“The Security-Development Nexus in Ireland’s Foreign Policy: Challenges and Opportunities”

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Abstract

This article examines how Ireland has engaged with international trends of increasing cooperation between security and development policies. It draws on an analysis of Ireland’s key development and defence policy documents over a ten year period. This article argues that although Ireland mirrors other bilateral donors on some issues, such as a focus on fragile states, its engagement with the merging of security and development policies is minimal. However, Ireland’s defence forces have a strong tradition of civil-military cooperation through its participation in numerous UN peacekeeping missions and its development agency Irish Aid has a reputation internationally for poverty focused policy. As a neutral country with no expansive military ambitions, Ireland is well placed to establish a coherent policy position on the coordination of security and development policies prioritising the human security of those in fragile and conflict affected states.

Introduction

For the past number of years a key goal of Ireland's foreign policy has been to obtain the non-permanent seat at the UN Security Council for the period 2021-2022. The report of the Oireachtas Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade and Defence recommends that should Ireland succeed in this 'there should be an increased focus on peacebuilding within the Irish Aid programme' and that it should 'advocate for stronger and improved work on peacebuilding.'[1] Central to this type of policy action is the coordination of security and development policies. These attempts to coordinate security and development policies and actors - also referred to as the 'security-development nexus' - have become a key factor in international development over the past two decades. The drive for this policy change came about as a response to the security and conflict environment of the 1990s and the prevalence of civil conflict in some of the world's poorest countries.[2] The harnessing of the combined expertise of security, development and diplomatic actors was viewed by multilateral institutions as the best way to tackle these seemingly intractable complex conflict and humanitarian crises.[3] There is disagreement in the academic literature as to whether this relationship is a common sense approach to tackling shared problems or whether it has resulted in the subordination of core development goals for security concerns.[4] As the coordination of

[1] Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade and Defence, Review of the Irish Aid Programme. (Dublin: Houses of the Oireachtas, 2018) P.21

[2] Spear, Joanna and Paul D. Williams "Conceptualising the security-development nexus: An overview of the debate" IN Spear, Joanna and Paul D. Williams (eds) *Security and development in global politics: A critical comparison* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2012) P.13

[3] O'Gorman, Eleanor *Conflict and development* (London: Zed Books, 2011) Pp.4-5. Spear, Joanna and Paul D. Williams "Conceptualising the security-development nexus: An overview of the debate" IN Spear, Joanna and Paul D. Williams (eds) *Security and development in global politics: A critical comparison* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2012) P.13

[4] Abrahamsen, Rita "A breeding ground for terrorists? Africa and Britain's 'War on Terrorism'". *Review of African Political Economy*, 31(102): 677-684.(2004). Duffield, Mark "Getting savages to fight barbarians: Development, security and the colonial present". *Conflict, Security and Development* 5(2): 141-159 (2005). Picciotto, Robert "Conflict prevention and development co-operation in Africa: An introduction". *Conflict, Security and Development*, 10(1): 1-25 (2010). Stewart, Frances (2013) Development and security, *IN* Robert

security and development will be a key component of any policy on peacebuilding it is important to reflect on how Ireland has engaged with this in its policy and to assess the challenges and opportunities it would face in setting a peacebuilding agenda.

This article examines how Ireland has engaged with the international trends of increasing cooperation between security and development through an analysis of Ireland's key development and defence policy documents over a ten year period. Drawing on a content analysis and discourse analysis of these documents this article investigates how Irish Aid speaks about security in development policy and how the Irish Department of Defence speaks about development in defence policy. This allows an exploration of how security is defined in development policy, who is the referent object of security and how development issues are understood from a security perspective. The first section examines the literature on the security-development nexus and on Ireland's development policy. The second section discusses patterns of word use in Ireland's development and defence policy drawing on an original content analysis framework. The third section looks at how security and development are framed in Ireland's development and defence policy discourse. The final section discusses the challenges and opportunities Ireland will face in attempting to set a peacebuilding agenda.

Picciotto, Roberto and Rachel Weaving, (eds) *Security and development: Investing in peace and prosperity*. (London: Routledge, 2013).

The emergence of the security-development nexus

The post-Cold War international security context of the 1990s saw a prevalence of civil conflict in some of the world's poorest countries.[5] These complex environments meant that development actors frequently had to operate in conflict contexts and military actors intervening in conflicts had to operate in development and humanitarian situations. The interconnectedness of security and development was apparent in these contexts and gave rise to call for greater coordination between development, security and diplomatic actors to tackle these conflicts.[6] The UN was at the forefront of this move given the increasing number of peacekeeping missions that were deployed during the 1990s.[7] The interconnectedness between these issues gave rise to the mantra "no development without security, no security without development" oft repeated in policy discourse. The dynamic shifted again following the events of 9/11 and the resulting War on Terror. The connections between chronic development problems, state failure and terrorism became policy priorities for a number of states in particular the US.[8] As a result there was more money made available for development aid, but also the expectation that it could address security problems.[9] There was direct coordination between military and development actors during the invasions and subsequent lengthy military

[5] Abrahamsen, Rita *Disciplining Democracy*. (London: Zed Books, 2000) P. i; Howell, Jude and Jeremy Lind "Changing donor policy and practice in civil society in the post-9/11 context". *Third World Quarterly*, 30(7) (2009): 1279-1296.P. 285

