The Pathology of Human Security in Africa: A Pro-Governance Perspective

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Abstract

Following the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report, Human Security has become the moniker for critical theories that question the orthodoxy of state-centric security. Contestations over the phenomena that should be considered as threats have resulted in two main schools – the restrictive school that limits human security to freedom from fear and the inclusive school that conflates the freedom from want and fear and freedom to live in dignity. Africa has traditionally followed the inclusive approach however, similar to its record on development, actions for human security have hardly gone beyond rhetoric. This paper examines the relationship between governance, elementarily defined as the combination of activities calculated to ensure the effective functioning of a country and the pathology of human security in Africa. It proceeds on the hypothesis that there is a positive relationship between the state of governance and human security in countries across the continent.

Introduction

The publication of the 1994 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) marked a watershed in the consideration of the concept of security. Anchored on libertarian doctrines that emphasize the preeminence of individual freedom, the outdooring of human security in that landmark report, affirmed the inadequacy of the conventional state-centric concept of security to comprehensively address multidimensional threats to individuals and communities. Human Security has since emerged as the moniker for critical security theories that confront the orthodoxy of state-centric security by including individuals within the state in the determination of the referent object(s) of security.

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Some advocates of human security, embrace individual as a referent object of security attracted wide-scale agreement. This was however, not the case with regard to the boundaries of phenomena that should be considered as threats to the individual. Two main schools of thought emerged out of the disagreement: the narrow or restrictive school that limits human security to freedom from fear and the broad or inclusive school that conflates the freedom from want and fear as well as freedom to live in dignity. These outlooks have shaped the application of human security within the policy and advocacy processes of state and non-state actors.

Traditionally, Africa has charted the course of the inclusive approach as reflected in key policy statements such as the AU Constitutive Act and the Common African Defence and Security Policy. Africa's approach has generally been informed by the broad-based and multidimensional nature of events and factors affecting human security within countries on the continent. With evidence of want and fear such as poverty and violent conflicts as well as human rights abuses threatening the vital core of people living within the continent, the attractiveness of the inclusive approach to the consideration of human security in Africa is arguably justified. This notwithstanding, the record of human security across countries on the continent has been chequered, hardly registering positive indicators for most periods since the end of the respective national liberation movements against colonialism.

An expansive resume of research on this subject has revealed a myriad of causes for the incidence of poverty, environmental degradation, violent conflicts, human rights abuses and many more that define the challenges to human security in Africa. Spears, for instance, identifies one of the challenges as the creation of the post colonial African states as fortification against further colonial rule rather than as a provider of domestic order and protection of citizens. In his opinion therefore human security elements were not given a "superlative position" within the thought processes of the post-colonial African state (Spears 2007). Hutchful also traces challenges to human security on the African continent to symptoms of insecurity exhibited by post-colonial states such as ethnic divisions as well as the lack of legitimacy of the state due to the exclusion of the mass of the population from the political processes (Hutchful, 2008). The uncanny fallouts from the practice of electoral democracy in many African countries can also been cited. This relates to the varied cases of electoral conflicts that have pervaded the

continent in the last three decades and the threats to human security engendered within these conflicts.

This article examines the relationship between governance, elementarily defined as the combination of activities calculated to ensure the effective functioning of a country and the pathology of human security in Africa. In probing the pathology, this paper highlights recurring challenges to human security from a number of sectors. It stresses the deep-seated effects of these challenges on the viability of human security thereby, constituting a disease to human security in Africa. Proceeding on the hypothesis that there is a positive relationship between the state of governance and human security in countries across the continent, the paper first presents an overview of the foundations of human security and the history and application of the concept in Africa while the third section presents a panoramic view of the pathology of human security in Africa from a pro-governance perspective.

The Foundations of Human Security – An Overview
Security commonly refers to the absence of actual physical violence or threat of violence. From a Westphalian perspective therefore, national security referred to the absence of physical violence or threat of physical violence to the nation state. In a narrower sense, it referred to the "security of territory from external aggression or as protection of national interest…"(Kaldor, 2008:182). This varies widely from the concept of human security. Consequently, it is pedagogically germane for any attempt at an enlightened appreciation of human security to be preceded by a discussion of the orthodox state-centric conception of security. Under the latter, the state is considered and, indeed, acts as the primary provider of security as well as the referent object of security under an arrangement that is best described as a social contract between people living within the state and the state. Under this pact, government of states, obtain monopoly over legitimate use of force within the boundaries of the state and in return, grant an assurance of security within its boundaries to the people living therein.

