



INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

**THE ROLE OF AFRICAN GOVERNANCE ARCHITECTURE (AGA) IN
PREVENTING STRUCTURAL CONFLICT IN AFRICA**

BY- TSION HAILEMARIAM ASRAT

ADVISOR- Dr. Michelle NdiayeNtab

July, 2015

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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PREVENTING STRUCTURAL CONFLICT IN AFRICA**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF ADDIS
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Approved by Board of Examiners

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External Examiner	Date	Signature

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACDEG	African Charter on Democracy, Election and Governance
ACHPR	African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights
AGA	African Governance Architecture
AGP	African Governance Platform
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
AUABC	African Union Advisory Board on Corruption
AUC	African Union Commission
CAF	Conflict Analysis Frameworks
CEWS	Continental Early Warning System
ECOSOCC	Economic, Social and Cultural Council of the African Union
ECOWAS	Economic Community of Western African States
GTZ	German Technical Co-operation
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
MS	Member State
NEPAD	New Partnership towards Development
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PAP	Pan-African Parliament
PoW	Panel of the Wise
PRC	Permanent Representative Committee
PSC (AU)	Peace and Security Council
PSD	Peace and Security Department
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SADC	Southern African Development
STC	Special Technical Committee

Abstract

While the African Union (AU), through The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), has shown an increase in its response to the peace and security challenges, it, however, has a long way to go in terms of addressing the causes, triggers, accelerators and consequences of conflicts. Africa now faces fewer inter-state wars and more intra-state conflicts emerging from poor governance, democratic deficiency, weak state institutions, indigent human rights protections and irresponsible political systems. AU has been successful in the formulation and adoption of norms and institutional frameworks. However, it rather failed in implementing these policies and laws. Furthermore, the scattered mechanisms for the promotion of democratic governance and human rights in the AU are a particular challenge to its struggle for sustainable peace and security in Africa. In order to remove these deficiencies, the AU needs to swiftly implement the policies in cooperation with Member States to increase its impact and relevance on the ground. To this effect, AU is introducing a new architecture called African Governance Architecture (AGA) to address the root causes of conflicts by improving democratic governance, constitutionalism and human security in Africa. This approach towards the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts will help to address structural root causes of conflicts in Africa. It will further enable to connect, empower and build the capacities of the African peoples in strengthening governance and consolidating democracy through shared values they have in common. This study examines the development of governance and democracy controlling mechanisms in light of structural conflict prevention, and the existing gap between AGA and APSA in the AU. It is among the first to contribute a new academic perspective on the highly topical issue - AGA. In addition, it adds value to the AU's struggle to improve democratization and human rights records of the Member States through the AGA framework.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Patterns of violent conflicts and nature of insecurities are changing in the current African context. There are a number of reasons for the existing peace and security situation in Africa including poor governance, democratic deficiency, weak state institutions, poor human rights protections and irresponsible political systems. These conflicts escalate in relation to elections, unconstitutional change of government, insecurity of civilians as well as humanitarian affairs. Human rights issues clearly demonstrate the inextricable linkage between peace and security on one hand and governance and democracy on the other (Ullrich and Huser, 2013) and above all the quality of democracy, good governance and human rights trends in Africa is under question.

According to Murithi (2008), good governance and democracy are at the forefront of peace and security in Africa. Despite improvements in African governance landscape and the paradigm shift on peace and security since the 2002 change of Organization of African Unity (OAU) to African Union Commission (AUC), Africa still continues to face serious and dynamic threats to peace and security mainly induced by deficits in democratic governance, rule of law, constitutionalism, public service as well as protection of human rights and humanitarian affairs. Peace is an enabling condition for the establishment of good governance and reciprocally good governance and democratic system are invaluable preconditions for sustainable peace and security.

Therefore, democratic governance, peace and development are inextricably intertwined. How violence, conflict or insecurity disrupts the democratic system and governance progress and destroys people's stable lives; or alternatively, how good governance and dipping of democracy contributes to the advancement of peace and security can illustrate the complex and deep synergy between democratic governance and peace and security. Especially in the context of positive peace, which goes further than mere absence of violence and presence of social justice through equal opportunity, fair distribution of power and resources, equal protection and impartial enforcement of law, all aspects of good governance are pillars of peace and security.

Acknowledging this fact, critically rethinking and reshaping approaches to conflict preventions and peace building in current Africa is plainly imperative. To understand the nature of African conflicts, it is vital to see the underlying causes through the lenses of existing governance and democratic practices. Therefore, there is a strong struggle to advance the current peace and security controlling systems towards peace building in the AU especially with regard to the building and strengthening of governance and democracy of Member States (Bujra and Adejumobi, 2000). Indeed, in AU's strategic plan, a strong priority is given to creating a closer link between governance, peace and security. The AU strategic plan for 2014-17 notes that the AUC will take a holistic and integrated approach in addressing the issues of peace and security in the continent and emphasizes the importance of addressing the root causes of conflict such as poor governance, human rights abuse, weak governance institutions, lack of free and fair elections and similar problems. In this regard, the Constitutive Act of the AU (AU CA) recalls democracy, respect for fundamental freedoms and human rights, and good governance as essential prerequisites for the establishment and maintenance of peace, security and stability.

Consequently, the AU's long term development strategy for peace, security and sustainable development, 'Africa Agenda 2063', highlights democratic deficit and weak governance as root causes of conflicts and impediments for peace and sustainable development (AGA, 2014). However, these progressive policies and norms in the AU will not be effective without compliance and effective implementation by Member States. Therefore, in order to enforce coherent, coordinated and consistent follow up among AU organs, Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and Member States the African Governance Architecture (AGA) has been developed. (AGA, 2014)

AGA is conceived as the overall political and institutional framework for the promotion, protection and sustenance of democracy, governance, human rights and humanitarian assistance on the continent. It is a continental mechanism aimed at connecting, empowering and building capacities of African people in strengthening governance and consolidating democracy in Africa. This architecture embodies the aspirations of African people and their determination to improve their lives with dignity by consolidating democratic values and principles as a major tool for fighting conflicts and insecurities in Africa. The overall objective of AGA is to achieve good governance, democracy, human rights and rights-based approach towards development including

social, economic, cultural and environmental rights. This aim clearly promotes conflict prevention and peace building. Furthermore, it is designed to increase coordination between the different institutions with a governance mandate and to create greater linkages between the AU instruments on shared values (Wachira, 2014).

AGA was established in 2011 by the Fourteenth Ordinary Session of AU Assembly as a decision of Pan-African Architecture on Governance to bring sustainable peace and security in Africa (ibid, 6). However, the adoption of African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG) in May 2012 became a momentum for the official launching of the AGA and its African Governance Platform (AGP). Then AGA became lively in the consecutive years in consolidating its structural frameworks, norms, standards and institutions (AGA, 2014) Furthermore, there were various multi-stakeholders' meetings held to discuss the basic premises of the Architecture as well as the modalities for its operationalization to strengthen dialogue, coordination and harmonization of activities between existing governance decision-making organs and structures.

Prior to AGA, the AU mainly institutionalized peace and security agendas through the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). APSA was established in 2004 to equip the AU to fulfill its mandate in conflict prevention, management and peace consolidation. Though important steps have been taken by the APSA to address peace and security issues in Africa in the past ten years, there still is needed a more coordinated and institutionally guided process to build governance and democracy in Africa. Even though APSA has the mandate to play the roles mentioned above, it is mainly engaged in various conflict resolution and conflict management tasks because of the repeated conflict eruption in the continent. AGA is thus involved in filling the gap which may further broaden peace and security issues beyond the relatively narrow security dimensions in to the overall democratic and governance development.

AGA, as a conceptual framework, is currently under development for coordinating the various, and largely fragmented African governance agendas, initiatives, processes and institutions at different levels in a complete and comprehensive manner. AGA is also another part of APSA, which fills the existing undeniable gap in the weak democratic foundation in African countries. This Africa-owned governance reform program and democracy-building effort will take AU beyond a mere focus on conflict management and peace keeping and help it to formulate policy

frameworks that establish procedures to react against democratic deficits and bad governance in Member States. Hence, APSA would need to support those efforts in the AU to have its own strong, credible and effective African norms and institutions that promote good governance and protection of human rights across the whole continent.

AGA contributes to the African political integration agenda by bringing together AU's enormous and scattered governance, human rights and related instruments in a big tent. The two giant pillars of AGA, namely democracy and governance, are considered as a shared value of the Union to form the basis for collective action in the area. As Ayangafac (2012) argued, AU's policy approach to addressing Member States' governance challenges is rooted in the principle of collective of differentiated responsibility. Furthermore, he highlights that the AU has been consistent in its policy orientation on how Member States will individually and collectively respond to the challenge security development and deep integration, which is contingent upon improving governance and a concerted effort at the regional and continental levels so as to support and enhance the capacity of democratic institutions and processes.

Assessing the progress so far achieved in the AU with regard to governance and democracy, it is possible to say that most African shared value instruments including key charters, protocols, directives, regulations and decisions passed by the assembly are either not ratified, ratified slowly, or not implemented at all. Although the alpha and omega to implement a decision on their sovereign territory are the Member States, the main reason for poor implementation on the AU side is that the key AU organs such as the AUC, the Pan African Parliament (PAP), the African Court on Human and Peoples' Right (AfCHPR) and the Commission for Human and Peoples, Rights (ACHPR) and other related institutions have not been empowered enough to accelerate the implementation and move the integration process forward. The AU, moreover, would not be expected to be a driving force behind the setting and evolving of democratic norms and, therefore, it is critical to enhance the synergy and complementarity between and among the AU's relevant instruments and organs for integration and continental development through the newly emerging AGA.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The scattered mechanism on the promotion of democratic governance and human rights in the AU is a particular challenge to the AU's struggle to sustainable peace and security in Africa. Although several instruments and frameworks that can usefully address the root causes of African conflicts have been developed at national, regional and international levels, the continent is still in need of comprehensive and durable conflict prevention and peace building systems founded on the development of good governance and democracy. In the course of that, there have, for decades, been a number of crises that took place in the continent because of deteriorating democratic governance. For instance, the Sahel Region remains to be one of the prominent areas of crisis as a result of poor governance, human rights abuses and related problems (Affa'a-Mindzie, 2013).

As regards the process of conflict prevention through governance set up, the major challenge facing the newly emerging AGA would be its effectiveness in implementation mechanisms especially engagement with Member States. This and its rules of procedures, which have been analyzed in this study, will be a real question to AGA. Essentially among the many reasons that led to the birth of AGA, one is lack of enforcement mechanisms on Member States. While Member States often endorse legal instruments relating to governance, human rights and democracy, there are significant implementation gaps mainly due to lack strong enforcement approaches in Member States. AGA aims to fill these gaps by harmonizing fragmented state reporting structures and by coordinating the rather disconnected AU organs and institutions with a mandate on governance.

The other researched gap has been the interdependence between the fields of governance and peace; the smooth relationship between these two concepts is among the major problems within the AU. This means the synergy between AGA and APSA in practical terms has no clarity. One of the proposed initiatives to remedy this gap is connecting the newly emerging AGA to the well-established APSA. The APSA has already been operational for the past ten years and has a clear mandate for action as it is equipped with Peace and Security Council (PSC), which is a standing decision-making organ in the AU. On the other side, AGA is rising with strong early warning mechanisms and governance maturing programs that would allow it to pre-empt conflicts. Therefore, the major issue researched here was how these two Architectures can be

linked to provide and support each other in order to create an interesting partnership in the field of peace and security. In fact, ensuring a strong synergy between the two organs is crucial for addressing African conflicts in a holistic manner as they can profoundly complement and reinforce each other. They are not only drawn on a common normative and legal framework, but can also benefit from each other in practical ways such as information exchange and knowledge generation that would contribute to enforcement. Furthermore, as outlined by Claassens (2013), there are visible points of intersections that can translate into better cooperation areas between AGA and APSA in practice. In addition, this study was well timed to investigate the significant overlap in the mandates of the two architecture's respective institutions and mechanisms. This is because it is the right foundational period to ensure the synergy; as AGA is on its developmental stage it would be possible for it to strategize the emerging mechanisms according to the existing structure of APSA. Therefore, the study has had to identify cross cutting areas and propose potential frameworks that could help the two to collaborate in a significant way and time.

1.3 Significance of the Research

Theoretically, this study would help all interested stockholders to have a clear conceptual framework of peace and security problems, which are mainly associated with deficiency in democracy, good governance and human rights in Africa. It further explores ways of exchanging views with AGA and other stakeholders on issues relating to democracy and good governance, which form the basis of the AU work in the area of conflict prevention and peace building in Africa, in accordance with the provisions of Article 7(m) of the Protocol for Establishing the Peace and Security Council (PSC Protocol).

