Development and Regional Stability in Africa

Unlocking Potential

Edited by
Adeoye O. Akinola · Emmaculate Asige Liaga

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Editors
Adeoye O. Akinola
Institute for Pan-African Thought
and Conversation
University of Johannesburg
Johannesburg, South Africa

Emmaculate Asige Liaga
Institute for Pan-African Thought
and Conversation
University of Johannesburg
Johannesburg, South Africa

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Notes on Contributors

Dr. Adiat Abiodun is a Nigerian Academic and Researcher. He holds a Bachelor's Degree in Political Science and a Master's and doctorate in International Relations from the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria. He teaches in the Department of International Relations, Faculty of Administration, Obafemi Awolowo University. His research interests include security studies, international relations, development studies, foreign policy of great powers, and African studies.

Dr. Adeoye O. Akinola is Head of Research and Teaching, and Head of Unit: African Union Studies, Institute for Pan-African Thought and Conversation, University of Johannesburg, South Africa. He obtained a doctorate from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. He specialises in African political economy, African Union Studies, migration, conflict, and peace studies. Among his recent book publications *are IGAD and Multilateral Stability in the Horn of Africa: From the Lens of Somali Conflict* (Palgrave, 2024), *Contemporary Issues on Governance, Conflict and Security in Africa* (Palgrave, 2023), and *Worlds Apart? Perspectives of Africa-EU Migration* (Jacana Media, 2022).

Dr. Olawale Akinrinde currently a Lecturer I, holds a permanent position in the Department of Political Sciences at Osun State University, Nigeria. He is also a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Johannesburg Business School (JBS), University of Johannesburg, South Africa. He is an accomplished published scholar with over 50 articles published in refereed

university-based journals across the globe, including publication of articles in Scopus-indexed journals. He is a recipient of several local and international fellowships and grants.

Professor Fidelis Allen holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. He was the former head of the Department of Political and Administrative Studies at the University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria. He was a two-term director of the University's Centre for Conflict and Gender Studies and held a Visiting Fellow position at the Institute for Pan-African Thought and Conversation, University of Johannesburg, in 2022. In 2024, he held a Visiting Fellow position at the Institute of Environmental Futures, University of Leicester, United Kingdom, and is currently an Honorary Visiting Fellow at the School of Criminology and Sociology of the same university.

Dr. Gallous Atabongwoung holds a doctorate in Anthropology Development Studies and a Master of Arts in African and European Cultural Relations from the University of Pretoria, South Africa. His research interests include the political economy of development, state-society relations in Africa, Africa and European relations, democracy and good governance, migration, informal migrant entrepreneurship, and xenophobia. He is a member of the Canada Anthropology Society, Anthropology Southern Africa, the University Association for Contemporary European Studies, and the International Memory Studies Association.

Gabriele Casano is a Ph.D. Student in Security, Risk and Vulnerability at the University of Genoa and a Research Fellow at the Einstein Center of International Studies (C.E.S.I.) in Turin, Italy. He is a member of the Early Career Scholars of the University Coordination for Development Cooperation (CUCS—Italy). He specialises in issues related to international cooperation between Europe and Africa, dynamics of supranational integration, and climate change challenges at both local and global levels through the interpretative lens of political and economic geography.

Farai Joseph Chidhume is a Lecturer in the Department of Peace and Security Studies at Midlands State University, Gweru, Zimbabwe. He holds a Masters in International Affairs and is currently a doctoral candidate in International Relations at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. He specialises mostly in security, diplomacy, and peace studies.

Dr. Siphumelele Duma is a Senior Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Institute for Pan-African Thought and Conversation, University of Johannesburg, South Africa. He holds a doctorate in International Relations from the University of Pretoria, South Africa. His research areas include regional integration, African political economy, and south-south cooperation. He has authored a recent book entitled, *Developmental Integration and Industrialisation in Southern Africa* (UJ Press, 2023).

Dr. Ganiyu Lai Ejalonibu is a Research Fellow in the Department of Democracy & Governance at the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies, Abuja, Nigeria. He previously worked as a Legislative Research Officer in the Oyo State House of Assembly, Nigeria. He was educated at Lagos State University and holds Masters and doctorate degrees in Public Administration. His areas of research interests are political economy of regional integration, public policy, election administration, development, and gender studies.