The security concerns that set the state as the referent object of security arose from the Treaty of Westphalia that created the modern state system in the 17th Century. Out of Westphalia emerged a platform for the interaction of sovereign States devoid of a governing authority with the power to enforce laws or state compliance. The implication of this anarchic arrangement, theoretically described as the realist impression of international relations, was that States, acting as rational entities, had to ineludibly operate a self-

help system to address perceived or actual threats from other states. The international system in effect became the realm of survival in which threats were deemed to be targeted at states and not to the people within the state. The threats were also deemed to be military in nature, targeting the territorial integrity, national independence or sovereignty of States. Ensuring the security of states against such threats therefore demanded corresponding hardcore security frameworks that were largely militaristic in nature. These were identified as the predominant security concerns of States. On account of the above scenario, the state-centric notion of security is premised on three foundations. Firstly, that the state is the primary provider of security to individuals living within it; secondly, that threats are directed to the state and not to the people within the state, thus, if the state is secure, those who live within it are secure and thirdly, that the threats directed to the state are military in nature (Attuquayefio, 2012).

The end of the Cold War has seen challenges to all three foundations of state-centric security. As regards the nature of threats, for instance, there has been a progressive expansion of the concept of threat to include phenomena whose effect could threaten the existence of individuals and communities. Threats posed by the social and economic consequences of a depleting ozone layer and the threat of HIV for instance, questioned the rationale for placing all premium on threats of a military nature. Further, the heavily transnational nature of contemporary threats such as pandemics, affirm the reality that secure borders do not necessarily guarantee the security of the individuals and communities within the borders. A third challenge to the foundations of the traditional notion of security relates to the provider of security. Although the state is legally the primary provider of security, in practice, the various governments or regimes are the animate representatives that ensure that rights and responsibilities of the state are actualized. The first aspect of this challenge, therefore, emerged from the threat posed by the *de jure* providers of security to the people they were supposed to secure. In cases such as in Rwanda, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, for instance, the state, rather than ensuring the security of individuals and communities living within the state, threatened these individuals and communities. A further challenge to the state's ability to provide security to their citizens emerged from the weakening of the military capability of a number of states, particularly in Africa, in the post-Cold War era. This was due to the decline in the relevance of the military in such states, following the end to the numerous proxy wars that characterized Cold War politics. As a result, a number of states have themselves been rendered susceptible to the activities of violent sub-national

groups.

In addressing the challenges above, human security advocates security from critical and pervasive threats posed by violent conflicts, hunger, and diseases, as well as other factors that violently disrupt the lives of people. Such factors may be economic, health related, environmental or even food based. Thus, while recognizing the relevance of territorial security, human security argues for threats to individuals and communities living within the state to be granted priority. It also recognizes factors that have traditionally not been classified as threats yet threaten state and individuals in every sense of the word. Finally, it expands the range of actors providing security beyond the state.

At the core of human security is the individual - liberties, rights and basically any factor(s) that ensures that the individual lived a fulfilled life. In this regard, it is absurd and probably naive to suggest contemporary manifestation of the concept in the 1994 Human Development Report as the starting point. Indeed liberalist and libertarian ideas predate the 1994 HDR. Historically, focusing on the individual as the referent object of rights on the international scene is not novel. Indeed, it has been suggested that some of the principles underlying human security are rudimentary reflections of the liberalist philosophies of Montesquieu and Rousseau among others. Rallying around the banner of Enlightenment in 18th Century in Europe, these theorists generally questioned the absolutism of the Church and the prevailing monarchs of the time by stressing the fundamentals of individual liberty (Owen, 2004). Similarly, a reading of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 reveals a commitment to make the individual the referent object of rights from an international perspective. Even in terms of specificity of jargon, there is evidence of usage of 'human security' in the evaluation of how people develop the feeling of security throughout their lives. It has therefore been suggested that though the concerns of human security are typically ancient in character, they have been prevented from recognition or inclusion by the prodigious assumptions that underpinned orthodox security and policy formulation (Thomas and Wilkin, 1999). Reviews of the precursors of human security however present a trajectory of the evolution of the concept, beneficial for a contemporary appreciation of its relevance.

