

Security Crowds Out the Market: IGAD, Regional Economic Integration, and Conflict Management in the Greater Horn

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ABSTRACT

Regional organisations in Africa are often tasked with both conflict management and economic integration, yet these objectives can pull in different directions. In the Horn of Africa, IGAD operates within a context where persistent security crises crowd out deeper integration efforts. This study examines how this structural tension shapes the political economy of regionalism, with comparative reference to the EAC, SADC, and ECOWAS.

Drawing on regional integration theory, the security–development nexus, and African regionalism, the study combines institutional analysis of IGAD’s legal frameworks and budgets with comparative analysis across regional organisations, trade-flow interpretation, and interviews with regional stakeholders.

The findings show that the tension between security and integration is not a temporary constraint but a durable feature of regional governance, reproduced through institutional and political mechanisms that reshape incentives, authority, and resource allocation over time (Haas 1958; Balassa 1961; Söderbaum 2004; Taylor 2003). In IGAD, security imperatives often dominate organisational priorities, limiting progress on trade integration and economic coordination. Variation across regional bodies reflects differences in mandate balance, member-state interests, and levels of economic interdependence.

The contribution lies in demonstrating how security pressures structurally condition regional integration outcomes, challenging linear models of economic integration and highlighting the need to align security and economic mandates. It argues that more effective regionalism requires institutional redesign, political bargaining, and accountability mechanisms that address the underlying distribution of power among member states ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#); [\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

Keywords: IGAD; regional integration; Horn of Africa; security-development nexus; conflict management; political economy

1. Introduction

Security Crowds Out the Market: IGAD, Regional Economic Integration, and Conflict Management in the Greater Horn addresses a problem at the intersection of state formation, governance, and political economy. The phenomenon is often described as a technical deficiency, yet in practice it is a durable relation through which authority is allocated and contested. The South Sudanese and comparative African cases show that the institution or process under study is not external to political order; it is one of the means by which order is produced and defended ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)).

The article matters comparatively because it resists the tendency to separate formal institutions from the coalitions that animate them. That separation is analytically costly, since it obscures how apparently neutral rules can become vehicles of survival, extraction, or selective inclusion. The concept proposed here—security-crowded regional integration—bridges that gap by showing how design, practice, and political incentives fuse over time ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

The paper therefore proceeds from three linked research questions: 1) How has IGAD's security role crowded out its economic integration ambitions? 2) Which member-state political and economic interests shape IGAD's conflict management posture toward South Sudan and Somalia? 3) What conditions would allow IGAD's integration agenda to generate conflict-reducing interdependence rather than remain declaratory? These questions are not independent descriptive prompts. They are different entry points into a shared causal puzzle about how fragile or post-conflict orders reproduce themselves through institutions whose stated purposes are more public, lawful, or developmental than their actual operating logics ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

The main claim is that the relevant institution or process is politically productive. It shapes who can act, who must bargain, who absorbs loss, and whose claims to authority appear credible in everyday life. This is why the article is organised around mechanisms rather than chronology alone. After reviewing the debates, it reconstructs the analytical frame, clarifies the research design, and then examines how the selected cases illuminate wider questions of African politics, conflict studies, and reform ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)).

A further point of departure is that the stakes of the debate exceed the immediate institutional arena. In the cases examined here, the institution or process under study becomes a relay between elite bargaining and everyday governance. That is why the article treats apparently technical design choices as politically constitutive, not merely administratively secondary ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

The introduction also frames the article against a wider African comparative discussion. The selected cases demonstrate that similar reform vocabularies can travel across countries while producing sharply different outcomes. The explanation lies less in the spread of best practice than in the interaction between inherited political settlements and the strategic use of institutional form ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

2. Theoretical debates and conceptual frame

The theoretical foundation specified in the topic brief combines regional integration theory, the security-development nexus, and African regionalism. Each strand highlights something indispensable. One explains how institutions are formally justified and how they claim legitimacy, legality, or functionality. Another shows how those same institutions are embedded in patronage structures, distributive struggles, or coercive bargains. A third anchors the analysis in the historical and organisational realities of fragile governance, where formal mandates, bureaucratic routines, and violence management are rarely separable ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)).

