INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITIES AND THE CHALLENGES OF CONTINENTAL INTEGRATION: A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE AFRICAN UNION COMMISSION AS AN INTEGRATIVE TOOL

By

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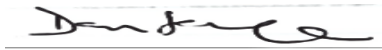
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(April, 2018)

Declaration

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IT IS HEREBY CERTIFIED THAT THIS THESIS ENTITLED – INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITIES AND THE CHALLENGES OF CONTINENTAL INTEGRATION: A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE AFRICAN UNION COMMISSION (AUC) AS AN INTEGRATIVE TOOL – IS AN ORIGINAL WORK CARRIED OUT BY DANIEL TAYE MEDOYE (STUDENT REGISTRATION NUMBER 214555350).

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Dr Gerelene Jagganath (Principal Supervisor)

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the Almighty God, who made it possible for me to go through the journey, strewn with seemingly insurmountable challenges, by His infinite and immeasurable GRACE. To Him be all Glory, Honour and Adoration.

Disclaimer

This thesis emanates from a scholarly endeavour and was underpinned largely by literature and field research. Consequently, the views, opinions, arguments, findings and conclusions presented therein are not in any way intended to vilify or compliment participants and or institutions identified in the thesis.

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Abstract

This study sought out to critically examine the African Union Commission (AUC) as an integrative tool in the context of institutional capacities and the challenges of continental integration. This study is an exploratory attempt to determine the capacity of the African Union Commission (AUC) as an organ of the African Union (AU) in facilitating the integration aspirations of African leaders on the continent. Considered a strategic organ of the AU, this study sought to examine the integrative capacity of the AUC, and its ability to sensitise not only African leaders, but also the rich and wealthy Africans notably in the private sector to pool resources together to catalyze the efforts towards integration of the continent. It is worth repeating that the AUC is one of the organs of the African Union (AU) which conducts the administrative affairs of the continental organization. The study was informed by the need to contexualise the dynamism exhibited by the leadership direction of the outgoing Chairperson of the Commission (at the time of this research), Her Excellency, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma wherein considerable attention was drawn to the activities of the AU. The AUC's engagements with the RECs and its reaching out to both private individuals and institutions for support, has significantly put African affairs in the limelight.

To achieve the aim of the study, the researcher drew strength from accessed literature specifically on related studies to be able to provide a justification for the study, and this was further completed with processed data generated from fieldwork. The study employed the qualitative research paradigm in the generation of data and for analysis based on the context and focus of the study. In concluding the study, the researcher made some averments as follows - Firstly, and in reaction to research question one which sought to interrogate the capacity of the African Union Commission (AUC) to facilitate integration agenda of the organization, the researcher avers that the AUC being the implementing organ of the AU's programmes can deliver more effectively on its mandate if empowered appropriately. Secondly, the study avers that the challenges of corruption, overlapping membership, sit-tightism syndrome, and lack of commitment by African leaders among others, should be addressed and tackled with unwavering commitment and willingness for the aspiration of integration to be fully realized. Thirdly, on whether the sub-regional bodies can provide a platform for the integration agenda of the continent, the researcher contends that the level of successes recorded within each of the regional economic communities is an indication that such can be replicated on the continent. Fourthly, the preponderance of views expressed by the study participants on whether the international environment can or does influence integration efforts in Africa led the researcher to agree less. Fifthly, the researcher aligns with the view by a majority of the respondents to the effect that there is no famine of policies, treaties, protocols and agreements aimed at leading Africa to its desired level of development. This study views

the AUC as an organ that plays an interventionist role through policy advocacy which proposes and recommends policies and programmes for the consideration of African leaders during their plenary sessions towards pursuing their integrative goals. The study therefore submits that, if accorded a near-supranational status, the AUC has the potency to galvanise resources and support to facilitate the much desired integration of the African continent.

Abbreviations/Acronyms

ASEAN	**Association of South East Asian nations**
AU	**African Union**
AUC	**African Union Commission**
CEN-SAD	**The Community of Sahel-Saharan States**
COMESA	**Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa**
DRC	**Democratic Republic of Congo**
EAC	**East African Community**
ECA	**Economic Commission for Africa**
ECCAS/CEEAC	**Economic Community of Central African States**
ECOWAS	**Economic Community of West African States**
ECOMOG	**Economic Community of West African States Monitoring States**
EEC	**European Economic Community**
EU	**European Union**
IGAD	**Inter-Governmental Authority on Development**
MRU	**Mano River Union**
NAFTA	**North American Free Trade Agreement**
NEPAD	**New Partnership for Africa's Development**
OAU	**Organisation of African Unity**
RECs	**Regional Economic Communities**
SADC	**Southern African Development Community**
SACU	**Southern African Customs Union**
UMA/AMU	**Arab Maghreb Union**
UNECA	**United Nations Economic Commission for Africa**

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Chapter One

1.0   Introduction and background to the study

In post-colonial Africa, leaders of the newly independent countries became increasingly associated with the idea of integration, and intensely believed that with it, the quest for development on the continent would be facilitated. As observed by Eborah (2009); Gibb (2009); Tavares and Tang (2011), some visionary African leaders saw a need for integration in Africa as a mechanism for realising the lofty goals and expectations of the populace. These goals include among other issues, good governance, with its accompanying attributes such as observance of the rule of law, guarantee of fundamental human rights, provision of security; improvement in standard of living, all aimed at fostering unity and consequently integration.

A leading light among the early African leaders, whose vociferous calls for unity (integration) among independent African states undoubtedly provided a springboard for the building of institutions or organisations to address common issues, is Kwame Nkrumah. A few of his advocacy, ideas and prescriptions contained in his book titled "Africa must unite" (1963) will be referred to in the course of this study. Besides, there are arguments that cooperation and ultimately, integration rest largely on the possibilities of deriving substantial economies of scale with respect to various activities typically associated with the expansion of trade and overall growth in a country (Oyejide, 2000). In practical demonstration of these views, emergent African leaders from independence had made various attempts to create one form of institutional platform or the other through which their aspirations for continent wide development will be pursued, and this will be captured in the study.

From a historical perspective, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) which transformed into the African Union, was set up on May 25, 1963 in Addis Ababa with a mandate to (among other things) – promote unity and solidarity among African States; eradicate all forms of colonialism; to co-ordinate and intensify their co-operation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa, Hestermeyer (2002). Scholars like Duodu (2012) and Hestermeyer (2002) observed that with the end of apartheid in South Africa, the major goals of the OAU had been achieved and

the dreams of a united Africa regained momentum, and thus the impetus for a rebranding of the organisation. This assertion will be true if complete decolonisation of the continent was the only challenge faced by African countries at independence. But this is not so as evidenced by the charter of the organisation and its mandate referred to earlier.

Hestermeyer argued that over time the priorities of the OAU started to change, and issues of human rights, need for good governance, ethnic and religious conflicts, infrastructural disparities, wide spread corruption by African leaders among others, emerged and constituted serious challenges facing the organisation, which unavoidably require collective efforts to address. In response to all these, the Heads of States and Government, at an Extraordinary Summit of the OAU held in Sirté, Libya on 9 September 1999 issued the Sirte Declaration calling for the establishment of the African Union, with a view, inter alia, to accelerating the process of unity among countries of the continent. It was believed that this would enable the organisation to better participate in the global economy to more effectively address social, economic and political problem. In furtherance of this aspiration, three summits were held to facilitate the implementation of the African Union. These include the Lome Summit (2000) which specified the objectives, principles and organs of the AU as enshrined in the Constitutive Act adopted at the summit; the second is the Lusaka Summit (2001), which drew the roadmap of the implementation of the AU, while the third, the Durban Summit (2002) where the AU was formerly launched and also witnessed the First Assembly of Heads of States of the African Union, (AU: 2002). This is not to argue that there were no attempts at integration in Africa before the formation of the Organisation of the African Unity. Of course, there was a pioneering attempt in East Africa, commencing with economic cooperation by Kenya, Uganda and Tangayika (before its merger with Zanzibar to become Tanzania) in 1919, (Reith and Boltz: 2011). These scholars also noted that the history of regional cooperation in East Africa goes back to pre-colonial times. About three decades after the establishment of the EAC, economic links among the cooperating member states were strengthened through the setting up of the East African High Commission (EAHC) as a regulatory institution for the Community. A significant element of the

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EAHC was the introduction of both unified income tax and a customs union arrangements to carry out the responsibility of harmonisation of the Community's trading and economic policies of member states.

Unfortunately, the current situation with respect to the socio-economic and political well-being of the peoples on the African continent, would seem to be very far from the envisioned stage after several decades of political independence. This position has been reflected in scholarly works accessed for this study. For example, scholars have widely acknowledged that Africa's integration efforts over the years have not yielded clearly noticeable and significant success Qobo (2007), especially with the emergence of challenges of widespread poverty, political mis-governance resulting in unbridled corruption, endemic diseases etc. This researcher notes a commonly held view that the pursuit of integration aspirations as a channel to facilitate the realisation of the objectives of African leaders in meeting the expectations of their peoples has not yielded satisfactory outcomes.

Discourses on the subject strongly suggest that the desire by African leaders to cling tenaciously to their hard-earned independence and sovereignty and not willing to part with any aspect relating to authority is a snag in the overall efforts to enter into any form of collaborative enterprise. Eborah (ibid) for instance, noted that West African leaders had, since the early 1960s held tightly to their acquired independence and political sovereignty and by so doing obstructed the process of economic integration.

A report by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA:2004), indicates that Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), integrative activities have clearly manifested on the economic front, in the establishment of such bodies as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975, the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) in 1983. Others are The Arab Maghreb Union (UMA) in 1989, East African Community (EAC) in 1999, replacing the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Co-operation which itself was formed in 1967, and the South African Development Community (SADC) in 1992, formerly the South African Development Co-ordination Conference established in 1980.

Each of these organisations will be examined in the course of this study to determine their respective impact and to also highlight the extent to which they have served as pioneer sub-regional organisations to pursue their mandate towards sub-regional integration. As pointed out in a report by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA, 2003), regional integration in Africa continues to hold a central place in the continent's endeavours to achieve economic transformation and attain sustainable socio-economic development. This study shall examine each of the sub-regional body as highlighted above to reflect the geographical spread of the continent.

In the view of Maruping (2005), the majority of sub-Saharan African countries are members of one or more regional or sub-regional arrangements that seek to promote economic coordination, co-operation and integration among the member countries concerned. In this instance, the various African regional economic blocs and the individual countries that comprise their membership are at varying stages of both their development and implementation of regional arrangements. It is noteworthy that some of the many African sub-regional arrangements date back to the pre-independence era, and have arguably been characterised by occasional stagnations or reversals in a few cases, and only modest achievements at best in others. Some of the African regional arrangements also cover issues of common interest in the areas of public governance, defence and security among other socio-economic and political dimensions.

A noticeable fact is that these organisations are characteristically sub-regional, and reflecting respective peculiarities of the region where the organisations are located. This situation has tended to reinforce the challenge of differing colonial experience and its impact on efforts towards continental integration particularly in Africa. However, this is not to suggest the absence of continent-wide initiatives aimed at integration. In this context, the African Economic Community (AEC), the New Partnership for Africa's development (NEPAD), the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) etc, come into focus. NEPAD is a programme of the African Union that was formally adopted as an integrated socio-economic development initiative for Africa by the 37th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the then OAU held in Lusaka in 2001, (Nepad Today: 2012). The Pan African Parliament was inspired by a vision to provide a

common platform for African peoples and their grass-roots organisations to be more involved in discussions and decision-making on the problems and challenges facing the continent.

Whether NEPAD and indeed PAP could be reported to have been able to record successes in its mandate is not within the purview of this study.

In creating PAP, African leaders intends that it evolves into an institution with full legislative powers whose members are electable by universal adult suffrage. In the meantime the PAP is only exercising advisory and consultative powers, (AU website). Each of these frameworks is designed to key into and promote the vision of the African Union with respect to the pursuit of integration encompassing an attempt to re-envision development partnership on the basis of good governance within Africa, (Waal: 2002).

For regional integration in Africa to be a success, Qobo (2007) argues that African leaders will have to move beyond grand gestures and abstract vision, suggesting that Africa's challenges call for pragmatism and a sense of urgency in action. This would require more focused and gradual steps that are carefully executed at the domestic level from the outset. In this instance, the focus of such steps at the domestic level should be on bold and sustainable political and economic reforms.

The study sought to undertake a critical review of the sub-regional organisations (noted in the preceding paragraph) in the light of their commitments to facilitating integration in Africa towards their aspirations following political independence. The focus of this study is centred on a critical exploration into the African Union Commission (AUC) as a strategic institution within the AU with the view to establishing its integrative capability The study also intended to examine its ability to sensitise not only African leaders, but also wealthy Africans in the private sector to pool resources in furtherance of the efforts to achieve integration on the continent.

In defining regional integration, Mukamunana; Moeti; & Boikutso (2005) state that "it is a combination of efforts by a group of countries to promote their political, economic, social and cultural integration and development". Martin (2002) describes

cooperation as "a joint action, by two or more countries or states, in the form of common programs or projects in functionally specific areas, while integration implies the creation of new, supra-national institutions within which common policies are planned and implemented". But for this study, the operational definition of the word integration will be, a conscious, deliberate and structured process adopted by a group of sovereign entities (e.g nation states) to harmonise initiatives, resources – natural and human-, and policies for the purpose of collaboration to achieve unity growth and development. This study argues therefore that this operational definition of integration fits into the workings of the African Union (AU) of which the African Union Commission (AUC) is an organ, and which is the focus of the research.

The AUC as an institution seeks to become *"an efficient and value-adding institution driving the African integration and development process in collaboration with African Union Member states, the Regional Economic Communities (RECs), and the African citizens*", AUC Statute (2002). The Commission is the key organ playing a central role in the day-to-day management of the AU. As an organ of the AU, the Commission represents the Union and defends its interest, elaborates draft common positions of the Union, prepares strategic plans and studies for the consideration of the Economic Council, elaborates, promotes, coordinates and harmonizes the programmes and policies of the Union with those of the RECs, and ensuring the mainstreaming of gender in all programmes and activities of the Union.

The AUC, in pursuit of its mandate plays interventionist role through policy advocacy for use by member states by way of adopting policies and programmes that would usher good governance for peaceful co-existence among their peoples, (NAN Report: 2014). A current initiative in this respect is the establishment of the African Union Foundation (AUF whose mission is to mobilise resources in support of the African Union's vision of a peaceful, integrated, people-centred and prosperous Africa. (AUC website: 2014).

1.1   Statement of the problem

Maruping (2005) asserts that the history of regional integration in Africa shows that the objectives for integrating have evolved over time. Such reasons have shifted from

the initial focus on the political decolonisation of Africa to the current emphasis on socio-economic integration in the post-independence era. The latter relates to stronger bargaining power in the global arena and for mutual benefit in the form of accelerated growth and development. It is worth emphasising that Regional integration which has been part of the major agenda of African leaders is in line with the objectives of the Abuja Treaty. The Treaty was promulgated in 1991 and became enforceable in 1994.

In effect, the Abuja Treaty designates Africa's regional Economic Communities (RECs) as the building blocks for stronger integration and the eventual creation of the AEC, (more details on the Abuja Treaty and its expectations will be given in the course of the study). While Maruping (2007), Gibb (2009), and Tavares and Tang (2011), admit that the various sub-regional economic groupings have recorded minimal successes, they also acknowledge challenges which include among others, membership issues; slow ratification of protocols and reluctant implementation of agreed plans; socio-economic policy divergence as well as limited national and regional capacity. This study observes that these challenges indicated earlier are sub-regionally based, and perhaps reflects the different colonial experiences of the African states notably in language and culture.

This study observed that the attention of the contemporary African leaders has not been directed on internal mechanisms or institutions within the African Union such as the African Union Commission as a strategic organ for the realisation of the goals of the organisation. Consequently, the researcher is of the opinion that the ability of the AUC has yet been appreciated as an implementing organ of the policies and programmes of the AU. As the secretariat of the African Union (AU), the AUC whose mission encompasses the pursuit of African integration, has neither been investigated nor critically researched. As a result, the role of the organ appears to be in obscurity with the possibility of defining the AU and AUC interchangeably. This study intends to examine and foreground the institutional capacity of the AUC in the light of its continental role. Issues of member states commitment, funding, dynamism, infrastructure and their impact will engage the attention of this researcher at this stage. Specifically, this study is inspired by an understanding that effective implementation of regional programmes requires an institutional apparatus such as the AUC that is

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capable of dealing with the complexity of policy-making and implementation processes between a variety of state and societal actors especially at a supranational level. This study hopes to provide clearer understanding of the role and mandate of the AUC such that emerging insights will enrich existing literature on the subject.

1.2 Aim of the study

This study aimed to undertake a critical and exploratory study of the AUC as an integrative tool in the context of the African continent through a process of examination of its strategic position, leadership and institutional capacity.

1.2.1 Broader objectives of the study

This study intended to interrogate the extent to which it is committed to pursuing its mission of African integration and development process in close collaboration with African Union members States, the Regional Economic Communities and African citizens to address the following issues of shared concerns:

- Bad governance and political instability;
- Ethnic and religious conflicts/ intolerance;
- Lack of coherence of policies and programmes;
- Human rights violations, and
- Lack of commitment to information and knowledge sharing.

This study intended to reflect on these issues in the appropriate section of the study, and specifically in the section designated for discussion of findings, to determine how much the AUC has and can satisfactorily address the broader objectives.

1.2.2 Specific objectives of the study

The aim of this study was intended to be achieved by the pursuit of the following set of objectives:

- By examining the AUC as an institution and determine the efficacy of its integrative capability.
- By examining the impediments to AU's integration efforts in Africa;

- By investigating sub-regional initiatives such ECOWAS, ECCAS, Arab Maghreb Union, EAC and SADC as integrative mechanisms and how effective they have been;
- By evaluating the impact of the external environment on the AUC's role in facilitating integration in Africa
- Finally, to propose recommendations on policy options to enhance the AUC's integrative efforts in Africa.

1.2.3 Research questions

This study addressed the following research questions among other issues:

- How can the AUC drive and facilitate integration in Africa?
- What are the challenges facing AU's integration arrangements in Africa?
- How would you assess the various sub-regional communities as building blocks for integration in Africa in terms of successes and failures?
- How can the international environment influence the AUC in its integration efforts
- What policy options and recommendations can be identified and proposed by the AUC for more effective of integration of the continent?

1.3   Rationale/Significance of the study

The significance of this study lies in the fact that an unveiling of the AUC as a strategic institution will reveal a fresh perspective in the analysis of integration efforts in Africa and will contribute to an academic understanding of the integrative capacity of the AUC as it operates within a platform of a continental framework.

Furthermore, this sought to explore the need to promote collaborative mechanisms among member states, in the efforts for unity and integration leading to growth and development on the African continent thereby positioning it to occupy its rightful place in the world economy. This study aims to contribute fresh perspectives in the area of effective and reliable leadership initiatives for use by the AUC to assist in its efforts to explore and strengthen new sources of funding and mobilising support in its vision of integration in Africa. Finally, it is hoped that this study will provoke further

inquiry into the role of institutions as platforms for speeding up co-operative arrangements both at a sub-regional and continental level.

1.4 Research Methodology

Rebeck; McCaw; Buchwalter; Rubenstein-Montano, (2001) described research methodology as the understanding a researcher has about social reality, the interpretation given to phenomenon, as well as the essential apparatus put in place, for designing appropriate research methods comprising of techniques employed in getting to the issues to be investigated within a research. Specifically, Rebeck, et tal, sum up methodology "…as a set of procedures that can be followed for achieving an objective". The objective in this sense is that of exploring observed phenomenon and getting to the root of possible causes and effects. For Du Plooy-Cilliers., Davis and Bezuidenhout (2014), research could simply mean, asking questions and finding answers to the questions posed, or identifying problems and finding solutions to the problems through a systematized procedure adopted by the researcher concerned. In the view of Du Plooy, et al, the essence of research is to ensure that the analysis of the generated data for a study forms the basis of the emerging findings, conclusions and recommendations. Accordingly, the present study was appreciated and conducted in line with this proposition.

Research paradigm can either be qualitative or quantitative or a mixture of both. The choice of a research method is a function of the envisaged nature of the inquiry to be undertaken, and the nature of data upon which the study is intended.

The methodology or research design adopted for this study is the qualitative research model. This method was considered appropriate for this inquiry when viewed in the context of the comparison between quantitative and qualitative studies. In the view of social science scholars such as Sapsford and Jupp (1996), while quantitative researches yield data in the form of numbers to be analysed by means of comparisons, qualitative studies are essentially concerned with data generated in the form of people's words or the researcher's descriptions of what has been observed and experienced. This means that since the focus of this study has to do with an investigation into the capacity of an identified organ within an international

organization to facilitate a process, the researcher envisages that all the data for the study would be verbal, and will lend itself to any form of comparison. In the view of Maree (2007), qualitative research model is based on a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand "phenomena in context (or real-world setting) and, in general, the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest. In other words, research is carried out in real-life situations and not in an experimental (test-retest) situation". Further still, it is the view of Maree (2007) that qualitative research methodology is concerned with understanding the processes and social and cultural contexts which underlie various behavioural patterns and is mostly concerned with exploring the "why" questions of research.

Creswell (2009:145) maintains that qualitative research method is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a human problem whereby the role of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participants setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. This position is supported by Cohen, L., Manion, L., and Morrison (2011) who argued that qualitative research should have both practical and intellectual goals. Practical goals include *" engaging in collaborative and action research; understanding the meanings attributed to events and situations by participants…… understanding processes that contribute to situations, events and actions, while intellectual goals include to understand or explain something"*.

Comparatively, what distinguishes qualitative research method from other methods such as the quantitative approach, is that its collectable data are mostly expressed using words. It can also be described as interpretive and humanistic as it seeks to discover the internal meaning from the respondents or interviewees by exploring issues under study, beyond the standard responses such as yes or no, which applies in the case of questionnaire. This method was applied practically at the appropriate section, to demonstrate how it fits into this inquiry, which borders on issues that were addressed verbally.

1.4.1 Study Sample and sampling method

1.4.2 Study Sample

According to Bless & Higson-Smith (2000), sampling is a subset of a whole population which is investigated by a researcher and the characteristics identified from the study sample can be generalized for the entire population.

In the view of Patton and Cochran (2002), samples in qualitative research are usually purposive. This means that participants are selected on account of their ability to generate useful data for the project. Patton and Cochran further noted that while sample sizes are typically small for qualitative research, one way of identifying how many people are needed is to keep interviewing until nothing new comes from data sources, a point called saturation. In deciding the size of the sample to be focused in this study, certain factors are be considered to be able provide justification for the target sample in the study. Significantly, the researcher shall ensure that the sample has to be relatively representative enough to permit meaningful generalisation of the findings. The other consideration is that the sample drawn from the population shall not be too large to pose analytical challenges when analysing data.

In the context of this study, it is envisaged that a point of saturation would have been reached if about thirty five personnel are successfully interviewed at the target institutions covering both primary and secondary sources which have been highlighted below. This position was reinforced and supported by the principle of enculturation as enunciated by Spradley (1979), which implies a situation where data required for a study such as the current, are obtained from those who are very familiar with the research focus. The researcher sought to interact with officials within the target institutions who were believed to be informed and conversant with the organisation in terms of the operations and activities of the AU and who were formally contacted and were willing to provide responses to the study inquiries.

Therefore, a total of about thirty five (35) participants were predetermine to be engaged for interviews for this study, and they were to be formally contacted. These were to comprise about fifteen officers within the Commission or their designates to be sampled across the existing Ten (10) portfolios in the AUC secretariat, or their

designates, and about twenty five target respondents at the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA, otherwise known as Economic Commission for Africa, ECA) based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and the United Nations Office for Projects (UNOP). The researcher ensured that target respondents were those who could volunteer needed information for the study in view of the involvement with the operations and activities of the AU. Aside this, the sample of 35 target respondents was considered adequately representative of each of the focused institutions.

Details of these are highlighted under the proposed sources of data in the designated sub-section below.

1.4.3 Sampling Method

For this study, purposive sampling was to be considered. This is because, in the view of (Bless, C; Higson-Smith, C; Kagee, A: 2006), this sampling procedure is based on the judgement of a researcher regarding the characteristics of a representative sample. A sample is chosen on the basis of what the researcher considers to be typical units within a community or population under focus. Bless and Higson-Smith (2000) define sampling as a subset of a whole population which is investigated by a researcher, and the characteristics identified therefrom generalised for the entire population. This means that in carrying out research that focuses on a community, relevant information for use can be obtained from a select group to represent the community, and not necessarily attempting to sample all the members of the community. According to Bless and Higson-Smith (2000), the strategy is to select units that are judged to be the most common in the population under investigation. In view of the relevance of this procedure to this study, this method of sampling is considered usable on the basis of the researcher's judgement about which subjects/respondents would be the most useful or representative without compromising the objectivity of the study. The foremost criterion for targeting individuals and institutions for this study in the sample was essentially their affiliation with, knowledge and understanding of the working of the studied organization, the AU. The criterion of insider-information is considered of paramount importance for this study.

When gathering data in qualitative paradigm, a crucial question worth asking is where is the source of data required for the study? This question is critical and relevant in order to contexualise the study and to make provision for sensitivity and scope of sources.

To answer this question, Spradley (1979) provided the following criteria:-

- Through enculturation – This refers to a situation when information is sought from someone who is very familiar with the setting or domain of the needed data. In the case of this study, personnel and staff of the African Union Commission (AUC), New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the United Nations Economic for Africa (UNECA) will normally fall into this category as they are insiders and are involved with the overall activities of the African Union of which the AUC is an organ.

- Current involvement – This is accessing those with current knowledge about the subject of research. The AUC personnel and those from affiliate bodies such NEPAD and the UNECA are genuine sources of information for this study. As operators in the organization, data that will be generated from them will significantly enrich the study.

- Adequate time – In a situation where a target respondent is busy for an interview for example, the researcher may opt for a multi-person continuous interview. By this, there will be the opportunity to take as much time as possible with our most crucial respondents, and then get them to point out to the next-best person who can provide us with almost as much information, and so on, until we have gathered sufficient data for our study.

In a related context, Hair; Celsi; Money; Samouel; and Michael, (2016) in their recently published book titled, Essentials of Business Research Methods contend that when analysing data in qualitative research, the following questions would normally arise –

- What themes and common patterns are emerging that relate to the research objectives?

- How are these themes and patterns related to the focus of the research?

- Are there examples of responses that are inconsistent with the typical patterns and themes?

- Can these inconsistencies be explained or perhaps be used to expand or redirect the research?

- Do the patterns or themes indicate additional data perhaps in a new area?

Putting these questions in perspective, these authors, (Hair, *et al*.,) submit that the major objective of qualitative data analysis is to identify, examine, compare, and interpret patterns and themes. This current study proposed to engage the thematic elements contained in this interpretation in the appropriate chapter, whereby the aim of the research which is a critical study of the African Union Commission as an integrative tool in the context of institutional capacities and the challenges of a continental integration was examined.

1.4.4 Data Collection Method

1.4.5 Instrument for data collection

The study sought to use the interview method of data collection for the study because it is considered of considerable utility in generating first-hand information on a subject such as this, an in view of the fact that the target participants are primary and significant to the study and can be relied upon for information expected. To achieve this, this researcher shall employed the use of an open-ended and structured interview guide (see appendix 2) in order to elicit robust, incisive and illuminating opinion and comments on the issues involved in the study from those to be interviewed.

Data were obtained by the use of a recorder, with the approval of the interviewees, and were later be transcribed preparatory to analysis. Besides, the use of field notes was included where necessary. At the end of data collection, the entire data shall be coded, and involved marking the segments of data with symbols, descriptive words or by unique identifying names as may be found analysable. In instances where some of the target interviewees are not reached as a result of either lack of accessibility or

availability, the researcher employed the use of any electronic communication devices such as skype and telephone to generate required the required data, and responses were also be sorted thematically and then categorised on the basis of preponderance of participants opinions and comments.

1.4.6 Sources of Data for study

Given the nature of this research work, the data used for analysis were be obtained largely from both primary and secondary sources as highlighted below.

• Primary Sources: This researcher intended to seek contact and formally requested audience with AUC officials at their Secretariat in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The target personnel comprised fifteen (15) principal officers within the Commission, and were sampled across the existing Ten (10) portfolios in the AUC secretariat, who were requested for interview. Apart from these, this researcher sought to have interviews with targeted and available staff of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (also known as UNECA).

These potential interviewees are considered appropriate to be engaged in view of their expertise, experience and knowledge of African issues in general, and matters associate with integration efforts at the level of the African Union. The UNECA and other agencies have engaged with the AUC at various fora, including the United Nations through the Regional Co-ordination Mechanism of United Nations Agencies and Organisations working in Africa in support of the African Union (RCM-AFRICA). Additionally, this study shall seek to engage with targeted personnel engaged with the African Union, NEPAD office in Johannesburg, being a coordinating agency for the African Union programmes in Africa for their input. Personnel with the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), Johannesburg will also be contacted on their expertise, observations and recommendations on the AUC as an integrative tool.

The relevance of this was necessary to obtain a balanced position in view of the perceived non-partisanship of their organisations. Participants were formally informed through an Informed Consent Form, designed by the University for the

Study, that the exercise is voluntary and were assured that report or findings related to the research endeavour could be made available to them, especially on request.

• Secondary Sources: These will include documents, special publications, periodicals, journals, conference papers- to be accessed in the AUC secretariat online, and newspapers and internet sources such as Google, a search engine (a social media) etc.

1.4.7 Data Analysis Procedure

In specific terms, the method of analysis considered for use in this research is the content analysis approach, which by definition, refers to an approach that identifies and summarises message content. According to Maree (2007), content analysis as a term refers to the analysis of such materials as books, brochures, written documents, transcripts, news report, visual media, etc. This conception of content analysis as a procedure for qualitative research is supported by the view of Du Plooy-Cilliers; Davis,; and Bezuidenhout, (2014) who claim that *qualitative content analysis is used to explore and identify both overt and covert themes and patterns embedded in a particular text*. Quoting Zhang and Wildemuth (2009), Du-Pooly et al, state that qualitative content analysis *"pays attention to unique themes that illustrate the range of the meanings of the phenomenon rather than the statistical significance of the occurrence of particular texts or concepts"*.

In the opinion of VanderStoep and Johnson (2009), "textual (content) analysis requires the identification and interpretation of a set of verbal or non-verbal signs, whereby a sign on itself compels a thought about something other than itself". The implication of this is that any meaning ascribed to an event, issue or occurrence is at the heart of textual analysis, whereby meaning can be interpreted or deduced from the perspective of the speaker's intent, the audience's reaction and the historical or cultural context in which the text is created. The use of content analysis is often applied by researchers especially when analysing responses to open-ended questions on surveys, interviews and questionnaires, which form data gathering techniques that shall be employed by this work. This approach has been supported by the view of Du Plooy, et al, (2014) who argued that qualitative content analysis is mostly an inductive

method which can be used to either develop new theories or evaluate existing ones. The method is considered effective when dealing with narratives in texts, news reports, books, transcripts, written documents, etc. This method has been employed to find out through analysis, the integrative capability or otherwise of the AUC which is the focus of study.

The data analysis procedure for this study was premised on the template or guidelines espoused by Maree (2010) in view of its applicability and usefulness. The researcher considered this procedure apt and fitting for this inquiry in view of its strength which is paraphrased as follows –

- Firstly, the procedure required a description of the participants, which comprises how the participants were identified and selected, their relevant background data, involving age, gender, occupation, education, marital status, as well as, an in-depth description of the context in which the study was done.

- Secondly, the process of data analysis also required that collected data were organised, and this involved cutting and sorting. It is a good principle to keep the different data sets, such as field notes and interview data, separate, and to mark each collection of data clearly in terms of its identifying characteristics, e.g., when, where, how and why data was generated.

- Thirdly, analysing data also required that data collected either electronically or digitally, such as tape recordings must be transcribed, and this is best done by the researcher. At this stage, it should be noted that it is not acceptable to write up summary notes from a tape recording as doing so will undoubtedly compromise the validity of the research. This is because the researcher will most certainly be prejudiced in the collation of data.

- Fourthly, once all generated data had been sorted and put into print, the researcher is expected to read through the entire information to have a good grasp and adequate knowledge of the entire content. Let it be stressed that a good analysis often depends on the researcher's adequate and unbiased understanding of the data, which simply means that the data must be read over and over again. Sometimes, it is advised that even if recorded interviews have been transcribed, the researcher is expected to listen to the recordings several times. Additionally,

the researcher is further expected to carry out a cautious reading of the transcribed data carefully or line by line, and dividing it into meaningful analytical units or thematically. This stage can be referred to as coding. The term Coding is defined, according to Du-Pooly *et al,* (2014), as a system that makes the process the process of analysis manageable. Practically, it could mean that whenever a meaningful segment of text in a transcript is found, a sign or code is applied to signify that particular segment. This process has been applied to depict the various institutions contacted as participants as shown below in the study.

- After coding transcribed data, the next step was to organise or combine related codes into themes or categories. Each category is further assigned a label or identifying sign. The researcher is expected to properly know what the category stands for so that it will be easy to group each setoff codes within the appropriate category.

- Finally, the last step in the procedure for analysing qualitative data was to bring some order and structure into the categories identified. This involves identifying how each category is linked or related to other categories. The relevant questions to ask at this stage include the following; what seems more important? less important? Are there exceptions or critical cases that do not seem to fit? etc.,

The foregoing procedure was applied in the collation, presentation and analysis of the data for the study in the appropriate section of the study which is chapter five.

1.5   Definition of Terms or Concepts

In this study, some concepts or terms which have been used required operational definition to make for adequate clarifications. This is necessary to ensure that every potential reader of this research work obtains an easy understanding while reading. Some of these terms include – Integration, Sub-Saharan Africa, Bilateralism and Multilateralism, Regional Economic Communities, Functionalism, Neo-functionalism, Supranationalism and Inter-governmentalism.

Integration - a conscious, deliberate and structured process adopted by a group of sovereign entities (e.g nation states) to harmonise initiatives, resources – natural and

human-, and policies for the purpose of collaboration to achieve unity growth and development.

Sub-Saharan – defined in the context of Africa, is a geographical area of the continent of Africa that lies south of the Sahara. According to the UN, it consists of all African countries that are fully or partially located south of the Sahara.

Bi-lateralism and Multi-lateralism – Bi-lateralism refers to a situation where two independent sovereign states are involved in co-operative endeavours, say Nigeria and Ghana, while Multi-lateralism is a situation where three or more sovereign states are engaged in co-operative activities, and which could snowball into integration.

Regional Economic Communities – These are groupings of states (independent and sovereign) within regions which agree to coalesce together in pursuit of common and shared goals.

Functionalism – Refers to a world federal government theory with functional approach that would result into the creation of a web of international activities and agencies in which, and through which, the interests and life of all the nations would be gradually integrated.

Neo-functionalism – This theory supports a direction that would permit the need for both experts and persons who have more influence on national policies to be involved in activities designed for the purpose of facilitating integration.

Inter-governmentalism - can be described as an arrangement whereby nation states cooperate with one another on matters of common interest, in situations and conditions they can control.

Supranationalism – Supranationalism is a situation where participating states give up power or influence to an institution that transcends national boundaries or governments whereby the confederate states become bound by decisions collectively reached.

1.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues are very crucial in any research because researchers need to protect their research participants; develop trust with them; promote the integrity of research; guard against misconduct and impropriety that might reflect on their organisations or institutions and cope with new, challenging problems (Israel & Hay, 2006).

In research, two concepts are very important to note i.e. anonymity and confidentiality. De Vaus (2002) described anonymity as a situation where a researcher expresses a commitment not to identify target participants except by consent, while confidentiality refers to committing to not divulging any source of information on a study. To safeguard this commitment, the researcher sought to explain the nature of the research to the respondents in order to clarify and re-assure them of their total confidentiality. This is with regard to their identity and assures them that data collected will be handled with strictest care and for no other purpose than academic. During the interview, the researcher ensured that, respondents' consent is sought before the recording takes place.

The researcher was mindful of the need to protect the identities of potential participants that were to be contacted for information which this study required for analysis; hence, the researcher committed to ensuring that they are not hurt or harmed in any way as a result of information supplied. In other words, this study strictly operated within ethical guidelines which require the protection of the integrity of every identifiable respondent who were to be informed that their participation is voluntary and that they could withdraw at any stage.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

An exploratory research of this nature may not be devoid of some challenges, which were deemed could arise in the event that the target respondents appear difficult to access timeously because of their schedules and other logistics hurdles. However, this researcher hoped to endeavour as much as possible to solicit the support and understanding of those concerned on how to mitigate likely challenges that may emerge in the course of this study.

Finally, the study presented the processed data in the form of tables and charts for the purpose of clarity and statement of fact which relate and speak to the study.

1.8   Structure of dissertation:

This study is designed to be in seven chapters as follows:

Chapter one

Introduction and background to study

This consisted of the introduction, statement of the problem, the aim and objectives as well as the significance, research questions and preliminary remarks on the both the theoretical framework and literature review embodied in the study. This section generally provided a direction and justification for the study.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework and Review of Literature

This chapter focused extensively on theoretical framework that will underpin the study. In addition, this chapter also provided appropriate review of literature on regional integration in Africa, drawing inferences from the various sub-regional initiatives such as the ECOWAS, ECCAS, EAC, UMA and SADC, against the theoretical framework variables, broader issues, research questions as well as the objectives of the study.

Chapter Three - Assessing sub-regional organisations in their role towards integration in Africa

This chapter sought to provide an assessment of sub-regional organisations such as:

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)

The Arab Maghreb Union

The East African Community

The Southern African Development Community

This assessment will reveal the effectiveness or otherwise of the organisations with a view to pointing out critically how the sub-regional organisations help to serve as a useful and applicable template or "building blocks" towards a continental initiative such as the AUC.

Chapter Four - An overview and assessment of the African Union Commission as an organ of the African Union

This chapter undertook an assessment of the African Union Commission which serves as the secretariat of the African Union to determine its mandate, ability to implement its role and the challenges facing it. This chapter also provided deep insights into its ability to drive integration efforts in Africa in view of its strategic and dynamic position drawing inferences from successes recorded so far. The chapter further examined the implementation strategy for the operations of the organ, and further provide an insight on the remote challenges facing the AUC in its administrative functions preparatory to what will emerge after the required field work for the study.

Chapter Five - Presentation of data and findings

This chapter comprised the collation, presentation and analysis of data and information that emanated from the interviews to be conducted with target participants. This section expatiated and demonstrated the data analysis procedure which is content analysis approach considered for use in the study.

Chapter Six - Discussion of findings

This chapter sought to provide in-depth discussions on the findings arising from the analysis of the study data, and proceed to relate outcomes to responses to the research questions posed at the beginning of the study.

Chapter Seven - **Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations**

This chapter intended to provide a summary of the research and the research findings conclusively and thereafter propose recommendations. This chapter indicated the potential areas for further research based on what findings emerging from this study.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework

2.1   Introduction

The chapter undertakes an analysis of the relevant theoretical framework and literature review that would provide a platform for examining the capacity of a strategic institution such as the AUC as an integrative tool in Africa Union. Three theories will be examined and applied to place this study in proper perspective, and these include – the Functionalism theory; the Neo-functionalism theory; and the theory of Inter-governmentalism.

This chapter discusses each of these theories, highlighting their conceptions by identified proponents; pointing out their inherent weaknesses and strengths as well. At the level of literature review, the chapter also discusses in-depth, some accessed scholarly works on integration in Africa pointing out areas of convergence and divergence with the view to establishing a direction for this study. This section concludes by pointing out how the theories and literature are relevant to the present study.

Suffice to mention that notable scholars such as David Mitrany (1943), Ernst Haas (1964), Thomas Gehring (1996), Emile Durkheim (1892), Whitney Pope (1975), Diego Castaneda (2006) and Phillippe C. Schmitter (2002) among others, have at their respective times made profound propositions regarding integration in the context of the prevailing circumstances in Europe particularly after the 1st World war and around World War II.

2.2   Theories used in the study

2.2.1   Functionalist's Perspectives

David Mitrany (1943), in his book titled, *"A working Peace System"* published in 1943 argued that the division of the world into competing political units is the root of international conflict. His thinking was probably informed by the catastrophic effects of the World War II and consequently placed a serious burden on what shape the post-

world war would present and how to avoid future World Wars. While proposing that a world federal government would eliminate these divisions, he quickly warned that such would be difficult to establish given the modern disregard for constitutions, pacts and continuing nationalism.

As a way out of this condition Mitrany suggested a functional approach that would overlay political divisions with a spreading web of international activities and agencies, in which and through which the interests and life of all the nations would be gradually integrated. Mitrany further argued for a transformation of the way people think about international relations, particularly the prevention of wars.

He further argued that functional integration would be pragmatic, technocratic and flexible, and would ultimately blur distinctions between national and international, political and non-political issues that could potentially provoke tensions. Mitrany's functionalist prescriptions, though not aimed at European unity, had a profound effect on European activists and early integration theorists, especially the neo-functionalists.

Mitrany's accepting that a central authority (government) might need to coordinate the various functional agencies envisaged, but that such a government would neither be necessary nor promote the conduct of successful international relations, is no doubt a drawback and vitiates his theory. This is because having Functionalist agencies representing a group of entities such as states without a central coordinating unit will no doubt trigger anarchy. If Mitrany's conception of international relations is among other issues, a response to avoiding wars, then his prescriptions of functionalist agencies without an effective coordinating authority subject to the state of national government appears a contradiction. Indeed, the role of a coordinator for the Functionalist agencies cannot be relegated, at least for the purpose of enforcing compliance with decisions reached by the integrating states.

However, this position by Mitrany on functionalism seems to bear relevance to the role that can be played by the AUC, except that the importance of political authority of the enabling organisations is undermined and not recognised. The AUC as an organ of the African Union can be viewed as a functionalist organ not only as a secretariat of the African Union, but also as playing the role of coordinating and harmonising the

programmes of the Union. The programmes and action plans of the AUC as contained in the Commission's Strategic Plan (published in volumes) are detailed in chapter four in this study.

Writing on functionalism, Whitney Pope in his publication, *Durkheim as a functionalist* (1975), remarked that Durkheim was concerned with the problem of order and the positive effects of social institutions, To explain their existence in terms of their functionally necessary contributions, Durkheim, according to Whitney (ibid), being one of the important progenitors of structural-functionalism laid down the first systemic formulation of the logic of a functionalist approach in sociology.