[6] Spear, Joanna and Paul D. Williams Conceptualising the security-development relationship: An overview of the debate. In. Joanna Spear and Paul D. Williams (eds.) *Security and development in global politics: A critical comparison,*. (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press 2012) Pp. 7-36

[7] UNDP "Human Development Report".(New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); .Hurwitz, Agnes, and Gordon Peake. *Strengthening the Security-Development Nexus: Assessing International Policy and Practice Since the 1990s.* (New York: International Peace Academy. 2004); Kaldor, Mary. *Human Security.* (London: John Wiley & Sons. 2013)

[8] O'Gorman, Eleanor *Conflict and development* (London: Zed Books, 2011) Pp.18-19

[9] Hettne, Björn "Development and security: Origins and future". *Security Dialogue*, 41(1): 31-52 (2010). P.45.

involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq through the Provincial Reconstruction Teams. The idea that development is not just important for the security of developing states but also for the national security of Western donor states has become integral to the development policy of many donors.[10]

There is a debate in the literature over the balance of power in this relationship between security and development and its potential to benefit the poorest and most vulnerable. Scholars such as Picciotto and Stewart argue that the coordination of security and development can lead to a mutually reinforcing relationship of greater development and greater security. On the other side of the debate authors such as Duffield and Abrahamsen argue that the merging of security and development has resulted in the prioritisation of conventional military aims and the side-lining of core development goals.[11] The literature on this subject largely deals with broad policy at a collective level rather than distinguishing between donors. While this research area is growing with some detailed examination of the cases of the UK, the US, France, Japan, Canada, there is relatively little work done on the examples of middle-power, politically neutral states. From this perspective the case of Ireland is an interesting one and can shed light on engagement with the security-development nexus outside of large donor states.

Overall there has very little research on Ireland's development policy and the literature in this area represents a small body of work. A comprehensive account on the origins and evolution

[10] Beall, Jo, Thomas Goodfellow, and James Putzel (2006) Policy Arena. Introductory article on the discourse of terrorism, security and development. *Journal of International Development,* 18(1): 51-67; Brown, Stephen and Jörn Grävingholt (2016) *The securitization of foreign aid*. London: Palgrave; McConnon, Eamonn (2018) *Risk and the security-development nexus: The policy of the US, the UK and Canada.* London: Palgrave Macmillan (forthcoming).

[11] Duffield, Mark (2014) *Global Governance and the New Wars: the Merging of Development and Security.* (2nd Edition) London: Zed Books.

of Ireland's development policy is provided by Eileen Connolly[12]. Detailed annual breakdowns of Ireland's development spending have been provided annually by Helen O'Neill for over 20 years. The latest published in 2018 analyses Ireland's development budget for the year 2017.[13] The close relationship between Ireland's development programme and Irish development NGOs is explored by Casey and O'Neill[14] and Connolly and Sicard provide an insightful comparative analysis of Ireland and the UK's framing of Africa in UK and Irish development policy discourse.[15] However, there have been no studies to date on the merging of security and development in Ireland's foreign policy. This article addresses this through a study of Ireland's development and defence documents over a 10 year period. The documents chosen for this sample are shown in Table 1. For Irish Aid they include annual reports from 2008-2017 and the major policy statement *One world, one future* from 2013. For the Department of Defence they include all annual reports from 2008-2017, strategy statements from 2011 and 2016, and the *White Paper on Defence* from 2015.

Table 1: List of documents

Agency	Year	Document Title
DFATD	2009	Irish Aid annual report 2008
DFATD	2010	Irish Aid annual report 2009
DFATD	2011	Irish Aid annual report 2010
DFATD	2012	Irish Aid annual report 2011
DFATD	2013	One world, one future: Ireland's policy for international development
DFATD	2014	Irish Aid annual report 2013
DFATD	2015	Irish Aid annual report 2014
DFATD	2016	Irish Aid annual report 2015

[12] Connolly, Eileen The evolution and ambition of Ireland's development aid policy. IN Ben Tonra, Michael Kennedy, John Doyle and Noel Dorr Irish Foreign Policy (Dublin 2012)
[13] O'Neill, Helen "Ireland's foreign aid in 2016" Irish studies in international affairs, 28 (2017): 225-257.
[14] Casey, Éamonn and Helen O'Neill (2014) Irish development NGO's and the official aid programme of Ireland: A 'special relationship'?. IN *Private Development Aid in Europe,* pp. 108-172.(Palgrave Macmillan: London, 2014).
[15] Connolly, Eileen, and Aurelie Sicard. "Responding to China—Changing donor discourse and perspectives on Africa?." *Irish Studies in International Affairs* (2012): 111-124.

