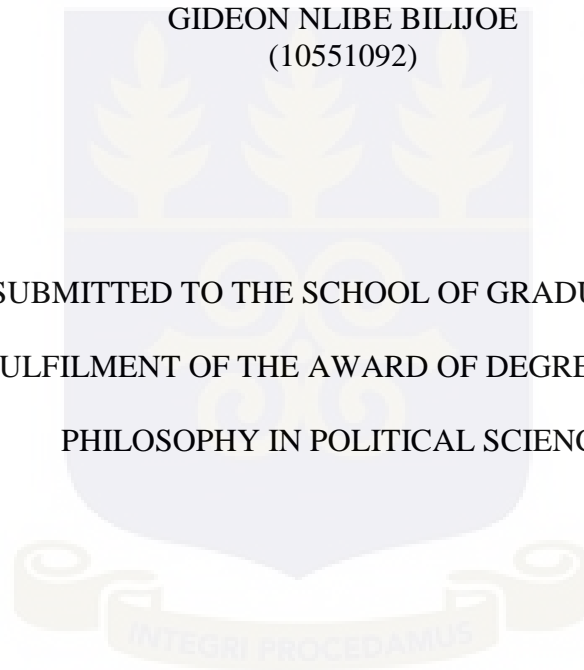UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

POLITICAL SECURITY IN WEST AFRICA: AN APPRAISAL OF TWO
ECOWAS PROTOCOLS

BY

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DECLARATION

I, GIDEON NLIBE BILIJOE hereby declare that with the exception of the quotes, ideas and analysis attributed to duly acknowledged sources, this study is the result of a research I dutifully conducted under the supervision of DR. KUMI ANSAH-KOI and DR. SEIDU ALIDU.

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GIDEON NLIBE BILIJOE   DR. KUMI ANSAH-KOI

(CANDIDATE)   (MAIN SUPERVISOR)

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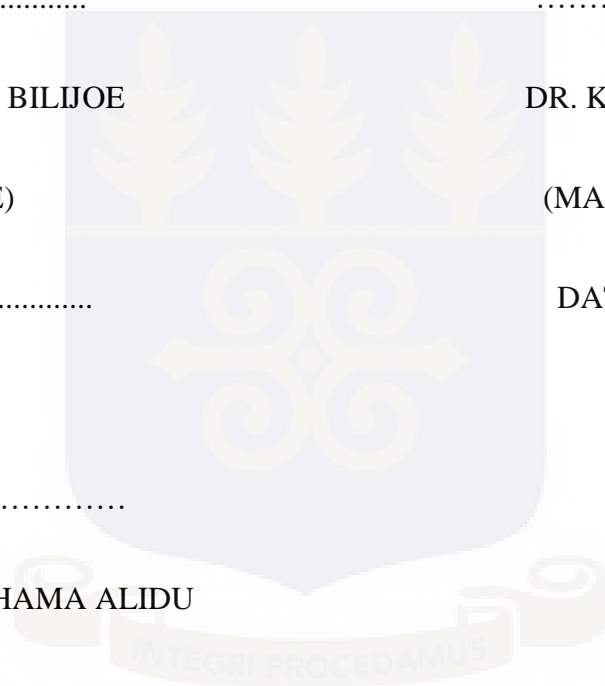
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DATE: ……………………

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ABSTRACT

The menace of Political Insecurity is a major challenge in developing countries and more grave in the West Africa sub-region. This study sought to appraise two Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Protocols; the Protocol on Conflict Prevention (1999) and the Democracy and Good Governance Protocol (2001), and how they address the Political Security challenge in the sub-region. The study adopted the qualitative research approach. Both primary and secondary data were used for its analysis. The primary data was gathered through in-depth interviews whiles the secondary data was sourced from existing literatures on the subject matter.

Among the findings from the study are that the Protocols lack clear provisions capable of deterring Member States from breaching citizens Political Security. The Protocols also failed to provide a definitive scope for Political Security and the particular roles that agencies responsible for implementations have to play. Again, the Protocols did not grant much attention to gender parity in the political spectrum. The study further unravelled an implementation gap resulting from a general lack of will by Member States to implement the existing provisions.

To ECOWAS, the findings suggest the need for a revision of the Protocols, particularly the 2001 Protocol to incorporate gender parity and provide more emphasis on mechanisms, roles and scope in some of the provisions. The findings also add to the existing knowledge on Political Security and further suggest the need for academics to conduct empirical studies into enhancing the consolidation of Political Security in West Africa. It again calls for policy change and policy direction by Member States and ECOWAS to prioritise the Political Security of citizens rather than the elites.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents; Mr. Bilijoe Nakpana and Mrs. Munanye Kambonja, Mr

and Mrs. Abraham Mankrom, my wife and my brothers (Jonah, Amos, Noah and Kwaku).

I also dedicate this work to Professor Kwame Boafo-Arthur (My mentor) and all my MPhil

course mates.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My first gratitude goes to the Almighty God for his unmerited favour that has brought me this far. I secondly express sincere thanks to my parents, Mr. Bilijoe Nakpana and Madam Munanye, for their encouragement and support. I also want to express my heartfelt gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Mankrom for their support. To Jonah, Amos, Noah and Kwaku, I owe you all appreciations for your sacrifices and believe in me.

The list cannot end without the mention of Dr. Kumi Ansah-Koi and Dr. Seidu Alidu (my supervisors) who helped go through this worked tirelessly to make it presentable. To Professor Kwame Boafo-Arthur, I say "thank you sir" for being there for me. Your words of encouragement and sturdy trust in me have been a motivation. I am proud and grateful to have received your tutelage. I also would cease this opportunity to express my profound gratitude to Dr. Philip Attuquayefio of LECIAD who refreshed my hopes when all seemed lost. I would want to send out a big thank you to Dr. Isaac Owusu Mensah (Snr. Lecturer) Dr. Bossman Asare (Head of Department), Mr. Alex Kaakyere Duku Frempong (Snr. Lecturer) and Aunty Esther (Secretary), all at the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon.

Finally, to my M-Phil course mates, I say thank you all for your brotherly care and love throughout the course.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

AU: African Union

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

CEDAW: The Charter on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

CHS: Commission on Human Security

CIDO: Citizen Directorate

CSO: Civil Society Organisation

DAB: Director, African Bureau

ECCJ: ECOWAS Community Court of Justice

ECJ: European Court of Justice

ECOMOG: ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group

ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States

ECPF: ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework

EMBs: Election Management Bodies

EP: ECOWAS Parliamentarian

EU: European Union

EWS: Early Warning System

FAO: Food and Agricultural Organisation

GAFCSC: Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College

HSE: Human Security Expert

IRE: International Relations Expert

LECIAD: Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy

M/DHM: Minister/ Deputy Head of Mission

MFA: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NDC: National Democratic Congress

NPP: New Patriotic Party

PDR: People Democratic Republic

PFMPGC: Protocol on Free Movement of People, Goods, and Capital

PORCB: Program Officer, Research & Capacity Building

QCA: Quantitative Content Analysis

SADC: Southern African Development Community

SALW: Small Arms and Light Weapons

SC: Social Constructivist

SE: Security Expert

SRS: Simple Random Sampling

UEMOA: Union Economigue et Monetaire Ouest Africaine (African Economic and Monetary Union)

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Program

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund

USA: United States of America

WANEP: West African Network for Peace

WHO: World Health Organisation

Figure 1: A Map indicating the countries considered in this study as constituting West Africa.

MAP OF WEST AFRICA
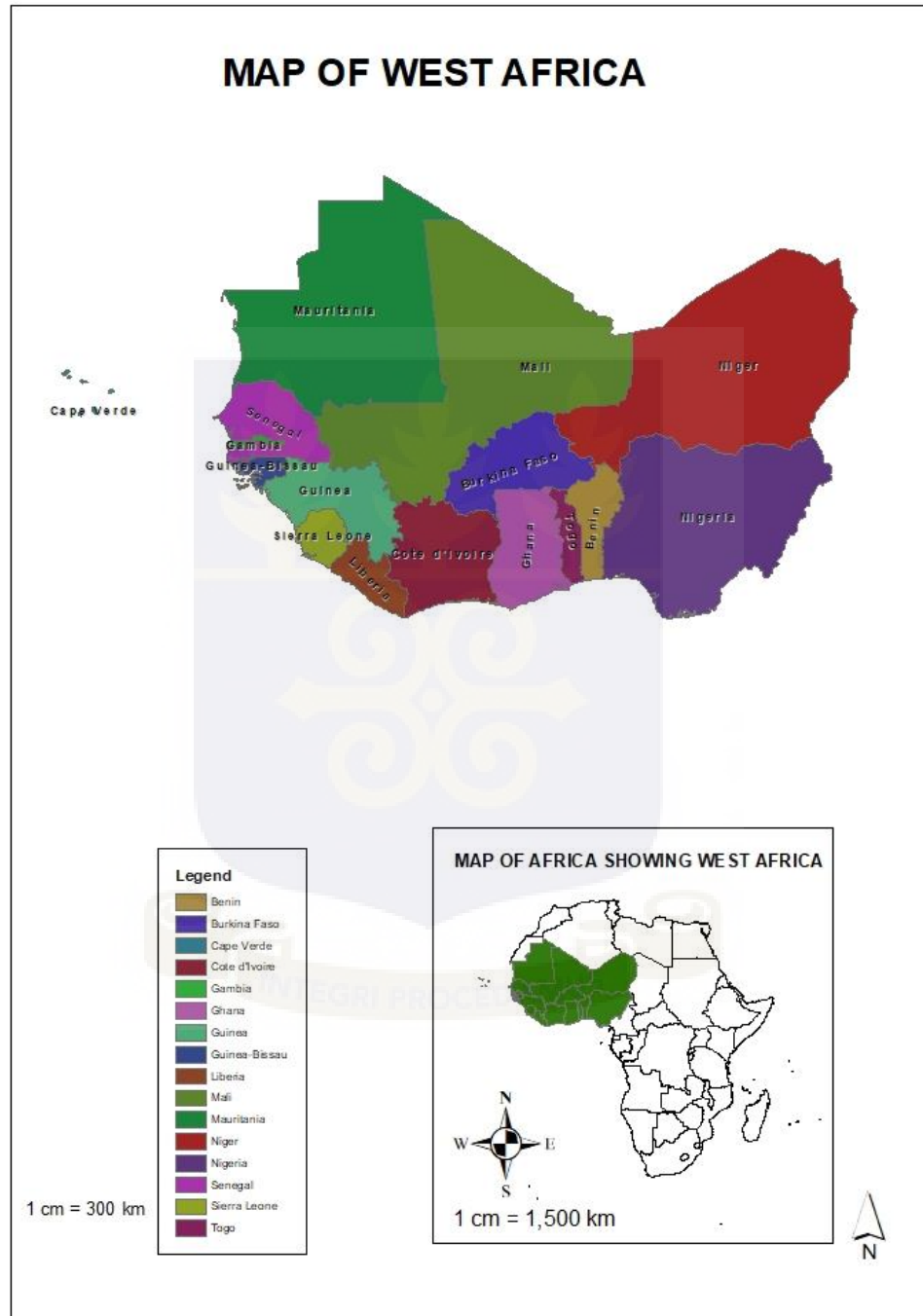
Source: Author, (2017)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

States form unions for security, economic and social as well as political benefits (Thomas, 2010, Ssekandi, 2013, and Christakis, 2013). Regional integration is embraced by nations because it is believed to be the remedy to the difficulties faced by isolated and poor economies and promotes sustainable development (Olayiwola, 2010)

Security was formally conceived as the protection of state borders against external aggression, protection from other states invasion and subversion by internal uprisings that threatened states survival. It assumed militaristic nature and focused on the state (Wolfers, 1952, Kaufman, 2013, Swanström, 2010, Waisová, 2003). According to the Commission on Human Security (2003), the need to shift the focus of security from states has been because of their incessant failures in honouring their security mandate to citizens. Scholarly works including Lowenthal, (1971), Nye, (1988) and Ullman, (1983) have posited that, confining security to merely military terms is problematic. These arguments, according, to Baldwin (1997:5) seeks to look at security from broad perspective. Thus, it considers issues of "human rights, economy, the environment, drug trafficking, epidemics, crime, or social injustice as important as security from external military threats". A shift from a narrower conception to a broader conception of security has ushered in new a paradigm which Newman (2010) terms the "Non-traditional" conception of security.

Since the end of the Cold War, security has assumed a broader scope. Security issues now include health, environment, food, human rights, and human development (Newman, 2010,

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Swanström, 2010, Ayoob, 1997, Hough, 2014). This conceptualisation has been identified as Human Security. The Human Security concept was pioneered by the 1994 UNDP Report (UNDP, 1994 p.22-32, Newman, 2010) and has received the endorsement of countries and International Organisations. The Human Security concept assumes that security should be "people centred" and the individual's security should concern food, employment, health, crime absence and freedom from repression (UNDP 1994 p.22-32). Liotta and Owen, (2006:37) opines that the Human Security Concept has at its core the "people protection". The concept focuses on "freedom from fear", "freedom from want" and "freedom to live in dignity" and presupposes that security policies can only be effective if the individual is made the "referent and primary beneficiary" (UNDP 1994 P.24, Boafo-Arthur, 2002 and Newman, 2010). In this study, the concept is used to denote the protection of the individual from all situations that threaten human survival, wellbeing and dignity.

Political Security, in a matter of hierarchy, is the seventh element of the seven components of UNDP's Human Security categorizations. By Human Security, the report references the freedom of citizens to participate in the political system and have their Civil and Political Rights respected and observed (UNDP, 1994:32). Holmes gives more clarity to the term by iterating that Political Security means, "protecting the sovereignty of the government and political system and the safety of society from unlawful internal threats and external threats or pressures". Thus its scope involves leaders and citizens as well as "national and homeland security and law enforcement" (Holmes, 2015:19). Political Security represents the fundamentals of governance and democracy as illustrated in the Social Contract Theory advanced by Thomas Hobbes, John Lock and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. According to John Locke, citizens enter into contract with the government to protect them in return for their

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allegiance. This pledge of the people held in trust by the government could be reclaimed upon the government's breach of the contract (Dienstag, 1996). This implies that authorities remain empowered as far as they are committed to protecting and promoting the rights of the governed. In this study, Political Security denotes the shield that citizens get from state aimed at ensuring the protection and promotion of their Political and Civil Rights. Thus, keeping at check actions or situations that might impair these Rights and promoting activities that would ensure their maximisation.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established in 1975 to facilitate economic integration among the Member States. Article 2(1) of the 1975 ECOWAS Treaty states thus "… the aim of the community [is] to promote cooperation and development in all fields of economic activity… for the purpose of raising the living standards of its people…" (ECOWAS, 1975:20). However, Opoku, (2007), Francis, (2009) and Iwilade and Agbo, (2012), notes that the 1990s conflicts in Liberia and other West African countries coupled with the notion that economic prosperity cannot be realized without security, compelled ECOWAS to venture into the promotion of security in the sub-region. This according to Aning, (2004) led to the Community's adoption of several Protocols among which is the 1999 Protocol on Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution Peace Keeping and Security and the 2001 Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance.

To operationalize these Protocols, ECOWAS has sponsored interventions in Member States; Sierra Leone 1993-2000, Guinea-Bissau 1998-99, Liberia 2003 and Cote d'Ivoire in 2003. It has also mediated in conflicts between conflicting parties in the Member States and have either threatened to sanction or sanctioned member countries that have breached

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its Protocols. It has also successively deployed Observer Missions for election monitoring in Member States countries over time (Aning, 2004, Iwilade & Agbo, 2012, Bamidele & Ayodele, 2016: 13). Aning (2004) posits that these increased interventions of ECOWAS in security issues sought to shift emphasis away from Traditional Regime-Centred Security to more People-Centred Approaches; a possible solution to the region's turbulent political situation.

The African continent has been a hub of coups after the demise of colonialism. Describing the continent, Williams (2007) noted that Africa is a neglected continent that needs a fixing of the threats and wars that plague it. Sillah, (1984) iterated that, whether French, English, Portuguese-speaking or leftist or rightists oriented territories, majority of countries across the African region are victims of coups. The menace of leaders in the sub-region either changing or attempting to amend their constitutions to secure themselves in power remains a disturbing issue. The 16th September 2016 edition of Washington Post reported that between 1990 and 2015, about thirty Presidents in Sub-Saharan Africa alone attempted to tweak their constitutions in order to continue their stay in office. Although he failed, Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso is on record to have attempted, after his 27-year rule, to amend the constitution in 2014 to qualify him for the country's 2015 general elections (BBC, January 20, 2015). This typified the manifestation of a familiar concept in African democracy; "rule of and for individual" rather than "government of and for the people". Despite the fact that a two-term limit does feature in most African countries constitutions, Faure Gnassingbe and Yahya Jammeh of Togo and Gambia, respectively, vehemently opposed ECOWAS discourse to restrict all States Presidents term limit to two years across the sub-region (BBC, 20 May 2015). Some leaders did refuse to step down even after losing

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elections. The December 10, 2016 edition of the BBC cites Laurent Gbagbo in this regard. The then Ivorian President blatantly rebuffed to concede defeat and step down, and stirred tensions that led to the displacements and deaths of hundreds of Ivorians. There have also been series of oppression and mishandling of political opponents, journalists and Human Rights advocates by ruling regimes. This practice popularly referred to as "Political Witch Hunting" has become a common feature in African politics. The 2015 Human Rights Watch Report on Gambia, for instance, cited massive tortures, arbitrary arrests, imprisonments and killing of individuals who were perceived as opposition to Jammeh's regime. This lays the background to this study.

1.1   STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

ECOWAS has set sights on promoting the wellbeing of citizens of its Member States. Although the sub-regional body was established as an economic unit to facilitate trade, its focus has since shifted to issues of security, peace, democracy, and good governance. According to Aning and Bah (2009), there has been a continual shift from ECOWAS of State to ECOWAS of People in the Community's attention. Opoku (2007) also asserted that this new focus has characterised its major Protocols including the 1999 Protocol on Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution Peace Keeping and Security and the 2001 Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance that supplements the 1999 Mechanism. These two Protocols have primarily been designed, to harness, the Political Security in the West African sub-region (Iwilade & Agbo, 2012). Despite their ratification and adoption, high incidences of Political Insecurity are still recorded in the sub-region. Sesay and Omotosho (2011) concluded that the overall statistics of West Africa on Human Security in general and Political Security in particular, portrays a gloomy picture and the

fortunes of the sub-region looked bleak despite the long existence of ECOWAS. Aning and Bah (2009) furthers that the political atmosphere, that influences several facets of human wellbeing, remained dismal in the sub-region. The 2015 Reports by WHO/UNICEF, Global Terrorist Index, FAO UN, Human Rights Watch, and Amnesty International confirm the assertions that there are still high rocketing incidences of unconstitutional change of governments, arms proliferation, terrorists' attacks, political repressions and gross violation of Human Rights in the sub-region.

The puzzling question then is why the sub-region, despite the ratification of these ECOWAS Protocols, still experience such widespread Political Insecurity?

The main focus of this study, therefore, is to appraise the 1999 and 2001 ECOWAS Protocols, with emphasis on the Political Security element of Human Security, in order to establish the adequacy or otherwise of their provisions to addressing the Political Insecurity in the West African sub-region.

The central question that will drive this study is; how adequate do the 1999 and 2001 ECOWAS Protocols promote Political Security in the West African sub-region?

1.2   RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objectives that this study seeks to achieve include

1. To examine the relevant Political Security Provisions in the 1999 and 2001 ECOWAS Protocols.

2. To analyse and ascertain the adequacy of the Provisions to deal with the Political Security situations within Member States.

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3. To seek to contribute to reforms in these protocols for Political Security promotion in West Africa.

1.3   SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to appraise ECOWAS's 1999 and 2001 Protocols in relation to the promotion of Political Security in the West African sub-region. These two ECOWAS Protocols were selected because they contain and deals with issues of Political Security. As a result, the scope of the study encompasses an analysis of the two Protocols (the 1999 and the 2001 Protocols) and their Political Security Provisions. Other ECOWAS Protocols and reports have also been perused for clarity and further information for analysis. The scope also extends to the various conceptions of Human Security and its operational meanings. The study again considered an examination of the current Political Security situations in West Africa.

1.4   JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

Political Security is a necessary element in modern society and Africa in particular. This is because it serves as a catalyst for peace, security and development. Thus, incessant abuse of power by leaders, gross violation of rights, election-related violence, and unconstitutional seizure of power, have consequential effects on nation's security and citizens' wellbeing. The attempts by ECOWAS to promote Political Security has resulted in the promulgation of Protocols some of which are the 1999 and 2001 Protocols. The continuous manifestation of Political Insecurity in the sub-region has created the need to appraise these Protocols to establish how they address the menace. This would help identify and provide appropriate recommendations to strengthen these Protocols towards the promotion of Political Security.

The importance of this study is therefore enormous and covers several areas. Firstly, the findings would influence policy direction and formulation on Political Security within the sub-region. It also would serve as the basis and direction for future academic research on Political Security. It is expected that the study will also fill a lacuna in the literature on appraising of ECOWAS Protocols and how they address Political Security in West Africa. Finally, it is in partial fulfilment for the award of Master of Philosophy degree in Political Science.

1.5   SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This empirical investigation is important for International Relations scholars, Comparative Politics scholars and policy makers and analysts. For International Relations scholars, it will highlight the impact of International Institutions at the domestic levels. In the realm of Comparative Politics, it would indicate whether factors external to a State could have any significant impact on its internal Political Security. Finally, the study would provide important guidelines on how ECOWAS could assist in promoting Political Security in West Africa.

1.6   THE SITE OF THE STUDY

West Africa is the western part of the African continent. It is bordered on the west and south by the Atlantic Ocean, and extends from Mauritania in the north-west to Niger in the north-east and Nigeria in the south-east (Okolo, 1985:123). It is made up of sixteen (16) countries, excluding the Island of Saint of Helena (British oversees territory) and Portuguese colonized Sao Tome and Principe. Its total land size of about 6.1million square kilometres is home to the three landlocked countries; Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso and the Cape Verde Island. The others include Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea,

Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo and Mauritania. All these countries, excluding Mauritania, make up the ECOWAS Community (Adeniran, 2012). In its 2015 study, the UN pegged the sub-region's population at about 367 million (UN, 2015) with almost a half from Nigeria. The region is endowed with rich mineral resources including petroleum, iron ore, gold, tin, zinc, lead, bauxite, diamond, ivory etc. It also boasts of large arable lands and has agriculture produce as its major foreign exchange earner. Some of the agricultural produce in the region includes cocoa, coffee, palm nuts, palm oil, groundnuts, pineapples and cashew nuts. Almost all the states in the sub-region have been colonised by European countries including English, French, Portuguese and the Dutch.

1.7   ORGANISATION OF WORK

The work is organised into six main chapters. The following are the categorisations;
The Chapter one is composed of the introduction of the study. The composition includes the background to the study, statement of the research problem and research objectives. It also highlights the site of the study, significance and justification of the study.

The second chapter presents the literature review on the study. It reviews literatures on Human Security and Political Security debates. It also contains a review of literature on ECOWAS and studies on ECOWAS Protocols.

The third chapter addresses the theoretical frame from which the research questions are drawn from. It also expatiates on how the theory underpins the study.

The forth chapter details the methodology used for the conduct of the study. It discusses how the data is gathered and analysed using appropriate research criterion.

The fifth chapter deals with the data analysis based on the respondents responds on the two Protocols under review. It also discusses the various provisions of the Protocols as contained in texts.

The final chapter presents the research summary, recommendations and conclusions based on the outcome of the study. Some relevant details such as the interview guides, bibliography and maps used to aid easy identification, as used by the researcher are also attached at appropriate places.