Whitney (op cit) defines a functionalist as one who views a society as a whole composed of interrelated parts, i.e "

> *"as a system, assumes a tendency towards system equilibrium; considers how society or the social order is possible and hence; views structures in terms of their contributions to the perpetuation or evolutionary development of society; and sees pervasive commonalities or consensus as the ultimate basis of social order".*

To view society as a whole composed of interrelated parts in the opinion of Durkheim, suggests some form of interdependence. While Whitney believes that the whole must be given priority because its influence is greater than that of a simple part. He further opines that the parts vary according to the nature of the whole in which they are located and to view them apart from their contexts is to fail to discern their natures, for they will seem to be distinct realities, each with its independent existence, yet, they are actually parts of a whole. Consequently, society cannot be understood as the product of the operations of disparate elements but must rather be analysed in terms of its emergent properties.

To view a society as a system in equilibrium suggests that some variable aspects of society itself must constitute the focal point of analysis. Contextually, Durkheim asserts that they embody force, and forces in turn, do not exist in a vacuum, but are typically opposed by other forces. The force opposing society is the non-social

component of the individual, an opposition that constitutes the central dynamic of Durkheim's theory. The question that unavoidably arises from this scenario is, how will society acquire and use force needed to control the centrifugal tendencies of the individual. In addressing this question, Durkheim as reported by Whitney, thought of integration, cohesion, solidarity or regulation as the variable ability of society to control the individual.

Furthermore, Durkheim rationalises that in so far as one's goal is to explain the social order resulting from society's ability to control the un-socialised individual, it makes sense to consider social phenomena in terms of their contribution toward the existence of that order. Durkheim's propensity to view social institutions in terms of positive functions may be traced to basic conceptualisations that embody fundamental assumptions. Part of such assumptions could be a claim that social life is above all a harmonious community of endeavour when minds and will come together to work for the same aim or goal. The foregoing functionalist paradigm by Durkheim as revealed by Whitney (op cit) shows that everything from Durkheim's definition of function to his conception of social life and sociology to the general problem animating his work led him to conceptualise social institutions in terms of their positive contribution to the harmonious functioning of society. Durkheim's approach forced him to grapple with the question of why social institutions are functional. In making a distinction between function and cause, Durkheim states as follows:

> "*When, then, the explanation of a social phenomenon is undertaken, we must seek separately the efficient cause which produces it and the function it fulfils. The conceptual distinction between cause and function requires considering how functionality explains origin and persistence*".

In this instance, Durkheim's evolutionary perspectives led to him to observe that not all items are functional. On the issue of whether the very existence of an institution proves its functionality, Durkheim suggests that contrary to the case with biological organisms, the actual birth and death of a society is difficult to determine. In addition, the paucity of societies in relation to their variation makes it virtually impossible to determine the survival value of a given institution. This explains why the tendency by

scientists to rely on their own estimations is suspect. Besides, effects are hard to determine, and there is always the possibility that some may be overlooked. Durkheim remarked that attempts to proceed in this manner are scientifically unsound.

Conclusively, Durkheim's perspective on functionalism is seen to be a complex set of or mixture of strengths and weaknesses. On a positive note, Durkheim can be credited to have pioneered an approach that has proven highly influential in such disciplines as sociology and anthropology where his work noticeably grappled with functionalism's basic issues. For example, while Durkheim seems to have clearly recognised that social institutions by no means necessarily serve individual interests, his works create an awareness of manifest and latent functions, functional alternatives, multiple functions, the existence of non-functional institutions and the basic distinction between the cause of an institution and its function.

Furthermore, Durkheim's works assert that the parts of society are interdependent and can be understood through the whole society as a basic reference point, thus ensuring social order which serves as a hallmark of his postulations. On the other hand, Durkheim's perspective suffers from some setbacks which include firstly, neglecting institutionally structured disorder while focusing on social order, conflict and coercion. Secondly, to assert that social institutions are inevitably functional tends to ignore their dysfunctional effects. Finally, Durkheim's insistence that a powerful, self-conscious society mandates individual behaviour consistent with its own needs is critically debateable. This is because such perspective is suggestive of group-mind fallacy. Individuals within the society, irrespective of common orientations, values and belief systems, would naturally act differently in both similar and dissimilar conditions and at varying levels.

However, this study shall equally rely on Durkheim's belief in the capacity of social institutions within the society to galvanise functional activities of its parts with the view to achieving collective needs and aspirations.

The relevance of Durkheim's postulation of the interactions within the society to this study derives from an understanding that in the discipline of international relations, organisations such as the AU (and its organs including the AUC) is also a system

consisting of interacting members. Members States of the organisation interact from time to time as they determine common issues.

It is to be noted that, the AUC as a strategic organ of the African Union, given is statutory mandate, can activate a synergy among member states in the pursuit of its goals.

As articulated by Casteneda (2006; Durkheim 1975), Functionalism contends as follows:

All elements within a society interconnect and work together; If one dynamic is changed, it will alter the whole society; Society will change to accommodate this change; Everything has a specific function in society; Society will always function in harmony, as it will accommodate change, by changing itself.

On the challenges of functionalism, Castaneda admits that - not all society within a society interconnect; because it argues that society itself changes to accommodate new dynamics, it fails to provide an explanation for wars and conflicts that may arise in particular societies; it disregards the immediate causes and motivations which are necessary in order to give rise to a phenomenon.

Finally, Castaneda agrees that international agencies would meet human needs, and the benefits rendered by the functional agencies would attract the loyalty of the populations and stimulate their participation and expand the area of integration. This position also fits into the essence of the AUC which aims to meet the yearnings of Member States through mobilisation of the diverse resources on the continent for their benefits.

Using the functionalists' paradigm in analysing the AUC, this study contends that the claim of the interconnection of all elements and their working relationship by the functionalists fit into the structure of the AUC and its sister agencies within the African Union. The AUC as a secretariat of the AU cannot operate in isolation. In fact, it performs the function of coordination and implementation of the activities and plans of the AU in solidarity with the affiliate organs. It is worth emphasising that the AUC is not an independent organ, but works harmoniously with the other nine organs

(list of organs detailed in chapter four in this study) within the African Union to achieve its mandate.

2.2.2 Neo-Functionalists' Perspectives

Ernst Haas, in his book "Beyond the nation State: Functionalism and International organisation", Haas (1964), made useful contributions to the literature of international integration. Haas started off his integration paradigm by drawing on the writings of the Functionalists –composed principally of David Mitrany - who argued that the development of a system of interlocking functional units provides a platform which serves as the route to international order. Furthermore, they contend that functional international organisations, focusing on common needs, provide opportunity for people to learn to think in non-national terms.

As a departure from Mitrany's functionalist perspective, Haas did not only criticise the notion of functionalism as held by Mitrany, he specifically called for a refining of the principles of functionalism through examining a middle range of literature, drawing primarily on Political Science, International relations and Organisation theory, using assumptions derivable therein to underline functionalists thinking. In particular, Haas supports a direction that would permit the need for both experts and persons who have more influence on national policies to be involved in activities designed to be integrative.

Haas' paradigm is a statement of the properties of an international organisation designed to advance the indirect transformation of the international system. Summarily, Haas argues the following, that: organisation must develop an ideology that is compatible with the sub-goals of potential supporters, and which binds the organisation's staff; organisation's decisions should be made so as to upgrade common interests and that organisation's powers and objectives are extended; programming should proceed within the confines of organisation ideology and care should be taken that sub-goals do not become dominant over the more general ideology.

This position by Haas is also worth considering in the context of this study, as it seems to recognise the role performed by international organisations through the

development of ideologies that can assist member states in their integrative aspirations. This fits well into the role played by the AUC as not only a strategic organ, but the secretariat of the African Union entrusted with the mandate to articulate the Union's agenda.

In the view of Schmitter (2002), neo-functionalism represents a theory of regional integration that places emphasis on the role of non-state actor – especially, the secretariat – of the regional organisation involved and those of interest associations and social movements that form at the level of the region in providing the dynamic for further integration. Schmitter asserts that member states of such organisations remain important actors in the process. The member states set the terms of the initial agreement, even though they do not exclusively determine the direction and extent of subsequent change.

Schmitter observes that regional bureaucrats (technocrats) acting in league with a shifting set of self-organised interests and passions seek to exploit the inevitable spill-overs and unintended consequences that occur when states agree to assign some degree of supra-national responsibility for accomplishing a limited task and then discover that satisfying that function has external effects upon other of their interdependent activities.

According to this theory, regional integration is an intrinsically sporadic and conflictual process, but one in which under conditions of democracy and pluralistic representation, national governments will find themselves increasingly entangled in regional pressures and end up resolving their conflicts by conceding a wider scope and devolving more authority to the regional organisations they have created. It is the view of Schmitter that the citizens of member states will ultimately begin to shift more and more of their expectations to the region and satisfying them will increase the likelihood that economic-social integration will spill-over into political integration. For the foregoing scenario to actualise, this study supports the view that the following parameters according to Schmitter, is relevant.

They include – that member polities be democratic; citizens of member states must have the freedom to organise collectively within and across national borders; that the

distribution of the benefits from integration are both dispersed and variable across time and units; that the issues relating to the external security of the region are taken care of by another international organisation; that changes in national ruling elites and the socio-economic coalitions that brought them to power could block and even reverse agreements already reached; that levels of development, size of the country and product mix cut across each other.

 In reality, these variables may be difficult to guarantee in the context of the African Union given the disparate socio-economic and political experiences of member states. Their capacity to facilitate integration efforts and predict a wider range of possible outcomes, not only across regional settings (global), but within region depending on the evolution and transmutations of institutions and policies over time is considerable. At the time of this study, not all independent African countries can be said to be truly democratic.

In some of the countries, the present leadership has been a transmutation from a military government to military president after conducting what this study would refer to as phantom elections that run afoul of internationally acceptable standards for electoral system. The ultimate result has been tyranny, oppression, absence of rule of law and unbridled corruption. All these have often been associated with the syndrome of underdevelopment that has characterised the African societies.

In the view of Jensen (2007), Neo-functionalism is regarded often the first theory of European integration studied by students of the European Union. This is largely for historical reasons as neo-functionalism was the first attempt at theorising the new form of regional cooperation that emerged at the end of the Second World War. Jensen asserts that neo-functionalism began in 1958 with the publication of a seminal book by Ernst B. Haas (1924-2003) of *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces. * Therein*,* Haas disclosed how six West European countries came to initiate a new form of supranational cooperation after the World War II. Originally, Haas' main aim in formulating a theoretical account of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was to provide a scientific and objective explanation of regional cooperation, a grand theory that would explain similar processes elsewhere in the

world. Neo-functionalism is very much connected to the case of European integration. Indeed, most neo-functionalist writers have focused their attention on Europe (Lindberg 1963; Lindberg and Scheingold 1970, 1971).

Their initial objective was to formulate a general or grand theory of international relations, based on observations of regional cooperation processes. Political and economic cooperation in latin America was one of the cases investigated for that purpose (Haas and Schmitter 1964; Mattli 2005). It was in Europe however, that political and economic integration was best developed and most suited to theoretical and empirical study. Therefore, Europe and European integration became the major focus of neo-functionalists during the 1960s and 1970s.

Contexually, Jensen (op cit); Schmitter 2002, identified the features of neo-functionalism to include the following: a theory of regional integration that seeks to explain the process of European integration- it is a theory that focuses on the supranational institutions of the European Union; the theory was particularly influential in the 1950s and 1960s; its main focus is on the factors that drive integration –interest groups and institutions, political party activities, the role of governments and supra national institutions-even if they may well have different goals, the actions they take or choose in order to achieve those goals, drive any integration process; European integration is mostly seen as an elite-driven process – usually by national and international political and economic elites; and finally the concept of spill-over which is seen to be the key element of neo-functionalism.

In the view of Rosamond (2000), the concept, Spill-over, is perhaps the most important part of the theory of neo-functionalism, and refers to the mechanism by which integration in one area creates the conditions and incentives for integration in another related policy area. In the context of early European integration it is argued that cooperation in core sectors such as Coal and Steel could not be fully achieved without also integrating in other sectors such as transport for example that were central to the integration of coal and steel. Rosamond argues that the notion of spill-over rests on two premises.

The first is an expanse logic that essentially emphasises how integration in one sector can create incentives and pressures to integrate in other adjacent sectors, while the second logic refers to deepening of integration in the same sector. A fitting example in this respect according to Rosamond, is a customs union that would work more effectively if states agreed on exchange rate parity, i.e, if states accept a uniform or common currency.

Summarily, the relevance of Neo-functionalism to this study proceeds from its emphasis of the following ingredients- the role of an organisation in developing ideologies that can assist its member states in the context of integration; that citizens of member states of an organisation have the freedom and liberty to organise collectively within and across national borders; that the distribution of the benefits from integration be equally allocated; and finally, that focusing on the need for a supranational institution (to which the AUC is tending) is necessary. Based on the foregoing elements as identified with Neo-functionalism, this study argues that they can employed as a support to justify the capacity of the African Union Commission (AUC) to facilitate integration among member states of the AU.

2.2.3 Inter-govermentalist' Perspectives

Cini (2010) asserts that inter-governmentalism is drawn whether explicitly or implicitly from classical theories of international relations, and most notably from realist or neo-realist analyses of inter-state bargaining. Realism as a school thought, incorporates the claim that international politics concerns the interaction of self-interested states in an anarchic environment, where there is no global authority capable of securing order. Cini views inter-governmentalism as a theory of European integration, which implies a theory that explains what European integration (or European cooperation) is. Inter-governmentalism is also considered a model of European integration. Practically, inter-governmentalism provides a conceptual explanation of the European integration process and is characterised by its state-centrism. In other words, inter-governmentalism espouses the role of (national) states within European integration. Cini, as well as Rosamond (2000) contend that

intergovernmentalism is not just associated with European politics, but also refers a type of decision-making that occurs within all international organisations.

Structurally, international organisations are inter-governmental bodies, in that they serve as arenas and platforms where states meet to discuss common issues, to share ideas and to negotiate agreements. They are usually based on international treaties and membership is voluntary. In the opinion of McCormick (2007), international organisations do not have powers of taxation but only rely on member-state contributions for their operations.

Generally, they do not have independent powers, and usually find it difficult to enforce decisions where individual members are recalcitrant. Whilst this model may be rebuffed by some international organisations, inter-governmentalists are inclined to apply this framework to their understanding of the European Union, albeit with some modifications. Cini argues that at the heart of inter-governmentalism lies a particular conception of the sovereignty of national states.

The concept of sovereignty in international politics is held almost sacrosanct, and remains emotive in the conduct of inter-state relations, and particularly when used in the context of European Union politics. It has various interpretations ranging from notion of power; authority; independence, and the exercise of will. However, many use the word sovereignty for independence, and this is particularly the case in public discourse by commentators who feel incensed on global issues which border on a state's territorial integrity.

For inter-governmentalists, especially of European extraction, not only are the member states deemed to be the most important actors, they also manage to involve themselves in European integration without ceding their sovereign rights. This follows that states remain very much in control of the process. In distinguishing between cooperation and integration which sometimes provokes debates among scholars, Cini (op cit) states that European cooperation implies at most a pooling or sharing of sovereignty from national to the supranational level. While European integration can indeed involve a transfer of functions from the state executive, and to a lesser extent, from the parliaments of the member states, to the European institutions

such as the European Commission (EC). This results from an understanding and conviction that national governments find it in their interest to hand over certain regulatory functions in order to make cooperation work more effectively, thus making the commitments they have entered into more credible.

Intergovernmentalists are careful in not assuming that these institutions are capable of playing an independent or autonomous role within the European integration process, but rather stress that the supranational institutions including the (EC) in particular, are a little more than the servants of member states. While these institutions may be permitted a more important role in less controversial areas of policy, the functions they perform in more sensitive policy domains are severely curtailed.

Thomas Gehring (1996) in an article, noted that there is a trend of juxtaposing inter-governmentalism and neo-functionalism as the two important and mutually exclusive frameworks to interpret the phenomenon of European integration and its institutional dimension, represented by the European Community. Inter-governmentalism offers to present a concept for the analysis of international co-operation institutions. It specifically recognises that the Community emerged from the self-help based international system and emphasises the continued central role of the member states. If inter-governmentalism is founded on a state-centred approach to institutions, Gehring argues that it cannot therefore cope with integration as a process of development overtime.

Besides, the concept does not pay attention to the role and impact of non-state actors within the Community system. Gehring further noted that these anomalies associated with inter-governmentalism can be mitigated by the ideas of neo-functionalism, which itself is interested in the process of increasing integration rather than in the integration of actors in a fairly stable environment.

This stems from a realisation that, neo-functionalism emphasises the dynamics of integration and identifies the role of supernatural, transnational and sub-national actors in this process. However, Gehring admitted that the neo-functionlists also suffer from its inability to accommodate the role of member states within the integration process. Inter-governmentalism proceeds from the premise that the

international system is horizontally and not hierarchically ordered. This implies the absence of a powerful entity above its component units (i.e states) that could establish and enforce collectively oriented norms.

However, this is not to suggest that even though the international system is defined to be anarchical, there is no visible form of order. Drawing inference form Clark and Sohn (1966), Gehring (op cit) legalism and classical institutionalism began from the assumption that international anarchy may be overcome by the establishment of international organisations and the development of international laws. Using the case study of the European Union, Gehring opines that the adoption of a European constitution would itself constitute the key step for transforming the European community into a true federal state. It is further assumed that an appropriately designed institution is capable of steering the decisions of the units (states) and consequently of taming their self-interest and conflict-raising behaviour.

In contrast, political realism contends that the existence of international anarchy will no doubt, lead to a self-help syndrome in which the survival of the units (states) depends ultimately on their own behaviour. Further still, that non-state actors, i.e international organisations, no matter their influence, will continually remain the creations of the states, and not capable of exerting independent actions. Thus, political realism warns against following the idealistic recommendations of legalism and institutionalism. Rather, states are enjoined to acquire power resources and enhance their status within the system in relation to their counterparts as much as possible.

The foregoing two approaches constitute the extremes on a continuum. The emergence of functionalism and neo-functionlism appears to be a middle point in his scenario. In general terms, they are based on the assumption that situations frequently allow mutually beneficial collaboration even in the absence of serious sanctioning power for the establishment, maintenance and development of international collaboration, while not oblivious of their influence.

On the theory of Inter-governmentalism Garza (2006) contends that it is a theory on international state integration which rejects the idea of neo-functionalism. The theory suggests that governments control the level and speed of state integration. And that

any increase in power at supranational level results from a direct decision by governments. This theory further posits that integration driven by national governments is often based on the domestic political and economic issues of the day. The theory rejects the concept of the spill over effect that neo-functionalism proposes and the idea that supranational organisations are on equal level as national governments. This perspective echoes realism (high politics) conception of international relations which espouses the tendency for power acquisition as the basic interest of states as actors in the international system.

Contextually, supranationalism is seen as a method of decision-making rather than a theory in intergovernmental organisations, where power is held by independent appointed officials or by representatives elected by the legislature or people of the member states. While member-state governments still have power, they must share this power with other actors. Furthermore, decisions are made by majority votes, hence it is possible for a member state to be forced to implement a decision against its will. Garza (2006) however submits that unlike a federal state, member states fully retain their sovereignty and participate voluntary being subject to the supranational government only so far as they decide to remain members. Examples of international organisations which operate on this basis include the European Union and the South American Community of Nations.

The relevance of inter-governmentalism as a theory to this study derives from the standpoint that every inter-governmental organisation gets its statutory and enabling power from the Member States that created it, and that its operational capacity depends on the amount of commitment bestowed on it by the states. It is arguable therefore, that the AUC as a subset of the African union clearly falls into this model, thus, providing justification for applying this theory in this study.

In the context of this study, the three theories which include; the functionalist, neo-functionalist and inter-governmental paradigms will be used as platforms to investigate the integrative role of the AUC. Each of these theories will be examined with a view to demonstrating their applicability to the study.

2.3   Literature Review

According to Fink (2010), literature review can be described as "a systematic, explicit and reproducible method for identifying, evaluating and interpreting an existing body of completed and recorded work produced by researchers, scholars and practitioners". Simply put, literature review can be premised on the assumption that knowledge accumulates and that people learn from and build on what others have done.

The preoccupation of this study in this section will be to examine in details, accessible research works by some scholars on integration efforts in Africa and the issues addressed which include, attempts at integration in Africa, challenges confronting integration in Africa and the milestones recorded by African countries in their integration efforts. While advancing arguments for political union and unity in Africa, Kwame Nkrumah posited as follows:

"If we do not formulate plans for unity and take active steps to form political union; we will soon be fighting and warring among ourselves with imperialists and colonialists standing behind the screen and pulling vicious wires, to make us cut each other's throats for the sake of their diabolical purposes in Africa" Nkrumah (1963).

The implication of the above quotation to the aspirations of African leaders for integration has to do practically with the essence of a strong commitment to be united in resolve for the attainment of such goal, the absence of which makes the vision illusive. Even though much seems not have been achieved, the complete decolonisation of Africa is arguably owed to the fall out of unification efforts by African leaders. In the opinion of Guy Martin, indicated in a book titled - Africa in World Politics: A Pan-African Perspective, the aspirations for integration in Africa date back to the independence era in the sixties, Martin (2002). According to Martin, African states had consistently pursued policies of regional cooperation and integration as a means of promoting socio-economic development and also to reduce their dependence on their former colonial masters, notably the European nations. Africa is generally regarded the poorest, least developed and most heterogeneous, and this is arguably linked to the occupation of the continent by the western powers who ended up creating what is described as artificial boundaries through partitioning. This

development has been attributed to be a potent source of friction on the continent till date.

Scholars are generally agreed that integration of African societies have come to be seen as a *raison d'etre* for growth and development through collaboration to expand, fortify, solidify and integrate their economic space, to serve as a platform for take-off and effectively participating in the global economy, (Adeyemi and Ayodele, 2007), (Qobo, 2007), (Oyejide, 2000), (Maruping, 2005). In context, Adeyemi and Ayodele (ibid) observe that the pace of globalisation, coupled with the sweeping wave of economic liberalisation, and with the imbalances in the distribution of the benefits in favour of the strong economies, has increased the urgency for African countries to seek to collaborate through a harmonious working relationship.

Specifically, they noted that African leaders have over the years, established many other institutions, apart from the Organisation of African Unity, now African Union, to functionally address issues of common interest notably in the areas of energy, trade, communications and defence. However, they have admitted that the record of regional integration in Africa so far has been a sobering one, identifying factors of uncoordinated initiatives, political conflicts and low levels of intra-regional trade as setbacks to regional groupings. Analytically, this position as held by (Adeyemi and Ayodele; 2007) in regard to the level of performance of regional integration efforts in Africa is glaring and does not provoke any debate. It is only limited to the extent that the role of the AUC was not investigated and could not have been mentioned in their analysis.

According to Qobo, (2007), post decolonisation process in the 1960s witnessed the establishment of sub-regional economic communities which were seen as a significant part of Africa's development strategy. Concomitantly as well, regionalism in Africa emerged and this was signposted by the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), partly as a response to the vestiges of colonialism as well as to spur political and economic progress on the continent, and partly as a political instrument to deal with the power imbalances in the international system. A glaring feature about Africa at

independence is the apparent lack of human and capital resources required for industrialisation, hence the need arose for collaborative mechanisms that would harness and mobilise resources of member states to achieve desired goal of growth and development.

Pan Africanist aspirations and vision among the early leaders of the newly independent states inspired initiatives such as the ECOWAS, the ECCAS, the UMA, the Preferential Trade Agreement for East and Southern Africa (which later transmuted to the Common Market for East and Southern African States- COMESA), the EAC and the SADC. All these are attempts geared towards integration. What is clearly missing in these analyses is the AUC as a body within the continental union. The need inevitably arises to fill in what appears to be vacuum in this regard.

Tulya-Muhika (1996) in his view on integration phenomenon in Africa, argues that the desire to integrate exists and is not new to Africa. He contends that:

> *"The redrawing of global economic boundaries that visibly started with the commitment of the European Economic Community (EEC) to completion of the European Internal Market at Hannover in 1988, leading to deeper integration under the Maastricht Treaty (1993), continental developments in North America (leading to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) as well as current movements of Asian economies on the Pacific Rim, make it imperative for Africa to unite, and to do it fast. Economic integration isa virtual precondition for development in Africa.The earliest step towards regional efforts in solving African problems was the 1st Pan African Congress which held in Paris, later followed by the epoch-making 5th Congress in Manchester (UK) in 1945- attended by early Pan Africanist leaders like Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta. Later in 1955, a gathering of African Pan Africanists issued the Bandung Declaration. A continent-wide movement caught momentum after the independence of the first black African state- Ghana in 1957, and the subsequent independence of thirty two (32) other African countries".*

Tulya-Muhika reveals further that following the wave of independence, African economic cooperation has taken a diversity of attempts through various institutional and sub-regional organisations, as well as, a number of plans and declarations. In this respect, institutions such as ECOWAS, ECCAS, UMA, SADC (formerly SADCC), EAC, came about, while some of the plans and declarations include- The Kinshasa Declaration, 1976; The Lagos Plan of Action, 1980; Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery (APPER), 1985 and African Economic Treaty, 1991.

ECA (2006) reports on regional integration in Africa shows that the reasons or objectives for integrating have evolved over time, such that they have shifted from the initial focus on the political decolonisation of Africa to the current emphasis on socio-economic integration in the post-independence era for stronger bargaining power in the global arena and for mutual benefit in the form of accelerated growth and development. It is worth emphasising that regional integration which has been part of the major agenda of African leaders is in line with the objectives of the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC), also known as the Abuja Treaty. The Treaty was promulgated in 1991 and became enforceable in 1994. As noted earlier, the Abuja Treaty designates Africa's regional Economic Communities (RECs) as the building blocks for stronger integration and the eventual creation of the AEC.

However, what is not found in all these revelations, reviews and findings is the recognition and mention of the AUC as a strategic institution capable of driving integration efforts in Africa. This lacuna will occupy the attention of this current exercise.

In her article on the challenges on regional integration in West Africa, Traore (2013), Quattara and Lopes (2013) observe that regional integration is currently being undermined because of the political situation in a number of countries. As a result, organisations that should have focused on regional integration are more concerned with conflict resolution. In her submissions which also serve as recipe for addressing the perceived lack of focus, Traore recommends that one of the first priorities is to revitalise the regional integration agenda aiming not only a the regional integration

organisations such as ECOWAS and Mano River Union (MRU), but also at civil society organisations, academia and the public sector.

Secondly, Traore suggests that priority should be given to the need to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of policies either at the public policy level which must be more efficient and effective to meet its objectives, or in functioning institutes. As in previous literature in the study, no attempt was made about the AUC and what role it can play in the context of integration. However, Traore's observations about the challenges confronting regional integration, particularly in West Africa, are commendable. The non-recognition of the AUC will be addressed in his study.

On regionalism, Haastrup (2013) observes that there has been a global increase in the number of regional organisations, contending that such a trend appears to be a new way through which international cooperation is being organised to deal with challenges of the international system. Essentially, Haastrup reasons that regionalism is the outcome of international reordering further facilitated by globalisation. As such, regional integration in Africa could be seen as a direct consequence of this trend within the global political system.

In analysing the AUC in the context of its integrative ability, this researcher is of the view that there may be the need to examine the implications of organisational effectiveness in the pursuit of organisational goals. In his article titled *The Study of Administration*, quoted by Agarwal (1996), Woodrow Wilson- one time American president- addressed the question of whether there was an ideal structure on which to model governmental institutions. He believed that it is objective of administrative study to discover, first, what government can properly and successfully do, and, second, how it can do this proper thing with the utmost possible efficiency and at the least possible cost either of money or of energy.

The import of this view relates to how best to structure government to be able to achieve intended outcomes. In other words, Wilson was basically concerned about the organisational effectiveness of governmental institutions. This study shall identify factors that make some organisations excellent, of high quality, productive and efficient. In the context of the AUC, some of these factors may relate to quality of

personnel recruited, planning strategies, level of commitment to policy declarations by leaders of member states and funding capacity required for activities and programmes designed for implementation. It is a fact that the success of any organisation is a reflection of its personnel in terms of qualification, efficiency and diligence, experience, exposure and commitment to pursuing its mandate. This work shall (in the appropriate section) point out the extent to which the AUC is or has been able to manifest these criteria.

Ansah, (2003) on the political dynamics of regional integration in Africa, contends that the phenomenon of integration, whether political or economic, has been a long standing creation by entities separated by artificial means. This is largely inspired by the need to pool both tangible and intangible resources and complementing the efforts of one another in their own interest. This has been visibly exhibited by the countries in European Union and the fusion of fifty states to form the United States in America.

Ansah further notes that in Africa, the importance of regional integration as a means for supporting her economic development has long been recognised by African leaders. This position is also supported by Vinaye (2011). Exemplifying this scenario by quoting Nkrumah in his book, Africa Must Unite, published in 1963, Ansah states-

> "it is only when the artificial boundaries that divide her are broken down so as to provide for viable economic units and ultimately single African unit, that Africa will be able to develop industrially for her own sake and subsequently for the sake of a healthy economy. Further still, planned economic growth is necessary so that all states can benefit from industrialisation and other important improvements made possible by unified direction".

In essence, the ideal of regional integration is not a reflection of states but a phenomenon that represents functional cooperation with emphasis on the economic aspects, Soomer (2003).

In justifying the need for regional integration as a strengthening force in Africa, Nkama (2010) argues that the thinking behind the pursuit of regional integration as a developmental path was borne out of fear that small countries could not survive on

their own because of high costs associated with providing all the functions of government. This assertion is indeed worthy of consideration. In some African countries for example, the socio-economic conditions of the peoples clearly reflect this reality. This situation is further supported by the Gerrit (2010) in his seminal article which expresses that the rationale behind African integration aspirations is quite obvious, and can be viewed in the following ways – "As African states act on their own; they are unavoidably destined to be vulnerable, marginalised and subsequently turning beggar nations".

Ansah (2003) acknowledges that even though some strides have been made out of regional integration, evident in the fact that quite a number of African countries have experienced significant infrastructure development, the reality on ground is that Africa remains the most backward continent on the globe. Suffice to mention that issues of mis-governance, mal-administration of resources – vestiges of corruption-, ethnic/religious crisis, and related developments, have generally characterised the continent of Africa. Ansah further admits that the failure associated with regional integration status in Africa is significantly a result of the little or no attention in the literature of regional integration on the political dynamics which usually play out in shaping regional integration prospects. This has undoubtedly, left many knowledge gaps in regional integration discourse. Indeed, the introduction of political ingredients in the analysis of the core issues of any given regionally integrated body is very useful, at least in the context of creating the enabling political environmental to support integration process.

As noted by Nkrumah (1965), no country can be completely self-sufficient or afford to ignore political events outside its borders. The interconnections between economics and politics are such that, economic unity will be effective if accompanied by political unity. This reasoning, proceeding from a political economy perspective, reflects the strength of the political nuances in facilitating the economic prospects of economic groupings embarked upon by countries, either at a sub-regional or continental level.

Just like the preceding literature in this study, the positions of Ansah (2003); Vinaye (2011); Soomer (2003); Nkama (2010), appear to be concerned about the success, if

any, and challenges facing African states in their integration efforts. Their contributions/focus do not make mention of the AUC as an organ of the AU, and how it could facilitate integration process in Africa. However, their expositions on the impediments against integration in Africa will undoubtedly enrich this study in some way.

According to Geda & Kibret (2002), regional integration initiatives in Africa have a long history, dating back to the establishment of the South African Customs Union (SACU) in 1910, and the East African Community (EAC) in 1919. Since then, a number of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) have been formed across the continent, particularly since the 1970s. Today, there is no country in Africa that is not a member of at least one regional economic group. As reflected in the number of regional agreements, both in the continent and world-wide, the issue continues to occupy a centre stage in the economic policy of countries.

In addition to the sub-regional groupings such as the ECOWAS, ECCAS, SADC, EAC, and AMU- (detailed discussions on each of these are found in chapter three of this study), attempts have been made to create economic integration (and ultimately economic union) among African countries at a continental level. These efforts culminated in the signing of the African Economic Community Treaty (also known as the Abuja Treaty) in 1991, but which protocol became enforceable in 1994. The Treaty sought to establish continent-wide economic integration by strengthening the existing (and encouraging the formation of new) RECs across the continent. In line with this objective, Teshome (1998) contends the existing RECs within the continent were perceived as the main building blocks for such a continent-wide integrative initiative.

However, there seems to be a consensus that the success of all the RECs in achieving their set objectives has been less than satisfactory. This view has been reflected in the writings of Johnson (1995); Lyakurwa et tal, (1997). Various reasons have been suggested as factors responsible for the lack of progress in regional integration efforts in Africa. Some of such include perceived unwillingness of African governments to surrender their hard-earned sovereignty of macro-economic policy making to a

regional authority; face potential consumption costs that may arise by importing from a high-cost member country; accept unequal distribution of gains and losses that may follow an integration agreement at least in the short run and finally, discontinue existing economic ties with non-members.

In spite of this unsatisfactory performance in the efforts by African states towards a formidable continental integration arrangement, Lyakurwa et tal (1997) admit that there seems to be a new momentum to invigorate the process of integration of African economies. Indeed, this renewed drive is reflected in the resurgence of the political will expressed in the Abuja Treaty of 1991, and subsequently, the transmutation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to African Union (AU) with its mandate redefined.

Besides, the momentum to strengthen the various regional blocks outside of Africa-particularly in Europe, Asia and the Americas, may have triggered African countries into reconsidering and even re-strategising on their integration efforts and mechanisms. Other contributory factors include the realisation by African states, and in particular, the small economy member countries whose respective national markets are too small to provide the benefits of economies of scale and specialisation.

The liberalisation initiatives by the BrettonWoods institutions – The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund – have equally created a conducive environment to pursue an outward-looking economic policy which encompasses economic cooperation in general and trade liberalisation policy in particular.

This position by Johnson (1995); Lyakurwa et al, (1997), like others, particularly from among those earlier reviewed does not reflect the role of the AUC as this study intends to undertake. However, the scholars' views on what efforts African states have made to integrate are incontrovertibly enriching, and could provide insights at identifying some of the earlier initiatives towards integration by African countries. In a publication, David (2011) observes that regional integration in the modern independent world has become pervasive and complex than ever before, and this is seen as a product of various permutations and the outcome of many varied forces.

In the context of Africa, regional integration has a fairly long history, and in some sub-regions predating independence. Indeed, African countries have a history of repeated attempts to link themselves together, both in various sub-groups and even continent-wide through several broad types of regional integration and cooperation arrangements. This view is supported by Oyejide (2000), who contends that in virtually all cases, African states have continually reflected the desire to deal in one way or another with the perceived growth-retarding problems thought to be associated with a number of key elements in the structure of African countries.

Today, it can be argued that there is no region of the world that is not encompassed by one or more regional groupings. For example, the United Nations, from its inception in 1945 has clearly recognised the role of regional organisations, acknowledging them as efficient mechanisms of dealing with regional conflicts and the maintenance of international peace and security.(UN Charter, Article 52). In this regard, Sarbo (2010) submits that regional groupings were considered as auxiliary to the central role of the United Nations, and ultimately remains the premier institution of global governance.

Olivier (2008) contends that Africa has seen political and institutional changes over one or two decades. Yet, in the 50th year independence of a number of countries, the expectations of African peoples- socio-economically, politically and the state of infrastructural development, etc, remains a subject of debate. The prospect of successful continental integration has arguably suffered a loss of political drive with the absence of authoritative and focused leadership. Olivier admits nonetheless, that there seems to be a general consensus in Africa since decolonisation, that given the continent's economic and geopolitical realities, regionalism is a requisite requirement for meaningful progress. While this consensus continues to hold sway, there appears to be no clear and decisive action in terms of coordinated commitment and infrastructural capability to change the tide of underdevelopment in Africa.

If indeed there is a consensus on the inevitability of the operationalization of regional integration as a mechanism to collaboratively address Africa's common issues of interest as Olivier (2008) has posited, by not mentioning the AUC and its role as an

inevitable organ in any continental aspiration towards integration is a minus in the context of this study. This researcher wishes to emphasise that the role of a strategic organ like the AUC as an umpire and a coordinator remains relevant and ultimately deserving of attention for results.

In their view on integration, Thonke and Spliid (2012) began by asserting that since the end of the World War II (WWII), the world has witnessed a growing appetite for regional integration in terms of both political and economic integration. This view is further extended to indicate that there has never been a wider and deeper integration than at present, and judging by the number of regional organisations, every region of the world is not immune to this scenario.

Indeed, Africa as a region is not an exception. Thonke and Spliid note that regional integration in Africa has become a hot topic of debate on which African states, politicians, researchers, policy makers, bureaucrats, donors, civil society, are spending more and more time and money. They contend in particular, that regional integration is taking place at both sub-regional and continental levels. This view can be authenticated by a myriad of regional organisations on the African continent, each with a varying importance and with overlapping mandates and membership.

This makes regional integration in Africa an extremely complex and difficult phenomenon with which African states have had to grapple. In what looks like a an acknowledgement, and intellectualising the rationale of integration in Africa, Ebaye (2010) argues that the end of the cold war and the marginalisation of Africa, coupled with the vicious cycle of poverty, underdevelopment, disease and internecine conflicts have generally been cited as the fundamental reasons for the aggressive efforts by the proponents and architects of regional integration, particularly at the continental level.

In the view of Aboagye (2007), the concept of regional integration emanated from regionalism, and implies cooperation among states in geographically proximate and delimited areas for the pursuit of mutual gains in one or more issue areas. By extension, regional integration could also be viewed as an association of countries

occupying a particular geographical area for the safeguarding or promotion of members, and operate on terms that are fixed by treaties or other rules and regulations.

Quoting Philippe and Langenhove (2007), Ebaye (2010) notes that while-

> "*Some scholars have viewed regional integration as a world-wide phenomenon of territorial systems that increase the interactions between their components and create new forms of organisation coexisting with traditional forms of state-led organisation at the national level; the creation of an enabling environment for private sector development; the development of infrastructural programmes in support of economic growth; the development of strong public sector institutions and good governance; the reduction of social exclusion and the development of an inclusive civil society; contribution to peace and security in the region; the building of environment programmes at the region's interaction with other regions of the world*, some others see *regional integration as the process by which states within a particular region increase their level of interaction with regard to economic, security, political, social and cultural issues, and concluded that regional integration is the joining of individual states within a region into a larger whole. The degree of integration ultimately will depend on upon the willingness and commitment of independent sovereign states to associate".*

Analytically, the foregoing quotation by Ebaye (ibid) representing too sets of scholars seems to suggest a distinction in content. A closer look reveals that there is in fact no difference in the two positions with respect to their conceptions of regional integration. What is perhaps noticeable in their perspectives is that the first set of scholars would appear to have an expanded and all-encompassing view of regional integration, whist the second set of scholars seems to present a compressed explanation of the concept of regional integration.

Suffice to mention that when two or more sovereign states within a defined geographical region agree to associate or collaborate, the intention is normally to commonly address issues of shared interest. In general terms, regional integration involves a process by which nations or sovereign entities enter into a regional

organisation with a view to increasing regional cooperation and reduce regional challenges.

Ebaye (2010) asserts that regional integration also implies the opening of discussion towards the enlargement of existing institutions and the conclusion of inter-regional agreements. Viewed in the context of this study (Ebaye, 2010; Philippe and Langenhove, 2007; Hans and Langenhove, 2003) can be said to have only commendably provided insights into the meanings and operations of the concept of regional integration. There is no mention of the role of near-supranational or fully supranational organ such as the AUC, which could act as the umpire or authority coordinate the activities and operations of an associating sovereign states. This seeming lacuna provides a basis for this study in particular.

In their view on regional integration, Mukamunana and Moeti (2005) assert that one of the most significant features of the world economy and politics from the second half of the twentieth century has been the creation of regional grouping which have been propagated by the creation in 1948 of the European Economic Community (EEC). From then on, regional integration ideology in African began to take root in the early years of independence (1960s), and was perceived largely as both an instrument for safeguarding recently acquired political freedom, and a strategy to be used to facilitate economic development. This idea was captured by Nkrumah – who is regarded as a legendary Pan-Africanist – in the following statement:

> *"In my view, a united Africa- that is, political and economic unification of the African continent- should seek three objectives. Firstly, we should have an overall economic planning on continental basis, which would increase the industrial and economic power of Africa. So long as we remain balkanised regionally or territorially, we shall be at the mercy of colonialism and imperialism", Nkrumah (1963)*

But as Cheru (2002) observed, this continental approach, as adopted by Pan-Africanists, did not gain a significant support in African political and intellectual millieus as it was criticised for its demand for a high level of political integration as post-independence African leaders instead favoured a more cooperative approach to

technocratic and functional matters focusing principally on domestic issues such as overcoming social cleavages and building national identity and economy.

However, the growing trend in regional integration and the bargaining strengths of the powerful economic and trading blocs such as EU, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Association of South East Asian nations (ASEAN) and their impact on the world economy- has inevitably triggered an urgent need for African leaders to begin to reconsider their regional strategies with a view to becoming effective participants in the global economy.

Rettig, Anne W. Kamau, and Muluvi (2013), seemed to agree with the invaluable impact of regional integration as a catalyst to integration in Africa as elsewhere. These scholars are strongly of the opinion that regional integration will play a key role in unleashing the continent's growth potential. According to them, the African economic Communities (AEC) would enjoy increased intra-African trade, improved self-sufficiency in meeting Africa's import demand, lower poverty levels and a more peaceful interdependent existence. They however, noted that, in contrast with these grand plans to move towards the establishment and implementation of a Continental Free Trade Agreement (CFTA), Africa's RECs are grappling with numerous challenges, some of which had been highlighted earlier.

Rettig, et al, identified the challenges of conflict as constituting a major hindrance to the realisation of the continent's integration agenda. In their view, the AU should endeavour to reduce the incidence of African conflict with the importance of doing more to promote economic integration. They further noted that while addressing flashpoints of violence is an important short-term necessity, it is more rewarding to increase intra-African trade; build an African consumer base, and engage in networking African interdependence as all of these could engender greater long-term promise. These are all steps toward the same goal of a prosperous and peaceful Africa. These scholars submitted that, while the AU does not have the authority to overcome poor capacity, a lack of political will, or other challenges that African countries and RECs may face or bring to the table, the aspiration of continental integration should

be pursued in spite of challenges that may arise. The current study aimed to provide justifications which will either validate or rebuff this view towards completion.

Obvious manifestations in this regard can be seen in the transmutation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU) in 2002, and the creation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) which works in collaboration with the AUC towards achieving their regional mandate.

Generally speaking, scholars tend to argue that regional attempts in Africa have not satisfactorily yielded expected results as issues of poverty, drought and famine, killer-diseases, ethnic/religious, human rights violations, mis-governance, weak infrastructure among others, are still recurrent. Whilst, it is of importance that these issues are addressed, it can be argued that effective integration requires a paradigm shift in the concept of public administration towards a more result-oriented decision making and policy making mechanism or organ that allows for autonomous action by various actors than the state (Mukamunana and Moeti, 2005). In a nutshell for regional policies and processes to bear positive outcomes, there will be a need to adopt the functionalists' perspective of addressing continental or regional issues, and with particular focus on the AUC in the context of this study.