DFATD	2017	Irish Aid annual report 2016
DoD	2009	Department of defence and defence forces annual report 2008
DoD	2010	Department of defence and defence forces annual report 2009
DoD	2011	Department of defence and defence forces strategy statement 2011-2014
DoD	2012	Department of defence and defence forces annual report 2011
DoD	2013	Department of defence and defence forces annual report 2012
DoD	2014	Department of defence and defence forces annual report 2013
DoD	2015	Department of defence and defence forces annual report 2014
DoD	2015	White paper on defence
DoD	2016	Department of defence and defence forces annual report 2015
DoD	2016	Department of defence and defence forces strategy statement 2016-2019
DoD	2017	Department of defence and defence forces annual report 2016

Content analysis: Patterns of word use in Irish development and defence policy

This content analysis draws on an original framework of key words and phrases devised for the book *Risk and the security-development nexus.*[16] It identifies three key schools of thought on development from the past three decades – the Washington consensus, the post-Washington consensus and the security-development nexus. The key words chosen for this framework are shown in Table 2 below. The terms chosen for the Washington Consensus try to capture its focus on privatisation of state industries, free markets and an emphasis on the economic side of development. The terms selected for the post-Washington Consensus encompass the ideas of a broader definition of development to include issues such as inequality and human rights and a focus on civil society actors as agents of development. The security-development terms

[16] McConnon, Eamonn *Risk and the security-development nexus: The policy of the US, the UK and Canada.* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) (forthcoming).

reflect the concern with state failure, conflict and terrorism and development problems. This content analysis focuses on words actively used in context in the text to avoid a falsely inflated count of certain words. As a result words used in titles and in bibliographies are not included in the count, for example the word 'equality' is not counted when used to refer to the 'Department of Justice and Equality'. As these documents are of varying length in order to compare across documents and agencies a percentage value is calculated for each term derived from the total count for how often all words in this sample are used in a document. For example, if a sample of 10 words were used once each in a document they would each have a value of 10%.

Table 2: Key words and development frames for content analysis*

Phases in development thinking	Terms	Synonyms
Washington Consensus	Liberalization	liberalize, liberalization
	Deregulation	deregulation; deregulate; negative references to 'regulation'
	Privatization	privatize; privatizations
	Private Sector	Private sector
	Market	markets; market
	Basic Needs	basic needs; basic human needs
Post-Washington Consensus	Poverty	poverty; poor
	Institutions	institutions; institution; institutionalise; institutionalisation
	Governance	governance; governing; government
	Inequality	equality; inequality; equal; unequal
	Human rights	human right; human rights
	Civil Society	civil society
Security-Development Nexus	Security	secure ;security
	Human security	human security
	Conflict	conflict; conflicts; post-conflict; pre-conflict; war; strife
	Terrorism	terror; terrorism; terrorist; terrorists; anti-terrorism; counter-terrorism
	Failed States	failed states; fragile states; failing states; state failure; state fragility
	Stability	stability; instability
	Radicalism	radical; radicalisation; radicalism; extremist; extremism

***Source: Taken from McConnon, Eamonn *Risk and the security-development nexus: The policy of the US, the UK and Canada.* (2019)**

The purpose of this content analysis is to examine the significance of the emergence of security in development policy in comparison with other major trends in development thinking over the past number of decades. This allows a comparison between the three trends at two levels: both within documents and across time. In this way the content analysis investigates whether Ireland's development policy has shifted over time. These three ways of thinking about development have been prevalent in academic literature on development and also in donor policy for the past three decades. This section firstly looks at Irish Department of Defence policy documents and secondly it looks at Irish Aid policy documents in relation to these three frames for the period 2008-2018. This allows a broad exploration of how and in what way defence policy engages with development issues and how development policy engages with security issues.

A lack of reference to development terms in defence policy

The policy documents of the Irish Department of Defence do not engage significantly with either of the Washington consensus or post-Washington consensus development frames as Figure 2 shows. The security-development frame dominates each document in this sample, with a low of 68% for the Strategy Statement 2016-2019 and a high of 89% for the 2015 White Paper, as Table 3 shows. The word 'poverty' is only used in two of the twelve documents in this sample. However, a closer examination of this word count reveals two patterns. First, the term associated with development used the most is 'equality/inequality' and in these documents this refers mostly to the issue of equality within the defence forces rather than global inequality. Second, the word "security" dominates in these documents, which is understandable for

documents concerned with national defence. However, the term 'human security' indicating a broader more development focused understanding of the concept of security is not used in these documents. Furthermore, terms associated with the dominant global security concerns of terrorism and violent extremism are used sparingly in these documents. The term 'terrorism' is only used in five of the twelve documents in this sample and the term 'radicalism' is used in only two of the twelve documents and when used it is with low frequency. This stands in contrast to the defence and security policy of other states such as the US, the UK and Canada where terrorism and violent extremism is highlighted as a national and a global security threat.[17] In these cases almost all national security issues are framed in terms of terrorism and violent religious extremism.

[17] Spear, Joanna "The militarization of United States foreign aid". *IN* Stephen Brown and Jörn Grävingholt (Eds.) *The securitization of foreign aid*. (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016)
McConnon, Eamonn *Risk and the security-development nexus: The policy of the US, the UK and Canada.* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) (forthcoming).

