

**UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE**



EMS Faculty

Department of Political Studies

**The impact of the colonial legacy on African institutions: A case study of the Pan-African Parliament (PAP)**

A Mini-Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Masters of Arts in the Department of Political Studies, Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences (EMS), University of the Western Cape.

**Awonke Baba**

**Student No. 3572617**

**Supervisor: Prof. Bheki R. Mngomezulu**

**Co supervisor: Dr. Namhla T. Matshanda**

**DECEMBER 2020**

## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	4
<b>List of Abbreviations and acronyms</b> .....	5
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	6
<b>Declaration</b> .....	7
<b>CHAPTER 1</b> .....	8
<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	8
<b>1.1 Introduction and background</b> .....	8
<b>1.2 Research Problem</b> .....	9
<b>1.3 Theoretical Framework</b> .....	11
<b>1.4 Research question</b> .....	12
<b>1.4.1 Research aim and objectives</b> .....	12
<b>1.5 Research Design &amp; Methods</b> .....	12
<b>1.6 Research ethics</b> .....	13
<b>CHAPTER 2</b> .....	14
<b>LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	14
<b>2.1 Introduction</b> .....	14
<b>2.1.1 Colonialism in Africa</b> .....	14
<b>2.1.2 The Legacy of colonialism in Africa</b> .....	18
<b>2.1.3 Regional and continental institutions from a global perspective</b> .....	20
<b>2.1.4 Regional and continental institutions from an African perspective</b> .....	22
<b>2.1.5 The Pan African Parliament: An overview</b> .....	25
<b>2.2 Conclusion</b> .....	27
<b>CHAPTER 3</b> .....	28
<b>THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</b> .....	28
<b>3.1 Introduction</b> .....	28
<b>3.2 Theories which guided the study</b> .....	28
<b>3.2.1 Post-Colonial Theory</b> .....	28
<b>3.2.1.1 Criticism of the Post-Colonial Theory</b> .....	29
<b>3.2.2 Institutional Theory</b> .....	30
<b>3.2.2.1 Criticism of the Institutional Theory</b> .....	32
<b>3.3 Justification for the selected theories</b> .....	32
<b>3.4 Conclusion</b> .....	33
<b>CHAPTER 4</b> .....	35
<b>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY &amp; DESIGN</b> .....	35
<b>4.1 Introduction</b> .....	35

4.2 Research Paradigm and Design .....	35
4.3 Research Method .....	36
4.4 Data Collection Procedure and Validation.....	37
4.4.1 Data analysis .....	39
4.5 Ethical Considerations.....	40
4.6 Conclusion.....	40
CHAPTER 5 .....	42
FINDINGS/RESULTS AND ANALYSIS .....	42
5.1. Introduction .....	42
5.2. Motivations for the establishment of the Pan-African Parliament.....	42
5.3. PAP’s independence and its language policy.....	43
5.4 Funders of the Pan-African Parliament and their Influences.....	45
5.5 Decision-making within the PAP .....	47
5.6 Conclusion.....	49
CHAPTER 6 .....	51
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	51
6.1 Summary.....	51
6.2 Conclusion.....	52
6.3 Recommendations .....	53
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	56



## Abstract

After Independence in Africa, vast institutions were established in order to deal with the legacy of colonialism and to encourage development in the continent. Decades later, some of these institutions are said to be ineffective due to a number of constraints – one of which is the colonial legacy which has rendered them almost dysfunctional. This study assesses the impacts of colonialism on these African institutions and uses the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) as a case study. Guided by Post-colonial theory and Institutional theory, and using Content Analysis (CA) as a tool for data analysis, this study has found that African institutions are operating under the influence of ex-colonial countries. This is evidenced by how these institutions are using European languages as their medium of communication and receive more than half of their funds from international bodies which then control their operations. This contributes to their inability to make decisions due to conflicting interests within the representatives and member states. Based on these findings, this study concludes that the colonial legacy plays a major role in delaying the development of African institutions. Therefore, this study provides recommendations or a way forward by arguing that these institutions which include the AU should tie/tighten the knots on their programmes such as the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) so as to strengthen democracy within member states. They should revive or reconsider constitutions that focus on the penalties for member states that do not pay their membership contribution as agreed and on those member states that fail to obey agreed to protocols. Lastly, this study recommends that fund-raising programmes should be established in selected member states so as to prevent financial dependency on international bodies that weaken African institutions.

**Keywords:** Colonialism, Pan-African Parliament, Institutions, Colonial legacy, Africa

## List of Abbreviations and acronyms

ACBF	African Capacity Building Foundation
AEC	African Economic Community
ADB	African Development Bank
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
AU	African Union
AWEPA	Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa
CA	Content Analysis
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
GATT	General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LPA	Lagos Plan of Action
NEPAD	New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development
NPT	Nuclear Proliferation Treaty
PAP	Pan African Parliament
PTA	Preferential Trade Area
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Program
RIA	Regional Integration Arrangements
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SIRESS	Integrated Regional Electronic Settlement System
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WTO	World Trade Organization

## Acknowledgements

The idea of this topic came early in 2019 when I was looking for a research topic to write on. After finishing a course with my co-supervisor Dr. Namhla Matshanda on Comparative Studies focusing on the horn of Africa, a course which was designed in a way that we should understand Africa during the pre-colonial and post-colonial periods, I was more fascinated by the post-colonial section of the course. I spoke to her that I wanted to do something within that field but I had no idea what it was exactly that I wanted to look at. A few weeks later, I then met with my supervisor, Professor Bheki Mngomezulu in his office at UWC. He gave me a copy of an article he had just published at that time, and this is what he would always do occasionally whenever we met. The paper was discussing issues on the Pan-African Parliament. Before reading that paper, I did not even know that the PAP existed. The paper was written in a way that grabbed my attention and I wanted to know more about this institution. A few weeks later, we agreed that I should take a route within this topic and so I did. What followed were two of the most interesting years of my life which required not only perseverance but also enabled me to learn so much about Africa, especially the continent's institutions.

My sincere gratitude goes to both my supervisor, Prof. Bheki R. Mngomezulu and Co-supervisor, Dr. Namhla Matshanda. Without their patience and guidance, I would not have arrived at the finish line.

Writing in a time of Covid-19 came with its own stresses and strains but through this journey I was accompanied by a lot of people that I can never forgive myself not to thank.

I want to first thank my people at home, my mother Bongiwe Baba, younger brother Kuhle Baba and the family as a whole for being motivational and allowing me to pursue my interests.

A special thanks to Mr. Rodrick Fayayo (now Dr. Fayayo) for his comments throughout the writing process of this research paper.

Lastly, I would like to thank my friends for their encouragement and support. Most of all, a special thanks to Inkqubela Yolutsha/Youth in Progress for emotional and intellectual support.

## Declaration

I, Awonke Baba, declare that this dissertation entitled “**The impact of the colonial legacy on African institutions: a case study of the Pan African Parliament (PAP)**” is my own independent original work. It has not been submitted before for any other academic examination at any institution of learning.

**Signature:** .....

**Date** .....



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Introduction and background

Colonialism was an unfortunate moment in global politics. It had a serious impact on a number of African institutions. This study seeks to address the impact of colonialism on these institutions using the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) as a case study. Scholars such as Ibrahim (2016) claim that the inability of African institutions to develop results from the colonial legacy. Ocheni & Nwankwo (2012) add that the major impact of colonialism in Africa is that it brought about the under-development of African territories in many different ways. This point is corroborated by Rodney (1972) when he looks at how Europe was instrumental in Africa's underdevelopment. Since the beginning of independence in Africa, local, national, regional and continental institutions have been formed to deal with the issues concerning Africans.

Ocheni & Nwankwo (2012) argue that the poor quality of education, the disarticulation of the economy and most importantly, the institutionalization of classes and class struggle in the socio-economic and political life of the people serve as the most glaring impacts of colonialism. Anecdotal literature used for this study show that colonialism has had major impacts on almost all spheres of Africa life. The fees must fall struggle by South African students serves as a distinct example of South Africans trying to deal with the scourge of colonialism within the higher education sector (Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2019). Ocheni & Nkwenkwo (2012) state that colonial education was not rooted in African culture and therefore could not foster any meaningful development within the African environment because it had no organic linkage. This means that colonial education was meant to enlighten the slaves for a specific purpose which was what they had to do at that particular time and nothing else. The legacy of that system remains part of our lives even today.

Furthermore, Bayeh (2015) argues that colonialism did not only disadvantage one aspect in Africa but both political and economic aspects. The author states that Colonialism has far-reaching influence in the political aspect of the continent. The present political system of the continent is the direct reflection of the colonial system. Colonialism greatly influenced the politics of the continent by replacing indigenous institutions with strange administration

(Bayeh, 2015). On the economic aspect, Bayeh (2015) further states that colonialism had great influence on Africa's contemporary economic performance. The economic underdevelopment of Africa is rooted in European colonization (Bayeh, 2015). European colonizers heavily exploited the resources of Africa. Therefore, its negative effect on contemporary Africa's underdevelopment is a well-established fact.

With this background in mind, it is important to note that this research seeks to examine the implications of colonialism for the Pan-African Parliament. More specifically, the research seeks to understand if Africans really benefit from the decisions of the Pan-African Parliament. The pertinent question is: can Africans use it as a vehicle for its development?

This section sought to introduce the subject of the study. It briefly looked at how colonialism affected a number of institutions in Africa as a way of justifying the need for research on the Pan-African Parliament. The next section introduces the research problem.

## 1.2 Research Problem

In post-independence Africa, a large number of institutions has been established, these includes economic, political and educational institutions. The literature highlights that these institutions are unsuccessful and underdeveloped due to the legacy of colonialism. According to Mngomezulu (2018), some of the challenges faced by African institutions can be explained historically. One of the explanations is that remnants of the colonial legacy still remain part and parcel of African history. The balkanization and compartmentalization of the African continent into Anglophone, Francophone and Lusophone identities impact negatively on Africa's attempt to forge unity (Mngomezulu, 2018). Mngomezulu argues that some African countries are still tied to their erstwhile colonial masters while others strive to rid themselves of the colonial yoke. Corroborating this view, Ndlovu-Gatsheni, (2012) observed that multinational corporations and erstwhile metropolitan governments continue to control African economies in cohort with African leaders who run African affairs on behalf of global capital. Ndlovu-Gatsheni claims that African leaders are themselves 'remote controlled' by the powerful leaders of Europe and America who governed the world. This leaves the African continent divided. In African institutions, this division is influenced by the use of former-colonial power languages.

African languages are currently marginalized or totally ignored in the activities of national, regional, sub-regional and continental economic programmes such as South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the African Renaissance and the Native Club of South Africa (Ndlhovu, 2008). The relegation of African languages by African institutions at large and the use of colonial languages including English, French and Portuguese is the source of underdevelopment. Ndlhovu (2008) states that English was the language of mobilization in the fight against colonial rule in Anglophone African countries. So was French and Portuguese in Francophone and Lusophone Africa respectively. Today, these languages still have a place in the postcolonial discourses on African economic liberation and political integration. They are used as vehicles of intercultural dialogue at different levels of economic, political and diplomatic relations among African nations (Ndlhovu, 2008).

The Pan-African Parliament is no exception. For example, the four working languages in the PAP are: Arabic, English, French and Portuguese. The organization is made up of African countries, each of which has more than one indigenous language but none of those are recognized in the PAP. With the language barrier, it is difficult to communicate and with no communication, few agreements and progress could be achieved. The PAP is a platform where African nations are supposed to come together and discuss continental matters and, in particular, to decolonize and rebuild Africa. But the same organization has colonial languages as its official languages.

This research seeks to understand how the Pan-African Parliament has dealt with all these issues. A number of studies have been done on the impacts of colonialism on African Institutions in general. This study specifically looks at the Pan-African Parliament with a view of establishing the implications of colonialism on the institution. More specifically the study intends to look at the political processes within the Pan African Institution, Funding of the institution and its language policies as a way of determining the key drivers of the institution. This is the gap to be filled by this study.

### 1.3 Theoretical Framework

To understand the underlying causes or influences of the colonial legacy in Africa, post-colonial theory seems to be the most appropriate to use. According to Burney (2012), post-colonial theory stems from the concept of post-colonialism. It is concerned with the aftermath of colonialism, not just as a political or historical reality but also as a felt and lived experience. Post-colonial theory examines different problems concerning awareness that colonialism still has influence over the world today. Today's society differs markedly from that of the colonial era economically, politically and culturally, while it is still marked by it (Idh Lundgren, 2010).