Practically, the research has tried to demonstrate the intersection of the mandates between the two architectures, namely AGA and APSA. APSA has a far-reaching task of promoting peace, security and stability in Africa, particularly by anticipating and preventing conflicts, promoting and implementing peace building and post-conflict reconstruction activities. This helps to consolidate peace and prevent the resurgence of violence, to develop a common defense policy for the AU, to promote and encourage democratic practices, good governance and the rule of law, as well as protect human rights and fundamental freedoms. In the same context, AGA was established to co-ordinate and harmonizes fragmented continental efforts relating to governance,

human rights and democracy, to prevent conflict and to bring durable peace and security in the Continent. Hence, this study suggested a possible solution that would enhance AGA's operationalization and create smooth and strong synergy between AGA and APSA.

Furthermore, it is hoped that the study would help as a way of maximising APSA's and AGA's respective comparative advantages in order to avoid repetition for the same activities. If the two architectures start operating in the same context, it would be easy to collaborate in building the capacity of external actors such as civil society organisations, partners and national institutions in their peace support mission. The study also underscores the need for systematic, structured and close collaboration among the relevant departments of the AUC, the PSC and other AU organs and institutions mandated to work on issues of governance. This further gives an insight on how a coordinated implementation of the relevant provisions of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG), as well as other mechanisms under the AU can be realized.

Moreover, the research provides an insight into the genesis, mandate and role of AGA in particular, and into the governance and democracy trend of Member State in general. The study would thus help policy makers to understand details of the subject matter and work on possible solutions.

Lastly, different researches have previously been conducted on the nature of conflicts and their solutions in Africa, but most, if not all, of them emphasized on inter-ethnic conflicts, border conflicts and related topics. However, this study observed the deeper causes of conflicts and security issues and the limitations that the AU had in relation to the implications of the existing legal documents. Therefore, it would be of use to respective offices of AGA and APSA. Researchers who may conduct studies on similar topics may also use it as a springboard for further work. Currently, there are gaps in addressing African conflicts, and this needs a change in approach in the 21th century. The approach in place has been a major cause of failure in developing international, regional and national strategic plan for a better-secured and peaceful Africa.

1.4 Objectives of the Research

1.4.1 General Objective

The purpose of this research was to examine the overall development of AGA and its role in structural conflict prevention and strategies its linkage with APSA to attain peace and security within Africa.

1.4.2 Specific Objective

- To examine the AGA and explore ways to strengthen it for its ultimate effectiveness and attainment of the political integration agenda through the shared value instruments.
- To explore governance mechanisms for structural conflict prevention, reconstruction and development,
- To investigate how AGA works towards the political integration agenda of AU through shared values,
- To establish ways of creating linkage between AGA and APSA for better coordination and collaboration,
- To analyze the impact of synergy between APSA and AGA.

1.5 Research Questions

Overall, this research investigated the genesis, development and role of AGA and a number of specific research questions and issues emerged on the whole assessment. But mainly the research has been intended to address the following questions:

- Is AGA the right and effective approach to deal with governance deficit and to reach the AU ultimate goals towards sustainable peace and security?
- Why does the AU need to focus on the governance and democratic development of Member States in order to bring peace and security in Africa?
- How can APSA and AGA be used to create strong linkage between Africa's peace and governance agenda in order to bring peace, security and sustainable development in Africa?
- What is the AGA role for the Africa integration agenda through its shared value instruments?
- What is the impact of synergy between APSA and AGA?

1.6 Limitations

AGA is a relatively new structure in the AU and the framework for its development as well as its linkage with the APSA is still a work in progress. Hence, it is difficult to give a final judgment on most of the discussed topics. Moreover, as the focus of the research was mainly on evaluating an evolving architecture, AGA, an analysis of practical deed on the ground has been difficult. There was shortage of information and literatures on the area. Against such backdrop, the study attempted to analyse the current status of the AGA using documents available during the research period. It was also difficult for the researcher to get secondary data specifically on AGA since the concept itself was in the process of maturation.

The other limitation of this research was time. During the course of this research, time has been very scarce due to tight schedule that the researcher had. Besides, arranging meetings with respondents was tricky due to the time constraint of not only the researcher but also the respondents, i.e., the experts, secretariats and focal persons.

1.7 Ethical Considerations

All the rules and regulations of Addis Ababa University and the rules stipulated in the IPSS Handbook were strictly adhered to in the course of the study. Due respect and protection of rights were given to the participants and rules of confidentiality and anonymity were strictly observed. Further, utmost care was taken to avoid personal bias of the researcher by taking all the necessary ethical considerations into account.

1.8 Scope of the Study

This research focused on AGA, particularly on its role in the structural conflict prevention, the political integration agenda and the linkage between APSA and AGA and their shared areas. As governance was a broader concept, for the sake of clarity, this paper was limited to the role of good governance and democratic system in ensuring and deepening peace and security in Africa.

Chapter Two

Conceptual Framework and Review of Related Literature

2.1 Introduction

This Chapter starts by analyzing the literature on current African governance challenges, structural conflict prevention as a response to these challenges and the efforts made by the AU in this area. It further analyzes the context that led to the establishment of the AGA: its origin, development and structure, as well its five clusters in view of their possible impact on the African peace and security landscape and political integration agenda. Moreover, it explores the views of related literature towards APSA and its five pillars, and finally concludes by looking at the synergy between AGA and APSA.

Since independence, African states have made remarkable attempts to build sturdy institutions of statehood and nationhood for sustainable peace and security by managing diversity, encouraging participation, promoting equitable development, and encouraging regional integration. Furthermore, Africa has made profound strides in establishing systems of democratic governance that have broadened competitive politics, induced leadership turnovers, invigorated civic action, and resuscitated economies for growth and development. Yet undeniably, Africa has experienced diverse challenges that have hampered the continent's capacity to use its full potential to attain peace, security and prosperity for its citizens. Even today, greater parts of Africa remain saddled by violent conflicts and instabilities linked to competition for power and resources, mismanagement of diversity, bad governance, human rights violation and development deficits. In addition to this, state fragility and national fragmentation combined with socio-economic inequities continue to fuel violence and social discontent in many African countries. Democratization in the face of ethnic and religious fissures has worsened conflicts that have further strained bids to build effective, legitimate, and representative states and sustainable peace and security in Africa. (Gillbert, 2014)

As Solomon (2012) argued, though most of the African countries have been facing various serious challenges of peace and security, the source for most of these threats remains to be governance-related problems. Conflicts in Africa are mostly driven by governance and development deficits that reflect the inability to find institutions and mechanisms that can

address the strains and pressures of pluralism and poverty. Overall, democratic deficit and poor governance are often cited as central causal factors that lead to insecurity, conflict and underdevelopment of the continent.

Furthermore, what happens internally and how a government rules and works on ensuring the satisfaction of citizens is vital for peace, development, growth and prosperity. In most African states, democratic deficits and weak governance are the major causes of conflict and impediments to sustainable development. Further, democratic governance contributes not only to the prevention of conflicts but also to the management and resolution of the already existing conflicts whereby the latter denotes exercising transformation of conflict into peace.

Thus, Africa needs to harness the successes and opportunities that have led to the avoidance and prevention of conflicts through democratic governance and problem-solving initiatives at national, regional, and continental levels. In this regard, Africa already has sufficient templates, formulas, platforms, and the political determination to end conflicts through promotion of rule of law, human rights and dignity, popular participation, and management of diversity. Ongoing conflicts and civil wars are grounded in the prevailing problems around nation-and-state consolidation, the creation of functional governance systems, and widespread poverty and inequalities. (Gilbert, 2015)

Following the transformation of the OAU into the AU, Africa's governance landscape has shown progress. However, as stated above, despite marked progress on democratic governance, Africa continues to face serious and dynamic threats to democracy, peace and security that are predominantly induced by deficits in democratic governance and human rights protection. Acknowledging this challenge, the AU, beyond its theoretical and normative perspective of having a deeper insight and making efforts to solve governance-related problems, faced enormous challenges to settle deep-rooted African conflicts and sustain durable peace and security on the continent. This impetus created several new institutions within the AU. The AGA, among such institutions, is conceived as a new mechanism initiated to tackle democracy and governance related challenges (AGA, 2014).

2.2 Conceptual Framework

2.2.1 what is Governance?

The World Bank Report (1990: 17) described governance as follows:

It equally means to the exercise of political power to manage a nation's affairs. Dedicated leadership can produce quite a difference in outcome. It requires a systematic effort to build a pluralistic institutional structure, a determination to respect the rule of law, and vigorous protection of the freedom of the press and human rights.

In general, governance implies a process by which decisions are made and implemented in a given state. The term cuts across many segments of human interactions. It can be understood in several contexts such as political governance, economic governance, corporate management and decision making, human rights and rule of law, local governance, natural resource governance, and others.

Furthermore, various international institutions agreed that good governance should include some or all of the following characteristics:

An efficient public service; an independent judicial system and legal framework to enforce contracts; the accountable administration of public funds;respect for the law and human rights at all levels of government; a pluralistic institutional structure and a free press. (Leftwich, 1993: 10)

United Nations Development Program (1999) defines governance from the following three perspectives: economic, political and administrative. Economic governance includes the decision-making processes that affect a country's economic activities and its relationship with other economies. Political governance is the process of decision making to formulate policy; and administrative governance is the system of policy implementation. Encompassing all three, good governance defines the processes and structures that guide the political and socio-economic relationships.

Governance is also used in contemporary politics as a term to describe regime types, or the nature of the relationships existing between the state and the society, as a set of norms to appreciate and accept practices of the manner in which power is utilized. Though some

literatures use governance as a synonym for democracy, these two concepts have different meanings (Cage, 2005). Overall, it is agreed by many scholars that effective governance is about mechanisms and processes that equitably deliver essential public goods and services that citizens have come to expect. A relatively recent material produced on effective governance states that:

Africa has made significant progress over the last two decades in terms of democratic governance. We can prove this from the progressive stabilization of Somalia and the continued consolidation of peace in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and post genocide Rwanda through new constitutions and legal and institutional reforms (Mindzie, et.al, 2014).

2.2.2 African Governance Challenges

Various literatures give a long list of problems related to effective governance in Africa. Among the most stressed ones are diversity and the current identity crises, service delivery, management of natural resources, citizen engagement and the participation of women and youth, and coordination and accountability.

There are social and economic challenges that are negatively impacting efforts to improve governance. Among these are new rebel groups and radicalized militias, growing youth bulge and the widespread marginalization of young people, enduring underdevelopment and persistent inequalities, mismanagement of natural resources, failure to adhere to the rule of law, violations of human rights, inequality and extreme poverty, youth unemployment, inadequate post conflict reconstruction, development, and reconciliation and shortcomings in disarmament and reintegration of ex-combatants back into their communities (ibid).

Critical to advancing effective governance toward a conflict-free Africa are good governance in fragile countries emerging from conflict, embracing diversity, improving service delivery, strengthening accountability, managing natural resources effectively, and fostering citizen participation. One of the governance challenges in many independent sovereign states across the globe is the inability of these countries to consolidate, modernize and build the requisite capacity to meet the needs of the citizens at the local level. Moreover, although African states have shared values at continental, regional, and national levels, they have adopted numerous norms and frameworks to promote democracy and the rule of law in the continent. However, a persistent delivery deficit - bad governance - prevents these norms from being transformed into reality.

As Tissi and Aggad-Clerx, (2014) argue, after the creation of the AU, a realization gained ground that the many democratic governance and human rights initiatives in Africa often had overlapping mandates and were disconnected from one another.

The authors also argue on the intertwined nature of governance and security issues. This nexus has rapidly risen to the top of African policy. The demands come from both within and outside Africa as international donors too now consider this nexus as paramount in a war prone and poorly governed continent. Close interaction between the two architectures in instances of potential crisis would usher in an integrated African approach to crisis management, to the benefit of actors involved in both continental frameworks and, more importantly, of African people themselves (Tissi and Aggad-Clerx, 2014).

The above scholars further underline the necessity for linkage between the AGA and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). As the key role of AGA is showing added value in terms of diagnosing the governance situation on the continent to support other continental processes and help ensure compliance with shared value instruments (African declarations, standards, codes and charters that embody shared values such as the rejection of unconstitutional changes of government, democracy and fraternity). Monitoring if and how a given country implements and domesticates the shared value instruments is a key to the functioning of the AGA. Establishing formal linkages between the AGA and existing diagnostic instruments such as the APRM would further this objective (ibid). Wachira (2014) also argues that APRM is useful in assessing Member States' levels of compliance with shared values while highlighting challenges to the States' ratification, domestication and implementation of the AU's "shared value instruments."

