD Countries

Country	Population in Million	GDP	GDP Growth
Djibouti	0.90	$1.46billion	5.0%
Ethiopia	94.10	$46.87billion	10.4%
Eritrea	6.33	$3.44billion	1.3%
Kenya	44.35	$44.10billion	4.7%
South Sudan	11.30	$13.80billion	24.4%
Sudan	37.96	$66.55billion	-6.0%
Somalia	10.50	$917.0million	-1.5%
Uganda	37.58	$21.48billion	5.8%

Source: World Bank cited in Derso (2014:3)

Organs of Intergovernmental Authority on Development

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development has four functional organs as discussed below:

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government

This is composed of the Heads of state and government of member states. It is also the highest Policy making and regulatory body of IGAD. Its core functions are the determination of the objectives, guidelines and programmes of IGAD; admission of new members, etc. it meets at least once a year, and its Chairman is elected form among the members in rotational manner (IGADD, 2019:4; NEPAD Agency, 2015:3)

The Council of Ministers

This consists of Ministers of Foreign Affairs plus one Minister designate from member countries of IGAD. The primary functions include policy formulation, approval of the organization programme and annual budget of the Secretariat during its biannual sessions (IGAD, 2019:4).

The Committee of Ambassadors

The committee of Ambassador as the name suggests, is made up of "IGAD Member States' Ambassadors or Plenipotentiaries accredited to the country of IGAD Headquarters". It holds meeting as the need arises and renders advisory services to the Scribe of the organization.

The Secretariat

This has an Executive Secretary appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government as its head for a term of four years, renewable once but subjected to performance. The major functions of the Secretariat to assist Member States formulate " regional projects in the priority areas, facilitates the coordination and harmonization of development policies, mobilizes resources to implement regional projects and programmes approved by the Council and reinforces national infrastructures necessary for implementing regional projects and policies".(IGAD, 2019:4)

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY ON DEVELOPMENT

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development has to its credit some level of achievements. These are discussed below:

Trade, Industry and Tourism
The achievements of IGAD with respect to the above mentioned areas have been quite impressive. For instance, NEPAD Agency (2015:ix) has listed some of the achievements of the organization in these areas to include: support to phased programs to enhance the free movement of people, goods and services in the region; capacity building for national ministries to enhance access to markets for small scale producers and traders including those in the informal sector; establishing a baseline mapping and a legal and policy framework for the development of Warehouse Receipt System (WRS); assisting the manufacturers' Societies(MSs) and stakeholders in the Tourism Master plans to market the region as a single tourism destination and common investment area; facilitating harmonization of bilateral and regional agreement on trade; bring the private sector support to the regional integration agenda by strengthening the IGAD business Forum (IBF); facilitating infrastructure projects by conducting studies on the feasibility of transport corridors to improve interconnectivity of the IGD region and improve trade among member state.

Mediation on Conflict
The organization has mediated in some of the conflicts in the region although this has been greeted with different opinion, "yet a careful examination of the mediation efforts of this East Africa regional organization suggests that it has played a constructive and helpful role in today's ethnic and political conflict in South Sudan, which became independent in July, 2011" (Back, 2014:1). Its intervention in the conflict between Soudan and South Sudan according to Back cited above "…illustrates how intervention and mediation by a regional organization can contribute to modest success in ameliorating conflicts".

IGAD Drought Disaster Resilience and Sustainability Initiative (IDDRSI)

IGAD has developed a comprehensive plan to build a resilience of vulnerable communities in the member states. This plan, which started in 2012/2013, has witnessed considerable progress on various fronts in the implementation of IDDRSI throughout the IGAD region, with a number of achievements being recorded. These include: the establishment and operationalization of the IDDRSI Regional Platform; The development of the IDDRSI Strategy and its subsequent interpretation into Country Programming Papers (CPPs) and Regional Programming Paper (RPP); The translation of CPPs and RPP into investments plans and project proposals for resource mobilization, to secure funding from various sources; The execution of resilience oriented interventions, the progress of which is being monitored and reported in a coordinated manner; The establishment and operationalization of national IDDRSI Platform coordination structures; The establishment and operationalization of the IDDRSI Platform Coordination Unit (PCU) and the application of its functions in programming, knowledge management, partnerships enhancement, capacity building and monitoring and evaluation to support the implementation of IDDRSI; The focus on cross-border areas in the implementation of IDDRSI (IDDRSI Platform for Coordination Units, 2017:3).

