



CHAPTER ONE

General Introduction

This is a study bordering on virgin territorial research. It is a study on African integration institutions as drivers of regional integration in Africa. It is a study on how and why institutions stagnate or, alternatively, grow to develop a life of their own despite the odds against them. Recent reforms in the African Union (AU) have seen regional integration institutions such as the Pan African Parliament emerging. In the light of such developments, it seems the AU may be transforming from a loose political organisation into a structured and effectively managed regional entity. This state of affairs makes for an interesting focus of study.

Public Administration is an applied social science. The development of theories in Public Administration is mostly hinged to observable trends. In the same vein, the development of theories in International Administration and International Political Economic studies are roped to the methodical study of international organisations and trends.

One of the expediencies of research is in its ability to attempt generalisations as basis for future research (Wellington, Bathmaker, Hunt, McCulloch & Sikes, 2005:57). Due to the short time span spent so far on the Pan African Parliament's institutional building process and the dearth of PAP relevant studies, it is relevant to consider some of the theories that have developed over time through observing and explaining the development of European regional integration institutions. Hitherto, many studies on the phenomena of regionalism have centred on those grand and middle-range theories of regional integration drawn from the phenomena of regional integration in the European Union (Bulmer, 1998; Caporaso, 1972; Hall & Taylor, 1996; Haas, 1961; 1970; Kato, 1996; Moravcsik, 1993; Pierson, 1996; 2000; Puchala, 1999; Schmitter, 1969; Tsebelis, 1994). Theories of regional integration, like middle-range theory of neo-institutionalism, and grand theories like neo-functionalism and inter-governmentalism, provide some



theoretical foundation in studying the nature, the process and outcome of regionalism trends. These three theoretical approaches dominate regional integration discourse. Neo-functionalists attempted to predict the end point of integration where regional integration is seen as a slow, discreet decision-making process from non-political issues to the political, resulting in a brand new polity. Intergovernmentalists argue that regional integration is spurred by nation states, while institutionalists try to explain how regional institutions acquire supranational status and thus drive regional integration.

An institutional approach to regionalism and integration studies will try to show how institutions are viewed within intergovernmentalist and neo-functionalist discourses. By so doing, it will shed some light on the roles that institutions play in the overall process of regionalism. Additionally, it will highlight the sovereignty versus supranationality debate in integration studies, but, more than this, irrespective of which theoretical school, it will anchor discourse on the origin and growth of regional institutions (in Africans' integration). Institutionalism studies therefore have a significant role to play, both in the overall nature and in the process of regionalism in this study.

Based on the above, taking an institutional approach to the study of the Pan African Parliament and regionalism in Africa entails that successes and challenges of regionalism be interrogated from the angle of institutionalism. Studies on institutions comprise a deluge of functionalist studies (Pierson, 2000:476). Functional concerns dictate that an institution's existence can be linked to the function it serves. Thus some studies on institutional origin and growth focus on rationality in group decision making, as well as on how institutions play a role in individual rational choice (Shepsle & Weingast, 1987; Hall, 1987; Smith, 2004 & Tsebelis & Garret, 2001). The issue is that, while institutions play a role in guiding the choices of actors and producing unique strategies for actors (Tsebelis & Garret, 2001:70), these choices can in turn be manifested in the nature of institutional arrangements in emerging organisations. Although this rational choice view has been challenged in more phenomenological writings by authors like Miller (2000) and Pierson (2000), in considering embryonic institutions where it may not be feasible to determine institutionally driven outcomes, non-rational angles may pose a challenge.



Nevertheless, it is offered that, in deliberating the function of such a nascent institution such as PAP, a suggestion on the origin of PAP needs to be explored. This can be achieved by studying how the institution of governance and leadership in Africa has shaped the intentions of the designers of the Pan African Parliament. Furthermore it is argued that determining origins will also uncover certain functional purposes of African integration institutions, which, in turn, may suffice in providing reasonable expectations about outcomes in the integration debate.

From the foregoing, this study focuses on African regionalism, reflecting grand and middle-range theoretical standpoints in the role of regional institutions. The central issue in this thesis is the extent of the influence of the Pan African Parliament in the African Union and regionalism. However, to answer that question, the question of “why PAP in African regionalism?” has to be answered. Thus, the thesis interrogates the definitive role of the Pan African Parliament, an organ of the African Union, from an institutionalist standpoint (middle range) in relation to its design and designers (origin). In particular, this study begins the argument from a premise of rational choice, which says that designers of institutions are purposeful actors.