Figure 1: Content analysis results for Irish Aid documents

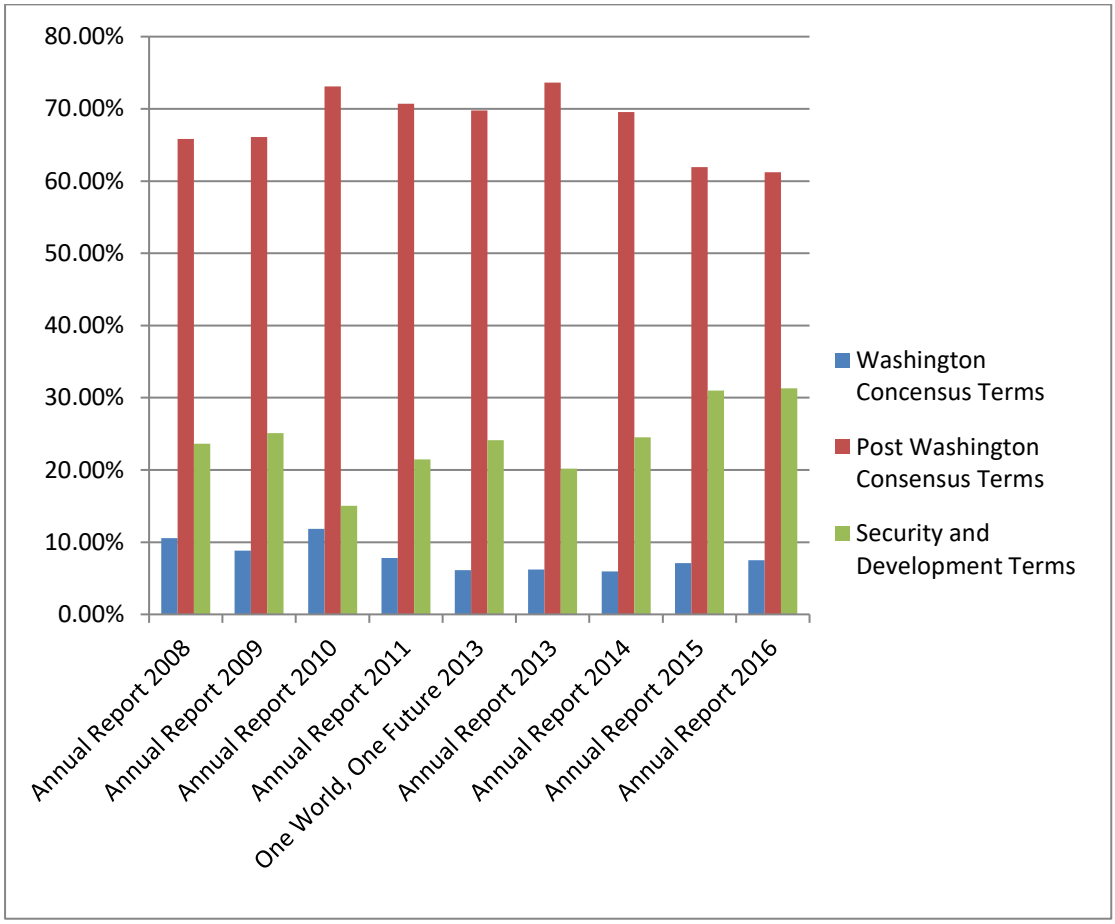

Figure 2: Content analysis results for Department of Defence documents

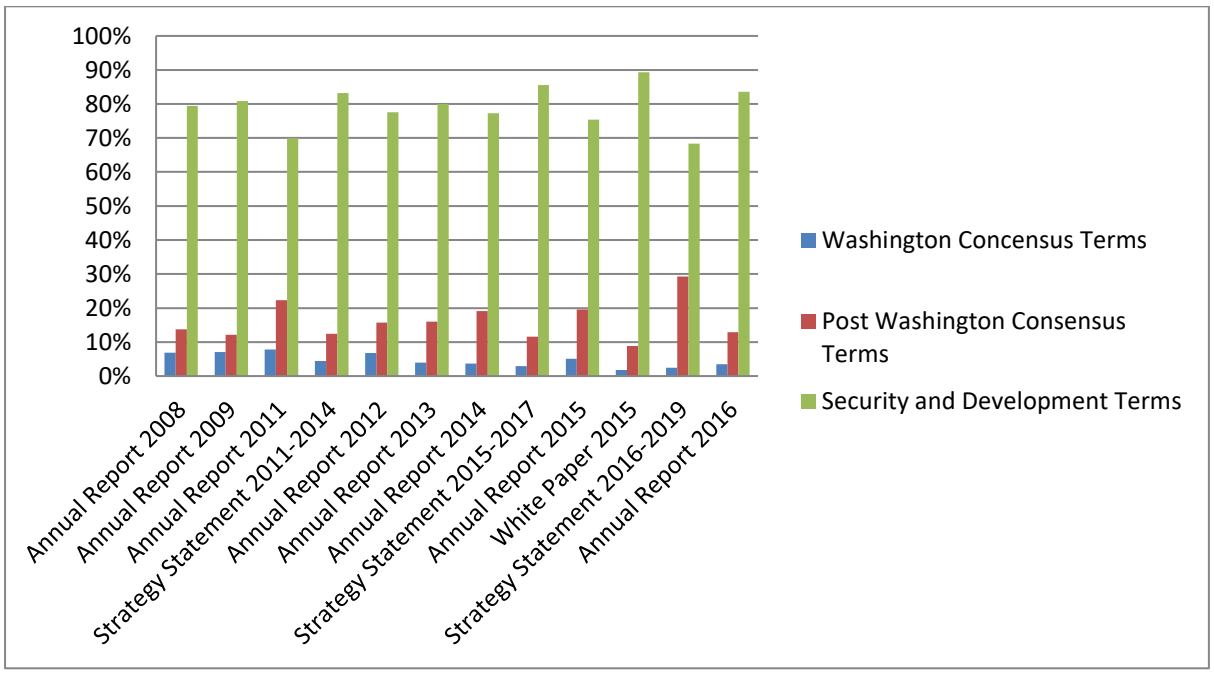

Table 3: Content analysis results for Irish Aid Documents

	Annual Report 2008	*Annual Report 2009*	*Annual Report 2010*	*Annual Report 2011*	*One World, One Future 2013*	*Annual Report 2013*	*Annual Report 2014*	*Annual Report 2015*	*Annual Report 2016*
Liberalisation	0.00%	0.44%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Deregulation	0.50%	0.00%	0.54%	0.49%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.68%
Privatization	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Private Sector	4.52%	3.96%	5.38%	3.41%	3.24%	1.55%	1.99%	2.65%	1.36%
Market	5.53%	3.96%	5.38%	2.44%	2.88%	4.65%	3.97%	3.54%	4.76%
Basic Needs	0.00%	0.44%	0.54%	1.46%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.88%	0.68%
	10.55 %	**8.81%**	**11.83 %**	**7.80%**	**6.12%**	**6.20%**	**5.96%**	**7.08%**	**7.48%**
Poverty	26.13%	26.43%	29.03%	27.32%	21.58%	21.71%	23.84%	22.12%	13.61%
Institutions	9.05%	9.69%	5.91%	8.78%	7.19%	8.53%	5.96%	4.42%	2.72%
Governance	8.54%	10.57%	11.29%	12.20%	5.04%	12.40%	7.28%	5.31%	3.40%
Inequality	2.51%	11.01%	9.68%	12.20%	15.47%	6.98%	10.60%	7.96%	14.29%
Human rights	7.54%	3.96%	3.76%	7.80%	17.27%	14.73%	13.25%	8.85%	9.52%
Civil Society	12.06%	4.41%	13.44%	2.44%	3.24%	9.30%	8.61%	13.27%	17.69%
	65.83 %	**66.08 %**	**73.12 %**	**70.73 %**	**69.78%**	**73.64%**	**69.54 %**	**61.95 %**	**61.22%**
Security	9.05%	14.98%	8.60%	11.71%	6.12%	6.98%	9.93%	7.96%	9.52%

Human Security	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Conflict	12.06%	7.49%	4.84%	8.29%	6.12%	9.30%	5.96%	22.12%	20.41%
Terrorism	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Failed States	0.50%	1.32%	0.00%	0.98%	7.91%	3.10%	5.96%	0.00%	0.00%
Stability	2.01%	1.32%	1.61%	0.49%	3.96%	0.78%	2.65%	0.88%	1.36%
Radicalism	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
	23.62 %	**25.11 %**	**15.05 %**	**21.46 %**	**24.10%**	**20.16%**	**24.50 %**	**30.97 %**	**31.29%**

The first pattern to note is Irish Aid's high engagement with terms associated with the post-Washington consensus and low engagement with Washington Consensus terms. As Table 3 shows, Washington Consensus terms are used a maximum of 11% of times in the Annual Report 2010 and only between 6% and 7% from 2012 to 2017. This is consistent with a broader international shift in policy away from the Washington Consensus policy focuses on privatisation of public services, cuts to government etc. and a move towards poverty focused development policy.