In the meantime, this researcher is conscious of the fact that, and would contend that such an endeavour may be faced with political considerations arising from the notion of sovereignty and related issues of territorial integrity for which states are prepared to go to war.

Before concluding this section on review of literature in the context of this study, it will be relevant to take a look at the European Union (EU), and in particular the European Commission (EC) –which is an organ of the EU- with a view to establishing any similarities or differences between EC and the African Union Commission (AUC) and attempt to posit that one is probably an abstraction of the other in terms of idea, structure and purpose.

Scholars like Swedberg, 1994; Sesay and Omotosho, 2011) are generally agreed that, the EU has its roots in the Post-World War II period, with the founding of the

European Coal and Steel Community Between (1950-51) for a number of economic and political reasons.

As highlighted in a guide to the EU institutions published by the union itself, (manuscripts completed in 2012) the EU as an organisation came into existence when the then French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman proposed integrating the Western Europe's Coal and Steel industries in 1950. This resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1951, but entered into force in 1952. Subsequently, the Treaty of Rome which established the European Economic Community (EEC) was signed in Rome in 1957 and came into force in 1958.

The Treaty of the European Union (EU), also known as the Maastricht Treaty was signed in Maastricht in 1992 but came into force in 1993. This Treaty established EU, and gave Parliament more say in decision-making.

Decision-making at EU level involves various institutions as highlighted below:

- The European Parliament (EP) – This represents the EU citizens and is elected by them;
- The European Council (EC) – This consists of the Heads of States or Government of the EU member states;
- The Council – This represents the government of the EU member states;
- The European Commission – This represents the interests of the EU as a whole.
- The Commission has four main roles as follows:
- To propose legislation to Parliament and the Council;
- To manage and implement EU policies;
- To enforce European law (jointly with the Court of Justice);
- To represent the EU around the world, (Source, EU: 2012)

Suffice to mention that at the core of the EU are the Twenty Seven (27) member states. The Commission is as old as the Union because the first Commission originated in 1951 as the Nine-Member "High Authority" under President Jean Monnet. The High

Authority was designed to be a supranational administrative executive of the new European Coal and Steel Community.

Functionally, the European Council defines the general political direction and priorities of the EU, but does not exercise legislative functions. Specifically, it is the Commission that proposes new laws, but subject to ratification by the Parliament and the Council. Finally the implementation of adopted laws, treaties and protocols is done by the Commission, in collaboration with the member states.

Comparatively, the AUC and the EC have virtually all things in common, beginning from acting the role of proposing and initiating draft policies, laws and protocols to implementation of such to achieve stated mandate as adopted by their respective Heads of governments. Any likely area of difference between the AUC and the EC would most probably be to what extent member countries of the AUC would adhere to accepting the implementation of adopted protocols or treaties signed. A major factor that could bring out clearly this scenario is the obvious unequal status of basic infrastructures and economic disparities among member states of AUC, as against their counterparts in the EU. Ironically, these issues fall within the purview of the responsibilities of the Commissions in ensuring that there is commitment by member states of the Commissions in addressing common challenges.

2.4   Conclusion

This section set out to examine the three theoretical frameworks adopted to provide a platform for this study. The theories include – Functionalism, Neo-functionalism and Inter-governmentalism. The researcher undertook a discussion of each theory as posited by their respective proponents, pointing out the strengths and weaknesses identified with each theory. This paper on the whole contends that despite the weaknesses of each of the theories, they provide reliable strength useful for analysing the functionality of the AUC as an organ of the AU. Besides, the section also presented in a summarised format, a good number of literature accessed on the efforts at regional integration by Africa leaders.

Having examined the available scholarly works in this respect, this researcher is of the opinion that attention of scholars has solely been on efforts towards integration in

Africa, focusing primarily on causes of failures to achieve the desired level of integration aspirations by member states of the various regional arrangements on the continent. This study submits that there is no scholarly work done till date on the ability of the AUC to orchestrate and facilitate integrative efforts on the continent. Besides, this section notes that the position of the AUC as strategic organ of the AU is yet to be critically appreciated, hence this study. The next chapter (chapter three) will focus on assessing the identified sub-regional organisations in their role towards integration in Africa, and will highlight

Chapter Three

3.0   Assessing sub-regional organisations in their role towards integration in Africa

3.1   Introduction

This chapter seeks to undertake an assessment of the five (5) sub-regional organisations which represent the five regions of the continent in relation to their conceptions and execution of integrative aspirations in their respective regions. The five sub-regional organisations, also referred to as the Regional Economic Communities (RECS) representing the five regions of Africa, include the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); the East African Community (EAC); the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) and the South African Development Community (SADC). This section provides insights into the circumstances leading to establishment of each of these organisations, their structures (organs), and scrutinises their respective achievements and challenges with the view to locating how each of the organisations has served as building blocks for continental integration efforts in Africa. This exercise is unavoidable in the light of the differing geopolitical, social and economic dynamics inherent in these regions on account of their varied colonial experiences.

3.2   ECOWAS in Historical Perspective

As captured by Frempong (2005), the formation of ECOWAS on 28th July 1975 could be seen as the culmination of several attempts over a period of one and a half decades to form a sub-regional organisation embracing the whole of West Africa. For Sesay and Omotosho (2011), ECOWAS's mandate in 1975 was to create a common market in West Africa. However, the formation of ECOWAS was not without hitches which were a result of the different colonial experiences of member countries. This was alluded to by Frempong (2005) as follows:

Although ECOWAS was meant to be a pan-West African economic organisation to replace similar bodies of limited membership and to eliminate the distrust between Anglo-and Franco-phone states, it has not succeeded. This has to do with fact that the

Francophone states still retain parallel economic and security mechanisms and their commitment to ECOWAS remains largely suspect. This implies that the Francophone states in Africa still maintain what can be regarded as an unbroken relationship with France being their colonial master.

Initial attempts had been marred by antagonisms partly, as a result of the rivalry between Ghana (under Kwame Nkrumah) and Nigeria (under Tafawa Balewa) in the early 1960s and later, following the struggle for supremacy in the sub-region between Nigeria and Cote'd'Ivoire along Anglophone-Francophone lines. This is also attributable to the different colonial experience.

The rivalry between Ghana and Nigeria manifested in the divergent positions taken by and Balewa on the question of integration. While the former (Nkrumah) advocated a continental political union of Africa, the latter (Balewa) favoured a functional cooperation on sub-regional approach. These diametrically opposing views between the two leaders manifested in several other areas such that it became almost impossible to accommodate both in any integration scheme in the sub-region. Later efforts aimed at integration following the demise of Nkrumah and Balewa (both were killed as a result of separate coups in their countries in 1966) were delayed by the Nigerian civil war (1967-70) and its aftermath, which consequently widened the gap between Anglo-and Franco-phone West Africa. The recognition of the secessionist Biafran Republic during the Nigerian civil war by Cote'd'Iviore as the only West African country to do so, was seen as an indication of the country's fear and anxiety arising from a perception of Nigeria's hegemon status in the sub-region, and conscious of the threat Nigeria posed to its dominance of the sub-region, wanted to see it dismembered (Obasanjo: 1980).

The rivalry between the two states took wider dimensions in Nigeria's post-war era. For example, scholars like Ojo (1980) argued that the then Ivorian President Houphouet Biogny, with the tacit support of the then French President Pompidou, did everything, particularly in 1971, to frustrate the efforts of Nigerian leader, General Yakubu Gowon to create an all-inclusive West African economic community in favour of a francophone one. However, the breakthrough came in April 1972 when

General Gowon and Togolese leader, General Eyadema re-launched the idea of forming an integrated community. This development was particularly significant in terms of the fact that not only did it cut across the linguistic divide but it was also between Nigeria (a country regarded as the biggest and wealthiest in West Africa) and Togo (regarded as one of the smallest and poorest countries in the same region).

The process leading to the creation of ECOWAS began when General Gowon of Nigeria and General Eyadema of Togo drew up proposals and toured 12 countries soliciting support from July-August 1973. This was followed by a meeting in Togo from 10-15 December 1973 which studied a draft treaty, after considerations by experts and jurists in Accra in January 1974 at a ministerial summit in Monrovia. The Treaty was finally signed on 28th May 1975 in Lagos, Nigeria.

In profiling the process leading to the formation of ECOWAS, Aluko (1981) revealed that Nigeria had been in the forefront of the calls for an economic community and that this dates back to the early 1970s shortly after the civil war between (1967-1970). Aluko contends that the main ideas behind Nigeria's initiative are political, security and economic considerations. Politically, Nigeria tended to favour an arrangement that will put an end to colonial divisions in West Africa. Besides, it is also believed that such a step will put an end to border disputes and will be an important contribution to African unity.

Aluko (1981) argues that in order to strengthen the bargaining position of African states with the European Economic Community (EEC), there must be a West African economic community through which all the states in the region could speak with one voice. In pursuit of this aspiration, Nigeria is generally acknowledged to have played an important in bringing all African states together to form a common front in their negotiations with the European Common Market (ECM).

3.2.1 ECOWAS STRUCTURE

At inception, ECOWAS, through Article 6 of its Treaty created eight (8) main institutional organs, namely –

The Conference of Heads of States – The Authority of Heads of States and Government of Member States is the supreme institution of the Community which has the responsibility to provide direction, and take decisions on common issues in the interest of the Community.

The Council of Ministers – The Council comprises Ministers in charge of ECOWAS affairs. It is responsible for the functioning and development of the Community. The Council makes recommendations to the Authority on any given action aimed at attaining the objectives of the Community.

Community Parliament – This forum plays an essentially consultative role. Specifically, it provides advisory opinions on issues covering all sectors as encapsulated in the Treaty of the organisation.

Community Court of Justice – The Court, established in 1999, is designed to address complaints from Member States and institutions of ECOWAS, as well as issues relating to defaulting nations.

The Commission - This organ replaced the Secretariat in 2006, following a restructuring carried out by the Authority of Heads of States of member States to achieve better focus in the pursuit of the objectives of the Community.

ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development – This organ replaced the Fund for Cooperation, Compensation and development, and is to function to facilitate, through mobilisation of funds for programmes and development projects of Member States.

The Economic and Social Council – This institution is intended to carry out advisory role on both economic and social activities of the Community

The Specialised Commissions – The Treaty created eight (8) Specialised Technical Commissions covering 8 identified critical sectors considered beneficial to the Community, (International Democracy Watch: 2002)

ECOWAS aims comprise the promotion of economic integration in all fields covering – economic activity (particularly industry), transport, telecommunications, energy,

agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions, social and cultural matters for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its people …. and contributing to the progress and development of the African continent, ECOWAS Treaty, Article 2 (1975).

After a period of seventeen (17) years of its existence (1975-1992), ECOWAS was generally perceived not to have lived up to the purpose for which it was formed. The pervading feeling of dissatisfaction among leaders of member states of ECOWAS, in the view of former President of Ghana, John Kufour, reflected in his book published in 2006, contributed to the calls for to the establishment of the Committee of Eminent Persons (CEP) in 1992 to review the organisation's Treaty. The Committee produced a report which contained an Executive Summary of the challenges facing ECOWAS, and also recommendations for the restructuring of the organisation. Part of the reorganisation was the transformation of the ECOWAS Secretariat into a Commission in 2006. Other highlights of the restructuring were the – establishment of the Community Parliament; the Community of Court of Justice; and the ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development, ECOWAS Report (2007).

The President of the ECOWAS Commission, Kadre Ouedraogo, in the organisation's online new line, notes that the implementation of the transformation process is intended to reposition the organisation for more pragmatic and focused attention to its mandate. With the restructuring, the new institutions (organs) highlighted earlier, are designed to replace the former eight (8) institutions created at the formation of ECOWAS in 1975.

Below is the map of the ECOWAS States

Fig 1 (Map of ECOWAS in the highlighted area)

ECOWAS Member States

Source - **http://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/ecowas-economic-community-west-**african-states-0

3.2.2 Challenges facing ECOWAS

(1981) acknowledged that the process leading to the formation of ECOWAS was without stumbling blocks, such as the inability of the integrating members to readily accept the path to follow. Other issues include the reality of the policy conditions of the countries within the West African region in the 1970s when it was clearly difficult, for all the countries in the region to abolish their tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade. The reasons advanced for this situation amongst others were – the fact that the bulk of their revenue continued to be derived from customs dues; tariffs and quantitative import controls were necessary to protect the young home industries which offered employment opportunities for local people; restrictions were necessary in order to favour imports from certain friendly foreign countries. It was considered a complex

consideration to see how all the African governments can abolish restrictions on the free movement of skilled people from one country to another.

Scholars such as Sodipe and Osuntogun (2013) contend that ECOWAS could not achieve its aims and objectives because it lacks the necessary organ or institution to accomplish its objectives. The supreme decision-making power lies with the Authority of Heads of State and Government, while the Secretariat (before the restructuring) is charged with the task of executing the decisions taken by it. It is the view of Sodipe and Osuntogun that the absence of a supranational institution to implement decisions, several of which are important, particularly those relating to the promotion of intra-community trade. The Secretariat had no discretionary powers to make binding decisions on Member States.

, it is also argued that ECOWAS has also failed due to the considered unsatisfactory low level of commitment by part of Member States of the organisation. This can be explained in terms of the financial obligation of members to the organisation. Most members have the negative reputation of defaulting for years and there is no authority to enforce compliance with payment decisions. Added to this is that there is no viable commitment to ratify and implement decisions reached by the Authority of Heads of States and Government.

situation is such that when decisions are taken by the Heads of States on behalf of the Community, the leaders see the implication of the decisions as a threat to their national sovereignty. Consequently, they tend to renege on their commitment in order to protect their sovereignty which itself is core element of a country's national interest.

According to Omoniyi (1986), ECOWAS's failure is that of divided loyalty of Member States of the organisation. It is a generally held argument that member countries are also loyal to other intergovernmental organisations such as the Mano River Union (MRU), the Organisation for the Development of Senegal River as well as the Francophone Economic Community (CEAO). This is also described as the challenge of overlapping membership that cut across RECs in the Eastern, Central and Southern regions of Africa.

In a report from the ECOWAS Commission (2007), the issue of divided loyalty is summed up as follows –

> "*There is a multiplicity of organisations for regional integration with the same objectives in the region. The multiplicity of Inter-Governmental Organisations (IGO) in West Africa contributed in great measure to the slow pace of progress at the Community*"

It is believed within the ECOWAS body that making the organisation all-embracing could solve the problem arising from divided loyalty. Member countries are therefore permitted to belong to other economic groupings, whilst they are expected not to deviate from their commitment to ECOWAS. In reality, this situation is the reverse, as some member states, especially the francophone countries, have sought and belonged to different organisations within the region. It is indeed not debatable that given the principle of sovereignty in international relations, it is practically impossible for a country to surrender its sovereign rights to two organisations in the same region and pursuing similar objectives, as doing so, would amount to a loss of the sovereign right to exist as a nation.

Another challenge facing the ECOWAS is its inability to harmonise its laws, regulations and procedures in the Community. The harmonisation of laws is essential not only for trade facilitation, but also for integration arrangements whether at sub-regional or continental level. Furthermore, some scholars, including Lavergne (1991) have identified what can be described as social and economic problems plaguing almost all the members of the community and creating a stumbling block for ECOWAS as a regional entity. Social problems in this context refer to issues of refugees' infiltration into neighbouring countries, and the attendant negative consequences of crimes. Economic problems comprise—issues of misuse and misapplication of funds, corruption and basic infrastructure, the absence of which hampers the attraction of foreign direct investment.

In addition, what was perhaps a seemingly intractable obstacle to the formation of a West African economic community was, and still is, is the existence of different currencies, most of which are inconvertible. On one hand, it was not easy to adopt a

country's currency for the zone, and on the other hand, there was no easy way to convert the currencies of the countries in the region for the purpose of harmonisation.

All attempts to work out a payment union agreement between the fourteen West African states under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Africa in 1964 were unsuccessful. This situation remains the same today within the community except that attention seems to be more focused on working out an enabling trading relationship. An incontrovertible explanation for this intractable currency convertibility process has to do with the fact that so long as the francophone states – French speaking West African countries – remain within their Franc Zone, it will be difficult to effect such a payment union arrangement. Coupled with this challenge is the poor system of transport and communications among the West African states at that time. However, the introduction and development of global system of communication and broadband internet connectivity have somewhat reduced the challenges relating to communications, while that of transport –road, rail and water – still abound.

Finally, ECOWAS has also been faced with the challenge of bad governance associated several of the Heads of States and Government of Member States, because the leaders are seen to be tyrannical, despotic and corrupt. Before, during and shortly after the formation of ECOWAS, a number of Member States of the organisation were headed by leaders who were not democratically elected as true representatives of the people. Some of them had assumed power through coup d'états, and thus became tyrannical and despotic. As a result, there was no commitment to accountability in governance. The immediate outcome, to the detriment of the Community was a reluctance to surrender their jealously guarded sovereignty to any organisation whether loose or supranational.

3.2.3 ECOWAS Successes and Contributions to Regional Integration in West Africa

As a result of Nigeria's diplomacy on one hand, and partly because of the successful completion of the first Lome Convention which brought together the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries to the European Economic Community (EEC)

in 1975, the ECOWAS was formally established by fifteen West African states in Lagos in May 1975.

In the context of successes and achievements, scholars like Lokulo-Sodipe and Osuntogun (2013); Alao,, Clement., Ayomola., Banwo, (2012), have argued that in spite of the plethora of problems that make it difficult for ECOWAS to fully fulfil its aspirations, it is not only unfair but also deceptive to write ECOWAS off as a failure. They identified that the organisation has been able to raise the level of awareness of the hopeless position of West African nations to the real and artificial barriers created since the early 1960's to the benefits derivable form integration.

Aside from this, the organisation has also been able to make a visible impact in the area of free movement of persons, goods and services across the Community. This is possible with the abolition of Visa and entry requirements to the citizens of the Community for visits for a period not exceeding 90 days. This is indeed a landmark accomplishments in the history of the organisation. Indeed, Viner (1950) notes that the recognition of the need for economic integration includes free flow of persons, goods, services and the right of residence and establishment of businesses.

Furthermore, the organisation has recorded enhancement of transnational transport system. This has been possible owing to the determination of the Heads of States and Governments of Member States to create a border-less sub-region. In pursuit of this commitment, inter-country roads and telecommunication links which used to be problematic, have witnessed some improvements. It is now possible to travel across the region by roads, not only for visits, but also for business/trade activities. The coastal ways are also not left out, as the subsector has attracted attention of the region's leaders. Perhaps an area where the impact of ECOWAS has particularly been noticed is in the maintenance of peace and security. A mechanism by which this has been possible is the Economic Community of West African Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). ECOWAS through ECOMOG, restored peace to Liberia, Guinea Bissau and Sierra Leone. It has recently been actively participating in restoring peace to the troubled Mali, even though under the auspices of the African Union and the United Nations Security Council.

3.3   ECCAS in Perspective

At a summit meeting in December 1981, the leaders of the Customs and Economic Union of Central African States (UDEAC) agreed in principle to form a wider Economic Community of Central African States. In furtherance of this principle, the ECCAS was established on October 18, 1983 by members of UDEAC (which comprised Sao Tome and Principe and the members of the Economic Community of the Great lakes created in 1976 by the Democratic Republic of Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Chad, and Sao Tome and Principe). Angola remained an observer until 1999, when it became a full member, (International Democracy Watch: 2002)

The general objective of the Community is the promotion and strengthening of harmonious cooperation and a dynamic, balanced and self-sustaining development in all areas of economic and social activity in order to achieve collective self-reliance and raise the standard of living of the population. In addition to its traditional role of regional cooperation and integration, ECCAS also seeks to promote peace and stability in Central Africa, and supports the electoral process in the Member States. The headquarters of ECCAS is in Libreville, Gabon.

An ECCAS report in (1993) revealed that after its first decade of its existence, ECCAS only showed consistent poor performance, and its contacts with the African Economic Community (AEC) remained considerably limited. In particular, it is reported that from the 1990s on, the community suffered from the lack of commitment of its Member States, arising from their failure to regularly pay their fees and provide sufficient resources and capacities, as well as the rise of crises and conflicts in the region. While the financial bottlenecks largely hindered the proper functioning of regional institutions and implementation of policies and activities, the region's recourse to conflicts has tended to impede economic cooperation and exchange within the Community.

The ECCAS report indicated that an extraordinary summit was held in Libreville in 1998 where resolutions were adopted on the need for a wide institutional reform and revision of its agenda with the view to provide a new impetus to their cooperation and regionalisation process. To further concretise this mandate, formal contacts with the

AEC were established a year later. This development signified a confirmation of the importance of ECCAS as a major economic community in Central Africa on the continental level.

As a follow up to the resolutions passed and contained in the Summit Report (1998), the ECCAS held a summit in the Equatorial Guinea's capital, Malabo in 2002 where the Heads of State and Government of Member States defined four main priority fields for the Community as follows:

- To develop capacities to maintain peace, security and stability, which are essential prerequisites for economic and social development;
- To develop physical, economic and monetary integration;
- To develop a culture of human integration; and
- To establish an autonomous financing mechanism for ECCAS

(Summit Report: 1998)

In addition to its traditional role of regional co-operation and integration, the ECCAS pursues the promotion of peace and stability in central Africa, and support the electoral process in the member states. The ECCAS activates this role through its organ designated to provide the platform for a joint action which is the Centre for Peace and Security (COPAX). Despite the existence of COPAX, some member states of the Community, including Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and the Central African Republic, are still enmeshed in armed conflicts that have resulted in destruction of lives. The conflicts have also led to refugee crisis in the region and beyond, (Cosme and Fiacre: 2001).

The challenges facing the organisation in terms of its role in the Community are highlighted shortly below.

3.3.1 ECCAS Structure and Decision-Making Procedures

The ECCAS has six organs through which its activities are carried out. They comprise the following:

The Conference of Heads of State – This represents the supreme authority of the organisation. It gathers once a year the Member States' political leaders who are the sitting Presidents of Member States. This Forum formulates the overall policy of the Community and defines major policy orientations. It monitors the implementation of Community decisions and regulations by every Member State.

The Council of Ministers – This Council is composed of the Member States' Ministers responsible for economic development matters. The Council meets twice a year in regular session, and responsible for the functioning and development of the Community and make recommendations to the Conference in view of the overall achievement of the Community's aims. It guides the activities of the other ECCAS institutions, notably the Secretariat and the technical and specialised committees.

The Consultative Commission – The Council is advised by the Consultative Commission, comprising experts appointed by the member States. Its major duty is to review questions and projects submitted by other ECCAS institutions and to advise the Council in performing its duties. It is empowered to create specialised committees if this recommended by the Council of Ministers.

The Executive Secretariat – The central administrative organ is the Executive Secretariat, based in the Gabonese capital of Libreville. It is responsible for the execution of decisions and directives adopted by the Conference and the regulations issued by the Council of Ministers. The Secretariat is headed by the Secretary General, and is assisted by three deputies, a financial controller, an accountant and the secretariat's staff. The Secretary General oversees the institution's three departments namely human, peace, security and stability integration covering physical, economic and monetary integration, budget, administration and human resources issues.

The Community Court of Justice

According to Article 16 of the Treaty of the organisation, the main function of this court of Justice shall be to ensure the respect of the Community's legal documents and give advice in questions of law interpretation, as well as default or delay by a

Member State. However, the Court is yet to be operational as Member States are delaying to ratify relevant protocols for its take off.

The Council for Peace and Security in Central Africa

The Centre for Peace and Security in Central Africa (COPAX) is the central body for the promotion, maintenance and consolidation of peace and security in the area covered by the ECCAS. It has three key technical organs namely – The Commission for Peace and Security (CPS), which gathers the member States' Chiefs of Staff and Commanders-in-chief of Police and Gendarmerie Forces. It advises the Conference of Heads of State on security and defence issues as well as on the organisation of joint military operations if needed; The Central African Early-Warning-System (MARAC) as designed collects and analyses data for the early detection and prevention of crises; and finally, the Central African Multinational Force (FOMAC) which is designed to be a peace support operations, composes of Contingents provided by Member States to carry out regional peace operations.

Whether the organisation has been able to actualise its aspirations with regard to these prioritised objectives remains to be seen, as some member states such as the Central African Republic and the DRC are still engulfed in intra-country conflicts characterised by religious and ethnic violence.

3.3.2 Challenges facing ECCAS

Before 1992, the ECCAS's efforts to achieve a wider trade area were hampered by a myriad of socio-political crises that continued to destabilise the Central African region (UNESCO-ISS: 2001). For example, seven Member States of the organisation –Angola, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Chad, the Congo Brazzaville, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Rwanda- were confronted with crises, and some of the countries are still grappling with armed conflicts, accompanied by huge loss of human lives and massive destruction of infrastructures.

This situation has led to increased influx of refugees into neighbouring countries as a result of forced displacement. As of the time of this research, the Central African Republic and the DRC are still enmeshed in destructive armed conflict with

ethnic/religious undertones. The crises in these affected countries have brought untold hardship to their respective citizens in addition to causing large scale refugee challenge to neighbouring states. Unfortunately, the intervention by the international community at the level of the African Union Peace and Security and the United Nations Security Council channels has yet to guarantee a lasting peace.

Below is a map showing the geography of ECCAS States

Fig 2 (Map of ECCAS in the highlighted area)

ECCAS Member States

Source   -   http://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/eccas-economic-community-central-african-states-0
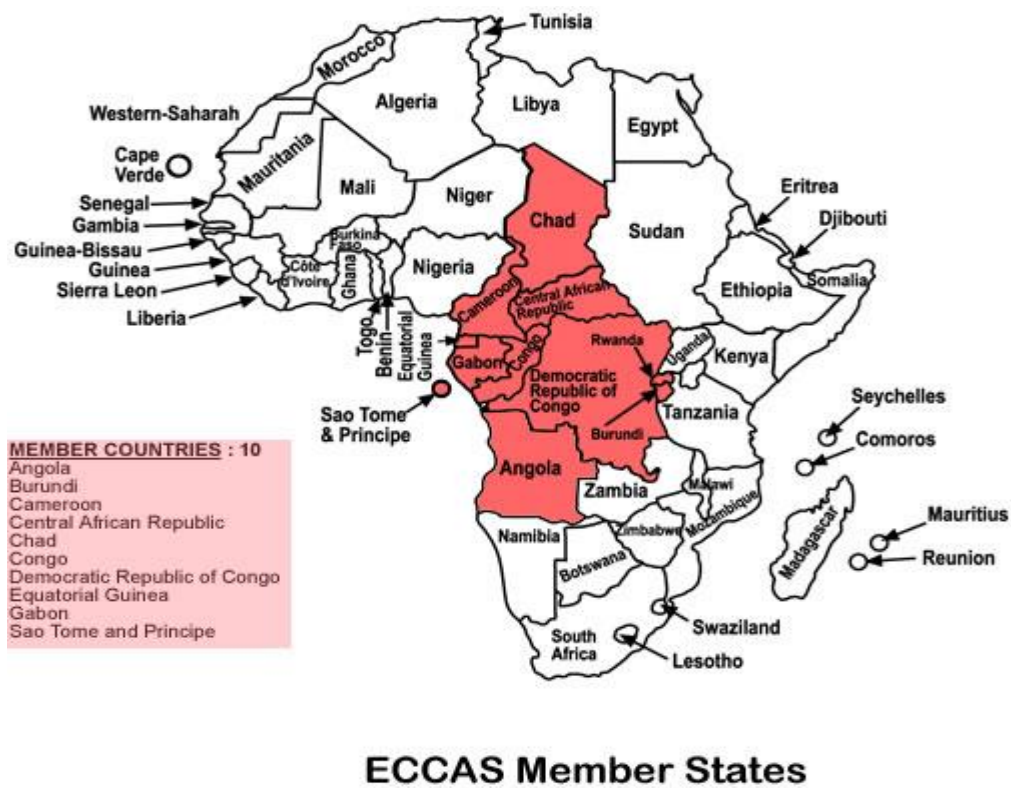
3.3.3   ECCAS Success story and Contribution to Integration in Central Africa

The ECCAS, like every other sub-regional organisation in Africa may have recorded some milestones in its efforts to execute it conceived and adopted objectives as highlighted previously in this study.

The organisation, at its inception, was able to facilitate the realisation of several infrastructure and construction projects among member States in the area of Transport and Communication linkages. ECCAS has also come a long way to strengthen trade among its Member States, made possible by the harmonisation of Customs and Monetary Union Policies.

At the political level, the ECCAS has been able to encourage regular meetings of Member States by their Heads of Government. The importance of the organisation came to the fore when Rwanda, which had pulled out as a result of its internal crisis in 1994, has recently re-joined the ECCAS, (Gassesse: 2014).

Some scholars, including Aluko (1981)., Ojo (1980) have also alluded to the shared common heritage and traditional historical bonds of its members of the Community, especially its French-speaking member countries, as promoting and facilitating the organisation's collaborative endeavours. Member countries tend to grapple with internal and domestic demands rather than showing fervent commitment to the issues of cooperation within the Community in particular, and integration of the continent in general.

3.4   The East African Community (EAC) in Perspective

The EAC, initially consisting of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania (later comprising Rwanda and Burundi) was officially re-established in 2000 after a series of previous attempts and dissolutions. It is an intergovernmental organisation that aims to strengthen the economic, social and political integration among its five member states. In broad terms, the organisation aspires to create a large economic area to attract both foreign and domestic investors, increase economies of scale, enhance efficiency due to greater competiveness and ultimately reduce poverty in the region.

Article 5(2) of the EAC Treaty (1999) states as follows –

> *"The Partner States undertake to establish among themselves and*
> *in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty, a Customs Union,*
> *a Common Market, subsequently. a Monetary Union and ultimately*
> *a Political Federation in order to strengthen and regulate the*

industrial, commercial, infrastructural, cultural, social, political and other relations of the Partner States to the end that there shall be accelerated, harmonious and balanced development and sustained expansion of economic activities, the benefit of which shall be equitably shared".

There had been a cooperation arrangement among Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania from the early 20th century. This was characterised by multiple regional integration platforms such as Customs Union between Kenya and Uganda in 1917 (Tanzania joined in 1927), and this development subsequently provided the basis for the establishment of the EAC in 1967. However, due to ideological and economic differences, the trading union dissolved in 1977. In 1984, when the Member States signed a mediation agreement for division of assets and liabilities, the seed of future cooperation was sown. This eventually resulted in the signing of the agreement to establish the Tripartite Commission for East African Cooperation in 1973, and finally led to the re-establishment of the EAC in 2000 as indicated earlier.

Article 5 of the EAC Treaty encapsulates the objectives of the organisation as follows:

> *"to develop policies and programmes aimed at widening and deepening co-operation among the Partner States in political, economic, social and cultural fields, research and technology, defence, security and legal and judicial affairs, for their mutual benefits" (EAC Treaty : 1999)*

The extent to which the EAC has pursued the above stated set of objectives is reflected in a section titled successes and contributions towards integration in Africa below.

3.4.1 Institutional Structure of the EAC

According to Reith and Boltz (2011), the autonomy of regional organisation is gauged primarily by the independence of their institutions and the corresponding freedom from national states influence.

In the case of the EAC, these institutions are named in article of the Treaty, and their respective functions clearly outlined as follows –

The Summit - a forum where the Heads of State of Member States meet and give general direction. Decisions are taken by consensus. However, the Head of State of a member country can oppose and consequently block almost all the EAC activities.

The Council of Ministers – consists of Ministers responsible for regional integration in the Five-member states. Its main task is to support and to monitor the implementation of Council decisions in the national context. The Council statutorily prepares draft legislation for the legislative Assembly.

The Coordinating Committee – Responsible for considering Sectoral Committee's reports, and submitting same from time to time to the Council either on its own initiative or upon the request of the Council, on the implementation of the decisions of the Community.

The Sectoral Committee – Responsible for the Preparation of a Comprehensive Implementation Programme and the setting out of priorities with respect to its sectors. Submitting such reports, from time to time, to the Co-ordination Committee concerning the implementation of the provisions of the Treaty that affect the overall sectors.

The East African Court of Justice – This supervises the application of the Treaty and compliance with it.

The Secretariat – plans and supports all the EAC's programmes and undertakes administrative tasks. The Secretariat also commissions studies and monitors implementation of the agreed regulations in the Member States, (EAC Treaty: 1999)

3.4.2 Challenges facing the EAC

The EAC is not immune to challenges, whose root is not unconnected with the desire of territorial states to jealously guard their sovereignty.

One major challenge in this context has to do with the poor coordination and harmonisation of economic policies as formulated by the organisation. A clear example is the botched negotiations between the European Union (EU) and the EAC on an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA). It is reported that the member states

of EAC initially conducted negotiations on the EPA in separate groups. Tanzania – a member of EAC, negotiated as a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). This confirms the contention by scholars of double loyalty against members of regional groupings in Africa. Under pressure from the EU after it became clear that the negotiation was doomed, there was a sudden consensus by EAC member countries to transfer their allegiance to the organisation. Because this development was coming late, and hurriedly done, the negotiation did not favour the EAC (Reith and Boltz: 2011).

Another challenge against the EAC is the absence of a supranational authority to enforce compliance with protocols adopted by member states on issues common interest, (Bachmann and Sidaway: 2010). While the national interest of states is of importance, and also of its inalienable sovereign right, the absence of a federated counterweight will ensure that resources for the integrating states are not appropriately distributed. In this context, the EAC has in the past has particular problems implementing agreed decisions normally. This is reflected in situations such as halting implementation of the Customs Union and the Common Market.

For example, non-tariff barriers and unequal national legislation (laws) among member states of the organisation with respect to trading relationship continued to exist and seemed impossible to dismantle. This challenge is indeed an impediment to the desire for speedy integration aspirations of the EAC as with their counterparts in other regions on the African continent.

Furthermore, lack of cohesion between and among the governments of the integrating states within the EAC and their respective Civil Societies has also been identified as a weakness of the organisation. As noted by (Reith and Boltz: 2011), inadequate involvement of civil society indeed has serious consequences for the legitimacy of the Community in the estimation of their populace. For the EAC, the lack of opportunities for participation, absence of transparency and poor accountability on the part of the governments of the integrating states tended to threaten and undermine the expected support required for a cohesive community.

The map below shows the EAC states (highlighted area)

Fig. 3 (Map of the EAC)

EAC Member States

Source - http://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/eac-east-african-community-0
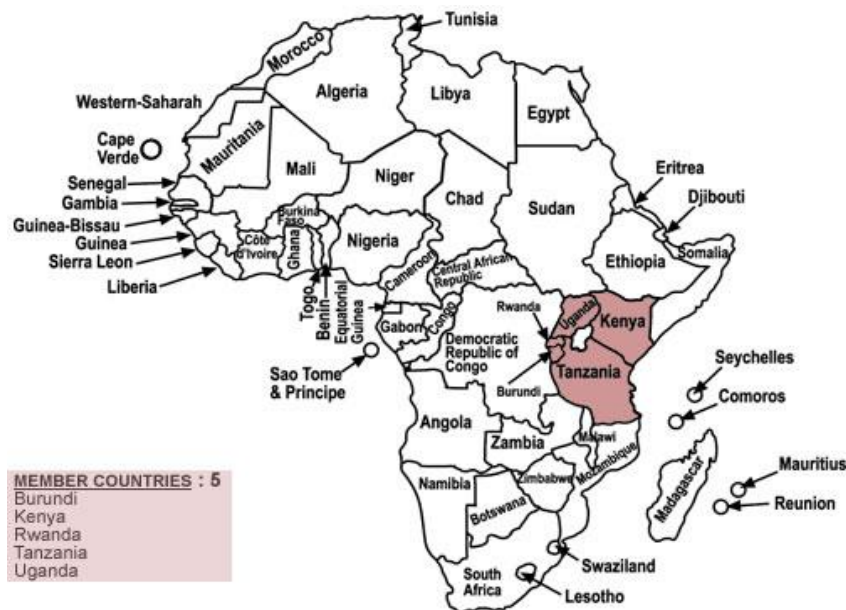
Reith and Boltz (2001) submit that the EAC is strong on paper, but weak in the implementation of its decisions. Both scholars contend that the EAC runs the risk of disappointing the people of the region, since it has ambitious plans but little to show for it in terms of beneficial outcomes.

The EAC can be applauded for being a pioneer in the efforts towards integration in Africa. The first move involving cooperation between states were made in 1919 comprising Kenya, Uganda and Tangayika (before its merger with Zanzibar to become to become Tanzania), (Michael, 2015). Thus, the first EAC was formed in 1967, but collapsed in 1977 as a result of irreconcilable differences among the leaders of the then member states. Steps were taken to towards establishing a more vibrant Community, and this led to the signing of a new Treaty in 1999 by Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. To avoid a repeat of the mistakes which led to the collapse of the first EAC, Davoodi (2012) reveals that the leaders of the integrating countries resolved to

improve management of cooperation by setting up permanent institutions. The leaders also resolved to pay greater attention to a fair distribution of the benefits of cooperation and subsequent integration efforts.

According to Makame (2012), one notable achievement associated with the EAC is the strides taken by Member States to have a Common Union Protocol in force and operational. The realisation of a large regional economic bloc encompassing Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda bears great strategic and geopolitical significance and prospect of a renewed and reinvigorated East African Community.

This development made the organisation attractive to other countries such as Rwanda and Burundi which acceded to the Treaty in 2006 to formalise their membership of EAC. The two countries became full-fledged members in 2007. Besides, EAC has since attracted global recognition such that representatives from various countries and international organisations are seeking to engage with it to be members and for cooperative endeavours.

Additionally, the EAC has brought about increased volume of inter-regional trade and consequently, attracted Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to the region. This has been facilitated by the harmonisation of trade and business policies of member countries leading to mutual recognition of standards and frameworks across the region. In this instance, the EAC Council of Ministers has reportedly approved the EAC Customs Valuation Manual, a document which provides guidelines on how to implement and uniformly interpret EAC Customs Valuation Provisions within the Community.

The regional integration process at the level of the EAC is viewed as a positive landmark in the efforts to integrate the member countries in the pursuit of its stated purposes. This positive disposition on the part of leaders of the community is boosted by the encouraging progress of the East African Custom union and the establishment in 2010 of the Common market. The subsequent negotiation for the East African Monetary Union which commenced in 2011 and fast-tracking the process towards East African Federation tends to underscore the determination of the East African leadership and citizens to construct a strong and sustainable East African Economic and political bloc.

Other success indicators of the EAC include, harmonisation of standards of goods produced in East Africa; reduction of national trade barriers, implementation of preferential tariff discount and free movement of stocks. The EAC can be applauded for being a pioneer Community in the efforts towards integration in Africa. The first move in this context, was made in 1919, involving Kenya, Uganda and Tangayika (before merging with Zanzibar to become Tanzania in 1964), see (KAS Report: 2001). The first EAC was formed in 1967, but collapsed in 1977 as a result of irreconciliable differences among its leader Reith and Moltz (2001). Following this, fresh attempt were taken towards establishing a more vibrant Community, and this led to the signing of a new Treaty in 1999 by Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. To avoid a repeat of the mistakes which led to the collapse of the first EAC, the new Community leaders resolved to improve management of cooperation by setting up permanent institutions. The leaders also resolved to pay greater attention to a fair distribution of the benefits of cooperation and integration. However, (Reith and Moltz : 2001), and (Davoodi: 2012) submit that the EAC is strong on paper, but weak in the implementation of its decisions. The scholars contend that the EAC runs the risk of disappointing the people of the region, for having ambitious plans but little to show in terms of beneficial outcomes.

The EAC countries have also undertaken a harmonisation of immigration rules and laws involving issuance of temporary travel documents to facilitate travel within the region by their citizens. This involves operationalization of the EAST African passport which grants a holder a six-month multiple entry visa in the region.

At the level of political and security matters, the EAC countries have continued to engage in joint military exercises for the purposes of intelligence gathering and coordination of peace and defence issues. They also engage in joint patrols and surveillance to combat cross-border crimes.

3.5   The Arab Maghreb Union (AMU)

The Arab Maghreb Union, like every other regional organisation, did not emerge smoothly. It was a culmination of several attempts and efforts by three of its founding members, viz Algeria, Morroco and Tunisia.

According to Messaoudi (1994), the Maghreb countries search for integration were under abnormal conditions which are, a period under colonial rule and a period of transition following independence. After independence, each of the countries had to contend with the challenges of nation building if only to safeguard their newly won statehood. As colonial entities, the three countries were not allowed to engage in any form of association or collaboration.

In the 1920s, a group of North African students in Paris formed the Maghreb Association, and this provided a stimulant to North African unity resulting into preliminary discussions and meetings that took place in a Maghreb bureau established in Cairo. Since the meetings were held before the countries became independent, the North African societies were represented by various movements. The Maghreb bureau was sustained and subsidised by the Arab league.

Economic Commission for Africa (1964) reports indicated that in 1964, the three Maghreb states began to realize that the post-independence task of building viable national economies was constrained by narrow markets, low domestic savings, competing exports, and inadequate skills and resources. This consciousness manifested in the readiness and willingness of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco to sign a multinational agreement committing them to cooperate and harmonize their economic activities.

As noted by Abderrahmen (1973), the pursuit towards integration by the countries was marred by complex technical, economic and political issues. For instance, the lack of political will on the part of the respective governments in the face of a choice between two logical contradictions (sovereignty and integration) became a hindrance. The governments were divided on whether to continue to protect their sovereignty or the integration of the region. However, these challenges did not deter the North African countries from their commitment to a viable integration arrangement in the region. Further intense discussions among the countries resulted into the signing of the Treaty and the AMU emerged.

The Treaty establishing the Arab Maghreb Union, Article 1 (AMU Treaty: 1989), states that by virtue of the Treaty, a Union called the Arab Maghreb Union shall be

established. Consequently, AMU was founded in February 1989 when the Constitutive Treaty of the Union was signed by five Heads of state in Marrakesh. At the signing of the treaty, the Member States agreed to coordinate, harmonise and rationalise their policies and strategies for sustainable development in all sectors of human activities.

By Article 2, AMU Treaty (1989), the Union aims to –

- Reinforce the bonds of fraternity binding the Member States and their peoples;
- Realise progress and prosperity for the Member States and defend their rights;
- Contribute to the maintenance of peace based on justice and equity;
- Pursue a common policy in different domains; and
- Work for the progressive realisation of the free movement of persons, services, goods and capital.

3.5.1 The Organs of the AMU

- The Presidential Council
- The Consultative Council
- The Secretariat
- The Monitoring Committee
- The Meeting of the Prime Ministers
- The Council of Foreign Ministers
- The Ministerial Specialised Commission
- The Judicial Organ
- The University of Maghreb
- The Bank for Investment and Foreign Trade

3.5.2 Challenges facing the AMU

Integration of the Maghreb region into the global economy has been slow. Of particular concern is the stagnation in the region's share of the global non-oil exports which is an indication of missed opportunities for diversification and growth.