This chapter delves into the basis for the study. It does so by first making a case for the motivation behind the study and the objective of the study. A brief historiography of the African regional integration movement by way of African Pan Africanism is juxtaposed with the movement of Europe towards integration. This is necessary, considering that this is a study to investigate regional integration theoretical formations, which are largely based on the European Union experience. Thus by providing a basis for the analytic framework, this chapter outlines possible value intended from the study, based on its significance and the nature of the research process.



1.1 Background

In order to better understand development, delivery processes and outcomes within African States, it is relevant for students of Public Administration to investigate the role of the African Union. The idea of African unity emerged as a project for African leadership and development policy discourse after the mid 20th century. Undoubtedly, a noticed commitment to African unity by African leaders has existed from the early stirrings of independence (Nkrumah, 1965; Mazrui & Tidy, 1984; Ajala, 1973). Mistry (2000:556–561) models the history of regionalism in Africa in two phases. The first-generation integration arrangements, like the 1910 South African Customs Union (Henderson, 1985: 225), were derived from past colonial regional legacies and were explained in the old order economic development theories, in particular protectionism, dependency and external influence (Amsden, 2003; Velasco, 2003; Uchendu, 1980; Owusu, 2003). The second-generation integration arrangement from the 1970s to the 1990s relied heavily on sub-regional formations as a route to continental and then global regionalism (Geda & Kibret, 2007; Mazzeo, 1984). Context-based and historical exigencies such as these, then, pose a challenge for comparative research on regional integration in developing countries.

Regionalism studies in Africa have tended towards market economy issues and trends (Asante, 2001; Deng, 1998; Gruhn, 1979; Lee, 2003; Onwuka & Sesay, 1985; Te Velde, 2006). Whereas there have been studies in recent times on the key institutional developments in the AU, like the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) (De Waal, 2002; Gottschalk & Schmidt, 2004) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) (Cilliers, 2002; Kanbur, 2004), there is also need to focus on institutional attributes as against the policy characteristics of regionalism trends. In this case, the origin, growth and impact of AU institutions in regional policy development and outcomes become the centre of study focus. Thus, while considerations in research are made for economic, policy and even sociological approaches to the study of regionalism, institutionally based studies are also important. As a result, the role of the Pan African Parliament in the regionalism process should be seen as a relevant area of study.



Nonetheless, it must be noted at this stage that, for these very reasons, this will not be a study devoid of challenges.

Institutionalism can be seen as the impact of structure on policy, and the relationship between the constitutional and legal arrangements between spheres of government and policy. The study of institutions and regional integrative institutions, in particular as causal centres of policy and political analysis, is still a growing area of study. In international application, the European Union structure shows that the role of institutions is crucial, as there cannot be a discussion of the European policy process without a discussion of the institutional interactions. This involves the institutional dynamics and the political relationships within these institutions. Wallace and Wallace (1996:26), attempted to tie institutional development, reinforcement and indeed arrangements as consequential constraints and facilitators to collective policy agreement. They also suggested that some policy agreements required some institutional changes. This is an important point of departure in that it takes a broad and detailed focus on European Union structures and how they affect the nature, interaction and effectiveness of policies.

However, there seems to be a dearth of scholarship in terms of region relevant and specific theories that attempt to explain African institutional regionalism. Thus, in an attempt to understand the nature and effect of African regional institutions on regionalism in Africa, there is a need to understand the nature of public institutions at a micro level, and their importance as variables within the discipline of Public Administration. While the thesis investigates the functional role of the Pan African Parliament and effects of this role on the AU system, it also, at the macro level, examines the overall nature of regional integration in Africa and the emergence of PAP.

1.2 Motivation for the study

The recent re-invention of the African Union has resulted in a more structured entity with new programmes for socio-economic recovery and democratic reform among states. The



New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), for example, are seen as some of the better AU examples of change towards good governance and African economic recovery (NEPAD¹, 2002;2003).

In recent years, more African countries have been adopting democratic governments. Although faced with numerous problems, it seems that, with the growing prospect of political stability in Africa, the inevitability of strong regional economic growth becomes more apparent. The rapid transformation of the African Union has resulted in some ambitious objectives and programmes supported by treaties which act more like macro policy frameworks. However, it is imperative that, along with the enthusiasm that goes with the programmes of action, there are frameworks (legislative and institutional) which give support to programmes to see them to the envisioned outcomes.