1.8   CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the background to the study and the research problem. It highlighted the contributions of ECOWAS towards the promotion of Political Security in the sub-region through its protocols and interventions. It again presented the research objectives, the justification, as well as the significance and organisation of the study.
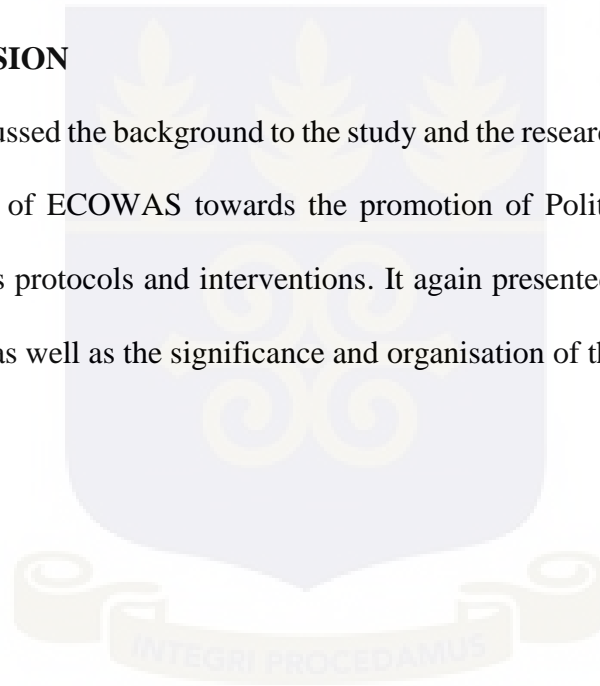
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The review of literature involves a systematic assessment of a body of existing works in an area of study. It is key to the success of a research study. As Boote and Beile (2005) intimated; no researcher can conduct a meaningful study without a fair understanding of the existing knowledge pertained in that field. According to Randolph (2009), the literature review process equips one with methodological insights and help distinguish between what has been done and what needs to be done. It also helps in rationalizing the significance of the problem to be researched on and to gain new perspectives. The sources of literature for this review includes journal articles, conference papers, books, websites and online portals, previous projects and theses/dissertations as well as key dictionaries. The approach employed for the review is a combination of the historical, conceptual and methodological approaches as identified by Randolph (2009:4). It focuses on introductions, definitions and methods employed for discussions and result presentations. The thematic areas that the review focused on includes the conceptual meaning of Human Security and Political Security, the causes, threats and challenges of Political Security in Africa and general studies on ECOWAS.

2.1   THE CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION OF HUMAN SECURITY

The facet of Human Security beset by colossal controversy has been its definition. Thus, the meaning and scope as well as the development credence of Human Security have been disputed on several grounds (Acharya, 2001; Owen, 2004; Roberts, 2005; Tsai, 2009 and

Attuquayefio, 2012). This section reviews literatures on the definition of Human Security and attempts to carve an operational definition in the context of this study.

Baldwin, (1997:12-18) averred that the definition of security should answer questions such as; "for whom, for which values, how much security, from which threats, by what means, at what cost, and in what time period?". Amouyel, (2006: 45) highlighted among these, the "security for whom and by what means". Thus, the person or group of persons the protection should be geared towards and the modules for attainment. This conception gives security a broad outlook and puts several societal issues in the brackets of Human Security.

Security scholars have often debated on whether Human Security is a concept or be considered an ordinary term. This has resulted in differences in how it is used or/and looked at. Whiles some scholars including Krause, (2005) and Amouyel, (2006) refers to it as a "concept", several others address it either as a "new theory, a starting point of analysis, a world view, a political agenda or a policy framework" (Tadjbakhsh, 2005:5 and Attuquayeffio, 2012: 13-14). Although the focus of this work is not to advance such argument but it sides with the school of thought that construes Human Security as a concept and will refer to it as such in this study. This was influenced by the fact that "a concept" defined by Collins English dictionary as "a directly intuited object of thought" best explains the Human security.

A universal definition that elucidates Human Security is elusive notwithstanding the several discussions both on national and international platforms. This difficulty persists because individuals and States perceive "security changes" differently. For instance, whiles Alpher, (1994) identifies that Israel's security concerns is the national threats emanating

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from its extremists neighbouring Arab actors, Bhattacharjee, (2009) attribute's that of Canada foreign intruders or spies. He explains that the twist in security approach that National Security Review in July 2009 in Canada brought was occasioned by a new security concern. There was an agreement that businesses and their ownership had consequential effects on national security. The Review was therefore to ensure that businesses that operates in the security sector were regulated and those owned by individuals from countries considered as possible threats were not allowed to operate. This clearly shows that the two countries identify different issues and strategies as possible threats and solutions to their security concerns.

According to Paris (2009) and Attuquayeffio, (2012) the foremost statement that could be considered, as a definition for Human Security, is that of UNDP in its 1994 Human Development Report. This conceptualisation has served as the classical definition of the concept. The report asserts that the proponents of Traditional Security seem to have lost sight on the security concerns of the ordinary people (UNDP, 1994:22). The corrective measure of such a glitch, it contends, is the Human Security Concept. In view of this, the Report described Human Security as concerning "safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression" and the "protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life". Thus, the individual is entitled to a dignified life and so anything that would impair the quality and safety of such life is a human security concern. The total shielding of the individual against these elements is what the Report refers to as Human Security. The UN in the Report has therefore identified and enlisted seven essential dimensions of Human Security. They include

(1) Economic security (freedom from poverty)

(2) Food security (access to life sustaining food)

(3) Health security (access to good health care and protection from diseases)

(4) Environmental security (protection from environmental hazards)

(5) Personal security (physical safety against torture, war, criminal attacks, domestic violence, drug abuse, suicide, etc.)

(6) Community security (survival of traditional cultural identity and interest and the protection of ethnic groups, especially the smaller ones, against being maligned and intimidated and

(7) Political Security (enjoyment of civil and political rights, and freedom from political oppression).

According to the Report, these dimensions constituted aspects of human life that if catered for, would help realize the individuals' dignity as human beings and members of society.

Although apt and revealing, the UNDP critique of traditional connotation of security does lack precision and has conceptualized an idea that features a vast scope. In order words, its notion brings the numerous societal issues under the ambit of Human Security. Despite this and other shortfalls, that buffets the UNDP's definition, it is instructive to indicate that, the bulk of subsequent literatures on Human Security employed its dimension at as a base line to build on.

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According to Buzan, (2004), Owen, (2004), Paris, (2004) and Busumtwi-Sam, (2008) inferences from the UNDP Report generates two general positions on Human Security; the "expansive" and "narrow" perspectives. The expansive conception ties Human Security to the wide range of contemporary developmental challenges that confronts human safety, wellbeing and dignity. It ranges from economic, political, social and environmental to cultural. The narrow conception on the other hand suggests that, for effective policy actions to deal with Human Insecurity, a narrower focus on issues such as armed conflicts and tyranny is required (Tadjbakhsh, 2005; Krause, 2005b; Busumtwi-Sam, 2008). These two perspectives informed the UNDP Report's categorization of Human Security into "*freedom from want"* and "*freedom from fear"* (Busumtwi-Sam, 2008:17).

As indicated earlier, although the UNDP classical definition of Human Security lacked definite boundary and scope (Paris, 2004), other works on the concept have either been a redefinition of the UNDP's categorization or suggestions on how it should be measured and ensured (Owen, 2004, Leaning & Arie, 2000; Attuquayefio, 2012). On this tangent Rosalind Boyd underscored that Human Security means the "ability to pursue [those] choices in a safe environment, broadly encompassing [the] seven dimensions of security-..." (Boyd, 2005:115). Thus, whiles she agrees with the UNDP's seven dimensions, her contention is that Human Security is not ensured if the various dimensions are enjoyed or realized under unsafe environment. Her argument suggests, therefore, that if a high per capita income, which would eventually spur the economic fortunes (economic security) of citizens in a country, is attained at the expense of gross violation of the political rights of women and children (Political Insecurity), then Human Security cannot be said to have

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been ensured. This "safer environment" element adopted by Rosalinda Boyd ensures some level of clarity and measurability of some of the concept's dimensions.

Japan remains one of the countries to have accepted and adopted the Human Security concept as a working principle. Providing an exposition on the concept, the Japan Government Diplomatic Bluebook (1999) averred that;

> Human Security comprehensively covers all the menaces that threaten human survival, daily life, and dignity-for example, environmental degradation, violations of Human Rights, transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, refugees, poverty, anti-personnel land-mines and infectious diseases such as AIDS-and strengthens efforts to confront these threats.

According to the Japan Government, Human Security comprises anything that threatens human survival and dignity and the steps adopted to address all of such challenges. The position of Japan requires a government to ensure that citizens with the right to experience a dignified life are shielded against all life threatening situations. Thus, a state has the responsibility of not only protecting but also promoting social, political and economic conditions to ensure dignity of citizens. Although it is unequivocal that such a comprehensive programme would secure maximum comfort and dignity for citizens, but the concern is whether much plagued and maligned citizens should not be prioritized. Thus, whiles they offer Human Security a comprehensive understanding, they failed to indicate *"who"* Human Security should focus on. This is problematic and noteworthy because policies and programs would require targeted audience for better planning and execution. It is important to acknowledge also that different classes of people experience the impact of misfortunes and mistreats differently. Busumtwi-Sam (2008) suggested in this regard, Human Security should at target some sections of citizens. He explains that the focus of Human Security should be tilted towards addressing what threatens the most

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deprived and vulnerable in society. His observation is in tandem with Takasu's view that the vulnerable in society should be guaranteed freedom from fear and from want, as their entitlement (Abt, 2013: 32). Identifying the extremely vulnerable people in the society, Suhrke, (1999:271-272) suggests that most often than not "victims of internal conflicts, those close to the subsistence level and are thus structurally positioned at the edge of socio-economic disaster and victims of natural disasters" becomes more vulnerable to the scourge of misery. These constitutes the groups he opines are in the vulnerability net.

Hudson, (2005) also professed that the core principles of underlining Human Security is the provision of basic needs for survival and safeguard of the dignity of the most vulnerable group(s) in society. He opined that although Human Security focuses on the protection and promotion of human dignity but the focus is narrowed to those whose lives may be impaired without such intervention(s). To him, living a dignified life is a privilege all citizens deserve but since circumstances make some people prone to abuses and consequential effects, the more vulnerable should be prioritized. The challenge associated with Hudson assertion is that, whiles he distinctively outlined the group that should be the focus of Human Security; he fails to state same for the associated Human Security challenges. This is against the backdrop of some security challenges being compromised for proper functioning of systems.

In his operationalisation of the term, Busumtwi-Sam (2008:19) defined Human Security/insecurity as the "relative presence/absence (or increase/decrease) of contingencies that threaten physical and psychosocial harms affecting human dignity, livelihoods, safety, survival, and health & well- being in the contexts (political, economic, socio-cultural, and ecological) within which processes of human development takes place".

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Busumtwi-Sam enumerates the aspects of human life that could be threatened by such phenomena, an element missing in the definition offered by Japan. A closer reading of his definition however reveals that he neither clearly sets out who should be the target in Human Security considerations nor identifies the specific threats that constitute Human Insecurity. These omissions are grave because the UNDP definition suggests that Human Security is universal, global and indivisible. This implies that Human Security is interrelated; the security of a people somewhere is dependent on the insecurity of others at another place (Hudson 2005). These ripple effects from such a phenomenon would require placing the interest of one group ahead of others. Again, there is the need for clarity since an area of controversy within the milieu of Human Security discourse concerns the threats that constitutes insecurity and those that requires greater consideration.

In his attempt to give a clearer understanding on such a lacuna, (Alkire, 2003) postulates that what constitutes in/security varies across individuals, periods and even countries. In other words, countries and individuals alike have varied security or insecurity concerns. Ayoob Mohammed justified this position centuries ago when he contended that the security situations and needs of Euro-America were different from that of "Third World" like Africa. To him, strong/developed States security needs are different from that of weak/developing ones. He opined that whiles the former is threatened by mainly external issues; the latter's threats are from internal issues. He asserts also that the security issues of the World Wars era were different from that of the Post-Cold War era (Ayoob, 1997). Concurring with these assertions, Cilliers (2004:9) stipulated that, internal threats in weak states rather than threats of arm attacks is what endangers most African countries. While these arguments help elucidate and put security situations into perspectives, they do not

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clarify various security threats nor identify what African security threats really are. This conceals the opportunity to offer an appropriately designed strategy to curb threats and enhance quality Human Security discourse.

In his attempt to draw a complete picture of the concept, Thakur, (1997:45) widened the scope and components of Human Security in his conceptualization. He describes the concept as;

> anything which degrades [the] quality of life – demographic pressures, diminished access to or stock or resources, and so on – is a security threat. Conversely, anything which can upgrade their quality of life – economic growth, improved access to resources, social and political empowerment, and so on – is an enhancement of Human Security.

This assertion by Thakur pressuposes that for Human Security to be ensured, human development and good governance ideals must be observed. It further suggests that sanctions against countries that breach laws aimed at ensuring the promotion of human dignity of citizens should be instituted to promote compliance (Attuquayeffio, 2012). Human security therefore encompasses the manifestation of environment that ensures human dignity and the processes that promotes such conditions.

The Commission on Human Security also offered an ice breaking by iterating that the concept seeks to protect and enhance the lives of the individuals in the society. It described the concept as constituting a strategy for the protection of the most imperious aspects of human life. In the light of its words, the concept seeks to protect

> the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment. Human Security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity (CHS, 2003:4).

Juxtaposing the CHS assertions with Alkire, (2003:2), there is an understanding that the concept seeks to "safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, in a way that is consistent with long term human fulfilment". This focus is narrowed to individuals' "vital core" ie those aspects of the individual's life that impinges his/her survival. Whiles there is clear picture of the group of people that should be the focus of the concept in this exposition, Abt (2013) argues that there exists a likely conflict between the interests of "people" and that of "individuals". The use of "human" could be misleading as it could be interpreted to mean "all people". This by implication would mean that Human Security must satisfy all citizens' interests in principle. But as claimed by Khong, (2001), whiles it is possible to prioritize the interests of all people in principle, impacts could be compromised. In other words, any attempt to satisfy all interests will result in satisfying none. Such a prickly issue needs to be settled if Human Security is to realize its prospects.

Ajdari and Asgharpour puts the definition of the concept simply as the "removal of poverty and deprivation, having a suitable level of life and to guarantee the basic rights of humans" (Ajdari & Asgharpour, 2011:42). Whiles this definition looks sweeping and limited to only freedom from want, they posit that Human Security entails "quantitative and "qualitative aspect" reveals that interventions require different magnitudes for maximum effect. Thus, while certain interventions require large-scale manifestation to realise effective result, others require quality for better impact.

Despite its contested nature as shown in the synopsis above, the central focus of Human Security is to safeguard states sovereignty in general and human wellbeing in particular against security threats (Marfo, 2013). Security threats concerns anything that poses danger to the vital core of individuals. The individual's vital core is as used refers to the

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individual's survival. From the Human Security perspective, the things that could threaten the survival of the individual includes fear, want, violence and the threats to dignity. Therefore, Human Security concerns anything that ensures that people do not want, that people have no fear of violence and that people can live dignified lives.

2.2   POLITICAL SECURITY

Tsai, (2009:21) notes that real security could not be said to exist when individuals are subjected to political oppression. The Commission on Human Security (CHS) adds, "Without popular participation in shaping agendas on security, political and economic elites will do it alone in a process that will further marginalize and impoverish the people of Africa" (CHS 2003:3)

Political Security is one of the seven components of Human Security elements in the 1994 UNDP Report. Although the Human Security concept does not favour superiority of one components over others, but Political Security appears to serves as the anchor for the other components. Hassan, (2015) attests to this when he observed that the direct and simple relationship between Human Security and Political Security is that the foremost aim of the former is to ensure that societies promote and protect people's basic Human Rights. Peterson, (2009:4-5) also notes that of the two dominant approaches in Human Security, it is the Liberal-Operational Approach which concerns elections, Human Rights, good governance, rule of law etc. rather than the emancipatory approach that dominates its discourse. Owutu, (2012) concurs with these assertions by noting that, almost every facet of society's life is politicized and politics affects the entirety of human life. Karl W. Deutsch also noted in this regard that politics and all that which constitutes decision-making have become the determinants of societies fortune. He postulated, "If civilization

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should be destroyed and most of mankind killed within the next twenty to thirty years, we shall not be killed by plague or pestilence; we shall be killed by politics. Politics has become, literally, a matter of life and death"(Deutsch, 1970: 4-5). Political Security is therefore central for progress marking in every aspect of life.

2.2.1   Defining Political Security

Political Security, typical of social sciences concepts, lacks a clear-cut definition (da Costa, 2008). Notwithstanding, some scholars and practitioners alike have attempted coining contextual definitions for the concept.

According to McEldowney (2005), Political Security serves as the basics of the freedoms enjoyed in democratic systems. The importance of Political security, he argued, is grounded in the fact that the breakdown of law and order through civil disturbance threatens society's survival. Political security to him therefore, refers to the protection of citizens' freedoms in a way that enhances their feeling of being part of the political system. Despite the fact that his assertion failed to enumerate how these basic freedoms could be attained, he has elucidated the nature and essence of political security that is central to this study.

Ong, (2007:718) did postulate that, Political Security fundamentally relates to "the organisation and process of government and the ideology that gives the rulers of a particular country legitimacy". He explains that Political Security entails two elements; procedures of constituting a government and the grounds on which such a government remains a legitimate governing body. Although his exposition establishes grounds and processes for governance, the focus of his analysis has solely been on the governing class.

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Thus, he has failed to expatiate the rights of the individuals under such circumstances. He also clarifies not the ideologies that legitimises the power of a government.

The USLEGAL online portal explains Political Security as representing the "defense against any form of political oppression" and concerns the assurance of basic Human Rights for members of a society. The focus here are elimination of repression and human rights abuses. A failure to state what oppressive practices constitute here, gives Political Security a nebulous scope. This standpoint renders the interpretation of political oppression subjective. Situations of this kind could create a caveat for exploitation and confusion. Thus, it could serve as an opportunity for vindictive governments to crack down on their political opponents. Again, in Communist China, the government may not accept to be described as politically oppressive if it does not allow multi-party and multi-candidate contests but that could not be said in the United States of America. Whiles such practices could contravene International Laws; it may also be justified under their domestic laws. Again, mischievous opposition may exploit this lacuna to make unsubstantiated allegations against the government.

The 1994 UNDP Report used the term to mean the "prevention of government repression, systematic violation of Human Rights and threats from militarization" (UNDP, 1994:32, Hassan, 2015:86). The United Nation adopts the term to mean the protection of citizens' Human Rights in a manner that upholds their wellbeing and dignity. It seeks to promote Civil and Political Rights such as the right to vote or contest elections, the freedoms of press and speech and the curbing of political detentions, unlawful imprisonment, torture and the disappearance mostly of political opponents. This conception of Political Security by the UN was influenced by the 1993 Amnesty International Report's revelation of

political repression, systematic torture, ill treatments, disappearance and general violation of Human Rights. This perspective suggests that Political Security seeks to address the 'freedom from fear' component of citizens Human Security. As construed by the Canadian government, Human Security focuses on people's freedoms in terms of their rights, peaceful living environments devoid of violence or threats of violence (MacLean, 2002). This is however, at variance with Japan's conception of the concept as the prevention of situations that threatens the survival, daily life and dignity of human lives (freedom from want).

The UNDP Report established that the relationship between Political Security and Human Security is the proposition that "people should be able to live in a society that honours their basic Human Rights" (UNDP, 1994:32). Thus, Political Security concerns the conditions necessary for the realization of the individual's dignity. This explanation of Political Security by UNDP, according to Hassan (2015), was an attempt to establish an agenda for the protection of the citizens of countries that were torturing, oppressing and meting out ill treatment and disappearance. da Costa (2008) argues that the UNDP's conceptualization of the term appeared too narrow as it was limited to only sub-categories of Human Rights and repressive acts of governments against political opponents. He furthers that such conceptualization of Political Security could not offer deep insights for purposes of research. To get a better understanding for the purpose of this study therefore, the concept must be given a broader and complete scope.

Advancing his elucidation on the meaning of the term, da Costa (2008) intimated that there existed two converging ideas in Political Security. The first is citizens' participation in the legitimate decision-making processes as guided and provided for by laws of a state. This

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encompasses the freedom granted citizens to participate, as per law establish, in the political activities in a state. Secondly, the scope of Political Security encompasses governing activities such as voting, separation of powers and accountability of elected individuals and bureaucrats. It also extends to the protection of Human Rights, stability in governance and citizens right to a share of the national cake (da Costa, 2008:563). He postulated further that Political Security "addresses the nature of government; the set of relationships between individuals and groups on the one hand, and the state on the other, for the exercise of rights and obligations in power distribution"(da Costa, 2008:562). To him the scope of Political Security has further extended to include "conditions that can provide a new degree of protection of individual's data and preferences …from non-authorized intrusion" (da Costa, 2008:567). This addition has become necessary because of globalisation and it associate dangers. The globalised world with its attendant technological advancement has rendered people's privacy susceptible to intrusion. The continuous attempt by criminals and terrorist to exploit that link and governments' resolve to curtail it has exacerbated the susceptibility. A close reading of da Costa's work reveals that democracy is both the ambiance and the hub around which Political Security spins.

Political Security, like democracy, demands opportunity for citizens to participate in the governing processes of their state. Political Security is coterminous therefore with "partial regimes" of embedded liberal democracy (Merkel, 2004). Thus, Political Security elements include "democratic electoral regimes, political participation, civil rights, horizontal accountability, and the guarantee that the power to govern lies in the hands of democratically elected representatives" (Merkel, 2004). Political Security therefore

encompasses citizens' control over the constitution of governing bodies and the control of their power.

Political Security is operationalized in this study to mean the protection of the political and civil liberties of citizens that guarantees their participation in the governance processes of their state. It ranges from taking part in elections, that is, to vote or be voted for), absence of political repression, adherence to the rule of law, and the total observance of the freedom of press and association. Domestic and international laws guarantees it.

Political Insecurity on the other hand refers to the absence of protection for the political and civil rights of citizens. It manifests in the gross violation and lack of recognition for the Rule of Law, Human Rights, Political Participation, Representation, and general civil liberties. Thus, Political Insecurity is the gross violation of citizens' political and civic rights.

2.3   POLITICAL SECURITY IN AFRICA

According to Marfo, (2013) Human Security remains a felicitous means to attaining sustainable development. Africa, a continent Moyo, (2009) describes as the home of misery, hunger and despair, would have no option than embrace such an opportunity. Fortunately, the concept's propositions, especially Political Security is not novel in Africa. Boafo-Arthur (2002:8) asserts that the ideals espoused by Pan-Africanists in both pre and post-independence era such as Kenneth Kaunda's "Political Ideals of Humanism", typified Human Security that revolves around Political Security. The plethora of literature on Human Security by scholars and practitioners alike over the last decade indicates the attention its elements have gained. Franke, (2008) observes however that, most of these

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literatures have focused on Developed than developing countries and institutions such as North Atlantic Trade Union (NATO) and European Union (EU) at the expense of African Union (AU) and ECOWAS. The irony however is that, grave Political or Human Insecurity in general, manifests rather greatly in the developing regions such as Africa (Akokpari, 2007). Although there is little focus on Africa and its institutions but an appreciable quantity of literature addressing the Human Security elements in Africa does exist.

2.3.1   Political Security as the Core of Human Security in Africa

Neethling observed that the "African Union's Common Defence and Security Policy" framed in 2004, was informed by African leaders bid to collectively safeguard the Human Security of the continents citizens (Neethling, 2004). Neethling lauded the AU-UN collaboration towards securing Africans and echoed the need for tackling the security threats that are endangering the peace fabrics in the sub-region. His recommendations, however, does not highlight which threats he considers as endangering the peace of the sub-region and needs to be tackled. His work also failed to offer any designed framework on the strategies for addressing such threats. However, a careful study of Neethling's work reveals that his proposed solution embraces tackling such issues as economic, political and social wellbeing, which according to Hamilton (2009) has a direct bearing on national security.

Myriam Denov advanced the contours of understanding the security threats in Africa with his 2006 work on "Wartime Sexual Violence" in Sierra Leone. His objective was to increase perspectives on the dimensional threats and effects of conflicts in the region. Analysing the impact of violent conflicts on girls, she contended that, sexual violence as a Human Security threat, posed a lifelong mental defect on victims. She contends that violent

conflicts ruin both the personal and societal security of citizens and exposes vulnerable females to the harassment of some uncouth males, both from the military and civilian ranks. To have conducted such a study without suggesting an inclusion of women into mainstream politics amounts to a serious blip. This is more revealing because Jain, (1996) professes that such an inclusion could help address several of society-governance inadequacies and women related challenges, and prevent such violent conflicts from manifesting. To Jain (1996), women have the ability to bring civic governance experiences to national governance to induce peace and coexistence. To grant women a centre stage role in the search for peace and development would therefore yield much positive results. Although Denov's study failed to probe into how such violent conflicts could be mitigated or prevented, it revealed that the disrespect for citizens' Political Security, which could degenerate into chaos, as, alluded to by Hamilton (2009), endangers the general Human Security of females.