One of such significant precursors to the Human Development Report was the report of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security

Issues (Palme Commission) of 1980, which called for the concept of security to move from a militaristic model to a more holistic model. It however failed to make a specific reference to the "human" aspect. In spite of this weakness, considering that the Commission functioned during a realism-dominated period of the Cold War, its precursory value to the development of human security is notable (Attuquayefio,2012). Analogous to the Palme Commission report, the 1993 Human Development Report (HDR) of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) also suggested the need for a revision of the perception of security from an exclusive stress on national security to a much greater stress on people's security (UNDP, 1993).

The 1994 HDR recognized prior references to the concept of human security. This notwithstanding it gave the most structured expression of the concept and in the process, empowered the contemporary human security movement. Its contribution to the development of human security was also bolstered by definitional clarifications and justifications of the boundaries of human security relative to state-centric security. In doing this, the report categorized human security as involving two main dimensions namely, safety from chronic threats such as hunger, diseases, and repression and protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life whether in jobs, in homes or in communities (UNDP, 1994). It also identified seven categories under which human security may be considered. These were economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, and political security (UNDP, 1994). Subsequent HDR's since 1994 have consistently advocated human security by stressing its quantitative and qualitative aspects.

In spite of the commissioning of human security in the 1994 HDR, early attempts to comprehensively co-opt it into the mainstream of security discourse were contested by views that sought to reinforce the concept by stressing on enhancement of people's capabilities and quality of life, and those which maintained that the individual security concerns were already included in the traditional concept of security (Buzan, 2004). This notwithstanding, a more persuasive rendition of human security, that reinforced the 1994 HDR, came in the form of the Millennium Report of the Secretary General of the United Nations in 2000. The Report contained chapters on 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'. These two ideas characterized as the Security and Development agenda respectively, re-established the security-development nexus and in the process reaffirmed the concept of human security. It also echoed the contestations over what should

constitute threats and the resulting narrow and broad approaches. The narrow definition (Krause, 2007 and Mack, 2004) limits human security to the absence of violence or what has been termed 'freedom from fear '. This approach seeks to limit the practice of human security to protecting individuals from threats that may come from issues such as the drug trade, landmines, ethnic discord, state failure, and trafficking in small arms. By so doing, the definition restricts the parameters of human security to violent threats against the individual while recognizing that these violent threats are strongly associated with poverty, lack of state capacity and other forms of inequities. The narrow definition has been portrayed as offering a more realistic and manageable approach towards human security, by presenting the opportunity for immediate intervention, rather than the long term planning for sustainable development.

The broad definition on the other hand goes beyond the narrow approach described above to include 'freedom from want' and the freedom to live in dignity. Drawing largely from the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report as well as the report of the United Nations Human Security Commission, this school contends that chronic hunger, disease, and repression as well as sudden disasters, offer sufficient threats to the security of individuals. It therefore expands the focus beyond violence with emphasis on development and security goals. It thus advocates that a holistic approach to achieving human security must recognise such broad threats as inseparable concepts in addressing the root of human insecurity.

The combined effect of the Human Development and Millennium Reports undeniably received a further boost in 2001 with the setting up of the Commission on Human Security (CHS) in 2003. The CHS published *Human Security Now*, a survey of findings of contemporary understanding and approaches to human security in which it stated thus: "human security is concerned with safeguarding and expanding people's vital freedoms. It requires both shielding people from acute threats and empowering people to take charge of their lives" (Commission for Human Security, 2003: IV). The CHS thus established 'Empowerment' as the complementary arm of 'Protection' for ensuring human security.

Human Security in Africa: History and Application
In spite of her colonial heritage, liberal ideas underpinning human security are not novel to the continent. In fact practices in traditional African societies captured in documentaries and oral traditions point to a focus on the

individual as the referent object of security. Even concepts such as *Ubuntu* that centre on communalism are translated as occurring for the benefit of both individual and community. Thus, in *Ubuntu* for instance, the explanation of "I am what I am because of who we all are" sees the individual as the ultimate beneficiary of communalism. This notwithstanding, it was not until the early 1990s that specific references to security of individuals relative to national security start to gain recognition.