Habdisalan Mohamud Habib was born in Mogadishu, Somalia. He is the Executive Director and founder of Somali Weyn Development Organisation, a local non-governmental organisation (NGO) whose main areas of work include peacebuilding, education, health, and advocacy for marginalised communities in Somalia. He started writing in 2016. His research focuses on socio-politics and peacebuilding. He is a humble, country-loving patriot and Pan-Africanist who always aspires to be a voice for the voiceless communities in Somalia, Africa, and the global community.

Dr. Omowumi Omodunni Idowu is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Economics at the Ekiti State University, Ado-Ekiti, Nigeria. She obtained a doctorate in the same Department of Economics. She is a 2015 recipient of the WARC Travel Grant from the West Africa Research Association (WARA), Boston. She is a fellow of the Lagos Studies Association. Her research interest revolves around issues relating to women, particularly in an African context. Her articles have appeared in several local and international journals.

Dr. Emmaculate Asige Liaga is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Institute for Pan-African Thought and Conversation, University of Johannesburg, South Africa. She obtained a doctorate from the University of Pretoria, South Africa. Her research investigates the strategies of peacebuilding employed by both local and international organisations of

peace operations in post-conflict communities, analysing the top-down and bottom-up approaches by both foreign intervention and local-level organisations.

Dr. Rich Mashimbye is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Institute for Pan-African Thought and Conversation, University of Johannesburg, South Africa. He obtained a doctorate in International Relations from the University of Pretoria, South Africa. He authored a recent book titled, *The Southern African Development Community in Zimbabwe* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2023).

Tendai Shephard Mbanje is a doctoral candidate in International Human Rights Law at the Centre for Human Rights, University of Pretoria, South Africa. He is a governance, election, and legal scholar whose research focuses on the activities of the African Union (AU) and the Regional Economic Communities (RECs). He has written extensively on the subject and regularly comments on international media platforms (including television stations) on the work and performances of the AU and the RECs particularly on electoral and governance processes.

Dr. Zainab Monisola Olaitan is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Centre for Human Rights, Faculty of Law and an Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Political Sciences, University of Pretoria, South Africa. She is also a Research Associate at the Institute for Pan-African Thought and Conversation, University of Johannesburg, South Africa. She is an avid researcher with published articles in journals and edited book projects, as well as produced policy briefs across different themes on African politics, gender and representation, conflict and peace studies.

Eleonora Panizza is a Researcher in the Department of Political and International Science (DISPI) at the University of Genoa, in collaboration with the CIMA Research Foundation in Savona, Italy. With a background in international and diplomatic studies and a Masters in Politics and International Cooperation, her research focuses on displacement in the context of disasters. She has expertise in East Africa, particularly the IGAD region.

Dr. Mandiedza Parachi is currently working as the Chairperson for the Peace Studies Department at the Midlands State University in Gweru, Zimbabwe. She holds a Ph.D. in Media and Gender. She also holds Masters in Gender and Policy Studies; and another one in Peace, Leadership and Conflict Resolution. She also holds a Postgraduate Diploma

in Tertiary Education. She also holds a Postgraduate Diploma in Media and Communication studies as well as a B.A. of Arts Honours in Theatre Arts.

Naledi Ramontja is a research assistant at the Institute for Pan-African Thought and Conversation, University of Johannesburg, South Africa. She is currently a Masters candidate in (Africa and Caribbean) at the University of Johannesburg. She holds a B.A. Hons in International Relations and Foreign Affairs and a Bachelor's Degree in International Relations and National Security Studies.

Arushi Singh has a Master's in Geopolitics and International Relations. She has domain experience in the geopolitics of West Asia, the geopolitical implications of great power competition in Africa, Russia's foreign policy orientations, and emerging technologies. She currently serves as a researcher at the Consortium of Indo-Pacific Researchers and a geopolitical risk analyst for a private consulting firm based in the Middle East.

Michael Washaya is a doctorate candidate in Peace, Leadership and Governance, at the College of Business, Peace, Leadership and Governance at Africa University, Mutare, Zimbabwe. He holds a Masters in Human Rights, Peace and Development and a B.A. in Economic History. His research interests are human rights, peace, security, conflict, and governance.

Divine K. Yamulamba is a doctoral candidate in Political Science at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. She obtained a Masters in Diplomacy and currently teaches French at the University of Pretoria. She was a research intern at the Institute for Pan-African Thought and Conversation, University of Johannesburg, South Africa.