In the literature by International IDEA (2014), the importance of AGA is stressed from the perspective of the norms and standards which will be useful as normative guidelines for domestic legislations and application of the standards. In fact, regional norms have inspired the development of benchmarks for assessing the level of compliance by Member States, and have in turn been useful in evaluating capacity constraints and providing a basis for technical support (Wachira, 2014).

2.2.3 Democratic Governance: Concept and its Relevance to Peace and Security

Most African states have made considerable strides towards democratic and participatory governance. Today, most African leaders are convinced that democratic governance is a precondition for peace and that durable peace is fundamental for sustainable development. In many African countries, lack of genuine democracy and the crushing of critical voices are undermining the potential for sustainable peace and higher economic growth rates.

Perhaps the “political cancer” of governance in Africa goes far back to the process involved in securing independence from colonial autocrats. This is not surprising considering the divisiveness of the original boundary-making processes, the coercive nature of colonial rule and the messy process of independence. Because they were created in hasty circumstances, post-colonial states often exhibit the same behavior as that of their colonial antecedents. In some instances, these problems were compounded by non-inclusive political settlements, governance failures and natural catastrophes. However, due to external pressure from donors, these countries are gradually reverting back to the previous democratic ideals. This transition has had a lot of pitfalls that resulted in civil strife, refugees, outmigration, economic stagnation and other problems. (Source)

Currently, weapon/military/security has become limited to bringing all-rounded security in a given state. Therefore, a government system should satisfy three main conditions as depicted by Diamond, Linz and Lipset (1988). These are:

- Meaningful and extensive competition among individuals’ and organized groups (especially political parties) for all effective positions of government power at regular intervals and exclusion of use of force.
- A highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders and policies, at least through regular and fair elections, such that no major adult or social group is excluded.
- A level of civil and political liberties - freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom to join and form organizations - sufficient to insure the integrity of political competition and participation.

To promote democracy and good governance, the AU has been and is currently undertaking many activities including promoting peace and stability, good governance, democracy and human rights, particularly providing electoral assistance, resource mobilization, post conflict reconstruction and providing humanitarian assistance among others. The normative foundation of the AU on democratic governance is the AUCA. Article Three (3) of the AUCA, which deals with the objectives of the AU, states clearly in Sub-section (g) of the framework that AU will promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance. In the same vein, Article Four (4) of the CA also provides for principles that guide the AU Member States. Precisely, Sub-section (m) of Article Four (4) stipulates that all the AU Member States and the Union shall have respect for democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law and good governance.

The argument has been most strongly developed and documented in the literature on democratic peace, the notion that democracies do not fight each other. That literature remains overwhelmingly supportive of the link between good democratic process and the disposition to resolve disputes and problems (at least with other democratic entities) by non-violent means. The democratic peace argument has its critics, and has been plausibly contested, in particular, in its applicability to those countries which are formally democratic but still in political transition. Therefore, the holistic modern conception of security covers areas as varied as individual security, collective security, social, political, economic, legal, judicial, food, financial, health humanitarian and environmental security.

2.2.4. Governance and Structural Conflict Prevention

2.2.4.1 Conflict and Causes of Conflicts

Conflicts occur when two or more parties perceive their interests are incompatible. It is theoretically proven that there are three types of cause of conflict: the root or structural factors, for instance bad governance, democratic deficit, systematic political exclusion, demographic shifts and economic inequalities. The other type is catalyst or trigger which refers to the by-events that lead to the escalation of the violence or conflict. Examples may be the arrest of a key political figure, assassinations, military coups, election fraud, corruption scandals, and human rights violations. Third conflict

Conflicts in Africa are characterized by multitudes of interconnected causes. Most of the conflicts are rooted in the socio-economic, politico-cultural and historical affairs, identity constructions and experiences of the societies, societies' relations with intra-regional and international actors, and local, national and regional configurations. This multiple context of causality shows that there is no single explanation to the conflicts in Africa. To complicate matters, conflict causalities are categorized into root, proximate and tertiary causes (Bereketab, 2013).

For the purpose of this paper, from among the causes of conflicts mentioned above, focus will be on governance failure, which is the chief cause of many conflicts in Africa. This crisis created state fragility with multiple shortfalls characterized by lack of strong institutions, deficit with regard to regime legitimacy and acceptance. As Bereketab (2013) argued, in an environment where there is no commonly agreed upon and recognized structure and mechanism for the governance system, it would be naive to expect improvements in the peace and security horizon of Africa. The other major structural conflict in Africa is the economic and political inequalities that serve as a driver for deep dissatisfaction and grievance, which ultimately leads to violent conflicts.

2.2.5 Political Integration Agenda of the AU

The ideology of continental governance architecture goes back to the days of Pan-African movement that brought the idea of political integration. Because philosophically the concept of Pan-Africanism adopts the idea that the African people share common bonds that define their humanity and shape their collective destiny, an idea also embraced by shared value, it laid the backdrop for the past continental governance approach. Unfortunately Pan-Africanism could not flourish as intended because of OAU's unfavorable structure. The drive towards Afro-governance and continental integration rather gained impulsion when the OAU transformed into AU. Therefore, the formation of the AU and the subsequent development of its structures such as AGA are parts of the dynamics of Pan-Africanism. Thus, broadly speaking, the genesis of AGA goes back to the history of a Union Government which brought about the idea of shared values and AGA itself (Adar, Juma and Miti, 2010).

2.2.6 The Origin and Mandate of AGA

On the 16th Ordinary Session of the Executive Council of the AU (EX.CL/Dec.525 (XVI)), a decision was endorsed to establish a “Pan-African Architecture on Governance” which was later renamed as AGA. The decision was then approved by the Fourteenth Ordinary Session of the AU Assembly in February 2010. The Assembly dedicated the theme of the January 2011 Summit to the Shared Values in Africa (Assembly/AU/Dec.304 (XV)). Subsequently, in January 2011, the 18th Ordinary Session of the Executive Council made the decision to strengthen the AGA by creating the African Governance Platform as an informal and non-decision making mechanism to foster exchange of information, facilitate elaboration of common positions on governance, and strengthen the capacity of Africa to speak in one voice (African Governance Newsletters, 2011).

Basically AGA is a continental institutional framework aimed at connecting, empowering and building capacities of African people by strengthening governance and consolidating democracy in Africa. Africa already has sufficient templates, formulas, platforms, and the political determination as stated in various legal documents produced to end conflicts. Therefore, AGA was conceived as the overall political and institutional framework for the promotion, protection and sustenance of democracy, governance, human rights and humanitarian assistance on the continent by being a platform for all mandated instruments and institution. The AGA embodies aspirations of the African peoples and their determination to improve their lives with dignity by consolidating democratic values and principles. AGA still is a dynamic and evolving mechanism drawing lessons from events and processes within the continent, its own process of interaction, policy demands and responses of the various organs of the Union and developments at the national, regional, continental and global levels. (ibid)

Ayangafac (2012) in the AU Herald discusses AGA as policy interventions on democratic transition beyond the narrow contours of regime change. Democracy building and consolidation remains a serious concern, given the socio-political challenges facing the continent.

In 2012, as a year of shared values, African heads of states and governments decided to take a common responsibility to reach a common destiny. Thus, all African shared instruments (Charters, Protocols, Declarations, Decisions, and Treaties) were held as common agenda. These commitments, among others, include the Constitutive Act of the AU, the African Charter on Democracy Election and Governance, the AU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of

Refugee Problems in Africa, the Cultural Charter for Africa, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. On the structure of AGA, all these sets of norms and standards on democracy, governance and human rights were taken as an embodiment of governance standards, principles and practices at the regional and continental levels. Member States of the AU have collectively and individually committed themselves to these norms and standards.

Moreover, all African shared mechanisms like the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), the Pan-African Parliament (PAP), the African Union Advisory Board on Corruption (AUABC), and the Economic, Social and Cultural Council of the African Union (ECOSOCC) integrated to collaborate and coordinate their respective work with each other on a positive outcome of governance and democracy on the continent. This institutional mechanism, under the structure of AGA, comprises a network of institutions and other stakeholders interlaced around a platform of AU organs and institutions with a formal mandate on governance, democracy, and rule of law, human rights, elections and humanitarian assistance. Overall regarding the existing instruments, there might be a need for new efforts to guarantee that these instruments contribute to institutional regeneration through ratifications, domestication, and implementation. The essence of African Shared Value Agenda is that the broad articulation of these norms has invariably formed a large body of common African knowledge and experiences, which have been encapsulated within the AU Shared Values Agenda.

AU Shared Values, norms and standards as enshrined in the Union's various instruments such as freedom, human rights and the rule of law, tolerance, respect, community spirit, gender equality, youth empowerment, unity in diversity, constitutionalism, democratic governance, peace, security stability, development, environmental protection, popular participation, accountability and transparency, strong democratic institutions, anti-corruption, improved service delivery, equality, and credible and democratic elections offer durable solutions to humanitarian crises and free movement of African citizens across the borders of AU Member States. From the above long list, it can be easily concluded that AU has developed a strong normative framework for establishing democratic governance and ending conflict in the continent over the last couple of decades. The regional components for founding democratic governance may not require

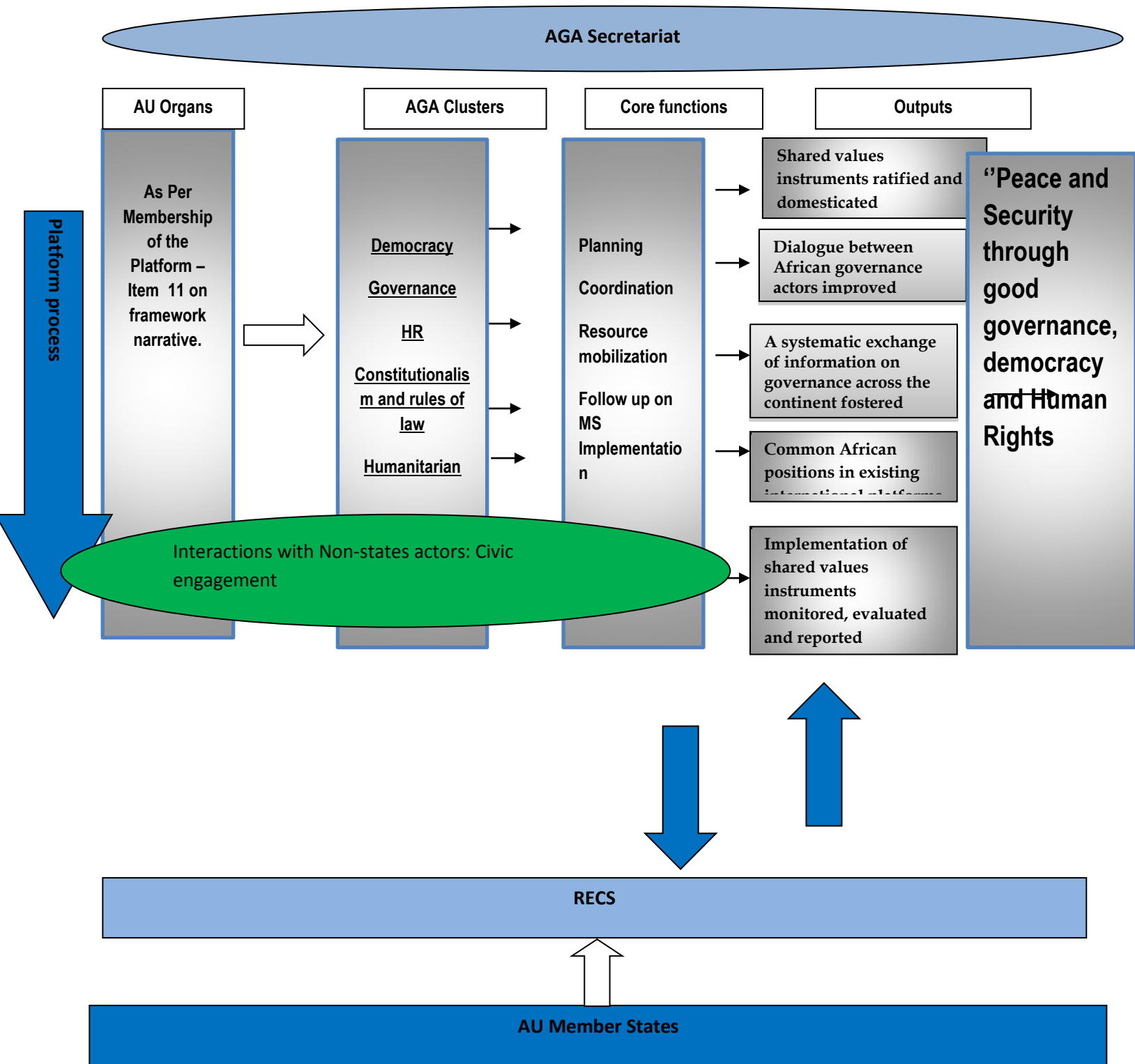
development of new norms. The efforts will rather largely depend on reinvigorating regional and continental institutions supported by shared values, norms, and policy convergence in governance.