It has been pointed out that an early attempt at application of these principles of human security occurred during the 1991 Conference on Security, Stability, Development, and Co-operation in Africa (CSSDCA) held in Kampala (Hutchful,2008). An initiative of civil society groups, the meeting was to develop a regime regarding security stability and development in Africa. At the heart of the conference was a conscious attempt to redefine security to include extra military considerations - economic, social or otherwise in orientation and to demand certain standards of behaviour from every government in the interest of humanity. The conference, therefore, reaffirmed the linkages between security, stability, and an advancement of humanity. Although the Kampala report was submitted to the OAU, there was a failure to immediately integrate its recommendations into the continental agenda. The report however provided a useful platform for the consideration of human security within the ambit of the OAU. Subsequently at the 36th Summit Meeting of Heads of State of the OAU, A Solemn Declaration on CSSDCA was adopted. A reflection of its affinity to human security appeared thus:

> Recognising that security should be seen in its wholesomeness and totality including the right of people to live in peace with access to the basic necessities of life, while fully enjoying the rights enshrined in the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, and freely participating in the affairs of their societies; and bearing in mind that Africa's security and that of its member states are inseparably linked to the security of all African peoples;
> We affirm that:
>
> > (a) Security should be recognized as a pillar of the CSSDCA process. It is an indispensable condition for peace, stability, development and cooperation. It underscores the organic links that exist between the security of member-states as a whole and the security of each of them on the basis of their

history, culture, geography and their common destiny. This implies individual and collective responsibilities exercised within the basic framework of the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights and other relevant international instruments;

(b) The concept of security must embrace all aspects of the society including economic, political, social and environmental dimensions of the individual, family, and community, local and national life. The security of a nation must be based on the security of the life of the individual citizens to live in peace, and to satisfy basic needs while being able to participate fully in societal affairs, and enjoying freedom and fundamental human rights; (Organization of African Unity (OAU) 2000)

Following the CSSDCA and subsequent demarches by Mandela, including a 13 June 1994 call to African leaders to empower the OAU to protect African people and to prevent African governments from abusing the sovereignty of states, the OAU, between 1995 and 1997, commenced reform processes aimed at restructuring the organization to make it focus on human security concerns. Subsequent discussions on human security within the context of the creation of the AU eventually led to the adoption of a Memorandum of Understanding by African leaders to use the Kampala report as norms and guiding principles of security, stability, and development cooperation within the continent.

With regard to the AU, a cursory reading of the Constitutive Act indicates a commitment to addressing human security, a marked departure form the overwhelming focus on regime security that enabled abusive governments operating under the iron cloak of sovereignty under the OAU. Article 4 m (Amended), for instance, empowers the Union to intervene in the affairs of member states in respect of grave circumstances, namely war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity as well as serious threats to legitimate order, to resolve peace and stability to the Member States of the Union, upon the recommendation of the Peace and Security Council of the AU. It also highlights issues such as good health and working towards eradicating preventable diseases.

Additionally, Article 6 of the AU Common African Defence and Security Policy, for instance, states that.

> The causes (the high incidence) of intra-state conflict necessitate a new emphasis on human security, based not only on political values, but on social and economic imperatives as well. This newer, multi-dimensional notion of security thus embraces such issues as human rights; the right to participate fully in the process of governance; the right to equal development, as well as the right to have access to resources and the basic necessities of life; the right to protection against poverty; the right to conducive education and health conditions; the right to protection against national disasters, as well as ecological and environmental degradation. At the national level, the aim would be to safeguard the security of individuals, families, communities, and the state/national life, in economic, political and social dimensions.

It may therefore be opined that beyond the Kampala report, the AU and its institutions, binding agreements, declarations decisions, and policies point to a more determined move to apply human security to Africa's context.

The Pathology of Human Security in Africa: A Pro-Governance Perspective
Undoubtedly, since the end of the Cold War, narratives on insecurity have dominated discussions on Africa. While countries on the continent cannot be ascribed with the monopoly of insecurity, the sheer volume, complexity and multidimensionality of threats to human security in African countries justifies any attempt at including African countries among the list of the most insecure environments in the world. From the effects of armed insurgencies to pandemics and environmental disasters, these threats have constituted a gangrenous sore on the state of human security in Africa.