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In Search of Governance, Development, and Peace in Africa

Adeoye O. Akinola and Emmaculate Asige Liaga

THE CONUNDRUM OF AFRICAN STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT: AN INTRODUCTION

Africa is always associated with conflict and underdevelopment. In the last few years, the continent has witnessed the resurgence of military coups and the emergence of non-conventional forms of violent conflict, including Afrophobia. Thus, conflict in Africa is transforming and conforming into a shape and space that was not the norm in the two decades after the Cold War. Contemporary trends of conflict, and by extension violent conflicts, have developed to be more complicated, complex, and protracted, thereby involving divergent non-state and state actors. Conflict and instability have both been linked to various causes—core or conventional and peripheral or recurrent issues—which have threatened the statehood of many African countries.

A. O. Akinola (✉) · E. A. Liaga
Institute for Pan-African Thought and Conversation, University of Johannesburg, Johannesburg, South Africa
e-mail: aoakinola@uj.ac.za

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The conversation and discourses on conflict are continuously abandoning simplistic rhetoric and embracing deeper, historical, and non-exclusive approaches. For instance, while there has been rhetorical support for women's empowerment and integration of the youth into national and continental agenda, there has not been a significant change in their status. Indeed, the vulnerable groups, women and the youth, have been the major victims of violence and underdevelopment in the continent. Even though women suffer the most in conflicts and make up more than 50 per cent of the African population and despite the reality that Africa has become a continent with the youngest population of the youth (about 60 per cent are under the age of 25), their participation in economic productivity, peacebuilding processes, and political leadership remains very minimal.

Despite the efforts of the continental body, the African Union (AU), and Regional Economic Commissions (RECs), conflict and insecurity continue to present one of the biggest challenges to Africa's quest for socio-economic and political development. Peace and security are considered a necessity and precondition for development, as contained in both the AU Agenda 2063[1] and the United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).[2] The lack thereof has stunted developmental initiatives and restricted the flow of beneficial foreign direct investment (FDI), including democratic consolidation on the continent. These have also impeded the required progress in attaining the goals of the continental and global blueprints for development and security—Agenda 2063 and SDGs.

The AU plays a pivotal role in fostering peace, security, and development across the continent. Established in 2002, the AU succeeded the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), signalling a paradigm shift towards a more integrated and proactive approach to addressing the multifaceted challenges facing Africa. One of the primary mandates of the AU and other RECs, such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), is to prevent and resolve conflicts within member states and implement policies for continental economic growth and development.

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[1] For more understanding of the agenda, see https://au.int/en/agenda2063/overview.

[2] For a full understanding of the goals, see https://sdgs.un.org/goals.

The AU has undertaken peacekeeping missions in various countries, such as in Sudan, Somalia, and Mali, showcasing its commitment to resolving conflicts and promoting stability. Since the socio-economic crisis experienced by post-colonial African states in the 1970s, leading to the adoption of the Lagos Plan of Action for the Development of Africa, 1980–2000, national and continental political elites have acknowledged the important place of multilateral actions in fostering sustainable development on the continent. These understanding and other factors motivated the transformation of the OAU into the AU. The AU recognises that sustainable development is integral to ensuring sustainable peace and security.

Thus, Agenda 2063, the AU's strategic framework for socio-economic transformation, outlines a vision for Africa's development over the next five decades. This ambitious agenda emphasises self-reliance, integration, and inclusive development, aiming to eradicate poverty, promote gender equality, and build resilient economies. Continental actors further place a strong emphasis on human rights and good governance, as essential components of peace, security, and development. Many continental and regional instruments were established to protect the lives and human rights of citizens in continental Africa. For instance, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights serves as a cornerstone for promoting and protecting human rights across the continent. Additionally, the AU supports efforts to strengthen democratic institutions, combat military coups and corruption, and enhance the rule of law.

Recognising the complexity of contemporary challenges, the AU actively engages in partnerships with the RECs, and other strategic partners, including the European Union (EU) and the UN, to amplify the AU's efforts and contribute to a more coordinated and effective approach to peace, security, and development. Despite the moderate achievements of the AU after 20 years of its establishment, the continental intergovernmental organisation faces monumental challenges in fully realising its goals. Insufficient funding, limited institutional capacity, and geopolitical complexities pose hurdles to the effective implementation of its programmes and Agenda 2063. Additionally, the AU grapples with the need to balance state sovereignty with interventions in the internal affairs of states, particularly in cases of violent conflicts, humanitarian crises, and unconstitutional changes of governments. The AU and its agencies, including the RECs, have the responsibility to evolve in their response

to emerging threats, ensuring that their strategies remain adaptive and effective in the pursuit of a peaceful, secure, and prosperous Africa.