For a deep understanding of institutions, the researcher has found it appropriate for this study to also utilise institutional theory. Institutionalism encompasses a range of methodological approaches in political science that have at their core an emphasis on institutions, understood as the rules, regularities, structures, and the context more generally which influence political outcomes and shape political conduct (Schmidt, 2014). Lastly, Rhodes, et al, (2008) also adds that Institutionalism connotes a general approach to the study of political institutions, a set of theoretical ideas and hypotheses concerning the relations between institutional characteristics and political agency, performance, and change. The authors claim that institutionalism emphasizes the endogenous nature and social construction of political institutions. They argue that institutions are not simply equilibrium contracts among self-seeking, calculating individual actors or arenas for contending social forces. They are collections of structures, rules, and standard operating procedures that have a partly autonomous role in political life.

Given that the Pan-African Parliament also strives to develop the African continent, its precise objectives includes to contribute to a more prosperous future for the peoples of Africa by promoting collective self-reliance and economic recovery; to facilitate co-operation and development in Africa; to strengthen continental solidarity and build a sense of common destiny among the peoples of Africa, The theories discussed above assists the research in looking at how colonialism has ensured that the Pan-African Parliament fails to achieve its goals. Specifically, the theories will assist the study to scrutinise political processes within the institution, assess the funding arrangements of the institution and how all these impact on the ability of the institution to achieve its Pan African objectives. More details on the proposed theories are discussed on chapter three.

## 1.4 Research question

In order to explore this issue of the PAP, the following question was investigated: “How has the colonial legacy affected the establishment and operations of African institutions such as the PAP?”

Specific Questions Are –

- What were the motivations towards the formations of the PAP?
- Given its language policy, has the PAP remained independent?
- Who funds the activities of the PAP?
- How are decisions made in the PAP?

### 1.4.1 Research aim and objectives

The aim of the study is to establish the impact of colonialism on African institutions using the PAP as an example.

The specific objectives of the study are:

- (i) To investigate the extent to which the colonial legacy still exists in post-colonial African institutions.
- (ii) To establish the manner in which languages are used within the PAP;
- (iii) To understand the challenges of using indigenous languages in the PAP; and.
- (iv) To establish how the PAP could work towards protecting its identity.

## 1.5 Research Design & Methods

This study was conducted using a Case Study research design. As there are different categories of case study design, this study took the route of an exploratory case study design. The nature of this study allowed the researcher to use the qualitative method to carry out the research. This method was selected mainly because the data that would be used for this study is non-numerical. This study has used content analysis to analyse collected secondary data. Content

analysis was chosen in this study for various reasons. Firstly, it was adopted for conceptual and substantive reasons as the researcher does not have direct access to the case that is being studied. Moreover, the Pan-African Parliament is a continental organization with offices and representatives around the African continent, which makes it extremely difficult for a researcher to get access to the key actors. Secondly, this method was deemed appropriate because of financial constraints. The researcher did not have enough funding, which made it a struggle to collect and subsequently analyse primary data. Lastly, as part of the research methodology for this study, Grounded theory was used in order to get a clear meaning of the findings. A detailed methodology is discussed in chapter four. The purpose of this section is simply to introduce the methodological approach used in carrying out this research.

### 1.6 Research ethics

As mentioned above, this study did not involve the collection of data directly from the participants. However, there were certain ethical issues pertaining to secondary data analysis that had to be taken into consideration before handling such data. According to Tripathy (2013), secondary data vary in terms of the amount of identifying information in them. This final research report does not use true names of any informant that might have been approached informally in order to promote the ethical value of privacy. Only the names of the individuals already mentioned in secondary sources in accordance with their positions have been used freely since there are already in the public domain. In order for this study not to be tainted by fiction or fabrication; the researcher ensured that the material and data that is used is valid and reliable. The researcher ensured that the materials that would be used such as readings, books, articles, journal articles and websites are truthful and publicly available or accessible from trusted websites. More details on ethical considerations are discussed in chapter four.

The following chapter discusses the literature that is relevant to the topic under investigation. It also defines concepts such as colonialism, colonial legacy, institutions from different perspectives and delves into the Pan-African Parliament as an institution which is the focus of the present study.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

As indicated above, this study used secondary data to investigate the question which is the focus of this research. This chapter sought to operationalize major concepts of the study and also to assess how each concept can be measured in the study. Broadly, the chapter is a review of the literature that is relevant to the study. In line with conventional practice, the chapter locates the present study within the broader context of how other authors have tackled the theme of the study.

##### 2.1.1 Colonialism in Africa

Many scholars have written on colonialism. Their definitions may differ in words but have the same meaning and perspectives. According to Böröcz & Sarkar (2012) colonialism is both a practice and a worldview. As a practice, it involves the domination of a society by settlers from a different society. As a worldview, colonialism is a truly global geopolitical, economic, and cultural doctrine that is rooted in the worldwide expansion of West European capitalism that survived until well after the collapse of most colonial empires (Böröcz & Sarkar, 2012).

For Sommer (2011), the idea of defining colonialism as a domination of people from another culture is too broad and inclusive. Therefore, he provides three attributes that describe colonialism in a specific manner. For him, firstly, colonialism implies that one society completely deprives a second one of its potential for autonomous development; that an entire society is 'remote controlled' and reconfigured in accordance to with the colonial rulers. Secondly, it implies that the ruling and the ruled are permanently divided by a cultural gap; and lastly, it refers to the intellectual 'yoke' of an ideology whose purpose it is to legitimise colonial expansion (Sommer, 2011). According to Osterhammel (Cited in Sommer 2011), colonialism is the rule of one collectivity over another, with the life of the ruled being determined, for the sake of external interests, by a minority of colonial masters, which is culturally 'foreign' and unwilling to assimilate; this rule is reinforced by missionary doctrines based on the colonial masters' conviction of their being culturally superior (Sommer, 2011). These definitions look at or define colonialism from a general perspective.

According to Ocheni & Nwankwo (2012), colonialism in Africa is a phenomenon which took place between 1800 and the 1960s. It is a phenomenon which is part and parcel of another phenomenon called imperialism. These two authors argue that in fact, colonialism is a direct form of imperialism. This is why it is often said that “all colonialism is imperialism, but not all imperialism is colonialism” (Ocheni & Nwankwo, (2012).

According to historical sources, the colonialization of Africa by Europe was inspired by various factors. Among those factors, Ocheni & Nwankwo, (2012) mention the emergence of the Industrial Revolution which brought about a rapid change in the socio-economic transformation and technology of the European countries. The industrial revolution led to increase in production. The progress in the industry went faster than the progress in agriculture. Consequently, it was becoming increasingly hard or difficult for the agricultural sector to satisfy the demand for raw materials required in the industries. There was therefore, a need for the European powers, for example, the British to go outside the country and the continent to look for additional raw materials (Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012). Thus, the need for raw materials became one causal factor.

Secondly, having already occupied African countries, European colonisers felt the need to sustain it on certain grounds. According to Boahen (1985), the purpose of the European presence in Africa was defined in terms of a responsibility or trust. The British government's White Paper on Kenya issued in 1923, which established the principle of 'native paramountcy', included the statement that 'His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African populations... the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races...' (Boahen, 1985).

Last but not least, Iweriebor (2011) brings another perspective that the Europeans came to Africa due to power competition within Europe. He states that the political motivation derived from the impact of inter-European power struggles and competition for pre-eminence. Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, and Spain were competing for power within European power politics. One way to demonstrate national pre-eminence was through the acquisition of territories around the world, including Africa (Iweriebor, 2011).

Nonetheless, after their arrival on the continent, the period of conquest took place whereby Europeans conquered territories from the indigenous people by force. One of the aims of these Europeans was to monopolise the raw materials. There were also forms of resistance by indigenous Africans which led to countries like Ethiopia being an exception from colonization

– with Liberia also being sparred albeit for different reasons which I will not dwell on. Colonial resistance also resulted to differences in terms of what amount of territories had to be seized or taken by the colonisers. The stronger the resistance, the more territory was saved.

According to Bayeh (2015) (Cited Thomson, 2010:25), as the main objective of European countries was to satisfy their economic interest, each of them competed to get the biggest and the richest colonies. Consequently, to avoid intra-European war, colonialists held a conference in Berlin in 1884-1885 for peaceful partitioning of Africa. The scramble for Africa at the Berlin Conference and other succeeding formation of many small countries in Africa was based on pure imperialist greed and voracious quest for wealth (Baah, 2003:1). This resulted in arbitrary division of Africa's people without taking into account social cohesion which had kept Africans together for long periods of time. Africans were not consulted; rather, they were blindly divided to satisfy the selfish interest of those imperialists. Hence, colonialism was primarily intended to exploit the continent and send back profits to the imperialists' home country (Rodney, 1973:231).

The colonialists used a number of methods and strategies to compel Africans to submit to their rule, this included creating colonial administrations, use of forced labour, legal coercion, taxation and payment of low wages to employed Africans. Depending on which European country had colonized a certain African territory, between British, French and Italy there were different forms or models of domination. In the Case of Southern Africa in general and Nigeria in particular where Britain was ruling, indirect rule was the tool used to dominate. Mamdani (1996) refers to this as a decentralized despotism.

According to Mamdani (1996), the decentralized arm of the colonial state was the Native Authority, comprising a hierarchy of chiefs. It is a regime of extra economy coercion – the compulsion by which free peasants with customary access to land may otherwise be conscripted, forced to labour, or to cultivate – that makes intelligible the powers of chiefs wielded over peasants (Mamdani, 1996:52)

In its most extended form, writes Young (1994), as practised in northern Nigeria, indirect rule prescribed a caring nurture of existing institutions and their development as agencies of local government. Young states that Governor Clifford of Nigeria reflected this doctrine in a 1922 minute; “In all that he does or leaves undone in his control or management of the administration of a Native state by its own local government, the Political Officer must be careful, whenever possible, to lend his support to the authority of the Emir and his officers. *They and not he, as I*

*have said, constitute the De Facto Government over which their operations extended....The Political Officer should be the Whisper behind the Throne, but never for an instant the Throne itself.”* (Young, 1994: 148).

As opposed to indirect rule, in other parts of Africa where France had colonial power, the model of direct rule was practised in order to maintain power and domination. Craven, (2012) defines direct rule as a system whereby the colonies were governed by European officials at the top position, then Natives were at the bottom. The Germans and French preferred this system of administration in their colonies. Throughout this process, Craven, (2012) explains that the French taught their subjects that, by adopting French language and culture, they could eventually become French and eventually turned them into black Frenchmen. The famous 'Four Communes' in Senegal were seen as proof of this. Here Africans were granted all the rights of French citizens (Craven, 2012).

This process was commonly known as *assimilation* and was later replaced by *association*. According to Ocheni & Nkwankwo (2012) assimilation was associated with the total integration of the French colonial colonies into the main French government in Paris. The Association policy came at a later stage as a result of the problems the French government encountered from their initial application of the policy of assimilation. The French assimilated the “assimilatables” and associated with the “unassimilatables” (Ocheni & Nkwankwo, 2012). The colonization of Africa by the European powers provoked resistance in different places. According to Moyd (2017) the conditions that led African peoples to resist colonial rule often emerged from longstanding grievances against colonial labour exploitation, taxation, racist and paternalist practices, arbitrary violence, and political illegitimacy (Moyd, 2017). Different methods of resistance were used in different countries, for an example, Msellemu (2013) mentions that some fought by using arms and this was called an *active* resistance; some assumed noncompliance while the others reluctantly complied without protest, for example, the Masai of Kenya, the Sangu of Mbeya and the Bena of Iringa, both tribe of Tanzania. Still some peoples refused to cooperate and refused to have any affairs with the colonialists – one may call this a passive resistance (Msellemu, 2013). Although they might have paved a way to freedom but most of colonial resistance attempts were not successful ‘except for the Ethiopians resisting the Italian invaders that ended with resounding success, where Emperor Menelik II defeated the Italians in 1896 at the battle of Adowa’ (Msellemu, 2013: 144).

As a result of brutality and maltreatment from the European forces, African people continued to resist. Following the process of decolonization, majority of African countries got their independence in the 1960s and later colonialism was ended with the liberation of South Africa from racial segregation in 1994. Nonetheless, its legacy remains to adversely influence the contemporary Africa (Bayeh, 2015: 24).

### 2.1.2 The Legacy of colonialism in Africa

According to Hakala (2018), colonialism may sometimes be seen as a thing of the past, but in reality its traces have yet to fade away. It so deeply changed the communities that were within its reach that the consequences are still visible in everyday life through social, political and economic structures. Mamdani (2001) adds that life under colonial rule was harsh, and shaped the core of post-colonial society, political structure, and violence. He notes that the manner in which political identity has emerged through patterns of ethnic stratification stems from colonial influence.

Bayeh (2015) (Cited in Afisi, 2009:64; Thomson, 2010:14) state that one of the major colonial legacies which served as sources of many African problems is boundary. He argues that the borders of African states were made in the Berlin conference of peaceful partitioning of Africa by those who were strange to the continent based on their interest without taking into consideration the very interest and realities of African people. They simply divided the continent to avoid intra-European war without analysing the culture, language, ethnicity, and nature of indigenous black Africans. Thus, they randomly divided the boundary of states across the continent. As a result of this, different heterogeneous groups having different language, ethnicity and culture were merged together and at the same time people having common language, ethnicity and culture were also disintegrated (Bayeh, 2015).