At a political level, “Africa Agenda 2063”, Africa’s long-term perspective development vision and strategy is expected to optimize the use of Africa's resources in order to accelerate the continent’s socio-economic transformation. Agenda 2063 identifies democratic deficits and weak governance as root causes of conflict and lack of sustainable development (Wachira *et al*, 2014). Therefore, this program is a great input for a conflict-free Africa. Furthermore, the Common African Position on the Post-2015 Development Agenda, which is the continent’s medium-term development plan, is the other back up at a top level.

Against such background, the Commission was mandated to achieve good governance, democracy and human rights through existing instruments, institutions and organs that promote good governance and democracy and end conflicts through improved governance. This is where the establishment of the AGA is derived from as a blueprint of steady official commitment to these principles.

AGA is an evolving framework created to bring together existing governance, democracy and human rights institutions and instruments aimed at boosting operational linkages among the above stated African shared value instruments and institutions. It also provides the process and mechanism of enhancing policy dialogue, convergence, coherence, and harmonization amongst AU Organs, institutions and Member States as a way of speeding up the integration process of the continent. In addition, this coordination ultimately helps to convey peace and security. Thus, in the hopes of the AU, AGA could usher in an integrated approach to the multi-faceted governance challenges that confront Africa.

Figure 1 AGA Secretariat



Structurally AGA is based on three pillars, namely: a vision building on shared standards and norms, governance institutions and actors that carry the vision forward, and processes and interactions that ensure synergies among the actors involved (ibid, 2011). Furthermore, AGA has its own Secretariat and the Department of Political Affairs (DPA) of the AU Commission serves as the coordinating center for the Secretariat of the Platform. In that capacity, the Secretariat is responsible for collating and processing the Platform outcomes for presentation to, and consideration by AU Policy Organs.

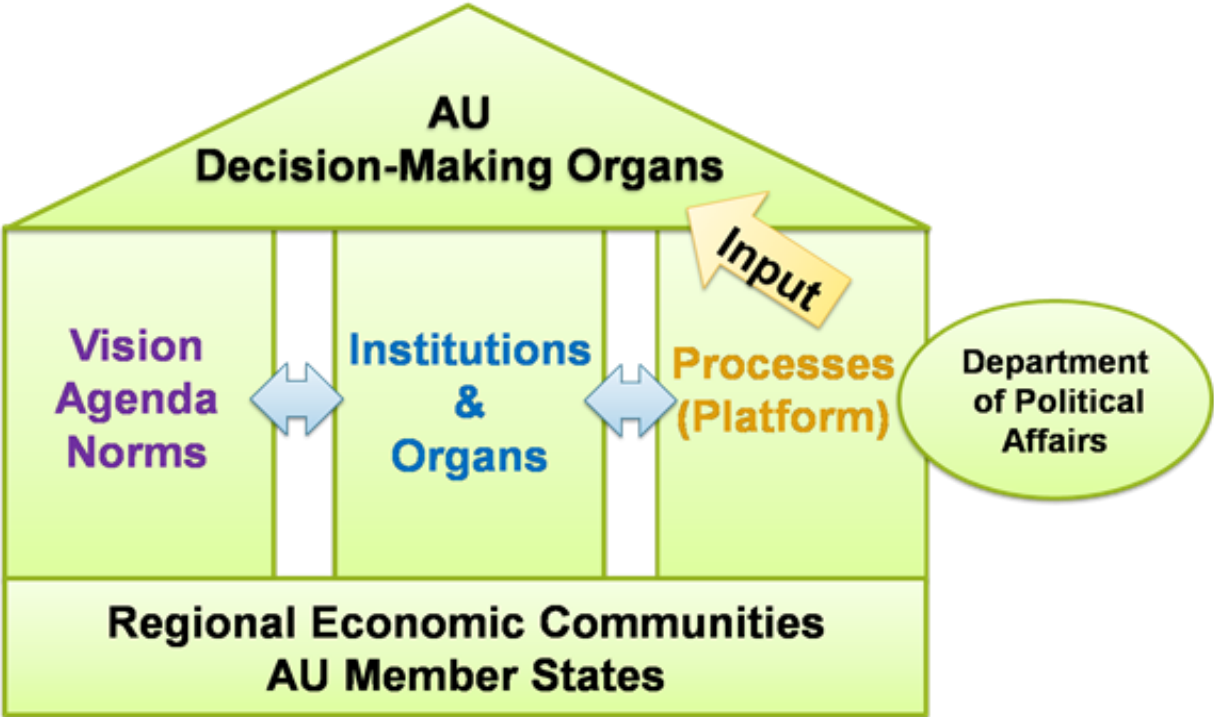


Figure 2. Legal instruments underlying the AGA

2.2.7 The Five Clusters of AGA

Democracy: (Elections, Parliament, Political Parties and Democracy Assessments)

This cluster basically monitors the operationalization of democratic electoral processes and standards in Member States and also reviews and assesses the state of democracy in Africa. Electoral processes and democracy assessments are its two sub-clusters. Furthermore, it monitors the implementation of democratic electoral processes and standards in Member States. (AGA and Platform, 2014)

Constitutionalism and Rule of Law

These two concepts are not properly functioning in Africa due to lack of accountability, impunity and corruption which most AU Member States cite as obstacles to sustainable development, governance and democracy consolidation (Wachira, 2014). The challenge of unconstitutional change of government in Africa creates a common understanding that the state of constitutionalism and rule of law needs to be assessed and developed. The AU is working on promoting the ACDEG because this charter emphasizes the importance of constitutionalism and the rule of law in a democracy. It elaborates the AU's guiding principles in promoting democracy and good governance, including addressing unconstitutional changes in government as well.

Human Rights and Transitional Justice

This cluster targets effective promotion and protection of human and peoples' rights on the continent and also coordination of efforts to develop the Transitional Justice Policy Framework for Africa. Moreover, it develops a framework to speed up the ratification and domestication of continental and global Human Rights Instruments. It build up the transitional justice issue and the Human Rights Strategy for Africa in the AU.

Humanitarian Assistance

Guided by the Convention governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa and the AU Convention for the Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, this cluster will monitor and evaluate the implementation of the provisions of the treaties, through the development of an appropriate mechanism. It plays a vital role in the development of coherent

mechanism for the implementation of durable solutions to situations of forced displacement. It also ensures that the root causes of forced displacement are addressed by bringing to the attention of Member States the findings of governance reports on the causes of such situations.

Regarding its activity pertaining to promotion of treaties, it is currently facilitating the signing, ratification and ascension of the two treaties on forced displacement. This cluster also encourages the development of a common and convergence policy framework for free movement of persons. It especially focuses on addressing the root causes of forced displacement and developing an appropriate continental guideline that facilitates inter-regional movement of persons.

It also aims to find lasting solutions to challenges relating to refugees, returnees and internally displaced persons (IPDs) in Africa. The cluster engages relevant actors to develop coordinated and appropriate preparedness and responses to disasters and humanitarian crisis on the continent.

Governance (public service and administration, local governance, decentralization and urban development, anti-corruption and accountability and natural resource governance)

Among the five thematic areas that AGA has operationalized, the principal one is governance. This sub-cluster broadly includes public service and administration, decentralization and local governance, anti-corruption and accountability, and natural resource management. Promoting good governance, rule of law and democratic consolidation is critical for the realization of peace and security in Africa. Guided by the AUCA and the ACDEG, the program aims to ensure accountability and efficiency, enhance performance of public officials, and amplify the voices of citizens and local populations on how governments conduct their affairs (Wachira, 2014).

Besides, guided by the African Charter on the Values and Principles of Public Service and Administration, this cluster facilitates experience sharing on state modernization and transformation as well as on public service delivery efforts in AU Member States. While doing this, it monitors and evaluates the relevant instruments and the implementation of its Long Term Strategy by Member States; it further develops a ‘Member State Reporting Framework’ on the implementation of relevant instruments. This complies the existing framework of treaty reporting process in the ACHPR.

The cluster monitors changes leading to good governance at the national level and develops a Reporting and Implementation Framework for the domestication of the Charter. It also serves as a bridge to develop a framework to accelerate the ratification and domestication of Shared Values Instruments for the intended political integration by creating synergies between the AGA and the APSA.

2.2.8 APSA and its Five Pillars

The APSA is an umbrella for key AU institutions and mechanisms that promote peace, security and stability in the African continent. APSA has several key elements including Peace and Security Council, a standing decision-making organ of the AU on matters of peace and security; Continental Early Warning System; Panel of the Wise, a consultative body established to provide advice; Peace Fund, an organ established to fund peacekeeping and peace support operations.

The Peace and Security Council (PSC)

This is the standing decision-making organ for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict in the collection of APSA. The mandate of the PSC is expressed through the powers and functions bestowed in it and listed under Article 7 of the PSC Protocol (Solomon, 2012).

Continental Early Warning System

As stipulated under Article 12 of the PCS protocol, the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) was established in order to facilitate the anticipation and prevention of conflicts. It primarily monitors and reports on emerging crises. It is also responsible for data collection and analysis and is mandated to collaborate with other concerned organs. Furthermore, it gathers information about potential conflicts or threats to peace and security of Member States and provides this information to the PSC, together with recommendations on courses of action. CEWS receives reports on a daily or weekly basis from operational staff including field missions, liaison officers and early warning officers. (Protocol relating to the establishment of PSC, 2002)

African Standby Force

This pillar is intended to provide rapid deployment of peacekeeping forces. The first Assembly of the African Union which met in Durban, South Africa, from 9 to 10 July 2002 adopted the

Protocol relating to the Establishment of Peace and Security Council that included provisions on the establishment of the African Standby Force (ASF) and a Military Staff Committee as well as other instruments. Article 13 of the PSC Protocol provides that "...an African Standby Force shall be established. Such force shall be composed of standby multidisciplinary components with civilian and military components in their countries of origin and ready for rapid deployment at an appropriate notice". (ibid: 5)

Peace Fund

It is intended to finance peace keeping and peace support operations and all related activities.

Panel of the Wise (PoW)

PoW constitutes an advisory body of five highly respected African personalities supporting the PSC and the Chairperson of AU Commission (AUC). The operationalization areas are advice on conflict prevention and peace-making, preventive diplomacy and mediation (Article 11(2) PSC Protocol). (ibid)

2.2.9 The synergy between AGA and APSA

The governance-security nexus in Africa is getting more emphasis ever than before. In this regard achieving effective operational linkages between the AGA and its peace and security counterpart APSA is a practical solution. Without building a strong complementarity between AGA and APSA, the two would not succeed on the long journey to peace and security in Africa. The link between governance and security is becoming more significant in the area as the two concepts are interrelated much closer in Africa than elsewhere in the world.

As argued by Claassens (2013), to realize the vision and mission of AGA the platform needs to closely work with the PSC which will later conduct an annual analysis on the progress of the democratization process in the Member States as stipulated under Article 7(m) of the Protocol relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council. The AGA can deliver input for this analysis and for the report which includes achievements and challenges. It is an opportunity for the AGA actors to put governance issues on the PSC agenda. The African Governance

Platform (AGP) could provide the PSC with the most important information improving the quality of the reports.

There is also a huge chance that AGA and the Continental Early Warning System of the APSA would work together in order to relate governance and peace agenda in Africa. This would be by supporting the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) and the Panel of the Wise (PoW) in their information gathering and analysis of potential conflict situations and informing the PSC in a timely manner on potential conflict situations so as to handle the situation before conflict breaks out. The AGA can inform the CEWS and the PoW of their findings on governance situations, which might contribute to a potential conflict. AGA would contribute to human rights, the emergence of democratic institutions, transparency and accountability, reduction of refugees, humanitarian crises and the monitoring of elections, all of which are true early warning indicators.

The AGA encompasses the monitoring of elections, executed by the Democracy and Electoral Assistance Unit. As there is a rise of electoral violence or outbreak of conflict in connection to electoral outcomes, the AGA could inform the CEWS on the situation and on the likelihood of conflict. The PSC can then act in accordance with its mandate – using their power of sanction or intervention.

Organs of the AGA could also benefit from an exchange of information with the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS). For example, the reports made by the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) on the governance situations of the participating Member States could be shared with the CEWS as well as with the Panel of the Wise (PoW). The APRM might use the information gathered by the CEWS.