Objectives of the Book

As the AU celebrates its twenty years of existence in 2022, this book takes a critical standpoint of knowledge to engage the development-security nexus in contemporary Africa. Despite the rhetoric and literature on the 'Africa Rising', some indicators of economic growth on the continent, and the efforts of the AU, most African states continue to experience dwindling economic fortunes, violent conflict, and democratic reversals. The efforts by regional actors to harness the gains of regionalism to drive Africa's socio-economic and political development and ensure peace and security have yielded fewer results. Therefore, this edited volume interrogates the vexed issues that impede sustainable efforts at security and economic regionalism in Africa. Navigating the intricate interplay between regional stability and development in Africa presents a complex conundrum. The continent grapples with diverse challenges, including political instability, violent conflicts, economic disparities, and social fragmentation. Regional stability remains elusive due to factors such as ethnic tensions, governance deficits, tenure elongation and unconstitutional governments, and external influences.

While many studies have focused on conventional issues around conflict and development, this book exposes the reality of emerging threats to national and regional stability and development, such as the resurgence of military coups and Afrophobia. Thus, balancing the pursuit of individual state interests with the collective advancement of the region is a crucial consideration that the book attempts to unravel. Through a critical standpoint of knowledge, the book adopts a case study approach to locate Africa's challenges in both historical and contemporary contexts and thereby offers sustainable policy options for the myriads of gaps in Africa's peace, security, and governance architecture. The book holds the key to unlocking Africa's potential for development and regionalism, as well as providing practical recommendations for a prosperous and harmonious 'Africa We Want'.

Synopsis of the Book

The first chapter by the book editors, Adeoye O. Akinola and Emmaculate Asige Liaga, presents the objectives and synopsis of the book. In Chapter 2, *African Union and the Quest for Peace and Security in Africa: A Critique*, Adiat Abiodun undertakes a critical reflection on the African Union (AU) peace and security architecture on the continent since the inception of the continental organisation. It examines the performances of the AU as a security actor and reveals the successes of the AU in the aspect of conflict management while noting its reliance on external funding and lack of political will as some of its greatest obstacles. It further describes the AU as a nominal security actor because of its inability to match capability with its aspiration. It concludes by emphasising that a periodic and persistent appraisal of AU security architecture is essential for AU's optimal performance and admonishes member states for their failures to comply with the organisation's norms, principles, and protocols.

In Chapter 3, *Operationalisation of the Abuja Treaty (1991) and the Impact of Economic Regionalism on the African Union's Peace and Security Architecture*, Michael Washaya interrogates the AU peace and security mechanism architecture, highlighting its prospects and myriad operational challenges in its mandate to ensure the security of the continent. The chapter identifies the financial capacity conundrum as the Achilles heel of the AU peace and security agenda. It interrogates the 1991 Abuja Treaty and links it to the AU's attempt at economic and security regionalism. The author argues for an urgent need to fast-track the operationalisation of the Abuja Treaty, particularly the quest for monetary integration.

Chapter 4, *A Critical Assessment of the Challenges of the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS)*, by Habdisalan Mohamud Habib and Emmaculate Asige Liaga, explores the effectiveness of the African-led peacekeeping initiative in Somalia. Somalia has experienced protracted violent conflict that destroyed the socio-cultural, economic, and political fabric of the society, prompting a multilateral intervention, led by the AU. Authorised in March 2007, the African Union Mission in Somalia's (AMISOM) mandate officially ended on 31 March 2022, giving way to a newly established African Union Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS) which came into effect on 1 April 2022. The chapter identifies the operational differences between AMISOM and the newly established ATMIS, and their roles in Somali stability and security. The authors note that Somali stability and state-building efforts must be matched internally with

meaningful advances towards political and national reconciliation, which should include all the main parties to the conflict. The chapter concludes by stressing the need for a critical reflection on AMISOM's experiences, to avoid repeating the mistakes or shortcomings of the past fifteen years, which will then make it difficult for ATMIS to perform effectively.