As indicated above, a variety of explanatory frameworks have been offered to explain the state of human security in Africa. Spears for instance attributes the pathology of human security to the creation of the post-colonial African states as a fortification against further colonial rule, rather than as a provider of domestic order and protection for their citizens (Spears, 2007). Hutchful also highlights the structural vulnerabilities characteristic of post-colonial state formation including weak and ethnically divided post-colonial states with irrational boundaries among others. The utility of these frameworks cannot be devalued, yet, it is the position of this author that good governance

or the absence of it is a critical factor in the consideration of human security on the continent. This section presents some elements of the pathology of human security from a governance perspective. This relates to the trafficking of narcotics, terrorism, environmental and food insecurity

One of the foremost diseases confronting human security in Africa relates to the trafficking of narcotics. In the last decade, countries in Africa, particularly those South of the Sahara, have become definitive destinations as well as transfer hubs for narcotic shipments from Latin America to markets in Europe and North America. It has been assessed that since 2006, between 40-50 tons of cocaine, with commercial values exceeding the billion dollar mark, transit through Africa en-route to Europe every year. With Africa competing for a place in the world's leading narcotic trafficking regions, the implications of the transnational narcotic trade have emerged as one of the threats to human security on the continent (Attuquayefio, 2014). Since 2009 for instance, South Africa has been involved as a destination and transit point for methamphetamine and allied chemicals such as pseudoephedrine destined for Europe and south Asia (International Narcotics Control Board (ICNB), 2011). In 2010 and 2012, the East African region was also cited by the UNODC as one of three prominent regions (after South West Asia and South Eastern Europe) for narcotics trafficked to Europe with Tanzania, Kenya, Ethiopia and Uganda featuring prominently in the East African group (United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime (UNODC), 2014). The World Drug Report of 2014 also indicated that heroin destined for Europe is trafficked through transit points in the Middle East and Africa. The report also revealed an emerging Methamphetamine production trafficked from West and central Africa to South Africa and Europe. This corresponds to an International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) report of an increased trafficking in precursors to Amphetamine type drugs in countries such as Botswana, Côte d'Ivoire, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Namibia and Zimbabwe in 2013 (ICNB, 2013:38).

Trafficking in narcotics has a pronounced effect on virtually every aspect of human security in Africa. Implications on environmental security is for instance manifested in the pollutants generated by synthetic drug manufacturing factories as well as the use of herbicides by law enforcement agents to destroy narcotic farms. Due to the underground nature of the activities of such factories, waste is not disposed in the most environmentally safe manner, often ending up in water bodies serving communities in various localities. A recent discovery of a methamphetamine factory in

Nigeria led to the revelation that the ration of produce to waste is one to five (Oseghale, 2013). This shows the volume of waste injected into the environment. It is worth noting that the environmental challenges also include the unintended consequences of law enforcement measures including the aerial spraying of herbicides and the burning of cannabis farms for instance. These are known to contribute towards the destruction of the environment by threatening biodiversity (Rolles, Murkin et al. 2014). The trafficking of narcotics also threatens human security by engendering physical violence to individuals and communities through inter-gang operational conflicts, violence and crime-prone drug-users and the general phenomenon of narco- violence often arising from the retail of narcotics whether through drug gangs or crack addicts (Attuquayefio,2014). Such gangs are dominant in Nigeria, Kenya, Mozambique and in South Africa.

In addition to the above, the threats to human security engendered by the trafficking of narcotics reflect in the evidence that years of trafficking in Africa are enlarging the end-user community on the continent. The UNODC for instance estimates that cannabis use in West and central Africa is 12.4 percent, higher than the global average of 3.8 percent. The growth of the end user group within African countries is therefore putting a strain on health infrastructure. Consequently, apart from dealing with the effects of narcotics on public health, African countries are challenged with funding public health programmes that can deal with the effects of synthetic drugs such as methamphetamine and HIV. With a number of sub-Saharan African countries struggling with health care budgets, the extra pressure from narcotic- related illnesses and HIV is threat to public health is critical.

Africa's snowballing relevance in global narcotic trafficking has been attributed to enhanced demand for narcotics from European markets as well as success in the disruption of traditional transit channels through international counternarcotic efforts. A good number of countries in Africa also host significant numbers of Cannabis farms while it may also be suggested that the marginal growth in sub-Saharan African economies and particularly the rise of the middle class has enhanced affordability thus, enhancing the end user relevance of African countries. Beyond these, however, is a governance dimension manifesting in massive infiltration of governance institutions and by implication the general absence of relevant institutions with integrity for monitoring narcotics trafficking in various African countries. In Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya Uganda Mozambique, Zimbabwe Angola and Southern Africa, the