Zooming into Somali and Eritrea, the two countries in the horn of Africa, Somalia came to independence with traits of colonial legacy, the clan-based leadership and colonial boundaries for independent Somali became the two major problems. Forti (2011) highlights that the new republic faced major challenges from the start. Clan interests and patronage quickly became part of the political sphere as the fluidity of parties and candidates underscored the relative importance and eventual dominance of clan identity in Somali politics (Forti, 2011).

Similar to Somali and other states in the continent, Muller (2006) points out that in the last twenty years of independence under the leadership of President Afwerki, the Eritrean state has

created a differentiated, hierarchical, unequal system of citizenship. This hierarchy ranges from what may be called super citizenship for the top ranks of the government and party members, to local persons' status as subjects, with few rights and little chance of upward mobility (Muller, 2006). This resulted from what the Europeans did. The division of ethnic groups and formation of classes in the Eritrean society was introduced by colonial powers.

The direct and indirect rule form of domination or what Mamdani refers to as a decentralized despotism still have an impact on some African states. To depict this, Lechler & McNamee (2017) use a case of Namibia. To these authors, after Namibian independence in 1990, traditional regional influence still persists. They argue that since Namibian independence, local governance structures are thus still organized on a 'despotic' basis in the north but not in the south. The fact that local governance is hereditary, unaccountable and informal in the north is expected to undermine individual support for democracy and the rule of law (Lechler & McNamee, 2017).

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012) notes that the idea of decolonization after independence also had a negative impact, especially in Francophone Africa, where with the exception of Guinea under Sekou Toure', the postcolonial states were born with diminished sovereignty as they did not forcefully work to delink from France's colonial tutelage. It gave ordinary citizens a false hope that if they work hard they will be successful and earn the freedom that was denied to them by colonialism. He further argues that the postcolonial state itself was not free because multinational corporations and erstwhile metropolitan governments continued to control African economies in cohort with African leaders who ran African affairs on behalf of global capital. African leaders were themselves 'remote controlled' by the powerful leaders of Europe and America who governed the world (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012:78).

Cooper (2002) adds that post-colonial Africa produced certain political elites which he refers to as the 'gatekeepers', who watch international corporations on behalf of Europeans and Americans for power and wealth in exchange. This act gave birth to totalitarianism and abuse of power by African leaders in some countries. Chabal and Daloz in their book *Africa Works* take the reader through the post-independence era in Africa. These authors identify challenges that are faced by the continent today, some of which resulted from colonialism while some are being created by certain stakeholders and political elites. They zoom into how the states are governed through patrimonialism and how nepotism is the new way of employing candidates for public and high-profile positions. To depict this, they cite the case of the head of national

radio of a major West African country that was put under pressure to hire relatives of the members of the political elites. Reflecting on one case they maintain that “he explained that to resist such pressure would inevitably mean he would lose his job” (Chabal and Daloz, 1999:7).

With all the traits of colonialism that are still visible in Africa, Mamdani (1996) concludes that Africa is still trapped in a non-racial version of apartheid. He writes, “what we have before us is a bifurcated world, no longer simply racially organized, but a world in which the dividing line between those human and the rest less human is a line between those who labor on the land and those who do not” (Mamdani, 1996).

### 2.1.3 Regional and continental institutions from a global perspective.

Cheeseman (2018) (Cited Helmke and Levitsky, 2006) defines an institution as humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interactions. The author further advises that it is important to note that both formal organisations (legislatures and parties) and informal practices (established norms and customs) may count as institutions as long as they feature broadly understood rules that individuals cannot break without exposing themselves to some form of sanction. An international institution can be defined as ‘an institutional agreement between members of an international system in order to achieve objectives according to systemic conditions, reflecting attributes, aspirations and concerns of its members’ (Hanrieder, 1966). What gives the basic rule of those institutions is the sovereignty of the nation-state (Barkin and Cronin, 2009).

The origins of institutions can be traced back to the early 1900s after World War 1, which resulted to many deaths and political instability across the world (Robbin, 1993). One of the institutions, the League of Nations was formed on the basis of this ground to promote world peace and create a forum for nations to voice their opinions and promote dialogue between states (Robbin,1993). However, the League of Nations was too weak to prevent the great powers from going to war in 1939. In 1945 the League of Nations was then succeeded by the United Nations (UN). The UN organization worked on economic and social development programs, improving human rights and reducing global conflicts (Robbin, 1993). To the extent that the Third World War has been averted thus far, one would say that the UN has succeeded.

International institutions are important actors in the critical episodes of international politics, with power in mediation, dispute resolution, peace keeping, applying sanctions and others.

They also help in managing various key areas of international concern, from global health policy to the monetary policies around the world (Abbott and Snidal, 1998).

According to Wigwe & Chizindu (2018), the United Nations' aims include maintaining international peace and security, protecting the environment, fostering social and economic development, human rights protection, providing humanitarian aids to member states from natural disaster and armed conflict. The UN is considered to be the most successful organization because of various initiative and events that were fruitful. These include the fact that the UN has successfully adopted the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty (NPT) that aims to limit the spread of nuclear weapons, and is a good "expression of the practices of international law and multilateralism in the field of arms control" (Baylis & Smith, 2011:281). Secondly, once a resolution is passed by the UN it is considered to be applicable to all member states. Liberals claim that "after the Cold War it became more difficult for states and diplomats to accept that what happened within states was of no concern to outsiders" (Baylis, 2011). As a result, the UN became more involved in the mediation between nations, which granted it higher respect from member states. By the mid-1990s "the UN had become involved in maintaining international security by resisting aggression between states" (Baylis, 2011).

The Second international institution claimed to be successful is the World Trade Organization (WTO) which replaced the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1995. The objective of the WTO and GATT has always been to lower trade barriers to help trade flow as freely as possible because increasing trade is seen as important for economic development. Its major functions include hosting negotiations between member countries, removing obstacles to trade and to resolve conflicts of interest between member countries (Dhankhar, 2016). As part of its success, the WTO has not only enhanced the value and quantity of trade but has also helped in eradicating trade and non-trade barriers. WTO has also broadened the trade governance scope to trade in investment, services and intellectual property. WTO also encouraged sustainable trade developments. As trade expands in volume, in the numbers of products traded, and in the numbers of countries and companies trading, there is a greater a chance that disputes will arise. The WTO system helps resolve these disputes peacefully and constructively - in reality, a lot of international trade tension is reduced because countries can turn to organizations, in particular the WTO, to settle their trade disputes (Dhankhar, 2016).

Although the institutions mentioned above and other international institutions are considered to be fully functioning and effective, there are pitfalls and critics labelled against them. For

historical reasons, many being highly criticized by the developing world, the system is tilted in favour of the rich and powerful countries. For example, whenever developing countries have the chance to gain from free trade, they have confronted quotas or voluntary export restrictions, dumping, safeguards or other forms of limitations. Moreover, instead of focusing on enhancing consumer welfare, the trading system strongly supports manufacturers or exporters, leading to protectionism. Much of the criticism results from the perception that trade was raised to a very high rank, while other values were slaughtered (Guzman, 2004).

Secondly, many countries feel excluded or left behind by the decisions of the international organizations. Therefore, for most of the poor countries, participation in the international system remains a distant dream. For example, the international trade system is perceived as a fortress, all the discussions being held behind closed doors and favouring the powerful producers and exporters. This results in the lack of legitimacy, poor support and a lack of loyalty to the values that underline the system itself (Sutherland et al, 2004).

#### 2.1.4 Regional and continental institutions from an African perspective.

From the dawn of the independence era, virtually all African countries have embraced regionalism. Today, there are more regional organisations in Africa than in any other continent and most African countries are members of more than one regional integration initiative. At the same time, it is widely recognised that many initiatives did not live up to expectations (Dinka & Kennes, 2007). Cheeseman (2018) argues that to date, most of the available literature has depicted Africa as a continent in which formal institutions do not perform as intended; rather, official rules are described as being weak and fragile, rendered vulnerable to executive manipulation by the salience of corrupt personal networks and ethnic politics. The author cites Patrick Chabal (1999) who refers to Africa as institution less. Chabal and Daloz conclude that Africa lacks effective political organisations.

According to Ikome (2006), The Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) which was an initiative of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) established a turning point in Africa's regional cooperation history in that it was the first genuinely indigenous continent-wide effort to forge a comprehensive, unified approach to the continent's problems of economic development. Emerging from perceptions of the continent's general vulnerability to global economic forces, the initiative's central thrust was that "Africa needed to actively strive to reduce its dependence on external nations and to replace this dependence with a self-sustaining development strategy

based on the maximum internal use of the continent's resources," in what has been described variously as "collective self-reliance," "inward-looking regionalism," and "delinking." (Ikome, 2006). Beginning in the early 1980s, the LPA's collective self-reliance strategy became an axiom of Africa's international relations. It translated into a series of resolutions and treaty agreements, creating a number of economic cooperation and integration institutions across the continent (Ikome, 2006).

A decade later in 1991, the Abuja Treaty (The Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community) provided strong support for the African integration agenda. This Treaty emphasized African solidarity, self-reliance and an endogenous development strategy, through industrialisation (Dinka & Kennes, 2007). The proposed framework for African integration and continental industrialization was the division of the continent into regional integration areas that would constitute a united African economy, the African Economic Community (Dinka & Kennes, 2007). To achieve this goal, the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) supported three regional integration arrangements; the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for West Africa, which was established in 1975, predating the LPA, the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) covering East and Southern Africa, which was the precursor of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) for Central Africa. The Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) was established in 1989, completing continental coverage (Dinka & Kennes, 2007). These however are considered to be ineffective due to a number of unresolved challenges.

I will now zoom into one of the regional institutions that is considered to be successful in Africa, the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Hartzenberg (2011) states that the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) was established in 1980, by the so-called front-line states with the specific aim of reducing economic dependence on apartheid South Africa, which was still excluded from the African integration plan. However, in anticipation of South Africa's democratic transition in the early 1990s, SADCC became the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1992 and South Africa joined SADC in 1994. According to Acharya & Johnston (2007) the goals of SADCC were to lessen the region's dependence on white-ruled South Africa and to promote economic development in the region.

Although it has its successful initiatives such as the signing of the Maputo Development Corridor, which is a network of roads, railway transport and logistics facilities connecting the

port of Maputo to South Africa and Swaziland, SADC's Integrated Regional Electronic Settlement System (SIRESS) – an electronic payment system developed by Member States to settle regional transactions among banks within the countries and other successful establishments (Dzinesa et al, 2018), the SADC integration after 1998, however, went into a stall. Adelman mentions several reasons for this. Among them are the following: War in Congo, and, the competition between member states and the problem of power asymmetry between South Africa and other member states. Adelman also mentions the lack of a political vision and structural problems within the organisation as reasons (Adelman 2003, p.55).

One should also take a look at one of the largest institutions in the African continent, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) which, according to Zurmeyer (2005), came into existence on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa, when representatives of 32 African states signed a charter for the formation of the organisation. With the passage of time, 21 other African countries later joined, bringing the number to 53 (Zurmeyer, 2005). The AU aims include promoting unitary and solidarity among African states, intensify and coordinate efforts to improve living standards in Africa, eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa and etc. (Soderbaum, 1996).

According to Joshua & Olanrewaju (2017), the OAU recorded success in its primary mission of liberating the continent from colonialism with the help of international actors when finally, on 27 April 1994, a new government based on one person, one vote became a reality in South Africa under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. Contrary to expectation, the OAU failed in the aspect of monitoring and policing the affairs of its own member states. This became obvious as a result of its inability to curb violent conflict, poor governance, economic mismanagement, gender inequality, human rights abuse and poverty in the region (Murithi, 2012).

Acharya & Johnston (2007) argue that numerous attempts at creating formal regional organization have failed in Africa, leaving a veritable organizational junkyard of unsuccessful attempts to reduce the continent's balkanization. They argue that, instead, regional cooperation is largely initiated and designed in Africa to promote the security and interest of rulers, rather than the more generally assumed goals of increasing the size of economic markets, ensuring the rights of citizens, or overcoming capricious national boundaries.

Erasmus (2011) adds that in Africa, however, the dilemma concerns weak institutions, poorly defined mandates and vaguely ascribed powers, even monitoring of compliance is weak or even completely absent in some Regional Integration Arrangements (RIAs). The author argues

that once legal arrangements have been established to pursue a common regional integration agenda, then transparency, certainty, predictability and respect for the rules should follow. Compliance should be monitored and non-compliance should be addressed. In short, this refers to the application of the rule of law at inter-state level. It seems fair to conclude that the rules-based nature of RIAs is not yet accepted by many African governments (Erasmus 2011). It is for those reasons that Joshua & Olanrewaju (2017) conclude that regional integration has failed because international cooperation has been too difficult in Africa.