On the issue of violent threats, Williams (2007) concurred with Denov, (2006) on a general basis. He indicated that violence remained at the centre of security threats in Africa. He, however, suggested that to deal with these threats, a holistic analysis-encompassing domestic, criminality and armed conflicts must be the focus. Thus, several events constitute the causes as well as solutions of Human Security in Africa. Elbadawi and Sambanis, (2000) on this note suggested that the roots of the threats are bad governance with its dictatorial tendencies and mismanagement of economies. The efficient way to manage such threats, therefore, would be to institute democratic reforms specially tailored towards political governance and proper economic management.

Omotola, (2008) also opined that one of the threats to Human Security in Africa is *"political globalisation"*. Thus, the efforts towards political liberalisation of the public sphere has structural, behavioural and attitudinal nature as foundational elements. The structural foundations concern socio-economic conditions such as keeping poverty at its barest minimum, institutionalising social mechanisms such as periodic competitive, free and fair elections, the rule of law and multi-party systems. The behavioural elements on the other hand involve capacities to revert anti-democratic challenges whiles the attitudinal deals with strategic and cognitive elements to sustain democracy. He furthers that whiles political globalisation is coterminous with citizenship; the former has become a source of security threat as it limits the meaning, essence and substance of citizenship. Instead of promoting inclusive citizenship predicated on fairness, equality and social justice, the political globalisation process perverts' democratisation and citizenship. The exclusionary tendency that is unleashed, especially on the vulnerable groups; ethnic minorities, women and youth, amounts to gross violation of individual and groups rights. A situation of this sort, therefore, constitutes a security scare.

West African Civil Society Forum (WACSOF) also points out in its 2015 Report that the general undemocratic practices often adopted by governments across the West African region to elongate their tenures, has been the core of threat to citizens' wellbeing. It furthers that Member States often disregard conventions that guarantee citizens' rights, equality and are development oriented. To promote the wellbeing of citizens would therefore require a deliberate effort to address the leadership gap on the continent.

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1.1.1   Political Insecurity in Africa

Akokpari (2007) observes that the greatest challenge to Human Security is the failure of researchers to identify its causes. Thus, their lenses focus on the "effects" rather than the "causes", thereby impeding the course of addressing the menace. In this regard, there has been an attempt in this study to establish the nature of Political Insecurity in West Africa and the reasons accounting for its pervasiveness in the region.

To begin with, Maiangwa, (2015) and Chambers, (2015:3) both intimated that; unconstitutional change of government, transnational crimes; arms, drug and human trafficking and terrorism that have inundated the continent, constitutes Human Security threats. The causal elements of Human Security in Africa according to Maiangwa therefore are political in outlook. Ibn Chambas also advanced similarly that Africa's democratic failures have often served as the hatching haven for the grave manifesting insecurity in the continent. He illustrates that; a frustrated teaming youth that foresee no future bliss would resort to any form of violent means to seek redress for their concerns (Chambas, 2015:4). These assertions by Chambas indicate that Political Insecurity is not only a problem but also a cause of other problems in Africa and so the need to grant it maximum attention. This conclusion by Ibn Chambas supports the central objective of this study that seeks to assess how a sub-regional body, ECOWAS, in Africa has attempted to address the Political Security concerns in a sub region in Africa.

It is imperative to note also that the forgone observations do affirm the assertions by the 2001 Special Security Council Report that; the weakening in democratic governance and the near ineffectiveness of governing institutions are among the emerging phenomena threatening West Africa's security. To the authors, the roots of the insecurity manifesting

in the sub-region is politically inclined and so could only be addressed by ensuring the Political Security of citizens. This assertion further confirms how pressing the issue of political security is in the West African sub-region and therefore the need for a study of this sort.

Marfo, (2013) restricting himself to Ghana inferred that; the politics of insults, corruption, political marginalization and human rights abuses does manifest both as Human Security threats and grounds on which Human Security threats such as conflicts, thrives. His work complements Maiangwa (2015) by enumerating the causes and forms of Human Security threats in West Africa. However, adopting a qualitative method for the study and limiting it to only Ghana makes it difficult to get a generalize picture for the sub-region. This is because differences in situations may pertain in other countries. A mixed method that involves a comparative analysis on a broader scope would have been appropriate for such a study. Although the objective of this study is not on Ghana and Marfo's exposition, the issues identified and dealt with are central concerns of Political Security.

In an attempt to identify the causes of Political Insecurity in West Africa and to justify Political Insecurity as the core of Human Insecurity, Mary Robinson contended that "disempowerment and marginalization" in the political space lied at the centre of human insecurity. She argues that "the underlying causes of practically all Human Insecurity [is the] absence of the capacity to influence change at the personal or community level, exclusion from voting or participating in local and national decision making…"(Robinson, 2005:5). This implies that Political Insecurity constitutes the root of all Human Insecurity and any attempt to addressing it must be looked at from that direction. To address this therefore, she suggests that decision-making processes should be all inclusive in outlook.

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In other words, all citizens of sound mind and of age should be empowered and included in the mainstream decision making processes in the State.

Writing a column in the June 13, 2014 edition of the Harvard International Review, Abdulrahaman Dambazau also pointed out that the causes of Political Insecurity in West Africa is typified by Nigeria, the sub-region's hegemon's situation. The review postulates that whiles other factors might have contributed to the security challenges in the country, poor governance and the lack of effective leadership at all levels has been the root of the menace. This gap, according to the review, is what has nursed the flourishing grounds for ethno-religious, resource based and elections-induced conflicts in Nigeria. Thus, the absence of good governance has been the bane of West Africa and Africa as a whole. This confirms Robison (2005) assertion that governance has a heavy toe on Human Security. It is also in sync with Williams, (2007) assertion that the attainment of security in Africa would require a phase of "political change". He contends that the insecurity in Africa is neither natural nor inevitable as it is caused either by the choices of international forces or African factors. This could however be addressed by reorienting the citizens' mind-set on leadership and systems. Thus, making the people for whom governance is instituted participants of the governing processes. This affirms further the need for this study that looks at how ECOWAS aspires to promote such an important agenda.

2.3.2 The Challenges to Political Security Attainment in Africa

According to Ong'ayo (2008), the challenges to Political Security in Africa have both external and internal origins. To him leadership gap and post-colonial structures constitute the foundation to these challenges. He argues that Africa as a continent is plagued by leadership deficit. The once freedom heroes in African countries often turn into dictators

and plunder their States resources. They also adopt exclusionary and repressive policies in other to consolidate their stay in power. Whiles this appears to be an internal cause, evidence available suggests that external forces who are interested in exploiting the continent of its resources, instigate some of these actions by African leaders. The African Focus Bulletin, (2006) for instance reported that African politicians deplete off their states wealth are keep them in banks in the Western capitals. The West use these monies to better their economies and hide behind the guise of confidentiality to justify why they cannot expose such devious leaders. Ogbonna, Bayode, and Awuah, (2013) concurs on these assertions by observing that; selfishness on the part of stake holders and corruption retards the challenges militating against ECOWAS efforts in promoting Political Security in Member States. In other words, these leaders are of the view that liberal schemes on would jeopardize their fortunes.

Ong'ayo (2008) again suggested that the Post-Colonial structures instituted by the colonial masters' poses a challenge to the Political Security in Africa. These structures came to displace the traditionally instituted practices of African societies. He noted with regret how African countries despite the demise of colonialism still lived under the scare of the injustices and oppressive features born out of colonial structures. To him, the causes of weak institutions of States, flawed legislative systems and constant struggle for political power to the detriment of citizens' wellbeing, is traceable to these structures. Whiles such structures looked ideal in Europe, they are alien to Africans and results in creating cliques than promoting communal interests of citizens.

Spears, (2007) concurred with Ong'ayo by tracing this plight of Africa to the fabrics of post-colonial African State that took roots from colonialism. He pointed out three major

contributing factors in this regard. These include the structure of post-colonial African states, sporadic violent conflicts and the nature of partitioning of the continent.

To begin with, Spears argued that the post-colonial African States have been structured to prevent a re-emergence of colonialism. The structuring has not prioritised creating a system that aims at protecting citizens' and promoting domestic order. In other words, the domestic Political Security elements were not the focus of African post-colonial reconstruction. This has African states caring less of domestic threats. Spears thus attribute the manifestations of political insecurity to the structural construct of Post-Colonial Africa. His views concurs with Galtung, (1971:75) attribution of conflicts to the structural formation of societies. In his work, Galtung quipped that the concept of "structural violence" helps offer explicit elucidation to the struggles in human societies.

Spears also cited the history of violent conflicts as another reason for the abuse of Political Security in the sub-region. Concurring with Chabal and Daloz, (1999), Spears intimated that such violent conflicts, as do erupt in Africa, weakens the already weak States and turn them into flourishing grounds for voracious leaders and their unscrupulous activities. Whiles these leaders are the orchestrators of these actions; it is imperative to note that they are often inspired and supported by outside forces. These forces strive to maintain existing status quos to continue maximising their gains. The foreign forces also promote their interests by instigating and sponsoring more violence and uprisings to further destabilise the internal peace and security of their target states.

The other challenge he attributed to the Political Security situation in the continent is the nature of the partitioning and colonization of the continent. He observed that the

partitioning of the continent did not take into consideration any African interest or wellbeing. Whiles some ethnic groups with common ties were separated, others of bitter rivalry were brought together under one administration. This has often been a major source of internal diversity and has severally triggered highly volatile quarrels. This becomes dicier when one of such groups clinch political power. The governing class often oppress and malign the interest of the opponents. Jackson and Rosberg, (1982) notes that when differences of such escape proper management, the rivalry subsequently escalates into large-scale conflicts. This occurrence has further derailed and marred the Political Security situation in the West African sub-region.

Shehu, (2015) appear to agree with both Ong'ayo and Spears when he identified that, Africa's colonial historical background was one of the factors that murk's its Political Security situation. West Africa and African states in general are so much aligned to their colonial masters, who according to Bundu (1997) cited in Ogbonna, Bayode and Awuah, (2013), are only interested in exploiting rather than helping them develop. He cites, for instance, that France's parochial interest has always clouded its involvement in the activities of its former colonies. Their continuous direct involvement in African states internal political affairs and the maintenance of military bases on African soil, threatens compliance of ECOWAS activities and objectives. This further weakens Africa's control and management of its situations and contributes to the deterioration of the quality of life experienced by Africans.

According to Tieku, (2007), the main point of concern of Political Security situation in Africa has been the reluctance on the part of decision and policy makers as well as Civil Society Organisations to accept the general feasibility of the Human Security concept.

These groups, according to him still remain sceptical on the capability of the Human Security concept to addressing Africa's challenges. He opined that, although the AU's Commission brought Human Security to the fore of African ruling elites and decision makers through its Citizen Directorate (CIDO), it still does face several scepticisms from policy makers. This pessimism is born out of the notion that the individuals' Rights become insignificant when that of the general population is under siege. In other words, the promotion of the individuals' Political Security would likely put the security of the state under threat. The humanisation of security is therefore, not a healthy conception to adopt (Tieku, 2007).

Assessing these challenges from developing countries perspective, Howe and Sims, (2011) asserted that "narrow conceptualization" has been a major problem. They observed that one of the reasons behind the indemnity of the general concept of the general Human Security concept is how narrowly developing countries construe it. Such situations often leads to approaches incapable of addressing the widespread insecurity issues faced by citizens (Howe & Sims, 2011:354). Whiles the argument of narrow scope in developing countries looks logical and demands broader scope, it is imperative to state again that limited resources in those countries often influence such conceptions. Resource scarcity in countries could influence leaders' quest to undermine the Political Security of citizens in favour of national security, economic prosperity and social advancements. These countries would consider a broader scope as unattainable since the already scarce resources would have to be spread across sectors. This phenomenon does restrict policy and decision makers in developing countries as a whole and Africa in particular and restrained them from adopting programs with wider scopes.

Another challenge in the pursuit of political security has been an approach that would yield more dividends. On this, Lemanski (2012) is very pessimistic that a common approach would be beneficial in the pursuit of Political and Human Security in general. To him the viability of adopting a "Top-down approach" for the advancement of Human Security across the globe is problematic. Concurring with Ayoob, (1997) and Cilliers, (2004) positions on regional differences in security threats, Lemanski posited that the top-down approach, which considers insecurity from global level and demands collective actions from States, is not appropriate for the global South. Its' citizens' insecurity, he contends, emanates mainly from domestic threats. Approaches for tackling them must therefore take into consideration societal, regional and cultural differences. He suggested therefore that any strategy capable of successfully promoting the entire Human Security concept must consider both local as well as global security paradigms. Any attempts by ECOWAS and its Member States must therefore consider these differences.

2.3.3   ECOWAS and Political Security

Kabia, (2011), Dokken (2002) and Neethling, (2003) have discussed extensively the place of ECOWAS as a "nascent security community" with a duty to promote transnational security and political stability. Dokken, (2002) however, stages contrary arguments in that regard. To him, ECOWAS has not proven that it is committed to shoulder such a responsibility. Although authors have been at variances on this claim, evidence available indicates that although ECOWAS has been confronted with several challenges, it has not overlooked issues of political security in the sub-region. The Community has instituted different mechanisms to respond to the varied forms of the sub-region's political security challenges.

To begin with, Ogwu, (2008) intimated that the lack of good governance constitutes a major cause of West Africa's bane. The solution to this menace would require that states strictly adhere to the ideals of liberal democracy and make Political Security is pivot of functional systems. This proposition is bolstered by ECOWAS's adoption of the Protocol on Good Governance and Democracy as a supplementary Protocol to the Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security. The following are among the identified challenges that Ogwu pointed out as militating against ECOWAS in its pursuit of Political Security in West Africa;

1. Member States political will towards the course of good governance and democracy: The lack of political will from Member States to advance good governance and democracy is one challenge that is retarding ECOWAS's fight against bad governance and authoritarian regimes. Exemplifying this challenge is the failure of the Community in its 2005 Accra Summit to agree on a two-term limit for presidents across the sub-region.

2. Resources (human and material) constraints: Although the Community is expected to be independent, its lack of financial prowess to carry out certain programs and projects has been a mammoth barrier. This phenomenon often leads to donor partners' intrusion thereby compromising its independence. The Community is again unable to recruit and retain adequate and efficient workforce for its offices.

3. Institutional capacity and performance of ECOWAS Organs and Institutions: The Community's Institutions including the Court and Parliament have not shown much efficiency in the promotion of the ideals needed for the enhancement of Political Security. This worrying situation is prevailing partly because delegates rather than

elected representatives constitute the ECOWAS Parliament and so are not accountable to anyone.

4. The proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons: Despite the ratification of the 1998 Moratorium on Small Arms and Light Weapons, an estimated 7 to 8 million small arms and light weapons are in circulation in the sub-region (Ogwu, 2008). These arms often end up in the hands of scallywags like vigilante groups whose activities further muddy the political security situation in the sub-region.

Apogan-Yella, (2005) concurred with Ogwu (2008) by observing that; Political Security in a country is dependent upon the existence of appropriate and effective institutions. He cited these institutions to include well-developed and independent legislature, judiciary and vibrant press (Apogan-Yella, 2005:4). Although it is these institutions that help control the excesses of the ruling classes powers but Hamilton, (2009) is of the view that the judicial systems in Sub-Saharan Africa, manifest rather as channels for political oppression. According to him, the oppression is often systemic and is mostly orchestrated by the state. The judicial system, which is often fused into the executive arm of government, loses its oversight powers on the latter. The worse is that unqualified individuals and cronies of the executive often fill these judicial systems. As a result, people who differ from the executive ethnic demography are often discriminated against. Their routes to file complaints are limited and they remain trapped in a cycle of abuse. He exemplified this with Liberia's rural regions where there are no functioning courts. He describes the situation as subjecting the citizens to political repression because they lack legal representation. The role of an autonomous body like ECOWAS filling this gap and granting such minorities an escape

route is necessary. An exercise to assess its working documents for rectification in order to prevent exploitation amounts to a useful venture.

Anin-Botwe, (2011) and Mensa-Bonsu and Attuquayefio, (2016) holds that Political Security is better secured under a proper Rule of Law. Anin-Botwe, (2011: 56) explained the Rule of Law simply as "a legal political regime under which the law restrains the government by promoting certain liberties and creating order and predictability regarding how a country functions". Thus, the Rule of Law secures states by putting agents of violence under check. It ensures accountability, popular participation in decision-making, legal certainty and the avoidance of arbitrariness. As a result, Rule of Law remains the fulcrum of democratic dispensations with Political Security as a major tenet. The foundation needed for the consolidation of Political Security in West Africa can therefore not survive without the Rule of Law. Although the rule of law is pivotal in systems seeking political security and vice versa, leaders are likely to stifle, its operation if that would promote their agenda. Thus, the rule of law can only materialise if the authority has the mandate and impetus to implement and command same. The concern therefore is whether international organisations commands such authority.

According to Anin-Botwe (2011), International Organisations such as ECOWAS lacks structures to command allegiance from States. Although this casts doubt on the viability of the Rule of Law in the international system, Anin-Botwe (2011:59) notes that "International Rule of Law" which comprises international agreements such as the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, grants International Organisations some clout to demand compliance from

Member States. International organisations such as ECOWAS, therefore, have the powers by virtue of the agreements signed to streamline the activities of their members.

In effect, if Human Security and development are coterminous as Boafo-Arthur, (2002) asserted and development cannot transpire in the absence of Political Security as agreed by Leedy, (1997), then Mentan, (2014) conclusion that Political Security of citizens is a sine qua non for West Africa's development is apt. A study that seeks to appraise the programs and mechanisms of institutions and organisations seeking to promote political security in an African region is a worthy course.

2.4   GENERAL STUDIES ON ECOWAS

States are permitted to constitute regional arrangements and agencies for peace and security purposes under the United Nations Charter (Ssekandi, 2013). Provided for in paragraph 1 Article 52, the UN Charter indicates that on ''such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action," States can embark upon organising organisations "provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations'' (UN Charter, 1947). In this regard ECOWAS a "legal community" whose activities falls within the purview of International Laws (Ajulo, 2001:75) is a legal entity. This section reviews studies on ECOWAS to establish areas that scholars of international relation and security have concerned themselves with and the gap(s) unattended.

Studies on ECOWAS dates back to its formation days in the 1970s. Scholars of both African and non-African decent have endeavoured to conduct studies on several aspects of the Community with the objective of spurring its fortunes.

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Owing to the initial intent of ECOWAS; integrating the economies of Member States, a number of scholars have attempted to examine the Community's impact on trade and commerce within the sub-region. Notable among them are Deme, (1995) on statistical analysis of ECOWAS impact on trade flows in member countries, Onwuka, (1982) assessment of the security implications of the Free Movement Protocol on Nigeria with a focus on immigrants. Others are Osabuohien, (2007), Reuben, Arene, and Nweze (2013) and Olayiwola and David (2013) all of which studied the trade openness in the sub-region. Whiles these studies do not have much in common with the issue under study, the methodologies employed in them provides a roadmap for analysing the issues under consideration.

The chunk of conflicts witnessed in West Africa resulting in it being tagged as "being at war with itself" has also prompted scholars into assessing the conflicts situation in the sub-region (Bolaji, 2011:184). Several authors including, Adibe, (1997), Francis, (2009) Yabi, (2010) and Bolaji, (2011) have researched extensively on how ECOWAS has fared in managing the conflict situations in the sub-region. Francis (2009) for instance assessed the reasons behind ECOWAS venturing into the audios task of conflict resolution and peacekeeping. His study focused on the Community's interventions in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire. He established that the Community was justified in adopting peacekeeping operations as provided for in its mechanisms including the 1999 Peacekeeping Mechanism. He posits however that the mechanisms impact on the after 1999 conflicts has been minimal. In his words, "the Protocol did not have any conceivable impact on the management of conflicts…" (Francis, 2009:113). His assertion suggests that despite the existence of the mechanism, the phase of conflicts in the sub-region has not

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seen much transformation. Thus, the mechanism failed to deal with the core issues that continue to foment these conflicts. These issues according to Freedom House, (2016) includes bad governance, political marginalization and repression that continue to manifests in the sub-region.

The contention by Francis (2009) is set on a debateable conduit by Maiangwa (2015) view that several evidences exist to the contrary. He quips that the ECOWAS Early Warning Mechanism (ECOWARN) did help avert several conflicts in the sub-region. Maiangwa's position is further fortressed by Aning and Bah (2009) belief that ECOWAS played a pivotal role through its instruments in averting the 2005 and 2007 political crises in Togo and Guinea respectively from erupting into violent conflicts. While these studies contribute to our understanding on the contribution of the Mechanisms toward the management of political unrest in the sub-region, it fails to apprise readers with the shortfalls in these mechanisms and their processes that needs redress and suggested ways towards future occurrences.

Adibe (1997) and Ofuatey-Kodjoe, (1994) did attempt solutions to the sub-region's conflict situations in their assessments of the Liberian conflict. Adibe in his appraisal of the UN-ECOWAS partnership in conflict management underscored that, the partnership was necessitated by the Community's lack of capacity (experience, logistics, finances and adequate army) to deal decisively with the situation. Whiles the importance of such partnerships cannot be underemphasized, it is worth noting that they could also engineer possible ruckus between two bodies. For instance, ECOWAS may consider a situation as an "African problem" and so would prefer to assume a lead role in deciding the course. The UN, which has a primary responsibility to ensuring international peace and security

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and having the power to overrule certain actions of regional bodies including ECOWAS, would expect, on matter of principle that the latter succumb to its directives. Despite the potency of such problems marring a partnership, Clement Adibe failed to suggest ways of overcoming it. This leaves the approaches to solving such possible bottlenecks unattended. This study would address this gap to a greater extend as it focuses on studying the designs by ECOWAS for the attainment of better results in political security.

Attributing the cause of the Liberian conflict to both internal and external factors with perceived Political Insecurity by the two factions (Sergeant Doe's and Charles Taylor's) at the centre, Ofuatey-Kodjoe (1994) held that the solution in such situations lied in instituting better political institutional structures and systems. This, he claims, would guarantee the Political Security of citizens against any perceived protagonist. This according to him would offer the long sought peace and tranquillity. This goes to support the assumption of this study, that is, ensuring Political Security is one obvious way of promoting peace and tranquillity in countries.

On his part, Yabi, (2010) evaluated how ECOWAS has been involved in the management of the political crises and conflicts in Guinea (2007-2010) and Guinea-Bissau (2005-2010) through its 1999 and 2001 Protocols. He opined that ECOWAS helped quell such tensions in those countries that could have degenerated into political crises and violent conflicts. His claim is affirmed by Butu, (2013) iteration that ECOWAS deployment of forces to Liberia in 2003, forced through Charles Taylor's removal and the subsequent conduct of fresh elections. Thus, the consolidation of the democratic principles manifesting currently in Liberian would not have been possible without such interventions by ECOWAS. Yabi avowed on this note that the consolidation of mechanisms and institutions at both the local

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and regional levels are the surest ways of ensuring the security of the sub-region (Yabi, 2010:55). He premised his contention on the proposition that democratic induced mechanisms are the building blocks of security. Whiles this suggestion is laudable, Yabi failed to examine whether or not there were some peculiarities or differences in the characteristics of the countries studied and whether same interventions of ECOWAS could be replicated in other countries. Such an attempt would have served as the basis for future ECOWAS interventions. He again failed to establish whether the provisions in the two Protocols assessed were adequate for guaranteeing security or amendments of portions were necessary to meet changing trends. This constitutes a big gap that needs redress and this study attempts a bridge of such caveat.

Offering a comparative analysis of ECOWAS interventions in Liberia in 1990 against that of Cote d'Ivoire in 2002, Iwilade and Agbo (2012) quipped that, several evidence of improvements both in principle and practice on the two interventions does exist. They furthered that the experiences the Community has gathered over the years and the mode of operations contained in the 1999 and 2001 Protocols, has helped improve its actions for better results. They observed, however, that more gains could be witnessed if challenges such as funding, the Francophone-Anglophone divide and overreliance on Nigeria are addressed and engagements with CSOs and other actors are strengthened. Whiles a focus on conflict prevention is a laudable recommendation, Iwilade and Agbo failed to recommend strategies that should be incorporated in the protocols to ensure improvement. This study would complement their work by suggesting ways by which ECOWAS could realise more gains in its security endeavours.

An amount of studies on ECOWAS has attempted to assess its partnership with CSOs. Authors including Iwilade and Agbo (2012) have acknowledged the major roles of CSOs in the attainment of maximum Political Security in the West Africa. Williams (2007) for instance contends that, CSOs are key to both "rethinking and remaking security policies within Africa". Robert Putman also stressed on the importance of CSOs in securing orderliness in his 1995 article titled *"Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital"*. Citing him, Carothers and Barndt, (1999:21) chronicled that, there is reduction in "civic engagements and social trust" in systems that feature weak civil society. Carothers and Barndt, (1999) however disagreed with Robert Putman by referencing that countries such as Japan, France and Spain have had stable democracies despite the relatively weak nature of their Civil Societies. Whiles debates of this nature would continue, the reality remains that the presence of civil societies presents some measure of decorum on the part of national leaders. What matters most is the improvement in their watchdog role to ensure greater impact. This study in that regard offers to examine how the ECOWAS Protocols under review have mandated CSOs to contribute to the promotion of Political Security in the West African sub-region.