[18] As Table 3 also shows, post-Washington Consensus terms are used more than the other two frames across all documents with a high of 73% in 2011 and a low of 61% in 2017. This pattern suggests a development focus on poverty and a broader understanding of development to include societal issues such as equality, health and education. It is also congruent with the findings of the OECD-DAC peer review of Irish Aid[19] which noted that 'a strength of Ireland's development co-operation is the way in which development priorities are grounded in the needs of partner countries' and 'This policy as well as sector strategies help ensure that Irish aid targets poor people and gets to where it is most needed.' While security-development terms are used far less than post-Washington Consensus terms the highest scores on 31% are in the last two documents in the sample. A closer examination of these numbers shows that Irish Aid does not use terms associated with the War on Terror or conventional hard security concerns in significant numbers. For example, the words 'terrorism' and 'radicalism' are not used at all. This stands in contrast to a similar study on the development policy of the

[18] Stiglitz, Joseph "An agenda for development for the twenty-first century", *Ninth Annual Bank Conference on Development Economics.* Washington DC,: World Bank (1997); Sachs, Jeffrey "The IMF and the Asian Flu. *American Prospect,* 37 March-April: 16-31 (1998).

[19] OECD-DAC *OECD development co-operation peer review Ireland*. (Paris: OECD 2014): 15

UK which found significant use of these terms over the period on the late 1990s to present.[20] It is essential to understand how these terms are used. The next section examines the context in which they are used in Irish development and defence policy discourse.

Framing the security-development nexus in Ireland's policy discourse

As discussed above, Irish Aid policy does not engage significantly with security related terms but the way in which they are used is revealing of an approach to framing the overlap between security and development that differs from other donors. 'People see in our aid programme a positive effect for Ireland, contributing as it does to stability and security, enhancing our reputation, and deepening our social and economic ties elsewhere'.[21] While this quote connecting Ireland's development policy with global security problems echoes similar sentiments from other donors used to justify connections between development spending and security outcomes, a closer examination shows that Irish national security is not used as a justification for development spending.