Establishment of Institutions

IGAD has also created several institutions, which help her tremendously in meeting its obligation to the member states. These include IGAD early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN), the IGAD Security Program (ISSP), the IGAD Centre for Pastoral and Dry Land Development (ICPALD) and the IGAD Climate Prediction and Application Centre (ICPAC). (NEPAD Agency, 2015: ix). The activities of these bodies have contributed towards better enhancement of integration among IGAD member countries.

Hydrological Cycle Observation System (IGAD-HYCOS) Project

Another area of achievement by IGAD is in its Hydrological Cycle Observation System (IGAD-HYCOS) Project. This project that was launched in 2011 to develop a sustainable and integrated water resources management in the region has in the words of Wobusozozi and Mwebemdizi (2018) succeeded in strengthening infrastructure for data collection, processing and dissemination; developing a regional database and enhancing national database; increasing visibility by developing of the IGAD-HYCOS Web Page; Strengthening regional and national capabilities for water resources management; managing the IGAD regional centre for water management. It has also helped member countries to design a strategic and optimum monitoring of network of surface water and ground water station. In Uganda for instance 12 surface water and 26 ground water stations were installed and in the whole region 199 stations were installed ie 123 surface water and 76 ground stations (Wobusozozi and Mwebemdizi, 2018)

Free Movement of Persons

IGAD is said not to have provision on its protocol on free movement of goods, persons and services, despite the fact that its article 7 states that the organization will promote such. Notwithstanding, member countries like Kenya and Ethiopia, Djibouti and Ethiopia, as well as Kenya and Uganda are practising "the free movement of persons in the region on a bilateral basis" and in most case offer visa on arrival for a period of 90 days to citizens from member nations (Economic Commission Africa, 2016; African Union, 2013)

CHALLENGES OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY ON DEVELOPMENT

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development has faced a lot of challenges since its transformation with expanded mandates. Some of these challenges, which have contributed in slowing down the pace of integration among its member states, are discussed below

Proliferation of small arms and light weapons

IGAD member countries have witnessed large influx of small and light weapons in their territories thereby causing lawlessness and communal conflicts in. Issues such as cattle rustling, natural based resource conflicts over water, pasture and land are also common practice in the region (Hassan, 2017:8). These have in a way affected genuine integration process in the region.

Conflict and insecurity

Closely related to the above point is the spate of conflicts in the region. For instance, some IGAD member countries have experienced different intra-states wars among themselves. Such included Ethiopia and Eritrea, Uganda and Sudan, while till date Somalia has remained without a functional government (Hassan, 2017:8-9; Olu and Dauda, 2015:137).

Environmental and Climatic Challenges

The East African region where IGAD member states are found have suffered several drought, with human, economic and ecological consequences on the lives of the peoples on the. Another challenge is the fact that the short annual rainfall usually come heavy, thereby resulting in flooding which in "the two decades 5, 000 lives have been lost in 96 major flooding cases that affected approximately 12.5 million people and left 2 million homeless (Wobusozozi and Mwebemdizi, 2018) (period of rainfall in always come heal