infiltration of all levels of the governmental machinery from the Executive to the legislature and even governmental bureaucrats have been proven beyond the assumption stage. While a number of reasons have been adduced, the stark reality is that in a region where most people cannot afford decent living due to low wages, infiltration of public and private institutions by drug cartels is the order of the day. An infiltration of government by drug traffickers without a shred of doubt poses a real threat to the political security of the people of the region as explored hereafter. Drug money easily breeds corruption in governance. Members of the various arms of government including the executive, legislature, judiciary and even law enforcement in countries throughout SSA have recruited or influenced to shield drug traffickers. Drug cartels are known to sponsor election campaigns as well as infiltrate and run entire governmental machineries such us in Guinea Bissau. Aning has for instance illuminated the networking potential of drug cartels particularly in the West African region observing that both formal and traditional governance and security systems of many West African countries can be infiltrated by international drug trafficking cartels (Aning, 2010). The veritable case study in such matters continues to be Guinea Bissau, where the massive infiltration of both public and private institutions has led to the decimation of all appearances of a functioning democratic system and by implication, any appearance of an effective governance system.

In addition to the trafficking of narcotics, terrorism has also engineered significant threats to human security in Africa. Since the 1990's the number of incidents of terrorism on the continent has increased. Mainly rooted around Islamic fundamentalism, a religion that is ordinarily portrayed as one of peace has paradoxically engineered more incidents of terrorism in Africa than any other religion. The intensification of terrorism in Africa has been attributed to a number of events. One of these has had to do with the post-9/11 War on terror, and the military actions in Iraq and Afghanistan by the US and its allies. Statistics have, for instance, shown dislocation and relocation of suicide terrorist cells and training camps as well as the death or detention of several top operatives of Al Qaeda following the commencement of the US led War on terror. With the disruption of its activities, Al Qaeda has adopted a more diffused approach, one that has seen the centralized command and control previously held by Osama bin laden diffuse to other parts of the world in line with the objective to strike soft targets of the US and its western allies. With Africa playing host to monumental commercial and state interests of the US and a number of

Western countries, strikes against these targets have sought to demonstrate that al Qaeda and its affiliates still retain the will and the capacity to operate around the world (Crenshaw, 2011). Relatedly, the diffusion indirectly caused by the war on terror has made the identification and neutralizing of terrorist cells more difficult.

In Africa, beyond the explanations of the causes, there is a governance dimension that is worth noting. The post-independence narrative of a host of African countries has also been dominated by human insecurity arising out of the multivariate effects of poverty and general economic insecurity, environmental degradation, inadequate management of health related threats to survival, as well as erosion in the significance of jealously guarded indigenous culture, primarily through modernization. These effects have been attributed to political instability occasioned mainly by the politics of *coup d'états* as well as the tradition of woeful governance and corruption that defines leadership in many of these countries. Consequently, elements of human security have traditionally not been accorded superlative positions in the thought processes of African States relative to the desire by successive regimes to hold on to power; and where they have, in such lopsided proportions that parts of the polity are palpable left out of development.

Responses to these local dynamics have evolved from largely tame protests to outright militancy and terrorism. The surge towards the terrorism end of the continuum have within the last two decades obtained motivation from the relative successes of militant groups such as the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) in locking down national and sometimes global attention to their causes. It is therefore not surprising that Somalia, Mali and Nigeria, three of the countries in Africa severely challenged by the activities of organised terror groups have had infamous records of human insecurity in specific parts of their territories. In Nigeria for instance, Uzodike and Maiangwa describe the governance challenges as a cocktail of widespread failures of state policies, inefficient and wasteful parastatals, and endemic corruption, poverty, unemployment, and extensive underdevelopment in the North of Nigeria (Uzodike, & Maiangwa, 2012). Within that context, it is not surprising that Boko Haram emerged and galvanized active membership among segments of the Northern population.

Another threat to human security having its roots or at least its solutions in governance relates to environmental security and the challenges emerging out of management of the environment including deforestation,

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desertification and soil erosion. The security implications of such challenges to land have to do with its ability to cause famine and mass population displacements leading to internal and international migration. Apart from the above, climate change is another element of environmental security. Sometimes expressed as global warming, climate change is often considered as one of the key aspects of environmental security. Climate change is said to be as a result of high concentration of greenhouse gases, particularly carbon dioxide (CO_2), in the Earth's atmosphere (Starke and Bright, 2003).Elements of climate include; temperature, humidity, air pressure, winds, and rainfall or water cycles. Global climate change, therefore, refers to how these elements change, throughout the world, as a result of natural and man-made causes. Human activities such as urban expansion, forest clearing, road building and forest fires account for the release of the greenhouse gases in to the atmosphere. Other factors are the burning of fossil fuels and the rearing of farm animals; whose digestive processes produce greenhouse gases like methane and nitrous oxide. If global warming continues, the problem of desertification is likely to worsen, particularly across West Africa, and sea levels may rise causing floods generally and particularly in coastal and lowland areas.