As noted by Rouis and Kounetsron (2010), trading relationship in the AMU has suffered as a result of high tariff structures. In the opinion of Hufbauer and Brunel (2008), the level of applied tariffs in the Maghreb countries is almost double the world average. For example, the Most Favoured Nations (MFN) tariffs are 19 percent in Algeria, and over 20 percent in Tunisia and Morocco. The implication of this is that firms had incentive to produce import-competing goods, and that high duties on imported inputs lower the competitiveness of products exported from the region. This accounts for low level of revenue accruable to the region.

Aside this, integration efforts in the Maghreb are hindered by inefficient trade facilitation processes and procedures, undeveloped transport infrastructure and inadequate provision of logistics services. Maghreb countries still lack a well-defined environment for transit and cross-border movement of trucks, such that international railway services have not operated between Morocco and Algeria, except for a minimum degree between Algeria and Tunisia. This lack of adequate infrastructure constitutes a serious concern for investors and ultimately impede integration aspirations.

Furthermore, the AMU is also faced with the challenge of lack of political commitment to inter-regional integration among the integrating states as against each Maghreb country's individual trade ties with the outside world, especially the European Countries (EC). It is a generally held view that inter-regional integration with the EC could serve as a trigger for sub-regional integration within the Maghreb region.

However, it is more productive to prioritise needed improvements towards creating an enabling environment for deeper integrative activities among the AMU Member States (World Bank: 2010).

Below is the map of AMU/UMA States (highlighted area)

Fig. 4, AMU/UMA

UMA Member States

Source - http://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/uma-arab-maghreb-union-0
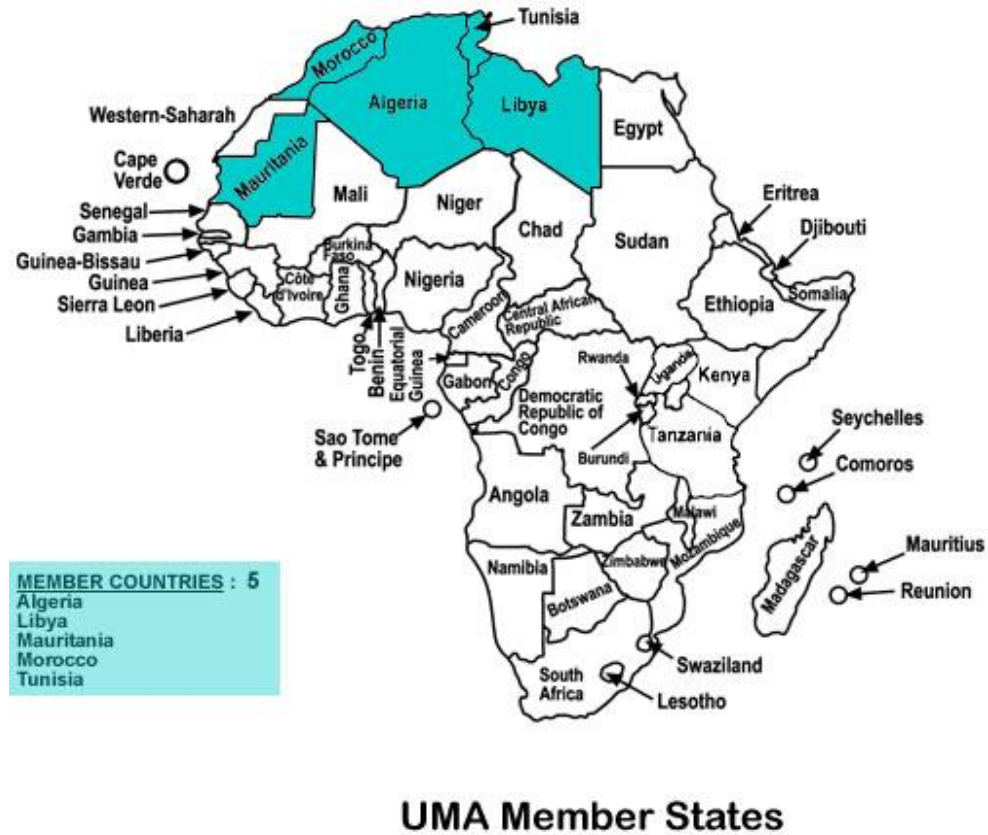
In the view of Basar (2013), the AMU stands the risk of not reaching its full potential as long as the long standing quarrels amongst its member countries remain unresolved. The relations between Algeria and Morocco have been tainted by the claim over Western Sahara. The conflict over this land has upset the political systems of Morocco, Algeria and Mauritania. The emergent crisis from the struggle over the territory on account if its deposits of a variety of natural resources has attracted the attention of scholars and public commentators. For instance, John (1983) contends that the Western Sahara is not only a struggle between Morocco and the Polisario- a movement that led to the establishment of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic-, it is part of a wider struggle for dominance in the Maghreb region between Morocco

and Algeria. The implication is that as long as the issue of sovereignty of Western Sahara remains resolved, the spectre of animosity within the AMU will be recurring decimal, with no hope of abating.

Other challenges facing the region include political and security crises, religious extremism, high unemployment rates in the midst of rapidly growing young population which resulted in the Arab Spring of 2011. The consequences still constitute serious threats to peace and stability in the region till date and may not permit any form of integrative arrangement in a short time.

3.5.3 Achievements of AMU and Contributions to Regional Integration in North Africa

The region has been able to make some contributions to support the integration of the Arab world (in particular) into the global economy, even though at different degrees in each of the integrating states.

One manifestation of this is in the abolition of intra-regional tariffs under the Pan-Arab Free Trade Area (PAFTA), and the adoption- though limited in implementation, of low common tariffs which have triggered integrative efforts among Member States of the organisation. Closely related to this is that the Maghreb countries have also had improvements in the context of their financial systems. This is attributed to the reforms undertaken by the Member States of the Union by which each of the countries has been lifting restrictions in cross-border capital flows. And this is being complemented by the ease of foreign ownership of capital investment. For example, Tunisia aims to achieve full capital convertibility with a freely floating exchange rate while Morocco is transiting to a flexible exchange rate.

There is also the increasing interest of the region towards financial integration. For example, the creation of a regional bank, the Maghreb Bank for Investment and Foreign Trade (MBIFT) was achieved following the signing of the enabling agreement in 1990, in line with the AMU Treaty (1989). Furthermore, the AMU countries have made progress on investing in, and reforming infrastructure and cross-border trade institutions. This has been possible through the intervention by the World Bank in carrying out a study on cross-border trade facilitation and infrastructure in

the region. And is aimed at assisting member states to develop an action plan for the proposed project.

On infrastructure, there have been linking road networks between Algeria and Morocco; railway links and standardisation between Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. However, challenges that exist in this sector relate to issues of standardisation and harmonisation of procedures and institutional capacity building such as training and information sharing.

An issue of concern to the AMU is the seemingly irresolvable struggle for self-determination by the Polisario movement, on which Morocco is not ready for a compromise. This might affect the speed to achieve full integration within the Community for as long as the issue remains unaddressed.

3.6   South African Development Community (SADC)

In 1992, Heads of Government of the region agreed to transform the South African Coordinating Conference (SADCC) into the South African Development Community. The SADCC had been formed in 1980 in Lusaka, Zambia to advance the cause of national political liberation in Southern Africa, and to reduce dependence particularly on the then apartheid era in South Africa, through effective coordination and utilization of the specific characteristics and strength of each country and its resources. (SADC Declaration: 1992).

In order to address national priorities through regional action, most member states had been allocated the responsibility of coordinating one or more sectors. This involved proposing sector policies, strategies and priorities, and processing projects for inclusion in the sectoral programme, monitoring progress and reporting to the Council of Ministers within the SADCC.

In furtherance of the transformation agenda, the SADC Treaty was signed to replace the SADCC in 1992 in Namibia to pursue the following objectives as outlined in Article 5 of the Treaty, they are:

Achieve development and economic growth; alleviate poverty; enhance the standard and quality of life of the people of southern Africa and support the society

disadvantaged, through regional integration; evolve common political values, system and institutions; and consolidate the long standing historical, social and cultural affinities and links among the people of the region.

By the aforementioned objectives, the SADC aims to create a Community providing for regional peace and security, and an integrated regional economy. As a regional institution, it commits to lay a basis on which regional planning and development in Southern Africa could be pursued. It also provides the instrument by means of which member states should move along towards eventual integration.

3.6.1. Institutional Structure (as inherited from SADCC)

The SADC inherited the following organs from the SADCC: –

- The Summit of Heads of State or Government
- The Council of Ministers
- The Commissions
- The Secretariat
- The Sectoral Committees of Officials
- The Tribunal, (Article 9 of SADC Treaty: 1992)

The foregoing structure depicted SADC as a loose association without a firm authority to enforce decisions on member states, and this was identified as a major impediment to its aspiration towards a regional community. In a SADC Report (2005), while it is acknowledged that SADC has recorded some remarkable achievements, difficulties and constraints were also encountered. The Report noted that, in order to address these constraints, SADC embarked on the restructuring of its institutions with a major objective to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of its policies and programmes. This step was considered to be capable of facilitating the implementation of a more coherent and better coordinated strategy to eliminate poverty in the region among other issues.

The result of the restructuring was the emergence of a new structure highlighted as follows –

Summit – This consist of Heads of State of Member states. It is the supreme policy making organ of SADC. It is responsible for the overall policy direction and control of functions of the organisation.

The Troika – This is a system that consists of the Chair, Incoming Chair and the Outgoing Chair. It enables the organisation to execute tasks expeditiously and provide policy direction to SADC institutions in the period between regular SADC meetings. The Troika system operates at the level of the Summit, the Organ on politics, Defence and security, Council and the Standing Committee of officials.

Council of Ministers – This consists of Ministers from each Member State, usually from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Economic Development, Planning or Finance. The council is responsible for overseeing the functioning and development of SADC and ensuring that policies are properly implemented.

Secretariat – this is the principal executive institutions of SADC which is responsible for strategic planning, coordination and management of SADC programmes. It is headed by an Executive Secretary.

Integrated Committee of Ministers – this is a new institution aimed at ensuring proper guidance, coordination and harmonisation of cross-sectoral activities. This reports to the Council of Ministers.

Standing Committee of Officials – this Committee consists of one Permanent/Principal Secretary or an official of equivalent rank from a SADC national Contact point of each Member State. It is a technical advisory committee to Council, and plays the role of a clearing house for all documents to be submitted to Council for consideration.

Tribunal – this Tribunal ensures adherence to, and proper interpretation of the provisions of the organisation's Treaty and subsidiary instruments, and adjudicates upon disputes referred to it.

SADC National Committees – this organ reports to the Secretariat and not necessarily a substantive organ. These Committees are made up of key stakeholders from government, private sector and civil society in Member States. Their main

function is to provide inputs at the national level into the formulation of regional policies, strategies, the SADC Programme of Action (SPA) as well as to coordinate and oversee the implementation of these programmes at the national level.

With the above institutional structure in place, SADC, like other regional communities considered in this study, is expected to set for action in pursuit of its stated objectives. However, SADC is confronted with an array of challenges which are discussed below.

3.6.2 Challenges facing the SADC

In the SADC annual report (2012-2013 edition), the organisation faces a myriad of social, development, economic, health, diplomatic, defence, security and political challenges. The report acknowledged that some of these problems cannot be tackled effectively by individual members as the challenges vary in intensity from one member country to another. In the area of politics, the organisation is continually under pressure when any of its member country is enmeshed in intra-national political crisis. For example, Lesotho, a member country recently witnessed was regarded as phantom coup that literally brought government to a standstill. A quick intervention by South Africa, operating under the platform of SADC Treaty rescued the country from what could have resulted in a destabilisation of the ruling government with possible reverberations in neighbouring states. Similarly, the Zimbabwe election in 2013, which presented the likelihood of a national crisis as a result of internal dissention, was managed by the commitment of SADC countries to ensure compliance with the protocol on democratic governance in the country.

Besides, SADC has been fundamentally threatened by its financial incapability to execute several of its stated goals. This has been attributed to the delays in the release of funds by Member States through their statutory obligations on one hand, and their International Cooperating Partners on the other. This bears testimony the fact that apart from members' inability to perform their financial obligations, they are more concerned with their individual national demands. In one way or the other, the pervasive economic recession also continues to adversely affect initiatives at the Secretariat of the organisation, and member countries especially in the delivery of

services. As a result of this, implementation of their activities has been hampered in a great deal.

Furthermore, the report on food, agriculture and natural resources has shown that the region still experiences some deficit, and consequently food insecurity, despite claims of significant achievements in maize production by Member States. The report also noted that the challenge of food insecurity seemed to have been heightened by the ever increasing world prices of food items such as rice, wheat, sorghum, livestock and fisheries, and for which they have no control.

More significantly is the challenge which relates to the underdeveloped industrial structure of the region. The implication of this is that Member States are not able to control the supply side in the trading of basically agricultural production. This challenge does not allow the region to realise the benefit of liberalisation and integration. Related to this, is a weak regional cross-border infrastructure in the transport, communications, energy, and water sectors.

In the water sector, it is noteworthy that several member countries of SADC are landlocked, and do not access to the rest of the world through the coastal ways. In most cases, the affected countries seem to be eternally dependent on South Africa, also a member country, and hence could make such countries vulnerable in a situation of political and diplomatic row.

3.6.3 Achievements of SADC and Contributions to Regional Integration in Southern Africa

In a publication by SADC (2005), which was put together to commemorate the organisation's twenty five (25) years of regional cooperation, the following achievements were highlighted. The report however noted that when considering the magnitude of the tasks SADC set for itself, it is a shared view among Member States of the organisation that regional integration is at best of times a complex and difficult process. Nonetheless, SADC has endeavoured to create a dynamism which has resulted in a regional identity.

Below is the map of the SADC States (highlighted area)

Fig. 5, SADC

SADC Member States

Source-http://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/sadc-southern-african-development-community-0
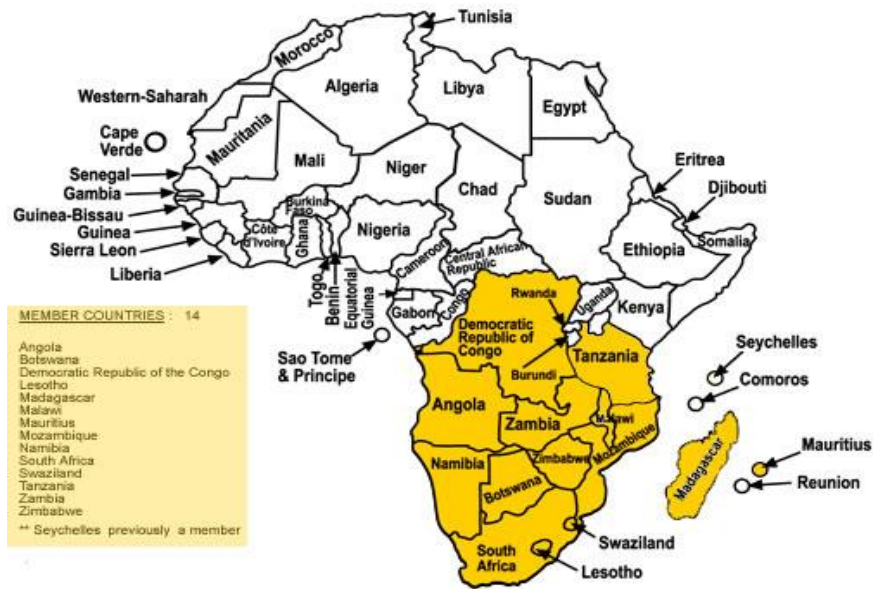
On the economic front, the SADC region has made significant progress in terms of policy harmonisation. For example, in 1980, SADC countries had varying and disparate socio-economic policies but following the transformation from SADCC to SADC, the region now believes in market-oriented economic policies and has through the organisation come up with a harmonised policy direction. In this context, it is remarkable to note that most SADC Members States have liberalised their economies, brought down budget deficit, liberalised exchange controls and considerably improved overall macro-economic fundamentals.

Whether all these efforts have significantly impacted the lives of the peoples of Member States as envisaged in the various treaties and protocols of the Communities, remains to be seen. However, such concern is not within the contemplation of this study, and may not attempt to make a categorical position on it.

3.7   Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as Building blocks for Continental Integration

3.7.1   Philosophical Underpinings of RECs

The role of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as indicated in the each of the sub-regional groupings overviewed in the foregoing, is in line with the mission of the African Union Commission (AUC) which states as follows –

"An efficient and value-adding institution driving the African integration and development process in close collaboration with African Union Member States, the Regional Economic Communities and African citizens." (AUC Website).

Viewed closely and in reality, the RECs represent the frameworks through which African countries formulate, articulate and operationalize agreed policies aimed at achieving their stated objectives and goals. A point of intersection between the AUC and RECs is basically a form of coordination. The intersection between the RECs and AU is guided by the 2008 Protocol on Relations between the RECs and the AU, and this is line with the Abuja Treaty (1991) which proposed the creation of RECs as the basis for wider African integration, with a view to regional and eventual continental integration

As noted in chapter three of the study, the RECs are closely integrated with the AU's work and serve as its building blocks.

While the RECs activities are limited to the respective regions, the AUC engages with the RECs with the view to promoting the harmonisation of their operations towards meeting the continental aspirations of political and economic integration.

In a United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) online publication, it is indicated that Africa's current integration landscape contains an array of regional Economic Communities, including eight (8) considered to be the building blocks of the African Economic Community (AEC). The eight RECs include the following in alphabetical order –

AMU/UMA   -   Arab Maghreb Union;

CEN-SAD   -   The Community of Sahel-Saharan States

COMESA   -   Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

EAC   -   East African Community

ECCAS/CEEAC-   Economic Community of Central African States

ECOWAS   -   Economic Community of West African States

IGAD   -   Inter-Governmental Authority on Development

SADC   -   South African Development Community

Below is a geographic distribution of the eight RECs in colours

Fig. 6 – Map of the eight RECs

Source - UNECA online, http://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/regional-economic-communities
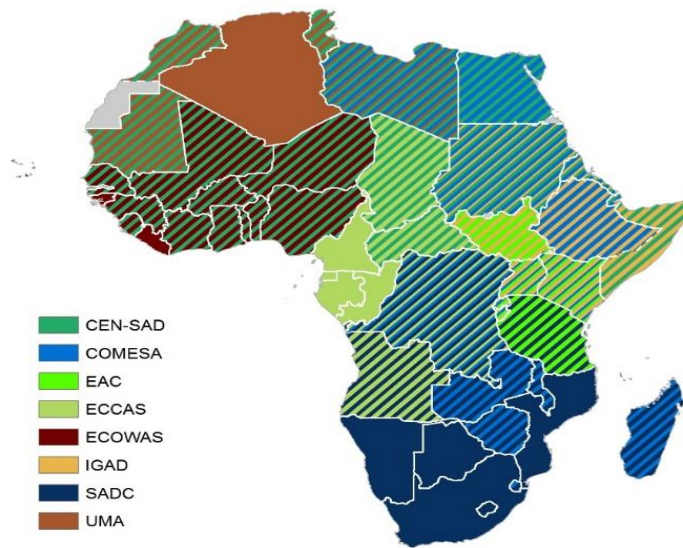
For this study, ECOWAS, ECCAS, EAC, AMU and SADC have been selected for interrogation because each represents a region among the five regions in Africa, and are all community-based, as against the others that are inter-sub-regional in structure, i.e cutting across regions, thus creating the challenge of overlapping membership which itself constitutes a challenge to the integration agenda of the AU.

The UNECA online publication described as Observatory on Regional Integration in Africa (ORIA) represents a central source of information on Africa's regional integration processes. This includes progress achieved and challenges across the various RECs. The publication further aims to promote sharing of best practices and experiences among the RECs in order to improve upon implementation of treaties and protocols.

As noted by Ndomo (2009), regional integration in the context of globalisation is an imperative for Africa in terms of enhanced competitiveness in global business/trading relationships, prevention of conflicts and consolidation of economic and political reforms. Besides, regional integration has been regarded as a possible panacea for the continent's political, economic and governance problems.

Similarly, UNECA (2004), in a report, submits that a revitalized regional integration, proceeding from RECs as a platform, offers the most credible strategy for tackling Africa's development challenges, because of the many weaknesses that overwhelm the limited capacities and resources of individual countries. It is argued that collective efforts with dynamic political commitment to integration can help to overcome the daunting challenges facing African countries. In the efforts to operationalize this aspiration, the UNECA Report disclosed that the then Organisation of African Unity (OAU) now African Union (AU) in collaboration with the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) drafted the Lagos Plan of Action which aimed at establishing the African Economic Community. This was followed by the Abuja Treaty signed in 1991, but came into force in 1994.

In one of its resolutions, the Council of Ministers of the OAU (1976), now AU, divided the continent into five (5) regional areas, viz North Africa, South Africa, East Africa and Central Africa in preparation for establishing the AEC in six phases over

thirty (34) years (1994-2028). This informs the selection of the five RECs for examination in this study.

Even though, Communities like ECOWAS (1975) and AMU (1989) among others, had been in existence before the geographical division of the African countries into regions, the statutory intervention of the AU through the Abuja Treaty which recognised the RECs provided an impetus for speeding up of the integration efforts in Africa.

The Abuja Treaty establishing the AEC under Article 28 (1991) states as follows –

> *"Strengthening of Regional Economic Communities – during the first stage, Member States undertake to strengthen the existing regional economic communities and to establish new communities where they do not exist in order to ensure the gradual establishment of the Community; Member States shall take all necessary measures aimed at progressively promoting increasingly close cooperation among the communities, particularly through coordination and harmonisation of their activities in all fields or sectors in order to ensure the realisation of the objectives of the Community"*

And under Article 4, the objective (d) of the Treaty states thus –

> "*to coordinate and harmonise policies among existing and future economic communities in order to foster the gradual establishment of the Community*" (ECOWAS Treaty: 1975).

As part of the focus of the Observatory Publication in promoting the sharing of best practices by the RECs, it concentrates on the analysis of what it regards as the four (4) pillars and tenets that invariably serve as basis for regional integration in Africa. These include, among others – Harmonisation of Sectoral Policies – in Infrastructure, Natural Resources, Climate, Food and Agriculture; Macroeconomic Policy Convergence, Financial and Monetary Integration; Peace, Security, Stability and Governance; and Trade and Market integration

3.7.2 RECs as channels for Continental Integration

While it is arguable that not all the Treaties and protocols of every REC cover all sectors explicitly or thoroughly, the operations within the RECs have tended to reflect the spirit of the four pillars highlighted in the foregoing. In specific terms, the pillars (tenets) operationally seem to cover areas such as Trade, Capital and Finance, Transport and Communications, Energy, Agriculture, Manufacturing, Human Development, and related sectors.

On the role of the RECs in facilitating continent-wide integration, Maruping (2005) notes that various regional arrangements on policy coordination, cooperation and integration have been initiated, re-invigorated or re-aligned to continental aspiration on integration by the RECs, particularly the five (5) bodies under consideration in this study.

In a study by the World Bank Group (2013), it is acknowledged that Africa's economic and political geography poses many challenges to economic development and the management of shared public goods. Resulting from this situation is the strongly held view that political borders are often not aligned with economic and natural resources and the fact that many African countries are landlocked, implying absence of coastal ways, thus making water transport impossible. Arising therefrom is the consciousness of the need for increased collaborative actions through integration approaches to achieve their developmental goals.

It is believed that when countries integrate their both human and natural resources, they stand to reap certain benefits which would not have been possible by individual country. These benefits include among others – economies of scale or other efficiencies by acting collectively in the pursuit of common objectives to increase local supply capacity and improve access to market; integrated and harmonised treatment of trans-border issues of trade, policies, regulatory frameworks and regional infrastructure. It is reasoned that small countries often find it difficult to finance or fund the huge expenditure associated with major infrastructure, thus making regional arrangements worth pursuing.

All these can be achieved by RECs, in collaboration with other regional development institutions such as the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), because they serve as strategic regional frameworks that also assist to build capacity to pursue regional integration across various regions. The emergence of the AEC can be seen as a culmination of the desire and aspiration of RECs and the Heads of Member States to promote greater political and economic integration at the continental level with the view to tackling shared resource management issues.

In the area of trade and related economic activities, the RECs have been able to achieve common tariff structure (though level of progress in this regard is open to debate) thereby promoting intra-regional trading relationship. Some of the RECs have also adopted and implemented protocols relating to free movement of persons, goods and services across intra-regional borders, and thus leading to community-based sense of oneness. Related to this is the adoption of protocol on harmonising travel documents such as international passport. ECOWAS is a case in point, where the region now issues ECOWAS passport to intending travellers.

In a recent development, the ECOWAS just adopted a protocol setting a 2020 deadline for the commencement of its single currency policy in the region. In pursuit of this, the Community's Commission had created a Committee, which has been charged with a mandate to work assiduously toward meeting this deadline. The Protocol, encapsulated as Vision 2020 (Thisdaylive Report: 2014), "seeks to create a borderless, peaceful, prosperous and cohesive region and built on good governance".

It is envisaged that if this protocol is replicated in all the RECs on the continent, the journey towards the African Economic Community status desired by the African Union will be foreseeable in no distant future.

However, experiences of the functioning of the respective RECs as indicated in this study have shown that the lacklustre performance of African countries in their efforts towards integration can be attributed to the factors summarised thus, differing colonial experiences and implications for political and economic relations with their colonial masters; competitive nature of African exports –generally one product-society- rather than been complementary; poor basic infrastructures; maladministration and

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misallocation of resources; endemic religious and ethnic crises; bad governance and unbridled corruption among leaders; overlapping membership of RECs – COMESA, SADC and EAC are found in this scenario – and most importantly, absence of a near-supranational institution that can enforce compliance with decisions by RECs Member States leaders.

The factor of differing colonial heritage has, and will continue to shape the foreign policy focus of African countries as they tend to reflect such in situations requiring political decision. This much was manifested during the election of the current Chairperson of the AUC, Her Excellency, Dr Dlamini Nkosazana-Zuma, which had to go through three stages to arrive at a conclusion as a result of political intrigues that characterised the election, Maasho (2012). (More details on this in chapter four under a consideration of the preliminary constraints facing the AUC). The issue of overlapping membership has been a recurring and seeming intractable obstacle facing the AU in its aspirations towards integration. The ECA Report (2004) submits that the overlapping membership among regional communities constitutes a critical burden on member states, and hence slows or retards integration efforts. The report reveals that COMESA and SADC are two main regional economic communities with considerable overlaps and duplicated goals. For example, Six countries including; the Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Mauritius, Seychelles, Zambia and Zimbabwe, are both members of the two communities despite the similarities of their programmes. This is clearly a complex problem that the AUC has had to contend with.

It is against this background that the institution of the African Union Commission (AUC) is worthy of interrogation with the view to determining its capacity to facilitate integration in Africa. The next chapter in this study is dedicated to focus on this exercise.

Fig 7, Below is a graphical illustration of the factor of overlapping membership among the RECs.

Overlapping membership in regional economic communities (number of countries)

3.8   Conclusion

This chapter set out to conduct an assessment of the selected Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in Africa with a view to unravelling the circumstances of their emergence. The essence of this was to point out what informed the decisions of the enabling authority of the bodies in establishing the organisations and what was intended thereafter. The section also examined the challenges and successes associated with each of the sub-regional organs. The successes in general terms, include the awareness and recognition of the need for effective collaborations among members of the RECs by building institutions; adopting and signing of treaties to serve as frameworks of actions; promotion of free movement of peoples, goods and services within the respective Communities; and the efforts at harmonising policies relating to trade and economic relationships. On the other hand, the challenges facing the RECs include – the issue of overlapping membership; the inability of African

states to resolve conflicts and crises and attendant refugee implications; lack of competitive products and services; incidence of corruption and bad governance by leaders; and impact of colonial heritage, among other issues.

The section concluded by providing reliable justifications for the RECs assuming the status of building blocks and subsequent strategic frameworks towards the desired establishment of a continental body known as the African Economic Union (AEC), and upon which the AUC has a responsibility to midwife. The next chapter (chapter four) deals with an assessment of the AUC, by highlighting its mandate, vision and mission statement, its transmutation from the O.A.U, as well as its constraints and comparison with the European Commission (EC).

Chapter Four

ASSESSING THE AFRICAN UNION COMMISSION (AUC) AS AN ORGAN OF THE AFRICAN UNION FOR CONTINENTAL INTEGRATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to undertake an assessment of the AUC which serves as the secretariat of the African Union (AU) in its role of facilitating the process of integration in Africa. The AU, as the mother-organisation is highlighted to underscore its transmutation from the OAU to be able to contextualise the position of the AUC. The structure of the Commission and its eight (8) commissions/portfolios are highlighted for ease of understanding. Specifically, this section provides insights into the profile of the AUC by highlighting its mandated operations and activities, as sourced from the AU's official handbook and other related publications, and thereafter proceeds to carry out an assessment of the Commission on its road map and efforts designed to meeting its mandate as encapsulated in the Commission's mission. The chapter closes with a discussion on existing challenges that confront the organ and postulates on likely impediments that may emerge in the course of the pursuit of its mandate on one hand, and offers on the other hand, prescriptions on policy options that may be considered for the purpose of improving its operational efficiency.

4.1 The AUC in Context

The mission of the Commission as articulated in the AUC's online post (2003) is to become:

> "*An efficient and value-adding institution driving the African integration and development process in close collaboration with African Union Member Stats, the Regional Economic Communities and African citizens*".

The Commission is the key organ playing a central role in the day-to-day management of the African Union. Among others, it represents the Union and defends its interests; elaborate draft common positions of the Union; prepares strategic plans and studies for the consideration of the Executive Council; elaborates, promotes. Coordinates and harmonises the programmes and policies of the Union with those of the Regional

Economic Communities (RECs); ensures the mainstreaming of gender in all programmes and activities of the Union, (AUC Statute: 2003)

In pursuit of this mission, the AUC embraces the following values to guide and govern its functioning and operations, and these include, respect for diversity and team work; think Africa above all; transparency and accountability; integrity and impartiality; efficiency and professionalism, and information and knowledge sharing

The Commission is to be guided by the following principles:

Subsidiarity and complementarity with other Organs, Member States and RECs; results orientation, feasibility and impact focus; close coordination and cooperation with the RECs; coherence of policies and programmes; and a networking approach that takes advantage of available resources through other players, (AUC Statute: 2003)

Guided by these foregoing values and principles, the Commission will endeavour to achieve its Mission through implementation of clear goals and strategies and by committing the requisite resources for effective discharge of its mandate. This requires the AUC presenting specific proposals to give full effect to its texts, and bring new possibilities and benefits to the citizens of Africa.

While this research notes that the Commission has continuously drafted and articulated its goals over the years through a platform of a Plan of Action principally for speeding up integration in Africa, very little progress has been recorded on the continent. The extent of successes achieved in some of its portfolios will be highlighted much later in this section, in view of the myriad of challenges the AUC has had to contend with.

4.2 Vision of the African Union

The vision of the AU (presented below) is to serve as the pathway and road map for the operations of the AUC, and to provide a bedrock upon which the aspirations of the organisation can be clearly articulated and pursued.

The vision of the African as captured from the organisation's official website online is as follows:-

"An integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in global arena", (AUC: 2003).

This vision of the African Union Commission of a new, forward looking, dynamic and integrated Africa will be fully realized through a relentless struggle on several fronts and as a long-term endeavour. As noted in chapter one of this study, the African Union has shifted focus from supporting liberation movements in the erstwhile African territories under colonialism and apartheid, as envisaged by the OAU since 1963 and the Constitutive Act (2002), to an organization spear-heading Africa's development and integration. In over ten decades of the existence of the Organisation of African Unity, member countries were saddled with the concerns for complete decolonisation of the continent, and also, the consolidation of their independence as sovereign entities. Thus, the aspirations for integration tended to manifest beginning from the 90s until date.

4.3   The Structure of the AUC

As noted earlier in the study, the African Union Commission here-in-after referred to as the Commission, is the secretariat of the African Union (AU) entrusted with executive functions. It is composed of 10 (ten) Executive Officials and a complement of Bureau of Staff headed by a Chief of Staff, (AUC Statutes: 2002).

They are as follows:

- A Chairperson
- Deputy Chairperson
- Eight Commissioners (Details hereunder), and
- Bureau of Staff (Led by a Chief of Staff)

The Eight Commissioners and their respective portfolios are as follows:

- Commissioner for Political Affairs
- Commissioner for Economic Affairs

- Commissioner for Social Affairs

- Commissioner for Peace and Security

- Commissioner for Trade and Industry

- Commissioner for Infrastructure and Energy

- Commissioner for Rural Economy and Agriculture

- Commissioner for Human Resources, Science and Technology

    (AUC Statutes: 2002)

It must be mentioned that the Commissioners are equally elected in the same way as the Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson, and each of the five regions into which the continent has been organised is represented by at least two Commissioners.

Given the position of the AUC as a strategic unit/organ of the AU, its role is not limited to agenda setting, but also includes serving as a coordinating and monitoring channel through which the AUC carries out its strategic plan to direct and harmonise the activities of the organisation. The eight portfolios indicated above reflects the way and manner the AUC performs its role. The Strategic Plan as a tool will be further elaborated shortly in this chapter.

4.4   Transmutation of the OAU to AU

The advent of the African Union (AU) can be described as an event of great magnitude in the institutional evolution of the continent. On September 9, 1999, the Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity issued a Declaration (the Sirte Declaration) calling for the establishment of an African Union, with a view to accelerating the process of integration in the continent to enable it play its rightful role in the global economy while addressing multifaceted social, economic and political problems compounded as they are by certain negative aspects of globalisation.

In an online publication by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs the main objectives of the AU's predecessor, OAU are summarised as follows:-

> *"to rid the continent of the remaining vestiges of colonization and apartheid;*
> *to unity and solidarity among African* States *to coordinate and intensify*

cooperation for development; to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States and to promote international cooperation within the framework of the United Nations", (SADFA: 2003),

Indeed, as a continental organization the OAU provided an effective forum that enabled all Member States to adopt coordinated positions on matters of common concern to the continent in international fora and defend the interests of Africa effectively. For example, it is to be acknowledged that through the OAU Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, the continent worked and spoke as one with undivided determination in forging an international consensus in support of the liberation struggle and the fight against apartheid.

As contained in its Constitutive Act (2002), and adopted at the Lome Summit. The objectives of the AU are reproduced below here:

- Achieve greater unity and solidarity between African countries and the peoples of Africa;
- Defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States;
- Accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent;
- Promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples;
- Encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- Promote peace, security, and stability on the continent;
- Promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance;
- Promote and protect human peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments;
- Establish the necessary conditions which enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations;

- Promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies;

- Promote cooperation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African peoples;

- Coordinate and harmonise the policies between the existing and future Regional Economic Communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union;

- Advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, in particular in science and technology; and

- Work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent, *(Reproduced from the Constitutive Act: 2002)*.

It is glaring from the above highlighted AU objectives that African leaders are now more concerned with pursuing socio-economic issues as against the pursuit of decolonisation which engaged their attention from the 60s to early 90s.

However, scholars like Doudou have wondered if there was any need for the AU to change its name from the OAU to AU, suggesting that there had not been any significant change in the affairs of the organisation, and even in the global environment, to have warranted the name change. He stated thus,

> "*Whether a body that had existed and done business under one name for a good 39 years was wise to follow the hollow idea pursued – with commercial objectives in mind – by certain public relations agencies in the West, and change its nomenclature, with all the confusion that such an action would create in the international arena where it operated – is open to question*" (Doudou: 2002)

This position by Doudou could be valid when viewed in the context of other organisations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), which despite its absorbing a few countries which originally belonged to its rival military alliance – the Warsaw Pact - remains what it is. However, the transmutation of the European

Economic Community (EEC) into the European Union (EU) readily comes out to challenge the view of Doudou about the name change.

Besides, the OAU, now AU, would seem to have been preoccupied with the pursuit of decolonisation of the continent for a period of almost four decades (1963 – 2002), and which could be argued to have been consummated with the multi-racial elections in South Africa in 1994, ending the last vestige of colonialism in Africa. In doing this, other issues as enshrined in its charter received very little attention, and in most cases, African leaders appeared non-committal to implementing adopted protocols and treaties on matters of common concern.

The EEC changed to the EU in 1993 following the radical transformation of its objectives from being purely economic to incorporating socio-political issues upon which member states had to integrate, (Gabel: 2104). While this study is not about the change of nomenclature about the AU, it is relevant to point out that the name change triggered some form of concerns not only in the media, but also among academics, and thus resulting in differing perspectives on its rationality and suitability or otherwise.

Fig. 8: African Union Summit 2002

The AU's inaugural summit was held in 2002 in Durban, South Africa when OAU changed

To AU

Source - **http://www.dw.de/a-chronology-of-50-years-of-african-unity/a-16834421**

4.5   Pre-African Union (OAU) Achievements

It is relevant to mention that before the transmutation from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) into the African Union (AU), the continental organisation could be said to have recorded some milestones in its quest for unity, economic and social development as a result of policy initiatives adopted. These have arguably paved way for some restructuring on and within the organisation leading to a change of name.

Noteworthy among these are – the Lagos Plan of Action (1980) and the Final Act of Lagos (1980), which incorporated programmes and strategies for self-reliance, development and cooperation among African countries, Bujra (2004). Practical efforts in his context resulted in the establishment of the African Economic Community (AEC), an institution that seems to have statutorily endorsed the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as building blocks and platforms for facilitating the efforts towards integration in Africa. Much on the philosophical underpinnings surrounding the RECs has been indicated in the preceding chapter.

Additionally, the pre-AU era also witnessed the adoption and ratification of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights - protocol adopted at the Nairobi Summit (OAU: 1981). In addition, the Grand Bay Declaration and Plan of Action on Human Rights protocol which was adopted further led to the establishment of the African Human Rights Commission headquartered in Banjul, Gambia. This development has clearly raised the level of level of consciousness of not only African peoples, but also of the need for greater attention by leaders in Africa to promote respect for human rights.

Furthermore, there was also the OAU Declaration 1990 on the Political and Socio-Economic situation in Africa and the fundamental changes taking place in the world, Karume and Mura (2012). This underscored Africa's resolve to seize the initiative with the view to determining its destiny and to address the challenges to peace, democracy and security. In pursuit of this, the AU in its Constitutive Act, Article 4, states that in accordance with its principles, shall promote respect for democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law and good governance. This article 4, however positive and impressive as it sounds, cannot be said to have recorded encouraging results since it is apparent that in very many African countries which have had to contend with crises, bordering on ethnicity and religion, there have been cases of violent human abuse, forced displacement of peoples who are direct victims of wars, and absence and sometimes inadequate attention by African leaders to those who have become refugees for no cause of the theirs.

Another landmark of the organisation which precedes its rebranding was the adoption of protocol in respect of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (OAUHSG: 1993). This represents a demonstration by African leaders to find solutions to conflicts, promote peace, security and stability in Africa. The mechanism sought to focus on anticipating and preventing situations of potential crisis from developing into full blown conflicts with emphasis on anticipatory and preventive measures. In pursuit of the objective of conflict prevention, management and resolution, the newly restructured AU has established a 15-member Peace and Security Council (PSC: 2003), replacing the CPMR, and charged with the power to intervene in cases of human rights abuses and unconstitutional change of government.

The extent of successes and or failures of this initiative will be highlighted much later in the section dealing with the challenges facing the AUC below. Meanwhile, the various other organs of the AU are reproduced below as captured from the official organisation's handbook –

4.6   Other Organs of the African Union

It is useful to highlight the other organs of the AU with which the Commission interrelates, to achieve the objectives of the AU and their respect mandates. They are as follows:

4.6.1   The Assembly

This organ is composed of Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government is the supreme organ of the Union.

4.6.2   The Executive Council (EC)

The Council is composed of Ministers or Authorities designated by Governments of Member States. The Executive Council is responsible to the Assembly.

4.6.3   The Permanent Representatives' Committee (PRC)

This organ is composed of Permanent Representatives' of Member States accredited to the Union. It is charged with the responsibility of preparing the work of the Executive Council.

4.6.4   Peace and Security Council (PSC)

This organ is relatively new, as its creation was by a decision of the African Heads of Government (AHG/Dec 160- 32nd Summit of Lusaka, July 2001. The Protocol establishing the PSC is in the process of ratification.

4.6.5 Pan-African Parliament (PAP)

A Pan-African Parliament as an organ of the AU is to ensure the full participation of African peoples in governance, development and economic integration of the Continent. The protocol relating to the composition, powers, functions and

organisation of the Pan-Africa Parliament has been signed by Member States and is in the process of ratification.

4.6.6 Economic, Social and Cultural (Ecosoc)

The Economic, Social and Cultural is an advisory organ composed of different social and professional groups of Member States of the Union. The statutes determining the functions, powers, composition and organisation of the Economic, Social and Cultural have been prepared and will submitted to Maputo Summit.

4.6.7 The Court of Justice

A Court of Justice of the Union has been proposed for establishment. The statutes defining the composition and functions of the Court of Justice have been prepared and scheduled to be submitted to the Assembly in Maputo in plenary. The situation in this respect as of this research is yet clear.

4.6.8 The Specialised Technical Committees

These Committees are seven (7), and are meant to address sectoral issues statutorily at Ministerial Level as follows:

- The Committee on Rural Economy and Agricultural Matters;
- The Committee on Monetary and Financial Matters;
- The Committee on Trade, Customs and Immigration matters
- The Committee on Industry, Science and Technology, Energy, Natural Resources and Environment;
- The Committee on Transport, Communications and Tourism:
- The Committee on Health, labour and Social Affairs;
- The Committee on Education, Culture and Human Resources.

4.6.9 The Financial Institutions

- They include the following:
- The African Central Bank
- The African Monetary Fund
- The Investment Bank, (African Union: 2002)

4.7 Portfolios of the African Union Commission

As highlighted earlier above, the AUC has eight Commissions, otherwise known as portfolios, which also stand as the responsibilities of the Commission. These portfolios, and their accompanying components are detailed as follows:

Peace and Security - Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, and Combating Terrorism;

Political Affairs - Human Rights, Democracy, Good Governance, Electoral Institutions, Civil Society Organizations, Humanitarian Affairs, Refugees, Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons;

Infrastructure and Energy - Energy, Transport, Communications, Infrastructure and Tourism;

Social Affairs - Health, Children, Drug Control, Population, Migration, Labour and Employment, Sports and Culture;

Human Resources, Science and Technology - Education, Information Technology Communication, Youth, Human Resources, Science and Technology;

Trade and Industry - Trade, Industry, Customs and Immigration Matters;

Rural Economy and Agriculture - Rural Economy, Agriculture and Food Security, Livestock, Environment, Water and Natural Resources and Desertification;

Economic Affairs - Economic Integration, Monetary Affairs, Private Sector Development, Investment and Resource Mobilization, (Reproduced from the AUC Statutes: 2002).