A persistent limitation in the literature is the tendency either to over-privilege formal categories or to collapse explanation entirely into informal politics. Neither move is satisfactory for the cases examined here. Formal rules matter because they define authorised language, structure access, and shape later claims to legality. Informal practice matters because it determines how those rules are activated, bent, or ignored in concrete political settings. The article therefore works with a relational approach that keeps law, organisation, and political incentives in the same field of explanation ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

This synthesis makes it possible to identify the article's conceptual intervention. Security-crowded regional integration does not refer simply to a weak institution or bad policy choice. It names a recurring pattern in which public authority is reproduced by converting a formally

bounded institution into a mechanism for selective survival, extraction, or control. The concept shifts attention away from ideal design and toward the conditions under which institutions become politically useful to particular coalitions, even when they perform poorly against official mandates ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

The wider implication is that fragile-state governance should be analysed through the political uses of institutions rather than by measuring institutions only against normative templates. Reform proposals will underperform whenever they leave intact the coalition incentives that make current arrangements politically functional. The article therefore advances a comparative argument about African governance that connects institutional form to the negotiated distribution of power beneath it ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

Table 1. Conceptual architecture for the article

| Debate or lens | Core claim | Analytical use in this paper |
|--|---|---|
| Regional integration theory | Public or developmental institutions claim legitimacy through formal design | Used to identify how official mandates frame the public meaning of governance |
| The security-development nexus | Coalitions and incentives shape how institutions are actually used | Explains why institutional outcomes diverge from official design |
| Comparative African context | Variation across cases reveals what travels beyond the focal case | Provides leverage for broader theoretical contribution |
| Security-crowded regional integration | Institutions become politically productive beyond stated purposes | Names the paper's main analytical intervention |

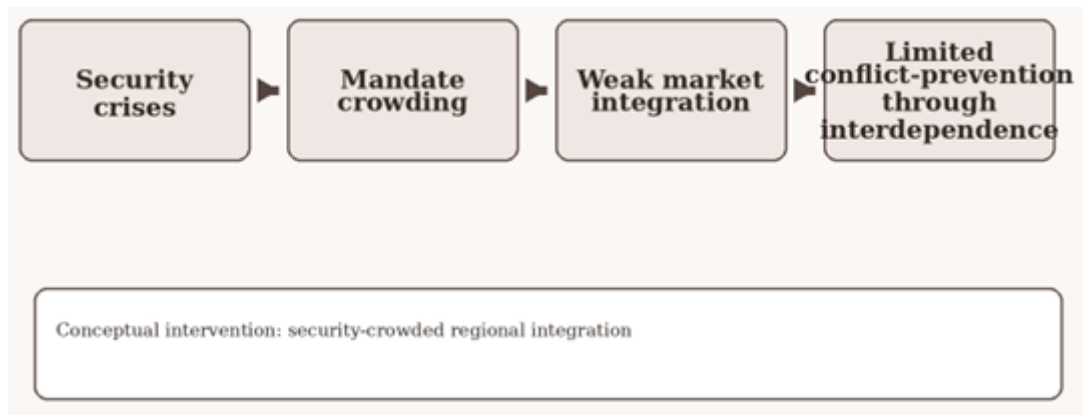


Figure 1. Author-generated causal pathway for security-crowded regional integration.

Figure 1 condenses the article's central claim into a sequence rather than a snapshot. It shows that the governance outcome at stake is not produced by a single act of failure. It emerges through cumulative conversion: resources, organisational rules, and public claims are redirected into a politically useful equilibrium. This sequence matters because it clarifies why episodic reform efforts often strike the visible effects of the problem while leaving its reproduction mechanisms intact ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)).

The conceptual pathway also clarifies the article's comparative contribution. Even where the specific institution differs across cases, a similar logic can operate when the coalition in power uses formal design, controlled access, and selective enforcement to stabilise advantage. The resulting pattern is not historically identical across Botswana, South Sudan, Uganda, or Kenya; it is analytically comparable because it links institutional form to strategic political use ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

3. Research questions, analytical expectations, and scope

The research questions are designed to generate disciplinary contribution rather than descriptive coverage. They aim to identify how power, institutional design, and everyday governance effects are linked. Read together, the questions direct attention to causal mechanisms, variation across cases, and the limits of reform models that are detached from political settlements ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)).