In Chapter 5, *African Union at 20: Taking Stock of the AU's normative and institutional frameworks on Human Rights and Governance,* Tendai Shephard Mbanje takes a reflection on the establishment and institutional performance of the 20-year-old AU. Since its establishment in 2002, Africa has recorded modest gains in deepening a culture of democratic and participatory governance, respect for human rights, constitutionalism, justice, and the rule of law. These gains were founded on robust normative and institutional frameworks the AU has developed for the protection and promotion of the human rights of African peoples. Despite this appreciable record, numerous governance challenges persist, thereby significantly impeding the consolidation of human and people's rights in Africa. However, there is optimism that the continent can achieve its aspirations enshrined in the instruments it has adopted through the continental institution.

Chapter 6 exposes the misconceptions about youth's political participation in Nigeria. The chapter, *EndSARS Protest and Political Participation of Youths in Nigeria,* by Zainab Monisola Olaitan interrogates political engagement by young people, via social media and non-elective means, which has often been seen as irrelevant to the actual operations of the Nigerian political terrain. The magnitude of the 2020 *#EndSARS* protests in Nigeria and the role of social media in the protest signified that youth participation in politics needs to be evaluated in a new light. This chapter therefore explores how the *#EndSARS* movement symbolises a new approach to youth participation in politics through their engagement in protest and use of social media platforms. Using a qualitative methodology and a case study research design, this chapter delves into the *#EndSARS* protest and its significance for youths' political engagement in Nigeria.

In Chapter 7, *Women-focused Legislation, Economic Empowerment and Sustainable Development in Africa,* Omowumi Omodunni Idowu discusses the important place of women in continental development projects. The author argues that women constitute a great spring of manpower for sustainable development and a powerful but untapped economic resource, due to their exemptions from economic productivity.

While various local and international conferences, protocols, and treaties are geared towards women's rights and empowerment, as well as gender equality in Africa, they are faced with several forms of discrimination and economic marginalisation. Thus, progress for women has been slow and superficial on the continent, except for Rwanda. This chapter provides descriptive statistics on women's economic empowerment and highlights some positive changes in education and politics while discussing negative growths in labour participation and employment between 1990 and 2020. The author draws lessons from Rwanda to recommend how to sustain progress in regions where positive strides have been made, while simultaneously intensifying efforts in countries with challenges in the implementation of gender-free developmental initiatives.

In Chapter 8, *SADC Peacekeeping Missions, and the Quest for Regional Security: From Congo to Mozambique*, Naledi Ramontja and Adeoye O. Akinola assess the performances of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) in the security of the conflict zones in the region. The region had enjoyed peace and stability and was considered one of the most peaceful regions in Africa; however, since 2017, the eruption of terrorism in Mozambique's Cabo Delgado resource community and the resurgence of violent conflict in the Eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) have distorted regional peace and compelled SADC to respond through military interventions. The chapter reflects on the root causes of regional insecurity in the Southern African region, contends with SADC's peace and security architecture, and examines the role of SADC's peacekeeping missions in enforcing peace and order in the region. The chapter draws from the cases of Mozambique and DRC to explore the performance of SADC in security regionalism and finds how the divergent complexity of the conflict in the region has affected the capacity of SADC to intervene effectively. It thus offers recommendations for peace and stability in the Southern Africa region.

Chapter 9, *African Union and the Consequences of Coup d'états in West Africa,* by Arushi Singh interrogates the vexed waves of unconstitutional changes of government in Africa, particularly the reaction of the regional institution, the AU. As coups profligate on the continent and especially in the West African region, there has been intense criticism of the AU's actions or inactions. In several instances, the AU has not been proactively involved in a manner that befits the posture of the continental organisation or its aspirations of attainment of Agenda 2063. The chapter attempts to decipher the organisational prerogatives of the AU regarding

coup d'états and examines the contemporary geopolitical context of coups d'états in West Africa. It further assesses the response of AU and its organs to coups and critically explores the challenges and prospects for future AU actions against coup d'états in Africa.

In Chapter 10, *Regionalism, Trade, and the Development of Member States: A Perspective of ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme in Nigeria,* Ganiyu Lai Ejalonibu explores the importance of regionalism and trade on the growth and development of West Africa. Indeed, the role of trade as an engine of growth and development is well acknowledged by regional organisations across the world. However, the case of West Africa seems different. The ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme (ETLS), a regional trade mechanism designed to boost intra-ECOWAS trade, has been struggling to adequately respond to the economic development of member states. This chapter assesses the performances of the ETLS, identifies the challenges for a successful implementation of ETLS in Nigeria, and provides practical measures to transform the ETLS into an effective mechanism for growth and development.