A close look at the aforementioned portfolios of the AUC clearly shows that the objectives of the African Union (itemised above) dovetail into or are encapsulated within the purview of the scope of the AUC's responsibilities. This derives from the role of the Commission as the organ designed to initiate, execute and implement the decisions of the AU for the achievement of the continental goals of the organisation. A preliminary discussion of the extent to which the AUC has pursued its mandate is

undertaken in a section with the sub-heading – The AUC and its implementation Strategy below.

Fig. 9: Organogram of the African Union

Source: http://bibliotecavirtual.clacso.org.ar/ar/libros/iss/pdfs/oau/AUprifile.pdf
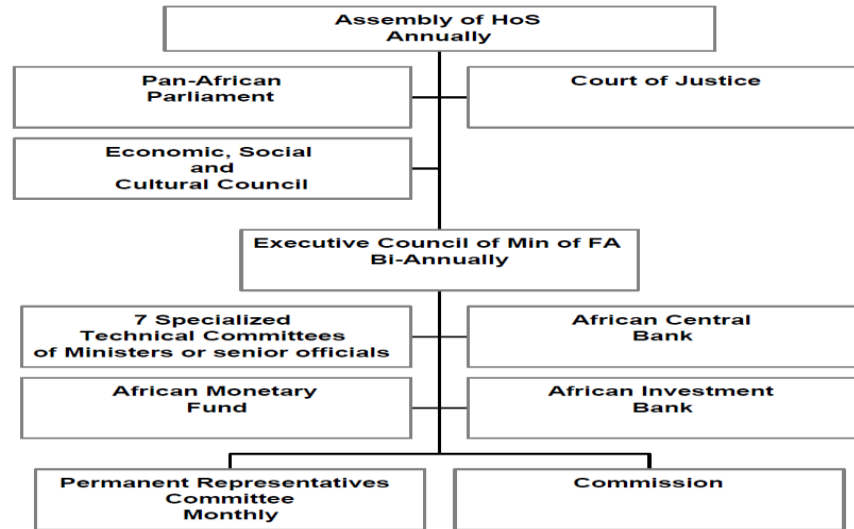
The Chairperson of the AUC, in the discharge of its functions, chairs all meetings and deliberations of the Commission. The Chairperson prepares, in collaboration with the Permanent Representatives Committee (despite their overlapping responsibilities enunciated below), and transmit to member states the budget, audited accounts and programme of work before the commencement of the sessions of the Assembly and the Executive Council.

The AUC carries out its functions through the design of an implementation strategy, and reflected by the development of a strategic plan which provides a framework of action for the execution of its activities. Highpoints of the implementation strategy are discussed below.

4.8   The AUC and its Implementation Strategy

A close scrutiny of the AUC portfolios gives a clue to the fact that the commissions represent the classifications of the overall objectives of the African Union as adopted in its Constitutive Act. In other words, the Commissioners responsibilities stand as a

condensed package of the objectives of the AU. It will be recalled (as noted at the proposal stage of this study), that the AUC, as the secretariat of the continental body, has the responsibility to represents the Union and defends its interest, elaborate draft common positions of the Union, prepares strategic plans and studies for the consideration of the Economic Council. The AUC also elaborates, promotes, coordinates and harmonizes the programmes and policies of the Union with those of the RECs, and ensuring the mainstreaming of gender in all programmes and activities of the Union.

Following the adoption of the Constitutive Act of the AU at the Durban Summit, 2002, African leaders set the path towards Africa's integration and sustainable development, and in pursuit of this goal, the AUC, in collaboration with the other organs, had a mandate to develop and implement priority strategies and programmes. In practical terms, the AUC developed its first Strategic Plan (SP) which covered the period 2004-2007 (AUC SP: 2009). The Plan was designed as both a major instrument and a roadmap that served as a basis for the formulation and implementation of the various programmes, projects and activities of the Commission.

The Strategic Plan is designed to be implemented through a framework of an annual work plan and budgets to facilitate the achievement of the goals of the AUC and to improve the capacity, operational efficiency and effectiveness of the Commission.

As observed from the Executive Summary of the SP of the AUC covering 2009-2012 (AUC SP: 2009), being the second edition, there is an indication that the SP was prepared in-house through a participatory approach which was based on consultations and the involvement of a broad spectrum of internal and external stakeholders at all stages. The essence of this is to ensure that the outcomes of such consultations are a reflection of the relevant views and perspectives that are required to facilitate the implementation of set goals. In addition, the participatory approach is to demonstrate a commitment and alignment with the principles of subsidiarity and complementarity guide as articulated by the Commission.

The SP is not to be made and adopted without an effective assessment of both the internal (within the African continent) and the external (global) environment.

Internally, the peculiar situations, conditions and developments unfolding in Member States, as well as, happenings in the external environment would require effective consideration by the organisation to come up with a sound continental plan. For example, African states do not only engage in intra-African trading/business relationship, they also conduct such with states in the international system either at a bilateral or at a multi-lateral level. The need for a cautious assessment of the overall situations for a pragmatic continental plan cannot be over-emphasised.

The AUC is thus entrusted with the responsibility of carrying out this assessment in line with its mandate for the purpose so facilitation, co-ordination and monitoring. This plan is designed to be repackaged at the end of every four (4) years, based on the outcomes of the assessment of the prevailing circumstances within and without Africa. The current edition of the plan is designed to cover from 2014 – 2017, and was adopted at the 21st Ordinary Session of the Assembly which held on the 27th May 2013 in Addis Ababa, (AUC SP: 2014).

As highlighted in the AUC Plan for the period, It consists of four parts that include the Strategic Direction; the Strategic Pillars; Implementation Strategy, Monitoring and Evaluation; the Estimated Budget and Implementation Matrix. The four parts are as follows:

Part 1 sets out the Strategic Direction and defines the Vision of the African Union, the Mission and core values of the AUC and stakeholder expectations, assessment of the external and internal environment and SWOT analysis. In developing the strategic plan, the Commission conducts a thorough analysis of its stakeholders which include Member States of the AU, the Executive Council and Permanent representatives' Committee (PRC), all of which are engaged in policy making and also in the executive functions of the Union. Others are the Ministerial Committees and Specialised Technical Committees, the Civil Society, development and Strategic Partners, the Private Sector and the Media.

The stakeholders' expectations from the AUC will normally comprise concerns for transparency, accountability, effectiveness and efficiency in the delivery of its services and mandate, responsiveness to the opportunities in, and threats facing

Africa, quality leadership, level of Coordination and involvement in the processes of the Union.

Part 2 deals with the Strategic Pillars that have been drawn from the Commission's mandate, Mission, stakeholder expectations, assessment of the external and internal environment and SWOT analysis. The Commission's identified four broad intervention areas or strategic pillars include: Peace and Security; Integration, Development and Cooperation; Shared Values; and, Institution and Capacity Building. The pillars are strategic issues around which the core business of the Commission will be organized, and resources applied for the realization of expected results.

The underlying philosophy of the vision of the Commission requires that the AU must ensure a stable and secured environment devoid of fear and lack towards achieving sustainable development and integration of the continent. As the Secretariat of the Union, the Commission plays an important role as one of the channels through which the Union's aspirations will be realised. This results from its duty to facilitate, coordinate and harness the activities, energies and resources of the Union towards the attainment of its vision.

The Commission will subsequently develop and roll out interdepartmental and cross-sectoral programmes for each pillar to ensure a holistic and integrated approach. In so doing and in order to enhance synergies and complementarity within, each department or directorate will be required to clearly identify its contribution to the implementation of each pillar and remain collectively accountable to the delivery of the Expected Results. This approach represents a paradigm shift in that with this Strategic Plan, the Commission is emphasizing a programme and results based orientation, as opposed to an activity approach.

Through 18 strategic objectives, the Commission will aimed to implement programmes under each pillar as follows, captured from the Commission's publications.

- Programme for Peace and Security;

- Programme for Development;
- Programme for Integration;
- Programme for Co-operation;
- Programme for Shared Values; and
- Programme for Institution and Capacity Building.

(AUC SP: 2009)

Part 3 deals with the Implementation Strategy, Monitoring and Evaluation. The Strategic Plan will be implemented through Annual Work Plans and Budgets that will be broken down into Departmental Work Plans and Budgets for all departments. The implementation strategy for the designed Strategic Plan is expected to commence with a sensitisation forum involving the employees of the Commission. This idea is conceived to facilitate the promotion of team work among the staff of the Commission as they are responsible for the implementation of its mandate. This stage is followed by the development of targets which will be specific, measurable and time-bound, and against which the performances of the AUC staff will be based.

Furthermore, all the Commission's staff is be expected to develop their Individual Work Plans from the Departmental Work Plans and Budgets, which will form the basis upon which their performance contracts will be drawn. A Monitoring and Evaluation system has also been designed to track progress of Strategic Plan implementation and to ensure that the intended results are achieved. In this regard, the Commission has developed the AMERT (Africa Monitoring Evaluation and Reporting Tool) Software to facilitate Monitoring and Evaluation processes. The implementation strategy

Part 4 relate to the Estimated Budget and the implementation matrix. It is estimated that for the period 2009-2012, the Commission will require a total amount of US$ 784 million, or an average of US$ 196 million per year. The estimated expenditure per pillar, for the four years of the Plan, is as follows:

- Pillar 1 (Peace and Security): US$144 million;

- Pillar 2 (Development, Regional Integration and Cooperation):US$430 million;
- Pillar 3 (Shared Values): US$82million; and
- Pillar 4 (Institutions and Capacity building): US$ 128 million, (AUC SP: 2009)

It is no doubt that the effective and successful implementation of the AUC's strategic plans depends on the availability of appropriate resources. Expectedly, resources – financial and human- would continue to be sought from member states of the AU, and also from development partners. However, this does not restrict the Commission from aspiring to seek alternative sources of funds to reduce the burden on member states, some of which are already burdened by their national and domestic challenges. Thus, their commitment to meeting their assessed dues and obligations tends to be extremely low or completely none.

In line with the Statutes of the Commission (2002), while Member States will provide a substantial amount of these resources, the Commission intends to mobilize additional financial resources from Development and Strategic Partners.

In pursuit of this plan, the AUC (under the leadership of the current Chairperson, Her Excellency, Dr Dlamini Nkosazana Zuma) would seem to be re-strategising on how to provide a new impetus to speed up the process of facilitating the implementation of its stated mandate.

This study earlier noted that the inaugural edition of the AUC SP spanned between 2004 – 2007.The second Africa Union Commission Strategic Plan came to an end in 2012, and Policy Organs dedicated 2013 as a transition year in which the outstanding results areas are to be finalised.

Consequently, the AUC has successfully developed the successor plan that runs from 2014 – 2017, which was adopted at the 21st Ordinary Session of the Assembly, (AUC: 2014). This plan marks a paradigm shift from the normative approach to actually engaging stakeholders. It is the aim of the Commission to widen and strengthen understanding of its work for her stakeholders to appreciate immediate benefits

inherent in the plan. It is against this background that the Commission felt the need to engage stakeholders with a view to deepen their general understanding of AUC's vision and strategy.

The vision of the AUC is expected to dovetail into the Agenda 2063 which is a plan for Africa's structural transformation as agreed upon by African leaders at their Summit marking the Golden Anniversary of the organisation in May 2015 in Addis Ababa. In line with the role of the AUC as the secretariat of the union, the Summit had tasked the AUC, to be supported be the New Partnership for Africa's Development's (NEPAD) Planning and Coordinating Agency (NPCA), the African Development Bank (AfDB), and the United Nations' Economic Commission for Africa (considered its traditional partners), to prepare such a continental agenda through people-driven process towards the realisation of the vision of the AU for an integrated, people-oriented and prosperous Africa at peace with itself.

4.8.1 AUC Policy Advocacy on Member States

The AUC from time to time plays interventionist role through policy advocacy for use by states manifesting in the adoption of policies and programmes that are designed to usher in good governance, an essential ingredient for the attainment of the overall objective of the desired continental unity. This is in line with a call for policy shift in governance by the erstwhile Deputy Chairperson, Erastus Mwencha (2014). In context, he had at the occasion marking the 20th Anniversary of the Rwanda genocide, organised under the theme – *Remember, Unite and Resolve*, called on African leaders to be sensitive to the need for not only good governance but also demonstrating commitment to the achievement of Union's goals. The event was a collaborative initiative of both the Rwanda government and the Commission which called for a paradigm shift from programme and policy design to full and effective implementation.

Whether the organisation through the operations of the AUC, has been able to bring to bear its commitment to stated objectives for the benefit of peoples of Africa as envisaged in its Constitutive Act remains to be seen. Rather, the quality of leadership in all the respective five regions of the continent has been abysmally poor, coupled

with incidences of violations of human rights and eruption of violence with direct effect on the socio-economic life of their nationals. For example, in the Southern Africa, countries like Lesotho, Botswana and the Democratic Republic of Congo are contending with internal crises, arising in most cases from absence of effective leadership, and these by implication, constitute hindrances to political stability. In Eastern Africa, South Sudan, a relatively new nation state, and Somalia are not immune to both political and economic turmoil. It is a widely known fact that the crises in these countries have led to the loss of human lives which have not been realistically quantified.

The interventionist role of the AUC has also been demonstrated through the establishment of the African Union Foundation (AUF: 2013). It is an initiative of the AUC designed to assist in financing the African priorities through voluntary contributions. In specific terms, the mission of the AUF is to mobilise resources in support of the AU's vision of an integrated, people-oriented and prosperous Africa, at peace with itself and taking its rightful place in the world. At the inaugural meeting of the foundation by its promoters which consists of the Chairperson and twelve others, the Chairperson – also the founder on behalf of the Commission, suggested that it was time for Africa to mobilise its own resources in support of its development and take charge of its destiny.

In particular, the Chairperson was of the view that the foundation will strive to more deeply engage Africa's private sector, African individuals and communities and leading African philanthropists to generate resources and provide valuable insights on ways in which their success can enhance the growth and development of Africa.

Aside from this, the AUC in collaboration with the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and the African Development Bank have engaged in what can be described as a monitoring or an oversight role culminating in the production of a report code-named Assessing Regional integration in Africa (ECA, 2013). In the foreword to the 6th Edition of the publication titled "Harmonising Policies to Transform the Trading Environment", it is observed that there is a growing sense of political commitment giving impetus to regional integration and cooperation among events by member

states of the union. Regional integration framework in Africa is holding a central place in the continental endeavours to achieve socio-economic and political transformation towards attaining sustainable continental development.

In practical terms, the Tripartite Initiative among the members of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the East African Community (EAC) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) can be seen as representing part of the bold steps Africa's political leaders have taken to strengthen and facilitate regional arrangements. This initiative will by implication, lead to market enlargement and other efforts to promote production scale, as well as competitiveness. These efforts are needed to boost intra-regional trade, reduce Africa's external dependence and militate against the effects of shocks associated with the forces of push and pull of the global economy.

However, the commitment of African leaders to completely dismantle barriers to trade is without challenges. These relate to the lack of determination by African leaders to implement decisions and declarations on tariffs structure on goods and services between and among countries. A most probable reason for this situation could be the fact virtually all African countries engage in the production of similar goods and services that are not competitive thus, they are desirous to protect their economy with as much as can be generated with their respective exports. While it can be argued that a few RECs have made strides to eliminate visa requirements, visa restrictions still prevail in a number of African countries. A recent case is what appears to be a review in the South African Immigration policy which is being enforced on some Zimbabweans nationals considered to have irregular travelling documents in particular, and other African countries' nationals in general, (ETV News: 2014). As of this study, it is not clear what will be the implications of this policy change by the South African government for its relations with not only its SADC member countries, but also with the nationals of other Africa countries, and its consequence on integration commitment.

In the publication by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA, 2013), it is noted that the free movement of people represents a critical component of regional

integration and could greatly affect millions of Africans. Member Countries of the respective RECs have adopted protocols both at the bilateral and regional levels in respect of free movement of people, right of residence and right of establishment, and have taken such protocols to varying degrees of implementation. For example, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is already implementing common passports for travel, thereby replacing the old system of National Passport (this researcher is an obvious beneficiary of this scheme).

Tampering with or undertaking a review of Immigration policies by countries can be as a result of challenges resulting from refugees' crisis, cross-border crimes and more importantly, increase in number of immigrants and its implications on public utilities of the receiving countries. For instance, it is being speculated that Eskom (an electricity generation, transmission and distribution company in South Africa) is experiencing challenges in its operations as a result of pressure on the use of its facilities by refugees and immigrants – legitimate or otherwise.

Even though, this claim remains a matter of conjecture, there seems to be a widely held view that the electricity company is clearly struggling to overcome the inability to cope with the pressure emanating from increasing number of consumers of its services. A volatile immigration policy change in reaction to this situation could send negative signals to, not only member countries of SADC, but also other African countries, and thus trigger unfriendly bilateral and or regional relations.

The AUC, under the leadership of Her Excellency, Hon. (Dr) Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma would seem to have emerged as a dynamic and resilient organ of the continental body given its articulation of the organisation's priorities. This much is clearly reflected in her acceptance speech delivered immediately following her election. While this research will not dwell on the political intrigues and horse trading that characterised her election, it is relevant to note that her nomination and subsequent election brought to bear the suspicions, and hence divisive tendencies of African leaders, especially on the issue of hegemony, and the grave implications of such on their commitment towards the desired pursuit for continental unity and development.

In her acceptance speech (AU: 2012) after her election which was reported to be tightly contested, the Chairperson pointed out that there was the need for the organisation to be engaged with creating the conditions that will contribute towards world peace and security, sustainable development and promoting good governance for all the regions in Africa to ensure a better life for all its peoples. The AUC, under the headship of the present Chairperson has continually advocated the need for African leaders to ready and willing to pursue the objective of unity and cohesion of the continent without which the desired goals of the organisation will remain a mirage.

At the opening session of the 26th Ordinary Session of the Permanent Representative Committee (PRC), the Chairperson of the AUC posed some questions which impinge on the integration agenda of the organisation and are reproduced here-below as follows:

> *What will it take for Africa to be integrated, people-centred, prosperous and at peace with itself over the next five decades?*
>
> *Are the milestones we set in various continental frameworks and initiatives, especially around human development, infrastructure, agriculture, women's empowerment, health and industrialisation, and above all on political unity and integration sufficiently bold to achieve our vision?*
>
> *What type of paradigms and actions in terms of leadership, people's participation, resource mobilisation and our implementation, monitoring and evaluation strategies are required to ensure impact and rapid implementation?*
>
> *And finally, are our institutional architectures aligned towards the achievement of rapid integration, development and industrialisation, how do we improve their impact, efficiency and effectiveness?* (AU: 2013)

In the speech delivered at the occasion, the Chairperson acknowledged that the organisation has grappled with all these issues right from its inception in 1963 in Addis Ababa, and each of the questions seeks to provide insights into how much progress the African Union has recorded in the pursuit of its stated goals in its over

fifty years of existence. Opinions are divided among scholars, commentators and the civil society activists on the performance rating of the Union. While some contend that a commendable and visible success has been achieved by the AU, others believe otherwise. Some commentators even go to the extent of describing the Union as a toothless bull dog that can bark but without a bite. If the argument of low performance is to be advanced, it is certainly not because the Union has no direction or lacking in requisite resources – human and material, but mostly due to clear lack of commitment from its leaders. This view be tested against findings that shall emerge at the end of this study to either confirm or deny same.

As noted in the report by UNECA (2013), regional initiatives require a large degree of public management and implementation at the national level. Without an absolute commitment at such level, there can be little or no progress at the sub-regional level. By extension, if member states of the AU do nothing or little to implement agreed programmes, it follows that such a situation can hamper the continent's integration agenda. Even though the regional economic communities (RECs) are indeed building blocks as indicated earlier in this study, if member states proclaim a strong political commitment for integration, they should demonstrate it in their home countries through serious measures and programmes to implement decisions as articulated and agreed at the RECs level. The failure of the union members to justify their commitment to achieving their stated goals in line with expectations has reinforced the perception that their declarations and proclamations during summits and ordinary sessions only portray the leaders as playing to the gallery.

It is an acceptable fact among scholars of international relations that nation states, irrespective of their foreign policies, tend to be concerned with issues that will promote their national interest. In particular, states would normally pursue objectives of securing their sovereignty and independence; territorial integrity; and will go to any length to ensure that these objectives are achieved, Ojo and Sesay (1988). For example, when Chadian troops reportedly made an incursion into Nigerian territory in 1982/83 with the intention to attack Nigeria by killing its soldiers and taking some of its military hardware, the then General Officer Commanding the zone, now a Presidential aspirant in the February 14, 2015 general election, moved in to contain

what was regarded an assault on the territorial integrity of Nigeria. In this context, nation-states' desire to maintain their independence and sovereignty seems to constrain their willingness to pursue and implement decisions jointly agreed to either at bilateral or multilateral levels such as of the sub-regional or regional (continental) groupings as being reflected in this study.

4.8.2 Remote Constraints facing the AUC

The intention of the researcher in this section is to highlight what can be regarded as the remote challenges the AUC seems to be contending against as identified in the publications emanating from non-governmental and independent think tanks such as the Conflict for Conflict Resolution, based in Cape Town, and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Germany (2012). However, it is the contemplation of the researcher that a more authentic and undisputable exposition of the impediments facing the AUC will emerge during and after the field work when primary data collectable through the process of interview as proposed, will be subjected to critical analysis.

Suffice to mention that the AUC is not an independent arm of the AU, but is itself its creation, and consequently, is subject to the political intrigues and power dynamics within the organisation as represented by Member States. The ability of the AUC to function effectively is dependent on how much it is able to galvanise the commitment of African leaders to their continental aspirations of achieving political unity, good governance, security and economic development of the continent.

The issue of political infighting within the AU appears to be a volatile phenomenon that has continued to haunt the growth of the organisation. As pointed out by Maasho (2012), the election of the current Chairperson, Dr Nkozasana Dlamini Zuma on the 15th July 2012 was reported to be a culmination of a bruising leadership battle that had threatened to divide and weaken the organisation. The contest to head the Commission of the 54-member organisation had been deadlocked since the vote at the previous Summit ended in a stalemate.

Maasho (2012) noted that the impasse that persisted through the Summit of the AU heads had prompted the then African Union's Chairperson, President Boni Yayi to warn African heads of states that the inability and failure of the organisation to resolve

the leadership deadlock would divide and weaken and undermine its credibility in the world. Undercurrents at the Summit suggested that the contest between the outgoing Chairperson, Dr Jean Ping and Dr Nkozasana Zuma had clearly reinforced the polarity between the Francophone and the Anglophone member states of the Union. While the former reportedly had the support of the French speaking member states, the latter obtained the patronage and support of the English speaking member states, especially from the Eastern and Southern African countries.

Commentators on South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABCnews: 2015) monitored on radio, have insinuated that the alleged leaked intelligence documents, trending as of the time of this research, purportedly obtained by Al Jazeera, a news network which revealed a plot to assassinate Dr Nkozasana Dlamini Zuma, the AUC Chairperson, are a fallout of the discontentment among some African countries opposed to her election.

However, in a report contained in a publication by City Press Newspaper (2015), The African Union was reported to have claimed to be aware of the plot. In the said report, the AU stated as italicised below:

> *..... Intelligence reports released by Al Jazeera say the National Intelligence and Security Services (NISS) of the AU headquarters increased Dlamini-Zuma's security after a request based on an imminent threat to her. The reports further say that South African Intelligence received alerts that assassins arrived in Addis Ababa three days before Dlamini-Zuma took office with a target date to act 12 days later, but couldn't carry out the assignment at any date, City Press (2015).*

Closely related to the above factor is the allegation of administrative failures associated with the AU. In context, the organisation is adjudged to have been under a lame duck management, significantly because of its lack of clarity of vision, Maasho (2012). The organisation is seen to be devoid of a clear direction and cannot deal with the real issues of concern which required timely attention. While this researcher would reluctantly agree with this submission of lack of direction, it is important to acknowledge that, the AU and its organs (the AUC inclusive), can conveniently boast

of an array of seasoned diplomats and professionals all the time, and who understand the nitty-gritty of diplomatic relations between and among nations, and how to get leaders in a federation such as the AU to be committed to their determined goals. The challenge is that most African leaders tend to be lackadaisical and unwilling to concretise their decisions towards achieving their continental aspirations. The AUC is thus in a dilemma being just an appendage of the organisation.

The AUC is also believed to be contending with the challenge of its inability to implement decisions of policy organs. As the Secretariat of the organisation, the AUC is expected to be, not only as its life wire, but as the organ that carries out the responsibility of enforcing compliance with resolutions as may be agreed towards the realisation of Union's set goals. In a welcome address by the Chairperson of the AUC to the Opening Session of the 26th Ordinary Summit of the Permanent representative Committee (PRC) held 2013, there is an covert reference to the need to normalise the relationship between the AUC and the PRC (both organs of the Union) to achieve a healthy implementation of decisions of the organisation, AU Report (2013).

This suggests that there is some kind of altercation in terms of the implementation of decisions between and among the various organs of the African Union of which the AUC is part. While there is the phenomenon of infighting among the African heads of states on the issue of continental leadership as noted earlier, there is also what can be regarded as an inter-organ squabbles among the various institutions and organs of the AU. A plausible explanation for this situation could be as a result of the proliferation of the AU institutions and organs with overlapping responsibilities. It is worthy of note that a measure is being taken in terms of the establishment of the High-Level Panel Audit of the AU Review with the view to harmonising similar responsibilities for effective coordination of the operations and activities of the Union.

Closely related to the issue of overlapping inter-agency responsibility as enunciated above, is the lack of effective authority on the part of the officers of the organs, (AUC inclusive) to enforce compliance and commitment to the implementation of the decisions of the organisation as may have been adopted by African leaders. In practical sense, the AUC receives instructions from the Assembly of Heads of States

and Government relating to what is to be done while the AUC proposes a plan of action, but if the Secretariat is not empowered in terms of resources, logistics and enforcement mandate, there is little or none that can be achieved. Then the commonplace characterisation of the organisation as the dog that can bark but cannot bite becomes a reality.

The AUC's effectiveness also believed to be hampered by low staffing (International Colloquium Report: 2012), especially if it is compared with its counterpart, the European Commission (EC). It will be noted that as the secretariat of the African Union, the AUC under the leadership of the Chairperson has the mandate to recruit its personnel to execute its mandate. This role is sometimes a subject of controversy as the incumbents are viewed to be partisan in the recruitment exercise. This researcher has observed from records pertaining to the AUC as accessed on line, that the present staff complement do not reflect the geographical spread of the organisation. However, this matter does not fall within the purview of this study, and will not be statistically interrogated. There is therefore the tendency for discontent being triggered among member states who may feel not fairly represented in the organisation.

As an organisation, the AU is also contending with the challenge of low rates of intra-African trade which continues to be exacerbated by poor infrastructure, high tariffs, unwieldy customs procedures and absence of diversity in production, Ndomo (2009). It is a generally held view among scholars and commentators in the field of politics and international relations that African economies are mono-cultural and non-competitive. This no doubt, impacts on the ability of the AUC to carry out its activities. Closely related to this submission is the inability of the AUC to effectively regulate the operations of the RECs, because of their condition of uneven development, coupled with the intractable issue of overlapping membership of the economic communities and its attendant result of duplication efforts as members of separate bodies.

On the Peace and Security Council (PSC), it will be noted that the evolution of the African Union (AU) brought about the establishment of a 15-member Peace and

Security with the power to intervene in cases of widespread human rights abuses and unconstitutional changes of government, (AU: 2002). It is relevant to recall that the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) had adopted the protocol in respect of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution which represented a demonstration by African leaders to find solutions to conflicts, promote peace, security and stability in Africa. The inability of the organisation to contain the incidences of intra-state and inter-state violence as in cases of civil wars and conflicts over boundaries leading to diplomatic ruptures respectively between countries, through mere protocols compelled the creation of an enforcement organ in the form of the PSC for more decisive actions.

The PSC's first attempt to demonstrate commitment to its mandate was the launching of the AU peacekeeping missions in Burundi, between 2003 and 2004. It is on record that Burundi has been continually enmeshed in armed conflict, spanning from 1993 to 2005. The civil war, in the view of Voors and Bulte (2014) can be attributed to the long outstanding ethnic divisions between the Hutu and the Tutsi ethnic tribes in Burundi, and has resulted into the loss of hundreds of lives. Besides, the AU was, through the PSC, has also been in Darfur region of Sudan for peace keeping operations. However, the ability of the AU peace keeping activities have been described as ineffectual, on account of issues such as lack of warfare equipment, funding incapacity and absence or poor logistics needed to enforce peace in the troubled areas. Consequently, the operations gave way to the United Nations which is better positioned to assume such responsibility. Keith (2007), in corroborating this assertion, notes that serious resource constraints have inhibited the AU's implementation of its own peace building framework. This has resulted in the AU seeking to access funds from the private sector, partners in the global south and the African diaspora for its continental commitments.

In a report by Kiggundu (2014), a Ugandan news bulletin published by All Africa, the AU's annual budget stands around $308m. Of this, $170m is funded from outside Africa, while $138m comes from among the 54 member countries. Member states are literarily forced to honour their financial obligation, which in some cases involves imposing sanctions on any defaulting member by being denied the privilege of

addressing the plenary session of the organisation. Of the US$ 784 million budget estimates for the 2009-2012 Strategic plan period, the sum of US$144 million was earmarked for the Peace and Security portfolio for the same period. In a news report by City Press (2014), only 11 countries paid their dues to the AU as of mid-2012. Five countries including South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt, Algeria and Libya (before its internal political turmoil) regarded as the Big 5 of the AU together contribute 66%, while the remaining 49 countries contribute 34%. Current and more reliable information in this regard may emerge in the course of the field work for this study.

As a way to get around this challenge, the AU would seem to have adopted a holistic approach to peace building that seeks to establish a linkage among the issues of peace, security and development, and through this initiative, assume continental ownership of post-conflict reconstruction efforts. This involves the coordination of the activities of the recognised Africa's Economic Communities (RECs) which were elaborately discussed in chapter two of this study. Whether this initiative will bring about the desired outcomes of a secured continent in terms of security remains in the realm of speculation.

4.8.3   The AUC and Agenda 2063

Agenda 2063 emerged during the 50th anniversary of the existence of the AU as a signpost for the next 50 years. Heads of States at the anniversary celebrating after acknowledging past successes and challenges of the union declared a commitment to the continent's development and technological progress. The Summit therefore tasked the African Union Commission, to be supported by the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Planning and Coordinating Agency (PCA), the African Development Bank (AfDB) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) to prepare the Agenda 2063 premised on people-driven process, AU Agenda 2063 (2013). This is to be expected as such is in line with the statutory responsibilities of the AUC.

Agenda 2063 is both a vision and an action plan. It is a call for action to all segments of African society to work together to build a prosperous and united Africa based on shared values and a common destiny. The Agenda is viewed as a global strategy to

optimise the use of Africa's resources for the benefit of all Africans, (AU: 2013) Operationally, African leaders at the anniversary summit identified eight (8) ideals designed to serve as pillars for the continent in the foreseeable future, to be translated into concrete objectives, milestones, goals, targets and actions. The Agenda also represents an approach on how the continent should effectively learn from the lessons of the past, build on the progress on ground, and strategically exploit all possible opportunities available in the short, medium and long time, so as to ensure positive socio-economic transformation within the next 50 years.

In the context of this study, the Agenda is at best a vision, and may only be due for assessment at the turn of every four years in alignment with the strategic plan of the AU to be able to determine its efficiency and effectiveness. However, its bearing with this study relates to the fact that its shape and structure is charted by the AUC as the organ that controls the secretariat of the organisation, and has a responsibility to prepare a blueprint for the consideration of the Assembly of Heads of States and Government.

4.8.4 The AUC and the European Commission – Similarities and points of Departures

As indicated in chapter two of this study, both the AUC and the EC can be said to possess some similar structural character in terms of the fact that they act as the secretariat of their enabling organisations, African Union (AU) and European Union (EU) respectively.

The below table presents at a glance the respective structures and duties of both the African Union Commission (AUC) and the European Commission which graphically depicts their areas of similarities and points of departures. The essence is to determine if the AUC possesses the required mandate to regulate and act as a check on the authority of African leaders, in its efforts to carry out its role of implementation and execution of decisions made by AU Heads of State and Government as the EC.

Table 1, highlighting the Comparison between the AUC and EC

African Union Commission (AUC) – Structure and Duties	European Commission (EC) – Structure and Duties
Structure Chairperson Deputy Chairperson Eight (8) Commissioners Staff members Eight Portfolios Peace and Security Political Affairs Economic Affairs Social Affairs Trade and Industry Infrastructure and Energy Human Resources, Science and Technology Rural Economy and Agriculture	Structure President of the Commission Seven (7) Vice-President 28 Commissioners, each country has a representative (including the President and the Vice-Presidents) Staff members Portfolios – Each Commissioner is assigned responsibility for specific policy area by the President.
Duties The Secretariat with Executive functions; Drafts common positions of the Union; Prepares strategic plans and articulates studies for the consideration of the Executive Council; Elaborates, promotes, coordinates and harmonises the programmes and activities of the Union with those of the RECs;	Duties To propose legislation to Parliament and the Council; To enforce European law (jointly with the Court of Justice); To manage and implement EU policies; To represent the EU around the world

Implement the organisation's goals and strategies and by committing the requisite resources for effective discharge of its mandate, and conceptualising new possibilities and benefits to the citizens of Africa; and Carrying out the day-to-day management of the AU. Other details Inaugurated in 2003 Tenure – 4 years (renewable)	Commission originated in 1951 Tenure – 5 years (renewal not defined)

Source – Comparison between the AUC and EU done by the Researcher, Fieldwork (2015)

Comparatively, the AUC and the EC have virtually all things in common, beginning from acting the role of proposing and initiating draft policies, laws and protocols to implementation of such to achieve stated mandate as adopted by their respective Heads of governments.

Clear areas of differences between the AUC and the EC would most probably be to what extent member countries of the AUC would adhere to accepting the implementation of adopted protocols or treaties signed. A major factor that could bring out clearly this scenario is the obvious unequal status of basic infrastructures and economic disparities among member states of AUC, as against their counterparts in the EU. Besides, the supra-national character of the EC is a significant phenomenon that accounts for a dissimilarity between the two organs. Ironically, these issues speak to the ability or otherwise of the two organs and fall within the purview of their responsibilities in ensuring that there is commitment by member states of the Commissions to address their respective common challenges.

The European Commission also referred to as the High Authority, was designed to be a supranational administrative executive of European Union, and thus committed to

acting in the interests of the union as a whole and not taking instructions from national governments of member states. The AUC on its own does not possess a supranational character by which it could have been able to strictly enforce compliance with agreed decisions on common issues.

4.8.5 Conclusion

This chapter set out to place the African Union Commission (AUC) in context, by an exposition of its role as an organ of the AU, its vision and mission statement, and a highlight of its structure. The chapter also discussed the interventionist impact of the Commission, pointing out its record of successes and preliminary challenges, noting that more credible information about the organ would be most likely obtained at the stage of fieldwork for data collection. The chapter concluded by a graphical presentation of the similarities and points of departures between the AUC and the EC, with the submission that, the AUC does not possess the supranational character ascribed to its European counterpart, and hence its inability to live up to the expectations of the peoples of Africa whose fortunes it had hoped to turn around. The next chapter deals with presentation of the data generated for the study, and also highlights the findings arising therefrom.

Fig 10, The AUC Chairperson

Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, Former AUC Chairperson at the Opening of the 26th Ordinary Session of the Executive Council, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 26 January 2015.

Source - http://cpauc.au.int/en/

Chapter Five

PRESENTATION OF DATA AND FINDINGS

5.0   Introduction

This chapter deals with the presentation of the generated and collated data for the study, and the findings that emerged from the collated data in terms of themes and these are highlighted thematically for purposes of analysis. This chapter essentially relied on and applied the data collection, collation methods, as well as the procedure for presentation as detailed in chapter one of the study (1.6 through 1.6.7). The chapter also highlighted the experiences against which the researcher contended and the measures taken to overcome what could be regarded as field work challenges. It must be mentioned that the AUC participants provided the logistics and channels by which the field work in Addis Ababa became a possibility.

In the previous chapter – chapter four specifically, the study set out to place the African Union Commission (AUC) in its proper context, providing an exposition of its role as an organ of the AU, its vision and mission statement, and a highlight of its structure. The chapter concluded by a graphical presentation of the similarities and points of departures between the AUC and the EC, and posited that, the AUC does not possess the supranational character ascribed to its European counterpart.

5.1   Data collection method/instrument

As indicated in chapter one, the study employed the use of interview method of data collection for the study and this was obtained through face-to-face interview sessions (with participants in target institutions in South Africa); and the use of telephone skype and textual responses (with participants in Addis Ababa). The breakdown of the participants and their affiliated organisations are provided in both Tables 1, 2 and 3 below.

5.1.1   Data collation

The data presented in this section below, are in the order they appeared on the table depicted as appendix 1. The table provides as a glance, views and reactions of

participants to the interview questions for this study. Needless to mention that the instrument for data collection for the research is the interview instrument. However, it turned out that some of the participants who could not be tracked down for an interview session, for reasons of tight schedules, time and other extraneous factors, opted for textual response method. In all, all the recorded interviews and the textual responses were transcribed and collated respectively, and further organised into themes for qualitative analysis as proposed.

This Chapter is organised around the research questions coded Q1-Q5 as posed in the chapter one of this study, and they are as follows to facilitate recollection and serve as a reminder -

Q1.   How can the AUC drive and facilitate integration in Africa?

Q2.   What are the challenges facing AU's integration arrangements in Africa?

Q3.   How would you assess the various sub-regional communities as building blocks for integration in Africa in terms of successes and failures?

Q4.   How can the international environment influence the AUC in its integration efforts?

Q5   What policy options and recommendations can be identified and proposed by the AUC for effective of integration of the continent?

Table 2, showing the proposed and targeted participating organisations

S/N	African Union Commission (AUC)	New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)	South African Institute of African Affairs (SAIIA)	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA)	United Nations Office for Projects (UNOP)

Table 3, showing the institutions which were represented in this study and the respective particpants/respondent coded

S/N	African Union Commission (AUC)	New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)	South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA)	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA)
CODE	P 01-16	P 01 – 04	P 01 - 06	P 01 – 12

P = Participants/Respondents

Codes = Showing the number of active participants per institution

At the proposal stage of this study, it was predetermined that a total of thirty-five (35) personnel would be interviewed and relevant data generated. The distribution of which was to be as follows - That fifteen (15) officials from the AUC were targeted randomly. The intention derived from the fact that the organ is made up of eight (8) directorates plus the office of the Chairperson and the Deputy Chairperson.; Five (5) officials were targeted at the NEPAD; while Five (5) officials were targeted at the SAIIA; Ten officials from the UNECA; and five from the United Nations Office for Projects (UNOP). The researcher targeted these institutions based on their complementarity in the pursuit of the integration agenda for the African continent.

Table 4, showing the location of participants, methods of data collection and timing of interview sessions

S/NO	PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS	LOCATION	METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION
1	African Union Commission AUC	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia	Telephonic interviews and textual response (From July 2016 – Dec 2016)

2	New Partnership for Africa's Development (**NEPAD**)	Midrand, South Africa	Interviews (face-to-face and telephonic) From May 2016 – July 2016
3	South African Institute of International Affairs (**SAIIA**)	Johannesburg	Interviews (face –to-face and telephonic) August 2016
4	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa **UNECA (ECA**)	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia	Telephonic interviews and textual response – December 2016

Within the bureau of the AUC which consists of the eight directorates, the following five directorates were targeted namely – the Political Affairs Directorate; the Economic Affairs Directorate; the Peace and Security Directorate; Social Affairs Directorate; and Trade and industry. The expectation being that voluntary and willing participants will more readily be engaged giving the focus of the study. As it turned out, most respondents came from the Political and Economic Directorates and consist mainly of Heads of Units. Among the AUC respondents, some who exhibited high commitment offered to persuade their colleagues to participate in the study and this made the response rate above 100%. Details of this are in the below response rate sub-section.

However, given the ethical imperatives of anonymity and confidentiality, and especially the relative sensitivity nature of the study, the researcher made commitments to participants (some of whom are persons in high profile positions) to use pseudonyms/codes in the presentation of participants' views. It is exciting that a majority of the participants did not object to their identity and designations being revealed. The researcher may disclose the identity of any of the participants where it is unavoidably required.

5.2 Response rate

A total of thirty-five (35) participants were proposed for this study as highlighted earlier above and in line with the proposed estimates and their distribution among the participating institutions. The institutions were formally contacted through a letter,

accompanied by a copy of the interview schedule (a copy each of letter to participate in the study, and interview schedule attached as appendix). Getting a reply and acceptance did not come easy as the researcher had to do several letters explaining in details, what was needed and the purpose of the contact. At a later stage and section in this study, the researcher's experience which passed for limitations and challenges, will be adequately reflected.

5.3   Fieldwork experience and challenges

While interview sessions were conducted with little or no hiccups, with the participants here in South Africa, including interviewees at the NEPAD office in Midrand and the South Africa Institute of International Affairs, it was very difficult with participants in Ethiopia which is the study area. The difficulty had to do with the inability of the researcher to visit the Secretariat of the AU to conduct interview sessions. The problem of travel logistics was the most limiting amidst other challenges. Expectedly, the researcher was able to obtain a formal invitation to visit the AU for a period of three months within which to carry out the field work (copy of letter attached as appendix). But all efforts to secure a travel visa at the Ethiopian Embassy in Pretoria proved abortive. After every other unsuccessful attempt to get around this challenge, the researcher graciously got some officials of the AUC, NEPAD and UNECA who agreed to do telephonic and skype interviews to enable me make progress in the study. While the researcher had proposed to engage with participants across the ten portfolios of the AUC, only five portfolios indicated readiness to participate in the study. In the circumstance, a total of ten (16) officials (42%) of the AUC participants responded. Ten (10) officials volunteered telephonic interviews and their responses recorded and later transcribed, while a total of six (6) official sent textual responses, thus giving a response rate of 42%. All the transcribed and textual responses have been thematically analyzed on the basis of the study research questions and documented as contained in table 1.

At the NEPAD office in Midrand, Johanesburg, a total of four (4) officials were interviewed separately (one telephonic, three face-to-face), giving a response rate of 10%. At the South African Institute of International Affairs, a total of six (6) officials

were engaged for separate interview sessions (two officers, telephonic; four officers, face-to-face) leading to 16% response rate.