A casual reading of the above elements of environmental security, undoubtedly point to the relevance of governance institutions in addressing the challenges of environmental security. With regard to global warming, for instance, a typical example of the facilitating role played by institutions can be seen in the global agreement to the Kyoto Protocol. The objective of the Kyoto Protocol is to cut global emissions of greenhouse gases so as to stabilize or regulate their concentration in the atmosphere in order to reduce the incidence of anthropogenic interference with the climate system. It seeks to establish a legally binding international agreement, whereby, all the participating countries commit themselves to tackling the issue of global warming and reduce the emission of six greenhouse gases - carbon dioxide, nitrous oxide, methane, hydro fluorocarbons, per fluorocarbons, and sulphur hexafluoride – due to human activities. Under the Protocol, parties committed to it are expected to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the energy and agriculture sectors. They are also expected to reduce emissions through industrial processes, solvent and other product use, waste, and emissions from fuels. The relevance of the Kyoto Protocol as an institution is further enforced by the fact that, national parties also create domestic institutions to facilitate actions against climate change. In Ghana, for instance, Parliament on the 26th November 2002 passed a resolution to ratify

the Kyoto Protocol and actually deposited its final document of ratification at the United Nations Headquarters in New York in March 2003. By that act, Ghana acceded to the Kyoto Protocol and became a party to it.

Beyond the international and national institutions adopted to address climate change, other challenges to environmental security also appear to have their solution, or at least, attempt at minimizing their effects, in institutions as defined in the introduction of this chapter. For instance, with regard to the use of chemicals for fishing and its potential to contaminate and destroy the water bodies as well as kill all inhabitants of the affected water bodies including fingerlings, Bates indicates that the only way this can be addressed is through the elaboration of rules and regulations as well as the creation of bodies to ensure that the rules are enforced. Other challenges to environmental security such as sand winning, illegal quarrying and indiscriminate disposal of waste all appear to have their solution in the elaboration of rules and the creation of bodies – invariably institutions, to ensure the effective implementation of the rules and regulations.

The relevance of institutions to human security is also seen in efforts at ensuring food security. Food security generally relates to the quantity and quality of food as well as the access to this food by the people who need it. According to the World Bank food security is the "access by all people at all times to enough food for an active and healthy life."(World Bank,1986) This definition encompasses many issues. It deals with production in relation to food availability; it addresses distribution in that all should access the produce; it covers consumption in the sense that individual food needs are met in order for that individual to be active and healthy. In addition, the availability and accessibility of food to meet individual food needs should be sustainable.

The lynchpin for addressing the challenges of food security lies in institutions. Whether it is about the quality or quantity of food, it indeed rests on the elaboration of formal or informal yet clear rules and procedure for addressing these issues. Offering an insightful perspective to this issue, Sen opines that famines are rarely caused by a lack of food, but are more likely to be a consequence of the sudden collapse of purchasing power and other unpredictable 'exchange and entitlement' failures (Sen, 1981). Sen argues that some institutions such as food markets function normally, but populations unable to afford food starve while their regions are exporting food staples elsewhere. Given the actual per capita availability of grain in

most countries experiencing famines, these problems can be averted through timely interventions by governments and other organizations. A mechanism of accountability to vulnerable populations is essential for this process to take place. Sen showed that famines have never occurred where democratic governments exist, in the presence of such institutions as opposition parties, a strong civil society, and a free press.

Conclusion

The rubrics for security policy making in Africa since independence have been largely dictated by a confluence of internal and external factors. These have included the colonial heritage of most countries on the continent; the Cold War and its vestiges at some point; post-independence governance dynamics that manifested in political instability and the inability of successive regimes to adequately define the boundaries between regime and state security. In all these the object has oscillated from maintaining the territorial integrity of the polity, to ensuring sovereignty both from an internal and external dimension. Consequently, the concept of National Security has provided the framework as well as serves as the lynchpin for security policy making. With the growing reality of population-centered threats, human security considerations are becoming a sine qua non for effective security policy making globally. An appreciation of the pathology as provided above and its dynamics is an effective link in recalibrating security policy to be more governance-centered.

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