In Chapter 11, Siphumelele Duma and Rich Mashimbye examine, *The Role of RECs in Mitigating the Impact of Natural Disasters in Africa: The Case of SADC.* Using the case of the SADC, one of the eight Regional Economic Commissions (RECs) recognised by the AU, the chapter analyses the frequency and severity of ecological and climate change-related disasters in Southern Africa since 2000 and explores the role of SADC in mitigating their impacts. In recent years, the region has been struck by natural disasters like cyclones, floods, and droughts, which disrupted and destroyed people's lives, property, and livelihoods, including the economies of SADC member states. Despite the interventions of the regional organisation through several instruments and initiatives, the results and performances have been less convincing. The chapter thereby offers insights into the effectiveness of SADC and its member states in managing and curtailing the effects of natural disasters.

Chapter 12, *The Global Gateway Africa: Europe Investment Package and the Future of EU -AU Relations,* by Gabriele Casano and Eleonora Panizza, discusses the importance and the potential opportunities for a stronger partnership between the European Union (EU) and the African Union (AU). The chapter notes the mutual satisfaction at the end of the 6th EU-AU Summit; however, there are genuine doubts about how '*The Global Gateway Africa: Europe Investment Package*' will be successfully implemented to benefit all parties. The 150-billion-euro package, which

remains an ambitious financing plan for development, was operationalised in the 'Joint Vision for 2030'. It aims to support Africa to achieve the lofty objectives in the AU's Agenda 2063. The main challenge appears to be the realisation of adequate tools for its implementation, as well as how to mobilise, manage, and monitor such huge resources, as explicitly highlighted in the development plan. Thus, this chapter explores the possibility of accessing resources from the General Allocation of Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), through the creation of an ad hoc instrument that would allow for their rechannelling from the EU to Africa.

In Chapter 13, *Peace and Security: The Question of 'Reunification' or 'Unification' of Cameroon,* Gallous Atabongwoung argues that the unification of Cameroon created the marginalisation of Anglophone Cameroonians, who were citizens of former British Southern Cameroons. This marginalisation established a strong sense of 'Anglophone consciousness', which led to the rise of Anglophone separatist movements and the consequent deadly civil war that has militarised a section of the country since 2016. The 'avoidable' violent conflict has led to the death of more than 3000 people and the destruction of over 200 villages, while more than 750,000 people have been internally displaced, including about 1.3 million people in need of humanitarian assistance. While there is an urgent need to resolve the conflict in Cameroon, the chapter argues for a return to the two-state federation, as the most practicable and sustainable solution to the crisis in the country.

In Chapter 14, *MNCs, Conflict and the Contradictions of Resource Extraction in the DRC,* Divine K. Yamulamba and Adeoye O. Akinola critically engage the complicit activities of Multinational Corporations (MNCs) in African resource communities. Indeed, foreign MNCs have been heavily criticised for exploiting Africa's natural resources and the unethical treatment of citizens of the resource communities. This chapter adopts a desktop research methodology to demonstrate how the corporate activities of MNCs in the DRC's Kivu region have militarised the resource zones and undermined the enduring peace and sustainable development of the country. Founded on an Afrocentric approach, the chapter argues for a harmonised response, where national government, MNCs, and other non-state decision-makers such as local community leaders, commit to regional peace, protect the rights of artisanal miners, and alleviate the pervasive corruption that has become the norm in the country.

Chapter 15, *Pan-African Integration: Afrophobia Conundrum and Migration Politicking in South Africa*, by Farai Joseph Chidhume, Olawale Akinrinde, and Mandiedza Parichi, situates anti-migration sentiments and acts in both South African historical and contemporary realities. Afrophobic Violence has consistently unfolded in post-apartheid South Africa since the attainment of majority rule in 1994, undermining the African Union's quest for African Unity. Episodes of Afrophobic violence have severed South Africa's diplomatic relations with its neighbouring counties and beyond. Multiple scholars have cited economic situation deterioration, bad governance, civil wars, and political instability in African countries. However, the high number of migrants from the African continent has prompted migrants' politicking and violent protests in the country Africa in recent years. The conundrum of Afrophobia has been catalysed by failed political transitions and governance in Africa resulting in migration to South Africa. This chapter examines Afrophobic violence and explores the diplomatic implications for the country and AU member states. This study argues that economic and governance deficits prevalent among South African blacks and the continued neglect of the economic and social needs of the black South Africans by the post-apartheid South African government relatively deprive indigenous black South Africans of socio-economic capital.