At the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, a total of twelve (12) officials were reached and who agreed to do telephonic interviews. Due to some urgent need to undertake urgent official trips, only seven personnel could do telephonic interviews, while five officers did skype interview because of their locations. For UNECA, the response rate is 32%. It is worth mentioning that the UNECA officers arranged for the skype contact. And this was after a lot of reminders and patience on the part of the researcher. Generally, response time for all the participants/respondents was, in most cases, not more than 15minutes and this was made easy and possible because every participant received a copy each of the interview guide/ schedule before-hand and was adequately prepared. In all, a total of thirty-eight (38) officials, amounting to 109%, participated in the study through – face to face interview, telephonic and skype interview; and by textual responses.

5.4   Presentation of Findings

For clarity, the researcher has opted to set out the findings which emanated from participants' responses to the research questions on the basis of their institutional affiliation and in a sequence as highlighted hereunder.

5.4.1   Responses from Participants -

5.4.2   From the African Union Commission (AUC)

As noted above, a total of sixteen (16) officials from both the Political, Social, Peace and Security and Economic Divisions (Directorates) participated in the study by agreeing to respond to the interview questions contained in the guide. This gives a response rate of 42%. In applying the view of Babbie and Mouton (2001) on response rate which suggests that a response rate of at least 50% is adequate for analysis of a survey, 60% is considered good while a 70% return rate is considered excellent. The 108.57% response rate by the all the participants can be said to be reasonable for this study.

Below is both a tabular and chart representation of the participating organisations, number of participants and applicable response rates in percentage.

Table 5, showing organisations, number of participants and response rates

S/N	Organisations/Institutions	Proposed Participants	Active Participants	Representation in %
1	African Union Commission (AUC)	15	16	42
2	New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)	5	4	10
3	South Africa Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA)	5	6	16
4	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA)	10	12	32
	Total	35	38	100
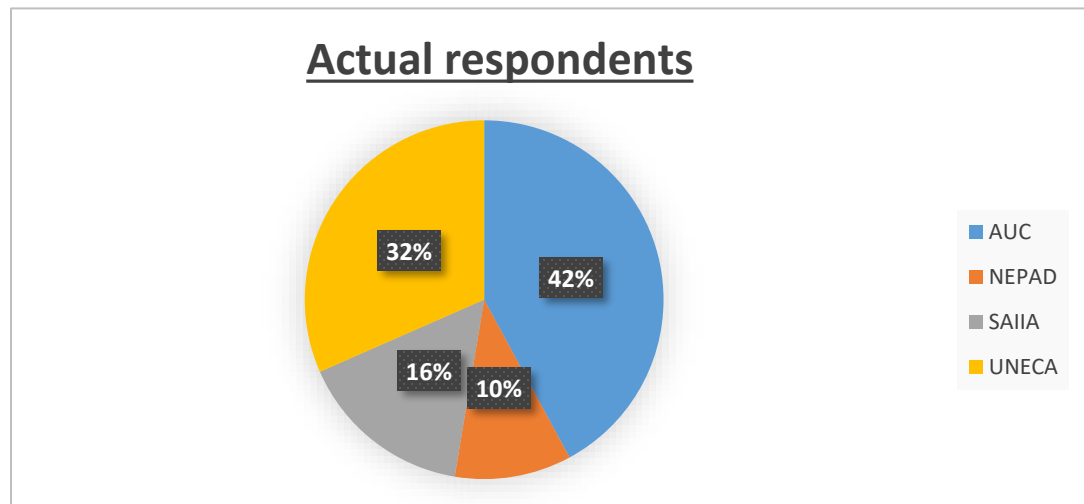
Fig 11, a Pie Chart showing actual participation in %

As depicted in the chart, represented by fig 11, the response rate showed that the AUC recorded 42%; NEPAD recorded 10%; SAIIA recorded 16%; while UNECA recorded 32%.

Clearly, the researcher had discovered through electronic correspondences, that each of the participants is a Unit head in their designations, and had willingly offered to participate in the study, thus reinforcing the perception of reliability of the data generated. Their designations are reflected in the mails received from the participants. Their overall responses to the interview guide give the impression that they understood clearly the focus of the study and therefore provided relevant information. Perhaps, this could be due to their involvement in the operations of the and also as in-house personnel to justify their understanding of the role and mandate of the AUC as an organ of the African Union (AU). For example, the AUC participants presented the mission of the AUC as follows –

> *Its Mission: To become "an efficient and value-adding institution driving the African integration and development process in close collaboration with African Union Member States, the Regional Economic Communities and African citizens", The African Union Commission, Strategic Plan 2014-2017, July 2013, Source (AUC Participants, see Appendix 1, P01-16)*

In addition, the 32-action points which represent the mandate or functions of the organ are also captured in Table 1 as forwarded by an AUC participant. It is also worth mentioning that the AUC respondents submit unanimously that the organ (AUC) has the *convening power* and as such, it is well placed to carry out integration agenda for Africa. Through it *convening power*, it is in a better position to mobilise its members to adopt certain norms that will help with integration. This is consistent with its mandate relating to the responsibility to carry out implementation of the decisions and adopted protocols of the leaders of the AU.

In line with Spradley's criteria of enculturation and current involvement above, the AUC participants in this study can be said to be clearly eligible more so that their responses as insiders reflect their understanding with and involvement with the activities of the organ Spradley (1979). These findings provide insights into the role

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and mandate of the AUC as an administrative organ of the AU and its ability to facilitate the integration agenda on the continent. On the other criterion of adequate time by Spradley, the researcher notes that all the AUC participants had to change the telephonic interview sessions severally, even though with apologies. To make up for lost times, promises were made to encourage colleagues to participate in the study and eventually led to a good number of willing participants for the study. The researcher shall demonstrate how Spradley's criteria and fit into the study towards the end of this chapter.

On the challenges facing integration in Africa which is research question two (Q2), various suggestions were made by the AUC participants as shown in their responses (Table 1, on AUC, P01-16).

Clear themes that are quite noticeable and prominent in the views by the AUC participants include –

- Lack of political will on the part of African leaders to the integration agenda of the continent among other issues;
- Little or no funding capacity for the organisation's activities of which integration is part;
- Conflicting national interests among African leaders as each is more concerned about their seemingly personal interest of which perpetual stay in power is one;
- Continental institutional framework is also a major challenge that needs to be resolved urgently after which the rest, such as the development of common policies, domestic resource mobilization, monitoring and evaluation strategies could be easily embarked upon, etc.

In addition, some of the AUC participants have also identified a fundamental challenge of the vestiges of colonialism, which ensured that African countries became dependent economies, relying heavily on imports for their sustenance while exporting raw materials which are thereafter converted into finished goods and later imported. This derives from the fact that African economies are structurally mono-cultural and non-competitive. This implies that each of the African countries has tended to depend

on one product or commodity for exports as their revenue earner and this impinges their overall developmental efforts. It is a generally held view that intra-Africa trade is unfortunately poor and low as a result. This apart, African people seem to be incurable consumers of imported goods, perhaps on account of quality, and this has led to high import bills hanging on their governments.

On question three (Q3) which is assessing the performances of the sub-regional organisations as building blocks for achieving continental integration, 90% of the AUC respondents provided the following italicized responses -

"The African Union (AU) has an excellent development model on ground. Sub-regional organisations as building blocks provided an opportunity to reach the grassroots and could promote the desire for both political and economic integration of the continent. Such bodies as ECOWAS, ECCAS, EAC, SADC, AMU, have engendered some level of integrative arrangements in their respective regions in the areas of movement of goods and services, trade, transport and communication, and considerable amount of success and progress has been recorded in about two or three regions. However, the participants have pointed out generally that in practice, the sub-regional arrangements (ECOWAS, SADC, EAC, etc,) seem not to have come close to providing or creating the momentum for the envisaged African political and economic cohesion on the basis of varying performances in their regions, (P01-16).

Accordingly, the AUC respondents' reactions to question three identified some factors responsible for this seeming lacuna, in terms of differences in parameters between the AU and its mandate on one hand, and the sub-regional bodies on the other, and these include –

…. the fact that regional bodies creating separate treaties that have nothing to do with the AU, which unavoidably brings loyalty issues. For example, these sub-regional groupings don't report to the AU but to their bosses; competing demands between the AU and the sub-regional bodies which often times result into duplications in many areas. The AU and its

member states only appear to agree on issues of peace and security, as well as, on governance (election), but hardly forge a common position on issues of trade, defence, energy, etc., thereby affecting the effectiveness of the AUC in its mandate. The AU also suffers from what can be referred to as the "big brother mentality" where the relatively bigger and stronger member-states call the shots all the time; - Internal structures of the sub-regional bodies are very different from the set up at the AUC level. This affects coordination of their activities. Besides, if one considers COMESA, which starts from Egypt down to Zimbabwe in terms of geographical inclusion, the view that sub-regional bodies can lead to integration of the continent may be plausible. However, it all depends on the final objectives. COMESA for instance, has so far not mentioned about political integration, but has continued to emphasise economic integration. Member states are often divided on which direction to follow between economic and political integration. It is clear then that the problem with the AU is its mandate, structure and powers, hence, impeding the role of the AUC which relies on the mandate of the AU. There is the need to decentralize the focus and objectives of the organisation and for the implementing organs to be given more resources and effective power and authority, (*see AUC Participants, Appendix 1 for details*).

Emerging themes from participants' reactions to question three include -

- Differing levels of performances associated with the regional groupings as indicated in the above responses;
- Proliferation of regional communities with differing structures and objectives, there resulting in lack of coordination of activities;
- Disparities in the sizes of member states whereby the bigger states tend to assert dominance over smaller states in reaching decisions on shared continental matters.

On research question four (Q4), relating to how can the international environment influence the AUC in its integration efforts, all the participants from the AUC

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responded in the affirmative and their responses have been summarized in italics as follows –

> *….With over 90% of AU program budget financed by external forces, the organization is clearly made to dance to the tune of the funders. Donors put in money to sustain their interest. For instance, donors tend to put their money to ensure peace and security and in the contemporary times, paying attention to migration issues. Donors are generally indisposed to providing finance towards hard projects that could speed up integration in Africa. For instance, donors don't finance free movement of people, African financial institutions because doing so will jeopardize their interests, especially France which will always want to hold on to the CFA, etc. In addition, it can be observed that the former colonial powers would want to preserve their interests on the continent and will strive to circumvent any arrangement considered to be inimical to their goals, be it integration or otherwise. However, there is a lot that can be learnt from the European model of integration, but with caution, as there are peculiar factors for Africa that would require intense considerations. These include among others, differing socio-cultural, economic and political values and orientations that intrinsically underpin policy formulations*, (*see AUC Participants, Appendix 1, P01-16*).

Arising from the responses from the participants to question as italicized above, the following themes can be identified -

- The seemingly irreversible "dependency syndrome" or the reliance tendency that characterises the relationship between Africa and their former colonial masters, and the more highly industrialised world in general remains an intractable haunting phenomenon on the socio-economic and political of the

continent. For the researcher, the often-cited argument that the influence of the western world on Africa being the bane of the latter's development is more of hypocrisy, rather than the reality. This view can be supported by Martin (2002) who opined that the "African soil is too poor for Africa to be able to do without Europe, and the African sub-soil is too rich for Europe to be able to do without Africa, thus it must be recognized that Africa is an indispensable complement to Europe". This view is anchored on the fact that while it is questionable that, on one hand, African leaders seek aid for developmental projects in Africa from the western world and in another breath, turn round to cast aspersions on the donors for own inadequacies which in most cases are self-inflicted. These afflictions include poverty, civil strife, insurgencies, etc., and these have direct link with mis-governance, maladministration, unbridled corruption and dictatorial tendencies of African leaders.

- Apart from the reliance syndrome, this study notes that following the globalized nature of the international system, it is arguable that no nation-state can exist in isolation. Therefore, African continent with its fifty four (54) independent countries (currently) will continue to interrelate with itself and with the external environment. The interdependent character of the international system is such that countries are categorized as developed and developing countries. Some countries are even described as underdeveloped. Development in this sense refers to the level of welfare of the different nationalities in comparative terms. The researcher shall expatiate further on this perspective in the next chapter of this study (chapter six) on the effect of the external environment on the African policy environment.

On research question five (5), relating to what policy options and recommendations that can be identified and proposed by the AUC for effective of integration of the continent, 80% of the AUC participants provided the following responses as italicized below, while 20% of the respondents did not provide any response to the question –

..... Finance programs with locally generated funds; make the AU a people's organization and not just of governments; Make full use of the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOC) as the tool for reaching the common

man; and Re-write the Treaties of the Sub-Regional Bodies and make them tied to the AU's structure and agenda. Policy declarations today appear more robust and relevant to the objectives of the organization; the leadership of the AUC can greatly influence the integrative capability if it is visionary and possesses the vigour and dexterity to recommend feasible, fascinating and relevant policies and programmes of work. On the policy of engaging private individuals and non-state actors for resource mobilization, it is noteworthy that this is a novel initiative, and first ever endeavour of its nature the continental body has embarked on; and in overall, has produced good results. It should be given a chance to evolve. Besides, the current direction that the AU is taking to get more involved in advancing socio-economic development of the peoples, is offering a ray of hope to some African leaders who hitherto, had been doubtful, and have already started to see the tangible benefits that the organization can make possible for them. This evolving awareness seems to have created in the leaders the need to give the AU and its integration agenda, a more positive consideration, (see Appendix 1, P01-16).

The researcher observed in the reactions from the AUC participants to question five that the efforts towards integration in Africa can no longer be within the purview of African leaders, but would involve the private sector, and especially the rich and wealthy entrepreneurs. As a result, it can be argued that leaders in Africa have tended to emphasise the significant role played by the private sector in the efforts towards development in every society. This situation is undeniable as the private sector performs a catalyst role to drive development being a reliable source of requisite skills, expertise and technological infrastructure needed to facilitate growth. The role of multi-national organisations such as Ford, Shell Petroleum, MTN, Bill Gates Foundation, Unilever, Toyota, as global entities, cannot but attract attention. As non-state actors in the international system, their activities have tended to affect inter-state relations, hence the need to cultivate their relationships. The African Union Foundation founded (AUF) in 2013, owes its establishment to the efforts of private individuals who heeded the calls for intervention by the outgone Chairperson of the AUC. In the opinion of the researcher, this development can be attributed to Her

Excellency, Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma's commitment to ensuring that the AU adopted an inward-looking strategy to address the challenge of funding against which the organisation has had to contend.

Still on funding, the African Union had been grappling with the inability to muster needed finance for its operations. It is however gratifying that African leaders have agreed to raise about one-point-two-billion ($1.2) US dollars a year to fund the African Union Commission to enable it carry out its mandate as an organ of the organisation. This was one of the resolutions that emerged at the AU leaders' summit in July 2016, Kigali. This is to be aggregated by the imposition of 0.2% tariff on all African imports beginning from year 2017, SABC News (2016). In a report by Connolly (2016), one of the significant outcomes of the AU summit was the approval of a new funding model for the AU Peace Fund that has been heralded as a landmark move for African solutions to African problems. Quoting the former AU Chairperson, President Idris Deby, Connolly noted that "... *for the first time, the continent is taking charge of its own destiny, adding that the plan would put an end to the frustrating and troublesome dependency on outside financing"*. Whether the resolution by African leaders to generate funds for its operation will lead to expected outcomes remains to be seen in view of the experience of challenge of lack of political will that has plagued the organisation since inception in 1963.

5.4.3 Responses from the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)

On the research question one (Q1), the NEPAD participants provided the below highlighted response –

> *...the African Union Commission (AUC) is a successor to the Secretariat of the African Union (AU), and charged with the responsibility of overall administration of the organization. As an organ, it prepares strategic plans and studies for the consideration of the Economic Council, elaborates, promotes, coordinates and harmonizes the programmes and policies of the Union, (see NEPAD respondents' comment in Appendix 1, P01-04).*

The above reported response from NEPAD is an indication of their clear understanding of the functions of the AUC. It will be recalled that the NEPAD itself,

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is a technical agency established the African Union as a strategic vision for the continent on economic development and regional integration. The NEPAD Agency as a body of the AU, is designed to play a facilitative and coordinative role. It specialises on the implementation of continental programmes and an engagement with regional economic communities (RECs) such as the ECOWAS, ECCAS, SADC, etc. Whether the NEPAD has live up to its mandate or not remains to be seen and inquiry on such is not within the purview of the current study.

On question two (Q2) about the challenges facing the AU's integration efforts, All the NEPAD participants responded by providing the following responses and have been integrated by the researcher in an italicized format below–

> *…. African leaders' desire towards integration is not in doubt, especially in terms of policy commitment and protocols adopted so far. However, the journey towards integration is not an easy one. Challenges facing integration efforts in Africa include the following: Lack of political will by African leaders, a factor which in itself is subject to debate. This is because, while there leaders who are genuinely committed, there are others who seem to be hypocritical and therefore creates some form of bottlenecks with no authority to enforce actions; There is the fundamental challenge of the vestiges of colonialism, which ensured that African countries became dependent economies, relying heavily on imports for their sustenance while exporting raw materials which are thereafter converted into finished goods and later imported. Closely related to this is that African economies are mono-cultural and non-competitive, hence the reason for low intra-Africa trade. Besides, leaders in Africa seem to be more concerned with their national interests against the aggregated continental interest which require collective resolve to address for the benefit of their peoples. Differing national interest has been compounded by a tendency of sitting tight in office in which case, some African leaders are now seemingly concretising the idea of changing constitutions through manipulations in order to legitimize their continued stay in power* (*see NEPAD participants' responses in Appendix 1, P01-04*)

Martin (2002) seems to align with the responses by the NEPAD participants on the challenges impeding integration efforts in Africa. Martin notes that among the major problems identified by scholars and writers of African regional integration include uneven distribution of the benefits and costs of integration; institutional deficiencies; politico-ideological factors; external dependence; and ethno-regional conflict. Martin (2002) therefore recommended the neo-functionalist's position which cautions against excessive politicization of issues that had the potential to impede the overall efforts towards integration. Martin further advocated healthy cooperation in areas considered less controversial such as social, economic, scientific and technical to enable concentration on specific programmes and projects that would improve the overall wellbeing of the peoples of the continent.

In the next chapter, the issues highlighted above will be discussed for a better articulation and in proper perspective against the study research questions.

On question three (Q3), relating to the effectiveness of the various sub-regional bodies as a platform for achieving continental integration, the NEPAD participants responded as follows –

> *.... Sub-regional organisations no doubt, serve as building blocks for integration efforts in Africa, but they are not stand-alone as they also contend with issues of lack of political will, disparity in economic capabilities and vestiges of colonialism; Sub-regional organisations differ from one region to the other in terms of strength and weaknesses. For example, ECOWAS and SADC seem to be able to hold and sustain their activities, thereby seemingly making some impact in their regions. On the other hand, the AMU and ECCAS are relatively weak, coupled with fragile socio-economic and political conditions existing in their regions; At the sub-regional level, leaders within the regions seem to be more committed in the pursuit of their integration efforts, and with that, there is a relative visible impact in their integrative arrangements. This is not the same at the continental stage. Finally, the mono-cultural or mono-product nature of African states constitutes a major impediments to integration efforts on the continent. African countries have*

similar exports, and which are generally non-competitive, hence, very low intra-continent trade relationships, (*see NEPAD participants' responses in Appendix, P01-04*).

A critical observation of the Nepad participants' response to question three above reveals that the following themes can be identified viz –

- Sub-regional bodies are relevant, but different in structure, mandate and capability;
- Regional bodies tend to accord more loyalty to their regions as against a continental body;
- Regional bodies reflect their different colonial experiences.

Independent inquiries on the effectiveness of the regional organisations focused in this study and others revealed mixed reactions. While some commentators are of the view these bodies have made significant impact on the peoples in their respective regions, others disagreed, maintaining that, they are at best platforms where leaders come together to discuss and articulate their personal interest and agenda. In the course of this study, a more critical perspective will be adopted to possibly arrive at a valid view of issues of concern.

On research question four (Q4) about the likely influence of the external environment or otherwise on Africa Union's efforts at integration, NEPAD participants respond as presented in italics below –

> *….. In a nutshell, the international environment does and can influence integration arrangement in Africa. Integration is not done in a vacuum. Africa is equally a player in the international environment, and can be affected by developments outside of its sphere. The influence can either be positive or negative, depending on the policy initiatives and drive of the integration arrangement of the integrators and the policy direction of the blocs outside of the African environment, such as the European Union (EU) and BRICS, etc; The European Union partially represents a pathway or model for Africa. This is complemented by models or patterns from other blocs of the world. Besides,*

by adopting a model for use is allowed and useful, provided it serves the needed purpose and also promotes the spirit of global partnerships, (*see NEPAD Participants, Appendix 1,P01-04*)

In the view of the researcher, there is a debateable opinion to the effect that integration of the African continent may not be fully realised as the former colonial overlords will ensure that the status quo (socio-economic conditions in Africa) remains unchanged to protect their imperial interest. This position, however negative and doubtful as it may be, seems to align with the view of a majority of the participants in this study. Perhaps, there should be a more intense and objective inquiry into what constitutes the interests of the African states and their former colonial powers. This study posits that interactions between and among nation states are informed by their respective national interest and this expatiated upon in the section dealing with discussion of findings in the course of this study.

On research question five (5) bordering on what new initiative or policy recommendations could be proffered to speed up African integration efforts, the NEPAD responded a presented below –

> *..... There is no doubt that policy frameworks in respect of integration agenda and programmes are not in short supply. However, what is perhaps of concern is the lack of clear commitment to implementation of protocols and resolution on issues. For example, on the simple matters of tariffs on trade relationships among member countries, deliberate efforts are not being made to concretise decisions by follow-up actions. On the impact of leadership of the Commission, its ability to effectively keep the intervention agenda of the organization in the consciousness of the leaders and the peoples in general constitutes an impetus that rub off on the process of integration of the continent*, (*see NEPAD participants' responses on Appendix 1, P01-04*)

In particular, one of the interviewees at NEPAD clearly stated that, … *the AU has in its records and books a myriad of agreements, resolutions, protocols and policies, all designed to pursue desired programmes" (see NEPAD Participant's response, see Appendix 1 for details).* This implies that the AU does not lack adopted resolutions

for addressing identified challenges facing the continent. But, what is of concern is the often-cited factor of lack of political will needed to follow through implementation of a clear cut agenda for the benefit of the peoples on the continent. Added to this, is the challenge of funding, compounded by the inability of some member states to meet their annual dues and subscriptions.

For the records, it might be relevant to provide insights into the institution of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). Arising from the imperatives to shift the focus of the organisation of African Unity (OAU) from political independence and sovereign nationhood having been achieved to economic emancipation and development, African leaders embarked upon designs of a series of pan-African approaches among which is NEPAD. It is conceived as both a vision and a policy framework for to address critical challenges facing the continent including widespread poverty, poor level of development and Africa's marginalisation internationally, NEPAD (2002). NEPAD is designed to provide opportunities for African countries to take full control of their development agenda through working more closely and cooperatively with international partners. NEPAD sets to deliver through conceptions, harmonisation and coordination of programmes currently compartmentalised into six theme areas, including – Agriculture and Food Security; Climate Change and National Resource Management; Regional Integration and Infrastructure; Human Development; Economic and Corporate Governance; and Cross-cutting Issues such as Gender, Capacity Development and Information and Communications Technology. Within the framework of the NEPAD Agency, there is the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), established in 2003 by the NEPAD Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC) charged with the *"primary objective of fostering the adoption of policies, values, standards and practices of political and economic governance that leads to political stability, accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration, economic growth and sustainable development,"* AU (2013).

As an agency within the framework of the AU, NEPAD personnel, some of whom participated in this study as interviewees readily possess insiders' understanding and knowledge of the workings of the AU in general and the role of the AUC in particular.

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Responses from the South Africa Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA)

On research question one (Q1) about the role and ability of the AUC to facilitate integration in Africa, the participants provided the information below culled from Table 1 –

> *…. The AUC is the organ which carries out the entire administrative activities of the organization and also implements the decisions and resolutions taken and adopted by member states at their summits. The AUC can only recommend to and encourage member-states to work towards integration, it does not have enforcement authority to do so; A couple of African leaders can be said to believe in the integration project, and this can be attested to by the relative level of successes by some of the sub-regional bodies, such as ECOWAS and SADC. However, not all member-states have the economic capacity to meet their financial dues to the organization thereby making the relatively bigger member-states to bear the suffocating burdens of sustaining the AU, SAIIA*

The foregoing view by the SAIIA demonstrates its understanding of what the AUC stands for and its statutory mandate. As an independent, non-governmental and a professional institution, the SAIIA has the discretion to make and justify its informed position without any form of bias, on the AU and the capacity of the AUC as one of its organs, in the implementation of the decisions the leaders of the organisation.

On research question two (Q) bordering on the challenges facing the AU's integration efforts, the SAIIA participants responded as follows –

> *…… On challenges facing the AUC in the performance of its responsibilities, it is safe to argue that the challenges facing member-states have a corollary effect on the effectiveness and efficiency of the AUC, because the organ is financed by member-states, and not independent and self-sustaining. It does not have an enforcement power to coerce member-states into complying with resolutions and policy declarations; More importantly, the intractable concern of lack of political will on the part of the African leaders to concretise*

protocols and implement decisions on issues of interest to member-states remains a challenge. For example, on the issue of annual dues and subscriptions, the records of the organization show that some member countries are continually in default, and the AUC does not possess the capacity to force payment. The poor financial status of the organization since its inception has not shown visible signs of improvement as the AU continues to rely on funding from development partners as donors with its accompanying consequences. In addition, the issues of greed, corruption and tyranny associated with governance in Africa have become a bane to development on the continent. The fallout of this is manifesting in the inability of African leaders to meet the needs of their peoples in terms of improved welfare standard, practice of rule of law and observance of human rights, (see SAIIA Participants responses in Appendix 1, P01-06)

The researcher notes that the SAIIA participants are unanimous on the challenges contending against the AU thereby limiting the capacity of the AUC in the discharge of its responsibilities as captured in the foregoing. These include –

- Funding challenges;
- Bad leadership on account of greed, corruption and tyranny

Similar views have also been expressed by other participants of the participating institutions on same question, thus thematically aligning or in consonance with the view of others.

On research question three (Q3) relating to the performances of the sub-regional bodies on integration efforts, the SAIIA provide the information below –

…. Yes, sub-regional organisations indeed provide a platform for continental integration project, especially with the level of relative successes recorded in each region. For example, in the area of free movement of goods and services, the ECOWAS, ECA and SADC, etc, can be tipped to have made significant impact in their respective regions. On the issue of the effect of differing colonial experiences, the impact on integration efforts especially at the sub-

regional, level is quite huge. In SADC for instance, the effect of Lusophone and Anglophone experiences and decision-making processes on integration agenda is challenging. So also is what obtains in the ECOWAS on harmonization of policies. Interestingly, there is a noticeable progress toward integration by ECOWAS following its adoption of a common passport which has facilitated movement across the region, (see SAIIA participants' responses in Appendix1, P01-06).

Perhaps, the other regional groupings on the continent would take a cue from the ECOWAS initiative and facilitate the ease of movement of goods and services in their regions. This is not imply that other regional bodies have not embarked on some integrative arrangements to address peculiar challenges within their region.

On research question four (Q4) which requires responses on the influence of the external environment on the integration efforts of the AUC, the SAIIA responded summarily as follows –

…. Perhaps, the perception that events in extra-African countries could pose unassailable challenge to Africa may have been a stimulus to African integration desire. There is no doubt that the European integration experience offers some insights for Africa. However, the recent development of Brexit and the future of the EU, of which the European Commission is an organ, makes the Union a suspect. Although, there are unconfirmed speculations that France is making a move to walk out of the Union. If this happens, it could turn out worrisome in view of the status of the country as a member country, (see SAIIA respondents' comments in Appendix 1, P01-06).

On research question (Q5) which seeks alternative policy direction that could speed integration efforts in Africa, the SAIIA participants provided the information below as captured from their responses –

… At the sub-regional level, integrative arrangements may come out easier as against a continental agenda of same pursuit, owing to issues of lack of political will and commitment. It is noteworthy that the AUC can only provide

the necessary platform where decisions on integration can be explored and pursued towards implementation. The AUC on its own does not have any enforcement authority over member states. Hence, African leaders who have the responsibility to demonstrate the needed political will for integration should engage more in intense consultation to encourage unenthusiastic members to get on board. Perhaps, the AU leaders may widen their consultation base to draw upon the private sector where experts are in abundance for a more robust and academic perspective on issues of continental concerns, but devoid of unnecessary politicization, could emerge, (see SAIIA participants' responses in Appendix 1, P01-06).

The South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) is South Africa's premier research institute on international issues. As an independent, non-government think tank, the institute has a long and proud history of providing thought leadership in Africa. It serves as a centre for research excellence and a home for stimulating public discussion.

The institute engages issues on social development, foreign policy, governance, the environment, and economic policy, linking local experiences with global debates. This body of African-generated knowledge provides local and regional decision-makers with independent, evidence-based options for Africa's future development, (SAIIA: 2015). It needs be emphasised that the views by expressed by each of the participants from this institute are strictly those of the respondents.

5.4.4 Responses from the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA)

On research question one (Q1) bordering on the role of the AUC and the integration agenda of the AU, the interviewees provided the below summarised responses –

> *… The Commission seeks to drive African integration and development process in close collaboration with African Union member countries, the regional economic communities and African citizens; It is noteworthy indeed a robust and commendable initiative towards driving integration that provision of space to private individuals and non-state actors and others*

complementing one another in advancing Africa's transformation is on the continent; The administrative process of carrying out duties and functions by the AUC must be efficient, transparent and accountability guaranteed. With the mandate to coordinate and implement the decisions of the other organs of the Union, the AUC seeks to promote and foster he continent's common objectives in the international community. To successfully facilitate integration in Africa, the AUC must seek to develop a common value proposition that is built on freedom, equity, justice and fairness for the benefit of the peoples of the continent; must strive to work out a self-sustaining framework rather than relying on foreign donors for the Union's developmental projects.

The responses by UNECA to question one as captured above show that the participants have a sound understanding of the mandate and duties of the AUC, more so that both the UNECA and AU have adjoining offices in Ethiopia which make contacts and collaborations easy.

On research question two (Q2) bordering on the challenges facing the AU in its integration efforts, the UNECA participants responded as captured below –

… African leaders are not committed to pursuing integration efforts in line with policy declarations, treaties, protocols and decisions reached at summits; member states of the organization are still tied to the apron strings of their colonial overlords; Africa's quest for integration is faced with the following obstacles – dependence of some countries on colonial masters; Hitherto exclusion of the private sector from being a stakeholder; proliferation of sub-regional bodies; poor intra-Africa trade; under-development of human capital; macro-economic disequilibrium and foreign debt burden; war, diseases and uncertain climatic conditions; lack of scientific information and sharing strategies; and greed, corruption and tyranny on the part of African leaders, (see UNECA participants' responses in Appendix 1, P01-12).

More importantly, AU integration efforts are hampered little or no leadership performance in implementation of agreements, reinforced by promotion of individual member's interest. There is a lack of strong political will and support of the integration process and the Secretariat, now known as the AUC does not possess strict means of enforcing the implementation of agreements by leaders. In another context, a major challenge remains insatiable quest for power among African leaders, and the proclivity for perpetuation in office. This unbridled tendency has consequently led to the upsurge of rebellion and civil strife on the continent.

On research question three (Q3) seeking the effectiveness of the sub-regional bodies as building blocks for continental integration agenda, the UNECA provided the information below as indented –

> *… Unfortunately though, the sub-regional bodies are equally facing similar challenges and predicaments in terms of commitments of leadership, unequal economic capability and funding issues, overlapping membership and mono-cultural economies. Hence, overall performance not outstanding, achievements very low and challenges very huge; Sub-regional bodies must unite and encourage private sector inclusion and participation in their activities. While it is significant to have multilateral bodies as platforms to facilitate integration in Africa, there is a need to ensure that multiplicity of such is not promoted. This will make coordination and implementation of agreements easy and the incidence of duplication of services avoided UNECA, (see UNECA participants' responses in Appendix 1, P01-12).*

Implicit in the above is the acknowledgement of the fact that working together in synergy especially by sovereign nation states within a defined regional environment such as the African continent, could serve as a catalyst for mutual development. This view is supported by Onwuka and Shaw (1989) in what they described as a thesis thus, "*that for Africa, the realities still point to the imperative of regional cooperation*", (i.e, working together in unity).

On research question four (Q4) which seeks to know how the international environment can or influences the agenda of integration in Africa, UNECA participants provided the following responses in a summarised format –

> *… Unstable and volatile global environment, triggered by politico-economic upheavals, will and have continued to negatively affect integration efforts in Africa; Home grown strategies without the needed strong political will and support to implement decisions and agreements will not guarantee the expected level of integration on the continent. On how to disentangle the African countries for their dependent relationship, it may not be out rightly possible because the world is a global village. But African countries need labour intensive technique in the areas of production, and efforts should be geared at economic diversification. Also, necessary infrastructure facilities must be made available for industrialization to take place. Countries in Africa in particular, are tied to the apron strings of their colonial masters with great influence on decisions and actions taken at any period in time. Coupled with this, is the fact that these former colonies depend on colonial masters for financial assistance most of the time for their development needs. The western world which formerly colonized Africa for their self-interest would naturally not be comfortable with an attempt towards African coalition that will limit their desired exploitation of the continent, and will engage in subtle efforts to frustrate a continental unity, (See UNECA participants' responses in Appendix 1, P01-12).*

From the participants' responses above, it is clear that Africa's link with the global environment is inevitable in view of historical connections and the aftermath through search for economic resources on one hand, and need for developmental aid on the other.

On research question five (Q5) that seeks to propose policy option that could speed integration efforts in Africa, UNECA respondents provided the information below in a summarised format -

... Leadership is of essence in the efforts to achieve results in every endeavour. In the case of the AUC, its leadership must be purposeful, committed, unbiased, transparent, and focused. While it is noted that the AU has enough of policies and resolutions aimed at achieving the goal of integration in Africa, the following recommendations will be offered for consideration – Overlapping membership challenge should be urgently addressed to give room for a clear political commitment; given the challenge of economic inequalities among member states, new policy instrument to deal with the fears of economic polarization must be explored, e.g, multispeed arrangement which requires allowing weaker member states more time to liberalize; Private sector groups to be adequately involved in the integration project; Disputes resolution mechanisms must be strengthened and ways to ensure policy credibility must be pursued; Peace and security to be enhanced because wars and conflicts in a number of African regions and countries which have devastated transport networks, poor communications networks and inadequate and damaged infrastructure need to be resolved. On issues of greed and corruption, the AU should adopt a protocol on zero tolerance for corruption by African leaders, promote transparency and accountability in government. Political institutions in African countries should be strengthened so that it will be very easy to vote out corrupt leaders during elections, (*See UNECA participants' responses in Appendix 1, P01-12*).

The UNECA, also described as the Economic Commission for Africa, was established by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), an organ of the United Nations (UN) in 1958 as one of the UN's five regional commissions. The ECA seeks to promote the economic and social development of its member States of the United Nation (of which independent African countries are members) with a view to fostering intra-regional integration, and promote international cooperation for Africa's development. Made up of 54 member States, and playing a dual role as a regional arm of the UN and as a key component of the African institutional landscape. The ECA is well positioned to make unique contributions to address the Continent's development challenges. ECA also provides technical advisory services to African governments, intergovernmental

organizations and institutions. In addition, it formulates and promotes development assistance programmes and acts as the executing agency for relevant operational projects. Through this platform, the UN assists in the development of Africa by engaging directly in programme of action conceived by the AU for implementation to shape the life of Africans an in pursuit of the continental transformation.

5.5   Emerging themes from participants responses

Following a critical review of the responses to the interview questions upon which this study is anchored, the researcher has noted the following themes which have come out in the overall positions of the participants.

On research question one (Q1), all the respondents noted and described the African Union Commission (AUC) as an organ of the African Union (AU) with administrative responsibility. This suggests that the participants are genuinely aware of the AUC, its role and mandate.

On research question two (2), all the respondents are agreed that the challenges facing the AU's integration efforts include the following as captured thematically by the researcher –

- Lack of political will and commitment
- Unequal economic capabilities
- Differing vestiges of colonial legacies, coupled with predisposition of the former imperial masters to maintain a dependency syndrome
- Multi-cultural nature of African economies and non-competitiveness of products
- Differing political interests of African leaders
- Corruption, tyranny and long stay in office

The participants' responses have been themed as shown here to contexualise and facilitate understanding of the issues of concern in this sub-section. Perhaps, the argument can be made that a common string cuts across all the themes which emerged from the responses to question as highlighted above.

Using the template for analyzing qualitative data as established by Hair, J,F., et al (2016), the argument can also be made that the common themes above relating to question two as captured from the collective responses of the participants fit into the template. Specifically, the themes relate to the research objectives; and in a manner that the focus of the research is addressed by the themes; No particular inconsistency; and the themes indicate additional data which could provoke further research outside this exercise.

All the above thematic elements will be discussed and matched against the research question in the next chapter which deals with discussion of findings that emerged from the fieldwork exercise as captured and presented in this chapter.

On research question (Q3), 90% of all the participants submitted that the sub-regional bodies indeed provide a platform for realising the integration aspiration of the continent and in some regions, such the ECOWAS, EAC and SADC, a noticeable progress has been recorded in their integrative arrangements. However, some of the respondents argue that the overall performance of the bodies is significantly low, coupled with the challenges as highlighted in responses in Q2 above. Noticeable in the submissions of the participants as their reactions to research question three, is a general admission of the fact that the regional economic communities can and have indeed provided a substructure upon which a continental superstructure could be established.

On research question four (Q4), all the participants agreed that the international environment does influence attempts at integration in Africa especially given the tendency by the western world, and the former colonial masters in particular, to maintain a hold on the their former colonies to protect their age-long interest. Some participants are however of the opinion that even at that, there is a need for Africa to begin to get their acts together by way of imbibing good governance and cultured leadership and the need to for determined efforts to disentangle the continent from it dependency syndrome.

On research question five (Q), participants offered varied propositions in the efforts to catalyse the integration agenda on the African continent and can be themed as follows –

- Funding capability of the organisation should be actively addressed to enable the AUC perform its functions;
- Increased participation of the private sector and individuals;
- Overlapping membership issues to be addressed; and finally
- African leaders to demonstrate transparent leadership, promote and respect rule of law and observe democratic practice.

In view of the findings emanating from the participants' responses to the study research questions as enunciated sequentially above, the researcher strongly suggests that African leaders should be willing to show responsible leadership by committing to execute treaties, protocols and agreements on projects and programmes designed to address the challenges of poverty, poor infrastructure, maladministration and associated issues facing the continent.

In the next chapter (chapter six), which deals with discussion of findings, the researcher shall critically evaluate the findings which have been thematically highlighted above with the study research questions, while drawing inferences and strength from the literature and theoretical framework which underpinned this research exercise. Suffice to say that, the data generated for this study, analysed and presented in this chapter will no doubt reinforce the justification for this study in line with the view of Du Plooy, et al referenced in chapter one (1.6).

In the early part of this chapter, Spradley's reaction to the question of the source of data for a qualitative study was highlighted and will now be revisited. Spradley (1979) had provided hints on a set of criteria to reinforce the qualitative paradigm employed for this study, and particularly the sample size and sampling method of purposive technique. According to Spradley, qualitative data will be reliable and representative through *enculturation*. And this refers to a situation when information is sought from someone who is very familiar with the setting or domain of the needed data. In the case of this study, personnel and staff of the African Union Commission (AUC), New

Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the United Nations Economic for Africa (UNECA) will normally fall into this category as they are insiders and are involved with the overall activities of the African Union of which the AUC is an organ.

Secondly, on *current involvement*, which is accessing those with current knowledge about the subject of research. There is no doubt that data from the AUC personnel and also from affiliate bodies such as the NEPAD and UNECA are also genuine sources of information for this study. This has been so significantly reflected in the study. Perhaps, the positions held by the participants in their respective offices could account for the level of knowledge they have shown in their responses.

Thirdly, and relating to the criterion of *adequate time*, which refers to a situation where a target respondent is busy for an interview for example, the researcher may opt for a multi-person continuous interview. By this, there will be the opportunity to take as much time as possible with our most crucial respondents, and then get them to point out to the next-best person who can provide us with almost as much information, and so on, until we have gathered sufficient data for our study. The researcher cashed in on this by allowing contacted participants to liaise with their colleagues who indicated willingness to be part of the study. To this extent, the proposed target of respondents was exceeded as has been reported much earlier in the chapter.

The researcher's focus on the AUC, alongside the SAIIA, NEPAD and UNECA and the participants from these organisations as credible sources of information required for this research, can be said to have been justified by the adoption of Spradley's criteria which serve to reinforce the authenticity of the data generated and applied in this study. These institutions, apart from SAIIA (a think-tank), complement each other in addressing African issues of poverty, sustaining growth and development, and ultimately, integration both politically and economically.

5.6   Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher set out to provide insights into the issues for discussion and how they are organised under the respective sub-headings. Specifically, the

chapter highlighted and operationalised the process for dealing with the data generated for the study. These include, research method employed, study sample size and sampling method, data collection and analysis procedure, data collation and presentation method. The chapter, in the course of presentation of the study findings, meticulously noted the common standpoints or themes which came out prominently in the participants' responses, and these will be critically considered under discussion of findings in the next chapter, and demonstrate how the various findings address the study research questions.

Chapter Six

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.0   Introduction

According to Hess (2004), the "discussion of findings" chapter in a doctoral thesis is aimed at explaining the meaning of the results of the study and includes the major findings, significance of the findings and how the findings relate to those of similar studies. Besides, the purpose of the discussion of findings chapter, especially in a doctoral thesis such as this, may also be to collate the research findings and demonstrate the researchers' ability to think critically about issues for advancing creative solutions to the research problems (Aitchison, 2010; Cotterall, 2011; Paltridge and Starfield (2007). According to Leedy and Ormrod (2005), discussing and interpreting data means linking the findings to the original research problem, specific research objectives and questions, the literature and theories. Accordingly, this chapter shall subject the findings or results that emerged from the collation and presentation of data generated from all the participants in this study as is done below here. It is worth mentioning that the entire data for this study were sourced from those who volunteered through face-to-face interview; telephonic interviews; skype interviews and textual responses.

Ab initio, this study set out to address the following research questions:

- How can the AUC drive and facilitate integration in Africa?
- What are the challenges facing AU's integration arrangements in Africa?
- How would you assess the various sub-regional communities as building blocks for integration in Africa in terms of successes and failures?
- How can the international environment influence the AUC in its integration efforts
- What policy options and recommendations can be identified and proposed by the AUC for effective of integration of the continent?

The preceding chapter (chapter five) focused and dealt with data collection and research method employed, collation and presentation of the data generated for the study. This chapter_ also provided insights into sampling method, size and the procedure for data analysis and the presentation template deployed to organise the data preparatory for the discussion of same in this chapter.