If strong linkage is created between AGA clusters and pillars of APSA, it helps not only to make the operationalization of AGA effective but also to improve the functioning of the APSA. The APSA was envisioned as a preventive structure but so far its actions have been reactive. By establishing stronger early warning mechanisms, through the cooperation between the CEWS, the PoW and the AGA, the APSA would get more opportunities to act in a preventive manner.

Overall, addressing the root causes of conflicts in a systematic and holistic manner was a visible gap for APSA. Considering the nature of African conflicts, conflict managements should involve

peace-building and reconstruction activities covering the whole range of political and economic affairs, good governance, democracy, humanitarian, and human rights issues. This was assured under Article 14 of the AU Peace and Security Protocol. With respect to AU's actual mission, the discourse of peacekeeping has been strongly emphasized in its declarations while peace building and peace-making have been neglected. This might be the usual cause for the repeated eruption of conflicts in the same countries. The frequent conflict in South Sudan illustrates this. Therefore, AGA should play a vital role here by engaging in activities on the ground and systematically tackling the root causes of conflict in Africa.

Furthermore, the events of the Arab Spring have shown that the PSC was not ready to analyse whether or not a given situation was a breach of the AU Shared Values; if the normative ground that counts as a legitimate political order was fundamentally contested. These terms could be clarified through discussions at the African Governance Platform (AGP). Especially the mix of the PSC, the Court on Human and Peoples' Rights and the Regional Economic Communities would ensure the issues to be viewed from different perspectives.

Through the establishment of these linkages, the actors of the AGA can put their concerns on the agenda of the PSC, although this could be indirectly through the PoW and the CEWS, so as to strengthen the AGA by providing possibilities for follow up action. Importantly, these possible linkages could be implemented within the current framework of the AU. Linking the AGA to the APSA will further contribute to the functioning of the AU with regard to the governance-security nexus. Using the already existing structures, but making them work together instead of separately, will benefit the already implemented structures and initiatives.

Chapter Three

Methodology of the Study

3.1 Research Approach

Research Methodology is a philosophy or the general principle that will guide the overall research. The methodology part of the research enables the researcher to understand the topic. It also deals with issues on the constraints, dilemmas and ethical choices that need to be made while conducting the research. It is likewise distinct from methods as they are only means that is used by the researcher to assemble information. Methodology further incorporates interviewing; focus group discussions or interviews or questionnaires and other means of data collection.

The overall aim of this research is to assess AGA and the strategies for a linkage with APSA to attain durable peace and security in Africa. To accomplish this, a qualitative research design was employed. There are a number of reasons for choosing this design for this particular study. Initially, qualitative research was said to suit research in which descriptions and explanations are sought. Furthermore, it was believed that the qualitative approach of data collection and analysis provides rich information and meanings that are not always accessible through quantitative method of data collection. The researcher, however, believes that this method also suits the study best because it is very practical in dealing with problems that call for assessments of a complex nature and when a comprehensive comprehension is needed to create synergies between concepts (Creswell *et al*, 2009).

Additionally, under qualitative approach, phenomenological research focus on describing the participants designates the phenomenon. Besides, this design helps the researcher to obtain a lot of information at a time and systematically describe participants' responses in relation to the existing phenomena. Kruger (1988), emphasizes that the most important concept in phenomenological research is to "describe". The above nature and advantages of phenomenological design directly compliment the envisaged aim of this study which is to describe the overall AGA and the strategies for a linkage with APSA to attain lasting peace and security in Africa.

3.2 Sampling Techniques

According to Durrheim M. and Terre Blanche, K and Painter, D (2006), purposive sampling is often used when looking for particular types of participants. Purposive sampling was used in cases where the specialty of an authority can select a more representative sample that can bring more accurate results rather than using other probability sampling techniques. The process involved purposely hand-picking individuals from the population based on the researcher's knowledge and judgment. It is possible to use judgmental sampling if the researcher knows a reliable professional or authority that may be capable of representing a sample. In light of this, purposive sampling technique helps to identify respondents with rich and necessary information appropriate for the study.

With respect to AGA, in this study, Head of the AGA Secretariat, Deputy Head of AGA Secretariat team, Governance and Security Analysts from the Department of Political Affairs, Senior Human rights Officer, Head of the Humanitarian Affairs Division, Senior Election officer, and Senior Public Service and Anti-corruption Officer, were included in the study. The Director of Peace and Security Council, Officials and experts from each pillar of APSA, and Senior Officer of Preventive Diplomacy and Mediation were also included from APSA. Keeping in mind that there are no fixed rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry, the validity, meaningfulness, and insights have more to do with the information-richness of the selected circumstances (Patton, 1990).

3.3 Data Collection Instruments

Semi structured interview with officials was employed to gather detailed information about the AGA and APSA, particularly with regard to their contribution to the prevention of structural conflicts and the synergy between them as well. A great advantage of the semi-structured interview, according to Kruger (1988), is to ascertain its flexibility, which allows the researcher to grasp more fully the participant's practice than would be possible through the implementation of a more rigid methodological technique. The interview was in-depth in nature and was held with key informants to grasp full information on their respective expertise. Contextually, AU officials and leading African scholars knowledgeable on democratic governance and peace and security were interviewed to understand how to tackle conflicts from their root. Also, open-ended questions were employed in the interview. This gave participants the chance to freely

express their opinions instead of selecting answers from ready-made choices. The researcher used related probes to the topic with no predetermined responses and this has helped to understand the perspectives of the interviewees.

The research was also based on document analysis which involved extensive use of library sources, in particular various documents from the Department of Political Affairs and Peace and Security Department of the AU. A wealth of literature from books, journals, magazines, reports, working papers, archival research, media outlets, and other relevant documents was also used. All these sources provided both historical and contemporary perspectives of African initiatives and institutions towards AGA in general and the strategies for a linkage with APSA to attain sustainable peace and security in Africa.

3.4 Data Analysis

Relevant data were collected from primary and secondary sources. Audio-recorded information from the interviews was written down verbatim. Then the researcher compared the tape-recorded data with the notes taken to see their consistency. The tape-recorded data and dictations were also carefully reviewed for consistency and some corrections were made. Field notes were regularly reviewed. Then, in both tools (taped interview and field notes) data were reduced by organizing. Some selected respondents' stories were presented in quotations to see the turning points of the research objective.

Furthermore, the results were discussed according to categories. Summaries of major points were given in the way they address the research questions of the study. The trustworthiness and internal validity of the analysis were enhanced by categorizing and appropriating reflexivity to the researcher's role and subjective practices during the research process. Hence, thematic data analysis was employed in this study.

Descriptive and explanatory methods were used in order to brand the data and explore the existing reality in light of the focus of the study. Primary data were analyzed using descriptive and explanatory methods. Secondary data were analyzed using content analysis. Content analysis is similar to structured observation which can be carried out on information recorded in a document form. This method is useful because it can be applied to examine any piece of writing.

Chapter Four

Findings and Analysis

The aim of this chapter is to assess the overall development of AGA and discuss role of the architecture for the political integration agenda and finally analyze the strategies for a linkage with APSA to attain sustainable peace and security in Africa. The chapter presents the major findings from the collected data as follows.

4.1 AGA Frameworks for Structural Prevention of Conflicts

Interview was conducted with participants on governance mechanisms for structural prevention of conflicts. The data are analysed and results are reported as follows.

The AU is cognizant of the fact that conflict prevention must address the underlying causes of conflict such as poverty, unemployment, bad governance, environmental and resource degradation as well as delimitation and demarcation of borders that may contribute to political instability and conflict. Structural matters in an African context are further expressed as systemic variables conditioned by long time and century-long interactions with respect to external, regional and internal power relations that reflect global and local governance (The ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework, 2008). Successful structural prevention should lead to sustainable economic development, good governance and respect for human rights, viable political structures with the capacity to manage change without resort to conflict, and healthy environmental and social conditions. In this regard, the AU has adopted several normative instruments designed to facilitate the structural prevention of conflicts. These instruments relate to human rights, good governance and the fight against corruption, democratic governance, disarmament, terrorism, and the reduction and prevention of intra and inter-state conflicts. They represent a consolidated framework of commonly accepted norms and principles whose observance would considerably reduce the risk of conflict and violence and consolidate peace where it has been achieved (ibid).

Study most of respondents indicated that after the transformation of OAU into AU, the latter has made tremendous effort towards the establishment of comprehensive peace and security in the continent. These respondents¹ agreed that large-scale violent inter-state conflicts decreased

¹ Dr. Mukundi G, Sanusi I, Hammad S, Belay T, Ikubaje J, AGA Secretariat, DPA, AUC

radically. There are relative improvements on political accountability, public service delivery and administration in most African states. They also indicated that countries have progressively devolved power to local governance structure thereby empowering citizens and that the era of military and one party rule has relatively diminished. They further mentioned that there is a sparkle of hope in elections held in African states and they are becoming more peaceful, credible and democratic. The culture of human rights is being slightly entrenched in Member States as the AU embraces the doctrine of non-indifference which has replaced the old doctrine of non-interference.

Despite these developments, all respondents indicated that most of African countries are still facing crises and intra-state conflicts. According to the Deputy Head of AGA secretariat,² the relative peace of most African states is threatened by various challenges especially in some of the regions. The following citation from the Dr. Mukundi Head of AGA secretariat AUC further illustrates the situation.

We have relative peace in some regions like West Africa, Mali, Niger, and South Africa. Central Africa to a larger extent has a relative peace. But in East Africa we have to deal with Somalia, South Sudan and recently Burundi. In Northern Africa, we have challenges in Libya and Northern Sahara and Morocco. All in all, out of 54 African countries, we have active conflicts in around four countries, and these need to be resolved.

Moreover, the peace and security condition in countries like Burundi, South Sudan and Somalia show that efforts made by the AU and the Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) have not been able to resolve the problem. The crisis in Mali (Tuareg), Nigeria (Boko Haram) and Kenya (Al Shabab) are manifestations of failure of AU's Peace and Security wing to render the demanded solution. ISIS in Libya is also a new threat that has emerged and needs a very quick reaction to resolve. This indicates that despite the different initiatives AU is taking, peace and security remains a big challenge in the continent making the situation difficult not only for Member States but also for the Commission as a continental body.

However, compared to the 1990s, the current situation is relatively better in terms of peace and stability. The greater emphasis on governance issues that came along with the transition of OAU into AU, coupled with the adoption of the AU shared value instruments has registered positive

² Sanusi I. (2015,04,12) Deputy Head, AGA Secretariat, AUC

results in terms of improving democracy in many African Countries. Despite this fact the main insecurity/crisis currently facing the continent still emanates from lack of good governance and this has been well acknowledged by AU shared value instruments.

The following excerpt from one of the respondents³ illustrates security crisis.

Currently, almost all the conflicts in Africa, maybe except in Libya, revolves around the breach of AU shared values instruments, clear democratic deficit and weak state institutions, deficit of difference in management, resource management, ethnic diversity, religion and gender-related problems. There are also challenges in natural resource governance like South Sudan. There are also election problems, for instance, as what happened in Mali and Burundi.

In line with this, the findings of structural conflict prevention framework (2013) emphasise conflict preventive action that involves, simultaneously, a direct and operational focus of intervening before large-scale violence occurs and a structural strategic focus of addressing the causes of conflict. Preventive action is, therefore, the combined application of structural and direct prevention measures in a coordinated way. While direct and structural prevention remain two distinct policy responses based on the kind of conflict they seek to address, each requires the other in order to be effective. Furthermore, direct and structural prevention approaches can be deployed at all points of the conflict cycle. In this way, structural means support direct measures; and structural action may not be sufficient to prevent crisis and thus the ability to act directly must be maintained and strengthened.

In this context, governance mechanisms have been registered positively in Africa especially since the 1990s; Africa witnessed positive developments in democracy and good governance. Respondents from AGA secretariat agreed that AU has made some shift towards improvement of democracy and good governance as a solid policy options. This is simply because democracy and peace are two sides of the same coin as indicated by some participants. A sustainable democracy is inconceivable without peace. In line with this, the following quotation from one of the respondents⁴ illustrates the issue.

AU's vision itself is an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa-driven venture. It is managed by its own citizens representing a dynamic force in

³ Sanusi I. (2015,04,12) Deputy Head AGA, DPA,AUC

⁴ Hammad S. (2015,04,05) Senior Human rights expert, DPA, AUC

the international arena. This is assured by Africa Agenda 2063, which recognizes the inextricable inter-linkages between and among democracy, peace and development of Africa.