Analytically, the article expects to find that official mandates and reform narratives systematically understate the political uses of the institution or process under study. It also expects that comparative variation will be intelligible only when the relationship among

coalition incentives, bureaucratic capacity, and external engagement is placed at the centre of explanation ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

1. How has IGAD's security role crowded out its economic integration ambitions?
2. Which member-state political and economic interests shape IGAD's conflict management posture toward South Sudan and Somalia?
3. What conditions would allow IGAD's integration agenda to generate conflict-reducing interdependence rather than remain declaratory?

Analytical expectation 1 follows directly from the wording of the research design: How has IGAD's security role crowded out its economic integration ambitions? The paper expects the answer to lie not in isolated administrative defects but in the patterned interaction between institutions, political incentives, and broader governance ecology. Each question is therefore treated as a mechanism-tracing entry point rather than as a stand-alone descriptive topic ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

Analytical expectation 2 follows directly from the wording of the research design: Which member-state political and economic interests shape IGAD's conflict management posture toward South Sudan and Somalia? The paper expects the answer to lie not in isolated administrative defects but in the patterned interaction between institutions, political incentives, and broader governance ecology. Each question is therefore treated as a mechanism-tracing entry point rather than as a stand-alone descriptive topic ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

Analytical expectation 3 follows directly from the wording of the research design: What conditions would allow IGAD's integration agenda to generate conflict-reducing interdependence rather than remain declaratory? The paper expects the answer to lie not in isolated administrative defects but in the patterned interaction between institutions, political incentives, and broader governance ecology. Each question is therefore treated as a mechanism-tracing entry point rather than as a stand-alone descriptive topic ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

4. Methodological architecture

Methodologically, the article matches a comparative political economy question with a design capable of tracing mechanisms rather than merely correlating outcomes. The approach centres on institutional analysis of IGAD texts and budgets, comparison with other African regional organisations, trade-flow interpretation, and interviews with regional stakeholders. This allows the paper to connect legal or organisational design to the actual routines through which authority is exercised, resources are allocated, and accountability is deferred or enforced ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)).

The research design is intentionally plural in evidence type. Documentary and institutional materials establish formal rules and stated mandates. Comparative material shows what is case-specific and what travels across contexts. Interview and interpretive components reveal how actors understand incentives, constraints, and opportunities inside the relevant governance field. The combination is appropriate because the article is concerned with mechanisms that are simultaneously formal, political, and practical ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

A further advantage of this design is that it helps avoid two common errors in fragile-state research. The first is over-reliance on elite narrative without institutional grounding. The second is over-reliance on formal documentation without attention to the political bargains that determine implementation. By integrating these sources, the paper reconstructs the gap between authorised rules and lived practice as an object of analysis rather than treating it as background noise ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

The comparative component also matters substantively. It is not included merely to broaden the empirical canvas. Rather, it helps specify which mechanisms depend on particular historical trajectories and which belong to more general patterns of African governance, conflict management, and reform under conditions of uneven state capacity ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

This methodological architecture also speaks to validity. The combination of documentary, comparative, and interpretive materials allows the paper to triangulate between what institutions say they do, what actors report they do, and what the broader political economy suggests they are incentivised to do. That triangulation is especially important in fragile settings, where formal records and public narratives often conceal the most consequential

routines of allocation and control ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

A second methodological strength is temporal. By stretching the analysis across the contemporary era of regional security crises and integration planning, the article is able to identify continuity beneath apparent crisis and reform cycles. This makes it possible to distinguish temporary shocks from enduring institutional logics and to show how moments of reform are frequently absorbed back into older patterns of bargaining and selective enforcement ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

Table 2. Research design and evidence strategy

| Dimension | Specification | Analytical purpose |
|-----------------------------|--|--|
| Primary case | IGAD with comparative reference to the EAC | Keeps explanation grounded in a high-exposure case |
| Comparative leverage | IGAD with comparative reference to the EAC, SADC, and ECOWAS | Shows which mechanisms travel across African cases |
| Time frame | the contemporary era of regional security crises and integration planning | Captures historical continuity, crisis episodes, and reform claims |
| Evidence base | institutional analysis of IGAD texts and budgets, comparison with other African regional organisations, trade-flow interpretation, and interviews with regional stakeholders | Combines institutional, political, and comparative evidence |

5. Comparative political economy context

Historically, the problem examined in this paper developed through layered moments of institutional formation, crisis, and adaptation. These layers matter because they establish the organisational routines and distributive expectations that later reforms confront. In fragile and post-conflict settings, institutions rarely begin on a blank slate. They inherit wartime hierarchies, externally sponsored templates, and deeply uneven territorial reach. Those inheritances shape how new mandates are interpreted and how reform claims are filtered through existing coalitions ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)).