### 2.1.5 The Pan African Parliament: An overview

The Treaty to establish the African Economic Community (AEC) relating to the Pan-African Parliament came into force on June, 3rd 1991, when heads of states of member-states of the then Organization of African Unity (OAU), now the African Union (AU), met and signed it as a binding document (Amadi, 2016). Dinokopila (2014) adds that the establishment of the PAP is linked to the AEC Treaty and to the transformation of the OAU into the AU. This was an indication that there were indeed prospects of deeper integration in Africa and that the vision the Libyan leader had garnered support amongst other African leaders (Dinokopila, 2014). The PAP draws its mandate from Article 7 of the AEC Treaty, according to which one of the organs of the AU to be established so as to foster African integration was the [Pan-African] Parliament (Dinokopila, 2014). The PAP was the only institution to receive specific mention as requiring speedy establishment and it was the aim of African leaders that the PAP be established by the year 2000. This, according to the Sirte Declaration, was to provide a common platform for Africans to participate in discussions and decision-making for ordinary Africans on problems and challenges facing Africa (Dinokopila, 2014).

The aim of the PAP, principally, is to create a platform or is an institution that enjoys full legislative powers whose members are elected through universal suffrage (Amadi, 2016). According to Nzewi, (2008) the Protocol to the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community relating to the Pan African Parliament, spells out the objectives of the Pan African Parliament as follows: to facilitate the effective implementation of the policies and objectives of the OAU/AEC and, ultimately, of the African Union; to promote the principles of human rights and democracy in Africa; to encourage good governance, transparency and accountability in member states; to familiarize the peoples of Africa with the objectives and policies aimed at integrating the African Continent within the framework of the establishment of the African Union; to promote peace, security and stability; to contribute to a more

prosperous future for the peoples of Africa by promoting collective self-reliance and economic recovery; to facilitate co-operation and development in Africa; to strengthen continental solidarity and build a sense of common destiny among the peoples of Africa; and lastly, to facilitate co-operation among Regional Economic Communities and their Parliamentary fora (Nzewi, 2008).

Since its establishment, it is claimed that PAP has not lived up to its expectations. Amadi (2016) and Mngomezulu (2018) provide a number of challenges that are faced by PAP. These include the challenge that is common to many other African integration institutions, the issue of languages. According to Mngomezulu (2018) the four working languages in the PAP are: Arabic, English, French and Portuguese. Some Africans want indigenous languages to be accommodated as working languages, arguing that three of the four listed above (excluding Arabic) serve as constant reminders about the old order and also these languages pose challenges during the discussions.

The second challenge is what Amadi (2016) refers to as the endemic problem of “sit-tight syndrome”. Africa parades the highest number of heads of countries that have stayed longest in office. At the last count, Africa has an unenviable distinction of having about eleven presidents that have been in office with the least ruling for 15 years. Mngomezulu (2018) states that these undemocratic acts tend to derail the PAP’s plans to redeem Africa’s international political image by embracing the democratic ethos.

Furthermore, according to Amadi (2016) another challenge facing the PAP is electoral malpractices. While elections in advanced countries are non-events that could take place as planned by electoral bodies without cry and accusation of massive rigging, elections in Africa are seen as “life and death” events and are regarded as zero-sum game where the winner takes all. Elections in Africa are seen as wars in another form and, therefore, all material arsenal in the armoury required in conventional warfare are unleashed on opponents in order to “teach him a lesson”. The litany of litigations that arise at every electoral exercise is a tragic pointer to the bitterness and vehemence that characterize elections in Africa (Amadi, 2016).

Those challenges along with powers, functions and legal limitations within the PAP mentioned by Hirpo (2006) such as the fact that it does not have any form of budgetary control either on its own budget or the budget of the AU and that its budget is part of the regular AU budget could be arguably be the reason as to why the PAP is ineffective.

However, since its inaugural session in March 2004, the PAP has been able to meet on a regular basis. Its ordinary sessions take place twice a year. There are some activities and achievements that are obtained through those meetings, for an example, Navarro (2008) highlights that the PAP has demonstrated some maturity in mobilising its legal resources to increase its power. For instance, the question of the oversight function that it could exercise has been debated within the committee on rules, privileges and discipline. After consulting experts and debating amongst members, the committee came out with credible proposals such as undertaking public hearings, commissioning specialized studies or engaging with national parliaments (Navarro, 2008).

Hugo (2008) lists some of the PAP achievements, these include giving attention to administrative and operational matters, the adoption of the rules of procedure, the establishment of permanent committees, the appointment of the Clerk and two deputies, and the development of PAP's work plans. Furthermore, Hugo argues that similarly, the Bureau of Parliament, made up of PAP's president and four vice-presidents also did some advocacy work to popularise the work of the institution.

What is clear from the literature is that institutions have a long history both in global politics and in the context of Africa. Secondly, it is evident from the literature that the PAP has registered both successes and failures. Within this context, the proposed study will cogently look at these issues through the lens of colonialism with the view to establish the latter's impact.

## 2.2 Conclusion

This chapter has conceptualized terms that are key to this study. Firstly, a detailed definition of colonialism is provided, its background and in the context of Africa, reasons as to why Africa was colonized, forms of domination, forms of resistance and the legacy of colonialism such as ethnic stratification within the continent. Secondly, As the study is specifically looking at institutions, it was necessary for this chapter to first provide a global perspective of Regional and continental institutions before dwelling on perspectives of Regional and continental institutions from Africa. Lastly, hence the study is using the PAP as a case study, a detailed background of this institution is provided in this chapter. The next chapter will discuss the theoretical framework which guided the study.

## CHAPTER 3

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to articulate the theoretical framework which guided this study. Given its nature, this study landed itself under the tentacles of two theories namely: Post-colonial and institutional theory. While chapter one provided an introduction into these theories, this chapter will delve into them in full. Firstly, the chapter will look at the post-colonial theory, provide a brief background, origins, arguments and consider critics of this theory. The chapter will follow by looking into the institutional theory through the same lenses. Thereafter, a discussion will be provided as to why these theories have been selected for this study despite the criticisms levelled against them.

#### 3.2 Theories which guided the study

##### 3.2.1 Post-Colonial Theory

Post-colonialism in its theoretical form originated in 1978 with the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (Ahluwalia, 2012). Building on Michel Foucault's discourse on power relationships in society as expressed through language and practices, and based on the theories of Michel Foucault, Said changed the agenda of non-western studies (in culture and literature) and directed it to what is called post-colonial theory. According to Burney (2012), post-colonial theory stems from the concept of post-colonialism. It is concerned with the aftermath of colonialism, not just as a political or historical reality but also as a felt and lived experience. Post-colonial theory examines different problems concerning awareness that colonialism still has influence over the world today. Today's society differs from that of the colonial era economically, politically and culturally, while it is still marked by it (Idh Lundgren, 2010).

Similar to what was argued in the introductory chapter, Rukundwa & Aarde (2007) also concur that post-colonial theory is built from the colonial experiences of people who engaged in liberation struggles around the world and particularly in the tricontinental countries in Africa, South and South East Asia and Latin America. These authors further argue that it bears witness to constant cultural forces for representation. It allows people emerging from socio-political and economic domination to reclaim their negotiating space for equity. In a dislocated culture,

post-colonial theory does not declare war on the past, but challenges the consequences of the past that are exploitative.

In the case of Africa, colonialism has left the continent in a state of devastation. This can be seen through many continental issues that can be traced back to colonialism. These include the artificial division of the states that has given birth to civil and ethnic wars, the African economy that is run by African post-independence leaders on behalf of global institutions and also the government maladministration that was brought to life by the colonial ‘direct and indirect’ forms of domination. These points are broadly discussed in the literature review chapter (i.e. Chapter 2). With that being said, post-colonial theory engages the psychology of both the colonised and the coloniser in the process of decolonisation. Those engaged in and those affected by colonisation and imperialism are consciously brought to a level of responsibility, because the Cultural Revolution refuses to endure a state of subjugation. Post-colonial theory raises self-consciousness which revolutionarises the minds of the colonised and the coloniser to build a new society where liberty and equity prevail (Rukundwa & Aarde, 2007).

As post-colonial theory is most relevant for this study, it is also a norm for any discourse to have criticism levelled against it. This study also acknowledges the critics that have surfaced since the theory was crafted. This shall be the focus of the section below.

### 3.2.1.1 Criticism of the Post-Colonial Theory

Ahluwalia (2012) states that post-colonial theory is subject not only to critique and challenge from the outside but also from within. He argues that there is little agreement about its disciplinary boundaries or its political implications. Such debate and discontent may thus signal, for some, an assumed crisis in post-colonial theory. Ahluwalia further states that critics such as Ahmad argue that colonial discourse analysis as well as post-colonial theory fail to engage with other disciplines which have similar concerns. Despite the interdisciplinary nature of, for example, Edward Said’s work, post-colonial theory is said to have failed to transcend disciplinary boundaries (Ahluwalia, 2012: 15).

Moreover, the term post-colonial theory is said to lack consensus and clarity. According to Rukundwa & Aarde (2007), the term not only lacks clarity, but also keeps changing through “new forms of social collectivity” as they emerge in time and space in a postcolonial world. These “new forms” tend to require new ways that are used in describing them. Therefore, it is difficult to keep pace with the rapidly changing world while at the same time keeping the

definition (if any) of post-colonial theory intact. For this reason, it is equally difficult to formulate a single theory to deal with all forms of the winds of change: social, political, academic, military and economic – those that have created new histories in societies across the globe (Rukundwa & Aarde 2007. Cited in Slemon 1995:100-105). Consequently, post-colonial theory has become a constant and continuing struggle in the company of humanity (Rukundwa & Aarde, 2007. Cited in Bhabha 2001:39). This means that while this theory is deemed useful by some, it is not considered to be a “perfect” theory. In a way, this should not come as a surprise since no theory is appropriate to assist in understanding all phenomena. A theory which best explains one phenomenon is deemed irrelevant in defining a different phenomenon. Therefore, it is not an anomaly for a theory like the post-colonial theory to be frowned upon by other scholars. However, this does not remove its relevance to this topic.

### 3.2.2 Institutional Theory

According to Carrol (2016), the foundations of institutional theory as it is currently understood took root between 1977 and 1983 during a broader search for understanding the elements that support successful and sustained organizational performance. Mohamed (2017) states that it is believed that the foundations of organizational institutionalism were laid from 1977 to 1983 after the publishing of researches by Meyer and Rowan (1977), Zucker (1977), DiMaggio and Powell (1983), Meyer and Scott (1983) and Zucker (1983), among others.

As discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation, institutional theory seeks to explain the processes and reasons for organizational behaviour as well as the effect of organizational behaviour patterns within a broader, interorganizational context (Carrol, 2016). As part of developmental stages of this theory, according to Stephen (2011), in political science, the level of interest in institutions has, however, varied over time. Due to research, there has been a shift from old to new institutionalism, the reason being, it is argued that the old institutionalism displayed little interest in cumulative theory building (Stephen, 2011. Cited in Shepsle, 1989: 132; Easton, 1971: 77; Eckstein, 1979). The main emphasis was on description, not on explanation or theory building. Studies were also often constructed on an evaluative framework which attempted to assess how well certain institutions measured up to democratic norms or the principals of responsible government (Stephen, 2011) (Cited in Rhodes, 1995).

In the transition from old institutionalism to new institutionalism, institutionalism and many methodologies of politics penetrate and affect each other, but it is behaviourism methodology

that has the greatest effect upon institutionalism. Moreover, behaviourism is an important theoretical source of new institutionalism methodology (Wu, 2009). According to Stephen (2011) behaviourism shifted attention somewhat away from the state and the formal organisations of government towards a more ‘society centred’ focus, with an emphasis on the socially embedded nature of pressure group politics, individual political behaviour and informal distributions of power. Behaviourism’s argument was that the best way of explaining behaviour was not through reading the rule book but through the direct observation of behaviour itself: hence the term ‘behaviourism’ as the label for this school (Stephen, 2011) (cited in Krasner, 1984: 229; Rhodes, 1995: 48-50)

Stephen (2011) states that new institutionalism amounts to ‘bringing institutions back in’ and a revival and expansion of this approach that has been underway since the 1980s. As the reasons for another shift from behaviourism to new institutionalism Stephen (2011) states that, firstly, ‘social, political and economic institutions have become larger, considerably more complex and resourceful, and prima facie more important to collective life’ (Cited in March and Olsen 1984: 734). Secondly, there has been a renewed interest in the ‘state’ in a number of schools of political analysis, including Marxism and so-called ‘statism’ (Stephen, 2011) (cited in Krasner, 1984; Skocpol, 1985; Bell, 1997).