In addition, respondents⁵ illustrated that the deepening of democracy and the advance in participatory governance in Africa are among the key drives of the Africa Agenda 2063. AU Assembly of Head of States and governments adopted these noble goals under Agenda 2063 during the summit held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The foundation for this fifty-year peace and development plan depends on firm and solid political foundations including consolidation of democratic and participatory governance. In this essence various stakeholders in Africa showed aspiration of the future of Africa by categorizing the activities into seven clusters. Among these, two of the clusters clearly stipulated how to create peaceful and secured Africa through good governance, respect of human rights, justice and rule of law in Africa. Therefore, through this background, AGA emerged as a tool for structural prevention of conflicts in Africa.

Governance has been analyzed from many different angles such as institutionalization, legitimization, lawmaking, problem solving, nation building, integration and allocation, to name a few. All these can be related to the process of handling conflicting demands in a way that retains the allegiance and participation in the national political system of those demanding it. Thus far conceived, state building becomes a matter of establishing the institutions for this task; legitimization becomes a matter of building reliable support for those who carry out the task; lawmaking becomes the formulation and implementation of rules for managing conflicting demands; problem solving becomes a matter of creating the power and procedures for providing appropriate answers to the groups' demands; nation building means transferring a sense of belongingness from the group to the managing state unit; and integration and allocation means bringing such groups into national interaction in such a way as to provide and distribute returns to them.

Structurally, AGA is the main mechanisms for promoting good governance on the aim of preventing conflict and promoting peace and security in AU. The Department of Political Affairs (DPA) of the AU is the organ responsible for having the AGA secretariat. Hence, DPA serves as a coordinating hub for the Secretariat of the Platform. The Secretariat is made up of focal

⁵ Dr. Mukundi G, (2015,04,12) Head AGA Secretariat, DPA, AUC

persons from each of the Platform members. In that capacity, the Secretariat is responsible for collating and processing the Platform outcomes for presentation to and consideration by AU Policy Organs. Furthermore, the Platform cultivates a positive working relationship with relevant structures of Member States of the Union and APSA. The platform also cooperates with and draws appropriate inputs from other relevant actors and stakeholders in the wider African society within the framework of the concentric circle approach (AGA, 2012).

Although there are some spaces for APSA to deal with structural causes of conflicts, the prevention aspect remained the weakest link in the implementation of APSA. An Early Warning on Continental and Regional Phase has not been followed by timely and effective early actions in many cases. In fact, some of crises that have escalated in parts of Africa were of preventable nature and could not have taken place, for instance the Burundi crises. This was assured by one of the respondents⁶ who stressed that APSA has some failures on preventing conflict and, therefore, the new architecture, AGA, needs to deal with structural prevention of conflicts by giving a great attention to root causes of conflicts.

Legally speaking, the background of the AGA comes from the 2010 executive decision that basically targets Pan African Architecture on Governance. The decision was an outcome of the background report developed by Political Affairs on African Shared Values to dedicate the year 2012 to shared values. The idea is that the integration agenda of AU will not be achieved without some form of shared standards. These standards are based on instruments that all MS have signed on various issues for the last 50 years. In 2011, there was a shared value declaration which clearly highlighted the role of the platform as an institutional mechanism. But broadly speaking, the genesis of AGA goes back to the history of Union Government that eventually created the shared values and AGA itself.

Moreover, participants were asked to explain whether or not governance is at the heart of most African current crisis. They indicated that almost all conflicts in Africa for the past decade, with some exceptions, were rooted in the breach of AU shared values instruments and this clearly demonstrates democratic deficit and weak state institutions. Thus, the root causes of the conflicts were mostly related to bad governance. According to one respondent⁷, in post-independence

⁶ B Tsion (2015,04,01), Governance and Political analyst, AGA Secretariat, DPA, AUC

⁷ Ikubaje J, (2015,04,08) Senior Governance and Political Officer, DPA, AUC

Sudan after struggling for independence, conflict escalated because various aspects of governance, especially diversity management of the country, were given no or little attention. The weak democratic governance led to poor diversity management and this brought about ethnic problems that have now lasted for long period of time. This country hardly examines its bad governance and democratic deficit.

Certainly, as the study conducted by Solomon (2012) demonstrates, democratic deficit and poor governance are often cited as the central causes that lead to insecurity, conflict and underdevelopment of the continent. This goes in line with the respondents' view that poor governance, lack of fair distribution of wealth, absence of inclusion and poor democratic system are the root causes of conflicts in Africa. Most of African conflicts are group-based and are attributed to poor political system and weak resource management of the countries. For example, in Burundi lack of inclusion and rule of law are two issues that led to the current crisis. Overall, the existing structural undemocratic governance has exacerbated conflict situations in the continent. Moreover, countries are fragile because of poverty, identity crisis and poor governance situations, currently fundamental challenges to most African states. That is why participants in the study recommend building democratic system and creating good governance as possible solutions to the root causes of African conflicts.

On the other hand, good governance has a positive impact on peace and security situations. Good electoral process and strong democratic institutions provide a free, fair and credible election outcome which is a concrete means of stability for the countries. For instance, African Charter on Governance, Democracy and Election (ACGDE) pays a lot of attention to electoral institutions by giving technical support and recognition to professional staffs. In addition, the charter recognizes democratic governance system in fair and free election. However, exercising good governance in election process highly demands goodwill of governments reflected in establishing strong parliamentary system and a system for fair, free and credible democratic system and culture. For example, according to one of the respondents⁸, Ghana asserted free, fair and credible elections in which the government was responsible to the people and people's representatives had to get approval for their accountability. Through fair elections, countries can

⁸ Atuobi S, (2015,04,12) Senior Election Officer, DPA, AUC

build a strong judicial system and adjudicate issues. To make this a reality, strong and reliable institutions are necessary.

In this case, there is consistency between this study and the Charter adopted in 2007 which brings together previous African commitments to democracy and governance in a single and consistent legally binding document. Importantly, the Charter has a broad thematic coverage in an attempt to move beyond the traditional focus on unconstitutional changes of government (UCGs). It envisages sanctions in instances of refusal to relinquish power after an electoral defeat, and features provisions to deter practices that do not fall under conventional definitions of UCGs in the strictest sense, such as undue prolongation of government mandates (Article 23). The Charter is an ambitious instrument that can do a great deal to enhance and strengthen the implementation of the shared values agenda in the coming years. In particular, it has the potential to endow the AGA with a legally binding anchor determining concrete actions in cases of electoral mismanagement and threats to democratic rule.

In this context, three cases can illustrate the fact that lasting peace and security could not be attainable without democratic governance. In Kenya in 2007, though the country appeared to be the most stable and peaceful state, because of poor democratic governance of election, major conflicts that affected the stability of the country broke out. In 2008, Zimbabwe sank into a state of violent political crisis in the aftermath of the presidential elections held in two rounds, on March 29 and June 27, 2008. This created a similar turmoil which resulted in a lot of distractions rooted in lack of democratic governance. Côte d'Ivoire in 2010 also remained locked in a precarious political standoff which resulted in conflicts and tensions that threatened peace and security of the country. In this regard, most Member States have their own fundamental problems in violating rules of democratic election and this used to be the main cause and trigger of conflicts in Africa. In contrast to these situations, it is accepted that most of the champions of development and peaceful societies in the world are governed by democratic system. An Election Officer of AU indicated that AU under the AGA Democracy cluster is working on election process of short and long term mission that includes pre-election assessment and capacity building for institutions for electoral management bodies and civil societies.

Therefore, although there might seem to exist peaceful situations secured without peaceful and democratic governance, the reality is that it is only an absence of violence which might possibly

end up in dissatisfactions and crises. An absence of war is not peace but negative peace. Positive peace is understood as the attitudes, structures and institutions that underpin peaceful societies.

For example, one of the participants⁹ said:

In Ghana there is an outstanding freedom of associations which makes the political parties strong. There is a constant alteration of parties in the government office every eight years. Vibrant societies such as the media are also very crucial for the democratic system. Moreover, there is no criminal liability upon journalists for reporting on democratic exercises. They are sued only for civil cases. Journalists are also not forced to disclose the source of their information. Besides, the freedom of media is not controlled by the government, it is regulated by the Ghanaian Media Commission; so all rights are ensured on the constitution and there is no need of license to operate the Newspaper or Radio program and permission for demonstration. All one would need to do is inform according to the policy.

Moreover, study participants were questioned if bad governance and democratic deficit is a root cause or just a trigger for conflicts in Africa. Half of the respondents agreed that governance deficit and democratic problems are bottom-line or structural causes of conflicts. For instance, the Kenyan election crisis in 2007 which was caused by lack of addressing diversity, lack of management of political diversity in South Sudan, and election crisis in Burundi justify that undemocratic features would be a cause of conflict. However, others argued that governance is just a trigger for the root cause on the ground. According to Dr. Kambudzi, Peace and Security Council Director, AUC it is a trigger of conflict because, for instance, if election is not fair and free, it will just be like lighting a fire for the conflict which has already structurally existed.

The participants were asked to explain how governance can impact (positively or negatively) the peace and security situation in Africa. They reported that governance is the key component for ensuring peace and security for people to enjoy human rights and freedom, proper service delivery on optimal level, and rule of law across all levels of the society. Therefore, governance is a precondition for ensuring peace and security on the continent. Good governance allows citizens to enjoy all the required benefits. Besides, AU through its governance cluster is working on good governance and anti-corruption. In line with this, several instruments that speak for the values of public service were awarded to encourage innovation and public service across the

⁹ Atuobi S, (2015,04,12) Senior Election Officer, DPA, AUC

continent. Public service day is also celebrated every year to call attention and political will of Member States.

Furthermore, almost all respondents as well as literatures stressed those priority areas, which are key for fostering and consolidation of democratic and participatory governance in Africa. These are public sector governance and service delivery, decentralization and local governance, human rights and transitional justice, corruption and illicit financial flows, natural resource governance, unconstitutional changes of government and diversity management. Five of the respondents agreed that poor public service governance and ineffective public service delivery in many AU Member States are among the leading obstacles to democratic governance and socio-economic transformation in Africa. According to a respondent from public service and governance cluster, to date only nine Member States have ratified the African Charter on Public Service and Administration. Other significant points related to decentralization, local governance and local development in Member State were raised and though there seems to exist a commendable level of decentralization and devolution of power at local level, commitment to implementation of decentralization policies and programs still remains a fundamental challenge in the continent. The following reflection from Mr. Ikubaje, Senior Governance and Political Officer, DPA, AUC illustrates this fact:

The African Charter on the values and principles of decentralization, local governance and local development promises to deepen decentralization and to promote local democratic governance. Nevertheless, after its adoption, the Charter got only two signatory states.

Africa's third most serious problem after poverty and unemployment, corruption, continued to stifle efforts made to promote democratic governance and socio-economic transformation of Member States. This trend has not been changed even today and according to a report by High Level Panel on Illicit Financial Flows from Africa, the continent is annually losing more than \$50 billion due to illicit financial flows and corruption. (AGA, 2011) On this aspect, AU has developed the African Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption to resolve the corruption problem in Africa. However, almost all respondents revealed that there is no commitment on the part of Member States to ratify, domesticate and implement the document.

The other point raised by respondents¹⁰ was good natural resource management. This aspect encompasses respect of rule of law, accountability, and transparency. Overall, it requires equity, justice and good governance in the natural resource sector. A study by a participant who is an expert on the area recommends that an effort needs to be conducted to build trust between the state and the citizens. There should be a legitimate governance of the sector which emphasises on equity. Attention should also be given to building citizens' capacity to understand and properly utilize natural resource to improve existing conditions in Africa.

Urban development and housing was another issue addressed under good governance. African experience calls for emphasis on a dynamic process that would generate structural change as opposed to focuses on forms and configurations of urbanization. Housing and human settlement is also part of this agenda. It is because of this urgency that African Charter on the Principles and Values of Urban and Development came about.

Moreover, as a human rights expert of the AU stated there are several strategies for human rights protection under AGA especially in conflict situations. The human rights cluster deployed Human Rights Observers who document and make recommendations on the human rights violations in the conflict zones. For instance, in Democratic Republic of Congo, Mali and recently in Burundi, human rights observers have been deployed by the AU. The technical support further incorporates capacity building for ASF Military team to make them Human rights conscious on their deployment to missions.