It is imperative to note that conflicts are inevitable in human societies although their nature and amplitude does differ. The search for appropriate mechanisms for mitigating or containing them is a fitting stride. The ultimate focus, however, should be on designing preventive strategies. This is because dastardly acts that accompany violent conflicts have continually been a cog in the wheels of progress. Lives and properties are wrecked even if they finally are brought under control. In worse scenario, these conflicts become protracted. (Bolaji, 2011) asserts that these concerns underlie the framing of the ECOWAS Conflict

Prevention Framework (ECPF) of 2008. He intimated that the drafters of the ECPF had the aim of dealing with possible conflict situations to prevent them from detonating. Assessing the ECPF as a tool for conflict transformation, Bolaji (2011) posited that strategies for conflict prevention should be of prime concern. He suggested that the ECPF operation principles should consider "African Traditional Conflict Resolution" approaches which focuses on values and ethics restoration (Bolaji, 2011:201). To him, a society cannot experience peace in the absence of standards and values. In well-structured societies where people can access their rights, they refrain from dastardly acts that impair development. Whiles Democratic systems represents the appropriate tool for ensuring political stability, it is worth noting also that a lack of proper management of some inherent weaknesses endangers Political Security. This calls for a broad focus encompassing institutionalizing democratic process, respecting its tenets and effectively implementing them and the presence of a viable body to champion such. The actions of such bodies would only realise maximum impacts when the weaknesses and strengths inherent in its operations are identified and rectified. This further justifies the objective of this study.

ECOWAS has sturdily exhibited a firm desire to promote Human Rights ideals in the sub-region. This has attracted the attention of scholars into assessing the progress of the Community in that regard. Ebobrah, (2010) asserts that the European Court of Justice (ECJ) and its impact on Europe's integration agenda influenced ECOWAS Member States to form the ECOWAS Community Court of Justice (ECCJ). The jurisdiction of the court was expanded from its initial task of addressing trade related complaints to cover issues of Human Rights by the 1993 ECOWAS Revised Treaty (Ebobrah, 2010:4) and the real

jurisdiction to hear complaints on Human Rights violation approved in 2005 (Alter, Helfer & McAllister, 2013).

Ebobrah, (2015) opines that, the ECCJ unlike the ECJ has not lived up to billing. It is noteworthy however that the Court has settled cases, set precedents and provided avenue for redress for Member States and citizens. Whiles making such observation, Ebobrah never identify why the court has not lived up to expectation.

Banjo, (2007:84-85) and Alter, Helfer and Mcallister, (2013) attempted addressing the identified weaknesses in the court's jurisdiction and processes as had been made patent by the case between Afolabi Olajide, a Nigerian trader and the Federal Republic of Nigeria in 2003. The 2005 Draft Supplementary Protocols rectified such weaknesses by granting individuals and organisations other than only Member States, the access to sue in the court. Although some improvements have been brought to the fore by these reforms, more gains could still be realized by making the court more visible and accessible to Member States citizens (Banjo, 2007). Kufour, (1996) concurs on this by suggesting that, democratization, institutional strengthening and collaboration between the courts of Member States and ECOWAS could ensure high judgements compliance. Whiles these studies were limited to ECCJ processes, it is important to indicate that they complement this study's proposition that there is the need for periodic assessments on the Protocols that serves as guiding operational principles of ECOWAS for the identification and rectification of necessary mechanisms. This would ensure the realisation of maximum benefits for Member States citizens.

Haacke and Williams, (2008) did venture into ascertaining the security threats that prevailed in West Africa and needs ECOWAS attention. They identified that small arms and light weapons proliferation as well as drugs and human trafficking were some of the prevailing security threats in the sub-region that ECOWAS battles. Their study however failed to establish why these threats persisted and how ECOWAS could deal with them. Filling this gap, Pytlak (2009) suggested that the demand for these arms and weapons is motivated by weak or bad governance and insecurity. To deal with this menace therefore, does not lie only in the ratification of Arms Control Protocols. This is against the backdrop that despite UN, AU and ECOWAS Conventions on arms, there is still about eight (8) million small arms and light weapons circulating in West Africa (Pytlak, 2009). Part of the solution to the menace therefore lies in the promotion of good governance (Political Security, accountability, equity and transparency). Haacke and Williams, (2008) have also suggested that the revision of domestic laws of ECOWAS Member States to keep in accord with ECOWAS objectives was necessary for maximum realisation of political stability in the sub-region. These observations strengthen the position of this study; thus, the review and modification of Protocols is a necessary exercise for the realisation of intended objectives.

Suifon, (2002) and Adebajo, (2002) assessed the challenges militating against ECOWAS efforts in the sub-region. Using ECOWAS interventions in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea as case studies, they both agreed that bad governance and impunity of spoilers are among the problems debilitating ECOWAS's efforts. But these challenges, (Suifon, 2002) suggests, could be mitigated by continuous cooperation between ECOWAS, UN and other regional bodies. He suggests that CSOs should be made key partners in ECOWAS

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activities. This he justifies by the trust that communities repose in CSOs and for the reason that they are already into protecting and promoting the attainment of human dignity. This is in tandem with Eze (2016) claim that CSOs remain better placed entities to be used for resolution of conflicts and citizens sensitization for total realization of quality life.

In his study of the political and security challenges facing ECOWAS in the 21st century, Bamfo, (2013) observed that the abuses that characterized the political scene in the ECOWAS sub-region within the 1960s-1990s have ameliorated. However, incidences of bad governance, corruption, mismanagement of state resources and incumbents attempt to perpetuate themselves by altering constitutions that often triggers internal rebellions, continue to occasion political crises in the sub-region. According to him, such incidences explains the post 2000 manifested coup attempts in the sub-region despite the Community's commitment to zero tolerance for coups. This endangers the sub-region as such occurrence worsen the fortunes of the youth which Kaplan Roberts described in his 1994 article "The coming anarchy" cited in Maiangwa, (2015:4) as being "loose molecules in a very unstable social fluid which [was] on a verge of ignition". Although Bamfo's study failed to identify issues such as unemployment and suggest how they can be managed, his findings confirm the need to appraise the 1999 and 2001 Protocols to identify how well they address the objectives ECOWAS which is the aim of this study.

2.4.1   Assessments of ECOWAS Protocols

A substantial number of literatures on the assessment of ECOWAS Protocols exist. They include but not limited to Onwuka, (1982), Brown (1989), Dokubo (2009), Agyei & Clottey, (2009) and Bolarinwa, (2015). Most of these authors have however, concerned themselves with the Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons, Goods and Capital

(PFMPGC). Onwuka (1982) and Brown (1989) for instance, both assessed the Protocol on Free Movement of Person's (PFMP) impact on Nigeria and suggested the need for Nigeria to strategically position itself and reassess its immigration laws to take advantage of the Protocol. Brown (1989) noted how slow rate of Protocols ratification coupled with acute lack of knowledge on them, remained a challenge to success of the PFMP.

Dokubo (2009) and Bolarinwa (2015) also held the view that the main intent of the PFMP is more of "idealistic than realistic". Thus by juxtaposing the sub-regions development to the propositions of the Protocol, they are sceptical about the practicability of the Protocol. Whiles accepting that the PFMP operationalization has been a difficult mission to realize in West Africa, Butu, (2013) avows that some levels of border liberalisation leading to free movement of persons have taken place. His argument suggests that the core of the problem is the lack of political will by national actors to operationalize the Protocols provisions rather than the 'unrealistic nature' of Provisions as stipulated by Bolarinwa and Dokubo. Although this study differs from the above studies as it is not focusing on the PFMP, but it can be deduced from the above arguments that the lack of political will is a challenge to Protocols implementation in West Africa. This implies that the 1999 and 2001 Protocols could face similar challenges in their implementation. Again, it indicates that the low impact of Protocols does not emanate exclusively from the inadequacies of provisions but also the unwilling posture of the actors in complying with its provisions. The studies also informs the methodological roadmap for studies of this kind as its focus is on Protocol appraisal.

Agyei and Clottey, (2009) in their article titled "Operationalizing ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of People among the Member States: Issues of Convergence, Divergence

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and Prospects for Sub-regional Integration" observed that ECOWAS provides an ideal platform for harnessing the policies of Member States. They bemoaned, however, that the disparities in the levels of development across the sub-region was problematic as it influences the traffic of human movement. The massive traffic of people to the States with better economies could increase the pressure on their economies. This situation could derail their economies and draw them backwards. The solution is therefore the creation and sustenance of policies that would help promote the economies of the entire sub-region. These assertions by Adjei and Clottey suggests that since Political Security creates conducive environment that promotes better economies and human dignity, all ECOWAS Member States must endeavour to embrace it. The failure of a general promotion of political security could trigger migration into countries that observe such, a situation that could potentially impair the host country's system again.

Again, that there is correlation between Political Security and economic development. An ingredient for a State to realize a vibrant system that would engineer economic transformation and advancement is Political Security. Apogan-Yella, (2005) posits for instance that when citizens are alienated from the governing processes of their country, they are less likely to remain committed to the course of the state that invariably affects economic growth. But states with politically stable structures, according to Sen, (2012), are more likely to witness a steady growth and development of their economy.

According to Abass, (2000), the 1999 mechanism on Conflict Prevention by ECOWAS constituted the first ever "most ambitious instrument" authored by a regional body. The Protocol according presents a comprehensive programme for dealing with most of the challenges of the sub-region. But the fact that he failed to justify this assertion in the light

of the challenges in the continent and some weaknesses contained in the protocols, points to an over exaggeration of the potentials of its provisions.

Maiangwa (2015) assessing how ECOWAS responded to the peace and security dilemma in the sub-region with the 1999 Mechanism and its 2001 Supplementary Protocols iterated that, their provisions offer an appropriate medium for improving the sub-region's security. He intimated, however, terrorist activities, unconstitutional change of government and drug trafficking has continually been a source of danger threatening the stability of the sub-region (Maiangwa, 2015:14) that has not adequately been catered for. He posits that political insecurity mostly foments terrorist activities and unconstitutional change of government although the same cannot be said of drug trafficking. Whiles Maiangwa's attempt has succeeded in unravelling the consequences; it fails to address the causes of the instability in the sub-region. He again failed to explain the subsequent upheavals that the sub-region has witnessed even after the ratification and adoption of these Protocols. The justification of why West Africa still witnesses such Political Insecurity as it persists today would be a project worth adequately satisfying his objective. This lacuna would however, be filled by this study as answers on how the two Protocols addresses the Political Security situation in the sub-region are sought.

In his article titled "Impact of ECOWAS Protocols on Political and Economic Integration of the West African Sub-Region", Butu (2013) outlined the impact of the Protocol on Conflict Prevention and Management. He quipped that the Community has through this Protocol helped restore normalcy in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Guinea Bissau as well as Mali, and Cote d'Ivoire. He noted that political instability and the apparent lack of will by political leaders to the course of good governance has been cogs in the wheels of

ECOWAS efforts for promoting peace and security in the sub-region. It is imperative to note once again, that Political Insecurity occasions the sources of ECOWAS frustrations identified by Butu (2013). The conclusion by Butu (2013) that the Community has made major strides in several conflict situations in the sub-region should not call for contentment. This is because the contributions of external forces in those peace processes cannot be underestimated. In an age where the call for Africans to tackle African problems is becoming louder (Ibrahim, 2013), what will be the story of West Africa if it is left to tackle its conflict situations alone. The surest way therefore is to initiate an approach that tackles the menace from the roots, and require minimal external support. The remedy therefore lies in ECOWAS ability to ensure that appropriate Protocols and institutions are set up to promote Political Security, which will seize such disturbances at bud.

Assessing how ECOWAS has responded to Conflict Prevention in West Africa, Aning and Bah (2009) intimated that the efforts by the Community has been buffeted by several challenges. Major among these challenges is bad governance. They iterated that although the Community has not responded adequately to the challenges, its actions provide roadmaps for further actions and outcomes. They suggested that strong supervision on States compliance and the adoption of stringent legislations and joint operative mechanisms could remedy the situation. Their findings again affirm the need to tackle Political Security if any major stride in securing the sub-region is a target.

In his in-depth analysis of the ECOWAS Good Governance and Democracy Protocol in his article *"The impact of the ECOWAS Protocol on Good Governance and Democracy",* Fredrick Cowell outlined the weaknesses as well as strengths of the Protocol's Provisions. He quipped that the Protocol appears rather as an appropriate tool for coups prevention or

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reduction than for promoting the traditional ideals of good governance and democracy. Cowell, (2011:334) lamented why the Protocol's provisions on issues of poverty and social dialogue did not fall under the constitutional convergence framework. This he intimates make them non-mandatory, but stands only as aspirations for Member States. In other words, they are not binding on Member States because they are not part of the general principles. This he decries could lead to abuses by autocratic bigots to advance their devilry machinations. He also bemoaned the fact that the promotion of democratic institutions has received less attention in the Protocol. Cowell's study highlights some of the salient issues of concern in the 2001 Protocol. However, his scope did not consider how the adequacy of the Protocol's Provisions would help promote Political Security in the sub-region. His analysis also did not consider the 1999 Protocol, which serves as the basics for the 2001 Protocol. This study seeks to fill this shortfall by covering both Protocols and assessing how they address the Political Security situation in the sub-region. The methodological approaches adopted by Cowell would be of significance to this study due to the similarities in the studies.

Aning, (2004) also probed ECOWAS and governance promotion in the sub-region. In his article, *"Investing in peace and security in Africa: The case of ECOWAS"* Aning observed that by promoting good governance and democratic processes in West Africa, ECOWAS was making significant contribution to the course of Africa's peace and stability. He identified that the emergence of vigilantism, armed sub-state actors and fragmentation of political authority across societies, did constitute dilemmas militating against the security of West Africa (Aning, 2004: 534-535). It is important to note that these factors identified by Aning (2004) as contributing to the security scare in the sub-region are results of system

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failures. Thus, States system failures warrants the formation of such groups and the lack of respect and promotion of citizens Political Security is core to these failures. When the political space is restricted, people employ varied strategies some of which could take violent forms, to gain recognition or register their displeasure. Although he did not propose the reforms but his conclusion that ECOWAS mechanisms and arrangements for tackling the security concerns in West Africa's needed reforms is therefore apt and constitutes a right call. Whiles his findings suggest reforms to target the creation of systems where citizens Political Security is catered for, this study would build on that by proposing workable reforms in the context of the two protocols under study. Aning (2004) propositions therefore reinforces the objective of this study; the need for review of Protocols to establish their adequacy or otherwise.

Bamidele and Ayodele, (2016) forwarded a study on how the 2001 Protocol on Good Governance and Democracy addresses the menace of unconstitutional change of government in the West African sub-region. They argued that, the Community's resolve to deploy military interventions and elections monitoring through its institutions has yielded positive results over the years. They, however, lamented on how the Community conceptualizes "unconstitutional change of government" and concluded that it lacks clarity although they never indicated the danger that the chairing of the Community by leaders in questionable regimes poses. They quizzed the locus for the classification of some coups as "good" or "bad" and whether some coups should be abhorred and others accepted. Bamidele and Ayodele (2016) again observed that the sanctions contained in this Protocol are not deterring enough and so suggested the institution of sterner and deterring sanctioning systems that would be periodically reviewed to meet changing circumstances.

They, however, failed to specify what "deterring sanctions" in the face of States' sovereignty are. Their findings however, buttresses the central objective of this study on the essence of Protocols review. For Protocols to remain relevant in the face of changing circumstances, there is the need for such studies in order to undertake some necessary modifications.

2.5   CONCLUSION

The chapter reviewed literature on Human Security, Political Security, general studies on ECOWAS and ECOWAS Protocols assessments in specifics. The review indicated that Human Security generally is a datable concept. The debates on the concept has resulted in several scholars expressing different viewpoints on what it means and entails. Political Security is no exception in this regard. Although there are varied views on what constitutes Political Security but respect for the political and civil rights of citizens remain central.

 The review indicated that whiles there are plethora of literature on ECOWAS, few of such studies concern the 1999 and 2001 ECOWAS Protocols. It further revealed that among the studies that attempts to appraise the two protocols, none has attempted to measure the level at which they address the Political Security situation in the sub-region. This revelation confirms the need for a study to fill this gap and add to the body of knowledge.

The review has again shown that the two Protocols reinforce the three cardinal focus of Human Security and present provisions for the promotion of Political Security in ECOWAS Member States. This would however be assessed to ascertain their adequacy and possible amendments in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1.1   Introduction

A theory according to Kaufman, (2013:31) is "a linked set of propositions or ideas that simplify the complex reality so that we can describe events that have happened, explain why they happened and predict what might happen in future". Devlen, James, and Ozdamar, (2005) added that it helps to show how related variables in phenomena are. The theory that underpins the discussions in this study is Liberalism.

3.1.2   Liberalism

Liberalism according to Kegley, (2008:184) is

a paradigm predicated on the hope that the application of reason and universal ethics to international relations can lead to a more orderly, just, and cooperative world, and that international anarchy [lack of a hierarchy/world government] and war can be policed by institutional reforms that empower international organisations and laws.

The liberalists' conceptualization of the International System or Liberalism emerged as an important theoretical construct in the 1970s to review realism that focused on power and conflict to explain the nature of the International System. Some of its proponents include Immanuel Kant (1995), John Rawls (2005), M.W. Doyle (1983), Schumpeter, Nye and Keohane (1988).

The liberal concept draws on the work of Immanuel Kant (Kantian Framework) who argued that, there would be no war if people would inculcate good moral behaviours (Kant 1955 cited in Kaufman 2013). Thus, States adherence to basic global norms could help prevent wars and promote peace and security. Kant identified democratic governance, economic interdependence and international laws and organisations as the antidote to

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security problems in the International System. Russett, (1994) clarified that the promotion and proper functioning of international laws as well as democratic tenets and trade among States positively influences security and growth. Doyle, (1983:207-208) also contends that the fundamental elements of Liberalism includes freedom from arbitrary authority, protection of rights, capacity building, and citizens' direct or indirect participation in democratic political processes. Compared to other theories, Kaufman (2013) concluded that Liberalism offers a better and meaningful description and explanation to the interactions among States in our globalised post-Cold War world.

This theory is appropriate for this study because Political Security, which is the central focus of this discussion, emanates from the liberalists' thoughts as espoused by John Locke. In his book "*The Two Treaties of Government"*, John Locke opined that the legitimacy of a government emanates from the consent of citizens. In addition to life and properties, he argues that governments have a duty to protect the liberties of citizens. Central in the libertarian conception, therefore, is Political Security which warrants citizens the opportunity to determine, without duress, *who* and *how* they are governed. As contained in Locke's version of the Social Contract theory, the stakes that citizens have in the administration of their societies, empowers them to determine the fate of leaders when the contract is violated. The protection and promotion of Political Security constitutes the prerequisite for guaranteeing all other rights. The underpinning assumptions of Liberalism in relation to this study are discussed below.

3.1.3   The Core Assumptions of Liberalism and How They Underpin the Study

The Liberalist theory premises on the importance of both capitalism and democracy. Thus, it holds the notion that "free trade" among States would create interdependence and equal

benefits among all (Kaufman, 2013). It therefore favours policies that promote "common good", that is, policies that seeks to benefit for other than individual States. These cooperation, reforms and collective actions proposed by the theory serve as conflict prevention measure in the national and international system (Kaufman 2013:53-57). Thus, an integrated world is less likely to witness war. This is further justified by the following assumptions;

Firstly, liberalists posit that the individual is a rational actor, and humans are generally morally upright and their actions based on the sense of reason. It furthers that evils such as the "injustice and war in society are as a result of corrupt institutions or misperceptions among leaders" (Kaufman 2013). Although liberals do not assume a world without war, but they are of the conviction that wars could be mitigated through cooperation, reforms, or collective responsibility initiated and acted upon by leaders. This assumption explains the emergence of a globalised world where leaders are committed to initiating and collectively dealing with issues of international concern. It again explicates why an integrated globalised world has not witnessed a war on large scale since the end of the World War II.

Another assumption of the theory is that States are not the only important actors in world politics. Non-state actors such as International Organisations, International Non-Governmental Organisations and Multi-National Corporations also occupy a very important place in the international system. These non-state organisations serve as avenues for cooperation and redress of both domestic and international issues. Their presence helps in outwitting the "problem of collective action" on issues. Thus, they promote efficiency and effectiveness by serving as avenues for collaboration, which promotes more

accomplishments than states acting individually (Pease, 2012). This establishes the importance of ECOWAS, as a sub-regional body in West Africa that serves as an avenue for consensus building and collective actions on issues within the region. Its importance has become even more indispensable owing to the fact that West African countries lack the economic and military prowess to carry out major policies and projects independently (Melchionni, 1997). By gathering under the auspices of ECOWAS, West African states are able to collectively deal with issues of national and sub-regional concern. They are also able to act or react, as a united front, in the International System. Thus a proper coordination and cooperation supervised by ECOWAS could make the region an enviable on as there would be upsurge in development (Melchionni 1997).

In addition to the above is the assumption that although international political agenda is extensive and diversified but economic and social issues mostly holds the forth. Thus, the Liberals completely disagree with the Realists posit that the agenda of international politics is primarily dominated by military-security issues (Pease, 2012). To the proponents, issues of human rights and governance and their repercussions are as important as questions of military and territorial competitions in the International System (Doyle, 1983). They posit that the global agenda concerns multiple issues and not only military security related issues (Keohane & Nye, 1987). This is fitting and explicates why issues of Human Security has gained prominence in the International System. This assumption also underpins why ECOWAS is not restricting itself to promoting only military security but also to ensuring the protection and promotion of Political Security in Member States.

On International Law, Liberals are of the view that, the Rule of Law serves as the foundation for every society. To them like the States at domestic level, International

Organisations have International Laws to guide the actions of their Member States. Pease, (2012:17) quips in this regard "…the rule of law is the foundation of society and international law is the foundation of global society". According to Kaufman (2013:76), liberals are convinced that international cooperation and engagements are attainable, and the adherence of states to basic global norms is an escape route from wars. International law therefore remains a key element in a cooperative International System. Despite this observation, Byers (2001) is of the opinion that, the sovereignty States could impair the effect of international law. MacAskill and Borger, (2004) cited the United States of America's (USA) action against Iraq in 2003 to justify this claim. They noted that the USA disregarded the UN Security Council's resolutions and proceeded with their attack on Iraq. This implies a possibility of powerful states and individuals within the West African sub-region disregarding the directives Community and continue with the execution of their action(s). A near manifestation did occur in 2013 in Cote d'Ivoire when the incumbent President, Laurent Gbagbo refused ECOWAS advice to concede defeat.

Advancing an argument in same regard, Taylor (2014) has observed that African states are generally "weak". Thus, they lack the credibility, by International Law standards, for recognition. This influences their reliance on shield provided by State Sovereignty. Clapham, (1996) explains that the governing political elites in such Weak States bolster their powers by placing much emphasis on "formal and absolute sovereignty". This constitutes a deliberate action aimed at consolidating and safeguarding their legitimacy. Thus, they complement the weakness of their states with the claim of sovereignty that safeguard them against foreign intrusion. States therefore could exploit this in their attempt to reject the dictates of International Laws.

Byers (2001:7) note however, that an effective International Legal Systems coupled with dire consequences of sanctions on developing countries, presents states with limited option to disregard International Laws. Further annulling the possibility for states to disregard International Laws, Peterson (2009) postulates that, the import of state sovereignty is gradually losing its footing. This is against the development of International Laws aims at the "humanization of sovereignty". Thus, these laws put premium on individual sovereignty than the sovereignty of States. This conception which began in the 1990s has seen the ratification of the principle of Right-To-Protect (R2P), which empowers international community to intervene in States where Human Rights are grossly been abused. On this conduit, ECOWAS Protocols, which are a kind of International Law, has the potential of being regarded by Member States. Their role in the promotion of Political Security in the sub-region can therefore not be underestimated. The forgone illustrations indicate therefore that the drafting and implementation of concise and adequate ECOWAS Protocols is a necessary condition for securing Political Security in the sub-region. However, since changing phenomena requires altercations in approaches and actions, it is only but appropriate that such Protocols by ECOWAS be appraised and their provisions amended if necessary.