Multiplicity of Regional Organization with Overlapping Mandates

Sustaining membership of different organizations with overlapping mandates by member countries has become a daunting task. The table low truly captures the real picture of what is obtainable among member countries of IGAD. For instance, of all the member countries of IGAD, Five of them belong to Community of Sahel –Saharan States (SEN-SAD); seven belong to Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA); three are members of East African Community (EAC); and four are part of International Conference on the Great Lake Region (ICGLR). The danger usually associated with this multiple membership arrangements is that it may lead to "duplication of efforts and an unnecessary competition among countries and institutions". It also increases the burden and cost as "they have participated in different meetings, and accept policy decisions, instruments, procedures, and schedules. Their customs officials also have to deal with different tariff reductions rates, rules of origin, trade documentation, and statistical nomenclature".(Abdi and Seid, 2013:19). All these have contributed to hampering integration process in the region as attention has always been divided.

Table 2: Multiple REC and Related Institutional Membership of IGAD Member States

Country	IGAD	CEN-SAD	COMESA	EAC	ICGLR
Djibouti	✓	✓	✓		
Eritrea	✓	✓	✓		
Ethiopia	✓		✓		
Kenya	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Somalia	✓	✓			
South Sudan	✓		✓	✓	✓
Sudan	✓	✓	✓		✓
Uganda	✓		✓	✓	✓

Sources: Adopted from UNDP (2016:5)

Inability to completely Resolve Crises in Member States

IGAD mediation effort in member states crises has been faulted for featuring people with personal interest as mediators for instances using the case of South Sudan Wal, cited in Adula (2018) argued thus:

> South Sudan's Peace will not have materialized under the IGAD's Leaders. This is because their neutrality, failure to give a clear and timely commitment to support to bring about peace is in question since the war and negotiation began. They are working behind closed doors in fueling the conflict and making it worse, knowing that the more South Sudan's war prolonged, the more employments they will get from the international communities such as troika, China, EU and others.

All these challenges have hindered the economic integration programme of the region beginning in 2009 with the creation of a free trade Areas (Abdi and Seid, 2013:2) as proposed by the organization.

Prospects and Concluding Remarks

The study looked at the activities of Intergovernmental Authority on Development as an integration framework for the East African region. It was a body that replaced the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development earlier created in 1986 to help addressed the challenge of drought and desertification among member countries. The space of violence and insecurity in member countries led to its transformation to IGAD in 1996 with expanded mandates to handle security issues in member countries. Thus, from the results of the study, the paper noted that so far, the organization has been able to achieve some results including mediation, the establishment of IGAD Climate Prediction Application Centre (ICPAC) which relays reports on climate change to member states every 10 days; establishment of IGAD Women's Desk in 1994 to Foster gender mainstreaming and promoting Women's participation in IGAD Programmes; establishment of IGAD Sub-regional Action Programme (IGDSRAP) to identify and vital areas to facilitate IGAD's intervention efforts; establishment of information and communication service centres for easy flow of information across member states etc. The organization also faced a lot of challenges such as incessant conflicts/wars among member states; the issues of harsh weather conditions-drought and desertification; as well as multiplicity of regional organizations with overlapping membership and functions have equally affected the process of integration among IGAD's member states.

In spite of these challenges, there are prospects for integration in the region as members of the organization have devised several means including the establishment of key agencies in member states to promote integration. Also the mediation effort in different crises (though with limited results) by the organization is also a good prospect for regional integration among member states.

Recommendations

1. Member states should focus more on development programmes that will boost the economy of the region so that the goal of integration can be attained
2. Member countries should avoid joining several organizations with huge cost implications and concentrate on the ones that can help them achieve regional integration among them
3. The mediation arm of the organization should be strengthened with proper findings while member should remain neutral during mediation to enable the organization meets it goal of peacefulness in the region
4. Effort should be intensified to completely resolve all ongoing crises like Somalia, Darfur, and South Sudan peace and development in the region
5. Member states should partner with other international organizations and developed nations to help in addressing the challenges faced by the region in the areas of desertification, flooding and drought.
6. The organization has achieved some results but a lot more needs to be done for effective integration to occur among the member countries.

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