The comparative cases reinforce this point. Variation does not simply track more or less capacity. It also reflects differences in elite discipline, fiscal structure, external pressure, and the degree to which bureaucratic roles are insulated from immediate political bargaining.

That is why the article reads the selected cases not as a ranking exercise but as a way to isolate the conditions under which institutions take on developmental, coercive, or selectively distributive functions ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

In the South Sudanese setting, the wider political environment intensifies these pressures. Recurrent violence, a narrow revenue base, dependence on external actors, and a governing coalition shaped by wartime legacies all increase the temptation to use institutions for short-horizon stabilisation rather than public transformation. Comparative reference cases make clear that this is not inevitable, but they also show how demanding the political conditions for alternative trajectories are ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

The contextual analysis therefore does more than provide background. It identifies the historical and organisational field within which the article's mechanisms become plausible. Without this context, reform debates risk mistaking symptoms for causes and treating repeated failure as merely technical rather than politically structured ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

Table 3. Illustrative comparative profile used in the visual analysis

| Case or arena | Security salience | Integration depth | Implementation capacity |
|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| IGAD | 5 | 2 | 2 |
| EAC | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| ECOWAS | 4 | 3 | 3 |

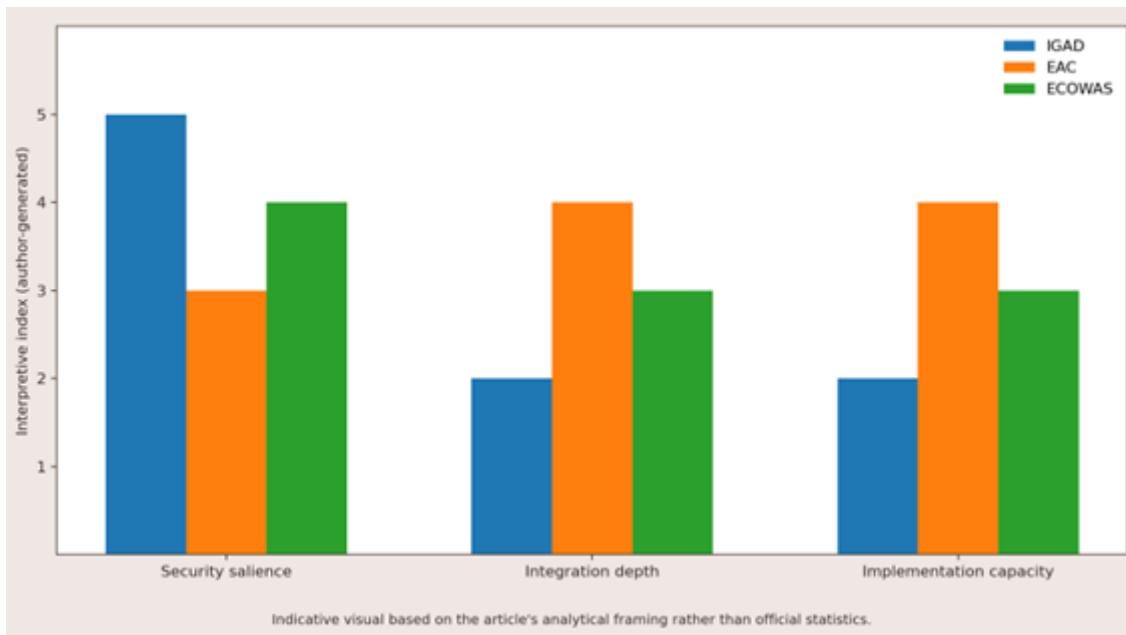


Figure 2. Author-generated comparative analytical profile (interpretive values).

The comparative profile for IGAD is deliberately interpretive rather than statistical. Its purpose is to visualise how the paper weights the interaction among security salience, integration depth, and implementation capacity. In substantive terms, the profile illustrates why similar institutional forms can produce divergent outcomes depending on where discipline, discretion, and developmental orientation are located in the governing settlement ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)).