Liberals again assume that States may not be rational actors in their actions. To them there is the posibilty that the pursuit of a particular policy is borne out of the parochial interest of the ruling class or the prestige attached to such an action. Moreover, misperception by decision makers resulting from incomplete information, bias and uncertainty, does influence their choices and consequential effects. Thus, there could be abuse of power if a state's actions are unchecked and controlled, which would put citizens in danger. This

possibility has created the need for a body that would curtail the ultra-vie actions of states and national leaders. Donno,(2010) observed in this regard that International Organisations remain the ideal institutions that can shape and monitor states actions. Regional Organisations such as ECOWAS, with the requisite legislations and resources, could therefore effectively control and monitor States. ECOWAS can, therefore, promotes and reinforce democracy as it plays the watchdog role on member states and leaders (Donno, 2010). When states violate instead of protect citizens' rights, the onus then lies on regional ECOWAS to activate the Protocols and doctrines within its purview to intervene and curtail their actions (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007:27, Schäfer, 2013:7).

Liberals further assume that States would only resist cooperation when there is the fear of defection (cheating) by other states. "Free riding" as is often referred to, deters states from cooperating (Russett, 1994). When there are no organs to moderate and prevent such possibilities, opportunities for cooperation would mostly be lost. This assumption further justifies the essence of ECOWAS as a sub-regional body or institution regulating the actions of Member States to ensure maximum cooperation and compliance in the conduct and interactions among and within states in the sub-region.

Although the theory helps offer explanation to the international system, it harbour's some shortfalls. To begin with, relating the assumption that the "good nature of man" which favours cooperation because of its benefits to all parties, to states is problematic. This is because the theory fails to acknowledge that decisions in modern democracies are not the product of individuals. The presence of oppositions and parliaments alike diffuses the monopoly over decision making by single individuals (leaders). Since these groups and

individuals may approach same problem differently, owing to their parochial interests, the "good nature" of man assumption could be impaired.

Again, the assumption that the benefits that states would accrue as members of international organisations serves as the bait for securing their loyalty raises some concerns. The theory in this respect fails to provide mechanisms to check free riders. Thus, although International Organisation may be present, their lack of capacity to enforce certain decisions on sovereign member states, limits their effect. This means that if a state would benefit by just being a passive member, it is likely not to make any total commitment(s).

Finally, although the theory assumes that the issues of low politics has taken prominence in international politics, this is just but in theory. In reality, no country can focus on development and promoting social, cultural, economic and environmental issues if its sovereignty and survival is under threat. In real practice it can be said that issues of both high and "low politics" are intertwined and none can therefore be prioritised over the other.

Despite these shortfalls the assumptions of the theory as espoused above makes it the ideal in explaining the essence of cooperation in the international system. It establishes the important roles that International Organisations such as ECOWAS can play in securing citizens Political Security. Deducing from the above suggests therefore that a vibrant ECOWAS would be a useful tool in securing citizens' Political Rights.

3.2   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following constitute the questions asked in order to address the central research question;

1. What are the Political Security Provisions in the 1999 and 2001 ECOWAS Protocols?

2. How adequate are the Protocols for addressing the Political Security challenges in ECOWAS Member States?

3. What challenges militates against ECOWAS promotion of Political Security in the West African sub-region?

4. What reforms can be done to address the Political Insecurity menace in the West African Sub-Region?

CHAPTER FOUR
METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the procedures adopted in the conduct of the investigation, that is, the research methodology. It is instructive to note that the strength of every academic research hinges greatly on its methodology. Research methodology generally describes the choices and decisions researchers make about cases to be studied and entails methods of gathering, interpreting and analysing data. According to Kothari (2004:8) it is "a way to systematically solve the research problem [and may also] be understood as a science of studying how research is done scientifically". Singh, (2006:79) furthers that it involves "the systematic procedures by which the researcher starts from the initial identification of the problem to its final conclusions". Research methodology therefore presents a roadmap that helps in the conduct of a research work in a more logical manner. The chapter encapsulates the philosophical paradigm of the study, the research approach, the sources of data and the data gathering techniques, the research population, sample, sampling size and the data analyses methods.

4.1   PHILOSOPHICAL PARADIGM

The philosophical assumption that underpins a research study is an important aspect but has often been undermined by researchers. Its importance is more obvious in abstract and theory based studies as in social researches. Philosophical paradigm is described by Creswell to mean the "basic beliefs that guides actions" (Creswell, 2009: 6). Various authors have referenced it with terms such as paradigms, epistemologies, worldviews or ontologies. Regardless of how it is termed, the philosophical paradigm that underpins

social research is influenced by the abstract view(s) of a researcher on the nature of the world and research processes (Creswell, 2009).

Generally, there are four (4) different worldviews that are often employed in research; the Post Positivism, Constructivism, Advocacy/Participatory and Pragmatism. In this study, however, Constructivism or the Constructivist's worldview is preferred and employed to support the discussions. Constructivists believe that individuals always seek for explanation and understanding of phenomena. Thus, curiosity coupled with the fact that perceptions and orientations influences people's views, creates the need to seek for people's opinions through questioning. This is to help unveil the underlying causes of phenomena. Since people have different views, the quality rather than quantity of response should be preferred in social research. This preference would help offer better exposition on issues under consideration.

The Constructivist worldview is appropriate for this study because it premises on the proposition that actors, both in the national and international system, are not composed of only states. Constructivists construe that organisations; both non-governmental and inter-governmental, play equally important roles in the international system. This implies that ECOWAS remains a very important entity in the management of affairs in West Africa. The assessment of its operational instruments by seeking the viewpoints of individuals and representatives of institutions who are within its operational zone is justifiable.

4.2   RESEARCH APPROACH

Research Approach according to Creswell (2014:1) involves the "plans and the procedures for research that span the steps from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data

collection, analysis, and interpretation". Its central focus is to determine the approach to be used for the study of a topic. Such a decision is informed by the "philosophical assumptions the researcher adopts for the study, procedures of inquiry… and specific research methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation" (Creswell, 2014:1). Other determinants of the research approach include the nature of research problem, the personal experience of the researcher, and the intended audience (Creswell 2014).

According to Creswell (2014) research approaches can be categorized into three main types; qualitative, quantitative and the mix method. Whiles all the three are widely recognized and employed by researchers, the qualitative approach is preferred and employed in this study.

Creswell (2014) describes Qualitative Approach to research as one that aims at "exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" through inductive styles. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) cited in Biggam, (2012:86) concurs with Creswell's view that qualitative studies analyses "things in their natural settings, [and attempt] to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them". In other words, qualitative research does not impress a researcher's ideas on respondents. The reasons attributed to phenomena are therefore the unsullied position(s) of the respondents. It is in this regard that Shank, (2002:5) concluded that the approach is a "systematic empirical enquiry into meaning". Deductively, the approach focuses on understanding phenomena through verifiable means. The qualitative approach, inferring from the arguments forwarded above, embraces a "human factor" and focuses less on statistical figures. This therefore makes it more appropriate for social research of this kind. The approach helps offer in-depth understanding of all the intricacies of Political Security

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in the West African sub-region. As the study seeks to assess Protocols to establish their adequacy in ensuring Political Security, the approach holds the appropriate mechanisms for such analysis. Again, it could be quite misleading if judgements on the assessment of this kind are based merely on the number of Political Security provisions rather than it appropriateness and effectiveness. The adoption of any other approach rather than qualitative, therefore, cannot help generate the data needed for such analysis.

Moreover, Tewksbury (2009) justifies the approach by insisting that it is the one capable of providing a better and deeper meaning and understanding of societal problems. His argument is premised on the basis that; qualitative approach aims at a complete understanding of how people "understand, experience and operate within the milieus that are dynamic and social in their foundation and structure" (Tewksbury, 2009:3). Thus, the approach remains the appropriate means for gaining a complete understanding of our dynamic world's social phenomena. Strauss and Corbin, (1998) concurred in this regard by postulating that the approach remains the ideal if complex details of phenomena including feelings, thoughts processes, and emotions that are often impossible to measure using quantitative approach are the items of study. Qualitative approach therefore helps offer better elucidation to problems with insufficient or hidden data than quantitative approach. A research aimed at assessing the Provisions of Protocols and offering expert perspectives on issues of Political Security can therefore consider no any other approach as more appropriate than qualitative approach. The adoption of this approach would helped keep the researcher in touch with the participants and gained first-hand information on the issue(s) under investigation. These positives associated with the approach presents it as the

appropriate means for understanding and explaining the issues of Political Security and entities working for its advancements.

Qualitative method has in addition to scientific research methods, characteristics that focuses on understanding a given research problem or issue from the perspective(s) of the population under study. Creswell, (2014) identifies that the approach offers the most effective means for obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviours, and social contexts of a population. Mack, Woodsong, Macqueen, Guest and Namey, (2005) adds that with this approach, researchers get informed on how individual's behaviours, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships influences their opinions. This helps to provide textual description of people's experiences in the topic under study. This and many other features renders qualitative approach more appropriate for the conduct of investigation on issues of Political Security and its advancement in West Africa through Protocols.

Although the approach offers an effective means for gaining deeper understanding on complex issues in social research, Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest, & Namey, (2005) argues that the limited sample sizes normally associated with its use, does render its' results inadequate for generalization. However, this appears to be a common limitation in research. An entire population cannot be studied whether a qualitative, quantitative or mix-method is adopted. The effect of this shortcoming could, however, be minimized by adopting an appropriate sampling technique. It is worth noting also that, this study appraises protocols and with the technical nature of issue under consideration, restricts respondents. The effect of this shortfall on the study would therefore not be any significant. These reasons outlined above serves as the justification for preferring qualitative approach in this study.

4.3   RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design involves all the processes in the gathering and analysing of data in a study. According to Leedy (1997), a research design is a study plan that aims at providing a data collection framework for a study. McMillan and Schumacher, (2001) explains it to mean the "plan for selecting subjects, research sites, and data collection procedures to answer the research question(s)" for a research project. They furthered that the primary goal of a research design is to provide credible results. Durrheim, (2004) construe it as the strategic framework that bridges research questions and the research strategy implementation. A research design therefore provides the path to attaining the research objectives.

De Vaus and de Vaus, (2001) identified that research designs could be grouped into four categories; the experimental, longitudinal, cross-sectional and case study. Whiles the experimental looks at intervention and control, longitudinal considers the study of various units over time and cross-sectional designs considers the differences that exist between different independent variables. The case study design on the other hand focuses on an exhaustive contextual analysis of a case or series of cases.

This study employs the case study design because it is the most appropriate for its discussions. Yin, (2003) asserts that the case study design becomes necessary when question of "when" and "how" are to be answered, behaviour of the object of study cannot be manipulated, and contextual conditions needs to be covered to understand a phenomenon. In this context, Ghana, a member of ECOWAS and the first in Sub-Saharan to attain independence, was selected for the collection of primary data for analysis. The settling on Ghana was influenced by factors including proximity, time and financial constraints on the part of the researcher.

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4.3.1   The Study Population

Harrison, (2001:19) describes a research population as "a group which shares characteristics to which we apply an explanation". A research population could therefore be composed of prostitutes, slum dwellers, nursing mothers or drug dealers. To Kothari (2004: 14), the term refers to "all the items under consideration in any field of inquiry". Thus, a research population denotes the cluster of items within the milieu of a study. These items as indicated by Harrison possess some common features. Singh, (2006:82) therefore attributes the term to "the entire mass of observations, which is the parent group from which a sample is to be formed". Thus, a population represents the cluster from which a sample is selected for a study. Deductively, a research population has distinctive features and shares certain characteristics that set it apart from other population(s).

The Research Population for this study is people with in-depth knowledge on Political Security and the workings of ECOWAS. The composition of the population includes ECOWAS Parliamentarians, International Relations Scholars, Security Experts, Senior Officers at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs). This population was chosen based on the technical nature of the issues under study. The nature of the inquiry would permit only people with the requisite knowledge in Political Security and the activities of International Organisations, to respond to the issues appropriately. The composed population has this distinctive characteristic. By virtue of their profession and positions, the elements of the population are abreast with the issues to be discussed. The main feature that is common and makes them unique is therefore their levels of knowledge on the issues of Political Security and the workings and protocols of ECOWAS.

ECOWAS Parliamentarians in Ghana, both former and current, are part of the population. Their inclusion is based on their rich knowledge in ECOWAS activities. Again, as politicians and specifically legislators in an ECOWAS member state, they contribute to the passage of legislations. Moreover, they discuss the various Protocols of the Community in the ECOWAS Parliament during their sittings. These engagements, equips them with vast knowledge on political security in the sub-region, the mandate of ECOWAS and the way forward. The restriction of these Parliamentarians to only Ghanaians is because of time and resource on the part of the researcher.

The addition of International Relations scholars to the Population was because of their stock of knowledge about the international system and international organisations. The justification for their inclusion is therefore based on their level of appreciation of Political Security and Regional Organisations. Their contributions brought an academic touch to the data. Thus, their perspectives on the issues were influenced by academic analysis.

Security Experts also formed part of the population. Their expertise on how to address the issues of Political Security could not be underestimated. Their technical expertise added more depth to the data and helped provide better appreciation of issues.

Officers from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) also featured in the population. Their addition was informed on the basis that the MFA is the mandated ministry for the conduct of international relations in Ghana. Its senior officers, working across several regimes, wield a wide range of knowledge and experience on the activities of ECOWAS. Working in hand with other states governments, international organisations and CSOs, exposes the

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ministry's officers several necessary accounts and documents of ECOWAS and the various happenings around the sub-region.

The last component of the population is CSO's. CSO's have become very instrumental in modern day domestic and international political systems. Their contribution to policy measures and Political Security cannot be underrated. Working in conjunction with States and International Organisations, CSOs have become a pool for information on happenings in countries. Their levels of engagements and expertise on issues of rights, peace, security, democracy and good governance in Africa and beyond, acquaints them with the requisite knowledge to contribute to this study.

4.3.2   Research Sample

A sample is a sub-set of a population. Singh (2006) opined that the inductive thinking nature of research necessitates specificity (the sample) in order to make a statement on the generality (the population). He explained further that the impossibility associated with studying an entire population creates the need for a portion of a population to represent the whole. Sampling therefore denotes the process of making research process economical without compromising validity and accuracy (Singh, 2006). W.G. Cocharn cited in Singh, (2006:82) summarised the meaning of sample as the fractional part of respondents that is choosing to contribute to a study.   This portion is usually chosen based on certain indications or reasons.

 Kothari, (2004) extended the contours of his study to consider the elements that needs consideration when designing a procedure to compose items for a sample. Major among these elements are the type of universe, sampling unit, sampling size, parameters of interest, and budget. Kothari, (2004:56) further quips that a good sample must be truly

representative, have minimal margin of error, be economical for the research study and control systematic bias. It is imperative to note that the attainment of these indexes is largely dependent on the type of sampling technique employed by the researcher.

Inferring from the above, the sample for this study consists of current and former but excluding first timer ECOWAS Parliamentarians in Ghana, Security Experts, exclusively individuals with proven record in West African affairs, and Human Security Experts with publications in the field. The Officers from the MFA was limited to the African Bureau and those that were on ECOWAS desk. Only CSOs with the drive of influencing the Political Security terrain in West Africa were also considered. In this regard, the West African Network for Peace (WANEP) was chosen.

4.3.3   Sample Size

Sample size is one of the critical considerations in research methodology that attracts the attention of both researchers and their audience. This is because whiles audience prefer large samples to represent a population; researchers are mostly constrained by time and funds grant that. The ideal solution is therefore to constitute a justifiable sample size. In order to make a sample size acceptable as a representative of the whole, several factors are considered. May (2011) underscored that in research, a large population does not necessarily require a large sample sizes. The acceptability of a sample size is therefore based on the researcher's ability to offer cogent and convincing reasons for the choice. De Vaus, (2002: 80) opines that the determination of a sample size is based on two key factors; "the degree of accuracy [so] required for the sample and the extent to which there is variation in the population with regards to the key characteristics of the study". In order words, De Vaus suggests that a researcher must ensure that a constituted sample would

lead to findings that are accurate rather than skewed. It also must ensure that the various groups of people in the population are fairly represented.

In this study, ten (10) people were interviewed. The number comprised of four (4) ECOWAS Parliamentarians, two (2) each from the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). The others include three (3) International Relations, Security and Human Security Experts with proven their knowledge in Political Security and ECOWAS through extensive researches. They were chosen from the University of Ghana's Political Science Department, Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) and the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College (GAFCSC). To complete the list are two (2) senior officers from the ECOWAS Desk of African Bureau at the Ghana Ministry of Foreign Affairs and an official from the West African Network for Peace (WANEP).

 The respondents were selected based on their in-depth knowledge on the issues under study. The sample size of 10 is because there was nothing new coming forth from the respondents any longer. Thus, the responds at this point were just either a confirmation or repetition of what the earlier respondents had said. The variations in the number of people interviewed in the various categories was largely influenced by the availability and readiness of the respondents to respond to the researcher. The sample size has been detailed in table 1 below.

Table 1: Institutions/Portfolios and numbers of Respondents

No.	Institution/Portfolio	Number of Persons
1	ECOWAS Parliamentarians	4
2	Human Security Expert	1
3	International Relations Experts	1
4	Security Experts (GAFCSC)	1
5	Officers (MFA)	2
6	WANEP	1

4.3.4   Sampling Technique

Sampling technique means the method adopted in the selection of the sample for a study. The sampling techniques employed by researchers can be grouped under either *probability* or *non-probability* sampling methods. The probability method presents a fair chance for all respondent to be selected and the odds can be calculated. Examples include Simple Random Sampling (SRS), Stratified Sampling (SS), Cluster Sampling (CS), Systematic Sampling (SS) and Multistage Sampling, that is, a combination of the above methods in stages. The non-probability on the other hand is conducted under the discretion of the researcher based on a designed or pre-conceived index. The researcher determines respondents and the odds cannot be measured. Examples include Convenience, Haphazard, Purposive, Snowballing, and Heterogeneity Sampling. Of this two, the purposive sampling was chosen for this study.

A Purposive sampling technique or judgment sampling, is defined by Dolores and Tongco, (2007) as "the deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the informant possesses". It is a non-probability technique that permits a researcher to determine the things that needs to be known and the people that will be able to provide such information,

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considering their knowledge and/or experience (Bernard, 2002, Lewis & Sheppard, 2006). The justification for the choice of purposive sampling technique for this study included among other things the technical nature of the issues under study. Only People with in-depth knowledge in the field can adequately respond to the issues of Political Security and ECOWAS mandate and responsibility. The respondents therefore were required to possess certain features/qualities and knowledge to be able to provide the required data for analysis. The challenge for generalization does exist with the adoption of purposive sampling, mostly due to a researcher's possible lack of ideas on a population's size (Singh, 2006; May, 2011). However, that is inconsequential in this study since the issue under consideration does not require generalisation. Thus, this method remains the most appropriate technique for a qualitative study of this sort where the focus is not to generalise but rather gain an in-death understanding of the phenomenon (Kothari, 2004).

The need for well-informed respondents on the issues of Political Security and ECOWAS also occasioned the adoption of this technique. This approach and justifications served as the basis upon which the respondents for the study were selected.

4.3.5   Research Instrument

The research instrument adopted in this study is in-depth interviews. In-depth interview is one of the tools used in qualitative studies data collection. Interview as defined by Harrison (2001: 90), is "an encounter between a researcher and a respondent, where the respondent's answers provide the raw data". Kothari (2004: 97) describes the process as involving the "presentation of oral-verbal stimuli and reply in terms of oral-verbal responses". Being a purely qualitative study, in-depth interview remained the most appropriate instrument for data gathering as it presents both the researcher and the respondent the opportunity to delve

into all the various aspects of the issue under consideration. Despite its expensive and often rigorous nature, especially with large samples and the possibility of biases, interviews as a research instrument enable a researcher to gain in-depth information on an issue. This is because it presents an opportunity for clarity and specificity to be sought during an engagement or interview session (Kothari, 2004). On this ground, a designed open-ended interview guide was used as a guide during the interview sessions. Open-ended questions are referred to as such because they do not confine the respondent to a limited number of responses. Patton (1990) favours open-ended questions on the basis that they encourage meaningful responses. The choice of semi-structured questions was informed by its ability to help capture the perceptions, emotions, and expectations of the interviewees more than structured questions could offer. The adoption of in-depth interview generally afforded an opportunity for elucidating detailed perspective of the respondents on the topic. A flexible Semi-structured open-ended interview guide designed, was piloted for the establishment of its validity before administration.

4.3.6   Sources of Data

Data for this study was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data included ECOWAS Treaties and the data gathered through in-depth interviews (field notes). The treaties and commentaries on them were sourced from literature available in books, journals and internet sources.

The primary data was gathered through interviews guided by interview guides, with open-ended questions. The open-ended questions helped rope in new perspectives that initially had not been considered by the researcher. Although the questions were mostly open-ended, some few close-ended ones were factored in as sub-questions to help keep the

interviewee within the spectrum of the study. The interview guides were self-designed by the researcher with the guidance of the supervisors and its face and content validity measured through pilot tests. The pilot testing revealed certain weaknesses that were subsequently ratified before administering it for the study.

The secondary data for the study was sourced from Journals and Reports on ECOWAS by various organisations, literatures on Human Security and Newspapers reports. These documents were accessed from internet web sites, journal articles Portals (googlescholar, jstore, sciencedirect), the University of Ghana library (Balme library) and the Political Science and LECIAD libraries.

4.3.7 Data Gathering Procedures

Regarding the data collection procedure, introductory letters were sent to the appropriate institutions and individuals by the researcher (student) as a mode of introduction. Dates were then scheduled with the respondents or their institutions for interactions. Appointments were thereafter booked for the interview with the interviewee. Places of convenience where there were minimal or no obstructions were preferred for the interview sessions.

The interviews were recorded using a recorder and subsequently transcribed by the researcher. The transcribed data was coded under various headings. Some of these headings included what constitutes Political Security or insecurity, the role of ECOWAS in Political Security promotion, the roles of States and Civil Society Organisations in Political Security promotion. The others included efforts of ECOWAS in promoting Political Security, strategies by ECOWAS to ensure effective Political Security promotion, the obstacles

impeding or likely to impede ECOWAS efforts in Political Security promotion and the recommendations for improving Political Security in West Africa.

4.3.8   Method of Data Analysis

The data was analysed using the Content and Contextual Analysis method. Mayring, (2000:2) describes Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) as "an approach of empirical methodological controlled analysis of text within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step by step models, without rash quantification". Thus, the approach concerns not only the obvious but also the content of the material being analysed. There exist the *"Primary content"* which includes the themes and main ideas of a text and the *"Latent content"* which refers to the context information (Becker & Lissman, 1973 cited in Mayring, 2000). The QCA method according to Elo and Kyngäs, (2008) uses the presence of certain words or concepts within texts to make inferences about the messages for the establishment of meanings and relationships. Anderson, (2007:1) opines that the ability of this method to help annul the impact of a researcher's personal thoughts on the subject matter, is a major strength that renders it appropriate for research. This method of analysis was appropriate for the study as it helped give expression to the salient arguments and thoughts that have emerged within Human Security studies. It served as an appropriate instrument for filtering meaningful information from the data gathered through interviews. Again, it prevented the influence of the researcher's thoughts on the data and resulted in the production of accurate findings.

The Content Analysis Technique was also used to analyse the Protocols. With this method, the Protocols were reviewed against scholarly arguments advanced by writers in articles

and books and reports findings by media outlets, organisations periodic reports as well as website publications.

The data gathered through interviews were subjected to critical contextual analyses and scrutiny. The field notes obtained through in-depth interviews were coded and analysed using the manual analytical method. The final outputs were presented in the form of texts and direct quotes. The choice for this approach was to ensure that respondents' views were not sullied with the researcher's bias interference but remained as original and accurate as possible. Again, the technique helped provide a detailed description of the issues under study, as the responses were very detailed. It also helped address all the ambiguities inherent in human behaviours and offered appropriate redress.

In order to ensure that the interviews reflected the main objectives of the study for easy analysis, the research questions were spread to cover all the various themes. The themes reflected the overall aims of the study; to find out why despite the existence of these two Protocols, Political Insecurity is still endemic in the West African sub-region. It also covered the objectives of the study; identification of the Political Security Provisions in the 1999 and 2001 ECOWAS Protocols, an appraisal of the adequacy or otherwise of the 1999 and 2001 Protocols provisions to addressing Political Security in the West Africa sub-region and possible recommendations based on the findings to aid policy direction and decision-making.