What 'security' means in Irish Aid's development discourse

[20] Abrahamsen, Rita (2005) Blair's Africa: The Politics of Securitization and Fear. *Alternatives* 30(1): 55-80. McConnon, Eamonn. "Security for All, Development for Some? The Incorporation of Security in UK's Development Policy." *Journal of International Development* 26.8 (2014): 1127-1148; McConnon, Eamonn *Risk and the security-development nexus: The policy of the US, the UK and Canada.* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) (forthcoming).
[21] Irish Aid *One World, One Future* (Dublin, 2013) P.7

When security is referenced in Irish Aid policy it is mostly about how Ireland's development policy can help to address conflict and to prevent future conflict through post-conflict rebuilding efforts. For example: 'The integration of Ireland's conflict resolution and development programmes is helping to build a stable and prosperous state in Timor Leste'[22] and 'The other elements of Ireland's programme in Liberia include support to the security sector and gender equality'.[23] In this understanding of the connections between security, conflict and development the referent objects of security are the developing states of Timor Leste and Liberia emerging from conflict. In addition Irish Aid also refers to how conflict impacts on individuals 'War and conflict have massive humanitarian consequences. In addition to death and injury caused to many, violence forces people to flee their homes, destroys their livelihoods and damages vital infrastructure such as health facilities and schools'.[24] Here the problems arising from conflict are those that impact on the lives of ordinary citizens and their access to education, healthcare and employment. This focus on individuals is reiterated in the assertion that providing greater employment opportunities for young people and women is essential for preventing future conflict.[25]

Consistent with this security focus on individuals, when the term security is used it mostly refers to 'food security' a term which is removed from conventional military understanding of the concept of security. Again it suggests that the referent objects of security are populations who are living in conditions where access to food is uncertain. Taking this into account this discourse does not try to connect development problems in the Global South to the national security of Ireland. This may seem like an obvious position for a development agency to take,

[22] Irish Aid, *Annual Report 2009* (Dublin 2010) P.24
[23] Irish Aid, *Annual Report 2016* (Dublin 2017) P.24
[24] Irish Aid, *Annual Report 2016* (Dublin 2017) p.8
[25] Irish Aid, *Annual Report 2009* (Dublin 2010) P.24

but it stands in contrast to other donor states. For example, since 2010, the UK has brought its own national security into the core of its development policy to the extent that most development activities are justified through a claim to a national security benefit of some kind, no matter how far removed.[26] When the term security is used in reference to the well-being of individuals in the Global South it is also stressed that their security is connected to the national security of the UK. This is summed up by the title of DfID's latest major policy document from 2015 'UK aid: Tackling global challenges in the national interest'.

The absence of development in Ireland's defence policy

Within this framing of security and development Irish Aid does engage directly with security services. In particular the support for Liberia's police force is referenced repeatedly in these documents.[27] In addition, the good reputation of the Irish Defence Forces in peace keeping missions is referred to as an asset in Irish Aid engaging with security issues.[28] In contrast the policy discourse of the Irish Defence Forces does not engage with development issues to any significant degree. The connections between conflict and poverty are mentioned 'Climate change, which is considered an environmental risk, can lead to changes in resource distribution, poverty and disaffection. This in turn can provoke resource conflicts, crime or extremism'[29] but these connections are not elaborated upon further. In the strategy statements from 2011

[26] McConnon, Eamonn. "Security for All, Development for Some? The Incorporation of Security in UK's Development Policy." *Journal of International Development* 26.8 (2014): 1127-1148; McConnon, Eamonn (2018) *Risk and the security-development nexus: The policy of the US, the UK and Canada.* London: Palgrave Macmillan (forthcoming).
[27] Irish Aid (2009) *Annual Report 2008* (Dublin: DFAT): 32; Irish Aid (2011) *Annual Report 2010*. (Dublin: DFAT): 33. Irish Aid (2012) *Annual Report 2011* (Dublin: DFAT): 35. Irish Aid (2015) *Annual Report 2014* (Dublin: DFAT): 40.
[28] Irish Aid *One World, One Future* (Dublin, 2013) P.17
[29] Irish Department of Defence, *White paper on defence* (Dublin 2015) p.5

and 2015 it is stated that the defence forces 'will commit to integrating an international development perspective into the work of the Department (of Defence) and hence contribute to the Government's international development objective to reduce poverty, inequality and exclusion'.[30] However, there is no discussion of the practicalities of how a development perspective will be integrated into the department of defence and what changes this will require.

This absence of explicit discussion is significant as the civilian-military relationships that are required for this coordination between security and development actors is heavily nuanced and complicated.[31] Mark Hearns highlights the lack of a clear set of guidelines on civilian-military cooperation: 'Irish forces deployed abroad have relied on ad hoc procedures, informal contacts and cultural empathy to maintain such relationships'.[32] Understood from this perspective while the Irish military may have significant experience in working with civilian actors and performing development tasks through involvement in UN peacekeeping missions, these actions are not based on formal guidelines or structures.

[30] Irish Department of Defence, *Strategy statement 2011-2014* (Dublin 2011) p.19; Irish Department of Defence, *Strategy statement 2015-2017* (Dublin 2015) p.22

[31] Hearns, Mark "Comprehensive Planning for 21st Century Operations; the Military – NGO Relationship". *IN* Mark Hearns (Ed) *Defence forces review* (Dublin: Defence Forces Printing Press 2013: 181-186). Pp. 183-184.