The comparative profile for EAC is deliberately interpretive rather than statistical. Its purpose is to visualise how the paper weights the interaction among security salience, integration depth, and implementation capacity. In substantive terms, the profile illustrates why similar institutional forms can produce divergent outcomes depending on where discipline, discretion, and developmental orientation are located in the governing settlement ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)).

The comparative profile for ECOWAS is deliberately interpretive rather than statistical. Its purpose is to visualise how the paper weights the interaction among security salience, integration depth, and implementation capacity. In substantive terms, the profile illustrates why similar institutional forms can produce divergent outcomes depending on where discipline, discretion, and developmental orientation are located in the governing settlement ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)).

6. Core analysis: mechanisms and institutional effects

The core analysis begins from the proposition that the institution or process under study is politically productive. It does not merely fail to deliver an official mandate. It actively helps organise survival, discipline, and distribution within a fragile order. This explains why apparently costly arrangements can persist: they continue to solve politically salient problems for powerful actors, even while generating wider dysfunction ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)).

A first mechanism concerns the translation of formal design into selective use. Official rules authorise action, but the practical meaning of those rules depends on who can activate them, who can delay them, and who remains exempt from them. In this sense, institutional form is not a shell around politics. It is one of the mediums through which politics is made durable and defensible ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

A second mechanism concerns resource allocation. Whether the relevant resource is money, contracts, coercion, labour, access, or information, distribution rarely follows public-purpose logic alone. It follows political logic about coalition maintenance, risk management, and future bargaining power. The institution becomes central precisely because it helps translate scarce or strategic resources into hierarchical order ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)).

Table 4. Principal mechanisms identified in the analysis

| Mechanism | Observable expression | Political effect |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| Mandate crowding | Mediation, peace support, and crisis diplomacy dominate agenda time and resources | Economic integration remains weakly institutionalised and politically secondary |
| Member-state asymmetry | Stronger states shape both mediation and integration priorities | Regional rules reflect strategic competition as much as shared development goals |
| Implementation deficit | Trade and infrastructure commitments outpace enforcement capacity | Integration stays declaratory and fails to generate dependable interdependence |
| Security legitimisation | Conflict urgency provides repeated justification for postponing market reforms | Regional governance becomes crisis-oriented rather than developmental |

The mechanism labelled mandate crowding is central to the article's explanation because it shows how political order is reproduced in the medium term. Its observable expression—mediation, peace support, and crisis diplomacy dominate agenda time and resources—should not be read as a surface symptom alone. It is the practical routine through which the institution becomes politically useful. The broader effect is that economic integration remains weakly institutionalised and politically secondary, thereby turning formal governance into an instrument of selective order rather than a neutral public framework ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

The mechanism labelled member-state asymmetry is central to the article's explanation because it shows how political order is reproduced in the medium term. Its observable expression—stronger states shape both mediation and integration priorities—should not be read as a surface symptom alone. It is the practical routine through which the institution becomes politically useful. The broader effect is that regional rules reflect strategic competition as much as shared development goals, thereby turning formal governance into an instrument of selective order rather than a neutral public framework ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

The mechanism labelled implementation deficit is central to the article's explanation because it shows how political order is reproduced in the medium term. Its observable expression—trade and infrastructure commitments outpace enforcement capacity—should not be read as a surface symptom alone. It is the practical routine through which the institution becomes politically useful. The broader effect is that integration stays declaratory and fails to generate dependable interdependence, thereby turning formal governance into an instrument of selective order rather than a neutral public framework ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

The mechanism labelled security legitimation is central to the article's explanation because it shows how political order is reproduced in the medium term. Its observable expression—conflict urgency provides repeated justification for postponing market reforms—should not be read as a surface symptom alone. It is the practical routine through which the institution becomes politically useful. The broader effect is that regional governance becomes crisis-oriented rather than developmental, thereby turning formal governance into an instrument of selective order rather than a neutral public framework ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

A third mechanism concerns legitimacy. Institutions can stabilise authority not only by delivering services or rules but also by signalling that order exists, that decisions have authorised channels, and that some actors are positioned to mediate crisis. Yet this same signalling function can coexist with exclusion, opacity, and abuse. The article therefore treats legitimacy as relational and uneven rather than as a simple outcome of good design ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

Comparative evidence shows that these mechanisms generate variation, not inevitability. Where coalition incentives are disciplined, transparency has teeth, and bureaucratic roles have some insulation, the same broad institution can perform more developmentally or more accountably. Where those conditions are absent, formal reform may still occur, but it is often reabsorbed into the equilibrium it was meant to transform ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