In this case the issue of legitimacy is paramount. For instance, while NEPAD has targeted policy on different sectoral priorities such as agriculture, infrastructure and environmental initiatives, the precondition for development, which includes the declaration on good corporate governance, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and the framework for the implementation of banking and financial standards (NEPAD, 2002:1), are seen as vital. This can be construed as priority issues which may be integral to a successful implementation of the sectoral priorities. The legitimisation of NEPAD policies, however, is presently constrained, as there is no legal backing in terms of the harmonisation and legitimisation of these policies. With the recent institution of the Pan African Parliament, though, the process of legitimisation and harmonisation of continental policies is expected to be realisable. Thus, the role that the Pan African Parliament is supposed to play in the legitimisation and harmonisation of continental policies was germane to the purpose of the study.

Next, with Africa's plethora of challenges, the issue of institutional building seems relevant. This is especially crucial with the integral role that varying interests play within the continental landscape. Moreover, the interaction between power, interest and

¹ See reference: New Partnership for Africa's Development



institutions, especially in international politics, seems to have come of age in Africa's recent and changing regional political landscape. This lays open extensive theoretical potential in exploring the goal of integration in the face of varying national interests and leadership in Africa. Tiekou (2004:253–256), elaborates this view in proposing that the foreign policy interests of African leaders like South Africa's Mbeki, Nigeria's Obasanjo and Libya's Gaddafi have played a huge role in the creation of the AU. Considering the possibilities of this premise, it seems that, within the arena of regional integration, the role of institutional designers, heads of state like President Thabo Mbeki, President Olusegun Obasanjo and Leader Muammar Gaddafi and other continental actors are significant when considering institutional origin and effect theories; one relevant argument being that builders of institutions tend to fashion institutions based on functional outcomes that favour them.

In the light of the above, and with a wide range of competing challenges and even more strangled resources within the AU, studying institutions within the regional polity is sure to become a most interesting and challenging area in regionalism studies in Africa. Also, as a regional structure, the nature of the African Union's institutional structure and the relationships between its organs are important factors in determining the success of regionalism in such a body with diverse interests. In view of the above, this study investigates the interaction between institutions and their functionality, using one of the organs of the AU, the Pan African Parliament, as a case study. Finally, the Pan African Parliament presents research interest as far as its mandate and structure are concerned. As a new entrant into the continental landscape in Africa's regional development, it requires closer examination and understanding, especially in light of developments in the more entrenched European Parliament.

1.3 Objective of the study

The objective of this research is to explore the origins and institutional arrangement of the Pan African Parliament and, by so doing, infer PAP's influence on the future of regionalism in Africa. This study is, thus, both explorative and predictive. The tools for

this inquiry are based on parameters set out in theories that try to explain the overall progress and functional processes of integration. This objective is supported by a theoretical framework, with emphasis on key integration models. First are neo-functionalism and intergovernmentalism, grand theories of integration which attempt to explain the overall nature of integration. The interest in these theories lies on how the theories view institutions of integration. Neo functionalists see institutions as developing their own survival mechanisms and growing into a life of their own through a process called spillover (Haas, 1961; Haas & Schmitter, 1964). It also attempts to predict an end point of integration by showing how integration deepens as decision making becomes more centralised in regional institutions (Schmitter, 1969). Intergovernmentalists see this evolution of institutions as merely a supervised delegation of powers by the state through a bargaining process (Puchala, 1999; Moravcsik, 1993; 1995). Next, there is neo-institutionalism, a middle-range theory of regional integration, which tries to explain the functional processes in integration by examining the relationship between an institution's existence and effectiveness and the intentions of its designers (March & Olsen, 1984). It is argued that using the provisions of these models as research kits in building a theoretical and analytical framework may possibly help in identifying the definitive role of PAP in African regionalism. Specifically, the thesis centres discourse on institutionalism as the central theory for analysis. This choice will be explained subsequently.

Rational choice in institutionalism discourse, it is argued, is linked to the idea of functionality (Miller, 2000; Pierson, 2000; Hall & Taylor, 1996). Functionality deals with rational choice prescriptions which see institutional designers as instrumental, long-term thinkers, where outcomes from such decision making are anticipated. As a result, institutions emerge and develop as intended by their designers. In relation to the Pan African Parliament, its functionality can be observed in the organisational arrangements that have emerged in the process of the Pan African Parliament's design. Other study areas comprise the context of regionalism world wide and the socio-political context of African integration and development. This will feature the role of national interests and ideologies (which in the bargaining arena can be construed as influencing the short- and



long-term goals of institution designers). Important to the study is how these factors translate into institutional and organisational arrangements within the Pan African Parliament. It was envisioned that these areas of discourse would suffice in the critical examination of the role and effect of the Pan African Parliament within the African regionalism context.