[32] Hearns, Mark "Comprehensive Planning for 21st Century Operations; the Military – NGO Relationship". *IN* Mark Hearns (Ed) *Defence forces review* (Dublin: Defence Forces Printing Press 2013: 181-186). P. 183

Table 4: Content analysis results for Department of Defence documents

	Annual Report 2008	Annual Report 2009	Annual Report 2011	Strategy Statement 2011-2014	Annual Report 2012	Annual Report 2013	Annual Report 2014	Strategy Statement 2015-2017	Annual Report 2015	White Paper 2015	Strategy Statement 2016-2019	Annual Report 2016
Liberalisation	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Deregulation	3.92%	4.04%	4.85%	1.77%	3.37%	2.40%	1.82%	2.88%	2.90%	0.61%	0.00%	1.18%
Privatization	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Private Sector	1.96%	1.01%	0.00%	0.88%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.20%	2.44%	2.35%
Market	0.98%	2.02%	2.91%	1.77%	3.37%	1.60%	1.82%	0.00%	2.17%	1.01%	0.00%	0.00%
Basic Needs	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
	6.86%	**7.07%**	**7.77%**	**4.42%**	**6.74%**	**4.00%**	**3.64%**	**2.88%**	**5.07%**	**1.82%**	**2.44%**	**3.53%**
Poverty	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.77%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.96%	0.00%	0.81%	0.00%	0.00%
Institutions	0.98%	0.00%	0.97%	0.88%	0.00%	0.80%	3.64%	1.92%	3.62%	3.43%	0.00%	1.18%
Governance	1.96%	2.02%	1.94%	5.31%	3.37%	2.40%	2.73%	3.85%	0.72%	1.82%	4.88%	0.00%
Inequality	7.84%	7.07%	16.50 %	3.54%	11.24 %	11.20 %	10.00 %	2.88%	13.04 %	1.62%	14.63%	9.41%
Human rights	2.94%	3.03%	2.91%	0.88%	1.12%	1.60%	2.73%	1.92%	2.17%	0.81%	9.76%	2.35%
Civil Society	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.40%	0.00%	0.00%
	13.73 %	**12.12 %**	**22.33 %**	**12.39%**	**15.73 %**	**16.00 %**	**19.09 %**	**11.54%**	**19.57 %**	**8.89%**	**29.27%**	**12.94 %**

Security	73.53 %	73.74 %	63.11 %	63.72%	70.79 %	71.20 %	70.00 %	71.15%	67.39 %	64.44 %	68.29%	75.29 %
Human Security	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Conflict	3.92%	5.05%	5.83%	8.85%	6.74%	7.20%	6.36%	6.73%	5.07%	11.52 %	0.00%	2.35%
Terrorism	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	7.96%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.85%	1.45%	4.04%	0.00%	2.35%
Failed States	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.88%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.81%	0.00%	0.00%
Stability	1.96%	2.02%	0.97%	0.88%	0.00%	1.60%	0.91%	1.92%	1.45%	3.84%	0.00%	2.35%
Radicalism	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.92%	0.00%	3.64%	0.00%	0.00%
	79.41 %	**80.81 %**	**69.90 %**	**83.19%**	**77.53 %**	**80.00 %**	**77.27 %**	**85.58%**	**75.36 %**	**89.29 %**	**68.29%**	**83.53 %**

A parallel security-development language?

As mentioned above Irish Aid policy does not refer to terrorism or extremism. However, Irish Aid discusses security problems and events referred to elsewhere through a terrorist framing using a different language. For example the attacks by Boko Haram in Nigeria and by Islamist militant groups in Uganda are referred to as 'insurgents' and not terrorists 'The Boko Haram insurgency, targeting civilian populations in the region, has destroyed vital infrastructure and is preventing access to essential services'.[33] In contrast to this the UK refers to Boko Haram as a terrorist group: 'The UK stands united with Nigeria in the international fight against terror'.[34] This avoidance of the term 'terrorism' may be due to Ireland's recent history with dissident Republican and Loyalist militant groups and a sensitivity in foreign policy circles to baggage associated with applying label 'terrorist'. However, it does mean that Ireland frames these acts of political violence in their local context and does not attempt to connect them to a global security agenda. Similarly the word 'protection' is used instead of 'security' in a graphic detailing Irish Aid's response to humanitarian crises. The result is described as follows '1,850 children (50% girls) in the Diffa region of Niger received community-based protection services'.[35] This reveals a parallel language to other donors which avoids language associated with conventional hard military understanding of security. It instead prioritises states in the global south and citizens who reside there rather than the more ambiguous term 'security' which can mean a number of different situations, actors and referents. This is consistent with Irish Aid's framing of 'security' throughout its policy discourse. Overall, while Irish Aid does engage with issues of security and conflict in its policy discourse there is little discussion in

[33] Irish Aid *Annual Report 2016* (Dublin 2017) p.13
[34] UK Government, "UK reiterates support to the fight against Boko Haram" (London, October 2017) https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-reiterates-support-to-the-fight-against-boko-haram
[35] Irish Aid *Annual Report 2016* (Dublin 2017) p.14

the discourse of the Department of Defence of how the defence forces incorporate development perspectives into its activities.