All the responds were juxtaposed and grouped under themes. These were then discussed in the context of the Political Security provisions in the Protocols. Each themed group sought to establish the respondents' views on the issues under study. Respondents' answers to the various questions were also cross-referenced in order to build a complete picture of the

situation as have been revealed by the data. This process created the opportunity to measure the Political Security Provisions in the Protocols against the responds, which then influenced the findings and subsequently the conclusions and recommendations.

4.4   RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

The place of reliability and validity in qualitative research has raised a raging debate among researchers (Golafshani, 2003). Whiles Stenbacka, (2001) argues that reliability is appropriate in quantitative research whose purpose is "explaining" and not in qualitative study that seeks to establish "understanding", Patton, (2002) disagrees by stating categorically that if any two things are to concern a researcher using any approach, then that should be reliability and validity. On the same subject Lincoln and Guba, (1985:290) quizzes that "how can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences that the research findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to". Thus, it is near impossible to get audience to accept research findings if reliability and validity of that research is not established. On this note, steps were taken to ensure the reliability and validity of this study. The designed questions for the study were structured to focus on the key areas. Additionally, all the investigations and analyses were conducted within the designed theoretical frame and the major leading themes and questions. Thus, reliability and validity was never compromised as appropriate steps were taken to ensure its attainment.

4.5   ETHICAL ISSUES

The researcher never lost sight of the ethical principles guiding research in the field of social science. Introductory letters from the Head of Department, Political Science, University of Ghana, were sent to the appropriate institutions ahead of time. All other official arrangements with the respondents were later made through phone calls and email

messages. The researcher arrived at the premises of the designated institutions ahead of time and maintained self-controlled posture throughout the interview hours. After transcribing the interviews, the respondents were given the opportunity to review the transcripts. This was to ensure that the transcribed data reflected the original position of the respondents. Both emails and phone calls were later placed to thank the respondents for their contributions.

4.6   LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

As an expected phenomenon, the student did encounter several challenges before, during, and after the interviews. One of the major limitations concerned getting some of the respondent to honour the interview request. This subsequently led to the cancelation of some appointments arranged initially with respondents. Another major issue was the insufficiency of funds and time. The researcher was constrained by time and finances for a broader study. The availability of these resources could have helped the researcher extend the sample size to include respondents from all the Member States of ECOWAS.

4.7   CONCLUSION

The chapter outlined the methodological framework and methods that underpinned the study. The primary data as used for the analysis was generated mainly through in-depth interviews using well designed semi-structured interview guides as tools. The respondents were selected using the purposive sampling technique. In-depth interviews were conducted on 10 persons in their personal and organisational capacities. Their responses were recorded, transcribed, coded and used for the analysis. Content and context analysis were the techniques used in the data analysis process.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter presents data as gathered from the ECOWAS Protocols and field notes. It brings to the fore the data and analyses geared towards addressing the research questions and attaining the overall objective of the study.

The Chapter sets the stage for discussion by providing a synopsis that constitutes an overview of the two Protocols under study. This will serve as a framework on the provisions contained in the Protocols to ensure better analyses and appreciations of issues. The chapter again discusses the Political Security provisions detailed in the Protocols. The data gathered from the in-depth interviews is then discussed within the context of the provisions of the two ECOWAS Protocols. The discussions are done under themes and sub-themes that emerged after transcription and reading of the interviews. The themes under which the issues are discussed includes; the definition of Political Security, the parameters of Political Security, the Levels of Political Security in west Africa and the Nature of Political Security in West Africa. The others include the Roles of States in the promotion of Political Security, CSOs and Political Security promotion, Regional Organisations and Political Security promotion, the limitations of ECOWAS in Political Security promotion and the Initiatives to be adopted by ECOWAS to promote Political Security in the sub-region.

5.1   AN OVERVIEW ON THE ECOWAS PROTOCOL RELATING TO THE MECHANISM FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION, MANAGEMENT, RESOLUTION, PEACEKEEPING AND SECURITY AND THE PROTOCOL ON DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

5.1.1   Introduction

The Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace Keeping and Security (hereinafter referred to as the 1999 Protocol) was ratified on the 10th December 1999 in Lome, Togo (ECOWAS, 1999). This emanated from deliberations on how to consolidate the gains that the Community had made regarding the infamous civil wars of Liberia and Sierra Leone. The Protocol is organized into three main sections; a preamble, definition of terms and 13 chapters with 58 Articles. The Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance, on the other hand, was signed in Dakar, Senegal, by 14 of the 15 Heads of State and Government of the Member States of ECOWAS on the 21st of December 2001. This Protocol became necessary after ECOWAS realised the need to supplement the 1999 Protocol with provisions that would promote good governance and democracy in Member States. This explains why it is referred to as the "Supplementary Protocol". Although the Protocol was signed in 2001, it became operational in 2005 after the required nine (9) signatory States ratified it (Diallo, 2005). It is also organized into three areas; a preamble, definition of terms and the main provisions; 3 Chapters, 8 sections, and 50 articles.

5.1.2   The Preambles of the Two Protocols

The preambles of both Protocols present the historical antecedents and the rationale behind their drafting. On the perspective of history, they both referenced article 58 of the 1993 ECOWAS Revised Treaty that states among other things that Member States should

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"undertake to co-operate with the Community in establishing and strengthening appropriate mechanisms for the timely prevention and resolution of intra-state and interstate conflicts". It instructs further that the "detailed provisions governing, political co-operation, regional peace, and stability, shall be defined in [such] relevant Protocols" (ECOWAS, 1993 article 58 (2 &3). The 1999 Protocol again relates the 1945 UN Charter as well as the 1948 AU Charter and the 1978 and 1981 ECOWAS Treaties that enjoined Member States to corporate in the provision of defence against any armed threats. It again cited the earlier adoption of AU Declaration in 1993 to establish Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution (ECOWAS, 1999 Protocol preamble, par.10). The Protocol also came in fulfilment of the decision on the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security that had been reached by Member States in Abuja on the 31st of October 1998 (ECOWAS, 1999 Protocol preamble, par.20).

The 2001 Protocol came in fulfilment of both the article 58 of the 1993 ECOWAS Treaty and the 2000 AU Solemn Declaration on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation, which was proposed as a solution to the unconstitutional changes of governments in Africa. It again was in fulfilment of the 1999 Harare Declaration and the 2000 Cotonou Declaration (ECOWAS 2001, preamble, par. 2, 3 & 4). The protocol also references the AU and UN Charters as well as the 1979 Charter on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which all ECOWAS Member States are signatories to. These charters called for the elimination of all forms of discrimination, human rights abuse and harmful practices against human kind.

The rationale for the 1999 was premised on the proposition that there could be no prosperity without stability. By averting conflicts proliferation, the framers conceived that the living standard of West Africans would improve. It was therefore to serve as a framework for coordination and cooperation to prevent and deal with conflict situations in the sub-region. Although the framers did not emphasize much on good governance and the rule of law, they considered their promotion as a means of promoting citizens' welfare (ECOWAS, 1999 Protocol, preamble).

The rationale behind the 2001 Protocol, on the other hand, was that by further strengthening the 1999 Protocol with good governance and democratic principles, its objectives would witness a better realization. This had become important because issues of non-transparent elections, religious intolerance, and political marginalization had emerged as breeding grounds for conflicts (2001 Protocol preamble par.10 and 11). This problem had become more tempting to tackle because of the spillover effects associated with conflict situations.

5.1.3   Major Provisions of the 1999 Protocol

The 1999 ECOWAS Protocol features several important provisions. The Protocol has been organized under 13 chapters with 53 articles. The major provisions of the Protocol include the principles and objectives, institutions and organs for the mechanism, peace and security observation system, conditions for the activation of the mechanism, conflict management system, source of funding for the protocol, peace building strategies and the modifications and amendment procedures.

The principles and objectives upon which the Protocol operates have been outlined in Chapter 1 (Articles 1, 2 & 3). In principle, the Protocol was a reaffirmation of the

commitment that ECOWAS Member States' pledged by signing on to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the AU's African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR). It Particularly sought to honour principles such as the "links between economic and social development on the security of states and people, the need for the promotion and consolidation of democratic institutions, and the protection of fundamental Human Rights and freedoms" (ECOWAS, 1999 Protocol, article 1(a, c & d). The maintenance and consolidation of peace, security, and stability through the prevention, management and resolution of both internal and inter-state conflicts constitutes the prime objective of the Protocol (ECOWAS, 1999 Protocol, Article 3 (a & e).

The Protocol has provided for Institutions and Organs for the implementation of the mechanism. The compositions, mandates and functions of these Institutions and Organs are provided for in chapters 2 and 3 of the Protocol. The Institutions as established by the Mechanism includes; the Authority, Mediation and Security Council, Executive Secretariat as well as any other as may be established by the Authority. The Organs on the other hand includes the Defence and Security Commission, the Council of Elders and ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). The Institutions are assigned specific responsibilities, whiles the Organs are to offer support to the Institutions when the need arise.

 The Protocol has again provided for a Sub-Regional Peace and Security Observation System termed "The Early Warning System" (EWS). This is provided in Chapter 4 (Articles 23 and 24). The system is intended to help in the prevention of conflicts in the West African sub-region. Thus, it is to help identify at early stages, potential conflict threats so they could be dealt with before they detonate. The system comprises an Observation,

Monitoring Centre located at the Secretariat and Observation and Monitoring Zones located within the sub-region.

Another notable provision in the Protocol is the conditions for the activation of the Mechanism. The grounds for ECOWAS to activate the Mechanism for intervention are provided in Chapter 5 (Articles 25, 26 & 27). The grounds as outlined include cases of aggression or conflict in any Member State that has the potential of triggering humanitarian crises and consequently threaten the security of the sub-region. Others include the manifestation of incidences of gross Human Rights violations, abject disregard for the Rule of Law and ousting or an attempt to overthrow a democratically elected government.

A Conflict Management system comprising ECOMOG and Observation Missions has also been provided in the Protocol. This has been detailed in Chapter 6 (Articles 28 to 35). Whiles the ECOMOG comprised the armed military, the Observation Missions is to be constituted by unarmed civilians. The duty of the Observer Missions is to monitor and supervise events such as humanitarian activities, elections, ceasefire, disarmament, and demobilization (ECOWAS, 1999 Protocol, Article 31).

In addition to the above, the Protocol also provided for the modalities of funding for the mechanism. In this regard, the Protocol provides that the Community's funds for activities relating to the mechanism would be sourced from allocations in its annual budget. A percentage of the Community's Levy shall also be voted for such activities (1999 Protocol, Articles 33 to 41). Its funding would be supplemented also with special requests to the UN, AU and bilateral and multilateral agencies, for assistance in due times. The Protocol

furthers that, States contributing contingents could also pre-finance for a refund to be made later by ECOWAS (ECOWAS, 1999 Protocol, Article 36 and 37).

Mindful of the need for modifications, the Protocol provided amendment procedures in articles 55 to 58. This constitutes the withdrawal processes, ratification, and depository procedures.

5.1.4   Major Provisions of the 2001 Protocol

The major provisions in the Protocol borders on the general principles, elections, the place of the security forces in democratic governance, strategies for poverty alleviation and the promotion of social dialogue, education, culture and religion, the rule of law, human rights and good governance. Others include the welfare of women, children and the youth as well as the modalities for the implementation, sanctions and amendment procedures.

 To begin with, the 2001 Protocol has provided general guiding principles that all Member States are obliged to observe. In article 1, the Protocol provides some guiding principles on the actions of Member States. The principles include separation of powers, free fair and transparent elections, and zero tolerance for power attained or retained through unconstitutional means. The rest includes the constitution of legal apolitical Armed Forces, secularism and neutrality of the state in matters of religion, non-discrimination on any grounds, observance of African Charter and other International Protocols provisions, the observance of multi-party democracy and press freedom (EOWAS, 2001, article 1).

The Protocol paid particular attention to elections. This was influenced by the rampant election related violence in the sub-region, the potentials of it exacerbating religious, economic and cultural tensions and the possibility of its effects spreading rapidly across

states. In this regard Adolfo, Kovacs, Nyström, and Utas (2012) has noted that although elections remain the ideal peaceful and democratic means of selecting and changing leaders, but when not managed well, they could become a clog in the wheels of states progress. Omotola, (2011) also iterated that the peace and security and the democratic sustainability of a state could be dented by election related violence. In view of these implications, the Protocol impressed upon Member States and their institutions, Political Parties, Civil Society Organisations, the individual citizens and ECOWAS itself to play various roles to ensure smooth conduct of elections and power transitions in the sub-region. The States' role as outlined in Article 4 (1&2) is ensuring the establishment of collaborations and exchange experiences among themselves. Political parties and their leaders are admonished to operate within the confine of constitutions. CSOs are to educate citizens on the need for violent free elections, whiles ECOWAS plays supervisory roles to ensure the conduct of transparent and credible elections.

The Protocol also provides in Articles 3, 5, 6 and 7, Electoral Management Bodies (EMB's) and their defined nature and duties. Article 3 for instance provides that those bodies responsible for organizing elections in member states "shall be independent [and] neutral and shall have the confidence of all the political actors". It further encourages national consultation to determine the nature and structure of the EMBs when necessary (2001 Protocol, Article 3). These EMBs have been charged to be fair in their conduct. CSOs have also been assigned the role of educating populates on the need for violent free elections in article 8. The mode of conduct by political parties and candidates during elections in any Member State has also been expressly detailed in Articles 9 and 10. It provides among other things that any candidate who loses an election shall concede defeat and congratulate

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the winner and that office holders at any level shall desist from intimidating their opponents.

The Protocol also enjoins ECOWAS to ensure successful conduct of elections in Member States. In articles 11 through to 18, the Protocol provides that the Community "may respond to assist in any election when a request for same is made by a Member State" (2001 Protocol, Article 12). This is a major intervention because even admitting without denial Simpser and Donno (2012) assertion that governments bent on cheating in an election could adopt pre-election manipulations which is likely to escape the sight of International Election Observers, their presence does assuage the fears that governments could commit atrocities and go unpunished. In this regard, the Protocol has charged ECOWAS to constitute and send an Observer/Supervisory mission into Member States that are about to conduct elections. The missions mandate would be to assess States level of preparedness for elections and compile reports on elections to be submitted to the Executive Secretary. The Executive Secretary then adds his observations and submits same to the Mediation and Security Council for consideration and recommendations (2001 Protocol, Article 15-18).

In addition to the above is a provision on the place of the armed forces, police and other security agencies in democratic processes. Provided for in article 19 through to 24, the Protocol insists that the armed forces and the police shall be non-partisan and must stay loyal to the state. Their duties would include defending the territorial integrity and independence of their states, and participate in ECOMOG, AU and UN Peacekeeping missions (2001 Protocol Article, 19). The protocol also bars the security from using violent attempts in dispersing non-violent gatherings or demonstrations. It furthers that even when

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such gatherings become violent, only minimal proportion of force should be used. Thus, the 2001 Protocol constitutes a normative basis for Civilian control of the security forces in the region.

Another important provision contained in the Protocol is the strategies for poverty alleviation and the promotion of social dialogue. To alleviate poverty, Article 25 of the Protocol provides among other things that the provision of such basic human needs as food and quality drinking water should be Member States priority. This right of the citizens should be upheld and respected by all Member States. The Article 27 furthers that States shall endeavour to create conducive environment for businesses to strive as it promotes the equitable distribution of national resources and the attainment of descent jobs for its Citizens.

Furthermore, acknowledging that education, culture and religion were essential elements for peace and development, the Protocol set out modalities to ensure its conduct and management. On education for instance, the gap that exist between men and women in the sub-region is addressed. Article 30 (4&5) of the Protocol sought to bridge this gap by encouraging Member States to eliminate all stereotyped concepts against women and grant them equal access and rights in education as granted their male counterparts. The Protocol also charged Member States to respect, tolerate and develop the diverse cultures in order to promote harmony (2001 Protocol, Article 31 (2&3).

The Protocol again comments on the Rule of Law, Human Rights and Good Governance. Realizing the essence of these elements to the advancement of peace, security and stability, the Protocol has set out modalities for their attainment. It states in Article 34(1) "Member

States and the Executive Secretariat shall endeavour to adopt at national and regional levels, practical modalities for the enforcement of the rule of law, Human Rights, justice and good governance". It however is silent on what constitutes good governance and the sort of practical steps to be taken to enhance good governance. The protection of women, children and youths' welfare has also been outlined in the Protocol. In articles 40 and 41, the Protocol enjoins Member States to eliminate all forms of discrimination, harmful and degrading practices against women and ensure the promulgation of appropriate laws to shield children against harmful practices.

Finally, the Protocol provides modalities for implementation and sanctions as well as amendment procedures of its provisions. It indicates in Article 45 that the range of sanctions the Community could bring on Member States where democracy is halted by any means or where there are evidences of Human Rights violations includes refusing their candidate any support in international organisation elections or deny the said state opportunity to hold ECOWAS summits. Others include suspending such a state from taking part in decisions making at ECOWAS whiles it continue to monitor and ensure the return of normalcy (ECOWAS 2001 Protocol, Article 45).

5.2   POLITICAL SECURITY PROVISIONS IN THE 1999 AND 2001 ECOWAS PROTOCOLS

The Protocols on Conflict Prevention and Democracy and Good Governance, were ratified in 1999 and 2001 respectively. Their ratification was timely as it sought to curb the infamous nasty political atmosphere that was manifesting in the sub-region with the Sierra Leone and Liberian Civil Wars as major reference. Even though the Protocols were not "Political Security titled documents", it is instructive to note that most of the proposed

strategies contained therein are targeted at promoting Political Security in the sub-region. Thus, several traces of Political Security elements are contained in these Protocols. Below is a synopsis on their Political Security Provisions.

To begin with is the provision on Popular Participation in decision-making: Popular Participation is the involvement of citizens in the socio-political affairs in their country. It manifests in the ability of citizens to contribute to discussions in a face-to-face mode or indirectly through calls or letters. It is a democratic ideal that promotes political stability, responsible government and sense of belonging from citizens. da Costa (2008) asserts that, popular participation and citizens' involvement in legitimate decision making processes is a major element of Political Security. It presents an avenue for citizens to contribute to decisions that have direct implications on their lives. The 2001 Protocol admonishes for the promotion of this principle in article 1(d). It tasks all Member States to provide the opportunity and environment for popular participation in their decision-making processes. Thus, it enjoins each Member State to ensure that citizens are given a voice in discourse on national issues.

Another Political Security element contained in the Protocol is the Freedom to form political parties and absence of political repression. Multi-Party Democracy is a major feature of democratic dispensations. Thus, any assumed democratic system that disregards citizens' right to form and join political traditions of their choice, constitutes s nursing ground for Political Insecurity. The 2001 Protocol provides in Article 1 that Member States must ensure and embrace multi-party democracy, which is a cardinal tenet of democracy. It provides that the right of citizens to form and join political parties of their choice, should be respected, protected and guaranteed by the State (ECOWAS, 2001 article 1(i). The

Protocol in this respect abhors political repression of any kind in all Member States. It calls for an end to harassment and maltreatment of individuals or groups on grounds of their political affiliations. It obliges victorious political parties in elections to act with circumspect and within the purview of the laws. Thus, they must ensure that the rights of the loosing candidates and their political parties are respected (ECOWAS 2001 article 10).

To add to the above is the Freedom of Association and the Right to organize peaceful demonstrations. The 2001 Protocol recognises and enjoins Member States to guarantee the civil liberties of citizens. These include among other things Member States guaranteeing citizens' right to form and join associations to advance their interest. It also enjoins Member States to respect the rights of citizens to organize non-violent demonstrations to register their displeasure or concerns on phenomena. It further prohibits the security forces from dispersing such gatherings with violent approaches.

Freedom of the press is another Political Security element provided in the Protocol. In democratic dispensations, the media, which is the third estate of the realm, is indispensable. It serves as a tool and platform for articulating grievances of both citizens and leaders. It is also used as a vanguard for public education and the dissemination of information. For Political Security to thrive, the press must be granted a favourable atmosphere to operate. Thus, Political Security cannot be attained when press freedom is stifled. In other words, press freedom needs to be ensured if any attempt at attaining Political Security is envisaged. The 2001 Protocol recognises the importance of free press in democratic dispensation as has been recognised by other International Treaties such as the UNDP 1994 Report. The Protocol obliges ECOWAS Member States in Article 1 to ensure that the press operates

without any intimidation and citizens are granted the right to articulate their views and opinions freely without fear of intimidation or attack.

The Independence of the Judiciary has also been provided for. The judiciary represents the arm of government responsible for the adjudication of justice. It wields the mandate to settle legal tussles between governments and private individuals and between government institutions and private individuals. To be able to deliver on its mandate, the judiciary must be independent. In other words, the judiciary needs to be free from the influence or intimidation of external forces. This affirms Apogan-Yella (2005) assertion that an independent judiciary dispensing justice adequately is key in Political Security attainment. The 2001 Protocol on this premise provides that the judiciary in Member States should be allowed to operate independently from any influence, either within or outside government. Thus, the judiciary must be seen dispensing justice in a manner that is fair and transparent.

The Protocols again despises the forceful usurpation of power and declares a zero tolerance for obtaining or maintaining power by unconstitutional means. Works such as Bamidele and Ayodele (2016) have indicated the negative impact of unconstitutional change of power on a country. Identified by Merkel (2004) as an element of democracy and one that cannot be ignored in the pursuit of Political Security, the two Protocols have attempted to address the issue of unconstitutional change of government. The 1999 protocol provides it in article 25(b) as grounds for ECOWAS intervention in Member States affairs. The 2001 Protocol in article 1(c) also considers any unconstitutional usurpation or retention of power as an abhorring practice. It provides that no government shall be removed or assume power through any other means other than democratic. This is to promote and ensure the

constitutionality of governments. Thus, governments must be constituted on the accord of the populace and not cliques.

The Protocols further provides for free fair and transparent elections as a means to access power. Elections as posited by Adolfo, Kovacs, Nyström, and Utas (2012) are widely acclaimed as the most appropriate means for selecting leaders. However, any slag in its processes could be detrimental to both the security and economic fortunes of a state (Omotola, 2011). Democratic elections, has been recognised accordingly by the Protocols. The Protocols provide that elections must be organised in a free, fair and transparent manner devoid of cheating or rigging (ECOWAS, 2001 article 2). It also provides that the EMBs in Member States must be neutral and independent in dispensing their duties (ECOWAS, 2001 article 3). The 1999 Protocol has also charged the Observation Missions in article 31 to provide supervision during elections in Member States. These provisions of the Protocols consolidate Merkel (2004) assertion that Political Security could only be realised where the will of the people on who to govern is respected. Thus, democratic elections are central in any system that can be described as observing and promoting citizens Political Security.

Moreover, the Protocols have provided for the need for secularism and neutrality of the State. The 2001 Protocol declares that Member States and their institutions such as the security forces must remain neutral in issues of religion, sect, race and gender (ECOWAS, 2001 article 19). The State has been admonished not to favour or be organised under the principles of religions, race, or tribe and crack down on others. People of all religious backgrounds, race, or gender must therefore be accorded equal dignity and respect.

The Protocols again provides that all Member States should pursue the Rule of Law, Human Rights and Good Governance. According to Anin-Botwe (2011), the Rule of Law is pivotal in the realisation of Political Security. The 1999 Protocol acknowledges the Rule of law and good governance in the preamble and in article 25 as central in democratic systems. The modalities for attaining same have been outlined in Article 34 of the 2001 Protocol. The article places demand on Member States to operate within the confines of the law, respect human rights and ensure good governance.

The Protocols have also outlined sanctions that should be brought against Member States who violate their provisions. These sanctions aim is to deter Member States from disregarding the interest of citizens and by extension protect and promote the Political Security of the citizens. The 2001 Protocol provides that in the event where democracy is truncated and massive Human Rights violation surges, ECOWAS could bring against such a State some sanctions. These sanctions as outlined in article 45 includes ECOWAS denial of support to such Member States candidate in international organisations elections, barring such a Member State from hosting ECOWAS meetings and preventing it from participating in any ECOWAS decision making process. These sanctions, however, are subject to the severity of the situation. The 1999 Protocol has the ECOMOG as an organ for military intervention when the need arises.

5.3   POLITICAL SECURITY ATTAINMENT IN WEST AFRICA

The study employed in-depth interview as an instrument for gathering data. The following people were interviewed for the study. Dr. Vladimir Antwi-Danso (Security Expert), four ECOWAS Parliamentarians (ECOWAS P1, ECOWAS P2, ECOWAS P3 and ECOWAS P4). WANEP Program Officer, Research & Capacity Building (PORCB). An International

Relation and a Human Security expert in Dr. Alidu Seidu (IRE), and Dr. Philip Attuquayefio (HSE) respectively, the Minister/ Deputy Head of Mission (M/DHM) and the Director of African Bureau (DAB) both at the MFA.