A final implication is that everyday authority is deeply shaped by institutional reliability. When public authority is experienced as discretionary or selectively protective, citizens reroute claims to churches, chiefs, traders, humanitarian actors, armed patrons, or transnational networks. This does not necessarily produce immediate collapse. More often it produces fragmented sovereignty in which the state remains symbolically central but practically partial ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

7. Governance trajectories and reform pathways

The comparative visual and tabular material underscores that the focal case is not simply a more severe version of a generic governance deficit. It is a case in which security-crowded regional integration becomes politically rational within a fragile settlement, even as it weakens developmental and accountability outcomes over time. Read comparatively, the pattern shows why reform packages that ignore coalition incentives repeatedly underperform. The issue is less the absence of institutional templates than the durable political uses to which existing institutions are put ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

Policy implications follow directly from the analysis. Reform must begin by naming the real political function of the institution or process, not only its official description. Unless practitioners recognise the use-value embedded in the current arrangement, they will continue to prescribe training, coordination, or legal amendments to actors whose interests are aligned

against substantive change ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

Second, reform coalitions must be built across levels. Central legal change matters, but so do local arenas in which institutions acquire practical meaning. Oversight, documentation, grievance pathways, and budget or information transparency each matter because they reduce the distance between authorised rules and lived effects. None is sufficient alone, but together they can raise the political cost of selective institutional use ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

Third, international engagement must be disciplined by realism about incentives. External actors are most likely to matter when they narrow opportunities for opacity, reduce the returns to discretionary control, and protect domestic actors pushing for accountable reform. This is slower and less theatrical than standard programming, but it is better aligned with the actual structure of the problem identified in this paper ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

For igad secretariat, the problem can be summarised as economic and security files are weakly balanced. The article therefore treats the proposed shift—create protected financing streams for integration implementation—not as a technical add-on but as an intervention into the incentive structure that currently protects the status quo. Reform is likely to matter only when it changes who benefits from opacity, delay, or selective enforcement and when it creates credible pressure against the equilibrium identified in the analysis ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

For member states, the problem can be summarised as regional commitments are filtered through national rivalry. The article therefore treats the proposed shift—anchor integration projects in reciprocal, monitorable gains—not as a technical add-on but as an intervention into the incentive structure that currently protects the status quo. Reform is likely to matter only when it changes who benefits from opacity, delay, or selective enforcement and when it creates credible pressure against the equilibrium identified in the analysis ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

For private sector forums, the problem can be summarised as regional business voices remain secondary. The article therefore treats the proposed shift—institutionalise structured consultation in corridor and trade agendas—not as a technical add-on but as an intervention into the incentive structure that currently protects the status quo. Reform is likely to matter

only when it changes who benefits from opacity, delay, or selective enforcement and when it creates credible pressure against the equilibrium identified in the analysis ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

For development partners, the problem can be summarised as support often reproduces the security bias. The article therefore treats the proposed shift—fund cross-border market infrastructure tied to accountability benchmarks—not as a technical add-on but as an intervention into the incentive structure that currently protects the status quo. Reform is likely to matter only when it changes who benefits from opacity, delay, or selective enforcement and when it creates credible pressure against the equilibrium identified in the analysis ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