According to Wu (2009) some of the major viewpoints of new institutionalism argue that it emphasises on the importance of institutionalism, and understanding of political life from the perspective of institutionalism, which makes political life the centre of politics research again. Secondly, at the time of emphasizing the importance of institutionalism, analysis on personal preference and behaviour is added (Wu, 2009). In political science, two different schools of new institutionalist analysis have emerged. One is called the rational choice approach, the other one is termed historical institutionalism. Rational choice institutionalism focuses on rational actors who pursue their preferences following a ‘logic of calculation’ within political institutions, defined as structures of incentives (Schmidt, 2014). Historical institutionalism details the development of political institutions, described as rules, regularized patterns and routinized practices subject to a ‘logic of path-dependence’ following critical junctures, or to incremental change (Schmidt, (2014).

The Pan-African Parliament (PAP) as an institution or rather the African Union (AU), the mother body of the PAP as an institution is built under institutionalism principles. The whole idea of those institutions speaks to the values of institutionalism. As Institutions under

institutional theory are defined as collections of structures, rules, and standard operating procedures that have a partly autonomous role in political life, the AU and PAP are founded on this notion, they are institutions that have constitutions and rules that each and every member state has to obey and follow. It is claimed that the aim of institutions is to bring together parties with same interests and, thereafter, influence political outcomes and shape political conduct. In this regard, like most of existing regional and continental institutions, the PAP as an institution has succeeded in bringing together parties with the same interests. But, it is a matter of debate as to whether it played any vital role in bringing the changes or shaping political conduct as these are the desired outcomes.

Flowing from the discussion above, institutional theory thus fits neatly within this study which focuses on institutions. It was deemed an appropriate theory which would guide the study well. But, as is the case with any other theory, institutional theory has its fair share of criticisms. Some of these criticisms are discussed below.

#### 3.2.2.1 Criticism of the Institutional Theory

As much as institutional theorists confidently argue that institutional theory gives birth to sustained and smooth operating institutions that leads to monitored and inclusive development, there are critics that emerged against this claim, or rather the critics have emerged against the whole idea of institutionalism. One main issue that is posed against this theory is that it is built to serve certain individuals. Mohamed (2017) claims that institutional arrangements serve as instruments of domination by particular groups and particular sets of interests rather than others. He further quotes Prichard and Willmott (1997) who advance the view that an important Marxist conceptual extension called Weberian theory argues that institutions support interests of some people, or in other words, allow elites to remain in power (Mohamed, 2017: 157). This claim is vivid on some of African government institutions, where leaders would manipulate constitutions with the purpose of remaining in power.

### 3.3 Justification for the selected theories

While a number of critics have come up against the institutional and post-colonial theories as demonstrated above, this section argues why the two theories were chosen for the purpose of this study.

Despite its uncertainties as a purified study, contemporary theorists still use the post-colonial theory to base their writings on de-colonial topics as it gives a clear basement on post-colonial studies. The theory is regarded as having two perspectives. From an optimistic point of view, post-colonial theory is a means of defiance by which any exploitative and discriminative practices, regardless of time and space, can be challenged. By contrast, the pessimistic view regards post-colonial theory as ambiguous, ironic and superstitious (Rukundwa & Aarde, 2007).

The selection of this theory despite its critics comes because of its vitality in its nature. The theory provides a clear explanation of the situation at which ex-colonial states find themselves tied into after colonialism has been fought and dismantled. Colonialism, in most if not all cases, tends to leave trails after it has been erased. The post-colonial theory is designed to point out and challenge those trails hence in Africa, in post-independence, the Organization of African Union was formed with the primary mandate of unifying the continent and seal the cracks by colonialism. It was felt that this theory would assist in identifying and unpacking the legacy of colonialism on African institutions and the Pan-African Parliament in particular.

This study focuses on African institutions. Arguably, most formal institutions in Africa have emerged after the continent's independence. The literature reviewed in this study also confirms that the institutions in Africa are still growing and dysfunctional. Reasons for these claims are firstly the colonial legacy constraints. Secondly, it is also claimed that the institutions are still trying to find their grounds in the continent. For those reasons, the institutional theory found its way into this study to help understand institutions, not only in the African context but in the world at large. It provides a clear idea of what institutions are, their origins and how they function. It is for these reasons that the two theories were deemed relevant and appropriate to be used to guide the present study.

### 3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has clearly outlined theories that are used as vehicle of this study, based on its nature and context, the study has selected two theories namely Post-colonial theory and institutional theory, the study has discussed both theories in detail, from background, application to critics. The chapter has then provided reasons as to why these chapter are selected provided that they have their own criticism.

The next chapter will discuss in details the methodology that has been employed by this study to conduct research. It will explain how the researcher went about gathering relevant data to answer the questions posed.



## CHAPTER 4

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY & DESIGN

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the strategy and empirical techniques applied in this research project. It explains how the researcher went about gathering relevant data to answer the questions posed. The chapter first outlines the research paradigm and design of this study, the research method of the study, data collection procedures and validation measures, data analysis tool that used to analyze data is also discussed in this chapter, and lastly, ethical considerations are also outlines.

#### 4.2 Research Paradigm and Design

In educational research, the term ‘paradigm’ is used to describe a researcher’s ‘worldview’ (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). This worldview is the perspective, or thinking, or school of thought, or set of shared beliefs, that informs the meaning, analysis and interpretation of research data (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). In terms of the research paradigm, this study was guided by critical theory paradigm. According to Kivunja & Kuyini (2017) the critical theory paradigm situates its research in social justice issues and seeks to address the political, social and economic issues, which lead to social oppression, conflict, struggle, and power structures at whatever levels these might occur. This paradigm is appropriate for this study as the study attempts to unmask or address the current social issues that are as the result of oppression, conflict and power structures in Africa.

Rehman & Alharthi (2016) asserts that all social research paradigms have components such as ontology, epistemology, methodology and methods. The authors claim that the ontological position of critical theorists is that of historical realism. It is assumed that a reality exists, but it has been shaped by cultural, political, ethnic, gender and religious factors which interact with each other to create a social system. Epistemologically, critical theory is subjective in that it is assumed that no object can be researched without being affected by the researcher, and lastly, with methodology, Asghar (2013) claims that critical theory is flexible to adopt any methodology or technique which could help in suggesting betterment in the unbalanced social system. Hussain, Elyas and Naseef (2013) also observe that critical researchers may use qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods. However, Hussain et al. (2013) believe that critical

research is more inclined towards qualitative research designs. This study used critical theory since it felt that this theory would provide guidance and a clear worldview of the relationship between the Pan-African Parliament and colonial legacy. As applied in this study, this paradigm has provided perspectives on power structures that relate to the post-colonial period.

Several scholars have explained the research design to be the overall plan to address the research problem at hand, with the aim to obtain answers to the research question under investigation (Burnham et al, 2004; Halperin et al, 2007). To select an appropriate research design is important because it provides the framework for the methods the researcher plans to use to collect or generate data. This study has used a case study research design. Case study research enables researchers to focus on a single individual, group, community, event, policy area or institution (Burnham, et al, 2008).

There are different categories of case study, these include explanatory, exploratory and descriptive case studies, and these are all relevant for different purposes. The nature of this study allowed it to undertake an exploratory case study, the use of this case study as Baxter & Jack, (2008) puts it, is to explore those situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes. For Zainal (2007) exploratory case studies set to explore any phenomenon in the data which serves as a point of interest to the researcher. The case study research design in general, enabled this particular research to study Pan-African Parliament in-depth, as the study is concerned with the impacts of colonial legacy on African institutions and on Pan-African Parliament in particular.

#### 4.3 Research Method

The study adopted a qualitative approach. Durrheim (1999) states that qualitative methods allow the researcher to study selected issues in-depth, with openness and detail as they identify and attempt to understand the categories of information that emerge from the data. According to Mohajan (2018), qualitative research is a form of social action that stresses on the way of people interpret, and make sense of their experiences to understand the social reality of individuals. It makes the use of interviews, diaries, journals, classroom observations and immersions; and open-ended questionnaires to obtain, analyze, and interpret the data content analysis of visual and textual materials, and oral history (Mohajan, 2018). The author further asserts that this approach is exploratory, and seeks to explain 'how' and 'why' a particular social phenomenon, or program, operates as it does in a particular context. It tries to help us to

understand the social world in which people live, and why things are the way they are (Mohajan, 2018) (quoted in Polkinghorne, 2005). This method is selected mainly because the data used for this study is non-numerical. Measures as to how data were collected for this study are discussed below.

#### 4.4 Data Collection Procedure and Validation

This study used Content Analysis (CA) to deal with data collected from secondary sources. Data collection involves setting the boundaries for the study, and collecting information through observations, interviews, documents, visual materials, and published statistical and other data (Halperin & Heath, 2017). Mohajan (2018) defines content analysis as a method of analyzing written, verbal or visual communication messages. Leedy and Ormrod (2001) define it as “A detailed and systematic examination of the contents of a particular body of materials for the purpose of identifying patterns, themes, or biases” (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). As mentioned on the introductory chapter, Content analysis has been selected in this study for various reasons. Firstly, it has adopted for conceptual and substantive reasons as the researcher does not have direct access to the case that is being studied, and Pan African Parliament is a continental organization with offices and representatives around the African continent which makes it extremely difficult for a researcher to get access to the key actors. Secondly, this method has been selected because of financial constraints, the researcher does not have funding, which makes it a struggle to collect primary data.

The secondary sources utilized in this study included government and semi-government publications. In this regard, African Union and Pan-African Parliament official documents and publications were used. Most of these documents are available online and in libraries. Secondly, existing research such as dissertations and published articles on this topic are also used. Thirdly, personal records such as public speeches and mass media which includes reports published in newspapers, magazines and on the Internet were used to generate data on African institutions in general and on the PAP in particular. The study used multiple sources of data collection so as to approach the research problem from different angles, through a process called triangulation. According to Halperin & Heath (2017), triangulation of evidence increases the reliability of the data and the process of gathering it. Validity and reliability of data will be discussed in detail in the next paragraphs.

By selecting secondary sources for data collection, the researcher was aware of the disadvantages or problems that come with this strategy, such as validity and reliability of information, personal bias, availability of data and format in which the information is available. Halperin & Heath (2017) define validity as the extent to which our data measures the phenomenon, we claim it measures, according to these authors, reliability refers to the 'repeatability' or 'consistency' of a researcher's findings. To ensure validity and reliability, this study used Guba and Lincoln's framework. According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), trustworthiness in a qualitative study is determined by four indicators. The first indicator is credibility which involves establishing that the results of qualitative research are credible or believable from the perspective of the participant in the research. The second indicator is transferability, which refers to the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be generalized or transferred to other contexts or settings. The third indicator is then evaluation of the data's dependability, which is concerned with whether the researcher would obtain the same results if they could observe the same thing twice, and the last indicator is conformability, which refers to the degree to which the results could be confirmed or corroborated by others. It is only possible if both researchers follow the process in an identical manner for the results to be compared (Kumar, 2011). These indicators were considered throughout the writing process.

Although the researcher is aware of the opportunities that comes with utilizing secondary sources such as being cost effective and convenient in terms of time saving, and lastly, with some care, proper documentation (to ensure reproducibility and transparency) and theoretical grounding, it is also possible to manipulate (in the sense of transforming, mind you – i.e., joining, aggregating, subtracting, etc.) variables to reach new conclusions that were not originally possible from the database as obtained (Martins, et al, 2018). There are also limitations that comes with this method. Firstly, with the passage of time the data becomes obsolete and very old, secondly, Secondary data collected can distort the results of the research. In using secondary data, special care is required to amend or modify for use, thirdly, Secondary data can also raise issues of authenticity and copyright, and lastly, Johnston, (2017) stresses that a major disadvantage of using secondary data is that the secondary researcher did not participate in the data collection process and does not know exactly how it was conducted. Therefore, the secondary researcher does not know how well it was done and if the data are affected by problems such as low response rate or respondent misunderstanding of specific survey questions.

#### 4.4.1 Data analysis

As mentioned above, CA was used to analyse data for this study. Kawulich, (2004) defines analysis as the process a researcher uses to reduce data to a story and its interpretation. Data analysis is the process of reducing large amount of collected data to make sense of them. Kawulich (2004) further indicates that three things occur during data analysis: data are organized, data are reduced through summarization and categorization, and partners and themes in the data are identified and linked. According to Kawulich (2004), there is no one right way to analyze qualitative data, and there are several approaches available, these includes ethnographic analysis, narrative analysis, phenomenological analysis, constant comparative analysis, interpretative analysis, content analysis, grounded theory analysis and cross-cultural analysis and etc. The nature of this study allowed the researcher to use Grounded theory analysis as a tool to analyze data, grounded theory will be discussed extensively below.

Bernard (2000) describes grounded theory as a “set of techniques for identifying categories and concepts that emerge from texts, and linking the categories into substantive and formal theories” (Bernard, 2000: 443). According to Thornberg & Charmaz (2014), Grounded theory is a research approach in which data collection and analysis take place simultaneously. Each part informs the other, in order to construct theories of the phenomenon under study. Grounded Theory provides rigorous yet flexible guidelines that begin with openly exploring and analyzing inductive data and leads to developing a theory grounded in data. Induction starts with ‘study of a range of individual cases and extrapolates patterns from them to form a conceptual category’ (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014 quoted in Charmaz, 2006: 188). To analyze qualitative data Lacey & Luff (2001) explains:

At the heart of grounded theory is the idea of the constant comparative method. In this method, concepts or categories emerging from one stage of the data analysis are compared with concepts emerging from the next. The researcher looks for relationships between these concepts and categories, by constantly comparing them, to form the basis of the emerging theory. The researcher continues with this process of constant comparison until they reach what is called ‘theoretical saturation’, that is no new significant categories or concepts are emerging (Lacey & Luff, 2001:10)

In the process of doing Grounded theory analysis, there are procedures that a researcher has to follow in order to come to a desired conclusion. These, according to Lacey & Luff (2001), include open coding (initial familiarization with the data), delineation of emergent concepts, conceptual coding (using emergent concepts), refinement of conceptual coding schemes, clustering of concepts to form analytical categories, searching for core categories, core

categories lead to identification of core theory and lastly, testing of emerging theory by reference to other research and to, social/cultural/economic factors that affect the area of study.

#### 4.5 Ethical Considerations

According to Halperin & Heath (2017), although one of the main goals of research was to accumulate knowledge or develop an understanding of a particular phenomenon, it is also recognized that achieving these goals should not come at the cost of research participants or other people's work in the case of this study. And in particular, the social cost (or potential cost) to those involved in the research (the informants) needs to be taken into consideration in order to ensure that they are not unduly exploited or harmed (Halperin & Heath, 2017). This study did not involve collection of data from the participants. However, there were certain ethical issues pertaining to secondary data analysis which had to be taken care of before handling such data.

According to Tripathy (2013), secondary data vary in terms of the amount of identifying information in them. This research paper has ensured not to use true names in order to promote the ethical value of privacy. In order for this study not to be tainted by fiction or fabrication; the researcher has ensured that the material and data that is used is valid and reliable through the use of validity and reliability framework discussed above. The researcher also ensured that documentary sources that will be used such as readings, books, articles, reports, journal articles and websites are truthful and publicly available or accessible from trusted websites, a list of references of all the material used in this study is attached in the final stage of the project.

Measurement instrument refers to various methods through which a researcher obtains data from respondents for their research work (Yaya, 2014). Since this is a secondary data study, Pan-Parliament official publications, earlier research and other publications on African integration were utilized.

#### 4.6 Conclusion

As any research without undertaken without any empirical method would be flawed or directionless conclusion, this is more especially in the field of social sciences. This chapter has outlined all the step undertaken throughout the process of this research paper. From a research paradigm up to ethical considerations, this study has given all measures that are necessary in order to conduct a research. With the use of measurements provided in this chapter, the

following chapter outlines finding of this study along with the analysis or an explanation of the meaning of these findings.



## CHAPTER 5

### FINDINGS/RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

#### 5.1. Introduction

The focus of the previous chapter (Chapter four) was on the strategy and empirical techniques applied in this research project. This chapter responds to the main research question of this study. It discusses the question of how has the colonial legacy affected the establishment and operations of African institutions, zooming into the Pan African Parliament (PAP) for an in-depth analysis. The chapter will begin by looking at the motivations towards the establishment of the PAP. This will look at the reasons as to why Africa needed this institution in the first place. Secondly, the chapter will look at how independent the PAP is given its somewhat controversial language policies. Thirdly, this chapter will also look at the sources of the PAP's funding. In other words, it will look at who funds the institution and whether the funders have influence on the operations of this African continental body. Lastly, the chapter will look at the nature of decision-making within the PAP, focusing on how decisions are made and whether the decision-making process is affected by external bodies. The findings discussed in this chapter respond to the objectives of the study as outlined in Chapter One.

#### 5.2. Motivations for the establishment of the Pan-African Parliament

The Pan-African Parliament is one of the eight organs of the African Union, a continental organization that comprises every African state, with an ambitious aim of integrating all member states and with an ultimate goal of forming the United States of Africa (Welz, 2012). The African Union is an initiative that was taken by Pan-Africanists way back in 1963 to liberate Africa from colonial dominance and to unite African countries through the strengthening of economic and cultural ties (Yusuf & Ouguergouz, 2012). The Pan-African Parliament was established in 2001. Its multifold aims are to promote popular participation and representation of African peoples in decision-making, good governance, oversight, accountability and transparency.

The background, aims and objectives of the PAP are clearly discussed on chapter two of this study. Navarro (2008) provides four reasons as to why PAP is an important development for the African continent. Firstly, the author claims that the establishment of a parliamentary

institution, such as the PAP, first reflects a shift from a purely inter-governmental logic to a supranational one. He asserts that historically, the primary *raison d'être* of the OAU was precisely to defend political sovereignty and territorial integrity. Secondly, Nivarro (2008) states that the establishment of the PAP also means that the leaders of the continent decided to add a political dimension to the dominant economic dimension of regional co-operation in Africa since the 1970s. Ideally, this would help accelerate the objectives of the institution. Thirdly, the author also claims that the creation of the PAP can be interpreted as a means to democratize the AU, meaning that it would strengthen its democracy through transparency and accountability as these were, arguably, lacking from the OAU, which is the predecessor to the current institution. Lastly, the PAP is likely to stimulate further integration. The very existence of the PAP will give its members an interest in increasing their power and influence on the decision-making process (Navarro, 2008: 5). Conceived in this manner, the PAP marked a departure from what the OAU stood for.

The above findings reveal that the AU saw the need to form an organ to strengthen its democracy, it is clear that AU on its own had acknowledged that there was a problem with its development hence the formation of the PAP, this then means that although the PAP on its own is a paralyzed institution, initially it was a weapon to fight challenges within the AU, which are mostly results of colonialism. It is clear from the literature reviewed on this study that one of major challenges constraining African institutions is the lack of democracy within the states, the PAP then was an initiative to deal within this particular issue.

### 5.3. PAP's independence and its language policy

Language policy can be defined as the combination of official decisions and prevailing public practices related to language education and use (McGroarty, 1997: 1). Noticeably, the PAP has four working official languages, these are: Arabic, English, French and Portuguese. Of these languages, only one is originally an African language (i.e. Swahili), the rest are Western languages brought to Africa during the colonial period. One might argue that Swahili on its own is not an original African language, this argument would, of course, come off the debate between that Swahili is an original African language and that the language was developed for the purpose of communication and trade in towns and therefore is a *lingua franca*.

In an attempt to clarify this matter, Polomé (1967) gives a clarification that firstly, on the Kenya and Tanganyika coast and the neighboring islands, Swahili has been the mother tongue of the

indigenous African population for centuries, he states that further inland as well as north and south in coastal areas, in Somalia as far as Mogadiscio, and in Portuguese East Africa as far as Mozambique', groups of Swahili speakers, using it as their mother tongue, are to be found. Secondly, Poleme (1967) argues that in the towns of East and Central Africa the presence of Swahili speaking groups is very often the result of a recent development by which detribalized Africans have resorted to the 'lingua franca' as their only means of communication, even on the level of everyday family life, so that their children are practically raised in what might be called 'creole Swahili' (Polomé, 1967: 1). It is for this reason that this study recognizes Swahili as the African Language. Today this language might have been altered or mixed with different additional languages for the purposes mentioned above but its origins are in Africa.

The rest of the languages that were brought outside the continent for colonial benefits were then taught to Africans in different regions, this was not because they are better languages or that Africans would benefit anything from them but the idea was for colonizers to somehow benefit and be able to communicate with local Africans during colonization. Bamgbose (2011) explains:

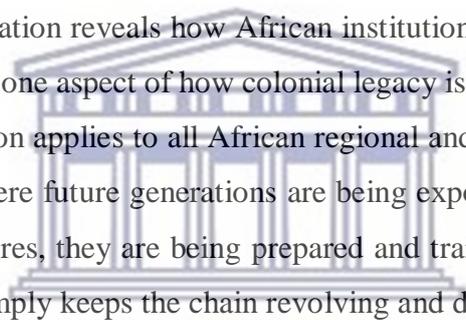
It is well known that colonial powers imposed their language in each territory they governed as the language of administration, commerce and education. Objectives differ from one colonial power to another, ranging from assimilation to the culture of the occupying power to selective cultivation of an elite that can relate to the masses in their own culture. In spite of the superficial differences, the outcome is the same as far as language is concerned: the language of the colonial power was dominant and African languages took a secondary position in status and domains of use.

These languages are still dominant in post-independence Africa hence they are still used in formal institutions including the PAP and the AU, its mother body. The use of foreign languages by the PAP gave birth to more challenges rather than bringing solutions. For example, it is concerning that Africans are unable to communicate with one African language. This is because the continent on its own has more than twenty-one thousand indigenous languages. This hinders development within African organization, as it leads to miscommunication and would require translations which would then cost the organization a large amount of money. Secondly, as the working languages within the institution at the moment are foreign, they are used in different part of the continent depending on the language spoken by the colonizer of that region. For an example, most parts of Southern Africa use English as a medium of communication because the region was under British rule.

Kanana (2013) claims that if a common language is not adopted, which in this case would be a common African language serving as the language *lingua-franca*, the transfer of skills, new knowledge and other vital information desired to effect changes cannot be delivered to the target group at both the regional and national levels to mobilize the masses for the development endeavor. This applies also to the African institutions, including the Pan African Parliament.

With the use of foreign languages, one could then argue that the PAP is not yet independent. Beside the issue of communication, the use of foreign language also installs and maintains a foreign culture that comes with the language. Tchindjang et al. (2008) state that language is the pillar, or even the root, of culture. With that being said, the Pan-African Parliament does not only struggle with communication and reaching agreements through a common language but it also, as an institution that leads the direction of the continent, built and continues to work on the floor of foreign cultures through the usage of foreign languages to address African issues.

In general, the above observation reveals how African institutions are still subject to their ex-colonisers or rather it shows one aspect of how colonial legacy is still in control of the modern Africa. The above observation applies to all African regional and continental institutions, this includes the universities where future generations are being exposed at young ages to master western languages and cultures, they are being prepared and trained in order to go and work for these institutions, this simply keeps the chain revolving and de-Africanizing the continent.



UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CAPE

#### 5.4 Funders of the Pan-African Parliament and their Influences

As a sub-institution or organ of the AU, the PAP receives its funding both from the AU and from private donors. In relation to how the funds are channeled from the AU, Cilliers & Mashele (2004) explain that article 15(1) of the PAP protocol stipulates that the PAP budget is an “integral part of the regular budget” of the African Union. The African Union must therefore, as part of its regular budget, cover all other costs related to the running of the Parliament (Cilliers & Mashele, 2004: 80). The AU receives its funds from member states and also from the private and international donors.

Unearmarked, annual, so-called ‘assessed contributions’ from African member states to the AU budget constitute one source of AU funding. These planned contributions are calculated on the basis of three-yearly assessments and are meant to be paid up front, at the start of each

budget year (i.e. 1 January - 31 December) (Pharatlhatlhe & Vanheukelom, 2019). Due to inconsistencies and inability of some member states to pay their contribution, the AU then found itself in a situation where private donors were contributing more to its finances than member states. According to Pharatlhatlhe & Vanheukelom (2019), aid is the second, but arguably the largest, source of AU funding. Almost thirty traditional and emerging donors provide money, technical assistance, and in-kind donations to the AU and, by extension, to the PAP. These funds from private donors come into the AU with conditionalities. This inevitably affects the operations of the PAP. This point shall be further discussed below.

Due to insufficient funds from the AU and member states, in 2005, the PAP had to workshop alternative means of fund-raising. In this regard, it established a platform where private and international donors would be able to fund the organization. Navarro (2008) illustrates some of the donors of the PAP and spells out for what purposes such funds are made available to this African organization:

Since the 2005, the PAP receives the financial support of the African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF). Based in Harare, this Foundation is sponsored by the African Development Bank (ADB), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In 2007, it granted two million US dollars over a period of four years to support the institutional capacity building of PAP (strengthening the capacities of the committees, MPs and parliamentary staff; enhancing the communication and outreach abilities of PAP; building the research capacity of PAP; and institutional strengthening).

In addition to the donors mentioned above, Navarro (2008) also states that more international donors that fund the PAP include the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Society for Technical Cooperation - GTZ). He writes further that the PAP also receives technical assistance from the Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA). For instance, AWEPA staff assisted in the formation of the PAP's Strategic Plan in 2005. In October 2006, AWEPA and the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria signed a three-year programme (2006-2009) to provide institutional capacity building support to the PAP (Navarro, 2008: 17). Emmanuel (2010) also adds that the European Union (EU) and its individual member states are the largest contributors of various forms of financial and technical development assistance to Africa in general and to the PAP in particular.

The private and international donors may contribute a large amount of money to the PAP both directly and indirectly, through the AU but the reality is that their contribution comes with conditions. Most International funding institutions are known for providing funds then require the receiver to obey or adopt the policies that come with the funding. This is similar to what International Financial Institutions (IFIs) such as the World Bank and the IMF do through Structural Adjustment Program (SAPs). For an example, the IMF, which is also a sponsor of the PAP, has a structural adjustment program. This requires borrowing entities to implement certain policies in order to obtain new loans. In an indirect manner, through the AU, the donors also require the AU to change its own and its organs' procedures and plans and at times, redirect its priorities in order to be funded. As Pharatlathe & Vanheukelom (2019) explain, the AU has to follow different planning, budgeting and governance procedures for donor contributions than for assessed contributions by member states. The AUC first assesses the funding requirements of the AU organs. It then presents this overview to the main donors to obtain pledges about planned donor contributions (Pharatlathe & Vanheukelom, 2019: 5). These are some of the ways in which the PAP receives funding to keep it operational or functional.

This section once again reveals another downfall of African institutions, African institutions are dependent on international funders, the downfall of this funding is that the loaned institutions are then forced to comply to the conditionalities that comes with the funds. this is a challenge that faces Africa as a continent, there are states that owe large sums of money to the Bretton woods institutions, these countries are then forced to comply with conditions such as structural adjustment programs, where countries have to open up for free business practice within their states, opening up for giant international corporates to come in and swallow whatever small businesses that were emerging within those countries.

### 5.5 Decision-making within the PAP

Conventionally, all organizations should have the freedom to make independent decisions about themselves. In a strong democratic institution, decisions are made based on voting. Usually, the dominating party would have more ruling powers or a dominant voice within the institution than those who are in the minority. So is the nature of democracy. This is the case when one looks at the PAP papers. Below is Yusuf & Ouguerouz,'s (2012) observation that is worth noting when it comes to the PAP:

The quorum for a meeting of the parliament shall be by a simple majority. Each Parliamentarian shall have one vote. Decisions shall be made by consensus or, failing

which, by a two-thirds majority of all the members present and voting. However, on procedural matters, (including the question of whether a matter is one of procedure or not), decisions shall be taken by a simple majority of those present and voting, unless otherwise stipulated in the rules of procedure. In the event of an equal number of votes, the person presiding shall have a casting vote. The parliament may establish such committees, as it deems fit, for the proper discharge of its functions and in accordance with its rules of procedure.

The above observations are only the rules of procedures and therefore do not affect the idea a member should propose, how they should think and what ideas should not be proposed in the parliament. As such, for some reasons, a member or members could propose a policy that works in favor of external parties and dominate in terms of votes. This would lead to the policy being approved by the AU or the PAP. Such a policy would be implemented as the rules of procedure allow. As discussed in Chapter one of this study, which is the literature review, according to some authors such as Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2012), Africa has leaders that are currently sitting tight on their positions in favor of Western corporations. These are the “Gate Keepers” as Cooper (2002) would argue. Members within the PAP are representatives from their home countries. Therefore, at the state level in which they rule, some are captured and thus continuously push the agenda of their ex-colonial masters. Therefore, being members of the PAP only allows them to push their national agenda operating at the continental level. This is one of the sad realities about the lack of unity among African countries.

The influence of decision-making within the PAP also comes above from the AU. The funding that is channeled to the PAP from AU comes with conditions and therefore alters decisions made or forces PAP to subscribe to the conditions that it is presented with. As much as the AU plays a role, financially, in the PAP decision-making, the AU itself is puzzled with issues of decision making, this is as the results of its member states such as Zimbabwe and eSwatini having very little interest in participating on AU issues, secondly, the AU is known for being very late on taking decision on matters that requires it attention around the continent, and lastly, of course, influence that comes with the funders through funding conditionalities. As one of the issues that constrain the AU, decision-making is among the most concerning ones. Yusuf & Ouguerouz (2012) highlight that:

Alongside with this, the deliberations of various issues at different levels over the past years were constrained by the prevailing diplomatic pleasantries and political culture. As a result, debated within the organization lacked the necessary in-depth, frankness and punch. This made it more difficult for them to take crucial decisions required by the situation. A case in point is the Darfur crisis.

The above observation simply shows how the members of the AU have multiple identities. On the one hand, they represent national interests. On the other hand, they aspire to advance African continental interests. However, due to their financial challenges, they find themselves unwittingly representing or advancing the interests of the donors. The fruitless debates that ensue result in pitting those who want to empower the African continent against those who stand on behalf of external parties. In a situation like that, it is either decisions are delayed or are not taken at all, leading to the institution remaining in-effective. This is one way in which one can explain some of the weaknesses of African continental institutions such as the PAP. The political will and the wisdom are all there. However, the continent's financial challenges leave it vulnerable to foreign donors who advance their own interests under the guise of providing financial support to African institutions.

## 5.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has unpacked the effects of the colonial legacy on African institutions in general but more specifically on the Pan-African Parliament. The chapter has outlined reasons why the PAP was established (which was to unite Africans as they were divided by colonial rule), what events led to its establishments and, most importantly, why this institution has not performed to its optimal level. The chapter has also looked at the independence of the PAP focusing on its language policy. It outlined the delays in achieving the goals set by the PAP and also discussed how the PAP is captured by the African continent's ex-colonial masters. Thirdly, the chapter also discussed how the PAP and the AU are controlled by their funders through funding conditionalities. This point was linked to the SAPs used by IFIs such as the IMF and the World Bank. Lastly, the chapter also observed how the PAP and AU decision-making processes are affected by external bodies, through funds and the use of member states as their representatives. In this regard, the identity crisis was invoked whereby PAP member states serve national interests, PAP interests and those of the donors. In a nutshell, this chapter has addressed the question of this study regarding the impact of colonialism on the functioning of African institutions. In the case of the present study, the PAP was used as an example or as a case study.

Now that the findings and analysis of this study have been presented, the next chapter will focus on the summary, conclusion and recommendations. The summary of this study will be presented from its initial chapter up to the findings and analysis chapter, thereafter, a

conclusion will be presented based on the findings and analysis of the study and lastly, recommendations as to what should be done in order to resolve and prevent the challenges that are discovered by this research paper.



## CHAPTER 6

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.1 Summary

Given the fact that colonialism is still part and parcel of post-independence Africa, it is of paramount importance to keep reflecting on it. The essence of this study was to establish whether there is a connection between underdevelopment of African institutions and the legacy of colonialism. Although various institutions were mentioned in the study, the PAP was used as a case study to explicate various issues and to test various assumptions. The first chapter of this study discussed the impacts of colonialism on various African aspects, such as economy and political domains. It outlined how the colonial legacy still exists in Africa. Before that, the chapter illustrated the timeline of colonialism in the continent, from the interests of Europeans in Africa, to the conquest and the domination strategies that were exercised on African natives. It was argued that these involved both direct and indirect rule. From there, the chapter outlined the resistant tactics used by Africans until the 1960s when the majority of these countries gained political independence, with South Africa ridding itself from the apartheid joke in 1994.

What is clear from the discussion thus far is that the end of colonialism saw its legacy remaining in the continent. This study discovered that the colonial legacy is still vivid in all structures throughout the continent, after independence. It may be true that very few norms that were practiced in the pre-colonial era remained the same in the post-colonial period, they either were altered or totally replaced with strange one. But the reality is that vestiges of colonialism can be found across the African continent, albeit in different magnitudes. Various areas to show evidence of colonial legacy are discussed in this study. These include the artificial boundaries that divided people with the same cultures, ethnic identities and languages. This study has demonstrated how the current African leaders are remote-controlled by powerful Europe and North America. There are other aspects that can be mentioned which are evidence of colonial legacy. As this research has taken the root of investigating the colonial legacy issue through African institutions, it was necessary for it to first look outside the continent, to get an insight of other regional institutions and their operations, and thereafter comeback to the African continent to establish how things are.

As such, this research has explored regional and continental institutions from a global perspective. It outlined how the international institutions are seen globally as working or rather perfect institutions and how they should be role models for African institutions. Although considered to be operating smoothly, this study has also discovered some pitfalls within these institutions. It discovered they are protecting capitalist interests and therefore suppressing developing countries in a way. The background and current events and the state of African institutions is discussed in this study both from a macro level as well as the micro level through the PAP. This study has shown how African institutions are not living up to their standards. It addressed general issues that result to the current situation. The factors that contribute to Africa's weakness include weak institution, corrupt leadership, lack of funds and lack of transparency.

With that background, this study has provided detailed background regarding the operations of the PAP as it is used as a case study. What is important is that the PAP is not exceptional, it epitomizes what other African institutions are experiencing, and they are exposed to the same challenges. Like other African institutions, the PAP has registered successes and failures. It cannot be ignored that there are some achievements that it has recorded since its formation. But it is also equally true that there have been some failures. The study has systematically looked at those challenges and others through the lens of colonialism.

The overall finding of this study is that indeed the colonial legacy plays a significant role in delaying the development process of African institutions. This study has discovered that through political, economic and social domains, African institutions are still operating under the influence of European, ex-African colonizers and North America – the imperialist states continue to find their way to manipulate the continent through funds and humanitarian aid.

## 6.2 Conclusion

Based on the findings and the analysis, this study concludes that African institutions are still deeply affected by the colonial legacy, or rather African institutions are underdeveloped mainly because of the legacy of colonialism (and apartheid) that still exists within the continent. This study acknowledges the argument that African institutions are newly established and that the continent on its own has recently gained its independence which then might be a case for underdevelopment of its own institutions. However, this research has argued that the core of Africa's underdevelopment is rooted on colonialism. This includes the continent and cuts

across various institutions. Therefore, one cannot blame the late-coming of African institutions for institutional underdevelopment. The reality is that colonialism is responsible for the weak continental and regional African institutions as well as those across the globe.

The aim of this study was to establish the impact of colonialism on African institutions. It used the case study of the PAP to show how institutions are dependent on or affected by the colonial legacy. The study has reviewed issues such as language use, decision-making and different streams of funding within the institution to investigate the independence of the PAP. The findings have revealed that the PAP is still, somehow, unwittingly linked to Western countries. This research has discovered that the PAP is using Western languages as their medium of communication. This has a negative impact as the language is linked to cultures of the original ethnic group. This means that Africans are not only speaking these foreign languages while abandoning theirs but are also introduced through these foreign languages to European cultures. This invokes the concepts “acculturation” and “enculturation” and forces Africans to decide what would be good for them.

The research has also found that decision-making within the PAP can be manipulated by Western countries through deploying their coopted persons from among the member states. This is achieved through a Western country manipulating and capturing a certain African state or government to advance its interests within an African institution and be rewarded for that in one way or the other. Lastly, this study has also established that the PAP receives more than half of its funding from Western organizations and individual countries with different interests in the continent. When giving money, they attach certain conditions in order to alter or manipulate the mandate of the PAP. As argued above, all the challenges found in this study also apply to other African institutions.

The following section will discuss the way forward or present recommendations that the African political leadership should consider in order to move forward and achieve their set goal of developing the African continent.

### 6.3 Recommendations

As this study has revealed, most of the PAP challenges originate from its mother body, the AU. Therefore, the recommendations that will be provided here will be mainly directed to the AU

as it is clear that in order for one to attempt fixing what is broken within the PAP one needs to first investigate its origins from the AU. Secondly, the recommendations provided here are not only directed to the PAP and AU but also to other African Institutions as they all have common issues that delay their development.

Firstly, given that the AU is made up of all African states, the institution could be a vehicle used to strengthen democracy in the continent. As mentioned above, there are authoritarian or rather poor democratic states within Africa that are silent and inactive when it comes to matters of the AU. These include eSwatini, and Zimbabwe (Welz, 2012), These countries with others that voted against the idea of submitting their sovereignty to the AU are the ones holding back the development process of the AU. The AU without full membership participation and members that are a threat to African peace and security will spend more time and money on security and peace programs which then opens up the gate for international “peace keepers” to donate funds and deploy representatives all over the continent. To avoid this, the AU has already established a programme to watch over its member states. The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) was set to monitor member states within the AU. The problem with it is that it is a voluntary programme which creates a space for some member states not to submit for reviews. The AU needs to have a backbone and compel member states to submit their reviews. If a serious matter is found within certain states, the AU should be responsible to suggest solutions to the matter without intervening in that state.

Secondly, in terms of funding, there are various ways that the AU could implement this in order to sustain its funds. Firstly, member states have agreed to contribute membership fees to the institution. This research has discovered that some member states fall short of their given amount, some are paying late with some not paying at all. This leaves the AU vulnerable and forces it to go out and seek funds abroad. To prevent this, Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma when she was the Chairperson of the AU Commission implemented programs that would compel member states to pay their contributions. This worked until the end of her term and was never followed by her successors. This simply shows that with good leadership, there can be ways to make member states pay their contributions operating within the AU’s constitutional prescripts. Furthermore, the AU could also introduce fund-raising programmes among all its member states. These could be in the form of infrastructure, building social services structures in selected or needy member states, such as universities, bridges and transportation equipment. The interests made out of these investments could then be shared amongst AU member states.

Moving away from funding ideas, the third suggestion would be that the PAP needs to move away from the European and north American funding institutions and governments. This can be done in various ways without harming the relationship between the institution and international bodies. But first of all, since the economy is the key for the movement and activities of any organization, the PAP has to find its own ways of raising funds so as to avoid being dependent on the West and North America. This would help prevent external decisions among Africans on PAP matters.

Lastly, this study has discovered that most, if not all, African regional and continental institutions are using European languages as their medium of communication, which plays a significant role in de-Africanizing both the continent and indigenous Africans. The AU, down to its organs, needs to initiate programs that would test the use of African languages, identify challenges that come with the initiative and thereafter work towards finding solutions so that this could become a reality.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbott, K. W., & Snidal, D. (1998). Why states act through formal international organizations. *Journal of conflict resolution*, 42(1), 3-32.
- Adelmann, Martin (2003). *Regionale Kooperation im südlichen Afrika*. Karlsruhe: Ernst Grässer.
- Aghemelo, A. T., & Ibhasebhor, S. (2006). Colonialism as a Source of Boundary Dispute and Conflict among African States: The World Court Judgement on the Bakasi Peninsula and its Implications for Nigeria. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 13(3), 177-181.
- Ahluwalia, P. (2012). *Politics and post-colonial theory: African inflections*. Routledge.
- Amadi, E. (2016). The Pan-African Parliament (PAP): Issues, Challenges and Prospects. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Management Research*, 2(1), 1-9.
- Asghar, J. (2013). Critical Paradigm: A preamble for novice researchers. *Life Science Journal*, 10(4), 3121-3127.
- Bangbose, A. (2011). African languages today: The challenge of and prospects for empowerment under globalization. In *Selected proceedings of the 40th annual conference on African linguistics* (pp. 1-14). Somerville^ eMA MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The qualitative report*, 13(4), 544-559.
- Bayeh, E. (2015). The Political and Economic Legacy of Colonialism in the Post-Independence African States. *International Journal in Commerce, IT & Social Sciences*, 2(2), 89-93.
- Bayeh, E. (2015). The legacy of colonialism in the contemporary Africa: A cause for intrastate and interstate conflicts. *International Journal of Innovative and Applied Research*, 3(2), 23-29.
- Baylis, John & Smith, Steve & Owens, Patricia (2011). *The Globalization of World Politics: An introduction to international relations 5th edition*. New York, Oxford University Press
- Bernard, H. R. (2000). *Social Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.
- Boahen, A. A. (1985). *General History of Africa. VII. Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935*. Berkeley.
- Böröcz, J., & Sarkar, M. (2012). Colonialism. *The Encyclopedia of Global Studies*. [https://sakai.rutgers.edu/access/content/user/jborocz/Encyclopedia% 20of% 20Global% 20Studies. pdf](https://sakai.rutgers.edu/access/content/user/jborocz/Encyclopedia%20of%20Global%20Studies.pdf).
- Burnham, P., Lutz, K. G., Grant, W., & Layton-Henry, Z. (2008). *Research methods in politics*. Macmillan International Higher Education.
- Carroll, C. E. (Ed.). (2016). *The SAGE Encyclopedia of corporate reputation*. Sage Publications.
- Chabal, P., & Daloz, J. P. (1999). *Africa works. Disorder as political instrument*. Cheeseman, N. (Ed.). (2018). *Institutions and Democracy in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.
- Cilliers, J., & Mashele, P. (2004). The Pan-African Parliament: a plenary of parliamentarians. *African Security Studies*, 13(4), 72-83.

- Cooper, F. (2002). *Africa since 1940: The past of the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Craven, M. (2012). *Colonialism and domination*.
- Dinka, T., & Kennes, W. (2007). Africa's Regional Integration Arrangements. *History and Challenges*.
- Dinokopila, B. R. (2014). *The role of the Pan-African parliament in the promotion of human rights in Africa* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pretoria).
- Durrheim, K., & Wassenaar, D. (1999). Putting design into practice: writing and evaluating research proposals In M Terre Blance & K Durrheim (eds.), *Research in Practice: Applied methods for the social sciences*.
- Dzinesa, G., Paterson, M., & Daniel, R. (2018). *Regional Integration in Southern Africa: Strengthening Participatory Governance in SADC*.
- Polomé, E. C. (1967). *Swahili language handbook*.
- Emmanuel, K. (2010). The European Union and the Pan-African parliament: Adding value to the partnership. *Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance*, 7.
- Erasmus, G. (2011). *Deeper Regional Integration in SADC. Will EPAs Undermine the Process?* (pp. 153-179). Working Paper.
- Forti, D. R. (2011). A pocket of stability: understanding Somaliland. *ACCORD Occasional Paper*, 5(2), 1-46.
- Gabriela, S. M. (2013). The Role of International Organizations in the Global Economic Governance-An Assessment. *Romanian Economic and Business Review*, 308.
- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The qualitative report*, 8(4), 597-606.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. *Handbook of qualitative research*, 2(163-194), 105.
- Guzman, A. T. (2004). Global Governance and the WTO. *Harv. Int'l LJ*, 45, 303.
- Hakala, E. S. (2018). Addressing the Legacy of Colonialism.
- Halperin, S., & Heath, O. (2017). *Political research: methods and practical skills*. Oxford University Press.
- Hartzenberg, T. (2011). Regional integration in Africa. Available at SSRN 1941742.
- Heale, R., & Forbes, D. (2013). Understanding triangulation in research. *Evidence-Based Nursing*, 16(4), 98-98.
- Hirpo, S. (2006). *The Pan-African Parliament: its promise for human rights and democracy in Africa* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pretoria).
- Hugo, G. (2008). The Pan-African Parliament: is the glass half-full or half-empty?. *Institute for Security Studies Papers*, 2008(168), 12.
- Hussain, M. A., Elyas, T. & Naseef, O. A. (2013). Research Paradigms: A slippery Slope for Fresh Researchers. *Life Science Journal*. 10/4: 2374-2381.

- Ibrahim, A. (2016). African Union and the Challenges of Underdevelopment in Contemporary Africa. *Date accessed May, 10, 2016.*
- Idh Lundgren, L., & Peacock, C. (2010). Postcolonialism and Development-A critical analysis of “*The European Consensus on Development*”.
- Ikome, F. N. (2006). *From the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) to the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD): The Political Economy of African Regional Initiatives* (Doctoral dissertation).
- Iweriebor, E. E. (2011). The colonization of Africa. *Africana*.
- Johnston, M. P. (2017). Secondary data analysis: A method of which the time has come. *Qualitative and quantitative methods in libraries*, 3(3), 619-626.
- Joshua, S., & Olanrewaju, F. (2017). The AU’s Progress and Achievements in the Realm of Peace and Security. *India Quarterly*, 73(4), 454-471.
- Kanana, F. E. (2013). Examining African languages as tools for national development: The case of Kiswahili. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 6(6), 41-68.
- Kawulich, B. B. (2004). Qualitative data analysis techniques. *Journal of Research in Education*, 14(1), 96-113.
- Kumar, R. (2011). *Research Methodology: A Step-by-Step Guide for Beginners*.
- Lacey, A., & Luff, D. (2001). *Qualitative data analysis* (pp. 320-357). Sheffield: Trent focus.
- Lechler, M., & McNamee, L. (2017). Decentralized despotism? Indirect colonial rule undermines contemporary democratic attitudes.
- Leedy, P. & Ormrod, J. (2001). *Practical Research: Planning and Design* (7th Ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill Prentice Hall. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and subject: contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism* (London: James Currey).
- Martins, F. S., da Cunha, J. A. C., & Serra, F. A. R. (2018). Secondary data in research—uses and opportunities. *PODIUM Sport, Leisure and Tourism Review*, 7(3).
- McGroarty, M. (1997) Language policy in the USA. In W. Eggington and H. Wren (eds.) *Language Policy* (pp. 1-29). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Mngomezulu, B. R. (2018). Reflecting on the Pan-African Parliament: prospects and challenges. *Journal of African Union Studies*, 7(2), 45-62.
- Mohamed, I. A. (2017). Some issues in the institutional theory: A critical analysis. *International Journal of Scientific and Technology Research*, 6(09), 150-156.
- Mohajan, H. K. (2018). Qualitative research methodology in social sciences and related subjects. *Journal of Economic Development, Environment and People*, 7(1), 23-48.
- Mpanyane, S. (2009). Transformation of the Pan-African Parliament: a path to a legislative body? *Institute for Security Studies Papers*, 2009(181), 20-20.
- Müller, T. R. (2006). State making in the Horn of Africa: notes on Eritrea and prospects for the end of violent conflict in the Horn: Analysis. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 6(4), 503-530.

- Murithi, T. (2012). Proactive interventionism: The African Union, Peace and Security Councils engagement in the Horn of Africa. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 12(12), 87–111.
- Navarro, J. (2008, April). The Pan-African Parliament in the Strategic Partnership between the EU and Africa: winner or loser? In *GARNET Conference “The European Union in International Affairs”*, Brussels (pp. 24-26).
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2012). Fiftieth Anniversary of Decolonisation in Africa: A moment of celebration or critical reflection? *Third World Quarterly*, 33(1), 71-89.
- Nzewi, O. I. (2008). *The role of the Pan African Parliament in African regionalism (2004-2006): an institutional perspective* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pretoria).
- Ocheni, S., & Nwankwo, B. C. (2012). Analysis of colonialism and its impact in Africa. *Cross-Cultural Communication*, 8(3), 46.
- Oelofsen, R. (2015). Decolonisation of the African mind and intellectual landscape. *Phronimon*, 16(2), 130-146.
- Onyeaghala, U. H., & Odoeme, C. V. (2018). The Euro-centric Narrative of African Underdevelopment: An Exploratory Anatomy. *African Renaissance (1744-2532)*, 15(3).
- Pharatlhathe, K., & Vanheukelom, J. (2019). Financing the African Union: On mindsets and money. *Maastricht: European Centre for Development Policy Management (Discussion Paper, 240)*.
- Polkinghorne, D. E. (2005). Language and Meaning: Data Collection in Qualitative Research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52, 137–145.
- Rehman, A. A., & Alharthi, K. (2016). An introduction to research paradigms. *International Journal of Educational Investigations*, 3(8), 51-59.
- Rhodes, R. A., Binder, S. A., & Rockman, B. A. (Eds.). (2008). *The Oxford handbook of political institutions*. Oxford University Press.
- Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA
- Rukundwa, L. S., & Van Aarde, A. G. (2007). The formation of postcolonial theory. *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies*, 63(3), 1171-1194.
- Schmidt, V. A. (2014). Institutionalism. *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, 1836-1839.
- Sommer, M. (2011). Colonies-colonisation-colonialism: a typological reappraisal. *Ancient West and*.
- Stephen, B. (2011). Institutionalism: Old and New.
- Sutherland, P., Bhagwati, J., Botchwey, K., FitzGerald, N., Hamada, K., Jackson, J. H., ... & de Montbrial, T. (2005). The future of the WTO: addressing institutional challenges in the new millennium. *Report by the Consultative Board to the Director-General Supachai Panitchpakdi (Geneva: World Trade Organization, 2004)*, 61.
- Tchindjang, M., Bopda, A., & Ngamgne, L. A. (2008). Languages and cultural identities in Africa. *Museum International*, 60(3), 37-50.
- Thornberg, R., & Charmaz, K. (2014). Grounded theory and theoretical coding. *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis*, 5, 153-69.

Tripathy, J. P. (2013). Secondary data analysis: Ethical issues and challenges. *Iranian Journal of Public Health*, 42(12), 1478.

Welz, M. (2012). *Integrating Africa: Decolonization's Legacies, Sovereignty and the African Union*. Routledge.

Wu, Y. (2009). New institutionalism politics: integration of old institutionalism and other methodologies. *Asia Social Science*, 5(9), 105-108.

Young, C., (1994). *The African colonial state in comparative perspective*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press: New Haven and London.

Yusuf, A. A., & Ouguerouz, F. (2012). *The African Union: Legal and Institutional Framework: A Manual on the Pan-African Organization*. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Zainal, Z. (2007). Case study as a research method. *Jurnal Kemanusiaan*, 5(1).

Zurmeyer, C. (2005). Is the European Union a model for the African Union? (Unpublished Master's Dissertation). University of Cape Town, South Africa.