5.4   DEFINITIONAL PROBLEM OF POLITICAL SECURITY

The definitional problem that has plagued the Human Security concept in terms of its scope has had a bearing on Political Security. Evident from the data gathered, Political Security is conceived differently by various individuals and institutions. Although the respondents conceived Political Security differently, the common and recurring element has been the guaranteeing of citizens Political and Civil Rights in a political system. This is demonstrated in the following definitional extracts sampled from the data collected. The IRE intimated that "the extent to which you can vote freely, join associations are the things that have to do with Political Security". The PORCB of WANEP quipped that the concept refers to the "Freedom for citizens to participate in political and democratic processes, freedom from arbitrary arrests and abuse". To the M/DHM at MFA, the concept is "an aspect of security that has to do with our ability to conduct our day to day political activities,…in a manner devoid of attacks and is free and fair…". The ECOWAS P2 construed Political Security as "the defence against any form of political oppression and concerns whether people live in a society that honours their basic Human Rights.." (Field note, 2017).

The above extracts indicate that whiles Political Security is conceived as guaranteeing opportunity for the exercise of political rights, others perceive it extends further to include getting the individuals basic Human Rights protected and secured. This perspective is in conformity with the conceptualisation of the concept of as adopted in this study.

The contention, however, has to do with where to draw the dichotomy between Political Security and other components of security such as economic, personal and social to establish a definite scope. A security expert and an ECOWAS Parliamentarian (ECOWAS P2) both reasoned that the line between political and economic security for instance is not legible. Thus, elements of economic wellbeing classified as economic rights remain a basis for political decisions and issues of politics and economics are intertwined (Field Note 2017). Therefore, to draw a sharp distinction separating economic, social and other component of Human Security would be problematic. This raises a question on the parameters and scope of Political Security.

5.5   THE PARAMETERS OF POLITICAL SECURITY

On the question of the parameters of Political Security, the respondents' highlights indicated that the constituents of Political Security or Insecurity spans political, economic, and social.

5.5.1   Political/Civil

As indicated earlier, the central determinant of Political Security, as alluded to by the respondents is the Political Rights and Civil Liberties of citizens. All the respondents but one agreed that Political Security involves the enjoyment of political and civil rights in an environment devoid of intimidation. They suggested that the protection and promotion of citizens' Political Rights such as the right to vote, the right to political participation, the right to voice, and the right of association, are the pillars of Political Security. This is indicative and as espoused by an ECOWAS Parliamentarian (ECOWAS P2) that when the political space is restricted, it ferments protest groups. These groups could device

undemocratic means to register their displeasure and could therefore result in the insurrection of a terrorist group in extremes.

To mitigate this, the Protocols provide for the promotion and consolidation of democratic institutions and abhors usurpation or retention of power through unconstitutional means. They also champion free fair and transparent elections, the practice of good governance and the rule of law, and a total respect for the rights of citizens (ECOWAS 1999 article1, ECOWAS, 2001 articles1& 34)

The Protocols also seeks to promote violent free environment where the mediums for channelling grievances such as the press operations are devoid of intimidations (1999 article 3a). They further promote civil control of the arm forces and security services in Member States (ECOWAS, 2001 article 19 to 24). The 1999 Protocol in this regard has Peace and Security Systems as well as a Conflict Management Systems to help promote peaceful environment for citizens (ECOWAS, 1999 article 24 to 27).

5.5.2   Economic

Seven of the respondents (security expert, ECOWAS P2, P3, P4, PORCB, and DAB) did indicate in their definitions of Political Security, economic elements. Although political issues dominated, economic issues appeared as controlling factors for political behaviour. Thus, the ECOWAS P4 and the Security Expert asserted that Political Security cannot be limited to only the political spectrum. The ECOWAS P4 furthered that unemployment, which is economic in outlook is an outright Political Security issue. Relating that to the thuggery of the Invincible and Delta forces, Pro NPP vigilante groups assaults on political opponents after the NPP's victory in the 2016 general elections in Ghana, the ECOWAS

P4 asserted that economic frustrations is not far from the underlining factor(s). This is in tandem with Jain, (1996) assertion that poverty is a social, political and economic predicament whose solution lies in ensuring equity. This can only be realised adequately when wider representation and inclusiveness in decision-making processes is ensured. Thus, whiles politics appears supreme is Political Security discourse, there are underlining issues of economic and social nature.

It is imperative to indicate that the link between economic wellbeing and Political Security influenced the ECOWAS to provide strategies for poverty alleviation in Article 27 of the 2001 Protocol. The Article provides that the provision of certain basic human needs for life and poverty alleviation strategies should be of prime importance to all Member States.

5.5.3   Social

A section of the respondents indicated that Political Security may necessarily not be social in outlook but it is influenced and also influences political systems and decisions. Therefore, any definition of Political Security should not undermine such considerations. They furthered that the absence of a well-organized social environment has a consequential impact on political environment and social issues influences the behaviour of citizens' political life. An ECOWAS Parliamentarian (ECOWAS P3) retorted that "women's cry for more participation and recognition and more equal rights, Human Rights respect, constitutes very thorny areas in social organisation that we must also include into Political Security" (Field Note, 2017). A Security Expert extended the argument by orating that social issues and Political Security are not very distinct. He quizzed,

> Second generational rights; the right to education, the right to good portable water etc. are also political. People think is different from political rights but I

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> don't. Why should I vote for you and I don't have good portable water? Why
> should I vote for you and I don't have good environment? (Field Note 2017)

The above extract indicates that issues of social concern are not much distinct from Political Security. This assertion is in tandem with da Costa (2008) view that issues of social privacy have become Political Security concerns. In his justification, he noted that the high-level technology that is been exploited by criminals and terrorists' groups around the globe and the resolve by governments to curb the abuse, has rendered citizens' privacy susceptible to intrusion. He considers such situation as disturbing concerns of Political Insecurity. This served as the reasons why the Protocols attempt addressing diverse issues and admonishes harmonious coexistence in societies.

It is imperative to note that the two Protocols highlight all three facets of Political Security articulated by the respondents. From the political and civil perspectives, the Protocols have provided for the protection of rights such as right to vote and be voted for, zero tolerance for coups and undemocratic governance, right to life, association and movement. It has also provided for the guaranteeing and promotion of social and economic rights. The 2001 Protocol, as noted earlier has advanced provisions geared towards the creation of jobs and eradication of poverty, harmonious social order and women empowerment. Several of these important provisions are however not detailed enough. For instance, the provision on gender parity is solely on education, ignoring the economic and political spectrum. This phenomenon creates the room for abuse.

5.6   THE LEVEL OF POLITICAL SECURITY IN WEST AFRICA

On the question of the level of Political Security in West Africa, a number of the respondents expressed optimism indicating that although the region has not witnessed

maximum Political Security, but tremendous improvements have been recorded. A Security Expert indicated that Political Security is an "ideal conception" and as such its total attainment has not and cannot be recorded anywhere in the world. He justified that such a phenomenon was expected since the Political Security of citizens "depends on the exigencies and the idiosyncrasies of the governing body" whose penultimate interest is to maintain power.

It is imperative to note that although Political Security is an ideal concept and no country in the world has ever realised its fullness, there are however variations in the levels of attainment. Though the levels in West Africa over the years have seen improvements, it is still very low and calls for concern. It is instructive to note also that these improvements have been relative to countries. The respondents were of the view that these improvements appear to vary at country levels. Thus, whiles some states appear to be consolidating such inroads; others are yet to come to terms on the practicability of the system. The improvements that have manifested in West Arica has been in the areas of press freedoms, periodic democratic elections and opened political space for citizens' participation.

5.7   THE NATURE OF POLITICAL SECURITY IN WEST AFRICA

The respondents suggested that Political Security in Africa in general and West Africa in particular is not directed towards the ordinary citizens but the elite class. This typifies Holmes (2015) understanding that the interests of governments and leaders in the political system are the focus of the Political Security concept. Whiles citizens' interest is the paramount and requires absolute protection from State apparatus and institutions, national leaders have often turned to focus on their interest. The situation in West Africa presents a worse picture as political and national leaders construes leadership opportunities as wealth

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accruing ventures. This drives them to attempt consolidating their positions to prevent any upheaval or defeat. As a result, they promulgate laws that focus on promoting their interest rather than that of the public. The respondents reasoned that the aspects of Political Rights that have always received attention in the sub-region are that of the elites. This has given the political rights promoted in the sub-region an elitist orientation. A respondent exemplifies this concern in the following illustration;

> Yahya Jammeh has lost elections and he does not want to go so we want to go and get him out. What does that change in Gambia? During the period of the rule of Yahya Jammeh in Gambia, what did West Africa [ECOWAS] do about all the atrocities we heard of? If somebody had staged a coup in Gambia, we would have gone in to save Yahya Jammeh. Can you see the contradictions? Even though Yahya Jammeh was ordering all these things, if anybody attempted a coup in Gambia, ECOWAS would have denounced that person, gone in to remove that person by their Protocols and installed Yahya Jammeh. So is it [Political Security] for the people or against the people? So I say it is elitist, it has nothing to do with the ordinary people and their Political Rights; it is the Political Rights of the elites. (Security Expert, Field Report, 2017)

Governments and leaders of ECOWAS Member States become more concerned when leaders rather than ordinary citizens Political Security are breached. As outlined by the security expert, leaders of ECOWAS Member States show less interest when issues of ordinary citizens' Political Insecurity is manifesting. This approach does not constitute an appropriate attitude in the attempt to maximize gains in Political Security promotion.

The respondents again lamented that the nature of Political Security promotion in West Africa is gender bias in outlook. That is, it focuses more on political office holders who are mostly men rather than promoting political environment that stimulates equal participation of both sexes in the political system. This observation is in consonance with Obamamoye, (2016) assertion that, with the exception of Senegal, women in West Africa have always constituted a marginal proportion in country's legislatures. The Human Security Expert lamented by iterating that such an unfortunate situation seems to have fallen at the blind

side of ECOWAS. This assertion is revealing because unlike ECOWAS, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) has an expressed Protocol to address this gender gap. With the "Protocol on Gender and Development" which was ratified in 2008, SADC's intention to promote the Political Security of females in its Member States was put into law. Major among its provisions are the articles, 12 and 13, which addresses Political Representation and Participation of women in Member States politics. These articles enjoin State Parties to draft and adopt legislations that would put women at the centre stage of national political decision-making. The Protocol's article 5 again enjoins Member States to enact affirmative bills with particular focus on opening the political space for women participation. It is not surprising, therefore, that whiles West Africa has only one country in Senegal, listed among the top 20 countries with high number of female parliamentarians, the SADC region has four (South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique and Angola) (Inter-Parliamentary Union,May 2017). It again explains why the SADC region has two countries in South Africa and Mozambique among the 2016 Global Gender Gap Index listing of the top 24 countries with powerful women politicians.

5.8   THE ROLE OF STATES IN POLITICAL SECURITY PROMOTION.

A State is the primary guarantor of Political Security. The Protocols have acknowledged the leading role of the State in this regard by severally referencing the "Member State" and assigning it various duties. In the 2001 Protocol for instance, the articles 3, 4 and 5 provides that Member States should ensure the conduct of credible and violent free elections by providing frameworks.

The respondents sounded unanimous by indicating that the State is the purveyor of Political Security per the Social Contract theory. They argued that the State has the responsibility to

protect citizens' rights and liberties. They noted that States execute such responsibilities through the creation of appropriate mechanisms and structures. These structures and mechanisms are to ensure the rule of law, create institutions to interpret and pronounce judgement, punish guilt, and create conducive environment for advocacy and law testing. Thus, generally, the State is responsible for the safety, protection and promotion of the human rights of individuals living within its jurisdiction. This assertion by the respondents correlates with the liberalist perspective on the role of the state as posited in the theoretical framework. It construes that the State has as a duty, both at the local and international scene, to promote and protect the interests of its' citizens.

Although the State, on moral and contractual grounds is obliged to promote Political Security, majority of the respondents were of the view that it does not and even those that attempt, would not execute it to the latter. This according to them is because States consider the promotion of citizens Political Security as a threat to their interests. The following are some of the pointers cited by the respondents;

> I think that few states would like to go on to expand the frontiers of political liberties because some states would have to constrain it. (HSE, Field Report, 2017)

> The state in Africa, in West Africa and throughout the world will not play any meaningful role to augment the realisation of Human Security because of two reasons; first is Realism, which enjoins the state to maximize national security. Thus, national security is of importance to the state than Human Security. The second is the eagerness of governments to want to stay in power (SE, Field Report, 2017)

The state as indicated in the extracts above and the prior allusions of its role in Human Security portrays clearly that, although it has a major role, it is not likely to honour it fully. This confirms CHS (2003) assertion that States turns to fail than promote the security of citizens. This further confirms the notion that there is the need for other bodies to police the actions of Sates concerning Political Security promotion.

From the above it is clear that when there are no strict provisions compelling Member

States to promote Political Security, there would be little effort from leaders to that effect.

They would explore all loopholes in laws to renege on their duties.

5.9   CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS (CSOs) AND POLITICAL SECURITY PROMOTION

On the contribution of CSOs to Political Security promotion, all the respondents

established that CSOs are indispensable in democratic dispensations and their contribution

to Political Security is consequential. The role of the CSOs illuminates the Liberalist

perspective that States are not the only actors in the International system and that Non-

State actors also play key roles in securing rights and liberties. These views further justify

Pease (2012) position that Non-State actors in the International System are the vanguards

for facilitating more gains as far as corporation is concerned.

The invaluable contribution of CSOs, according to the respondents', come in the form of

serving as bridges between ECOWAS and Member States, partnering themselves, liaising

with States and Regional Organisations to criticise acts of aggression, educate and support

the execution of programs, and also conduct researches and suggest recommendations on

national and regional issues. Two respondents; the Minister/ Deputy Head of Mission

(M/DHM) at MFA and WANEP's Program Officer, Research & Capacity Building

(PORCB) referenced the 2002 ECOWAS/WANEP memorandum termed "ECOWARN"

to buttress this claim. This concurs with Aning (2004) suggestion that CSOs must be

incorporated into the governance of States to serve as bridges between politicians, elites

and the general citizens.

Three of the respondents', (ECOWAS P1, IRE1 and DAB), whiles concurring with the above assertions further opined that, certain limitations on the part of CSOs could render them ineffective. This limitation, they argue, could reduce their influence and turn them into tools for governments and foreign forces to execute their agendas. They indicated for instance that, the difficulty of CSOs in securing funds for their projects and programs often influence them to compromise their autonomy and focus. The ECOWAS P1 buttressed this in the following statement;

> …the CSO, they should appear to be aligned to the government to get some little money to do their work or if they are not aligned to the government, then to their benefactors. If it is America that is sponsoring my NGO, I am coerced to do the bidding of America. I must write about Ghana's democracy and either portray Mahama as good and Akufo Addo as not good, and I will have to be doing that in order to get my money (Field note 2017).

Thus, while CSOs are very important for the securing of political rights, they could also be exploited to conceal the diabolic acts of unscrupulous leaders and agencies. The ECOWAS P1 asserted that, foreign powers or governments could use these CSOs in a disguised manner to operate within a country. The PORCB of WANEP however indicated that, whiles this is a justified claim; it does not apply to all CSOs. She argued that some CSOs thrives on their credibility as autonomous bodies and so remain resolute without compromise no matter the obstacles.

The Protocols did recognise the potential of CSOs to contribute towards the realisation of Political Security. These provisions however appear shallow and underemphasized. The 1999 referenced it only in the concluding remarks of article 51 where it advocates that CSOs should be made part of States National Commissions to help fight small arms circulation. The 2001 Protocol also only acknowledged CSOs in article 8 as agencies States should employ to educate citizens on the need for violent free elections.

It is imperative to note therefore that although the Protocols did recognize the important roles of CSOs in Political Security promotion, but the provisions are not expressive enough to exploit fully their potentials. Identified as key instruments for Political Security promotion in article 8 of the 2001 Protocol, CSOs have been tasked only to sensitize citizens on the need for violent-free elections. The framing of this provision is problematic because it subjects the operations of the CSOs to States readiness to use them. This challenge in addition to their financial constraints could jeopardize their operations and contribution towards the enhancement of Political Security in the sub-region.

5.10 REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND POLITICAL SECURITY

The question on this sought the views of the respondents on whether or not regional organisations play any role in securing Political Security. All the respondents agreed that regional organisations play a vital role in securing of Member States Citizens' Political Security. They professed that they constitute the only bodies that Member States have ceded some of their sovereignty to and so are subject to their directives. This is in conformity with Hass (1964) and Dieter, Lamb, Melber, (2001) assertion that "regional integration" materialises only when states agree to cede some of their sovereignty to supranational organisations (ie. International Organisations). These organisations thereafter superintend over the actions of its Member States who are required to respect its directives.

The respondents further noted that, because it is the States that ratify the Protocols/Treaties of these supranational organisations, their provisions binds' them as Member States. The existence of such institutions, commanding the authority and responsibility to oversee the actions of member-states, is healthy for democratic consolidation, which in turn influences

development. The M/DHM at MFA suggested in this regard that, the only path to redemption for a "politically volatile, economically fragile and violence prone" West Africa, is a supranational organisation" such as ECOWAS. Thus, the coordination of the activities of West African countries by a supranational body of ECOWAS sort would help harness the potentials in the sub-region.

The importance of international organisations has duly been acknowledged both by the existence of ECOWAS and its ratified Protocols. Again, the Protocols have duly assigned ECOWAS roles in other to facilitate Political Security promotion in the sub-region. These tasks manifests by its mandate to hold sway the actions of its Member States using the Protocols provisions.

Although the Protocols have assigned onto ECOWAS roles to play to maximize Political Security promotion, the provisions contain elements that could facilitate "claw back effect(s)". Thus, while the drafters carefully snarled Member States with the phrase "Member States shall" in some provisions, the wording of others, particularly in the 2001 Protocol, grants the Community opportunity to renege on commitments. For example, article 12 of the 2001 Protocol provides that "at the request of any Member State, ECOWAS **[may]** provide assistance in the conduct of any election". Such loopholes offer the community room for excuses if it feels it is financially incapacitated. Again, it would look discriminatory if support is given one and denied another.

5.11 THE LIMITATIONS OF ECOWAS IN POLITICAL SECURITY PROMOTION

Whiles the respondents concerted that ECOWAS as a sub-regional body plays a vital role in ensuring Political Security in West Africa, they also admitted some limitation stampedes

its efforts. This question sought to find out some of the factors that limits ECOWAS quest to promote Political Security in the sub-region. The respondents identified the following;

5.11.1 Funding

Nine respondents identified funding as one of the setbacks that ECOWAS is confronted. They indicated that the lack of funds to support some less endowed Member States to implement some provisions contained in their Protocols when the need arise, has been a challenge. They further noted that the weak financial capacity of the Community affects its ability and bargaining power to execute its mandate. Thus, establishing offices and hiring professionals as staffs on full time basis, funding projects in member countries and paying compensations has become an expensive venture for the Community. In effect, the Community has not been able to build strong capacities to aid the implementation of its Protocols due to financial constraints. An ECOWAS P2 iterated in this regard that;

> They have nice ideas and blue prints and policies but to be able to get the resources to help them implement them is been very difficult. Therefore, you see that an institution like ECOWAS relies so much on funding from donor partners who tell them what to do (Field notes, 2017)

Although the 1999 Protocol provides how the Community would raise funds to implement the mechanism in articles 33 to 41, the respondents submits that has not helped raise any substantial amounts to support the course of the Community. This justifies Iwilade and Agbo (2012) observation that, despite all its funding strategies, the Community still has a funding gap that needs to be addressed. It also consolidates Ogwu (2008) claim that resource drought remained the major challenge for ECOWAS in the quest to discharge its obligations. The Community therefore needs to develop a comprehensive mechanism for fund raising to execute its projects and programs.

5.11.2 Lack of Political Will by Heads of States

Nine respondents highlighted the reluctance of Heads of Member States to observe the dictates of Protocols as hindrance to ECOWAS efforts in promoting Political Security. They observed that since Political Security appears to curtail the powers and influences of these actors, they are reluctant to ensure it. The IRE lamented as follows;

> When African countries started gaining independence, the people who were leading this whole struggle were people with vision and foresight and they sacrificed their own states interests for the interest of the collective group. But after independence most of the leaders in Africa have strived to entrench themselves (Field Note 2017).

The respondents argued that the undemocratic processes often adopted by governments across the region, has often threatened compliance of ECOWAS treaties. This is in consonance with a West Africa Civil Society Forum (WACSOF), 2015 Report that attests evidences of poor political will by leaders across West Africa to observe ECOWAS provisions. This act poses as a hindrance to the effective implementation of its Treaties and Conventions. The assertion also concurs with Ogwu, (2008) claim that the lackadaisical attitudes of Member States towards the advancement of good governance has stifled ECOWAS efforts. Thus, power brokers in Member States deliberately thwart initiatives geared towards promoting Political Security at both the national and regional levels. This situation is often occasioned by the perceived disincentives that such developments could bear on their power consolidation ambitions. This was exemplified in a protest staged by Yahya Jammeh of Gambia and Faure Gnassingbe of Togo against the "two terms" limit proposition by ECOWAS in 2015. It is not surprising that the two were among the leaders who had created dynasties for themselves in their respective countries.

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5.11.3 Sovereignty of State

All the respondents considered States Sovereignty as a limitation on regional organisations and ECOWAS for that matter. They professed that States Sovereignty has often been used as a shelter by Heads of States to indulge in nefarious acts and demand no intrusion by other States or organisations of ECOWAS kind. Compounding the issue, according to ECOWAS P1, is the sometimes lack of clarity in regional organisations Protocols. He cited for instance, the lack of clarity on where ECOWAS powers supersede that of Member States. It also failed to clarify whose interest is considered supreme when that of ECOWAS's conflicts with a Member State's.

Some of the respondents indicated that although this phenomenon presents a challenge but a changing trend is ensuing. They argued that after the policy of non-intervention was abolished in favour of non-indifference, international organisations have been empowered to act. The Security Expert asserted that, although States still would claim sovereignty, but by ceding some of their rights to supranational bodies, they are bound to abide by their directives. This buttresses the observations by Peters (2009) that the absolute sovereignty of states is waning and giving way to functional and effective regional bodies mandate. Based on this understanding, ECOWAS in Articles 25, 26 and 27 of the 1999 Protocol has provided situations that could lead to the triggering of its intervention mechanisms. These include cases of aggression and conflicts with potential humanitarian crises and threat to sub-regional security. Others include incidences of gross violation of human rights, abject disregard for the rule of law and the ousting or attempt to overthrow a constitutionally elected government. The Article 45 of the 2001 Protocol also outlined a range of sanctions liable to Members States who violates its provisions. These include denying a candidate

from such country any support in international organisations elections, not hosting ECOWAS Summit in such a State, suspending such State from taking part in the Community's decision-making processes and in extreme cases deployment of ECOMOG Forces.

5.11.4 The Lack of Clarity

The respondents again lamented on the lack of clarity and certainty in some Protocols provisions. They identified that as one of the major challenges that besets Regional Integration in Africa in general. To the respondents, the case of ECOWAS and its Protocols has not escaped this deficiency either. They lamented that the danger associated with such a deficiency is the discretion it places on influential member states to influence the actions of the Community. This concern raised by the respondents is evident in both Protocols under study. The 1999 Protocol's Articles 25, 26 and 27 cites the grounds for the Community's intervention to include the overthrow of democratically elected governments and the manifestation of gross Human Rights violations. The clause on the overthrow of democratically elected governments' has not outlined the actions that citizens who realises a government's breach of the feel social contact could adopt. The Provision is therefore deficient and potentially offers protection for governments superintending over gross violation of rights. This is further justified on the basis that the provision does not provide alternatives for citizens to oust such unpopular administrations. Moreover, it puts the determination of Human Rights abuse and the need for intervention, solely in the hands of the Community, whose highest decision making body is composed of States leaders and their comrades. A typical manifestation of this scenario became evident in the Gambia during the reign of Yahya Jammeh. Despite all the repression and abuses that were been

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perpetrated by the regime, ECOWAS appeared much unperturbed. One of the explanation to this phenomenon may have been the friendly ties that Yahya Jammeh maintained with some of the influential leaders.