Accordingly, chapter six presents the discussion and interpretation of the findings. Structurally, this chapter is constructed around the research questions as highlighted above, and will be marched against the findings which are detailed in the preceding chapter.

In chapter two of this study where literature review was undertaken, it was laid bare that a great lot of scholarly works had been done on the issue of integration, and that it is widely acknowledged by scholars and commentators that such an initiative is a panacea to Africa's growth and development. In addition, the same chapter also contained a select theoretical models that underpinned the study. These include – the Functionalism theory pioneered by David Mitrany, (Mitrany: 1943); the Neo-functionalism theory led by Ernst Haas, (Haas: 1964); and the theory of Inter-governmentalism as conceived by Michelle Cini (Cini: 2010).

The significance of these theories and how they underpin this study shall be examined shortly below.

6.1   Findings

The researcher had established and argued that no previous studies had been done focusing on the capability of the African Union Commission (AUC) to facilitate integration on the continent. This position led to this present research endeavour, and the researcher engaged in a fieldwork to generate data that had been used to reinforce and sustain this study. The data collected (despite all the peculiar setbacks and encumbrances that confronted the researcher) had been synthesized and presented in chapter five and formed the basis for discussion in chapter six.

On question one (Q1) of this study which sought to find out the role of the AUC and if it can facilitate integration on the continent.

All the participants (see Table 1 for total respondents) in their respective responses demonstrated a clear understanding of the role and mandate of the AUC as an implementation organ to deliver on the decisions of the AU. It has been mentioned in this study that the AUC as an organ of the AU, emerged to replace the former Secretariat of the Organisation of African Union having been adopted at the Durban Summit of the 38th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government which held from 9-10 July 2002. Article 20 of the African Union states as follows –

> *"There shall be established a Commission of the Union, which shall be the Secretariat of the Union. The Commission shall be composed of the Chairman, his or her deputy or deputies and the Commissioners. They shall be assisted by the necessary staff for the smooth functioning of the Commission. The structure, functions and regulations of the Commission shall be determined by the Assembly", AU Constitutive Act (2002).*

This study argues that there is no ambiguity about the role and the mandate of the AUC, and that it is an organ whose sole responsibility is to pursue the implementation of the decisions of the AU as may have been adopted. This speaks to the somewhat weak position of the AUC on account of its inability to enforce compliance on African leaders to provide the necessary environment, conditions and ultimately, needed resources the AUC requires for coordination and facilitation responsibility. However, the AUC is not a supranational body or organ like the European Commission (EC), and therefore does not possess a coercive capacity to compel any member state of the AU to obey and carry out any agreed instructions. As the researcher remarked in chapter two of this study, the AUC is in a dilemma being an appendage of the AU in spite of its being peopled with seasoned experts and diplomats. This can be seen in quality of elected and appointed officials for all the organs of the AU. For example, the current Chairperson of the AUC was a former Prime Minister in the Republic of Chad, while the current Chairperson of the Peace and Security Council is is the Nigerian Ambassador to Ethiopia.

The question that would be asked is whether the AUC can facilitate integration efforts in Africa which this study question one (Q1) seeks to answer. In providing answer to this question, it will be worthwhile to reflect on the environment in which the AUC has had to operate. It will be recalled that the assumption of office of the outgoing Chairperson of the organ, Her Excellency, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma was characterized by infighting within the AU. As noted and reported by the researcher in chapter four of this study (4.9) recalled here for ease of reference, "*the issue of political infighting within the AU appears to be a volatile phenomenon that has continued to haunt the growth of the organisation. As pointed out by Maasho (2012), the election of the current Chairperson, Dr Nkozasana Dlamini Zuma on the 15th July 2012 was reported to be a culmination of a bruising leadership battle that had threatened to divide and weaken the organisation. The contest to head the Commission of the 54-member organisation had been deadlocked since the vote at the previous Summit ended in a stalemate.*

Maasho (2012) noted that the impasse that persisted through the Summit of the AU heads had prompted the then African Union's Chairperson, President Boni Yayi to warn African heads of states that the inability and failure of the organisation to resolve the leadership deadlock would divide and weaken and undermine its credibility in the world. Undercurrents at the Summit suggested that the contest between the outgoing Chairperson, Dr Jean Ping and Dr Nkozasana Zuma had clearly reinforced the polarity between the Francophone and the Anglophone member states of the Union. While the former reportedly had the support of the French speaking member states, the latter obtained the patronage and support of the English speaking member states, especially from the Eastern and Southern African countries".

Consequent upon this background, it can be inferred that the ability of the AUC to facilitate integration in Africa may be faced with some challenges internal to it. However, it is noteworthy to reiterate that the AUC as its interventionist role of has been demonstrated through the establishment of the African Union Foundation (AUF: 2013). This is an initiative of the AUC designed to assist in financing the African priorities through voluntary contributions. In specific terms, the mission of the AUF

is to mobilise resources in support of the AU's vision of an integrated, people-oriented and prosperous Africa, at peace with itself and taking its rightful place in the world. At the inaugural meeting of the foundation by its promoters which consists of the Chairperson and twelve others, the Chairperson – also the founder on behalf of the Commission, suggested that it was time for Africa to mobilise its own resources in support of its development and take charge of its destiny, AUF (2013).

In particular, the Chairperson was of the view that the foundation will strive to more deeply engage Africa's private sector, African individuals and communities and leading African philanthropists to generate resources and provide valuable insights on ways in which their success can enhance the growth and development of Africa. In furtherance of this, the AU at its July Summit in Kigali adopted as one of its resolutions, African leaders agreeing to raise about one-point-two-billion ($1.2) US dollars a year to fund the African Union Commission to enable it carry out its mandate as an organ of the organisation. It is believed that this development will enhance the capacity of the AUC to carry out its mandate to implement decisions in pursuit of the goal of the organisation for the continent.

On research question two (Q2), which borders on the major and remote challenges facing integration efforts of the AU, the participants' responses have been synthesised by the researcher thematically as reproduced here below –

- Lack of political will and commitment
- Unequal economic capabilities
- Differing vestiges of colonial legacies, coupled with predisposition of the former imperial masters to maintain a dependency syndrome
- Multi-cultural nature of African economies and non-competitiveness of products
- Differing political interests of African leaders
- Corruption, tyranny and perpetuity in office.

The researcher, in chapter four allude to what could be regarded as the remote challenges the AUC seems to be contending against. The challenges were identified in the publications emanating from a non-governmental and independent think tank

known as the Conflict for Conflict Resolution, based in Cape Town, and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Germany (2012). These include the issue of political infighting within the AU which appears to be a volatile phenomenon that has continued to haunt the growth of the organisation; the allegation of administrative failures associated with the AU; the issue of overlapping inter-agency responsibility; the challenge of low rates of intra-African trade and its attendant consequences; the AUC's effectiveness also believed to be hampered by the challenge of low staffing; and finally, the unwillingness of member states to pay their dues and annual subscription. As a consequence, the organisation is being described as lacking effective leadership (in addition to the other challenges beyond its control) significantly because of its inability to enforce compliance on member states to meet their obligations.

The issue of lack of political will and commitment on the part of African leaders in the pursuit of the organisations' agenda seems to be a paramount challenge to the continent's aspiration towards integration. As observed in the reactions of the participants in this study, African leaders are yet to show enough collective readiness and willingness to pursue the goal of integration through practical demonstration of intentions which will result in effective harmonisation of policies and protocols leading to result-oriented execution. It will be recalled that a participant from NEPAD had remarked that African leaders' desire towards integration is not in doubt, especially in terms of policy commitment and protocols adopted so far. However, the journey towards integration is not an easy one. While there are leaders who are genuinely committed, there are others who seem to be hypocritical and therefore creates some form of bottlenecks with no authority to enforce actions towards implementation of the organisation's programmes (see details in NEPAD *participants' response, Appendix 1).*

With regard to the issue of unequal economic capabilities subsisting among the member countries of the AU, the researcher notes the common narrative in the responses of the research participants which tends to confirm this claim of inequality. Among the fifty four (54) independent and member states of the AU, it is noteworthy to argue that just a few can be said to be developing while a majority of nation-states are very poor in the strict economic sense. This is because, in much of the continent,

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there is widespread poverty, incidences of diseases, poor and bad governance system, coupled with tyranny and civil dictatorship. Given the mono-cultural nature of African economies, and the non-competitiveness of products produced on the continent, the volume of intra-Africa trade has not been significant to propel development of the continent. In a publication by NEPAD titled Move Africa (2016), the share of intra-African trade in Africa's total trade over the past decade was only about 11%. The implication of this is the generally held view that African countries are dependent economies, and do not have capacity to engage in competitive trading activities.

On the effects of differing colonial experiences and the perpetuation of dependency consideration, all the participants are agreed that African countries are still tied to the apron strings of their former colonial masters. The ties can be viewed in the context of what the former imperial powers stand to benefit in such a relationship. It is generally argued that the continent of Africa accounts for a significant portion of the resources available for exploitation by the former colonial powers who will do anything to preserve their grip on Africa. According to Adisa and Agbaje (1986), Africa is known to possess vast reserves of natural resources in form of minerals and serve as immediate raw materials for the industrial needs of the colonial masters. On the other hand, the failure of the African leaders to provide good leadership on the continent, coupled with the tendency to perpetuate office indefinitely is also being regarded as having the connivance of the western powers. Shaw (1989) contends that while Africa is the largest regional sub-system in terms of territorial size and number of states, it is unarguably the least industrialised and characterized by the most inequality. This perhaps explains the dependency syndrome that characterizes African countries relations with the European powers.

The phenomenon of corruption and greed, sustained by tyranny and dictatorship, African leaders have not disguised their tendency in this regard, but have created structures around leadership that seem to assist in preserving their stay in office. The fallout of this is the widening level of poverty and the temptations to rebellion by the people. In this instance, there has been a rise in civil strives in much of Africa in the

last one decade in protest against bad governance lack of respect to constitutional provisions guiding tenures of office.

In assessing the effectiveness of the sub-regional bodies as building blocks for continental integration arrangements representing research question three, all the participants in the study agreed that such framework is very relevant and has contributed in some way to demonstrate the essence of economic cooperation among countries within the respective regions. ECOWAS for instance has facilitated the movement of people across the region through the adoption of a regional travel document such as the international passport, and has also permitted a travel free visa for a period of three months within the region. This has reportedly been replicated in the East African Community.

All the interviewed participants admitted that the sub-regional organisations indeed provide a platform for continental integration project, especially with the level of relative successes recorded in each region. For example, in the area of free movement of goods and services, the ECOWAS, ECA and SADC, etc, can be tipped to have made significant impact in their respective regions. According to some of the participants, while it can be said that the African Union (AU) has an excellent development model on ground, this, in practice, has not been the case with the sub-regional bodies because of the following factors, and these include the fact that the regional bodies were created on separate treaties that have nothing to do with the AU. This brings about loyalty issues and challenges. These sub-regional groupings don't report to the AU but to their national governments. Besides, there are competing demands between the AU and the sub-regional bodies which seem to result into duplications in many areas. The AU and its member states only appear to converge on issues of peace and security, as well as, on governance (in particular, election matters). Furthermore, the AU suffers from what can be referred to as the "big brother mentality" where the relatively bigger and stronger member-states call the shots all the time. Essentially, with the differing, and sometimes contradicting internal structures of the sub-regional bodies from the set up at the AUC level, the role of coordination of their activities by the AUC remains an intractable challenge.

Besides, further consideration on the relevance of sub-regional bodies, and particularly focusing the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), which starts Libya down to Zimbabwe, the view that sub-regional bodies can lead to integration of the continent may be plausible as observed by some AUC participants. However, they submitted that it all depends on the final objectives being pursued or intended. COMESA for instance, has so far not mentioned about political integration, but has continued to emphasise economic integration. Member states are often divided on which direction to follow between economic and political integration. It is clear then that the problem with the AU is its mandate, structure and powers, hence, impeding the role of the AUC which relies on the mandate of the AU. There is the need to decentralize the focus and objectives of the organisation and for the implementing organs to be given more resources and effective power and authority. In all of this, there seems to be a collective acceptance by the participants, of the relevance and effectiveness of regional economic communities to offer a credible platform upon which a continental superstructure can be laid, subject to unwavering political will and commitment of African leaders in this regard.

Reactions by the participants to research question four (Q4) which borders on how can the international environment influence the AUC in its integration efforts, showed an unanimous position which depicts an influential relationship. As presented in chapter five, the AUC participants' disclosures of the level of assistance coming from the donors who are principally outside the African continent to support the latter's programmes lend credence to the unavoidable influence under review.

Specifically, the participants responded as follows –

> With over 90% of AU program budget financed by external forces, the organization is clearly made to dance to the tune of the funders. Donors put in money to sustain their interest. For instance, donors tend to put their money to ensure peace and security and in the contemporary times, paying attention to migration issues. The international environment does and can influence integration arrangement in Africa. Integration is not done in a vacuum. Africa is equally a player in the international environment, and can be affected by

developments therein. The influence can either be positive or negative, depending on the policy initiatives and drive of the integration arrangement of the integrators and the policy direction of the blocs outside of the African environment, such as the European Union (EU) and BRICS, etc,(*AUC participants, see Appendix 1*).

In another dimension, there are arguments that given the issues associated with globalization, African continent cannot be immune to events happening around the international system. These include technological advancement in transport and communications and attendants improvements in information travels and services delivery across the world. UNECA participants provided the following supporting views –

> *.....Unstable and volatile global environment, triggered by politico-economic upheavals, will and have continued to negatively affect integration efforts in Africa. There is no doubt that the European integration experience offers some insights for Africa*.

Scholars like Arnold Rivkin contend that African presence in the world economy is an indication of its leaders' determination to give meaning to their political independence by developing support economies. And this would require a determined effort to catch up with the developed states, with other areas of the world, and with one another, Rivkin (1963). Implicit in the above submission, is the fact that having suffered economic deprivations and political subjugation for a period referred to as the colonial era, Africa would need to have practical affinity and interactions with the international system in spite of clear structural disparities that characterize the global system. In so doing, Africa will unavoidably be affected one way or the other by happenings outside of the continent. As remarked by some of the study participants, such effect could either be positive or negative.

Regarding the research question five (Q5) which sought to explore potential policy options and recommendations that can be identified and proposed by the AUC for effective of integration of the continent, the participants submitted as reproduced below, details can be located in *Appendix 1*, containing a summary of their responses.

Leadership is of essence in the efforts to achieve results in every endeavour. In the case of the AUC, its leadership must be purposeful, committed, unbiased, transparent, and focused. While it is noted that the AU has enough of policies and resolutions aimed at achieving the goal of integration in Africa, the following recommendations will be offered for consideration – Overlapping membership challenge should be urgently addressed to give room for a clear political commitment; given the challenge of economic inequalities among member states, new policy instrument to deal with the fears of economic polarization must be explored, e.g, multispeed arrangement which requires allowing weaker member states more time to liberalize; Private sector groups to be adequately involved in the integration project; Disputes resolution mechanisms must be strengthened and ways to ensure policy credibility must be pursued; Peace and security to be enhanced because wars and conflicts in a number of African regions and countries which have devastated transport networks, poor communications networks and inadequate and damaged infrastructure need to be resolved. On issues of greed and corruption, the AU should adopt a protocol on zero tolerance for corruption by African leaders, promote transparency and accountability in government. Political institutions in African countries should be strengthened so that it will be very easy to vote out corrupt leaders during elections. Leadership is of essence in the efforts to achieve results in every endeavour. In the case of the AUC, its leadership must be purposeful, committed, unbiased, transparent, and focused. While it is noted that the AU has enough of policies and resolutions aimed at achieving the goal of integration in Africa, the following recommendations will be offered for consideration – Overlapping membership challenge should be urgently addressed to give room for a clear political commitment; given the challenge of economic inequalities among member states, new policy instrument to deal with the fears of economic polarization must be explored, e.g, multispeed arrangement which requires allowing weaker member states more time to liberalize; Private sector groups to be adequately involved in the integration project; Disputes resolution mechanisms must be strengthened and ways to ensure policy credibility must be pursued; Peace and security to be enhanced because wars and conflicts in a number of African regions and countries which have devastated transport networks, poor communications

networks and inadequate and damaged infrastructure need to be resolved. On issues of greed and corruption, the AU should adopt a protocol on zero tolerance for corruption by African leaders, promote transparency and accountability in government. Political institutions in African countries should be strengthened so that it will be very easy to vote out corrupt leaders during elections.

Critically viewed, the following themes were captured from participants' responses to research question five -

- Need for good governance and purposeful leadership
- Internalise sources of funding in order to reduce dependency syndrome
- Establishing relevant and manageable structure/resolving overlapping membership incidences
- Develop and adopt workable and practicable treaties and priortise developmental programmes
- Respect for rule of law, human rights, and promotion of genuine democratic practice
- Greater level of commitment to common continental agenda
- Promotion of and respect for Pan-Africanist ideals to facilitate unity and cohesion

Participants from SAIIA specifically contended that the AUC can only provide the necessary platform where decisions on integration can be explored and pursued towards implementation. This view is predicated on the somewhat weak position of the AUC which, on its own, does not have any enforcement authority over member states. Hence, African leaders who have the responsibility to demonstrate the needed political will for integration, should engage more in intense consultation to encourage unenthusiastic members to get on board.

6.2   Relevance of theoretical Framework to study

As noted in chapters two of this study (2.2), it expedient to recall and apply the theoretical models identified in this study to reinforce the relevance of regional

economic communities as building blocks in the context of institutional framework to pursue a collective agenda.

The pioneers and proponents of the theories on integration employed for this study, have at their respective times made profound propositions regarding integration in the context of the prevailing circumstances in Europe particularly after the 1st World war and around World War II.

For the Functionalist theory, and as detailed in chapter two, Mitrany (1966) had proposed that a world federal government would eliminate divisions which had the propensity to spark violence that could engulf the international system, but quickly warned that such would be difficult to establish given the modern disregard for constitutions, pacts and continuing nationalism. As a way out of this condition, Mitrany suggested a functional approach that would overlay political divisions with a spreading web of international activities and agencies, in which and through which the interests and life of all the nations would be gradually integrated.

The relevance of this theory to the study can be located in its prescription of a structure (world federal government) with a defined mandate. This prescription can be ascribed to an organisation such as the AU. Therefore, Mitrany's accepting that a central authority might need to coordinate the various functional agencies envisaged or created fits into the establishment of the AUC as an organ within the framework of the AU. Being an implementing organ of the AU, the AUC has a responsibility to coordinate and execute the decisions taken by African leaders in pursuit of its functional role and in line with its mandate as enshrined in the AU Constitutive Act.

More than a decade before Mitrany's prescription, Frenchman Robert Schuman had opined that pooling together the production of Coal (France) and Steel (Germany) under a given authority would help to obviate the tendency to strife and ultimately, war between the two contingent countries (arch-rivals) and neighbouring countries in Europe, Schuman (1950). This initiative was an aftermath of the effects of the two world wars (1914 – 1918) and (1939 – 1945) which was characterised by heavy loss of human lifes, aside other destructions.

Specifically, in a declaration by Schuman Foundation of 9th May 1950, European Issue No.204, the following excerpt is considered insightful, and has been lifted to provide a basis for the link between integration and the search for peace in Europe -

> … Schuman had "*proposed that Franco-German production of coal and steel as a whole be placed under a common High Authority, within the framework of an organisation open to the participation of the other countries of Europe. The pooling of coal and steel production should immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe, and will change the destinies of those regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims. The solidarity in production thus established will make it plain that any war between France and Germany becomes not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible*".

The above declaration is generally believed in academic cycles, to signal the evolution of economic cooperation and later snowballing into integrative arrangements among certain European countries, aimed towards achieving peace, and avoiding another world holocaust which the 1st and 2nd world wars represented. Subsequent and more formal arrangements by European leaders led to the Treaty of the European Union (EU), also known as the Maastricht Treaty which was signed in Maastricht in 1992 but came into force in 1993. This Treaty established EU, and gave Parliament more say in decision-making. Among the four decision-making organs of the EU is the European Commission (EC) after which the African Union Commission seems to be patterned.

In the context of the Neo-functionalist paradigm, the AUC and its role within the AU can also be evaluated for relevance. For the Neo-functionalists, Haas (1964) supports a direction that would permit the need for both experts and persons who have more influence on national policies to be involved in activities designed to be integrative. Haas further argues as follows – that organisation must develop an ideology that is compatible with the sub-goals of potential supporters, and which binds the organisation's staff; organisation's decisions should be made so as to upgrade

common interests and that organisation's powers and objectives are extended; programming should proceed within the confines of organisation ideology and care should be taken that sub-goals do not become dominant over the more general ideology. By application, Haas prescriptions can be justified in the establishment and operations of the AU as an organization which exists to serve the interest of member states. In carrying out its functions, the AU is peopled by experts in various fields of human endeaours who can translate the vision of the Union into practical terms. In a more specific context, Schmitter (2002), suggests that neo-functionalism represents a theory of regional integration that places emphasis on the role of non-state actor – especially, the secretariat – of the regional organisation involved and those of interest associations and social movements that form at the level of the region in providing the dynamic for further integration. Schmitter further asserts that member states of such organisations remain important actors in the process. The member states set the terms of the initial agreement, even though they do not exclusively determine the direction and extent of subsequent change. This inexclusivity has to do with the nature of the international environment which is globalized and dynamic with the consequences for volatility. However, the ability of a regional community, such as Africa to facilitate growth and development of the continent, would seem to be better enhanced through an integrative arrangement which requires an integrating authority such the AU and its implementing organ of the AUC. The experience of the EU, despite the recent schisms occasioned by Brexit, has shown that a continental organization provides a better platform for pursue a continental agenda.

In all, the Neo-functionalism as a theory could be relied upon in any discourse on integration and it capacity to justify the existence of the AU and its various organs among which is the AUC. If so, the capacity of the AUC in carrying out its mandate of its parent body (the AU) may require some consideration for the purpose of possible enhancement and enforcement authority. This perspective will be expatiated upon in the last chapter specifically under recommendation section.

In the context of Inter-governmentalism theory as established in chapter two of this study (2.4), Garza (2006) contends that Inter-governmentalism suggests that governments control the level and speed of state integration. And that any increase in

power at supranational level results from a direct decision by governments. This theory further posits that integration driven by national governments is often based on the domestic political and economic issues of the day. Garza however submits that unlike a federal state, member states fully retain their sovereignty and participate voluntary being subject to the supranational government only so far as they decide to remain members. Implicit in the foregoing is that sovereign and independent states, sharing common ideas on how positively to relate together, could enter into an agreement to form an entity for the advancement of their interests, which could be economic and political. And such is the African Union.

Nugent (2003) had defined inter-governmentalism as an arrangement *"whereby nation states, in situations and conditions they can control, cooperate with one another on matters of common interest".* Continuing, Nugent notes that "*under such circumstances states are free to cooperate (or not) and are able to the set the level or cooperation. Normally, this is ensured through a veto, where a state, when so choosing, can block any proposal presented by any other parties*. Such circumstances involve no loss (or pooling) of sovereignty. States cooperate when they want and don't cooperate when they don't want to.

The relevance of inter-governmentalism as a theory to this study therefore, derives from the standpoint that every inter-governmental organisation gets its statutory and enabling power from the Member States that created it, and that its operational capacity depends on the amount of commitment bestowed on it by the states. The AUC as an organ of the AU is a subset charged with the responsibility to implement decisions of the organization on behalf of African leaders.

The relevant question that should arise here is – Does the AUC possess the authority to enforce implementation of its mandate on African leaders? The answer to this question in the light of the findings arising from the data generated for this study, and as presented in the previous chapter is NO., especially in the present circumstance. This is because, the AUC derives its strength and resources from the Member states of the AU. However, this is not to say that the AUC is totally weak and ineffective as a result. After all, some developments within the organization in terms of fresh

initiatives and ideas on how to empower the organization to achieve its set objectives, attributable to the AUC, are indications of its ability to facilitate integration efforts in Africa.

Notable among the developments is its interventionist role demonstrated through the establishment of the African Union Foundation (AUF: 2013), which is an initiative of designed to assist in financing the African priorities through voluntary contributions. As noted in chapter two of the study, the outgoing Chairperson of the AUC, Her Excellency, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini remarked at the inaugural meeting of the foundation that it was time for Africa to mobilise its own resources in support of its development and take charge of its destiny   In particular, the Chairperson was of the view that the foundation will strive to more deeply engage Africa's private sector, African individuals and communities and leading African philanthropists to generate resources and provide valuable insights on ways in which their success can enhance the growth and development of Africa. This proposition then, has led to an adoption of a resolution by African leaders during the Summit to contribute $1.2 billion on yearly basis to sustain the AU through levying of 0.2% tax on all eligible import duties. In the view of Bola Akinterinwa, this is particularly aimed at ensuring the financial independence of the organisation, and by so doing, prevent undesired external influences. And most significantly, the Summit has shown readiness to also finance AU's missions and the development agenda. It is useful here to recall that Africa's development partners currently account for more than 75% of Africa's development funding, Akinterinwa (2016).

By this development, it is hoped that the dignity of Africa, as a continent would be enhanced as capable of self-sustaining. In addition, other epochal developments that characterized the Summit included the launch of the African passport, which is designed as a first step in the efforts to facilitate the free movement of people and trade on the continent. Earlier in the year of 2016, the AU leaders had deemed it necessary to declare the year (2016), the African Year of Human Rights with particular focus on the rights of women, and this consciousness is believed to have been proposed and facilitated by the leadership of the AUC, headed by the outgoing Chairperson. This is in pursuance of Article 2, of the protocol to the African Charter

on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, dealing with the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. It states that "*States Parties shall combat all forms of discrimination against women through appropriate legislative, institutional and other measures*" ACHPR (2016).

The weak status of the AUC can be appreciated in the light of the difference between Inter-governmentalism and the concept of Supranationalism. In the view of Rafael (2007), while Inter-governmentalism refers to international cooperation between two or more state governments in which participating states do not grant powers to Supranational institutions; Supranationalism is a situation where participating states give up power or influence to an institution that transcends national boundaries or governments. Contextually, supranationalism is seen as a method of decision-making rather than a theory in intergovernmental organisations, where power is held by independent appointed officials or by representatives elected by the legislature or people of the member states, Garza (2006).

In the view of the researcher, the AUC would seem to operate within the purview of Inter-governmentalism and therefore does not enjoy the benefit of decision-making not subject to interference by leaders of member states of the organization which conforms to supranationalism. To this extent, the AUC remains a weakling and an appendage of the AU.

6.3   The headship of the AUC in the drive towards integration in Africa –

H.E (Dr) Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma tenure in perspective

To be able to appreciate the impact of the tenure of the outgone Chairperson of the AUC on the activities of the organisation, it is relevant to evaluate the tenure in the context of the proposition by Agarwal (1996) on the effectiveness of an organisation contained in an article titled *The Study of Administration*. In the article, Agarwal, had quoted Woodrow Wilson –one time American President thus, *on the question of whether there was an ideal structure on which to model governmental institutions… argues that that it is objective of an administration to discover, first, what government can properly and successfully do, and, second, how it can do these proper thing with the utmost possible efficiency and at the least possible cost either of money or of*

energy. The import of this view relates to how best to structure government to be able to achieve intended outcomes. In other words, Wilson was basically concerned about the organisational effectiveness of governmental institutions. Against this background, this study opines that there are some factors that make organisations excellent, of high quality, productive and efficient. In the context of the AUC, some of these factors may relate to quality of personnel recruited, planning strategies, level of commitment to policy declarations by leaders of member states and funding capacity required for activities and programmes designed for implementation, and above all the personality of the individual providing leadership in terms of the "driver of the vision". This study argues that the personality of the outgoing Chairperson of the AUC fits into this mode in view of what her commitment and determination to pursuit set goals on behalf of the organisation. It will be recalled that the election of the then Chairperson (Dr Nkozasana Dlamini Zuma) on the 15th July 2012 was reported to be a culmination of a bruising leadership battle that had threatened to divide and weaken the organisation. Corroborating this view, Allison (2017) noted that the groundswell of opinion that "South Africa's decision to tear up a so-called "gentlemen's agreement", an unwritten rule which prevented Africa's major powers from putting forward candidates for the AU's top job" was not only undiplomatic but an exhibition of betrayal. Indeed, this was construed as a massive breach of diplomatic protocol, hence the hostility that characterised the election of the outgone AUC Chairperson and the manifest polarisation between the francophone and Anglophone member countries.

In spite of the weak position of the AUC the outgoing Chairperson has continually advocated the need for African leaders to be ready and willing to pursue the objective of unity and cohesion of the continent without which the desired goals of the organisation will remain a mirage. Notable among the accomplishment of the tenure of the former Chairperson according to Allison (2107) was the practice of professionalism in the operations of the organisation such that priority attention was accorded the provision of facilities for the discharge of responsibilities, and promoting a commitment to respecting the process including working ethics.

Fig 12, The former AUC Chairperson delivering her speech.

The Outgone Chairperson of the AUC, Her Excellency, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma delivering a speech at the 27th African Union (AU) Summit held in Kigali, Rwanda, which resulted in the approval of a new funding model for the AU Peace Fund that has been heralded as a landmark move for African solutions to African problems (July 2016).

SSSource

http://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/african-funds-african- peace/

6.4

According to Allison, under the tenure of the outgone Chairperson,

> *.. the technocratic efficiency was mirrored in how she managed staff. She insisted on personally signing off on all travel requests. She enforced the mandatory retirement age, sending over-age staff packing instead of giving them lucrative contract work. She zealously tried to improve the commission's gender balance, forcing recruiters to re-advertise positions when they failed to shortlist any female candidates. This hard-nosed approach may, in part, explain why she was so unpopular. Another major impact was to change the way that the AU discussed the continent's problems. In a room of stuffy old men talking about guns and tanks, she*

brought in concepts like gender, human rights and food security (Allison, 2017).

Despite the hostile environment in which the Chairperson operated as indicated in this study, it is the view of this researcher that her tenure her brought to the spotlight the issues of gender, and particularly women and child rights.

6.4   Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher has attempted a critical discussion of the findings which emerged from the data generated against the research questions upon which this study was based. The chapter began by providing a basis for the discussion, presenting applicable definitions of what discussion of findings is, especially at the level of doctorate degree such as this. The researcher made inferences to the literature and the theoretical paradigms which underpinned the study demonstrated their applicability in the chapter, and proceeded to discuss how the distilled themes from the data collected addressed the study research questions. The researcher notes that the AUC, being an implementing organ of the AU, performs the function of facilitating and coordinating the execution of the decisions of all the organs of the AU. The role of the outgone Chairperson and the impact of her tenure was reflected upon in context. The next chapter is devoted to a summary, conclusion and recommendations as intended by the researcher. Potential future areas for research shall also be indicated in the chapter.

Chapter Seven

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0   Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of findings, conclude and recommendations of the study, based on the interpretation given to the findings discussed in Chapter Six. As suggested by the Hamilton College Writing Centre (2015), the purpose of the concluding chapter in doctoral research is to bring a researcher's argument to a logical close, by justifying the argument to the reader(s). It includes a description of key points of the study and the consequences of the argument, by answering the "so what" question. Accordingly, this chapter provides a summary of the entire chapters into which this study was compartmentalized beginning from chapter one to chapter six. It also contains concluding remarks derived from the results that emerged after juxtaposing the analysed data generated against the research questions posed in chapter one. The chapter ends with recommendations which acknowledged the possibility and propositions for further studies on themes that arose in the course of the research.

The researcher proposed to interrogate the under listed research questions with a view to achieving the aim of the study which is – Institutional Capacities and the Challenges of Continental Integration: A Critical Study of the African Union Commission as an Integrative Tool.

The questions included the following –

- Q1   How can the AUC drive and facilitate integration in Africa?
- Q2   What are the challenges facing AU's integration arrangements in Africa?
- Q3   How would you assess the various sub-regional communities as building

blocks for integration in Africa in terms of successes and failures?

- Q4   How can the international environment influence the AUC in its integration efforts?

- Q5   What policy options and recommendations can be identified and proposed by the AUC for effective of integration.

To carry out this exercise, the researcher compartmentalized the thesis into seven chapters as highlighted sequentially below.

7.1   Summary of chapters

Chapters one to four were principally informed by literature – books and journal publications (physical and online), Chapter five was anchored on data collected for the study, and chapter six discussed the findings that emerged from the processed data and underpinned by three theoretical paradigms proposed in chapter two.

In chapter one, the study point out that in post-colonial Africa, leaders of the newly independent countries became increasingly associated with the idea of integration, believing that through the pursuit of an inclusive integrative arrangements, the quest for development on the continent would be facilitated. However, the researcher noted that scholars have widely acknowledged that Africa's integration efforts over the years have not yielded significant success despite various activities designed for that purpose, Qobo (2007).

While evaluating attempts at integrative efforts in Africa, the researcher recalled a widely held view that majority of sub-Saharan African countries are members of one or more regional or sub-regional arrangements that seek to promote economic coordination, co-operation and integration among the member countries concerned. As posited by Maruping (2005), it is noteworthy that some of the many African sub-regional arrangements have a long history dating back to the pre-independence era, which was characterised by occasional stagnations or reversals in a few cases, and only modest achievements at best in others. Maruping further noted that the various African regional economic blocs and indeed the individual countries that comprise

their membership are at varying stages of development and implementation of their regional arrangements. This researcher observed that integration arrangements seem to be more visible and characteristically sub-regional, thus reflecting part of the arguments, which reinforce challenges of continental integration As such, the researcher strongly argues that the attention of the contemporary African leaders has not been focused on the capacity of internal mechanisms or institutions within the African Union such as the African Union Commission which serves as the secretariat for the articulation of policy guidelines toward continental aspirations. Hence, the problem statement leading to the justification for this study.

Chapter one also highlighted the specific objectives designed to provide answers to the research questions mentioned above. In addition, the chapter gave hints of what can be regarded as broader objectives encompassing issues of shared concern on the African continent. This was followed by the rationale and significance of the research relating to the potential benefits of the study. The chapter contained identification and selection of the theoretical paradigms considered relevant and expression of their applicability for the study. This was followed by a mention of literature of previous works done by scholars on the definition and dimensions of integration in Africa. The research methodology employed for the study was mentioned and defined, encompassing study sample and sampling method adopted. The sources of data and methods used to generate same were also highlighted in the chapter. This was followed by data analysis procedure, definition of acronyms and statement on ethical considerations which provided insights into how data for the study will be treated. The chapter indicated that a research such as this may be faced with some challenges and how such would be addressed. Finally, the chapter provided a sequence of how the researcher intended to carry out the study. In other words, the chapter one of the study provided a direction for the inquiry from conception, design, methodology, through analysis and conclusion.

Chapter two dealt with theoretical framework and literature review which underpinned the study. The intention was to provide academic justification for this study through an examination of accessible literature on integration and its dimensions with a view to contexualising the study. The chapter noted that theories

of integration developed as an aftermath of the experience of the 2nd World War (1939-1945) which had occasioned unimaginable destruction in the entire Europe. Early theorists such as David Mitrany had argued that the division of the world into competing political units is the root of international conflict, Mitrany (1943). It was the belief of this school of thought that a world government having a central authority, would be a panacea to the emergence of a similar world war in the future. This theory came under attack by the Neo-functionalists and the Inter-governmentalists among others, and these had been examined in their historical contexts in the chapter. The researcher indicated in the chapter that the relevance of the theories to the study will be established in the appropriate chapter (chapter six), dealing with discussion of findings from the data generated.

Regarding the literature review and how gaps, established in previous studies relating to the present exercise constituted a justification for this research, the researcher noted that despite the plethora of scholarly works done previously, the institution of the AUC as a facilitative organ towards integration in Africa, had not been subjected to any academic scrutiny. Hence, the motivation for this study.

Chapter three undertook an assessment of the sub-regional bodies with the view to highlighting their performances in terms of successes and failures. The chapter provided a historical background of the selected bodies and equally established the political and economic exigencies that informed their formations. The chapter noted that sub-regional communities represent a necessary platform upon which a continental integrative pillar can be built. This is against the background of visible successes that some of the regional bodies had recorded in their regions.

Chapter four examined the African Union Commission (AUC) as an organ of the AU. In the chapter, the researcher provided insights into its mandate, structure, implementation strategy, policy advocacy role on member states, remote constraints facing the organ, Agenda 2063 (prepared by the AUC), and a tabular comparison between the AUC and the European Commission (EC). The chapter concluded with a claim that the AUC does not possess the supranational character ascribed to its European counterpart, and hence its inability to live up to the expectations of the

peoples of Africa whose overall wellbeing and improved living conditions deserve priority attention. This assertion was reinforced in chapter six.

Chapter five contains the research methodology adopted for the study, data collection method used, collation of same and presentation of findings that emerged therefrom. Sequentially, the chapter identified the method employed to generate data, study sample and sampling method, analysis procedure and finally, presentation of findings. The researcher had collated the data, coded same and proceeded to tabulate data as captured in *Appendix 1*. This was done to facilitate presentation of findings which was carried out in the chapter.

Chapter six contains a critical discussion on the findings that resulted from data collated as presented in chapter five. In the chapter, the researcher engaged the study research questions vis-à-vis the findings obtained with the view to distilling a basis for conclusive outcomes and remarks expected from the study. The researcher also alluded to the body of literature examined and the three theoretical frameworks that underpinned the research.

7.2   Summary of findings

Findings relating to research question one indicated that the AUC is an organ of the AU saddled with the responsibility to facilitate and coordinate the implementation of the decisions of the AU leaders reached on issues of continental interest. As reported by the participants from the AUC and captured in *Appendix 1*, the AUC has the mandate to perform the following functions among others – "the Union and defend its interests under the guidance of and as mandated by the Assembly and the Executive Council; initiate proposals for consideration by policy organs implementing the decisions taken by Policy Organs; organize and manage the meetings of the Union". Findings also revealed that all the participants in the study showed through their responses, a reasonable insights into the role, mandate and the internal workings of the AUC and the challenges confronting it. Thus,

On research question two, findings revealed that all the participants expressed unanimity of opinion on the challenges facing integration efforts in Africa, and how these impede the ability of the AUC in the discharge of its duties. Specifically, the

respondents identify some factors which the researcher thematically presented as follows -

- Lack of political will and commitment
- Unequal economic capabilities
- Differing vestiges of colonial legacies, coupled with predisposition of the former imperial masters to maintain a dependency syndrome
- Multi-cultural nature of African economies and non-competitiveness of products
- Differing political interests of African leaders
- Corruption, tyranny and sit-tightism syndrome.

In general terms, all the above themes can be summed up as the failure of leadership, weak economies, external influence and maladministration or misuse of resources. In the opinion of Timothy M. Shaw, Africa today is caught up in a convergence of crisis in all sectors of economic, political, social and cultural life in which everything is interrelated. The causes of Africa's economic problems themselves and the solutions they require cannot be pinpointed by purely economic analysis and therapy. The strategy needed for the recovery and salvation of our continent must be deployed in three fundamental, interdependent areas including democracy, development and unity, Shaw (1989). By implication, efforts towards African integration can be successful if African leaders would practice democratic governance, recommit to genuine development arrangements and cohesion among member states. Added to this is the continued hold on Africa by the former colonial powers. This much has been emphasised in a book edited by Amadu Sesay (1986), titled *Africa and Europe: From Partition To Interdependence of Dependence*? Sesay had argued that the coming of the Europeans to various parts of Africa was occasioned, initially by the need to maintain slave trade being the source of labour for European farms, and for commercial motives. With the demise of slave trade, commercial motives kept sustaining European grip on Africa, and this has been assisted by the tendency to rely on foreign aid by African leaders, hence the dependency syndrome.

On research question three, findings from data revealed that the various sub-regional groups have not only provided a platform for some form of cooperation among the states within the respective regions, the groupings have also recorded visible successes, especially in the area of movement of goods and services in the regions. Other areas of success include interventions in the affairs of member states of regional communities in cases of political hiccups. A recent example is the restoration of democratic transition in the Gambia by the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS). Following this occurrence, the campaign for a renewed commitment to democratic practice seems to be spreading within the region and a signal to the other regions. This development has reinforced the relevance of regional communities as a pathway towards integration arrangements on the African continent.

While a majority of the study participants submitted that sub-regional organisations undoubtedly serve as "building blocks" for integration efforts in Africa. One particular respondent, from the AUC, noted that regional bodies tended to create separate treaties that seek to address issues peculiar to their domains and which do not speak to the concerns of the AU about continental integration. According to the respondent, such a divergence of focus resulting from opposing treaties has tended to create loyalty issues. These sub-regional groupings don't report to the Secretariat of the AU but to their national governments. Besides, there are competing demands between the AU and the sub-regional bodies which seem to result into duplications in many areas. The respondent further noted that the AU and its member states converge on issues of peace and security as against issues of economic and social concerns, as well as, on governance (election). Writing on the role of the RECs in facilitating continent-wide integration, Maruping (2005), in chapter three of this study, noted that various regional arrangements on policy coordination, cooperation and integration have been initiated, re-invigorated or re-aligned to continental aspiration (on integration by the RECs), particularly the five (5) bodies considered in this study. These include ECOWAS, ECCAS, EAC, SADC and the AMU.

On research question four, all the participants agreed that the global environment can and does influence integration efforts in Africa because integration is not done in a vacuum. Majority of the participants also noted that Africa as a continent, is equally

a player in the international environment, and can be affected by developments therein. According to the participants, the international environment does influence integration efforts in Africa in both positive and negative terms, depending on the policy initiatives and drive of the integration arrangement of the integrators (Africa) and the policy direction of the blocs outside of the African environment.

In the opinion of Arnold Rivkin, post-independence African states are determined to catch up with the developed states, with other areas of the world and with one another, Rivkin (1963). This suggests that no nation state or continent in the international system can operate in isolation. Besides, the globalized nature of the international system does not provide any space for what can be called a policy of isolationism which was ascribed to the United States after the 1st World War. Findings with respect to question four have also revealed that unstable and the volatile global environment, often times triggered by politico-economic upheavals, will and have continued to affect integration efforts in Africa. In the contemporary times, internal political development in the United States culminating into the assumption of office by President Trump, and the phenomenon of Brexit are occurrences that have sent jitters around the world. This clearly is an indication that integration efforts in Africa will undoubtedly be affected by occurrences outside of the African continent.

On research question five, findings revealed that while there are new suggestions and propositions of fresh policy options that could facilitate integration arrangements in Africa, the AU already has a plethora of carefully crafted and packaged policies, protocols and resolutions in respect of the continents integration efforts. The findings in this respect came from participants from NEPAD and the AUC, and these have been presented in chapter five and detailed in the tabular presentation, Appendix 1. In other words, the AU does not lack policies and programme of action in its drive towards integration.