In Chapter 16, *Insights from Niger Delta Coastal Communities on Decolonial Climate Adaptation*, Fidelis Allen highlights the importance of high vulnerability and decoloniality in tackling the global climate crisis and development. Using the experiences of six communities in three Niger Delta states, the chapter explores the role of decolonisation in climate adaptation. The chapter further analysed qualitative data obtained through observation, focus group discussions, and interviews with coastal communities. There was a reinforcement of positions in the literature about decolonial climate adaptations. Communities are adopting legitimate adaptive measures such as migration, alternative sources of livelihood, shoreline embarkment, skill development, vocations, and infrastructure development. Maladaptive measures such as piracy, kidnapping, illegal oil refining, and gangsterism are commonplace at the same time. These antisocial behaviours complicate climate change.

African Union and the Quest for Peace and Security in Africa: A Critique

Adiat Abiodun

Introduction

Regional integration as a collective self-reliance strategy for promoting political and economic development in Africa has a long history as it predates Africa's contact with European imperialism (Ake, 1981). Regional integration in Africa has undergone three different historical phases: Islamisation and Arab colonialism, diaspora colonialism and European colonialism, and Pan-Africanism and colonialism (Okafor & Aniche, 2017). In post-colonial Africa, the reconstitution of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU) about 20 years ago was underlined by the need to improve the security profile of the continent which has been ravaged by different forms of insecurity from military to non-military threats (Makinda & Okumu, 2008; Murithi, 2012). After the end of European colonialism, Africa was engulfed in an infernal internal crisis across different states of the region while OAU's major

A. Abiodun (✉)
Department of International Relations, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria
e-mail: adiatbdn7@gmail.com

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focus was on the safety of the newly independent African states from the vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonial influence (Aniche, 2020).

The focus on the liberation of African states under colonial power accounted for the neglect of the security and developmental needs of the people, while the prevalence of authoritarian regimes across the continent continued unabated. Indeed, OAU focuses more on state security rather than human security. Specifically, the OAU during this period was criticised for its minimal effort at protecting the fundamental rights of African citizens from their national governments, which necessitated the dubbing of the organisation as a dictator's club (Reynolds, 2002). Because of this, there were cycles of insecurity across different states of the region.

Scholars on African regionalism have expressed differing views about the impact of regional frameworks in addressing the political, social, and economic problems of the continent (Aniche, 2020). These differing views are classified into three groups which include Afro-pessimists, Afro-optimists, and Afro-realists. The Afro-pessimist group focused on the militating factors against regionalism on the continent (Nathan, 2010) while the optimist group acknowledged the progress made by the regional organisation. The Afro-realists are more concerned about the reality of the existence of the African Union by noting its achievements without neglecting its defects.

However, 20 years after its formation, peace and security is still elusive on the continent while African states continue to provide harbour to different forms of violent and criminal activities as well as interstate and intrastate crises. Many African states are plagued by intrastate armed conflicts, Jihadist terrorism, and other forms of violent and criminal activities (Grieger, 2019). The civil war in Ethiopia and the military takeover in countries like Mali, Burkina Faso, and Guinea Conakry are some of the political instabilities in the Post-OAU Africa that threaten its continental peace.

This chapter adopts in-depth interviews and secondary materials to critique the AU's security and development architecture for ensuring peace and stability on the continent, since its establishment. The primary data were obtained through the conduct of unstructured interviews. The participants were purposively selected to include two scholars each from the Department of International Relations at the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Osun State; and the Department of Political Science, University of Lagos, Lagos State, in Nigeria, who have done extensive

research on the AU. These universities were selected because of the large concentration of studies on regionalism in Africa.

Furthermore, three senior officers at the AU Commission's Department of Peace and Security and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who are familiar with AU's efforts on Peace and security in Africa, were also selected as participants. In all, 10 interviews were conducted. Secondary data were sourced from published documents, including articles in refereed journals, and books. Data were also sourced from AU's documents and protocols, and the Internet. Data obtained will be analysed using descriptive and content analyses. Specifically, it examines the credibility of the AU as a security actor with the capacity to provide peace and security on the African continent. This is to provide an insight into the significant challenges and successes of the AU in its 20 years of existence and to further reveal how it can be more successful as a competent regional security actor.