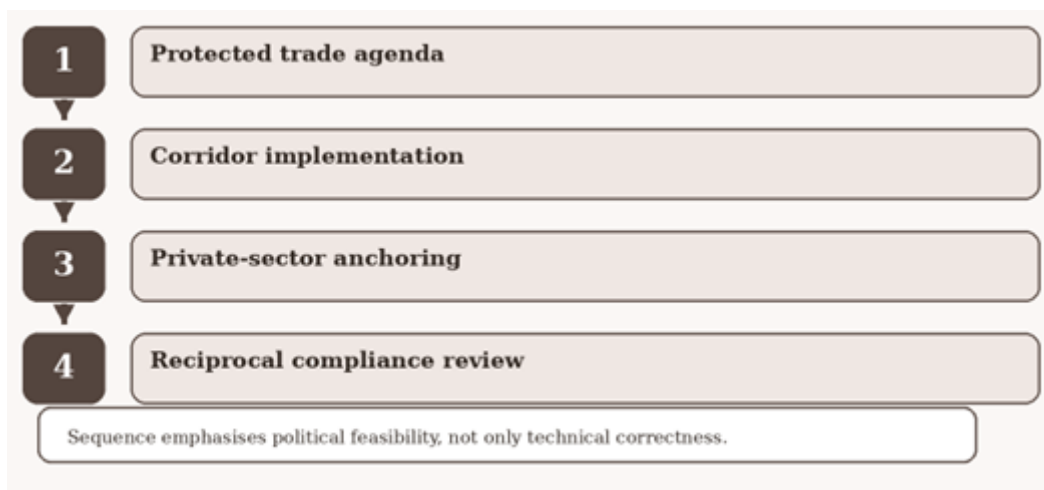


Figure 3. Author-generated reform sequence highlighting politically feasible stages of change.

Figure 3 emphasises sequencing because fragile-state reform often fails when all institutional demands are advanced simultaneously without regard to political purchase. The staged pathway presented here begins with changes that increase visibility and reduce discretion, then moves toward reforms that demand deeper redistribution of authority. This sequence is analytically important because it recognises that politically feasible reform is usually incremental even when the underlying problem is structural ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

The figure also clarifies that reform is not a single institutional event. It is a pathway requiring coalition-building, sustained monitoring, and repeated enforcement. In the absence of those elements, even well-designed reforms risk becoming new symbols within the same

equilibrium. The article therefore treats sequencing not as technocratic moderation but as a strategy for making accountability cumulative rather than episodic ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

Table 5. Reform and policy implications

| Actor | Current constraint | Proposed shift |
|------------------------------|--|---|
| IGAD Secretariat | Economic and security files are weakly balanced | Create protected financing streams for integration implementation |
| Member states | Regional commitments are filtered through national rivalry | Anchor integration projects in reciprocal, monitorable gains |
| Private sector forums | Regional business voices remain secondary | Institutionalise structured consultation in corridor and trade agendas |
| Development partners | Support often reproduces the security bias | Fund cross-border market infrastructure tied to accountability benchmarks |

8. Limits, risks, and future research

No single article can exhaust the political complexity of the structural tension between conflict management and economic integration within IGAD and its implications for the political economy of the Horn of Africa. One limitation is that the most consequential practices are often the least transparent, particularly where elites have incentives to obscure financial, coercive, or contractual routines. This makes indirect evidence and comparative reconstruction essential, but it also means that future work should continue to expand documentary access, archival depth, and securely collected interview material ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)).

A second limitation concerns reform translation. Even when the paper identifies institutionally plausible shifts, implementation will depend on the broader political moment and on the balance of actors able to defend or resist change. Future research should therefore examine not only what reform design looks like on paper but how domestic coalitions, regional actors, and international partners can converge or clash around enforcement over

time ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Farah Hersi & Akinola, 2024\)](#); [\(Evenett et al., 2024\)](#)).

The article also opens several substantive research agendas. Comparative work could test the portability of security-crowded regional integration beyond the current cases, while more fine-grained fieldwork could examine how communities experience the institution or process in everyday life. These directions matter because the politics of formal design is always mediated by local interpretation, social expectation, and the uneven geography of state reach ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

9. Conclusion

This article has argued that security-crowded regional integration provides a better account of the structural tension between conflict management and economic integration within IGAD and its implications for the political economy of the Horn of Africa than approaches that isolate policy, law, or crisis from the political settlements in which they operate. By reconstructing institutional design, operational practice, and reform environments, the paper shows how fragile orders reproduce themselves through institutions that are simultaneously public in form and selective in function ([\(Solem, 1959\)](#); [\(Meyer et al., 1962\)](#)) ([\(Bach, 2018\)](#); [\(Sakaeda, 2009\)](#)).

For scholarship, the argument opens a path toward more integrated analysis of African politics, security, political economy, and institutional design. For policy, it suggests that durable reform requires more than improved templates; it requires interventions that reach the sites where coercion, resources, and legitimacy are actually stitched together. That is why the cases examined here matter beyond themselves: they reveal in compressed form how post-conflict institutions become the medium through which order is stabilised, contested, and potentially transformed ([\(Krugell, 2005\)](#); [\(Shaw, 2004\)](#)) ([\(Stremlau & Osman, 2015\)](#); [\(Khadiagala, 2020\)](#)).

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