Findings particularly identified the need for effective leadership as a sine qua non to achieve visible and laudable success on integration endeavours on the continent. According to a majority of the study participants, leadership is of essence to achieve results. In the case of the AUC, its leadership must be purposeful, committed,

unbiased, transparent, and focused. Findings also revealed that integration of the continent could be speeded if there are deliberate efforts by African leaders to adopt and pursue "home-grown strategies" rather than relying on external power or foreign aid as has been the reality hitherto. Participants' admonitions on African leaders to finance programs with locally generated funds are in line with the suggestion of home-grown strategy, and seem to have been heeded with the resolution taken at the AU at its 2016 Summit in Kigali on how to finance its programmes. Specifically, the Summit agreed to contribute $1.2 billion on yearly basis to sustain the AU through levying of 0.2% tax on all eligible import duties. This is particularly aimed at ensuring the financial independence of the organisation, and by so doing, prevent undesired external influences, Akinterinwa (2016). In the view of Maite Nkoana-Mashabane (South African Minister of International Relations and Cooperation), this home-grown novel development under the leadership of the outgone Chairperson of the AUC, H.E (Dr) Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma represented a practical and pragmatic attempt at self-reliance by Africa leaders. Whether this strategy will achieve the purpose for which it is intended remains to be seen.

7.3   Concluding remarks

This study set out to critically examine the African Union Commission (AUC) as an integrative tool in the context of institutional capacities and the challenges of continental integration. It is worth repeating that the AUC is one of the organs of the African Union (AU) which conducts the administrative affairs of the continental organization.

The study was informed by the need to contexualise the dynamism exhibited by the leadership direction of the outgoing Chairperson of the Commission (at the time of this research), Her Excellency, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma wherein considerable attention was drawn to the activities of the AU. The AUC's engagements with the RECs and its reaching out to both private individuals and institutions for support, has significantly put African affairs on the spotlight. In view of the mandate of the AUC to initiate proposals for consideration by Policy Organs (comprising the Assembly of Heads of State and government and the Executive Council), the researcher notes that

the outgoing Chairperson can be said to have recorded outstanding successes while in office. Manifestations of these are the establishment in 2013 of the AU Foundation which seeks to solicit private individuals and organisations for support; Agenda 2063 which will serve as a roadmap for the organisation in the next fifty years beginning from 2013; and the adoption of the African passport designed to facilitate travels across Africa by Africans.

The study was hinged on a considerable amount of literature and data from fieldwork to be able to delineate and maintain a line of focus, and reinforced by a select of three theoretical paradigms engaged for analysis. Consequently, the study adopted the qualitative research methodology in the generation of data, identified the interview method for data collection, and a content analysis procedure for data presentation. The study noted the need for ethical considerations in terms of anonymity and confidentiality and this was highly observed by the researcher in the course of fieldwork exercise. As indicated in chapter five, and specifically under the section dealing with response rate, the researcher noted that getting a reply and acceptance to participate by target respondents did not come easy as the researcher had to do several letters explaining in details, what was needed and the purpose of the contact and inquiry. Interviews conducted in South Africa (involving NEPAD and SAIIA personnel) did not witness any serious impediments and setbacks as respondents were willing to participate and in some cases, ensured that follow-up contact with them was achieved with little or no logistics challenges. Apart from successful interview sessions, the researcher was humbled by the volume of publications made available and which significantly assisted this study. Perhaps it is relevant to mention again that NEPAD is an agency of the AU, and consequently was considered a reliable and dependable source of information required for this sort of research. SAIIA on the other hand is a non-government think tank, and a South Africa's premier research institute on international issues which exhibits professionalism in its analysis of developing international matters, and dispassionately. However, the case is not the same with respect to respondents based in Ethiopia, i.e those at AUC and UNECA. The inability of the researcher to undertake a planned trip to Ethiopia was indeed a source of distress. This situation became compounded when it became clear that the

only option will be to request for either telephonic or skype interview method, and which on its own was plagued by unexpected and sudden change of timing and dates as may have been agreed in advance.

In the final analysis, the researcher was able to exceed its target respondents despite the daunting hiccups experienced while seeking contact with the participants based in Ethiopia, some of whom expressed sympathy and regrets over my inability to meet with them physically which would have enhanced interview-interviewee relationship.

Considering the foregoing challenges which could pass for limitations, and in view of the findings that emerged from both the fieldwork and the strength of the literature accessed and applied, the following conclusive remarks about this study can be highlighted.

Firstly, and in reaction to research question one, the researcher argues that the African Union Commission (AUC) being the organ in charge of the Secretariat of the African Union (AU), can facilitate integration agenda of the organization. This assertion is in consonance with the status of the AUC having being vested with the statutory responsibility to represent the Union and defend its interests under the guidance of and as mandated by the Assembly of Heads of State and government and the Executive Council, and also implementing the decisions taken by Policy Organs. Additionally, the mandate of the AUC which empowers it to initiate proposals for consideration by Policy Organs – The Assembly and the Executive Council – portrays the AUC as having the ability of the organ to perform accordingly.

Secondly, despite the enormity of the challenges facing integration efforts in Africa as has been established from the findings, the researcher submits that the goal of continental integration is achievable. What is perhaps required is for African leaders to muster courage and take steps to address the identified impediments, many of which are self-inflicted. These include the intractable factor of absence of political commitment needed to collectively resolve issues on which there are differences; non-payment of annual dues and subscriptions by member states; over-reliance on external support and its dependency syndrome; greed, corruption and sit-tightism and its accompanying consequences such as civil strifes, wars, diseases, etc. On this basis,

the researcher argues that a deliberate effort by African leaders to replace their personal interest with the interest of their peoples will mark a turning point in the pursuit of the goal of continental development.

Thirdly, on whether the sub-regional bodies can provide a platform for the integration agenda of the continent, the researcher contends that the level of successes recorded within each of the regional economic communities is an indication that such can be replicated on the continent. For example, free movement of goods and services in ECOWAS and the EAC, may be seen as a catalyst to the adoption of the African passport which was launched at the 27th African Summit in Kigali in 2016. Even though the continental travel document is still being developed, its evolution points to the fact that the integration aspirations for Africa are gaining momentum. The impact of ECOWAS passport as a travel document for the citizens of the region has greatly facilitated travels within the region and goes to validate the claim of regional economic communities as requisite building blocks upon which a continental institution can stand.

Fourthly, the views expressed by the study participants as captured in the *Appendix 1* (tabular presentation of findings) on whether the international environment can or does influence integration efforts in Africa le ads the researcher to agree less. As indicated in the discussion in chapter six, African continent cannot be immune to events happening around the international system. By implication therefore, any occurrence within Africa will either trigger another round of events outside the continent or contend with the effects emanating from the international system as a consequence of an action previously taken. For example, it was also noted that unstable and volatile global environment, will and have continued to negatively affect integration efforts in Africa, in terms of slow response to demands for attention or for aid in the area of finance, infrastructure and security. Therefore, happenings in Africa, including integration arrangements, trade and commerce will be influenced by events outside of the continent, especially now that the world is a globalized system.

Fifthly, the researcher aligns with the view by a majority of the respondents to the effect that there is no famine of policies, treaties, protocols and agreements aimed at

leading Africa to its desired level of development. But what seems to be a source of worry is the widely accepted view of absence of political will or commitment by African leaders to concretise their decisions in respect of their developmental agenda. The researcher argues that the failure to accept and practise democratic values and respect for rule of law as essential ingredients to building a stable society on the continent is the bane of development in Africa. These challenges, if not addressed, will continue to haunt the continent.

7.4   Recommendations

In the light of this study, the researcher is of the opinion that reflecting on the results of this study, as espoused in chapter six, dedicated to discussion of findings, conclusive remarks above, theory and extant literature reviewed, the researcher makes recommendations on the following areas. The role of the AUC; challenges facing integration in Africa; regional economic communities as building blocks; influence of the external environment on integration efforts; and policy options to speed up integration in Africa.

On the AUC and its role, the researcher recommends that the 32-action points *(see details in Appendix 1)* which spell out the functions of the organ should be better streamlined, made more articulate and workable. This will require that duties or functions which may have been duplicated or which bear considerable similarity, would be realigned and reconstituted. Doing this will define and present a template of action that would make for easy implementation of decisions on issues and resolutions adopted towards achieving target goals.

On challenges facing integration in Africa, the researcher recommends very strongly that the phenomenon of lack of political will commonly referred to on the part of African leaders required for effective action should be addressed with utmost urgency, so that implementation of decisions on programmes could proceed without undue delays and procrastinations. In other words, African leaders should be ready and willing to execute agreements in respect of projects and programmes designed to address the welfare needs of the peoples as adopted through treaties and policy declarations. The submission of Rettig, Anne W. Kamau, and Muluvi (2013), as

presented in chapter two, page 46 requires a recap here for emphasis. The scholars had submitted that, while the AU does not have the authority to overcome poor capacity, a lack of political will, or other challenges that African countries and RECs may face or bring to the table, the aspiration of continental integration should be pursued in spite of challenges that may arise. The current study had been able to provide justifications to, not validate the issues of lack of political will and other challenges against which the AU has had to contend, but also argues that the future of Africa in terms of growth and development lies in the pursuit of integration of the continent in all sectors.

With respect to the issue of overlapping membership associated with the regional economic communities and consequences for continental issues, the researcher recommends that appropriate steps should be taken by member states to redress the condition and with the required sense of urgency willingness. While the new initiative on funding whereby member states have committed to raising funds from a levy on imports at a given percentage, the researcher recommends that this step should be backed up with noticeable action. Member states should also see their membership dues and subscription as an obligation that cannot be treated with levity, but should be viewed seriously. On greed, corruption and sit-tightism, the researcher notes the intervention by ECOWAS in the situation in Gambia leading to the ouster of the former President, and strongly recommends similar reaction in any country on the continent where the leader refuses to abdicate power even after losing election.

Regarding an assessment of regional economic communities (RECs) as building blocks for integration at the continental level, the researcher acknowledges the role and impact of the sub-regional bodies and recommends that the necessary support be given them for greater level of successes than currently is. In the view of some of the AUC participants, sub-regional organisations as building blocks provided an opportunity to reach the grassroots, and as such, will be better placed to discharge their functions if given the support they require. As noted under the conclusive remarks above, integration has recorded visible success at the sub-regional level in terms of harmonization of policies in the area of movement of people and goods, and

this has provided an impetus for a replication at the continental stage. The ECOWAS experience readily comes out for mention and could be replicated in the other regions.

On the impact of the external environment on integration efforts in Africa, the researcher notes that given the globalized nature of the world system, Africa remains a participant in the system and will be affected by occurrences therein. Consequently, the researcher recommends that African leaders should be more united than ever in their cooperative engagements and forge a solid front to be an active participant alongside others in the international system. As a first step in this regard, issues of leadership challenges should be addressed, and that deliberate efforts be made to provide good governance anchored on respect for democratic practice, rule of law, and fundamental human rights. Besides, it is recommended that African leaders should seek to achieve growth of their economies for the purpose of development of their peoples, especially through the creation of a conducive society, integrated to collectively pursue common goals for the benefit of their peoples. This is stating the obvious, well known story of Africa. This can be facilitated by massive provision and development of infrastructure, manpower development programmes through the provision educational facilities for improve literacy. Again, the Gambia experience suffices in terms of promotion of democratic practice and rejection of violation of rule of law as it relates to elections and the need to abide by election results.

On policy options to speed up integration, the researcher acknowledges existing policy guidelines, protocols and resolutions adopted to pursue integration agenda on the continent but would recommend as follows –

That the AUC, as an implementing organ be strengthened perhaps to the level of supranational entity by which it could enforce compliance with agreed decisions by member states. Although, this suggestion may appear to be difficult, its adoption will no doubt, catalyse efforts towards development on the continent.

That the policy of engaging private individuals and non-state actors for resource mobilization is noteworthy. Being a novel initiative, and first ever endeavour of its nature that the continental body has adopted and embarked upon should be given a chance to evolve. It will be recalled that the African Union Foundation (AUF)

founded in 2013 was a practical development in this regard. It is an initiative of the AUC designed to assist in financing the African priorities through voluntary contributions.

Furthermore, since finance has been identified a major challenge of the organisation as it seeks to pursue its goals, it is recommended that the inward-looking strategy of an imposition of levy which came out as one of the resolutions at the 27th AU Summit in Kigali in 2016 should be enforced and maintained. By so doing, the ability of the AUC to carry out its implementation mandate will be enhanced and chances of more visible successes will be high.

Finally, the researcher notes that the vestiges of colonialism still remain a scourge, and continually hamper the speed of decision making process at the AU. Of particular concern is the manifestation of divergences on the basis of differing languages in Africa and its challenges. Against this situation, the researcher strongly suggests that African leaders should seek to relegate the impact of language barrier to give room for more productive engagement and interactions to facilitate greater socio-economic and political framework in the interest of the citizens of the continent. This can be achieved by adopting protocols which will encourage member states to emphasise the learning of more than one international language by their nationals while in schools or in other places of study. Such protocols can be domesticated in the constitutions of member countries of the AU and pursued by creating awareness among their citizens.

The study submits that, if accorded a near-supranational status and given the requisite authority to act, the AUC has the capacity to mobilise resources and support to facilitate the much desired integration agenda of the African continent.

7.5   Potential areas for future research

This study sought to appraise the capability of the AUC to facilitate integration arrangements in Africa. The researcher believed that this current study has provided considerable justification, through literature survey and fieldwork findings for this thesis and hope that it will enrich existing studies in related researches. However, in the course of study, the researcher observed that majority of scholars, particularly in Political Studies, and in the Social Sciences generally, exhibited ignorance about the

status of the chairperson of the AUC and that of the AU. The seeming lack of understanding of the difference between the AUC and the AU may require some consideration in the form of research inquiry, not only within the rank of scholars, but also on the part of the general African peoples. This suggests that more research exercise should be encouraged into the various organs of the AU and other international bodies to enable a perfect understanding of how such institutions operate. Besides, the researcher notes that the entrenched rivalries resulting from the divergent colonial experiences and the attendant culture of distrust, disharmony and disunity pervading the continent deserve some inquiry perhaps to seek ways of enhancing cohesion necessary for growth and development. In so doing, the aspiration to achieve an integrated and prosperous continent by the African Union will sooner or later become a reality.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Table for presentation of transcribed and textual responses to interview questions from target participants

Themes (Research questions)	Sub-themes (interview questions)	African Union Commission Personnel AUC (P01-16)	New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Personnel NEPAD (P01– P4)	South African Institute of International Affairs Officers SAIIA (P01– P6)	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa UNECA (P01–P12)
African Union as a tool for integration	Role of the African Union Commission; The extent that the AUC facilitate integration in Africa; View on the policy of mobilizing resources from private individuals and non-	Its Mission: To become "an efficient and value-adding institution driving the African integration and development process in close collaboration with African Union Member States, the Regional Economic Communities and African citizens".	The African Union Commission (AUC) is a successor to the Secretariat of the African Union (AU), and charged with the responsibility of overall administration of the organization. As an organ, it prepares strategic plans and studies for the consideration of the Economic Council, elaborates, promotes, coordinates and harmonizes the	The AUC is the organ which carries out the entire administrative activities of the organization and also implements the decisions and resolutions taken and adopted by member states at their summits. The AUC can only recommend to and encourage member-states to	The Commission seeks to drive African integration and development process in close collaboration with African Union member countries, the regional economic communities and African citizens; It is noteworthy that provision of space to private individuals and non-state actors and others

state actors; The argument that African leaders are only playing to the gallery in their efforts at integration; How to strengthen the AUC	Mandate: 1. Represent the Union and defend its interests under the guidance of and as mandated by the Assembly and the Executive Council; 2. initiate proposals for consideration by Policy Organs 3. Implementing the decisions taken by Policy Organs 4. Organize and manage the meetings of the Union; 5. Act as the custodian of the Constitutive Act, its protocols, the treaties, legal instruments, decisions adopted by the Union and those inherited from the OAU;.	programmes and policies of the Union.	work towards integration, it does not have enforcement authority to do so; A couple of African leaders can be said to believe in the integration project, and this can be attested to by the relative level of successes by some of the sub-regional bodies, such as ECOWAS and SADC. However, not all member-states have the economic capacity to meet their financial dues to the organization thereby making the relatively bigger member-states to bear the suffocating	complementing one another in advancing Africa's transformation is indeed a robust and commendable initiative towards driving integration on the continent; The administrative process of carrying out duties and functions by the AUC must be efficient, transparent and accountability guaranteed. With the mandate to coordinate and implement the decisions of the other organs of the Union, the AUC seeks to promote and foster he continent's common objectives in the international community. To successfully facilitate integration in Africa, the AUC

		6. Establish, on the basis of approved programmes, such operational units as it may deem necessary; 7. Coordinate and monitor the implementation of the decisions of the other organs of the Union in close collaboration with the PRC and report regularly to the Executive Council; 8. Assist Member States in implementing the Union programmes and policies, including, CSSDCA and NEPAD; 9. Work out draft common positions and coordinating the action of		burdens of sustaining the AU.	must seek to develop a common value proposition that is built on freedom, equity, justice and fairness for the benefit of the peoples of the continent; must strive to work out a self-sustaining framework rather than relying on foreign donors for the Union's developmental projects

		Member-States in international negotiations. 10. Prepare the Union's Programme and Budget for approval by the policy organs. 11. Manage the budgetary and financial resources including the collection of the approved revenue from various sources, establishing fiduciary, reserve and special Funds with the appropriate approvals, and accepting donations and grants that are compatible with the objectives and principles of the Union.			

		12. Manage the assets and liabilities of the Union according to laid down regulations and procedures; 13. Prepare strategic plans and studies for the consideration of the Executive Council; 14. Take action in the domains of responsibility as may be delegated by the Assembly and the Executive Council. The domains shall include the following: i) control of pandemics; ii) disaster management; iii) international crime and terrorism;			

		iv) environmental management; v) negotiations relating to external trade; vi) negotiations relating to external debt; vii) population, migration, refugees and displaced persons; viii) food security; ix) socio-economic integration; and x) all other areas in which a common position has been established. 15. Mobilize resources and devise appropriate strategies for self-financing, income-generating activities and investment for the Union.			

		16. Promote integration and socio-economic development 17. Strengthen cooperation and co-ordination of activities between Member States in fields of common interest; 18. Ensure the promotion of peace, democracy, security and stability; 19. Provide operational support to the various organs of the Union. 20. Elaborate, promote, coordinate and harmonize the programs of the Union with those of the Regional Economic Communities.			

		21. Prepare and submit an Annual Report on the Activities of the Union to the Assembly, the Executive Council and the Parliament			
		22. Prepare staff Rules and Regulations for approval by the Assembly.			
		23. Implement the decisions of the Assembly regarding the opening and closing down of sections, administrative or technical offices;			
		24. Follow up and ensure the application of the Rules of Procedure and Statutes of the organs of the Union;			

		25. Negotiate, in consultation with the PRC, with the host countries, the Host Agreements of the Union and those of its administrative or technical offices; 26. Build capacity for scientific research and development for enhancing socioeconomic development in the Member States; 27. Strive for the promotion and popularization of the objectives of the Union; 28. Collect and disseminate information on the Union and set up and maintain a reliable database; 29. Ensure the mainstreaming of			

		gender in all programmes and activities of the Union;			
		30. Undertake research on building the Union and on the integration process;			
		31. Develop capacity, infrastructure and maintenance of intra-continental information and communication technology; and			
		32. Prepare and submit to the Executive Council for approval, administrative regulations, standing orders and Rules and Regulations for the management of the affairs of the Union and			

		keeping proper books of accounts. Source: The African Union Commission, Strategic Plan 2014-2017, July 2013 The AUC has the convening power and as such, it is well placed to carry out integration agenda for Africa. Through it convening power, it is in a better position to mobilise its members to adopt certain norms that will help with integration.			
Challenges facing integration efforts in Africa	Perspective on African leaders' desire towards integration;	Political commitment is a major impediment to Africa's integration. To date, there are still	African leaders' desire towards integration is not in doubt, especially in terms of policy commitment and protocols adopted	On challenges facing the AUC in the performance of its responsibilities, it is safe to argue	African leaders are not committed to pursuing integration efforts in line with policy declarations, treaties, protocols

	Policy declarations and resolutions at summits on integration are debatably a product of talk-shops; Impact of differing colonial experiences on efforts to harmonize policy initiatives on integration; Major and remote challenges against integration efforts in Africa; and the argument that African	a great deal of normative framework signed by member states but yet ratified in their constituencies Funding is also a problem. Up until 2016, the budget for the AU has mostly been supported with funds from donors. The AU contribute to its program budget only around 4%. The AU budget also hovers around 0.004% of combined African nominal GDP (2015). And this is too little to make meaningful change. Besides, the way decisions used to be taken did not	so far. However, the journey towards integration is not an easy one. Challenges facing integration efforts in Africa include the following: Lack of political will by African leaders, a factor which in itself is subject to debate. This is because, while there are leaders who are genuinely committed, there are others who seem to be hypocritical and therefore creates some form of bottlenecks with no authority to enforce actions; There is the fundamental challenge of the vestiges of colonialism, which ensured that African countries became dependent economies, relying heavily on imports for their sustenance while exporting raw	that the challenges facing member-states have a corollary effect on the effectiveness and efficiency of the AUC, because the organ is financed by member-states, and not independent and self-sustaining. It does not have an enforcement power to coerce member-states into complying with resolutions and policy declarations; More importantly, the intractable concern of lack of political will on the part of the African leaders to concretise protocols and implement decisions on	and decisions reached at summits; Member states of the organization are still tied to the apron strings of their colonial overlords; Africa's quest for integration is faced with the following obstacles – Dependence of some countries on colonial masters; Hitherto exclusion of the private sector from being a stakeholder; proliferation of sub-regional bodies; poor intra-Africa trade; Under-development of human capital; Macro-economic disequilibrium and foreign debt burden; War, diseases and uncertain climatic conditions; Lack of scientific information and sharing strategies;

leaders lack needed political will to achieve integration.	take into consideration fundamental factors such as the capacity of the AU to implement them. Most decisions are political in nature, and most times are difficult to pursue in view of differing national interests which constitute a challenge to the wider continental objectives. However, the situation appears to be changing, and under Agenda 2063, the setting is showing signs of likely improvement, as efforts are being to change the decision-making processes to ensure their	materials which are thereafter converted into finished goods and later imported. Closely related to this is that African economies are mono-cultural and non-competitive, hence the reason for low intra-Africa trade. Besides, leaders in Africa seem to be more concerned with their national interests against the aggregated continental interest which require collective resolve to address for the benefit of their peoples. Differing national interest has been compounded by a resurgence trend of sit-tightism in which case, some African leaders are now toying and concretising the idea of changing constitutions in order to legitimize their	issues of interest to member-states remains a challenge. For example, on the issue of annual dues and subscriptions, the records of the organization show that some member countries are continually in default, and the AUC does not possess the capacity to force payment. The poor financial status of the organization since its inception has not shown signs of improvement, as the AU continues to rely on funding from development partners as donors with its accompanying consequences. In	and Greed, corruption and tyranny on the part of African leaders. More importantly, AU integration efforts are hampered little or no leadership performance in implementation of agreements, reinforced by promotion of individual member's interest. There is a lack of strong political will and support of the integration process and the Secretariat, now known as the AUC does not possess strict means of enforcing the implementation of agreements by leaders. In another context, a major challenge remains insatiable quest for power

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		execution; Furthermore, continental institutional framework is also a major challenge that needs to be resolved urgently after which the rest, such as the development of common policies, domestic resource mobilization, monitoring and evaluation strategies could be easily embarked upon.	continued stay in power.	addition, the issues of greed, corruption and tyranny associated with governance in Africa have become a bane to development on the continent. The fallout of this is manifesting in the inability of African leaders to meet the needs of their peoples in terms of improved welfare standard, practice of rule of law and observance of human rights.	among African leaders, and the proclivity for perpetuation in office. This unbridled tendency has consequently led to the upsurge of rebellion and civil strife on the continent.
Assessing sub-regional bodies on integration efforts	On the view that only the sub-regional organisations such ECOWAS, can lead to continental integration; Assessing	The African Union (AU) has an excellent development model on ground. Sub-regional organisations as building blocs provided an opportunity to	Sub-regional organisations no doubt, serve as building blocks for integration efforts in Africa, but they are not stand-alone as they also contend with issues of lack of political will, disparity	Yes, sub-regional organisations indeed provide a platform for continental integration project, especially with the level of relative successes recorded in each	Unfortunately though, the sub-regional bodies are equally facing similar challenges and predicaments in terms of commitments of leadership, unequal economic capability

the sub-regional bodies on successes and challenges; On argument that neo-functionalists institutions such as the AUC, EU, etc, can facilitate integration; On how varying colonial experiences in Africa have impeded efforts towards integration in Africa; and the Impact of conflicting	reach the grassroots. In practice, this has not been the case giving the following factors – Regional bodies were created separate treaties that have nothing to do with the AU. This brings loyalty issues. These sub-regional groupings don't report to the AU but to their bosses; - Competing demands between the AU and the sub-regional bodies which seem to result into duplications in many areas. The AU and its member states only appear to converge on	in economic capabilities and vestiges of colonialism; Sub-regional organisations differ from one region to the other in terms of strength and weaknesses. For example, ECOWAS and SADC seem to be able to to hold and sustain their activities, thereby seemingly making some impact in their regions. On the other hand, the AMU and ECCAS are relatively weak, coupled with fragile socio-economic and political conditions existing in their regions; At the sub-regional level, leaders within the regions seem to be more committed in the pursuit of their integration efforts, and with that, there is a	region. For example, in the area of free movement of goods and services, the ECOWAS, ECA and SADC, etc, can be tipped to have made significant impact in their respective regions. On the issue of the effect of differing colonial experiences, the impact on integration efforts, especially at the sub-regional level, is quite huge. In SADC for instance, the effect of Lusophone and Anglophone experiences and decision-making processes on integration agenda	and funding issues, overlapping membership and mono-cultural economies. Hence, overall performance not outstanding, achievements very low and challenges very huge; Sub-regional bodies must unite and encourage private sector inclusion and participation in their activities. While it is significant to have multilateral bodies as platforms to facilitate integration in Africa, there is a need to ensure that multiplicity of such is not promoted. This will make coordination and implementation of agreements easy and the incidence of duplication of services avoided.

	interests among African leaders and economic inequalities on integration efforts.	issues of peace and security, as well as, on governance (election), thereby affecting the effectiveness of the AUC. The AU also suffers from what can be referred to as the "big brother mentality" where the relatively bigger and stronger member-states call the shots all the time; - Internal structures of the sub-regional bodies are very different from the set up at the AUC level. This affects coordination of their activities. Besides, If one considers COMESA, which starts Egypt down	relative visible impact in their integrative arrangements; Finally, the mono-cultural or mono-product nature of African states constitutes a major impediments to integration efforts on the continent. African countries have similar exports, and which are generally non-competitive, hence, very low intra-continent trade relationships.	is challenging. So also is what obtains in the ECOWAS on harmonization of policies.	

		to Zimbabwe, the view that sub-regional bodies can lead to integration of the continent may be plausible. However, it all depends on the final objectives. COMESA for instance, has so far not mentioned about political integration, but has continued to emphasise economic integration. Member states are often divided on which direction to follow between economic and political integration. It is clear then that the problem with the AU is its mandate, structure and powers, hence,			

		impeding the role of the AUC which relies on the mandate of the AU. There is the need to decentralize the focus and objectives of the organisation and for the implementing organs to be given more resources and effective power and authority.			
On external influence on integration efforts in Africa	Evaluating how the global environment can influence integration efforts in Africa; The European model as a pathway or benchmark for	With over 90% of AU program budget financed by external forces, the organization is clearly made to dance to the tune of the funders. Donors put in money to sustain their interest. For instance, donors tend to put their money to ensure	In a nutshell, the international environment does and can influence integration arrangement in Africa. Integration is not done in a vacuum. Africa is equally a player in the international environment, and can be affected by developments therein. The influence can	Perhaps, the perception that events in extra-African countries could pose unassailable challenge to Africa may have been a stimulus to African integration desire. There is no doubt that the European integration	Unstable and volatile global environment, triggered by politico-economic upheavals, will and have continued to negatively affect integration efforts in Africa; Home grown strategies without the needed strong political will and support to implement decisions and

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integration arrangement in Africa; Argument that integration in Africa can be best achieved through home grown strategies; How to rescue African countries from the dependency syndrome relationship with their former colonial masters; and The extent to which colonialism has aided or impeded integration	peace and security and in the contemporary times, paying attention to migration issues. Donors are generally indisposed to providing finance towards hard projects that could speed up integration in Africa. For instance, donors don't finance free movement of people, African financial institutions because doing so will jeopardize their interests, especially France which will always want to hold on to the CFA, etc. In addition, it can be observed that the former	either be positive or negative, depending on the policy initiatives and drive of the integration arrangement of the integrators and the policy direction of the blocs outside of the African environment, such as the European Union (EU) and BRICS, etc; The European Union partially represents a pathway or model for Africa. This is complemented by models or patterns from other blocs of the world. Besides, by adopting a model for use is allowed and useful, provided it serves the needed purpose and also promotes the spirit of global partnerships.	experience offers some insights for Africa. However, the recent development of Brexit and the future of the EU, of which the European Commission is an organ, makes the Union a suspect. Although, there are unconfirmed speculations that France is making a move to walk out of the Union. If this happens, it could turn out worrisome in view of the status of the country as a member country.	agreements will not guarantee the expected level of integration on the continent. On how to disentangle the African countries for their dependent relationship, it may not be out rightly possible because the world is a global village. But African countries need labour intensive technique in the areas of production, and efforts should be geared at economic diversification. Also, necessary infrastructure facilities must be made available for industrialization to take place. Countries in Africa in particular, are tied to the apron strings of their colonial masters with great influence

	efforts in Africa.	colonial powers would want to preserve their interests on the continent and will strive to circumvent any arrangement considered to be inimical to their goals, be it integration or otherwise. However, there is a lot that can be learnt from the European model of integration, but with caution, as there are peculiar factors for Africa that would require intense considerations. These include among others, differing socio-cultural, economic and political values and orientations			on decisions and actions taken at any period in time. Coupled with this, is the fact that these former colonies depend on colonial masters for financial assistance most of the time for their development needs. The western world which formerly colonized Africa for their self-interest would naturally not be comfortable with an attempt towards African coalition that will limit their desired exploitation of the continent, and will engage in subtle efforts to frustrate a continental unity.

		that intrinsically underpin policy formulations.			
Policy options for more effective strategies to facilitate integration in Africa	Perspectives on existing policy declarations and resolutions towards integration in Africa; On how to sustain the view that lack of political will by African leaders is the bane of integration; Determining the impact of leadership of the AUC as an organ to facilitate integration	Finance programs with locally generated funds; make the AU a people's organization and not just of governments; Make full use of the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOC) as the tool for reaching the common man; and Re-write the Treaties of the Sub-Regional Bodies and make them tied to the AU's structure and agenda. On the policy of engaging private individuals and non-state actors for resource	There is no doubt that policy frameworks in respect of integration agenda and programmes are not in short supply. However, what is perhaps of concern is the lack of clear commitment to implementation of protocols and resolution on issues. For example, on the simple matters of tariffs on trade relationships among member countries, deliberate efforts are not being made to concretise decisions by follow-up actions. On the impact of leadership of the Commission, its ability to effectively keep the intervention	At the sub-regional level, integrative arrangements may come out easier as against a continental agenda, owing to issues of lack of political will and commitment. It is noteworthy that the AUC can only provide the necessary platform where decisions on integration can be explored and pursued towards implementation. The AUC on its own, does not have any enforcement authority over member states.	Leadership is of essence in the efforts to achieve results in every endeavour. In the case of the AUC, its leadership must be purposeful, committed, unbiased, transparent, and focused. While it is noted that the AU has enough of policies and resolutions aimed at achieving the goal of integration in Africa, the following recommendations will be offered for consideration – Overlapping membership challenge should be urgently addressed to give room for a clear political commitment; given

arrangement; How issues of corruption, greed and tyranny among African leaders have impeded integration efforts on the continent; and Policy options or strategies that could be recommended to speed up integration in Africa.	mobilization, it is noteworthy that this is a novel initiative, and first ever endeavour of its nature the continental body has embarked on; and in overall, has produced good results. It should be given a chance to evolve. Besides, the current direction that the AU is taking to get more involved in advancing socio-economic development of the peoples is offering a ray of hope to some African leaders who hitherto, had been doubtful, and have already started to see the tangible benefits that the	agenda of the organization in the consciousness of the leaders and the peoples in general constitutes an impetus that rub off on the process of integration of the continent.	Hence, African leaders who have the responsibility to demonstrate the needed political will for integration, should engage more in intense consultation to encourage unenthusiastic members to get on board.	the challenge of economic inequalities among member states, new policy instrument to deal with the fears of economic polarization must be explored, e.g, multispeed arrangement which requires allowing weaker member states more time to liberalize; Private sector groups to be adequately involved in the integration project; Disputes resolution mechanisms must be strengthened and ways to ensure policy credibility must be pursued; Peace and security to be enhanced because wars and conflicts in a number of African regions and countries which have

		organization can make possible for them. This evolving awareness seems to have created in the leaders the need to give the AU and its integration agenda, a more positive consideration.			devastated transport networks, poor communications networks and inadequate and damaged infrastructure need to be resolved. On issues of greed and corruption, the AU should adopt a protocol on zero tolerance for corruption by African leaders, promote transparency and accountability in government. Political institutions in African countries should be strengthened so that it will be very easy to vote out corrupt leaders during elections.

Appendix 2, Interview guide

School of Social Sciences

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Pietermaritzburg Campus

Private Bag X01

Scottsville, 3209

Dear Respondents,

I am a PhD student of the above named university carrying out a research on the *"INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITIES AND THE CHALLENGES OF CONTINENTAL INTEGRATION: A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE AFRICAN UNION COMMISSION AS AN INTEGRATIVE TOOL Capacity and Challenges of the African Union Commission (AUC) to facilitate integration on the continent"*.
I solicit your support and cooperation in this exercise of data collection.
Be assured that the information you provide is strictly for research purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.
Thank you

Yours sincerely
Medoye, D.T
tayemedoye@yahoo.co.uk, 214555350@stu.ukzn.ac.za, tayemedoye@gmail.com

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

 This study will solely rely on the use of interview as an instrument for data collection.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The purpose of this interview is to seek your assistance in gathering data on the **INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITIES AND THE CHALLENGES OF CONTINENTAL INTEGRATION: A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE AFRICAN UNION COMMISSION AS AN INTEGRATIVE TOOL***. Your responses and comments will enable this researcher gather requisite data leading to the completion of the study for the award of a Doctor of Philosophy degree in the School of Social Sciences at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus.

A. ON AFRICAN UNION COMMISSION AS A TOOL FOR INTEGRATION

1. What is the role of the African Union Commission (AUC)?

2. In your own opinion, to what extent can the AUC drive integration in Africa?

3. The current AUC's policy of engaging both private individuals and non-state actors for mobilisation of resources to achieve continent-wide benefit appears to be debateable, what is your response to this?

4. Would you agree with the argument that Africa leaders are only playing to the gallery in terms of their integration desire owing to perceived non-commitment?

5. How can the AUC be strengthened for effective discharge of its statutory mandate?

B. ON CHALLENGES FACING INTEGRATION EFFORTS IN AFRICA

1. In brief, what is your view about the desire of African leaders towards integration of the African continent?

2. Some scholars and policy makers have contended that policy declarations at summits and conferences in the pursuit of integration in Africa are products of talk shops. How do you respond to this claim?

3. Africa's efforts at harmonising policy initiatives for growth and development seem to be retarded by its different colonial experiences. How do you react to this view?

4. What do you suggest would be the major and minor challenges against integration on Africa?

5. Some scholars have argued that African leaders lack the political will to achieve integration. How would you respond to this claim?

C. ON ASSESSING SUB-REGIONAL BODIES ON INTEGRATION EFFORTS

1. Some scholars have argued that only sub-regional organisations such ECOWAS, etc, only can lead to continental integration. What is your view in this regard?

2. How would you assess the various sub-regional institutions such as ECOWAS, ECCAS, SADC, etc, in terms of performances, achievements and challenges?

3. Neo-functionalists argued that functional institutions such as the AUC can drive integration. How do you respond to this claim?

4. In your opinion, to what extent do you think differing colonial experiences in African countries have affected integration efforts?

5. In your view, how can sub-regional institutions facilitate integration in Africa?

6. To what extent can conflicting interests and economic inequalities among African states impede integration efforts?

D. ON EXTERNAL INFLUENCE ON AUC'S INTEGRATION EFFORTS

1. In your opinion, how can the global environment influence integration efforts in Africa?

2. The European pathway to integration appears to be the benchmark being adopted by African leaders, what is your view about this syndrome?

3. Some scholars contend that integration can be best achieved through African home-grown strategies, what is your opinion about this argument.

4. In your opinion, how can African states be rescued from its dependent relationship with the advanced economies?

5. To what extent do colonial legacies impact integration efforts in Africa?

E. ON POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EFFECTIVE INTEGRATION

1. How would you assess the existing policy declarations aimed at integration by African leaders?

2. Some scholars have argued that lack of commitment to policy implementation is the bane of integration in Africa, what is your view about this claim?

3. In your own opinion, to what extent can leadership affect the integrative capability of the AUC?

4. What innovative policy or strategies would you suggest that could speed up integrative efforts in Africa?

5. How can the issues of greed, corruption and tyranny among African leaders be addressed to pave way for smooth integration arrangements?

The researcher may, in the event that a participant's response provokes a reaction, construct follow-up questions to each of the sections for clarity.

Thank you very much for your attention.

Appendix 3, Ethical Clearance

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

23 October 2014

Mr Daniel Taye Medoye (214555350)
School of Social Sciences
Pietermartizburg Campus

Protocol reference number: HSS/1398/014D
Project title: Institutional Capacities and the Challenges of Continental Integration: A critical study of the African Union Commission (AUC) as an integrative Tool

Dear Mr Medoye,

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received on 18 August 2014, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL.**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/ms

Cc Supervisors: Professor Gerelene Pattundeen and Dr Joram Ndlovu
Cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Sabine Marschall
Cc School Administrator: Ms Nancy Mudau

Appendix 4, Gatekeeper's letter

School of Social Sciences

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Pietermaritzburg Campus,

Private Bag 3209

6th January 2015

Director,
Administration & Human Resource Management,
African Union Commission,
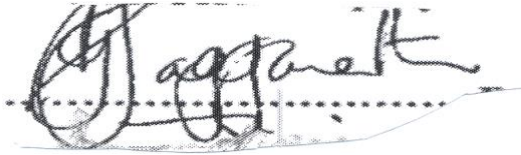**Addis Ababa.**
Ethiopia.

Your Excellency,

RE: Mr Daniel Taye Medoye – PhD Student at University of KwaZulu Natal-Stu.No. 214555350

This letter serves to introduce and confirm that Mr Daniel Taye Medoye is a duly registered PhD (International Relations) candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus. The title of his PhD research is, *"Institutional Capacities and the Challenges of Continental Integration- a Study of the African Union Commission (AUC) as an Integrative Tool".* Findings from this study will seek to provide insights into the institutional capacity of the AUC as a strategic organ of the African Union (AU), to facilitate the integration aspirations in the continent, and thus extend the frontiers of knowledge by theorizing on the role of an institution with statutory mandate particularly on the platform of a continental organisation as it seeks to drive integrative efforts among members of the enabling organisation.

As part of the requirements for the award of a PhD degree he is expected to undertake original research in an environment and place of his choice. The UKZN ethical compliance regulations require him to provide proof that the relevant authority where the research is to be undertaken has given approval.

We appreciate your support and understanding to grant Mr Daniel Taye Medoye permission to carry out research in your institution. Should you need any further clarification, do not hesitate to contact me.

Thank you in advance for your understanding.

Dr. Gerelene Jagganath

Research Supervisor

School of Social Sciences

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Private Bag X01 Scottsville 3209

Howard College Campus

Email: Pattundeeng@ukzn.ac.za

Tel: +27 836455998

Appendix 5, Informed Consent Letter

School of Social Sciences

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Pietermaritzburg Campus,

Private Bag 3209

6th January 2015

Informed Consent Document

Dear Participant,

My name is MEDOYE DANIEL TAYE (214555350). I am a PhD candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus. The title of my research is:

INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITIES AND THE CHALLENGES OF CONTINENTAL INTEGRATION: A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE AFRICAN UNION COMMISSION AS AN INTEGRATIVE TOOL

The aim of the study is to undertake a critical study of the African Union Commission (AUC) as an integrative tool in the context of the African continent through a process of examination of its strategic position and institutional capacity.

I am interested in interviewing you so as to share your experiences and observations on the subject matter.

Please note that:

- The information that you provide will be used for scholarly research only.

- Your participation is entirely voluntary. You have a choice to participate, not to participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.

- Your views in this interview will be presented anonymously. Neither your name nor identity will be disclosed in any form in the study.

- The interview will take about an hour

- The record as well as other items associated with the interview will be held in a password-protected file accessible only to myself and my supervisors. After a period of 5 years, in line with the rules of the university, it will be disposed by shredding and burning.

- If you agree to participate please sign the declaration attached to this statement (a separate sheet will be provided for signatures)

I can be contacted at: School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus, Scottsville, Pietermaritzburg. Campus, Durban.

Email: 214555350@stu.ukzn.ac.za

Cell: +27718246416

My supervisor is **Dr Gerelene Jagganath** who is located at the School of Social Sciences, Howard College Campus, Durban of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Contact details: email Pattundeeng@ukzn.ac.za Phone number: **+27836455998**.

My co-supervisor is **Dr Ndlovu Joram** who is located at the School of Social Sciences, Howard College Campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Contact details: email Ndlovuj1@ukzn.ac.za   Phone number: **+27786463971**

The Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee contact details are as follows: Ms Phumelele Ximba, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Research Office, Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za**,**Phone number +27312603587.

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

<div style="text-align: center;">DECLARATION</div>

I……………………………………………………………………… *(full names of participant*) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire. I understand the intention of the research. I hereby agree to participate.

I consent / do not consent to have this interview recorded (if applicable)

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT   **DATE**

………………………………………………………

Appendix 6 – Interviewees (Participants are Coded)

African Union Commission (AUC), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

CODE – (P 01 – 16)

- **All telephonic and skype interviews were conducted between July 2016 and December 2016, while textual responses were received in December 2016**

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD, Midrand, Johannesburg)

CODE – (P01 – 04)

- **All interviews were conducted between May 2016 and August 2016**

South African Institute of international Affairs (SAIIA, Johannesburg)

CODE – (P01 – 06)

- **All interviews were conducted in August 2016**

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia)

CODE – (P01 – 12)

- **All textual responses obtained in December 2016**