Another provision lacking clarity is Article 12 of the 2001 Protocol on elections. It stipulates that ECOWAS "may" respond to a request by a Member State to assist in the conduct of elections. Such relaxed provision does not compel the Community to perform that as a duty. Again, whiles Article 34 enjoins both Member States and the Executive Secretariat to promote Rule of Law, Human Rights and Good Governance, it fails to define the perimeters of good governance. This leaves the determination of what constitutes good governance to the discretion of the individual States and specifically the ruling class. To also fail to operationalise and define the confines of "rule of law" and provide Provisions that enjoins Member States to repeal repressive laws from their domestic laws is problematic. Thus, a government could exploit that caveat to implement some repressive laws against its political opponent(s) and still insist to have operated within the confines of its domestic laws.

To add to the above is the operationalisation of the zero tolerance for acquisition and/or maintenance of power through undemocratic means provision. Despite this commitment in the Protocol, the Community has not taken measures that attest to its full commitment. A move defeats this aspiration is that the Community allows leaders regimes that shows lack of commitment to multiparty democracy to assume its leadership position. Such leaders often feel morally unjustified to call on other leaders to concede or relinquish power when the need arise. Again, in situations where the leader becomes the culprit, it becomes

difficult to navigate around the issue. An example in this situation is ECOWAS under the Chairmanship of Faure Gnassingbe of Togo.

These observations of the respondents buttresses the concerns of Bamidele & Ayodele, (2016) that the Community's conception of some concepts generates challenges rather than solutions. They exemplified this with the lack of clarity in the meaning of "unconstitutional change of government". They quizzed on this basis the locus for the classification of coups into either "good" or "bad" and whether any should be accepted as a correctional measure.

5.11.5 The Francophone-Anglophone Divide

The respondents again identified that the colonial antecedents of West Africa countries have affected the level of influence ECOWAS wields over its Member States. Most of the countries are still attached and controlled by their colonial masters. Again, the existence of different governance and legal systems cross the sub-region has been a bane to the effectiveness of the Community and its Protocols. The PORCB of WANEP asserted that the legal system in Francophone countries espouses "guilty until proven innocent" whiles the English countries stick to "innocent until proven guilty". To bring these contradictory ideologies under one umbrella would likely create friction. Again, the Francophone Countries are members of West African Economic and Monetary Union known in French as the "Union Economic et Monetaire oust Africaine" (UEMOA). The existence of this sub-regional organisation which the Francophone Countries pledge allegiance to alongside ECOWAS, constitutes another source of challenge to the activities of ECOWAS. It creates the problem of allegiance especially when the demands from the two bodies contradict. This consolidates a concern by Iwilade and Agbo (2012) that the existence of UEMOA

alongside ECOWAS is a big concern that requires attention. He noted that the UEMOA/ECOWAS dichotomy is injurious to the operations of ECOWAS.

5.12 INITIATIVES TO ENHANCE ECOWAS POLITICAL SECURITY PROMOTION

Since Regional bodies have a mandate to ensure Political Security, the onus lies on ECOWAS to steer the promotion of Political Security in the sub-region. To be able to ensure this adequately, there must be laid down principles and programs. The respondents identified several steps by which ECOWAS could ensure the realisation of Political Security the sub-region.

5.12.1 Promote Democracy both in Member States and ECOWAS

The respondents reasoned that ECOWAS could help promote Political Security in the sub-region by promoting democracy within its ranks and within the Member States. They suggested that ECOWAS must work more towards promoting good governance within ECOWAS and Member States. The EPs noted with concern why delegates from Member States Parliaments constitute ECOWAS Parliament rather than on elective principle as it makes them unaccountable to citizens. This relegates the Parliament to just an advisory body rather than one with legislative powers. Because delegates constitute it, the house is not able to discharge its legislative duties independently (ie. without the influence of Member States governments). Again, the house lacks consistency and continuity since members exit at different points in time. To attain maximum impact, therefore, the respondents proposes that the entry of legislators into the ECOWAS Parliament should be through universal adult suffrage. This suggestion by the respondents consent's with the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, (DCAF), 2011 Report's contention that although

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Parliament plays a very important role by serving as an instrument for civilian oversight on governments, its perfect delivery of mandate is based on the power, technical expertise and financial resources at its disposal. Thus, whiles the debating, approving, enacting and overseeing laws and policies and ensuring they reflect and address the needs of citizens constitutes an important role by Parliament in democratic consolidation, only well-equipped legislatures can deliver up to expectation. This concern confirms Cowell (2011) observation that the 2001 Protocol has not accorded much attention to the promotion of democratic institutions. This constitutes a grave omission that requires rectification.

5.12.2 Placing the Individual at the Centre of the Political Security Framework

Six of the respondents suggested that Member States citizens should be the focus of ECOWAS Political Security frameworks. An SE professed that citizens of Member States should be educated on their Human Security to get to appreciate them. The EPs unanimously suggested that since Member States citizens are directly affected by the actions of ECOWAS, they should be granted a voice in how the Community is administered. This can be done by either direct involvement or indirectly through electing its Parliamentarians. The IRE also added that citizens' participation in the political process should be pursued vigorously and gender parity, an issue often maligned, be given greater attention.

These assertions by the respondents are in accord with the central proposition of the Human Security concept that sees the individual as the central object of discourse. Placing the individual at the centre of Political Security frameworks and policies would ensure the realisation of maximum impact. This is because specificity that warrants aptness is granted attention.

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5.12.3 A More Proactive ECOWAS

All the respondents, excluding the ECOWAS P3 and DAB noted that ECOWAS detest for Political Insecurity has been shown by the deployment of reactionary measures. They asserted that most of the initiatives and actions of ECOWAS to instil Political Security mostly come after the detonation of situations. The IRE and SE opined that, ECOWAS mostly wait until implosion before actions are taken. A typical example in this regard, according to them, was the Gambian situation under Yahya Jammeh. They suggested therefore that the Community should be more proactive in its attempts to dealing with the sub-region's Political Insecurity. The PORCB for instance indicated that by laying more emphasis on early responses, ECOWAS would be preventing many insecurity situations from manifesting or assuming large character. Thus, proactive measures by ECOWAS could help prevent or mitigate deadly confrontations and insurgences.

5.13 CONCLUSION

The chapter discussed the data as gathered from both text and interviews. The analyses revealed the Political Security Provisions in the Protocols. It likewise established the potentials of the provisions for improving the Political Security situation in the sub-region. It again unveiled the perspectives of the respondents on the nature of Political Security in West Africa. The chapter similarly presented the suggestions of the respondents on how ECOWAS could advance its role as a regional organisation seeking to promote Political Security. These findings would serve as the basis for conclusion and recommendations in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a summary of the findings drawn from chapter four. This is attained by juxtaposing the discoveries with the provisions on Political Security in the 1999 ECOWAS Mechanism on conflict Prevention and the 2001 ECOWAS Protocol on Good Governance and Democracy. This exercise would serve as a basis to help draw the conclusions. The chapter again detail recommendations to the various stakeholders: Member States, regional and sub-regional bodies, CSOs and scholars. These recommendations are drawn from the topical issues brought to the fore in the summary of findings. These recommendations are tailored towards improving the 1999 and 2001 ECOWAS Protocols, and the general effort by the Community to advance Political Security promotion in West Africa.

6.1   SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The summary of findings has been discussed under various headings. The headings are based mainly on the research questions derived from the research objectives. The objectives the research sought to attain are; to examine the relevant Political Security Provisions in the 1999 and 2001 ECOWAS Protocols, to analyse and ascertain the adequacy of the provisions to dealing with the Political Security situations within Member States and to contribute to reforms in these protocols for the promotion of Political Security in ECOWAS Member States. The synopsis on the various research findings are outlined below;

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6.1.1 What are the Relevant Political Security Provisions in the 1999 and 2001 ECOWAS Protocols?

The exposition on the meaning of Human and Political Security has extensively been discussed in both chapter two and four. The study found out that, people attribute diverse meanings to Political Security. However, the general view expressed by the respondents indicate that whiles Political Security revolves around Political and Civil Rights, it also touches on Economic and Social Rights. The study affirmed that economic and political issues are not mutually exclusive. Whiles they may appear to manifest differently, they influence each other. This concurs with Hamilton, (2009) observation that without adequate promotion of Political Rights, economic redistribution and wellbeing and basic social order could be impaired and vice versa. The study confirmed that maximum Political Security could therefore not be attained without strong economic and social fundamentals. It is within this context that the relevant Political Security provisions in the two protocols are situated and discussed.

After a careful peruse of the Protocols, the study has revealed that the 1999 ECOWAS Mechanism on Conflict Prevention and ECOWAS 2001 Protocol on Good Governance and Democracy have several provisions targeted at attaining and advancing Political Security in West Africa. They both justified good governance and the rule of law as ingredients for development. Whiles the 1999 Protocol justified this in its preamble, the 2001 advanced it in Article 1.

The two Protocols are replete with Political Security Provisions. The 2001 Protocol's Article 1 for instance guarantees the Political Rights of citizens of Member States. This is considered as the vehicle for the enhancement of the general Political Security situations

in the sub-region. These provisions aim at creating systems that would guarantee citizens'

the right to participate in the political process of their countries. The provisions in this

regard are the promotion of citizens' right to vote and be voted for, citizens' participation

in decision-making process, promotion of multi-party democracy; the right to form and

join political parties, participating in democratic elections and abolition of political

repression and vindictiveness. Civil Rights of citizens such as the right to form and join

associations, the right to embark on demonstrations, press freedom and freedom of speech

have also been insulated. The steps toward the attainment of social equity and economic

wellbeing have also been addressed in the 2001 Protocol.

The two Protocols also highlight the conditions under which provisions on interventions

would be activated. The article 25 of the 1999 Protocol and article 45 of the 2001 Protocol

outlines these conditions to include threats that could trigger humanitarian disaster,

massive violation of human rights and rule of law as well as the ousting or attempted

overthrow of a democratically elected government.

6.1.2   How adequate are the Provisions of the 1999 and 2001 Protocols for the attainment of Political Security in West Africa?

The study found out that the Protocols have established blueprints, stating both

expectations and strategies for the attainment of Political Security in the sub-region. The

study revealed however, some bottlenecks in the provisions. Thus, some critical elements

of Political Security have either been ignored or accorded little attention and space.

Mention in this regard is the issue of gender parity. This is disturbing because it comes

against the background of women in the sub-region forming a greater proportion of those

whose Political Security are constantly and massively violated. Thus, the space in the

political arena for females in the sub-region has been curtailed and they are considered generally as the weakest and vulnerable in societies. Attention towards addressing such issues could trigger a monumental leap in the realisation of Political Security in the sub-region. The search for Political Security should therefor feature an all-encompassing scope of needs and vulnerabilities.

The study further revealed that the two Protocols have failed to appropriately identify the potentials of CSOs and subsequently exploit their contributions to Political Security promotion in the sub-region. Thus, whiles the study has clearly established a strong connection between the actions of CSOs and the promotion of citizens' rights in general, the Protocols paid little attention to CSOs in that regard. This is evident in the fact that CSOs and their contributions were mentioned in only two articles, that is, article 51 and 8 of the 1999 2001 Protocols respectively, and their mandate to operate are left to states discretion.

Again, the study revealed a lack of precision in some of the provisions of the Protocols, a situation that foments "claw back effect". The article 12 (1, 2, 3 & 4) of the 2001 which addresses election related issues, for instance, has conditioned the Community's role in elections supervision. The provision grants ECOWAS freewill to either honour or ignore a request from a Member State to intervene in its elections. This is evident with the use of "may" in most of the surcharged duties of the Community. Article 45 of the 2001 Protocol also stipulates that ECOWAS may bring certain sanctions against a Member State whose conduct(s) contravenes its provisions. The lack of precision on "contraventions" and their related sanctions make such determination subjective and creates room for influential

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States and leaders to control the Community's actions. Thus, these States and leaders could exploit this caveat to galvanise support from other States to escape sanctions.

In addition to the above, the study again established that the sanctions that accompany the breach of citizens Political Security, as contained in article 45 of the 2001 Protocol, are not deterring enough. Thus, neither ECOWAS denial of support for sanctioned Member States candidate in International Organisations Elections, nor barring them from hosting ECOWAS meetings nor preventing them from participating in ECOWAS decision making processes constitute situations that Member States cannot cope without. Whiles ECOWAS might be challenged in instituting stiffer sanctions capable of yielding much results in Political Security promotion, it is undoubtedly clear that the current sanctions are not deterring enough to get States and leaders bent on disregarding Political Security to reconsider their stands.

The study further revealed that ECOWAS has not been proactive in implementing the provisions outlined in these Protocols. Mostly, issues involving the breach or threat of elites' Political Security are those that draw the attention of the Community and move them into action. Thus, pintsize attention is paid to the violation of the ordinary citizens' Political Security whiles swift actions are often initiated to defend Member States' governments and elites. Actions in this regard are taken sometimes without even recourse to whether those governments are democratic or autocratic. Such phenomena further aggravate the abuses of citizens' Political Security.

6.1.3   What Challenges Militates against ECOWAS Promotion of Political Security in the West African Sub-Region?

The findings of study revealed some limitations on the efforts of ECOWAS in realising the effective promotion of Political Security. It has been revealed that the issues of funding, lack of political will on the part of state leaders, the Francophone-Anglophone divide and states sovereignty pose as dangers that weakens the vision and efforts of the Community.

To begin with, the study has affirmed that funding has remains one major challenge of ECOWAS. The study revealed that although ECOWAS has outlined modalities for funding its programs in articles 30 and 36 to 37 of the 2001 and 1999 Protocol respectively but these are neither sustainable, reliable nor all-encompassing measures. For instance, the funding provided for in article 30 of the 2001 Protocol is earmarked for executing the education programs outlined therein. The 1999 Protocol also limited funding sources for the mechanism to budget allocations by ECOWAS, Levies from Member States and special requests to UN, AU, bilateral and multi-lateral agencies. The weak financial prowess of most Member States of ECOWAS renders them incapable of paying their dues. This subjects the Community to rely mostly on donor agencies, a practice that is neither reliable nor sustainable. Thus, donor agencies would only support projects that are of importance to them rather than that, which serves the best interest of ECOWAS and its Member States.

Another challenge that confronts the Community in its Political Security bid has been the lack of Political will from its Member States leaders to implement provisions. Thus, the leaders of ECOWAS region have failed to demonstrate an appreciable level of willingness to push for Political Security promotion. The desire of several of these leaders to perpetuate themselves in power has resulted in their attempts to circumscribe the political space in

their countries. This, realist conception has influenced the leaders in the sub-region to subvert rather than promote Political Security. To them, Political Security promotion would amount to a disincentive. This is because an open system would lead to massive criticisms against them that would eventually make them unpopular with the populace and any fair conducted elections could see their regimes crumble.

The study again revealed that the Francophone-Anglophone divide in the sub-region has been another limiting factor that has entangled ECOWAS. The study has revealed that most of the Member States of ECOWAS are still glued to their colonial masters who invariably influence their national policies. Some, mostly the Francophone countries, holds allegiance to two organisations, UEMOA and ECOWAS. This dual allegiance in addition to the different orientations of these Member States creates a problem secure absolute adherence of ECOWAS principles.

The study further revealed that States sovereignty is still an issue that poses some level of challenge for adherence. It has been revealed also that, International Laws are rapidly discounting sovereignty of states in favour of "individual's sovereignty". Thus, whiles ECOWAS would have to regard the sovereignty of Member States, there are also enough grounds to use "individual's sovereignty" as a basis for interventions.

6.2   CONCLUSION

The principal question that occupied this study was; how adequate the 1999 and 2001 ECOWAS Protocols are for the promotion of Political Security in the West African sub-region? This question was to be addressed by appraising the two Protocols in the context of the respondents' views to establish how adequate their provisions address the Political

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Security situation in the sub-region. To carry out this task, the study adopted Liberalism as a theoretical framework and assumed that a vibrant regional organisation, through its ratified Protocols, would be able to inspire and maximize Political Security for its Member States citizens.

The interviews and documents analysed revealed that, both Protocols feature Political Security elements and steps for the maximization of Political Security. Most of these provisions are however abounding in the 2001 Protocol. The provisions, per the research's findings, are inadequate in some respects for the attainment of Political Security in the sub-region. Thus, they either lack certain vital segments of Political Security or feature provisions that lack precision and clarity. The study revealed that the provisions of the Protocols on women empowerment, particularly to participate in national decision-making processes, the place of CSOs in states governance, funding sources for ECOWAS activities and the mechanisms for attaining States adherence to the Community's Protocols are inadequate. It was established that, although the two Protocols of ECOWAS have the potential of promoting Political Security in the sub-region, there are some gaps that need to be filled. These would come in the form of providing more clarity and extensive provisions on some of the provisions contained in the Protocols.

The study again revealed that there are implementation gaps on the existing provisions. The findings indicate that the Political Insecurity in West Africa is not entirely on the account of inadequate provisions. Other issues such as funding, ECOWAS/UEMOA dichotomy, States sovereignty and the unwillingness of Member States leaders to adopt the existing ratified provisions are contributing factors. Thus, a total resolve by ECOWAS and its Member States to implement the Provisions contained in the 1999 and 2001 Protocols

would result in a positive leap in the Political Security situation in the sub-region. It is therefore inductive to note that the challenges of funding, ECOWAS/UEMOA dichotomy, States Sovereignty, and lack of political will from national leaders, needs to be addressed if major strides in the sub-regions Political Security are to be witnessed.

The study consequently revealed that the 1999 and 2001 Protocols are vital for ECOWAS bid to promote Political Security in West Africa. However, they need to be revised to feature an inclusion of some Political Security elements. The existing ones also needs to be amended to provide further clarity and details on the issues they address and the strategies they employ.

6.3   RECOMMENDATIONS

Several recommendations have been drawn from the study based on the findings and conclusions. The findings of the study through the data gathered indicated that Political Insecurity persists in West Africa and must be addressed. The study revealed also some shortfalls in the provisions of the Protocols and implementation gaps as well. The recommendations outlined are principally for ECOWAS, CSOs, Policy Makers and the Academia.

6.3.1   To ECOWAS

To begin with, ECOWAS should offer a definitive meaning to Political Security. It was revealed that Political Security has not been defined in any proper context in these Protocols. Since no substantial progress can be made on an undefined target, it is prudent that ECOWAS gives the concept an operational meaning in either of the Protocols.

Secondly, the focus of ECOWAS Political Security pursuit in the Protocols should be directed more towards the ordinary citizens rather than the elites. By focusing on the ordinary citizen, the Community would be working towards attaining "total" Political Security. Thus, ECOWAS should adopt a bottom up approach in the Protocols as a means of attaining Political Security in West Africa.

Furthermore, issues of gender parity should not be denigrated to the carpets. The Community must endeavour to incorporate and address appropriately gender parity issues. It should be part of the guiding principles for Member States in the 2001 Protocol. An extended article in the 2001 Protocol should be devoted to address the Political Participation and Representation of women in the political landscape of Member States. Deliberate efforts should therefore, be taken to offer women a voice in national decision-making processes in Member States.

Again, ECOWAS should be more proactive in its Political Security promotion endeavours. Thus, ECOWAS must not wait for situations to detonate before it moves into action. From intelligence and evidence at its disposal, the Community should strive to pass resolutions and move into securing the Political Security of citizens when the need arises.

In addition to the above, States Sovereignty should not be used as a yardstick for non-intervention. The community must get over the State Sovereignty mantra and implement the provisions contained in these Protocols. It, however, must ensure that the principles are applied equally to all Member States.

Moreover, ECOWAS should reassess the financial modalities in the Protocols. More sustainable and reliable sources of funds should be designed by the Community to cater for

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the financing of its activities. These sources should focus more on internal sources to enable the Community wind itself off unnecessary external influences. The Community must ensure that the funding frameworks outlined in the Protocols are revised in other to ensure efficiency and effectiveness.

The Community should also device more elaborate strategies to attain maximum adherence for provisions from Member States. Concentrating on only sterner sanctions (sticks) and ignoring options of negotiations and encouragement (carrots) as an attempt to gain States cooperation is problematic. The Community must therefore ensure a balance of the two in a way that would promote compliance.

Besides the above, the Community must again ensure that there is more clarity and precision in the protocols provisions. Thus, ECOWAS should revise the provisions in these protocols that sound ambiguous in other to establish clarity. This would promote clear understanding on rights, duties, breaches and related sanctions.

Finally, ECOWAS must ensure a proper synergy between itself, CSOs and other organisations in the formulation and implementation of well-defined frameworks for the realisation of Political Security in Member States.

6.3.2   To National Policy Makers

National Policy Makers in the sub-region should endeavour to promulgate laws that are geared towards securing Political Security. State and Political leaders in the sub-region must strive to adhere to the provisions of ECOWAS Protocols. This would inure to the benefit of the state, leaders and citizens. The justification is that politically oppressed citizens would eventually rise against and overthrow despotic leader(s).

Policy makers in the sub-region must again ensure that institutions responsible for the promotion and protection of Political Security are strengthened and granted the liberty to operate independently. The legislatures, judiciaries and other para-state institutions tasked to oversee to the adherence of Political Security promotion and duties of other institutions must be well equipped.

6.3.3   To Civil Society Organisations

The CSOs must not renege on their role as whistle blowers. They should remain as neutral entities in the discharge of their duties and resist influences from external forces and politicians that could render them as stooges for cover-ups. They should also endeavour to report accurately and concisely, knowing the level of confidence the populace repose in them.

Conscious efforts must also be made by CSO's to enlighten the citizens of Member States on their rights. CSOs must encourage and give citizens all the necessary support to agitate for their rights when necessary.

The CSO's should also improve upon their funds and resource mobilisation in order to be able to support national projects that are in sync with their objectives. Their partnership with Member States and ECOWAS on the implementation of the various provisions in the protocols must also be strengthened. They should continue to complement the initiatives of ECOWAS with their technical expertise and research.

6.3.4   To the Academia

The impact of academic writings on the transformation of societies has long been proven. Academicians and philosophers such as Aristotle, John Stuart Mills, Mahatma Ghandi,

Martin Luther King Junior and others greatly influenced the paths of their societies through their scholarly writings. It is therefore imperative to state that scholars, especially those of African descent, must not renege on their role of researching into the Political Security situation in West Africa. Interests in appraising ECOWAS Protocols should be exhilarated and studies on how to consolidate Political Security in West Africa should be an area of focus.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction

Thank you very much for this opportunity given me to have an interview with you. I am GIDEON NLIBE BILIJOE, a second year MPHIL student at the Political Science Department, University of Ghana. The session will span for only about 30minutes, and you can notify me any time you feel like discontinuing with the interview, you may draw my attention. Thank you.

Name of the interviewee   **Organisation/portfolio of interviewee**

…………………………..   …………………………………………….

1. What in your view constitutes Political Security?

2. How attainable is Political Security?

3. Are you contented with the levels of Political Security in West Africa?

4. What are the specific roles of the following in the promotion of Political Security?

a. State

b. Non-state actor (CSOs)

c. International organisations (ECOWAS)

5. Are the sanctions stipulated in the 1999 and 2001 Protocols deterring enough to ensure Political Security promotion?

6. What kind of initiatives could help ECOWAS to better enhance the promotion of Political Security on its regional agenda?

7. How can ECOWAS better strategize Political Security attainment in the sub-region?

8. How can African Civil Society Organisations contribute to the promotion and attainment of Political Security in the sub-region?

9. What obstacles does hinder ECOWAS's quest to improve Political Security in the sub-region?

Is there anything you would like to add?

Thank you

Date of interview: ………………………….

APPENDIX B

Details of the Respondents interviewed for the study. The names of some of the respondents have been omitted because they requested for anonymity.

No	Name	Institution	Position/Portfolio	Interview Date	Initial
1	Dr. Alidu Seidu	University of Ghana	Senior Lecturer (International Relations Expert)	27-03-2017	IRE
2	Dr.Philip Attuquayeffio	LECIAD	Senior Research Fellow (Human Security Expert)	03-04-2017	HSE
3	Hon. Friedrich Opare-Ansah	Parliament	Member of ECOWAS Parliament	29-03-2017	ECOWAS P1
4	Hon. Ahmed Ibrahim	Parliament	Member of ECOWAS Parliament	22-04-2017	ECOWAS P2
5		Parliament	Member of ECOWAS Parliament	22-04-2017	ECOWAS P3
6		Parliament	Member of ECOWAS Parliament	21-04-2017	ECOWAS P4
7	Dr. Vladimir Antwi-Danso	GAFCSC	Senior Lecturer (Security Expert)	21-04-2017	SE
8	Mr. Adjavor	MFA	Minister/ Deputy Head of Mission	06-04-2017	M/DHM
9		MFA	Director, African Bureau	13-04-2017	DAB
10		WANEP	Program Officer, Research & Capacity Building	03-04-2017	PORCB

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