Challenges and opportunities for Ireland's foreign policy

If Ireland is successful in its bid to assume a non-permanent United Nations Security Council seat for the term 2021-2022 stakeholders have recommended that it prioritise peacebuilding within a peace and security agenda.[36] Specifically the report of Oireachtas Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade and Defence asserts that 'with the strong link between violent conflict and poverty, stakeholders noted there should be an increased focus on peacebuilding within the Irish Aid programme, in line with SDG (Sustainable Development Goal) 16 (Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions)'.[37] A key element of this is the coordination between security and development actors and the framing of security issues as development problems discussed in this article. Ireland has a strong reputation on the international stage for the poverty-focused policy of its development agency, its commitment to multilateralism and effective contribution to peace keeping missions of its defence forces.[38] If Ireland were to secure a non-permanent seat at the UN Security Council it would be well placed to building on this reputation and set an agenda on the merging of security and development as part of its broader peacebuilding agenda. But with this opportunity there are also pit-falls which must be navigated.

[36] Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade and Defence, *Review of the Irish Aid Programme*. (Dublin: Houses of the Oireachtas, 2018) p.21
[37] Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade and Defence, *Review of the Irish Aid Programme*. (Dublin: Houses of the Oireachtas, 2018) p.21
[38] European Commission, "Ireland is world leader in Development Policy: EU Commissioner Mimica" (18/10/2016) https://ec.europa.eu/ireland/news/ireland-is-world-leader-in-development-policy-eu-commissioner-mimica_en

As detailed above, when Irish Aid discusses conflict and security it is terms of how it impacts on states in the Global South and citizens living in those states. The national security of Ireland or the security of the EU is not mentioned. Furthermore, Irish Aid does not use language associated with the prevailing international security agenda of counter terrorism and violent religions extremism when it talks about security. This stands in contrast to other bilateral donors such as the US and the UK who have brought these security concerns into their development policy and reference their own national security as a priority for development spending[39]. In its submission to the Oireachtas Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade and Defence, Trócaire articulated this point as follows: 'There is a notable international trend towards the instrumentalisation and manipulation of development assistance funding away from poverty reduction needs in less developed countries towards the security, commercial and migration objectives of donor countries.'[40] While there is criticism of this trend in the academic literature and from civil society[41] there is an ambivalence towards it in some organisations. For example, the OECD-DAC 2016 peer review of US development policy noted the prioritisation of US national interests in development policy. However, the review highlighted this as a positive from the perspective that this self-interest may mean greater attention and budget for development problems 'In putting its own security interests at the centre of its international engagement, the US has been able to launch initiatives that address global risks.'[42] This permissive attitude towards the creep towards hard security in development policy and pragmatic framing of the national interest of donors is revealing and highlights the international

[39] McConnon, Eamonn *Risk and the security-development nexus: The policy of the US, the UK and Canada.* (London: Palgrave Macmillan (forthcoming). 2018)
[40] Trócaire, *Submission to the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Trade and Defence review of Irish Aid* (Dublin: October 2017). P.1
[41] Duffield, Mark (2014) *Global Governance and the New Wars: the Merging of Development and Security.* (2nd Edition) London: Zed Books.
[42] OECD-DAC *OECD Development Co-operation Peer Reviews: United States 2016*. (Paris: 2016) P.15

environment in which Ireland will have to navigate in setting an agenda on security and development aid.

If Ireland is to take a position on this at the UN level it must adhere to the core principles of its development and defence policy focusing on the poorest and most vulnerable. The whole of government approach is something consistently highlighted as something on which Ireland's development policy has to make more progress.[43] Participation from other parts of government on security and development would be an opportunity for this. It must be clear in its definition of security and on who is to be secured. For Ireland to articulate its own vision of the coordination of development and security it should emphasise the security threats that face ordinary citizens and how they relate to development interventions. This should be based on Irish Aid's ideas of inclusiveness drawing on its work on for example, gender based violence. This should also bring in voices from across government in particular the defence forces articulating how Ireland's trade policy, climate change actions can contribute to security and development issues.

Conclusion

This article has explored Ireland's merging of security and development in its foreign and defence policy. It argues that while the Department of Defence has committed to bringing development principles into its policy, there is little engagement with development ideas in its policy discourse. On the development side while Irish Aid does discuss some conflict and

[43] OECD-DAC *OECD Development Co-operation Peer Reviews: Ireland*. P.14

security issues, security is not a significant part of Irish development policy. As a result there is no significant articulation on Ireland's position on the coordination of security and development. However, when security issues are referenced in development policy Irish Aid prioritises the security of vulnerable populations in the Global South and avoids the use of the prevailing international security language of global terrorism and violent religious extremism. In contrast to much of the literature on the security-development nexus which focuses on the most dominant actors, this article highlights the case of a small state which engages with the merging of security and development in a different way. In avoiding the hard security language of counter-terrorism and the use of Irish national security or national interest as a justification for development spending, Ireland's merging of security and development, minimal though it is, stands in contrast to the approach of other states such as the UK and the US. If Ireland is successful in security a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council and seeks to establish a peace and security agenda it will need to clearly articulate its principles on the security-development nexus as it will be operating in an international environment that is accepting of the creep towards the adoption of conventional security concerns as development issues.

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