Conceptual Clarification

Security

The concept of Security originated from the Greek word *se-cura*, which means to be in a state of no fear (Akindele & Ossymen, 2015). Generally, it refers to the absence of threats to a referent object. A referent object or factor in this context refers to the things that are seen to be existentially threatened which has a legitimate claim for survival (Buzan et al., 1998). In its classical formulation, security is about how states use their military power to manage threats to their territorial integrity, their autonomy, and their domestic political order, primarily from other states. This was because the greatest threat to the state was the invasion of its territory by other states and most mportantly nuclear race among the superpowers during the Cold War era. This was also the focus of classical regionalism in Africa, which concentrates on the security of newly independent African states against the influences of capitalism, racial discrimination, and other forms of inhuman treatment from European colonialists (Awofeso & Udokang, 2015).

However, the collapse of communism in the 1990s and the end of nuclear and ideological rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States brought about a shift in focus to other non-military threats. These threats are not new, but they received less attention during this period.

For instance, during the Cold War era, scholars such as Buzan (1983), Thomas (1987), and recognised that non-military phenomena can also threaten states and individuals. They argued that the concept of security should be expanded to include topics such as poverty, environmental hazards, trade, health issues, and drug abuse among many others (Brown, 1989; Buzan, 1983; Thomas, 1987).

Security in this context is perceived in line with the paradigmatic shift of the post-Cold War era which focused on humans as the primary referent of security as well as the recognition of both military and non-military threats. Human security in this context is defined as the freedom from fear and freedom from want (UNDP, 1994). This perspective is a clear intellectual departure from the Cold War era as it focuses on threats to human lives, including military and non-military threats. Security in this era was redefined as human security with advocacy for a more broadened and comprehensive understanding of humans as the referent of security and the description of security threats beyond physical violence as the only relevant threat to human life (Commission on Human Security, 2003).

It is also defined as the institutional approach to assist member states in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to human survival, livelihood, and dignity of their people (United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2012). This definition advocates for an approach to security that is a people-centred, comprehensive, context-specific, and prevention-oriented response that strengthens the protection and empowerment of the people. In another context, human security is also described as an approach to national and international security with greater primacy for human beings as well as their complex and social interactions (Catia, 2023). These definitions represent a departure from orthodox security studies, which have a greater primacy for the state as the referent of security. This perspective is more relevant to post-colonial African security needs as the people have been the direct victims of intrastate conflicts, terrorism, banditry, and other forms of violent and criminal activities. However, the use of the term security here will focus more on violent security threats, which are considered prerequisites for the non-violent threat category.

Security Actor

In security discourse in the study of International Relations, threats, and vulnerabilities have been treated or considered as synonyms without any attempt at differentiation between the two concepts in their usage. Consequently, the post-Cold War security definition has focused on the security of human life from vulnerabilities such as poverty, environmental degradation, and autocratic governance (Waltz, 1991). However, it is important to note that there is a great distinction between threats and vulnerabilities (Holsti, 1995). Without this distinction, it will be difficult to conceptualise what a security threat is and what constitutes a security actor. Vulnerabilities are mostly a derivative of geographical characteristics while threats are progenies of vulnerability (Buzan, 1991).

The implication is that a security referent's implicit or explicit susceptibility is an important area that an adversary can exploit, eventually resulting in threats. For instance, lack of money can be described as vulnerability while hunger and other forms of deprivation are threats that can occur because of this vulnerability. In this regard, the ability of a security actor to develop capabilities to manage its vulnerability is what determines its credibility as a security actor. This means that a credible security actor must be able to march aspiration with capability. Hence, a security actor in this context can be defined as an actor who can actualise its aspirations in protecting itself from internal and external security threats. Within the context of the theoretical framework for the study, a security actor possesses a strong level of cohesiveness among three causal factors. This includes strong and growing economic interdependence among its member states, the capacity to resolve disputes and develop an effective international regime, as well as efficient enforcement of supranational market rules.

Theoretical Analysis

This study utilises Neo-Functionalism, a theory of regional integration developed by Earns Haas and consequently used to explain and predict European integration in 1958 (Sabine, 2014). It is based on the description and explanation of the process of regional integration among states regarding how three causal factors interact (Wayne, 1997). According to Haas (1961), these include: