



# 17th Africa Young Graduates and Scholars conference AYGS 2023

Assessing the first 10-year implementation plan of  
Agenda 2063: A prospective analysis of peace,  
security, and youth leadership in Africa

## REPORT



## Seventeenth Africa Young Graduates Conference Report

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

True to its vision of an indispensable voice in African affairs, the Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA), a Research Institute in the Human Sciences Research Council, has concluded this year's Africa Young Graduates and Scholars Conference, 2023. The conference was held at the Sheraton Hotel, Pretoria, from 06 to 08 March 2023. Held under the theme: **'Assessing the first 10-year implementation plan of the Agenda 2063: A prospective analysis of peace, security and youth leadership in Africa.'** The objectives were to allow young scholars from across the continent to rethink the future of Africa from a post-pandemic perspective, identify current challenges facing the continent and present ongoing empirical research that can move the continent forward in a global knowledge economy. The fundamental objective was to assess the first 10 years of Agenda 2063. What are the milestones? What has been achieved, and where are the lapses? And how can we ensure that greater urgency is exerted in areas where the continent has fallen short?

Agenda 2063 has set goals and priority areas for the first 10-year (2014—2023) implementation plan. These goals include: (1) an integrated high-speed train network connecting all African capitals, (2) an African Virtual and E-University, (3) the formulation of a commodities strategy, (4) the establishment of an annual African forum, (5) the establishment of the Continental Free Trade Area by 2017, (6) the African Passport and free movement of people, (7) the implementation of the Grand Inga Dam Project, (8) the Pan-African E-Network, (9) silencing the guns by 2020, (10) the Africa outer space strategy aims to strengthen Africa's use of outer space to bolster its development, (11) the establishment of a single African air transport market and, (12) the establishment of the African financial institutions, (13) Cyber security, (14) Great African Museum and, (15) Encyclopaedia Africana.

Conversations and debates during the conference centred on the lethargic pace at which these goals are being implemented. As a response, the conference suggests that the AU should rethink the monitoring and evaluation framework adopted by the continental body to appraise the realisation of the various aspirations of Agenda 2063. Key to this Theory of Change is the explicit inclusion of values underlying views and perspectives on how change happens, the assumptions around change, and the drivers of change.

The conference concludes with a gala night during which the **'FRANCE'S AFRICA RELATIONS: DOMINATION, CONTINUITY AND CONTRADICTION'** book, edited by Professor Nicasius Achu Check et al. was launched. The book conceptualises France's African relations within the realm of domination, continuity, and contradiction. Among others, the book further aims to:

- To examine the broad context of French Africa policy.
- Examine the theoretical basis of French-Africa relations.
- Assess the distinctiveness and uniqueness of the Francophone African experience in democratic processes.
- To assess the opportunities that exist for France to better understand Africa and its specificities.
- To investigate and provide specific recommendations that can assist in the stability of Francophone African countries.

## ABOUT 2023 AYGS

The Africa Young Graduates and Scholars (AYGS) conference is a platform that was conceived in 2005 by the Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA) in the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). The Conference is organised annually as a research capacity-building project to enable young scholars to produce and share research-based knowledge about the developmental challenges facing Africa as well as to publish and disseminate their research findings. The conference seeks to project the African 'voice' within global development discussion platforms and to project an alternate voice to the mainstream discourse. It is further intended to bridge the existing gap of expertise in knowledge production on African affairs by developing a society of knowledge producers among the youth. While abstracts should focus on governance, peace, security and youth leadership on the continent, prospective conference participants are welcome to link these aspects to any of the 15 priority goals which the AU had earmarked for the first 10 years of Agenda 2063. These goals are: (1) an integrated high-speed train network connecting all African capitals, (2) an African virtual and E-university, (3) the formulation of a commodities strategy, (4) the establishment of an annual African forum, (5) an establishment of the Continental Free Trade Area by 2017, (6) the African passport and free movement of people, (7) the implementation of the Grand Inga Dam Project, (8) the Pan-African E-Network, (9) silencing the guns by 2020, (10) the Africa outer space strategy aims to strengthen Africa's use of outer space to bolster its development, (11) the establishment of a single African air transport market and, (12) the establishment of the African financial institutions, (13) Cyber security, (14) Great African Museum and, (15) Encyclopaedia Africana.

The seven aspirations of Agenda 2063 recognise the importance of inclusive growth, peace, and security on the continent.

Agenda 2063 has set goals and priority areas for the first ten-year implementation plan. The AU is hard-pressed to achieve all the goals set out in the first ten-year implementation plan. However, the key is not to achieve all these milestones, but rather to ensure that mechanisms are in place to maintain the implementation of these projects and to monitor and evaluate the implementation plan. Recognising the enormity of monitoring the implementation plan, the 2017 AU Heads of State Summit decided to expand the mandate of the African Peer Review Mechanism – APRM to include the monitoring of the implementation plan of Agenda 2063 and SDGs 2030 in Africa.

The changing power dynamics on the global stage and an increasing need for the people of the continent to engage constantly with their political leaders, necessitate a regular evaluation of what has been done and the readjusting of strategies to achieve all the seven aspirations by the year 2063. Recognising that missed development opportunities are embedded in the fundamental problem of democratic governance deficit, there is no gainsaying that weak governance and its associated political instability, insecurity and lack of peace hinder development and socio-economic and cultural development on the continent. Thus, for Africa to achieve all the aspirations outlined in Agenda 2063, the prioritisation of democratic governance, strong institutions, and the presence of the state in all the nooks and crannies of the continent are critical. For this to be achieved, there must be an implementation plan and a monitoring and evaluation framework that aims to ensure that the continent is on track to achieve the kind of continent that we want by 2063. Though the short-term, medium-term and long-term implementation matrix of Agenda 2063 indicates the steps the continent needs to take to attend to these aspirations, challenges persist.

While many have lauded the AU's decision to expand the mandate of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) to include monitoring and evaluation of Agenda 2063, there is a growing concern that the current structure of the APRM is not suitable to monitor the implementation



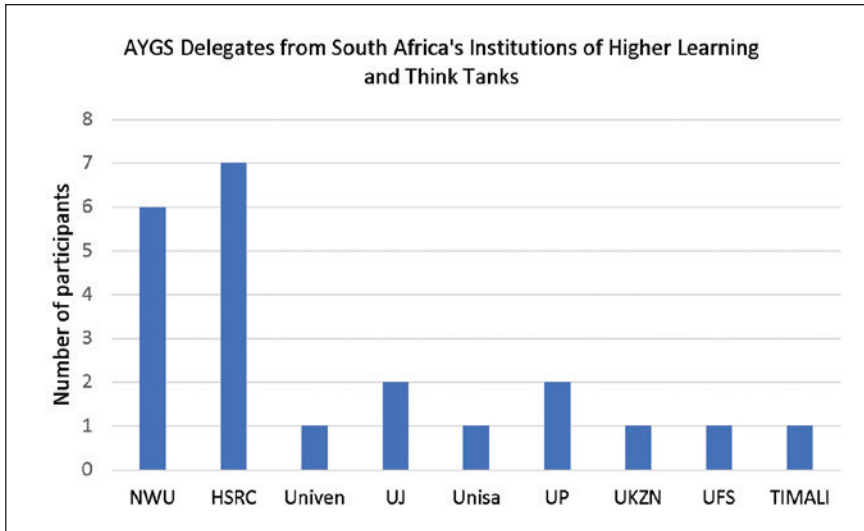
plan of Agenda 2063 and Agenda 2030 of SDGs. Three key issues are important here. First, the APRM was specifically conceived as a tool for policy reform and may not have the necessary technical expertise to monitor, for example, the execution of grand public works projects such as the high-speed train network or the Grand Inga Dam. In such a case, the African Union Development Agency (AUDA), formerly NEPAD, is the appropriate AU Agency to conduct such tasks. Against this backdrop, the conference seeks to suggest appropriate policy levers and directions that are important to ensure that goals set out by Agenda 2063 are monitored by specialised and appropriately skilled agencies of the AU. Second, it is imperative that an ideal monitoring system has an inherent capacity and ability to deliver timeous reports on all countries within its remit. With over 54 countries on the continent, it may be inordinate to expect timeous reports on the implementation of the immediate goals of Agenda 2063 and the SDGs 2030 Agenda. Against this background, the conference will interrogate alternative approaches that include the role of RECs and individual countries in the nuances of monitoring the implementation of Agenda 2063 and the SDGs 2030 Agenda. The third challenge is the absence of non-state actors in the monitoring process. While civil society organisations played important roles in formulating the various aspirations of Agenda 2063 and SDGs 2030 Agenda, their role in the monitoring of their implementation is fluid and, at best, lacking. The conference will explore how civil society organisations and other non-state actors can play meaningful roles in monitoring the implementation of the various aspirations of Agenda 2063 and SDGs 2030 Agenda.

Overall, the 17<sup>th</sup> AYGS Conference aims to engage with these challenges using research-based scholarly reflections to contribute to policy evaluation, learning and recommendation.

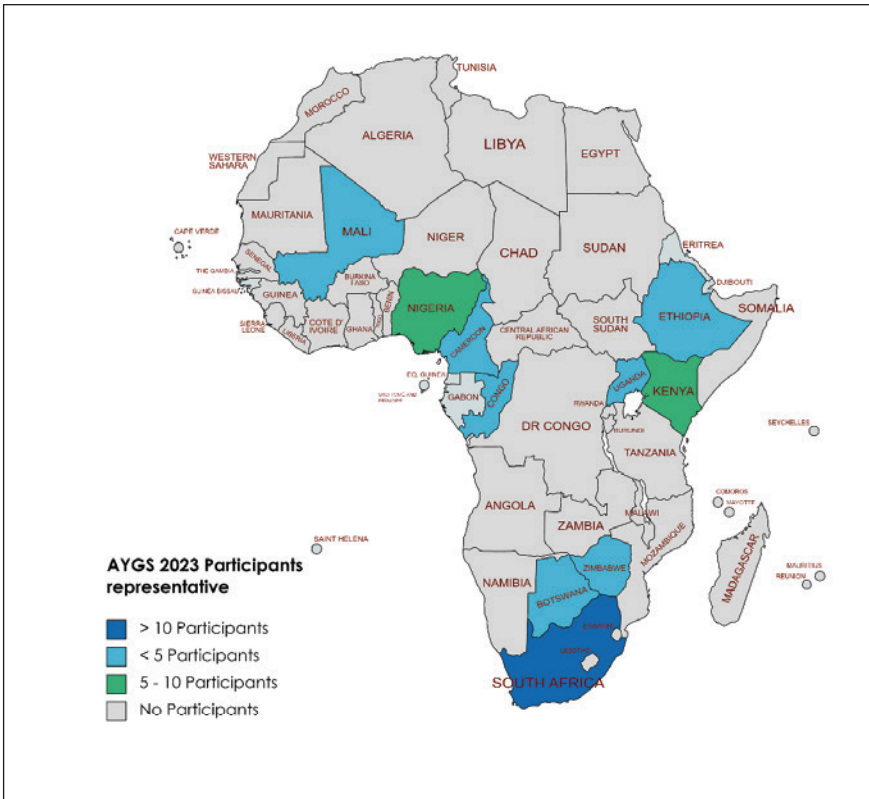
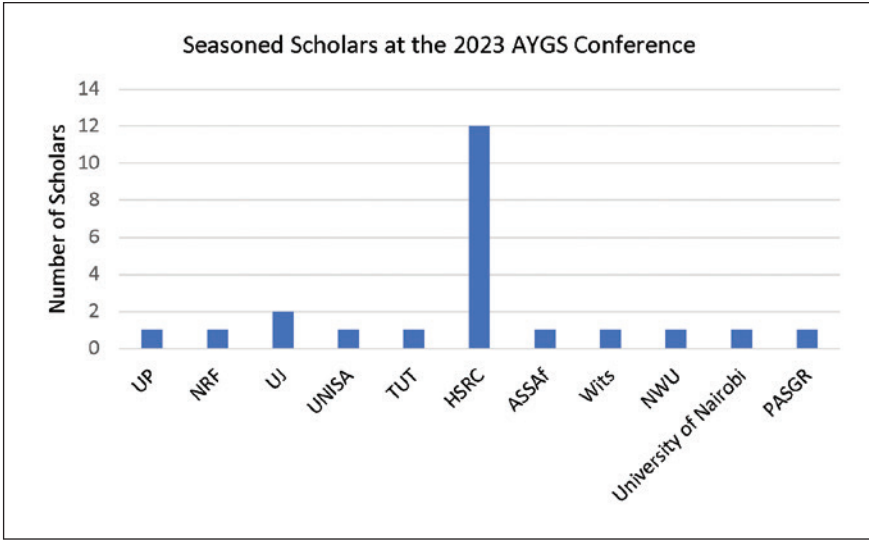
The conference programme was organised around the following sub-themes:

1. Infrastructure development, communication, and youth agency in Africa.
2. Silencing the guns and the establishment of the Continental Free Trade Area in Africa; prospects and challenges.
3. Governance, peace and the free movement of goods, services, and people.
4. Climate change and sustainable development in Africa.

## AN OVERVIEW OF THE PARTICIPANTS



A total of seven South African Universities were represented at the 2023 AYGS Conference. Much of the focus on the continent was students from SADC and East Africa regions as per the dictates of the conference. However, a few outstanding participants from West Africa (Nigeria, Mali, and the Republic of Congo) were included in the pool of participants. Overall, the conference had 99 delegates who participated at this conference. A total of 23 seasoned scholars were instrumental in both the preconference training workshop where they were facilitators and the main conference where they chaired sessions and led the discussions for the various themes.



Geographical Distribution of Emerging Scholars Participants at the 17<sup>th</sup> Africa Young Graduates and Scholars Conference

## **ABOUT THE INSTITUTIONAL PARTNERS**

### **The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)**

The HSRC was established in 1968 as South Africa's statutory research agency and has grown to become the largest dedicated research institute in the social sciences and humanities on the African continent, doing cutting-edge public research in areas that are crucial to development.

HSRC's mandate is to inform the effective formulation and monitoring of government policy; to evaluate policy implementation; to stimulate public debate through the effective dissemination of research-based data and fact-based research results; to foster research collaboration; and to help build research capacity and infrastructure for the human sciences.

The Council conducts large-scale, policy-relevant, social-scientific research for public sector users, non-governmental organisations, and international development agencies. Research activities and structures are closely aligned with South Africa's national development priorities.

### **The Partnership for African Social and Governance Research**

The Partnership for African Social and Governance Research (PASGR) is a pan-African not-for-profit organisation based in Nairobi that aims to increase the capacity of African academic institutions and researchers to contribute stronger evidence-based research on public policy that can positively impact pro-poor development policies in Africa. It was established in response to the declining political and social science research output capacity in sub-Saharan Africa.

# PRE-CONFERENCE TRAINING WORKSHOP

## OPENING PLENARY FOR THE PRE-CONFERENCE WORKSHOP

### Welcome Address

In his welcome address, the Acting Coordinator of AISA, Dr Vuyo Mjimba, emphasised the need to capacitate young scholars as the ideal tool to achieve the 'Africa' we want, as directed by the AU Agenda 2063. He acknowledges the enormous contribution from the institutional partners, particularly the PASGR contribution towards designing the policy-oriented training programme and sourcing of key facilitators. Central to his remarks was the appeal to the young scholars to use the pre-conference training workshop to enrich their competencies in the field of research, accumulating the necessary knowledge and skills which could also assist them to complete their postgraduate studies.

### Opening Remarks

The conference chairperson, Professor Nicasius Achu Check, gave the background of the AYGS Conference and its mandate in capacitating young African scholars across the continent. He pleaded with the young scholars to understand that the challenges that the continent is facing need evidence-based research. As we assess the first ten-year implementation plan of Agenda 2063, Professor Achu hinted that the continent has not made the desired progress in terms of silencing the guns and restoring peace across the affected countries. He then told the participants to understand the basis and the role that research should play in addressing some of the challenges which are facing the continent. He emphasised the need for young scholars to create networks and value collaboration in their research field. The history of the establishment of the AYGS is an intriguing one, and perhaps it is important to share this with you.

Sometime in 2005, a group of young and dynamic research interns joined the Institute and among the many projects that the Institute was tasked to deliver, was the need to capacitate young researchers on the importance of research and a better understanding of South Africa's Africa agenda.

With a special allocation from the presidency, together with the Guggenheim Foundation and the African Association of Political Science, AAPS, the Africa Graduates Academy was formed.

He noted that three key fundamental principles guided AISA to host the Africa Graduates Academy, which today re-baptised the AYGS. The first was the Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance theoretical predilection, secondly, there was the need to bridge the GAP between South Africa's young graduates and other young people on the continent and lastly, there was the need to create a research networking platform for young people in South Africa and those on the continent to engage on critical issues affecting the continent.

Seventeen years down the line, we ask ourselves, have all these objectives been met? To answer the question, he noted that there is room for improvement. The question we should first ask ourselves is, he opined, what benefit has the country reaped from the many years and resources the country has contributed to the African Renaissance debate? While young people in South Africa are gradually joining the African debate and conversations, there still needs to be some systematic and deliberate approach to decolonising the development debate in South Africa. One thing the conference has done and which I think we need to leverage on is the fact that we have created a network of young scholars on the continent who are keen on expanding on the platform which the AYGS has given to them.

He further draws the attention of the conference to some robust and rigorous academic debate ongoing in Francophone Africa i.e. Africanism vs globalisation (commonly referred to as the Tier Modiste). The crux of the conversation is the role of African epistemology in the face of the overbearing of the Tier Modiste or Cosmopolitanism conversation in post-independent Africa.

Professor Achille Mbembe has been a moderating voice within these conversations and has argued, as he has done in his now famous 'The Post Colony' that the challenges on the continent are not necessarily as a result of colonialism but are generally guided by the push by African post-colonial political elites to be a better version of the colonisers.

Because Professor Mbembe is held in high esteem by the French political elites. He noted that he is afraid this form of political thinking could dominate France/African conversations for a long time. For you and young researchers on the continent, I would suggest you follow these conversations keenly for they have the possibility of shaping France/Africa policy for a long time because we are going to see a deeper re-calibration of his concept of the post-colony, interspersed with the assimilationists concept of his colleagues within the Tier Modiste and the La Sorbonne School of thought.

### **Setting the Scene**

In setting the scene, the chairperson of the Scientific Committee Dr Rodney Managa introduced the structure and content of the workshop programme for the day and articulated key expectations that were to come out of the workshop. The key topics for the training workshop were critical policy-engaged research for public policy, research ethics, quantitative research method, research publishing and open science.



## PRE-CONFERENCE TRAINING OUTCOMES



### **Critical policy-engaged research for public policy**

The first training session was facilitated by Dr Pauline Ngimwa from PASGR, Professor Gerda van Dijk from the University of Pretoria, and Dr Joseph Obosi from the University of Nairobi. Dr Ngimwa indicated that PASGR aims to enhance public policy in governance. She stated that the organisation has a partnership in 26 countries and is currently running three programmes which are in the academics, research industry, and professional development programmes.

### ***Introduction to policy engagement in research and considerations for policy actors' engagement at the proposal level***

Professor Gerda van Dijk spoke about the notion of power and how researchers can use the different forms of power as researchers. She mentioned that it is very crucial for researchers to position themselves as policy researchers around the chosen phenomena.

The most important thing is for a researcher to understand what they intend to achieve through their studies, who influenced their position on that particular study, and who stands to benefit from the study. Professor van Dijk outlined what characterises an engaged researcher, as

a researcher is involved in the process of change when the researcher knows the type of advocacy that is needed when the researcher sees the need to engage a policy question and understand what it is that needs to be changed. And also know who should be making decisions on the nature of the proposed change.

Further, she indicated that there are factors that influence relationships for actual evidence-based influence on public policy. Such factors include assumptions of mutual interest in a specific topic, shared knowledge, and equal power distribution. She stated that policy change requires continuous stages of community engagement which comprise the formative stage, where members of the community are informed of a policy, working through the stage, what the researcher and beneficiaries envisaged through the research, and the resolution stage where and how the research empowers the community. For a researcher to move from academia to practice, there is a need to position themselves to uncover, investigate and empower, and give access to information for greater impact.

Lastly, she mentioned that researchers hold three powers in their work. Positional power, relational power, and organisational power, of which researchers use positional and relational power to achieve organisational power. The policy requires critical skills such as a skill for formulating problems, researching for change due to mutual understanding, and skills to balance your position as a researcher with the agency of other actors involved in your research.

### ***Bringing engagement into the research process and windows of opportunity***

Dr Joseph Obosi spoke about the window of opportunity, which he refers to as a chance to present ideas. He stated that for researchers to make their work relevant they should have answers to the following questions from the word go: Who are you engaging as a researcher, what is the

application of engagement, and who is likely to engage out of an interest in the research topic? He stated that publications may be good, but they will remain less important if they do not find the window of opportunity for a policy implementation process. He urged researchers to know that the chance of policy implementation comes at a particular moment. Public policy is about the actions of the government, what they can do and what they cannot do. The windows of opportunity can be found in legislation, public hearings, drafting committee reports, etc. Researchers should make sure that whatever they are writing is connected to a particular actor for action. It is crucial to identify the direction that the researcher is taking from the beginning in the context and align the recommendations with the potential actors. In context, recommendations must not be in what you did not set out to investigate, they must be aligned to your objectives.

### ***Mapping Policy Actors***

Researchers should identify how and when to reach out to policy actors for engagement. Policy champions are people who occupy strategic positions. There should be a specific ladder of people you are interested in and directing your study to. These people can pass your ideas to the next people for policy implementation. They advocate for ideas and mobilise their peers for action. Dr Obosi discussed mapping policy actors for policy research. He indicated that the research findings must be clear whether their implications are on implementation, design, or the evaluation part. The researcher should identify actors in the problem formulation and where they fit throughout the process. Therefore, align interests and influences on the actor.

### ***Cutting Long Story Short: 3MT; Message Box; & Policy Briefs***

Dr Pauline continued the session with platforms that can be used to communicate research for policy. She encouraged researchers to use tools such as FAQs, message boxes, press conferences, a Three-Minute Thesis, and policy briefs which are normally 4 to 5 pages long, including results and recommendations for decision-makers and practitioners. The message box starts by clarifying the problem or the issue being addressed. They stress why the specific issue matters and what are the benefits. Lastly, she stated that researchers are the best tool and should make themselves visible through social media, such as blogging and Twitter.

### **Research Ethics and Integrity:**

#### **Adlai Davids – HSRC/HSC**

Although researchers aim to create new knowledge, research participants should be protected in terms of dignity and not be subjected to any kind of harm. Therefore, the role of research ethics is to provide a framework for us to learn about how we can protect research/survey participants. It also contributes to high-quality data. Four key principles of research ethics include: 1) avoiding harm; 2) promoting welfare; 3) Respecting the participant's economy and 4) Fairness.

As researchers, we should not harm people (e.g., how we approach, treat, and engage with them).

When engaging with people, we should ensure that there is a benefit to derive from participation. The benefit might not be direct. For example, the benefit might be for the society they reside in or for future generations. It is important to communicate the possibility of research benefits. Ethical principles are universal.

What makes research ethical?

- Having social values
- Fair selection of participants

- Research must be reviewed and interrogated prior to being conducted
- Principle of informed consent
- Respect for dignity

To answer the ‘so what?’ question, we need to have social values. We must ask good questions that make sense and generate results that can be shared and implemented. Therefore, there is no point in conducting research that has no social values.

### **Quantitative Research Method and Geographic Information System: Dr Tholang Mokhele – HSRC/eRKC**

Quantitative research is done in an attempt to answer questions of who, how much, what, why, where, when, how many and how. Where the question is important and in line with Geographic Information System (GIS) because to be able to solve a problem, you must know where exactly the problem is. Quantitative research methods can be applied in both natural and human social sciences. The presentation by Dr Tholang was more focused on the human social sciences. There are five quantitative research types: descriptive, surveys, experimental, causal-comparative and correlational. The presentation by Dr Tholang was more focused on surveys and able to articulate how we relate the GIS to surveys.

### **Research Publishing and Open Science**

Susan Veldsman from ASSAf spoke about the importance of maintaining research integrity and ethics, with a special focus on Predatory and Unethical Publishing Practices. Susan gave an overview of the project aimed at “Combatting predatory academic journals and conferences”. Linked to publishing practices, Dr Nokuthula Mchunu from NRF talked about Open Science, in line with the implementation of UNESCO recommendations. The idea was to promote Open Science to the African Young Graduates and Scholars and help them to understand the

benefits, opportunities, and challenges associated with Open Science. The forum discussed the ways to promote international and multi-stakeholder cooperation in the context of open science to reduce digital, technological, and knowledge gaps on the African continent. Lastly, Mmakwena Chipu from the AISA Publications provided guidelines that need to be followed when preparing a manuscript for publication. This was to assist the young scholars to get their research work published.



AYGS 2023 Pre-Conference Workshop Trainers



# MAIN CONFERENCE

## OPENING PLENARY FOR THE MAIN CONFERENCE



From Left: **Prof Check Achu** (Conference Organiser), **Prof Heidi van Rooyen** (Group Executive – HSRC/IC), **Dr Palesa Sekhejane** (Director – HSRC/SPU), **Prof Sarah Mosoetsa** (CEO – HSRC), **Prof Adebayo Olukoshi** (Wits School of Governance), **Prof Leickness Simbayi** (Deputy CEO – HSRC), **Dr Rodney Managa** (Conference Organiser), **Dr Vuyo Mjimba** (Acting Executive – HSRC/AISA)

### Welcome Address

In her welcome remarks, the CEO of HSRC, Professor Sarah Mosoetsa, expressed words of appreciation to AISA under the leadership of Dr Vuyo Mjimba in organising this year's 17<sup>th</sup> AYGS conference. She further appreciated and acknowledged the contribution of PASGR under the leadership of Dr Pauline Ngimwa toward hosting this important initiative for African research engagement. Central to her remarks, Professor Mosoetsa emphasised to young scholars that this conference is for them, and about them, so they need to make use of the opportunity.

Professor Mosoetsa opined that young people hold the key that will bring prosperity and development to the African continent, and they should follow the role of Pan-Africanism in bringing about change. Finally, the CEO expressed her gratitude to Professor Adebayo Olukoshi, who agreed to deliver a keynote address for the conference.

### **Keynote Address**

Professor Adebayo Olukoshi delivered the Keynote address from the Wits School of Governance. Professor Adebayo Olukoshi started by reflecting on the 60th anniversary of The African Union (AU), which started as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. With the AU not solidifying its power to drive the Pan-African agenda, Professor Olukoshi warned that Africa is becoming a playground for geopolitics. He indicated that how Africa has been targeted by various developmental initiatives, like One Belt One Road, raises a serious concern. There are also emerging Middle Eastern powers coming up with convenient ways of offering Africa loans to control mineral rights. This demonstrated that Geostrategy and political power are critical for Africa's development. The AU has not been represented in many global developmental agendas, including G20 until late. The key reflection from Professor Olukoshi is how we need to harness resources for our own good as Africans. He emphasised that we can't be a billion people seen as consumers. There is a need to rebuild the structures of industrialisation to transform African economies and take advantage of the digital revolution to transform the continent. In line with the remarks of Professor Mosoetsa, Professor Adebayo challenged the young scholars to take the Pan-African agenda to the next level, emphasising that Pan-Africanism must prove its worth in terms of its values.



## High-Level Panel Discussion – First Ten Years of Agenda 2063: Prospects and Challenges

This panel consisted of Professor Heidi van Rooyen from HSRC, Professor Antoni van Nieuwkerk from UNISA, Professor Mammo Muchie from TUT, Dr Pauline Ngimwa from PASGR and Dr Akinola Adeoye from the University of Johannesburg. As expected, these remarkable scholars discussed robustly the issues pertaining to the Implementation of the First Ten Years of Agenda 2063 with reference to prospects and challenges. Although it is acknowledged that there is some progress being made on the continent in terms of meeting Agenda 2063 targets, the panellists argued that Africa needs to:

- strengthen its diplomatic skills.
- address democratic integrity.
- prioritise youth capacity and skills development.
- engage in research that has a societal impact.
- have one African identity.

## PRESENTATIONS AND THEIR OUTCOMES

### **In search of the Africa, we want: Assessing silencing the guns on the continent**

In assessing the prospects and challenges to implementing the peace and security goal of agenda 2063, this session gives perspectives on the issues of xenophobia, conflicts and the silencing of guns in Africa. The presenters highlighted that the efforts to secure peace in most African countries are far from being realised. AU's failure to respond to war on the continent is attributed to state sovereignty, and many ambitions are not supported by strategies, limited political will, lack of professionalisation of the army, and infrastructure not fit for purpose. Moving forward,

there is a need to re-think silencing the guns. The drivers for the conflict need to be identified.

### **Youth & accountable leadership – Catalyst of Africa's Development**

The session identified that the aspirations of youth are drivers that influence their choices in education, career paths, and employment opportunities. Consequently, most of the youth in Africa face the major challenge of poor infrastructure and security as they aspire to move freely without fear of being harmed. In an attempt to address the high rate of youth unemployment in Africa, the researchers recommended that governments need to pay attention to proper policy framing, acquire sufficient funding, and utilize it for the purposes it's intended for, and lastly, they should include youth in the public policy-making process. The session further interrogated the role of leadership in seeking to achieve sustainable development goals tied to the African Union Agenda 2063. The researchers also discovered that the SDGs can be achieved through factoring citizens and placing public participation at the centre to ensure that the initiatives associated with these goals are driven by citizens and supported by effective leadership at the grassroots level.

### **Good governance and sustainable development in Africa**

In this session, the presenters demonstrate that good governance remains the key to achieving Africa's inclusive growth and sustainable development. It was also shown that peace, youth empowerment, infrastructure development and transformational leadership play a significant role in the performance of Africa's economies.

### **Environmentally sustainable and climate-resilient economies and communities**

Presenters argued that climate change is the root of social and political instability around the continent. Changing climate exacerbates tensions

related to water scarcity and food shortages, competition over natural resources, underdevelopment, and overpopulation. The government is therefore recommended to invest in training smallholder farmers on climate change and the integration of indigenous knowledge systems and scientific practice. Securing funds to finance the adaptation of climate resilience practices for smallholder farmers is also recommended. Furthermore, the presenters argued that youth be included in the climate change agenda.

### **Energy transition: enablers and barriers for Africa**

In pursuit of '*Just Energy Transition*', the presenters in this session warn that Africa should not enter into unrealistic agreements which will deprive the continent to meet its energy demands, and also provide an opportunity to improve its industrialisation capacity. Africa seems to be the continent making huge commitments to mitigating climate change, despite its low contribution to greenhouse gas emissions. Moreover, it was discussed that the focus areas of the AU-EU-led renewable energy partnership initiatives are often not in sync with Africa's strengths and renewable energy potential. Therefore, the presenters argued the continent not to over-commit the global renewable energy agenda at the expense of local development priorities. Africa should increase R&D investments, actively contribute towards setting the agenda, establish a Community of Practice to engage continuously in the multilateral partnership, and the adoption of gradually paced renewable energy actions, leading to a just energy transition.

### **Violent extremism and climate change adaption in Central Africa**

The presenters in this session assessed violent extremism and climate change adaptation in Central Africa. Their studies demonstrate that the resurgence of coups in West Africa and the Sahel has variations. Some are executed by greedy presidents who sought to cling to power by extending their term of office (constitutional coups). Meanwhile, other

coups are executed by military leaders under the pretext of tackling group grievances such as political fragility and insecurity in a particular territory (military coups). The experience of farmers in responding to the effect of climate change in the Republic of Congo was also examined.

## THE BOOK LAUNCH

The conference also witnessed the launch of the FRANCE'S AFRICA RELATIONS: DOMINATION, CONTINUITY AND CONTRADICTION book edited by Professor Check Achu, Professor Korwa Adar, and Professor Ajume Wingo. In summarising the book to the delegates, Professor Check Achu, the book's main editor, stated that France is perhaps the only 'superpower' to have a special relationship with its former colonies on the African continent. It has been argued that irrespective of the ideological angle at which France is led at any given time, French policymakers have consistently claimed that historical links and geographical proximity justify placing Francophone Africa within France's sphere of influence. This ideological position has been challenged in the post-Cold World era, where a new generation of democratically elected African elites is clamouring for a new trajectory in Franco-Africa relations. During the La Baule France Africa summit in June 1990, French President Francois Mitterrand indicated that France's policy towards its former colonies on the continent was about to change. He noted that France's aid to African countries would be conditioned on these countries, opening the political space to multi-party democracy and good governance. Renou noted that France's shifting policy stance towards Africa was precipitated by a new international context and a growing challenge in African countries following the rise of China and the increasing demand for democracy and good democratic institutions inspired by the collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellite republics.

The waning French interest in the post-cold war era in Africa was evident by the defeat of the pro-France regime in Rwanda in 1994 and the collapse of the Mobutu administration in former Zaire in 1997. According to Renou, the collapse of these regimes, but more particularly the manner in which they were defeated, discredited French African policy both in Africa and in France. The collapse of these two regimes exposes what

Charbonneau describes France as an imagined state. Imagined because, though the French state and French society are functional realities, the myth of France as a country hides the particularities of both. The myth of France exerting a strong foreign policy is essentially an elitist idea that camouflages sectional interests within French society. In essence, Charbonneau argues that an elitist France putting up a united face opens spaces of legitimacy, authority, and immunity for the abusive and destructive practices of French security policy in Francophone Africa.

To understand the intricacies of the imagined analogy, it is important to state upfront that the French nation was, in fact, a political construction of the French state. The nation was the cultural and historical elements, while the state was more of the place of the French nation within the context of the nation. A sort of international recognition of the French nation.

The notion of the French state was created through a systematic process of the founding of French royalty, the Capetian dynasty, which legitimised the notion that French kings were chosen by God. Through the process of consolidation of the Capetian dynasty, the blood of royalty became holy, heroes were transformed into saints, sanctuaries were built, and the kings of France became the object of royal religion, closely involved with the catholic faith.

The king was therefore not the leader of France. He was France. Though the French Revolution debunked the myth of the sanctity of French royalty, the intricate notion of the superiority of France's elites still permeates French society and its former colonies.

At the start of French colonial exploits in Africa, some of the elitist French projects were implanted in Africa. These were manifested through the assimilation and integration policies. These policies ensure that colonised subjects could only be accommodated within the French society after accepting to observe customs and behave like a 'Frenchman'. The notion of accepting French customs makes it look like France was a racial and culturally homogenous entity. According to Charbonneau,

territorial France was more like a dream than reality, for its borders were not natural, but the product of history and geopolitics. The annexation of Brittany in 1532, Metz, Toul and Verdun in 1648, the Catalan regions of Roussillon, Conflans and Cerdagne in 1659 and many others demonstrate that France is actually a product of militarist and expansionist policies of the French royalty. As French policy in Africa has been to bring all the constituent parts of Francophone Africa under the political and economic control of France. Has this endeavour bore the necessary gains for France? What are the implications of such policies on the economic and political trajectory of Francophone African countries? This edited book attempts to shed light on this and many other aspects of France's cooperation and interaction in Africa in the twentieth century.

He noted that the central objective of the study was to assess French policy issues that may have contributed to or influenced the consistent economic, political, social and security crises in former French colonies on the continent. Senegal has been the exception, but in most cases, the exception is generally not the rule. The relative political stability and the entrenchment of a tradition of democracy in some Anglophone African countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, and Tanzania beg the question of why Francophone Africa still lags behind in this domain. However, the specific objectives of the study include the following:

- To examine the broad context of French Africa policy.
- Examine the theoretical basis of the French African relation.
- Assess the distinctiveness and uniqueness of Francophone Africa's experience in democratic processes.
- To assess the opportunities that exist for France to better understand Africa and its specificities.
- To investigate and provide specific recommendations that can assist in the long stability of Francophone African countries.

## Contents and structure of the book

The book is divided into three parts. The first part deals with general themes relating to France's relations with Africa. The second part focuses on how France approaches specific issues in selected countries. Part three provides the summary and conclusion, as well as the way forward. Chapter 1 in this section, Rafidinarivo, highlights the dynamic security cooperation between France and Francophone Africa. She argues that these inclusive security arrangements are not new in France's international relation approach but are rather a continuation of what France has been known to pursue even during the height of The Cold War. In Chapter 2, Adar contends that France's relationship with the East Africa sub-region has always been centred on securing France's geostrategic and geopolitical interests. In this chapter, France's East African relations are discussed within the contexts of geostrategic and geopolitical securitisation of national interests incorporating the countries in the region as well as the contiguous states brought into this equation through conflict triangulation. These revolve around econopolitical and security interests. To maintain its interests in the region during and in the post-colonial era, France has consistently defined these interests within the broader context of security. concerning the CEMAC subregion, Check in Chapter 3 examines France's policy direction towards the formation of Regional Economic Commissions on the continent. Check notes that French African policy, in general, was characterised by the centralisation of policy formulation and decision-making, respect for administrative hierarchy and uniformity in the application of these policies. It is, however, important to note that the successful implementation of these policies was only possible after the French secured African collaboration through conquest. Within the prism of such understanding, and through a system called indirect rule, traditional African rulers became French agents for the penetration of French authority and culture in the traditional fold of many French African societies. In areas where there was no centralised authority, the French created traditional rulers and bestowed them with colonial symbols of



power. Traditional rulers were The beneficiaries of this administration system in colonial Africa. Chapter 3 examines how the formation of these loose federations of colonial possession informs French policy towards sub-regional integration in post-independent Africa. The emphasis will be on French policy towards Afrique Equatoriale Francaise, AEF, and subsequently her role in the formation of the Communuete Economique et Monetaire de la Afrique Centrale, CEMAC. It will also be important to examine French policy towards CEMAC over time and to decipher to what extent this relationship has affected French geo-strategic policy towards regional groupings and Africa in general. This is particularly important, as it will be recalled that power was transferred to the federated states during the decolonization period and not to AOF and AEF.

Ekwe-Ekwe in Chapter 4, critiques France's interventionist approach in Francophone Africa. In the chapter, Ekwe-Ekwe points out that, although in popular literature, the United States has been seen as an interventionist nation. In reality, though, this unenviable "accolade" in global politics is in fact not held by the United States but France. And the South's geographical focus, where France appears not to have anything else but invasion as its own definitive credo in foreign policy, is Africa. Harting's Chapter 5 examines violence, freedom, and cosmopolitanism in contemporary Francophone Africa. Her point of departure is Nicolas Sarkozy's 26 July 2007, speech in Dakar Senegal. Sarkozy's speech is deeply invested in the idea of a Francophone Africa and has caused an intense and extremely critical debate about France's neo-colonial mentality and historical amnesia. Given the cultural and political impact of Sarkozy's Dakar speech, it will be an apt point of departure for my discussion, as it provides an occasion to establish France's continuous imperial habits of thinking and to examine the critical responses it has provoked from a wide community of African writers and intellectuals. Harting argues that Africa's position within debates on globalisation and the building of a global civil society is complex and, in part, dependent on the ways

in which Africa is represented—culturally, ideologically, and politically—and represents itself. We, however, argue that literature is germane to this public debate because it challenges received modes of representing Africa as a series of stereotypes, while locating its own production and reception in a larger global debate of identity formation, including the specific role of Africa within current debates of a new human universalism. Furthermore, the historical nexus between literature, power and politics has been prominent and effective in global anti-colonial movements and the post-independence era of French-speaking Africa. Such French-speaking African and Caribbean writers and philosophers such as V.Y. Mudimbe, Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, Amilcar Cabral, and L.S. Senghor have productively combined literature, arts, and politics to articulate and implement their notions of a new humanism and freedom, either as poets or leaders of their countries. Indeed, part of their efforts, as documented by the Négritude movement, was to find Pan-African politics and language through which to represent Africa on its own non-colonial terms.

Chapter 6, the last chapter in this section assesses France's changing foreign and security policy towards Africa. In Chapter 6, Onditi and Sene argue that more than five decades since the independence of most African countries from the yoke of colonial powers, there are no signs yet that France's forbidding influence in Africa is changing. Instead, the signs are that France intends to retain the lopsided relationship and continue to muddle through for the time being, hence, perpetuating the largely extractive policy towards Africa. They contend that France continues to insert her political and military power on African soil more subtly, not easily noticeable, but arguably painstaking. Benin remains one of the strategic points for Paris in West Africa. Indeed, many of its multinational companies are well established in the area where they still have certain control over sectors such as agriculture, energy, hydropower, mining, and transportation.

The book's second part focuses on France's bilateral and, in most instances, unilateral approach in addressing fundamental issues affecting its relations with specific country case studies. In Chapter 7, Niang examines Senegalese-French relations in the context of the historical and intellectual resources of a 'special relationship'.

Niang argues that as the oldest French colony in Africa, Senegal has historically had very close ties to France; its national politics and socio-economic life were heavily influenced by the ideas, choices, orientations, and policies of its political and intellectual elites who had been involved in French metropolitan politics since the nineteenth century. The multiple filaments of the French colonial legacy extend beyond language and have to be apprehended in their various historical and political contexts. Senegal can in a way be seen as a caricature of the problematic relationship between France and its former colonies in that those progressive aspects of cultural and intellectual encounter as much as the many negative consequences of French-style colonialism are at once conflated. The chapter shows how the historically rich and politically determinant events and structures place of Senegal and key Senegalese actors in the history of the colonial encounter give specificity to this 'special relationship'. It is tempting to look at the different approaches of various Senegalese presidents to Senegalese foreign policy regarding France, but that would not be the most fruitful way to go about it.

In Chapter 8, Richard Iroanya examines the impact of the French policy of *Francafrique* on the resurgence of French military responses to crisis-affected Francophone Africa. The chapter's focus is Cote d'Ivoire, where France has had a military base since the 1960s. He notes that the resurgence of France's military presence in Africa is raising several questions. While some consider this necessary considering the serious security challenges confronting the continent, others consider it unnecessary and a continuation of France's neo-imperialism on the continent.

Chapter 8 specifically examines the broad context of French military presence in Africa with specific reference to the Ivory Coast. Analysis of French military involvement in the Cote d'Ivoire is done to show its effects on the Ivorian society. Chapter 9 by Check follows the preceding chapter with a special focus on France and Cote d'Ivoire within the realm of the Linas Marcoussis agreement. In this chapter, Check notes that the death of Cote d'Ivoire's founding president, Felix Houphouet Boigny, in 1993 signalled a new chapter in Franco-Ivoirian politics. As the main protagonist of Francafrique, as the France/French African countries' interaction was called, Houphouet cultivated and maintained fraternal relations with France at the expense of the people of Cote d'Ivoire.

Post-Houphouet regimes struggled to sustain the patriarchal relationship that existed between the executive and the various social classes in the country. The attempted coup d'état in 2002 was a by-product of the inability of the regime to reconnect with a section of the Ivoirian people which the Houphouet administration had tactfully accommodated. The chapter examines the role of France in exacerbating the differences inherent within the Ivoirian people. It also critiques France's position on the outcome of the Linas-Marcoussis agreement and concludes that, because of France's long presence in Cote d'Ivoire, its role in resolving the crisis should be more decisive.

Salathial Muntunutwine, in Chapter 10, highlights France's security and diplomatic relation with Rwanda before the 1994 genocide. He notes that France's relations with Rwanda post-independence and more specifically during the 1980s and early 1990s were marked by the attempts on the part of France to assuage the effects of the SAPs which has rendered most African countries susceptible to bullying in return for aid. France and Rwanda relations were not an exception to this catastrophic and benign cooperation. Though written in French, the chapter provides a very succinct narration of why and how Rwanda became a puppet of France and

with devastating consequences, as the events of 1994 suggest. Salem's Chapter 11 assesses France's relationship with Tunisia during the transition period between 2011 and 2014. He notes that France was taken aback by the revolution in Tunisia and other Arab Spring countries. After the revolutions began, France maintained its support of the now-deposed dictators, who generally served the security interests of the West and France in particular. Having realised the initial successes of Tunisia's revolutions, however, it was in a critical position and faced a serious dilemma: should it prioritise security over democratisation and therefore turn a blind eye to the popular demands? Or should it stand up for both the principles of the French Revolution and the outcomes of the La Baule Meeting of La Francophonie in 1990, in which French President Francois Mitterrand insisted on incremental reforms to liberalise and democratise the political space in Francophone Africa? Facing such dilemmas, most foreign policymakers redefine the situation to allow maximum harmony between national interests and principles.

The chapters in the book put into clear perspectives France's multifaceted policy direction towards Africa, which generally has been characterised by three critical approaches: patrilineal relations, ambiguity, and outright interventionist. These together have implications for how Francophone Africa, in particular, relates to metropolitan France. Through the French commonwealth, commonly referred to as La Francophonie, France has been able to direct and manage France's soft diplomacy towards its former colonies. With the bulk of the members of La Francophonie coming from Africa, there is no gainsaying that Francophone Africa relations with France and other countries are tightly controlled from Paris. Though a lot has been written about the monetary cooperation between France and Francophone Africa, the impact of such cooperation is yet to be objectively determined. This book, in many respects, contributes to the ongoing epistemological debate concerning the impact of France's hegemonic presence in Francophone Africa. France's interventions in Cote

d'Ivoire, Mali, Chad and recently in the Central African Republic suggest its interventionist approach towards Africa, a foreign policy orientation which is yet to transform otherwise. However, with the advent of the presence of China in Africa, France may want to re-look at some of these policies as many Francophone African countries are beginning to look east, as in the case of Congo Brazzaville and the DRC.

In conclusion, the editor opined that there is no gainsaying that the French political elites, across the political divide, are in favour of a new form of the relationship between France and all its former colonies on the African continent. This view is anchored on the assumption that Francophone Africa is on the verge of complete 'Somalisation' if proper measures are not implemented to prevent state structures' collapse in these countries. Events in Mali, Chad, CAR, Cameroon, DRC, Burundi and, more importantly, Cote d'Ivoire point to this disturbing direction. The reduction of Francophone Africa into a heap of failed states do not augur well for France, which has over the years committed to aiding Francophone Africa in pursuing the triple goals of promoting La Francophonie, economic development, and democratisation. These goals were questioned soon after the Rwandan genocide, which points to the fact that France had contributed to arming and attempting to probed-up the regime of Juvenal Habyarimana. Though several arms shipments to Rwanda from France before the 1994 genocide were recorded, France has vehemently denied any involvement in facilitating the genocide.

Overall, the former French colonies on the continent are more attached to France, economically and politically, than to other African countries. For Africa to succeed in her drive for a united Africa and for the aspirations of AU's Agenda 2063 to be realised, a thorough and critical perspective on her relationship with France needs to be addressed. As such, any relationship with France should be based on mutual benefit to the citizens of France and former French colonies on the continent. It is of the essence,

therefore, that a concerted effort should be made to make the unity of the continent attractive to its inhabitants. Africa is yet to benefit from the economies of scale arising from breaking down her political boundaries and the principal architect obstructing such a move is the Western countries. Until such time that the West would regard and trade with the continent as a partner, the vestiges of division would continue to plague the continent and African economists would continue to burn the midnight oil in developing concepts that would take the continent out of its present déjà vu and predicament.

## MAIN CONFERENCE AWARDS

As a wrap up, three participants scooped the 2023 AYGS awards for the best paper and presenter. These were **Flora Awino Ouma** (University of Nairobi), **Refilwe Mashigo** (University of South Africa) and **Wolf Ulrich Mfere** (Centre d'études et de Recherche sur les Analyses et Politiques Economiques, République du Congo).



Certificate award for Flora Awino Ouma



Certificate award for Refilwe Mashigo





Certificate award for Wolf Ulrich Mfere

## CLOSING REMARKS

On his closing remarks, Deputy CEO of the HSRC, Professor Leickness Simbayi, gave his gratitude to AISA for organising the successful 17<sup>th</sup> Africa Young Graduate and Scholars Conference. He further thanked the institutional partners, especially PASGR, and all the participants from various African countries who came to attend the conference. Professor Simbayi acknowledged the role of the AYGS Conference in developing the research capacity of young scholars on the African continent. He concluded by requesting the organisers to ensure that the next year's conference takes place outside South Africa, preferably in Kenya.

## CONFERENCE ORGANISING TEAM

Dr Vuyo Mjimba	HSRC-AISA
Prof Check Achu	HSRC-AISA
Dr Rodney Managa	HSRC-AISA
Dr Pauline Ngimwa	PASGR
Ms Masego Masenya	HSRC-AISA
Ms Elsie Maritz	HSRC-AISA
Ms Mmakwena Chipu	HSRC-AISA
Ms Nosisa Zaca	HSRC-AISA
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Mr Antonio Erasmus	HSRC – Communication
Ms Lindiwe Mashologu	HSRC – Communication
Ms Lumka Luzipho	HSRC-SPU
Ms Mahlatse Mpya	HSRC-SPU



## ABSTRACTS

## IN SEARCH OF THE AFRICA, WE WANT: ASSESSING SILENCING THE GUNS ON THE CONTINENT

### **Xenophobic violence towards African immigrants in South Africa: a threat to peace and free movement of people**

**Lebogang Ndaba**

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South Africa is a regional hub for migration in Africa and is home to a growing international migrant community. However, most Africans that land in South Africa encounter exclusion, violence, and violations of human rights (xenophobia, which in SA has evolved into Afrophobia). This anti-immigrant violence has problematic implications for development and hinders a project for unity, which is linked to Agenda 2063, specifically promoting the free movement of people, peace, and security.

This social problem necessitates full realisation, commitment, and implementation of Agenda 2063, which encourages and promotes Africa's regeneration through forward-thinking and solidarity. Thus, there is a need to reconstruct Africa, which has been shaped by colonial holocausts and manifested itself in autocratic governments, human rights violations, political instability, and insecurity to represent and achieve the "*Africa we want*". In the main, this paper aims to analyse the contributions of state and non-actors on the anti-immigrant violence and exclusion of African immigrants in South Africa and to find out what the key causes and dimensions of this social problem are. The paper achieves this by employing a qualitative research method and relies on content analysis to scrutinise and analyse data relevant to the problem. The critical finding indicates that the violence against African immigrants in South Africa is a result of the state and non-state agents' failure to build a social infrastructure enabling the peaceful establishment of a two-tier society made up of both citizens and non-citizens. Therefore, this paper recommends

the establishment and prioritisation programmes to facilitate the social integration of immigrants and further suggests that the general public fully participate in such programmes and be educated about anti-migrant violence and further suggests a commitment to the endorsement and full implementation of Agenda 2063 to pave the way for development, peace, and security as well as the protection and inclusion of all migrants in South Africa, the rest of the continent and the world.

## **Silencing Guns by 2020: Prospects and Challenges to the Implementation of the Peace and Security Goal of Agenda 2063**

**Ngare Willsmith Ochillo**

*United States International University Africa*

The need to halt bloodshed and impose peace and stability across the continent is reflected in the African Union's Agenda 2063, which advocates for a peaceful and stable Africa.

The African Union's Agenda 2063 continues to face serious risks from conflict, violence, and insecurity. Africa's leaders committed to working toward a continent free from violence by 2020 in order to address the continent's pervasive instability and in order to leave a continent at peace for the following generation. Seven years have passed since the adoption of the declaration, known as Silencing the Guns in Africa, by 2020, and four years have passed since the adoption of the Master Roadmap outlining the necessary procedures to carry out its goals. The feasibility of gun control after 2020 is examined in this paper, along with the difficulties involved. Prior to considering the idea of making weapons illegal, several issues must be resolved, including the effects of colonialism, the role of outside actors in African politics, and the rise in ethnoreligious conflicts. The initiative's launch and current implementation circumstances are evaluated in this paper. It looks at the successes and obstacles to

implementation and what has been accomplished. In order to address security challenges collectively, African Union (AU) member states must establish unity. If this isn't done, external forces, military conflicts, and political instability will continue to have control over Africa.

## **Silencing the Guns in Africa: Headwinds, Tailwinds and Crosswinds in the First Ten-Year Implementation Plan (FTYIP) of Agenda 2063**

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*Silencing the Guns by 2020* remains one of the fifteen flagship projects of Agenda 2063, which has been identified as key to accelerating Africa's economic growth and development as African countries collectively seek to create a peaceful and secure Africa.

Through the *Silencing the Guns by 2020* initiative, the continent has agreed to work towards ending all wars, civil conflicts, gender-based violence, and violent conflicts and preventing genocide. However, the reality on the ground depicts varying levels of success, challenges, and complexities across all African regions. Africa has recently witnessed a wave and scourge of unconstitutional change of governments (UCGs), terrorist insurgencies and violent extremism as well as an influx of violent popular uprisings, protests, and militarisation of states in countries such as Chad, Guinea, Mali, Sudan, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Burkina Faso, Mozambique, Cameroon, Nigeria and Somalia among others. All these continue to trigger and perpetuate political instability and impact peace, security and socio-economic stability whose net effect is to undermine the progress and direction of the African Union towards the execution of the *AU Roadmap of Practical Steps to Silence the Guns by 2030* and aspirations of the Agenda 2063. Using secondary data analysis, this

paper, therefore, sought to examine the progress, achievements, challenges, stumbling blocks and opportunities that have been confronted by African countries in The First Ten-Year Implementation Plan of Agenda 2063 as they pursue the national, regional, and continental efforts and initiatives to *Silencing the Guns*. The concept of peace and security provides conceptual frames of analysis. Findings from the study provide useful empirical insights into the monitoring and evaluation of The First Ten-Year Implementation Plan of Agenda 2063 concerning peace and security. This is critical in the achievement of the overall AU Vision of building a peaceful, stable, secure, integrated, and prosperous Africa, and the essence of Agenda 2030 on sustainable development goals.

### **Silencing the Guns in Somalia: The Responsibility to Protect and the African Union's Efforts to Eradicate Terrorism**

**Jacqueline Nakaiza**  
*Makerere University, Uganda*

Somalia has been at war for decades and the conflict has taken different forms and embodied a variety of actors. Since 2004, the Al-Shabaab terrorist group has been the major protagonist in the war. The international community intervened and deployed troops from several countries, including Uganda and Burundi, to try to exclude warlords in the 1990s, albeit unsuccessfully. The African Union as per the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) norms proposed the IGASOM mission which never materialised. To get rid of terrorism in Somalia and re-establish a democratic governance system, the AU was mandated for six months by the UNSC to deploy AMISOM troops as well as prepare the ground for handing over to a UN mission. Fifteen years later, the UN is yet to deploy troops in Somalia. Instead, the UNSC keeps on extending the ATMIS/AMISOM mandate every six months. The AU mission in Somalia, with support from international partners, has paid the ultimate price to protect



communities, exterminate terrorism, silence guns, and achieve peace and security. This paper engages with narratives that seek to explain the AU's R2P and efforts to eradicate terrorism and silence guns. It reports on findings from interviews carried out with the UPDF ATMIS/AMISOM contingent that led to the military-centric approach that was prioritised by the AU and international actors to drive terrorists out of Somalia and silence the guns. The results indicate that the AU troops contributed significantly to the return of some normalcy in Mogadishu and managed to sustain the Federal Government in power. Nevertheless, progress in Somalia is reversible in the absence of continued and consistent pressure and political, economic, and social reforms.

Al-Shabaab has not ceased its ambition to control the greater part of Somalia, and it retains the ability to retake territory, as the UNSC admits that 'in southern and central Somalia, the group encountered little resistance in capturing several towns and villages in areas that had previously been hostile to it'. The mission also facilitated security conditions, which allowed for international actors to return to Somalia, including the UN. Nevertheless, a lot still needs to be done to silence the guns and achieve lasting peace as Al-Shabaab remains a potent threat to security in Somalia and the region.

## YOUTH AND ACCOUNTABLE LEADERSHIP – CATALYST OF AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT

### Nigerian Youth's Aspirations Survival Strategies in the Face of Dilapidating Infrastructures

**Oluwafunmilayo Olarewaju Aminu**

**Babatunde Raphael Ojebuyi, Oluwabusolami Oluwajulugbe**

**Falade Oluwaseun Fategbe, Ridwan Abiola Kolawole**

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The achievement of youth aspirations and potentiality has been hampered most times by poor infrastructural development coupled with other uncertainties. Failure to proffer enduring solutions to the problems of youth who constitute the bulk of the Nigerian labour force is part of the contributing factor to poor youth agency development and non-maximisation of the youth's potentiality. Youth aspirations are not met with commensurate assistance needed for realisation. Depriving young people of their right to resources needed to actualise their aspirations is disheartening. Hence, this study sought to understand what youth aspirations are in Nigeria, the challenges to youths' aspirations actualisation, the effects of poor infrastructural development on youth aspirations and youths' survival strategies.

The study was conducted in Nigeria and data were garnered through in-depth interviews (IDI) with youths from civic societies, non-governmental organisations, and youth advocacy groups. This study focused on youths within the age bracket of 15 to 35 years. The responses of the interviewees were critically and objectively examined in line with the stated objectives. A study revealed that youths have high aspirations and desire good jobs. Youths are also taking action to achieve their aspirations; however, they face challenges. Youths lack the information needed

to actualise their aspirations. Major challenges plaguing youth aspirations were economic barriers and the poor state of infrastructure. Lack of basic infrastructure is putting youths in occupations they do not intend to pursue. Older youths see business as the key pathway while younger youths tend to see education as the pathway. Prominent survival strategies include engaging in multiple streams of income, seeking job opportunities outside the country and entrepreneurship. Thus, the transformation agendas being promulgated by numerous countries in Africa and many youth jobs aspiration initiatives need to address issues of creating decent jobs backed by good infrastructures.

**Mass Media and Misinformation of Conflict  
Reportage: A Call for Peace Oriented Journalism  
for Sustainable Development in Africa**

**Kaigama, Kwapsoni Pius**

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Africa as a continent has recorded a series of conflicts which has hindered meaningful developmental policies to be implemented. It is no longer news that conflict thwarts socio-economic development. It has been documented that whenever there is conflict, developmental processes are crippled either directly or indirectly. Mass media involves whose role it is to educate, entertain and enlighten people on developmental issues plays a vital role in information dissemination about issues, events, and happenings around the environment, even in conflict situations which triggers human interest and stimulate curiosity especially among people affect. Disseminating such information, in this regard, requires a high sense of professionalism in order not to misinform the public, which may lead to fueling and escalating more conflict rather than mitigating it. This paper, therefore, calls for professionalism in reporting conflict and

conflict-related issues by media practitioners across Africa. The paper qualitatively collected data mainly from secondary sources such as textbooks, journals, newspapers, magazines, the internet, and other relevant documents. Anchored on the agenda setting and social responsibility theory to provide support for the study in explaining the need for the media to set an agenda on developmental issues and be objective, balanced, unbiased, and credible in reporting conflict and conflict-related issues. Conclusively, the paper calls for professionalism among media practitioners in their conflict-related reportage. The paper, therefore, recommends that there is a need for trained and professional journalists in reporting conflict-related issues. This will, in turn, help in achieving goal nine (9) of the AU Agenda 2063 which is targeted at “*Silencing the Guns by 2020*” to end all wars, conflict, and gender-based violence, prevent genocide and achieve desired sustainable development across Africa.

### **More Policies, More Jobs? A Political Economy Analysis of Youth Employment Policies in Africa**

**Jim Kaketch**

*PASGR, Kenya*

Over the last three decades, there has been a plethora of policies and regulations on youth employment in Africa. The number of government interventions has increased tenfold ranging from promoting technical and vocational education and training to supporting small businesses to providing specialised financial allocations. Despite this, youth unemployment still persists in Africa. Using a political economy lens, this paper sought to evaluate the policies formulated and implemented in six African countries; Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, and Uganda. The six countries were chosen from a brief scoping review based on the number of youth employment programmes implemented in the country against the high unemployment rates. Utilising PASGR’s unique

knowledge-sharing, and policy engagement model known as *Utafiti Sera*, the study engaged a diverse set of stakeholders, policy influencers and beneficiaries including young people, to appraise policies and interventions based on their relevance and impact. This paper finds, contrary to the literature on the lack of policies and regulatory frameworks being the cause of the high youth unemployment rate in Africa, that African countries have strong policies and regulatory frameworks on youth unemployment. The challenge, however, is that these policies tend to neglect the voices of the African youth. The policy interventions are thus mismatched with the youth's aspirations. We contend, therefore, that policy framing is the greatest obstacle to youth employment. To ensure the development of effective policies, we recommend meaningful inclusion and engagement of the youth themselves to prevent policy-aspirations mismatch.

### **“Making Do”: Understanding African Youth Aspirations in the Context of High Unemployment and Informality Rates**

**Racheal Makokha**

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While AU's Agenda 2063 aspires for decent work for its citizens, Africa still faces a significant challenge of high youth unemployment with 23.5 per cent considered working poor. Evidence has shown that numerous young people prioritise job security which is associated with the public sector contrary to youth employment creation interventions in agriculture and small and medium enterprises being carried out in Africa. However, because of high levels of informality, only a minority of African youth can access dignified and fulfilling work. This study sought to investigate what African youth aspire to, how they define dignified and fulfilling work and their resilience strategies amidst a myriad of challenges. Using a mixed-method approach, the paper incorporates findings from a 2019 study conducted in four African countries; Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, and

Senegal. The study challenges the policy discourse that African rural youth aspire to work in agriculture while urban youth aspire to migrate abroad for better economic opportunities. The findings reveal that current aspirations do not match existing youth employment creation strategies and interventions. This suggests the need to revisit the existing intervention programmes based on the actual aspirations of youth and address the policy misalignment between youth aspirations and current economic opportunities.

**Attributes of ideal grassroots community leaders for sustainable development: the case of ward committees in Ha-Mashau village, Vhembe District, South Africa**

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The vision of the African Union is to build an integrated, prosperous, and peaceful Africa as a continent. Agenda 2063 was created to accelerate past and existing initiatives for growth and sustainable development. Sustainable development can only be achieved if these initiatives are driven by the citizens of the continent. Good governance and leadership are key to the growth of any initiative. Achieving the aspirations of Agenda 2063 for Africa requires effective leadership, starting with grassroots communities and matching the development agenda with the competencies of grassroots leaders. This paper focused on the attributes of ideal grassroots leaders for sustainable development. The purpose of this paper was to build an understanding of what rural communities perceive as the characteristics and attributes of ideal grassroots leaders for sustainable development. The study followed an exploratory sequential mixed-method design. Respondents were sampled from the residents of

the Ha-Mashau Community. Thematic content analysis and the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyse data. More than three sub-themes emerged on ideal attributes, namely personality, educational background, communication skills, accessibility, and interest in local governance (ILG)). The results also showed that adult community members prefer committee members who are committed to community development work to their youthful counterparts.

The results of this study can be used by local, provincial, and national governments to inform the process of implementing intervention programmes aiming to demonstrate leadership dedicated to sustainable community development.

### **An exploration of the required leadership capabilities for the successful implementation of the national food and nutrition security survey in the northern provinces of South Africa**

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The calls for combined efforts to accelerate progress toward the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UN SDG) has become more urgent than ever. There are approximately eight years left towards the deadline set for Agenda 2030 and the evaluation of progress toward the achievement of the UN SDG. The performance of any country, in seeking to achieve these UN SDGs, to a large extent depends on its leadership. But the question that remains unanswered is what leadership capabilities are required to achieve the SDGs? It is known that the achievement of SDGs requires efforts from society, government, institutions, and individual citizens. In response to the achievement of SDG 2 on “Zero Hunger”, the role of the National Food and Nutrition Security Survey (NFNSS) is to provide indicators for measuring the level of households and individual food and nutrition security status in the Northern Province of South Africa. The

purpose of this study is to explore the leadership capabilities required for the successful implementation of the NFNSS in the Northern Province of South Africa. The successful implementation of large-scale baseline assessment surveys becomes a prerequisite in directing the planning and development of a targeted intervention to end hunger, achieve food security and improve nutrition by 2030. This article took a qualitative approach in the form of semi-structured interviews. In the analysis performed, inclusive and transformational leadership theories were found to have contributed to the successful implementation of the NFNSS in the Northern Province of South Africa. Participants illuminated what they perceive as leadership capabilities under five themes. These are (i) transdisciplinary collaboration; (ii) efficient resource management (iii) self-awareness; (iv) goal orientation; and (v) building trust. The insights of the findings were based on the existing body of knowledge and perspectives gathered in the interviews. Thus, the article has gained an understanding of what type of leaders are needed to drive development programmes and the commitment required to achieve sustainable development.

## GOOD GOVERNANCE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

### **‘Made in Africa’ Trains: Advancing Agenda 2063 Through Railway Infrastructure Investments and Good Governance**

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Robust investment in railway infrastructure should be read with careful consideration as it bears numerous important connotations for African logistics and supply chains. Railway infrastructure across Africa remains fragmented, underdeveloped, and a serious impediment to intra-regional



trade. It is a foregone conclusion that this phenomenon bodes ill for the respective financial bases, considering that economies within the region are sustained by the extraction and sale of bulk natural resources. The poor state of infrastructure, its fragmentation and its inability to interface on the West, Central and East African fronts, can also be attributed to what the African Development Bank calls the dearth of 'network integration'. These dynamics render it a predicament to operate high-speed lines as envisioned by the AU Agenda 2063. Notwithstanding this, the Mombasa-Nairobi Standard Gauge Railway in Kenya, and the Tanzania Standard Gauge Railway are steadily altering the transport terrain. These projects are cultivating a conducive environment for the East African nations to operate high-speed trains within that sub-region. In line with this trend, South Africa's experience and expertise in the manufacturing of railway rolling stock could be utilised to further propagate the 'Made in Africa' train narrative. South Africa has succeeded in manufacturing the Trans-Africa Locomotive, the first of its kind on the continent, and has also been elected by the African Union to serve as a hub for the fabrication of railway rolling stock. This decision could potentially reverse the 'externalisation of Africa's wealth' since most trains emanate from China and numerous Western nations. Thus, more investment from the African Union, which could be complemented by financing solutions from the Industrial Development Corporation, the African Development Bank and the New Development Bank is required to drive the localisation of railway infrastructure. Even so, public enquiries such as the 'Zondo Commission on State Capture' in South Africa, have demonstrated that public funds could at times be diverted to fulfil personal interests. Funding earmarked for the development and rehabilitation of railways should be accompanied by stringent good governance systems and mechanisms.

## Good governance remains key to Africa's sustainability/Development

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Governance remains one of the critical components of development and sustainability. However, the state of governance in the African continent is in a deplorable state, due to several factors such as poor leadership, political and economic corruption both in the public and private sectors, political and civil conflicts, Infrastructural challenges, and maladministration. To some extent, these factors have an impact on peace, stability, and the ability of member states to provide services and sustainable growth and development. The study will use a theory-based evaluation in order to evaluate the state of governance in selected member states from the African Union, the challenges as well as the progress made by these states to meet the agenda 2063 goals thus far. The qualitative nature of this study allows for document analysis as well as report reviewing in order to draw up conclusions on the progress made by the aforementioned member states. The findings of this paper argue that, where good governance is absent, come the year 2063 the African Union member states would have not made minimum progress in implementing the set aspirations. This is because good governance seeks to address issues ranging from international relations, conflict resolution, peace and security defence as well as sustainable growth and development. Therefore, the paper will examine how far the member states of the African Union in the past 10 years have managed to implement some of the aspirations of Agenda 2063 from a governance perspective. Consequently, answer the question, what are the challenges that member states face to implement and achieve the agenda 2063?

## The role of transformational leadership in the grassroots implementation of Agenda 2063

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Transformational leadership has emerged as a leadership approach poised to bring innovative changes to organisations, institutions, and social systems in the 21st century. No continent is in more need of such leadership as Africa. It has presented itself as a practicable solution to the governance challenges that have been prevalent in the continent. This makes it an effective tool for renewing institutional visionary performance within the African Union (AU), with the ability to empower African populations to participate and make meaningful contributions to Agenda 2063 goals, and for its successful implementation. The success of the framework is pegged on the mobilization of the people at the grassroots and their ownership of the continental program at the core. It is essential therefore to promote conscious and deliberate efforts to nurture transformative leadership to drive the agenda successfully. The 2nd Continental Progress Report on Agenda 2063 (2022) has reported considerable progress towards the actualization of its several goals in member states, including progress in promoting good governance and democratic values. However, capable institutions and transformed leadership that push for the domestication of the agenda remain a challenge. Recommendations made to resolve this challenge include a multi-stakeholder approach that includes civil society groups but no formal structure on how to engage grassroots populations. Additionally, Agenda 2063 has been criticised for its top-bottom approach to development, making it largely unfamiliar to grassroots populations. Transformational leadership in the political and communal space, therefore, carries the ability and willingness to build societies that understand the need for their active participation in the successful implementation of Agenda 2063. It is therefore the goal of this

study to assess the role of transformational leadership in engaging grassroots participation and representation in the framework's implementation. It will further seek to explore means of encouraging grassroots inclusivity and integration of social, economic, and political ideas into the pool of already existing aspirations to give the framework a chance not only to succeed in its early years but also for African generations to come.

## **Police Effectiveness, Procedural Justice, Corruption, and Nigerians' Willingness to Communicate with Police on Duty**

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Nigerians' willingness to communicate with police on duty is essential to the nation's security and successful governance. That is why the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) regularly engages in campaigns to persuade Nigerians to see police as their friends with whom they can communicate freely, anytime. However, despite the recognized importance of police-citizen communication in Nigeria, there is no literature on willingness to communicate with police. Contributing to the literature, this study developed the willingness to communicate with police on duty (WTCWPOD) scale and assessed the scale's validity and reliability. It also examined WTCWPOD's relationship with six established constructs in police studies (Police effectiveness, procedural justice, moral alignment with the police, obligation to obey the police, cooperation with the police, and police corruption). The study was a survey (N = 315) conducted among residents of southwest Nigeria. Most respondents were females (51.4 per cent) and youths (16 to 35 years; 91 per cent). The Exploratory Factor Analysis and Confirmatory Factor Analysis show that the scale is valid. The reliability test result shows that the scale is reliable ( $\alpha = .90$ ). The results of the correlational analysis also show that WTCWPOD has expected literature-supported relationships with the six established constructs in police

studies. It has strong positive relationships with cooperation with police, police effectiveness, procedural justice, moral alignment with the police, and obligation to obey the police. Also, as expected, WTCWPOD has a negative relationship with police corruption. The study concluded that the developed WTCWPOD scale is helpful for the study and promotion of police-citizen communication in Africa. The study recommends that further studies be conducted to assess the scale among diverse groups of people and in different police-citizen communication contexts.

## **Agenda 2063: Youth, Violence and Development in Kenya**

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According to demographers, there is an increasing number of young people in Sub-Saharan Africa, a phenomenon known as the “youth bulge”, associated with the scourge of violence. The concept of “youth bulge” has been extensively used by scholars to explain how the youth are used as tools by some political elites to generate violence to bolster their bargaining power. However, there is also “youth dividend”, associated with harnessing youth numbers to spur development. Transformational leaders engage youth in development projects. Youth is a powerful partner who complements the government’s efforts. The youth act as both the object and the subject of political socialisation, aggregation, and articulation. Additionally, this is a cross-sectional study that examines the importance of gender in the analysis of youth, violence, and development. It is imperative to understand how violence and development have various implications for young men and women. This paper will investigate youth and violence in Kenya, youth, and development in other parts of the world, and youth and development in Kenya in the context of Agenda 2063. The author argues that given youth numbers and transformational leadership, it is possible for the youth to be productive members of society

as opposed to being “tools” of violence. The author used reports, refereed journal articles and AFROBAROMETER Data.

## ENVIRONMENTALLY SUSTAINABLE AND CLIMATE-RESILIENT ECONOMIES AND COMMUNITIES

### Climate Change Is A Threat To National Security

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Climate change is one of the major crises that the world faces today. For over three decades now, climate change has remained one of the most interminable terms in today’s history. It is no doubt that even in the coming generation, climate change will remain one of the biggest hot-bender topics that most countries will deal with. This further shows the extent to which it has affected and implicated our daily lives as human beings on Earth.

Climate change is causing a note of concern to most world leaders and the world at large. Reports are continually being made to the public and broadcast on national televisions and radios indicating how the earth struggles to keep up with the ramifications due to the continuous change of the climate. As an unremitting and growing peril to national security, climate change has resulted in several threats posed to the national security of most countries. Flooding, food insecurity, severe drought, famine and last but not least wildfires are some of the major key threats of climate change to national security. This paper seeks to discuss climate change as a threat to national security using the above key stated pointers. The methodological approach adopted is desktop research. To this end, although climate change has negatively impacted the

world today, this essay will also emphasize the ways in which climate change has positively impacted the world today.

## **Smallholder farmers' perceptions and adaptation to climate change interventions and support systems in Limpopo Province, South Africa**

**Nomcebo Ubisi**

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Climate change is one of the most critical long-term global challenges threatening various economic development sectors, including natural resources, agriculture, and food security. The effects of climate change are characterised by changes in rainfall variability, an increasing number of seasons without enough rainfall, and increased temperatures which lead to extensive droughts and heat stress lowering crop productivity. The study aimed to investigate climate change's perceived effects and adaptation strategies on crop production and household livelihoods of smallholder farmers in the Mopani and Vhembe districts, of Limpopo, South Africa.

Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used, questionnaires were administered to One Hundred and Fifty smallholder farmers and eight focused group discussions were conducted. The study findings revealed that crop production was regarded as a way of life for these smallholder farmers, especially among women (72 %), as it contributed to household food security, and generated livelihoods. The farmers perceived prolonged droughts (56.4 %) as the main shock stressing their production, while other farmers thought very hot seasons were a significant shock (56 per cent). The focus group discussions revealed that smallholder farmers had different perceptions of climate change and the majority of smallholder farmers perceived climate change to be caused by supernatural forces. Only a minority adapted to climate change, by changing planting

dates and intercropping. Therefore, the study recommended that climate change and variability should be mainstreamed into food and nutrition security-related policies, and the engagement of youths to overcome “the energy crisis” and literacy problem to access climate change information should also be encouraged.

## **Climate Justice for Poor Farmers in Africa**

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A healthy climate is imperative for Africa to feed its people, especially when Africa is behind in its sustainable development goals (SDGs). Smallholder farmers manage a more significant percentage of farmland in Africa and rely on rainfed agriculture to feed their families, making them the most vulnerable to the extreme effects of climate change. These farmers struggle to combat drought, flooding, pest, disease and changing weather patterns, all of which are attributed to climate change. Smallholders now must tackle these livelihood-threatening challenges, regardless of being minor contributors to climate change. Africa’s greenhouse gas emissions are the lowest compared to other continents. Though a minor contributor to climate change, Africa is the most vulnerable because it is home to millions of smallholder farmers. Top contributors have a moral obligation to support Africa to achieve climate justice. There is a vast untapped potential for climate mitigation, given the scope of land managed by smallholders in Africa. These farming families can provide a lasting solution to climate change if equipped with the necessary resources to maximise the environmental gains their lands can deliver. Additionally, financing resilience to climate change shocks that reduce farmer income and food supply is a sure step to accomplishing our SDGs as a continent. Global climate finance and policy must now prioritise



the poor smallholder farmer. The magnitude of loss and damage caused by climate change is enormous, though not insurmountable if climate finance is channelled to small changes in practice and crop mix that can help the smallholders weather the next storm.

**Assessing the efficiency of indigenous soil and water conservation methods used in mountainous regions of Uganda (case of Nyamiyaga village Kisoro District)**

**Gideon Monday, Ronald M. Musenze,  
Emmanuel Tumwesigye, Ceasar Kiisa,  
Francis Mutua, Omia Gongamo**

Water and soil are basic natural resources that support life in all forms. These resources are limited in nature to meet the increasing demands of man, which calls for their conservation. The purpose of the study therefore was to assess the traditional practices of soil and water conservation (SWC) in mountainous regions of Uganda, in the case of Nyamiyaga village Kisoro district and design appropriate SWC measures for sustainable management of these resources. Primary data was collected using field experiments and systematic sampling techniques while secondary data was obtained from UBOS, DWRM, KDLG, UWA, USGS, and literature. Analysis was done using Excel, SPSS, and ARC GIS 10.5. Soil Conservation Service (SCS) method was employed in rainfall data analysis, while soil erosion potential was assessed based on the Revised Universal Soil Loss Equation (RUSLE). Arc GIS was used for both land use and soil mapping. The study revealed that soil erosion is a serious threat to households in the area, affecting farmers both directly and indirectly through crop destruction, loss of topsoil and water pollution. Erosion causes were identified as proximate and underlying factors including heavy rains, steep slopes, and human activities. Major traditional practices of SWC were identified as erosion control stone bunds, contour

bunds, waterways, trenching, silt fences, afforestation and indigenous rainwater harvesting systems/tanks (RWHS). The study produced structural designs of appropriate SWC measures, such as RWHS, improved stone bunds, strengthened contour bunds, agroforestry, improved silt fences, water retention trenches, and modified bench terrace. As an implementation strategy, a 5.5-acre forest of indigenous trees and fruits has been planted for environmental restoration in the catchment.

## **ENERGY TRANSITION: ENABLERS AND BARRIERS FOR AFRICA**

### **Exploring The Role African Free Continental Trade Area in South Africa's Mineral Security and Renewable Energy Initiative**

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This paper investigates the potential role of the African Free Continental Trade Agreement (AfCTA) as an inter-regional trade instrument for energy reform and mineral security, with the goal of successfully implementing South Africa's Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme (REIPPPP), a large-scale competitive tender process aimed at migrating the current Electricity Supply Industry (ESI) to diversify energy generation sources to produce sufficient, reliable, and affordable energy. In an attempt to address loadshedding, the national service delivery crisis, and infrastructure gaps by increasing the manufacturing and supply capacity of rooftop solar photovoltaic panels and lithium batteries, rehabilitating Khutsong, a predominant mining township, as a Renewable Energy Development Zone (REDZ), to be expanded into the Gauteng City Region's Western Development Electricity Grid Infrastructure power corridor.

## A Close-Up of Ethiopia's Hydraulic Mission through the Gibe III Hydropower Project

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Currently, Ethiopia is investing considerably in the development of hydropower dams. While serving national economic agendas, hydropower dams have entailed adverse socioeconomic impacts on local communities. The purpose of this study is first to explore the essence of the hydraulic mission underpinning the building of hydropower dams in Ethiopia considering the Gibe III Project. Second, identifying the pitfalls in the hydraulic mission which contribute to the national-local scalar trade-off in hydropower projects. It draws on qualitative data gathered from expert interviews and focus-group discussions held among project-impacted communities. The results revealed that building a Climate Resilient Green Economy (CRGE) constituted Ethiopia's hydraulic mission underpinning hydropower development. Discursive narratives and practices underlying CRGE have reflected pitfalls that contributed to hydropower dams' adverse local socioeconomic impacts.

The pitfalls concern the perception of the centre-periphery development disparity; discourses on water consumption within hydropower dams; feasibility studies on hydropower projects; planning hydropower projects; ex-post project evaluation on hydropower development; coordination and transparency in hydropower project implementation; the dispensation of benefits in hydropower projects. The CRGE reflected a new way of perpetuating the age-old agenda of river basin development programmes for boosting the national economy at the expense of local development priorities.

## An Analysis of Africa's Engagement in EU-led Renewable Energy Initiatives

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Africa's climate change response has been typically overshadowed and dictated by non-African strategies and policies. Africa is on a mission to reduce its reliance on fossil fuels and other sources of energy that are detrimental to the environment. With the increasing population and rising energy demands, the need for Africa-led sustainable renewable energy interventions in Africa is more vital than ever before. Several initiatives have been introduced to support Africa's response to this challenge. The African Union's (AU) strategies and initiatives in this area are often surpassed by externally driven initiatives. These initiatives are usually led and funded by non-African institutions, and implemented on African soil, without the consideration of Africa's strengths in energy resources and its needs. To support the objectives of the European Union's Green Deal as well as other preceding strategies of the European Union (EU), the EU launched several initiatives, including the Long-term Europe-Africa Partnership on Renewable Energy (LEAP-RE) programme launched in 2021, which seeks to establish a long-term partnership of African and European stakeholders in the field of renewable energy, as a response to the climate change crisis. The programme was allocated approximately €31mil to fund projects in renewable energy—of these funds, ~€4.1mil was invested by seven African States, while the rest came from the European Commission and its Member States. The projects focus on areas of research, innovation and technology development that have been 'jointly' devised by both African and European stakeholders. However, these areas are often not in sync with Africa's strengths and renewable energy potential. This paper contributes to the growing literature that analyses Africa's investments, priorities, and engagements in

responding to climate change. It references the development of the LEAP-RE programme and its relevance to the African context. It concludes with recommendations on the approaches for Africa to better position itself to leverage external resources in meeting the increasing energy demands in the continent while capitalising on its resource potential.

**Contextualising household food insecurity: A case study of Ambrose, Alfred Nzo district and Maramanzyi, Vhembe District, South Africa**

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Smallholder crop production is a defining feature of achieving food security, particularly at the household level. However, the area of land where cultivation is practised in rural areas of South Africa is declining as households withdraw from field cultivation to home gardening. While substantial efforts have been devoted towards assessing food insecurity in the country, the need to increase productivity for rural households demands attention.

This paper presents results from a study conducted to determine the prevalence of household food insecurity in two villages, each located in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo provinces. Semi-structured questionnaires were administered to acquire both qualitative and quantitative data from 106 household heads. IBM SPSS Statistics 28.0 computer programme was applied to complete the data analysis. The findings of the study, analysed through the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS) indicated that food insecurity is a prevalent phenomenon among households as the majority of respondents were mildly food insecure due to food shortages emanating from insufficient income and waning crop production. Low income coupled with social grant dependency has negative implications for household food security, but crop cultivation is adopted as a vital strategy

for alleviating food shortages. Since deagrarianisation erodes opportunities for increased smallholder production, enhancement of cultivation needs to be central to policies addressing food insecurity. In this regard, interventions extending beyond the provision of water, electricity, market access, skills and information could not only improve self-provisioning capacity but also make the prospects of achieving household food security feasible.

## VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND CLIMATE CHANGE ADAPTION IN CENTRAL AFRICA

### **Gouvernance sécuritaire et mobilité transfrontalière au Sahel**

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La dégradation de l'environnement sécuritaire dans l'espace Sahel est un terrain propice pour le développement des activités des groupes armés terroristes, le grand banditisme et la criminalité transfrontalière. Malgré les efforts des différents Etats de l'espace, l'immensité territoriale et l'insuffisance du contrôle des frontières a accentué la circulation des armes de tout genre, le terrorisme, le trafic de drogue. Cette situation d'insécurité chronique a engendré les crises communautaires, et le repli communautaire. La cohésion intercommunautaire est devenue une source de protection ou de résilience contre les attaques perpétrées par des hommes inconnus. Ce qui rend difficile la construction de certain État-nation du Sahel comme le Mali, le Niger etc. En effet, la nécessité d'une reconfiguration du territoire s'impose aux États du Sahel pour relever le défi de la mobilité et de la circulation de l'information. La connexion économique transfrontalière dissiper la souveraineté des États du sahel et elle

renforcera la lutte permanente contre l'insécurité et l'hybridité culturelle entre les nations de différents États. La prise en compte du local constituera une obligation par le développement de l'économie de proximité entre les pays frontaliers.

## **Effet des variabilités climatiques sur les cultures vivrières au Congo: cas du manioc**

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Ce papier a pour objectif principal d'analyser l'effet des variabilités climatiques sur la culture de manioc en République du Congo. En effet, ce travail utilise les données secondaires allant de 1987 à 2017. Pour atteindre notre objectif, nous avons utilisé la méthode ARDL dans le but de présenter les résultats de court et de long terme. Les résultats de notre étude montrent que les variables : population rurale, variation de la température et les importations alimentaires sont statistiquement significatives et impactent négativement sur la culture de manioc à court terme. Comparativement aux résultats obtenus à court, à long terme, nous constatons que seule la variable population rurale influe négativement sur la culture de manioc. Par contre, les variables : variation de la température et les importations alimentaires qui à court terme impactaient négativement, influent désormais positivement sur la culture de manioc à long terme.

## “Déterminants de la perception et de l’adaptation au changement climatique : expérience des exploitants agricoles en République du Congo”

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Comprendre les facteurs influençant la perception du changement climatique peut aider à améliorer les politiques de renforcement de la capacité d'adaptation des exploitants agricoles face au changement climatique. Malgré cette importance, peu d'études se sont penchées sur cette question au Congo. Afin de tenter de combler cette lacune, la présente étude analyse l'expérience des exploitants agricoles installés par AGRI-CONGO en matière de perception et d'adaptation au changement climatique. Elle s'est fondée sur une enquête de terrain auprès de 201 exploitants agricoles dont 101 à Brazzaville et 100 à Pointe-Noire, les deux principales villes du Congo. Les résultats statistiques ont montré que la plupart des exploitants agricoles perçoivent le changement climatique (98,5 pour cent de réponses) et pratiquent l'adaptation (85,35 pour cent de réponses). Les taux élevés de perception et d'adaptation des exploitants agricoles découlent d'une part de leur expérience dans l'activité agricole et d'autre part, de leur détermination à préserver leurs activités malgré les risques actuels liés au changement climatique. L'indice de confrontation des problèmes a montré que le manque d'expérience, la difficulté d'accès aux intrants et au crédit agricole, sont les principales contraintes en matière d'adaptation. La diversification des cultures, l'ajustement du calendrier agricole ainsi que le changement de culture dans un même site sont les stratégies les plus développées par les exploitants agricoles. L'étude a identifié les déterminants de la perception et l'adaptation au changement climatique par l'application du modèle Probit. En effet, l'âge, le niveau d'instruction et le nombre d'actifs agricoles sont les principales variables



qui augmentent la perception des exploitants agricoles au changement climatique ; alors que les dons en intrants, l'expérience dans l'agriculture, les droits de propriété, l'exercice d'une activité secondaire et l'appartenance à une organisation sont des facteurs déterminants de l'adaptation des exploitants agricoles au changement climatique. Enfin, une attention particulière de la part d'AGRI-CONGO devrait être accordée à la formation, au renforcement du matériel agricole, à l'octroi des subventions en engrais et intrants ainsi qu'à l'octroi des titres fonciers pour renforcer la capacité d'adaptation des exploitants agricoles.

### **Towards Agenda 2063: Exploring the Resurgence of Coups d'état in West Africa and the Sahel Through the Lens of Greed vs Grievances**

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For the past two years, West Africa and the Sahel have been engulfed by a wave of military takeovers and coups. This calls into question whether the African Union (AU) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) are close to achieving the Agenda 2063 goals, such as democracy and good governance, maintaining and preserving peace and security in Africa. *De jure* military coups and unconstitutional change of government are condemned by the AU's Lomé declaration of 2000 and the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance adopted in 2007.

However, *de facto* the AU has not responded collectively to coups and other unconstitutional changes in West Africa and the Sahel. Likewise, coups in countries such as Mali, Sudan, Burkina Faso, and Cote de Ivory were condemned by the AU and ECOWAS. Meanwhile, the coup d'état in Chad was treated with a double standard. Furthermore, the recent

resurgence of military coups in West Africa and the Sahel parallels the intensifying proxy conflicts between the global hegemony from the West, the United States of America (USA), and the East (particularly Russia and China). Both these Eastern global hegemony do not subscribe to traditional democratic values as advocated for by the West. This explains the emerging military ties and cooperation between Russia, China, and some of the West African and Sahel juntas such as Mali (as the recent African state to be under military rule as of 2020). Ultimately, Africa seemingly becoming a power-play for Russia and China is against the West's influence in Africa, resembling the days of the Cold War and advancing Spheres of Influence in Africa. Against this backdrop, the paper seeks to explore the resurgence of coup d'état in West Africa and the Sahel through the lens of greed versus grievances. There has been a reluctance by studies to explore the rise of coups and military takeovers through the lens of greed vs grievances. Thus, this paper intends to address two related objectives *viz*: to analyse the challenges of political fragility and security in West Africa and the Sahel, and to explore the resurgence of coup d'état in West Africa and the Sahel through the lens of greed versus grievances. The paper also intends to draw close attention to how global hegemony use African political fragility to advance their own interests by interfering in internal politics by funding coups and training the junta leaders advancing these military operations. Findings are that the resurgence of coups in West Africa and the Sahel have variations. Some were executed by greedy presidents who sought to cling to power by extending their term of office (constitutional coups). Meanwhile, military leaders executed other coups under the pretext of tackling group grievances such as political fragility and insecurity in the region (military coups). Methodologically, this paper employs qualitative literature assessment and relies on content analysis to delve into the study's findings.