Regarding the effectiveness of AGA's approach to deal with governance deficit in Africa, the participants said that AGA was conceived to provide equal opportunity for AU's mandated organs so that they coordinate their actions on democratic governance and human rights of the continent. Effects on harmonization of standards, capacitating AU organs and institutions to deliver their mandate and working with MS and assisting on technical assistance to implement all AU shared values are the missions of AGA. AGA sits at epicenter to enable all mandated organs to address deficit in democratic governance in the Continent. Its relationship goes with all governance mandated institutions and the platform member of the AU. Through this it ensures collaborative efforts among the organs and institutions of AU to work on individual parts of the

¹⁰ Ikubaje J, (2015,04,08) senior Governance and political officer, DAP, AUC

platform to facilitate synergies among each other. The essence of this platform was based on the strategies designed to avoid duplication and to speak in one voice with regard to governance and policy formulation, charters, and instruments, to give emphasis not only to ACDEG but also to the charter on public service, decentralization and local governance, convention on anti-convention and the ACHPR.

Most respondents¹¹ reported that the structures and mechanisms adapted by AU to deal with conflicts in Africa are basically found under APSA, a strategy set by PSC. The PSC has convened over 530 meetings devoted to finding lasting solutions to conflicts and crisis situations and addressing problematic themes such as the plight of women and children in armed conflicts, election-related conflicts, the state of refugees and internally displaced persons due to armed conflicts, the outbreak of Ebola virus and similar problems. Most of the issues mentioned above show that APSA is more engaged in solutions after conflicts escalated, so the structural prevention of conflicts, a mechanism under Peace and Security Council, is not satisfactory. On this rational in terms of Governance, there is a new development of standards and mechanisms that intends to improve Member States' systems on participatory governance, human rights and transitional justice, constitutionalism and rule of law, and humanitarian related issues. The assumption is that in addressing structural or root causes of conflicts, the mechanisms should need to deal with the problems at the initial stage. In this context structurally AGA has four pillars: first, Norms (Vision) and standards; second, institutional frameworks; third, interaction and processes; and fourth, African governance facility. Interaction and processes are mechanisms for the interactions within all AGA platforms and other concerned institutions while African governance facility is a mechanism of resource mobilization framework to support AGA but it is not fully operationalized yet. All these mechanisms work together with PSC and other AU policy organs.

Such structures and mechanisms may coincide with the AGA (2012) Charter which ensures effective participation of African citizens in their own development processes and the quest for the AU to transform into a Union of African peoples. The AGA adopted a multi-dimensional and multi-actor participation in its platform and citizen engagement. This shall involve relevant stakeholders such as civil society organizations, private enterprises, think tanks, as well as youth

¹¹ Dr. Mukundi G, Sanusi I, Hammad S, Belay T, Ikubaje J, Kambudzi, Dr Jide AGA Secretariat and APSA officers, AUC

and gender organizations (i.e. second circle of involvement) in the various programs and activities of the African governance agenda. Such participation shall take advantage of existing structures such as Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) and provide other avenues where necessary to guarantee a deliberate, structured and effective interface between the AGA Platform and the African citizens on democracy, good governance, human rights and humanitarian assistance.

Moreover, the study participants mentioned Pan-Africanism as a concept of African governance instrument contributed to the development of AGA. Pan Africanism as a concept is about African consciousness to govern itself with dignity, rule itself and control governance. Because one of AGA's purposes is to achieve a common African possession towards governance related issues, a shared consciousness and self-governing trajectory on the continent is necessary. Pan Africanism is about African dignity as black people. The values of honesty, integrity, hospitality, unity, good neighborhood, and mutual respect without common background are ultimately Pan-African ideas. That is expanding into the pretext of democratic governance instrument on various documents such as ACDEG, ACHPR, the establishment protocol of PSC, which goes to our social cultural values that are the base for the instruments, and positive influence of Pan-Africanism.

One of the respondents¹² who was asked about AGA's operationalization particularly on its formalization process mentioned that all the background documents including the rules of procedure, state guidelines for the Charter on Democracy Election and Governance will be seen by AU's Special Technical Committee at the next AU's Mistrial Meeting to be held in November 2015. That determines the full operationalization of AGA in terms of legalization of the platform. A study participant who was a member of the AGA Secretariat acknowledged that they had made great efforts in the areas of knowledge management, citizen engagement, state reporting on the Charter, and youth engagement. This determination goes alongside the shared value declarations. In terms of its technical operationalization, the AGA Secretariat has now increased its staff members to seven and these members are expanding the portfolio in RECs especially in terms of information flow among all members of the platform. They appreciate that they are receiving a strong support from partners like GIZ/AGA program. Overall, they admit

¹² Mukundi G. (2015, 04, 12) Head AGA Secretariat, DPA, AUC

that AGA's operationalization is on course and is progressing and that there still are some limitations when it comes to full operationalization of the AGA clusters.

Furthermore, there are some efforts made to put the Permanent Representative Sub-committee on Governance in place. This sub-committee is intended to create awareness among MS on what AGA is doing on governance and eventually win the will of MS to fully commit themselves to what AGA is doing. The other mechanism is to operationalize a special committee of Reporters on Democratization. This is basically a team to act as the Chairperson's envoy on Democratization. For example, in Burundi there is a special envoy actively engaged in matters related to the parties so that AU becomes clearly visible and outspoken on the issues. According to some respondents¹³, this mechanism would come up with effective implementation of shared value documents under AGA.

In addition, according to Mr. Sanusi, a responsible person on the area, the youth are engaged in physical dialogs across the region so as to encourage discussions on various governance issues, particularly on the High Level Dialog normally conveyed every year with a full youth engagement and provides templates to involve the youth in their own governance issues. DPA also develops gender strategy that enables other mechanisms. Further, the knowledge management unit is engaged in generating knowledge on suitable works, and communicating and documenting all best practices so as to inform and engage citizens in AU's leadership policy. This is based on the rationale behind AGA's principle of bottom-up approach which targets participation in national level. It is believed that governance policies of a national government should not be imposed but goes from grassroots level to the national government. This pyramid approach for policymaking and the issue of decentralization goes to follows the national, regional and continental line. In the same vein, DPA, as one of AGA's platform member and coordinating body, has a tremendous role in communication and citizen engagement with youth, Civil Societies and women. Especially with youth engagement, a lot of youths are becoming direct beneficiaries from the strategy of AGA. This is because there is a growing interest and awareness of African youth in the politics of Africa and unless we establish a platform to deal with young people, they will manifest their participation wrongly and involve in various distractive engagements. Therefore, it is not overemphasis if the youth are given a place for

¹³ Dr. Mukundi G, Sanusi I, Hammad S, Belay T, Ikubaje J, AGA Secretariat, (2015,04,12), AUC

engagement in governance so that they become aware of their shared values rights and start presenting demands for the same.

Overall, the respondents suggested that governance system in Africa has different clusters such as AU Commission, the PSC, Permanent Representative Council, AU Advisory Board on Corruption, African Commission on Human and People's Rights (AfCHPR), African Pre-review Mechanism (APRM), Pan-African Parliament (PAP), ECOSOCC, Special Technical Committee, and NEPAD all working together on democratic governance issues in the continent. AGA secretariat is the coordinating hub to avoid duplication of institution. Especially, STC is working on ministerial meetings on decentralization and local governance, public service and urban development. Therefore, bringing other platforms on board and involving Member States has a power to formulate and implement AGA's programs through coordination and collaboration.

4.2 The Role of AGA in the AU Integration Agenda through its Shared Value Instruments

Integration agenda of the AU is the very essence of the establishment of AGA. The declaration on the theme of the 2012 Summit quoted, "Towards greater unity and integration through shared values is the notion behind the establishment AGA". This decision of MS is to commit themselves to enhancing efforts aimed at reinforcing a deeper understanding of shared values as a means of shaping Africa's common future and mobilizing the African people towards achieving the shared vision of continental integration and Unity (AGA, 2011)

Speeding up the ratification of instrument of shared values like the Kampala Convention which came up with the regional integration agenda and movement of people across borders is the overall objective of AU. Moreover, implementing Shared Values instruments such as APRM would also be a catalyst for the intended unity, policy harmonization and ultimately political integration of the continent. Besides, the AGA platform recognizes that democratic developmental governance and peace are the two solid gears to achieve unity, integration and development. Therefore, both democracy and peace are critical enablers for the regionalization agenda. The political integration agenda is based on shared value instruments and is more of the

inspiration of Africa's integration that Africa needs to speak as one body and with one voice and this goes in line with AU's vision that declares "*the united Africa that speaks as one voice and acts as one body.*"

In relation to this, Dr. Mukundi, Head of AGA Secretariat, AUC said:

The Integration agenda of AU would not be achieved without some form of standards that we all share and these standards are based on instruments that all MS have signed on various issues for the last 50 years. So, the continental integration agenda in Africa is based on the democratic governance standards and norms. As African states we have agreed-upon standards and norms on human rights, governance, constitutionalism, refugees, etc. This implies that there is a minimum standard that is anticipated and expected from each MS. On the basis of that, e.g., on the freedom of movement as a norm of AU, every citizen is free to move from one polar of Africa to the other. But without shared standards, it is not possible to secure these and to protect immigrants against the xenophobic case like in South Africa. In my opinion there is now way of ensuring that this would not happen and life across the continent is secured.

On the other hand, some other respondents¹⁴ from APSA argued that the political integration agenda more or less depends on the political will and commitment of MS. They contended that since AGA is only a coordinating mechanism meant to bring all governance related instruments and mechanisms together, ensuring that they are all implemented and achieved is the responsibility of the MS at national levels. Therefore, greater efforts towards commitment to execution of the instruments, allocation of the necessary fund and domestication of the charters at national level is still on the shoulder of the MS. For instance, most of the MS have adopted ACGDE but to date there is diminutive efforts to domesticate and popularize the document in a meaningful way.

The respondents were asked to explain the engagement of AGA in gaining the political will of Member States. They admitted that they have a long way to go on this aspect; since the decision itself was made in 2010, it is at its very early stage to get the MS's full attention. They admitted that the AGA secretariat is on consultation with PRC to present achievements so far and planned activities in the future to gain support of the MS. For instance, there are some interests from Kenya and Nigeria in working closely on governance issues.

¹⁴ Sanusi I, (2015, 04,12), Deputy Head, AGA Secretariat, AUC

On the other hand, the Rule of Law and Constitutionalism Cluster has developed strategies to popularize the ACDEG and get it ratified, domesticated and implemented. In some places, it uses the media to address the Civil Society and the youth for ratification and domestication of shared value instruments. In others, direct technical engagement with high level legal officers of governments of MS is made to encourage ratification and implementation. Such a scenario would lead us to regional integration because same policies and legal documents are good enablers in creating common citizenry and social cohesion which ultimately bring integration and social harmony (ECOWAS Structural Prevention Policy, 2013).

In addition, participants indicated that peace and security development is ensured on the noble goals of the Common African Position in the Post-2015 Development Agenda and in the Africa Agenda 2063, both of which seek to reclaim Africa's ownership and leadership of its own development trajectory and reinvigorate the spirit of Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance that has, thus far, inspired Africa's political development and political integration.

The other significant opportunity to focus attention on Africa's collective vision for the integration agenda is Regional Economic Units (RECs) which underlines the commitment to economic cooperation and integration. RECs and other intergovernmental organizations have proliferated to exploit geographical, cultural, and political proximities in order to leverage economic exchanges for the common good. These actors further play a vital role by pledging to maintain the Pan-African spirit which had allowed African countries to do away with the storms of decolonization and the cold war and to reinvigorate the search for new programs to strengthen unity and promote accountability. Moreover, the AU's plan to speed up continental political integration is expected to lead to socio-economic integration, the promotion and defense of common positions, and the creation of conditions for Africa to play a major role in the global economy. Therefore, to achieve unity and integration based on shared value instruments and pan-African spirit would end up in common citizenship and justice for peace and sustainable development.

4.3 The Synergy between APSA and AGA for Africa's Peace, Security and Sustainable Development

Although the establishment of the AGA and APSA are visible blueprints that lead to steady institutional standing for sustainable peace and security, stronger and functional synergies between AGA and APSA, however, it remain to be an ongoing exercise that requires further elaboration and thinking. To end wars, these architectures need to work together to develop common programs, shared visions, and mutually reinforcing strategies.

With respect to normative framework, AGA and APSA were established on the same foundation: AUCA, PSC establishing protocol, and ACDEG. Both architectures address two key priorities of the AU with respect to its agenda for peace, unity, integration and development. The AGA addresses the governance agenda of the AU vision, while the APSA addresses the peace and security agenda. Dr. Jide Senior Conflict Prevention Officer from PSOD, AUC suggests the following on this matter:

AGA complements the APSA because the AGA platform has not even been politically endorsed yet. So, because there is a provision in APSA that gives a place for Civil Society and others to inform the decision process of the PSC, the linkage has two fronts: the AGA will have direct interface so that it can come directly to the PSC and brief it on matters of peace and security based on its own analysis or on matters related to governance and human rights. For example, if there is a constitutional problem in Burundi, the AGA should be able to provide its analysis, but they can not make it alone, they can interfere with PSC to do early warnings. CEW operates in two ways: direct and structural prevention. Regarding structural prevention, I personally do not think that AGA alone has the capacity to deal with it because in the structural prevention of conflict, it is tied to addressing the issue of poverty, inequality, and all root causes of conflicts. So, AGA needs to create a synergy directly with APSA through PSC and with its copartner CEWs. But right now this is not happening and that is why there are so many tensions between concerned departments within the AU.

The establishing protocol of PSC in Article 3 clearly states the power of PSC on conflict prevention area:

Promote and encourage democratic practices, good governance and the rule of law; protect human rights and fundamental freedoms; respect the sanctity of

human life and international humanitarian law as part of efforts for preventing conflicts.

In addition, Article 7, Sub-article 2(g) of the same protocol, with regard to the responsibility of PSC Member States in conflict prevention, states that there should be “respect for constitutional governance, in accordance with the Lomé Declaration, as well as the rule of law and human rights”

These two provisions clearly vest power in PSC on the area of governance, democracy and human rights to prevent conflicts. Then APSA is mandated by PSC on these matters. Therefore, if these two Architectures do not understand each other and fail to consider themselves as part of one another, the synergy will be in danger resulting in duplication of efforts.

Also, technical cooperation at grassroots level needs to take off. It should not start from high or top level to promote synergy. For instance, to have a meeting in DPA, it needs to invite all concerned officers from PSD and vice versa. Beyond that there has to be a joint work plan between these two departments and that is why The Interdepartmental Task Force is currently under establishment. The purpose of this Task Force was highlighted in that it should provide a guide to departments on mainstreaming conflict prevention in all activities, along with contributing to the structural harmonization and synergy with other AUC organs. It also provides a set of recommendations for the development of synergy between the two architectures.

Furthermore, Nicolas (2014) indicated that the emergence of the security-development nexus in Africa has not been matched at the institutional level with an operational dimension. The present disconnection between the APSA and the AGA is to some extent normal given the different nature of the two frameworks. These have been designed at different times with different aims and under the pressures of different actors. The APSA has rallied support over time and contributed to bridging the AU and RECs’ activities on peace and security. The AGA has arrived later on the stage and has been confronted by uneven commitment from African countries and less political and financial backing from donors, and very little human resource endowment at the AUC level.

Additionally, APSA is not doing so much on structural prevention of conflicts, regional CEWs and analysis. The following quotation by Dr. Jide elucidates this fact.

In my own analysis, most of African conflicts are predictable. So the problem is not about technical indicators but the serious difficulty is about political decision. Early warning analysis and monitoring are easy to do. The problem is early response - all the early warnings are meant to be reacted to with effective early response. But the problem is that of ability to use all decisions to promote effective early response, which means mediation, peace keeping military, economic and political responses. I think the issue about African conflicts is not technical but it is political. The money is from the MS and the troops are from the MS. Therefore, my recommendation is that promoting political consensus among MS on prevention and early response is crucial. A lot of African governments would not be willing to get into prior commitment to respond to or take effective measures. For instance, if Ethiopia has the capacity to strengthen its response mechanisms, it would not want to sign a legal or any binding document to commit itself to responding to a crisis elsewhere in Africa.

AGA is giving more attention to focusing on the issues of governance. APSA, CEWs, Mediation and PoW are the three prominent organs involved in the process of preventing conflicts. The establishment protocol for PSC also plays an important role in this aspect. This finding is consistent with reports by Nicolas (2014) which indicated that the AU, its Member States and RECs have become increasingly aware of the intertwined nature of governance and security issues. This nexus has rapidly risen to the top of African policy agendas in Addis Ababa, REC Headquarters and various African capitals. Stakeholders call for linkages between the two relevant instruments on the continent. These demands come from both within and outside Africa as international donors too now consider this nexus as paramount in a war-prone and poorly governed continent. Close interaction between the two Architectures to tackle potential crisis would usher in an integrated African approach to crisis management, to the benefit of actors involved in both continental frameworks and, more importantly, to the African people themselves.

Furthermore, the difference between these two architectures is more or less on process because holding the same goal, APSA focuses on management while AGA targets prevention. However, they share mandates such as issues related to governance assessment, the panel of the wise, preventive diplomacy, and prevention of conflict crisis. They share the same documents and AGA's reference on establishing charters on PSC. They also refer to the ACDEG on some points. APSA has concrete programs like the standby force and the PoW whereas AGA more or less works on processes like HR violation, good governance, anti-corruption, and democracy.

AGA's future plan is to involve beyond this and engage in concrete issues like deployment of public service experts in post conflict construction programs in order to build peace.

Overall, the study respondents suggested that AGA's Secretariat should organize each member cluster for better coordination and efficiency in their respective areas. In terms of organization, the Secretariat needs to provide support for the implementation of AGA-APSA synergy, particularly to link the clusters with APSA's pillars which are engines to the implementation of the program of the two architectures on their respective mandate.

The other important point that emerged from the participants was related to the PSC's, APSA and the newly emerging AGA for more effectiveness in dealing with the current peace and Security issues in Africa. New mechanisms for better cooperation and systematical synergy should be targeted. This argument goes in line with AGA (2012) which obliges the AGA to positively complement the APSA, which addresses the AU's peace and security agenda. The AGA and APSA recognize that democratic governance, peace and security are interrelated and mutually reinforcing imperatives. Therefore, the AGA Platform is in a position to provide a bridge for coordination, joint programming and interventions by the two architectures in situations that require a consolidated response from the AU and RECs.

Chapter Five

5.1 Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1.1 Conclusion

For a continent to enjoy sustainable peace and security it requires more than the absence of wars; it further requires accountable governance that respects human rights and rule of law, strong institutions, and effective service delivery. In African Member States, poor governance and undemocratic system resulted in low level of citizen participation, human rights violation, gender inequality, mismanagement of diversity, bad service delivery, exclusion, weak accountability, corruption, ineffective natural resource management. These factors remain the root causes of most violent conflicts and fragile states in Africa. Nonetheless, even though there is much work that needs to be done to build sustainable peace and security, during the past half century, the continent has made significant progress in improving democratic governance and addressing violent conflicts. At the institutional level, The AU had established various norms, structures and mechanisms aimed at enhancing the continent's capacity to promote governance, democracy and human rights and preventing crises and violent conflicts effectively. However, notwithstanding the existence of solid normative frameworks, their effective implementation and impact remain inefficient, ineffective, and uncoordinated resulting in duplication of efforts and resources. As this study illustrates, the democratic governance challenges facing the continent do not have a simple solution. They demand the implementation of all instruments on governance and human rights in a more structured and coordinated manner by effectively operationalizing and utilizing the AGA and its platform.

In general, if transformation is needed in African structural conflict prevention mechanisms, African governments and states need to fight conflicts at political sphere. For the continent to achieve sustainable peace and security as stipulated in Agenda 2063, strengthening democratic governance and respect of human rights in all aspects is unequivocally a cornerstone.

5.1.2 Recommendations

Based on the conclusions made, the researcher forwards the following suggestions.

Member States

For full progress to be made in this sphere, first and foremost, AU Member States should commit themselves to promoting good governance and democratic system. African governments have the responsibility to create a conducive space for people's participation in political and economic processes, promote sound and equitable livelihoods, and reduce causes of conflicts at all levels of society. Governments need to remember that there are many normative governance frameworks at the regional and continental levels which they have accepted and signed for.

There is a huge gap between norm setting and norm-implementation in Africa that remains to be the main challenge for various governance issues. The AU has established elaborate normative frameworks in relation to governance, democracy and human rights. The continental efforts ending wars and ensuring sustainable peace in Africa largely depend on AU's efforts to push more vigorously for accelerated implementation of these normative frameworks. AGA largely depends on reinvigorating regional and continental institutions supported by shared values, norms, and policy convergence in governance. The gap between norm setting and implementation must be bridged.

Furthermore, African states and governments should take urgent measures to domesticate the regional and continental frameworks to which they have signed and committed their national legal systems. They need to deliver in their obligation to report on the state reporting mechanism set by ACDEG through working closely with their citizens and establishing effective and functional national systems/institutions which will allow to strengthen the state reporting mechanism. This further needs to go in line with the new Architecture, AGA, to establish national governance architectures.

AU/AUC

First, the continental efforts for sustainable peace and security in Africa may not require development of new norms; there are enormous shared value instruments currently available in Africa. In fact, efforts towards ending wars and building sustainable peace and security will largely depend on efforts to push more vigorously for the implementation of these normative

frameworks. The AU should thus step up coordination of the different efforts undertaken by its different organs and institutions including the REC's and APRM to promote democracy, human rights and governance. This can be done by fully operationalizing and utilizing the AGA.

Second, the AUC needs a comprehensive approach to prevent and address violent conflicts when they occur not only through military interventions but also through preventive diplomacy and mediation. The AUC should move away from the usual interventionist approach and take up a more preventive approach of dealing with conflict and violence. For this the AUC needs to work vigorously on its early warning/detecting mechanisms and devise a more effective strategy to use the information gathered to prevent conflicts from occurring in the first place. Basically, to do so there is a need to establish and strengthen the synergy between the AGA and the APSA as two interrelated architectures

Therefore, the relationship between the two architectures needs to be markedly improved and scaled up to build synergies around good governance and peaceful and secured Africa. The relationship between them has been characterized by weak internal coordination and poor technical harmonization so far. Enhanced collaboration between these two architectures must now be bolstered to demonstrate the institutional will to provide essential leadership on African governance to bring sustainable peace and security. Information exchange and knowledge generation to effectively discharge their responsibilities are the two important areas for the collaboration ahead.

Third, the RECs are also another recommendable opportunity for conflict prevention and peace building in Africa. RECs namely ECOWAS, SADC, EAC, IGAD, ECCASS are the building blocks of the AU. They are critical bridges between the AU and its Member States. Thus, efforts towards building good governance and democratic system by Member States and the AU itself could achieve satisfactory results if they are well complemented by the RECs. The future of a democratic and peaceful Africa lies in solid RECs that make gradual steps toward building the African Economic Community (AEC). In specific efforts towards building democratic governance, RECs as other partners working with governance initiative should consolidate their current efforts towards implementing regional collective security and governance frameworks that promote peace and enshrine common democracy values. This further needs to consider liaising with APRM which is a governance reviewing mechanism across the continent.

Fourth, The AUC should build the capacity of Member States to domesticate the norms/standards and properly report on actions/measures taken towards complying with their obligations under the established norms. It should also move away from norm setting and now focus on implementation of these norms/frameworks by devising a well-structured mechanism to monitor the domestication and implementation of the different norms/standards on governance, democracy and human rights. Here strengthening the state reporting mechanism under AGA should be taken as a solid action.

Fifth, AGA further needs to engage in security matters that embrace the concept of human security that targets the creation of conditions to eliminate pervasive threats to people's and individual rights, livelihoods, safety and life. The protection of human and democratic rights and the promotion of human development to ensure freedom from fear and freedom from want should be given the necessary stress in the future AU's Peace and Security systems, namely in the AGA and APSA.

Finally, citizen engagement in governance matters is crucial. So far there is a huge disconnection between the AU and its citizens and this makes it difficult to come to common understanding on continental challenges and to design conflict prevention mechanisms. As in the past, the vision for ending wars hinges on building capable states that fulfill basic governance requirements, notably: inclusiveness and participation; accountability and transparency; the reduction of social and economic vulnerabilities; mobilizing public resources for productive uses; protecting citizens from harm; forging a common and cohesive national identity; and adopting impartial and fair legal systems that guarantee equality, property rights, respect for human rights, youth empowerment, women's empowerment and gender equality and preventing, managing and resolving conflicts constructively. Capable states derive legitimacy and acceptance from meeting these goals, but more critically, they strive to create sustainable institutions that can effectively respond to shocks, adversities, and future emergencies. That is why African states have embraced democratic governance as the foundation for political and economic institutions that also serve as preventive measures against conflicts and insecurities.

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Table 1: Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

Socio-demographic Characteristics (n=9)				
Demographic Variables		Number	%	
Sex	Male	9	81.81	
	Female	2	18.18	
	Total	11	100	
Position	Head of AGA secretariat	1	9	
	Deputy Head of AGA	1	9	
	Senior Human Rights Expert	1	9	
	Senior Humanitarian officer	1	9	
	Governance and Political analyst	1	9	
	Senior Governance and political Officer	1	9	
	Senior Election Officer	1	9	
	Senior Conflict prevention Expert	1	9	
	Director, PSC secretariat	1	9	
	Senior officer from Peace and security Department	1	9	
	Senior officer from Peace Support Operations Division/AUC	1	9	
	Total		11	100