1.4 Significance of the study

This thesis holds some measure of significance for the study of African integration as a whole and throws some light on the nature of the emergence of African regional institutions. For many latecomers to the regionalism arena, the idea of political harmonisation is less tempting than that of economic co-operation. Apart from the EU, the arena of regionalism is littered with weak, loosely structured regionalism arrangements. The EU so far, seems to present the most institutionalised and reasonably cohesive example of a regionalism endpoint. The issue of sovereignty has played a huge role in the way members approach the European Union. For instance, the gradual progression towards integration from the 1950s onward had been resisted at different levels by different countries for different reasons. As a complex cluster of institutions, the journey to the present EU is the result of integration boosted through the strengthening of institutions and increasing the capacity and powers of the certain institutions.

As one ponders the various schools of thought on what drives social and political actors in designing institutions, the rational choice model stands out as a better tested analytical tool (this is discussed in detail in the methodology). Despite this stance, there is a need to interrogate the means-end premise versus the more cultural and normative questions that guide decision making; long-term goals vis-à-vis short-term ones and, finally, anticipated versus unanticipated consequences of decision making. This is because, within these conflicting issues, there needs to be a greater questioning of the role of PAP in the African Union, especially at this stage of institutional building. Thus, in terms of value added to research and knowledge, this study envisions two areas of significance:



1. Institutional origins: Identifying the role of the designers of the Pan African Parliament as well as identifying why institutions emerge and grow. This involves finding out the motivation behind the decision to institute the Pan African Parliament as a continental body and debating the issue of rational choice and arguments against it.
2. Institutional outcomes: Among other issues, the thesis explores the possible strengths and challenges for PAP in the future in terms of regionalism in Africa. This is done by examining how grand theories of neo-functionalism and intergovernmentalism view institutions. It also examines the institutional building process in PAP. Also of relevance to the study are the critical institutional arrangements and provisions as they stand, particularly those provisions which provide leverage in terms of fuelling institutional growth.

This study attempts to examine the stipulations of the Pan African Parliament's establishing treaty and strategic and action plans to determine how existing theoretical schools can be reflected in terms of regional integrative institutions in Africa. However, it must be noted that there is no prescript that shows that this thesis will produce an applicable theory on the origins, significance and effect of institutions in terms of African integrative institutions on regionalism. Finally, it is suggested that, if actor intentions are clarified in terms of the appropriateness and the means-end viewpoint, and if the possibility of PAP's expansion can be determined, the Pan African Parliament's influence as an institution of change in African regionalism can be better studied and understood.

1.5 Approach to the study

The approach to this study involves attempting to answer the research question using an institutional analytical framework. According to March and Olsen (1984: 734), until recently with the growth of new institutionalism, the emphasis on institutions, which predominated early works of political scientists like W.W. Willoughby, economists like



John R. Commons and sociologists like Max Weber, seemed to recede into the background in the light of other modern political perspectives like behavioural approaches. In pointing out those theoretical approaches which seemed to loom over the institutionalist ideals, March and Olsen (1984:734) highlight the tendency to view politics as a dependent variable in relation to factors such as ethnicity, language, culture and economics, as well as the approach that sees individual behaviour as cumulating in observable political outcomes rather than emphasis on organisational dynamics such as structure and rules as the precipitates of political phenomena.

As Tsebelis (1999) suggests, an institutional approach entails the study of institutions in order to see how they are systematically associated with specific outcomes. Rather than approaching this study on the Pan African Parliament's role in the regionalism process from an economic or policy perspective, the central focus for theory and analysis is more on institutions. From the foregoing, an institutional approach to interrogating the research question involves, firstly, using existing studies on regional institutions like the EU Parliament to isolate some significant points of departure, in practice as well as theory, within the African experience. Thus, a theoretical framework that explores regionalism from neo-functional, intergovernmental and neo-institutional theories of regional integration will suffice.

Finally, studying the Pan African Parliament from an institutionalist perspective, considers a rational choice premise, interrogating the functionality of PAP to its designers as its *raison d'être*. An institutionalist perspective also means exploring PAP in relation to neo-functional and intergovernmentalist viewpoints. This is in order to explore the significance of PAP as a regional player considering the manner in which these theories treat institutions in the regionalism arena.



1.6 Conceptualisation of key terms

Academic discourse thrives on concepts and their clear definitions. This is especially so with the possible dimensions in the representation of concepts. For the purposes of this research, it is important to define the key terms that underpin the logic of the discourse. The result is intended to lay out a conceptual framework for the study, as well as put some limitations on the scope of the study. By so doing, a foundation for the application of the theories relevant for this research is provided.

Firstly, considering that this is a thesis hinged largely on an institutional approach in terms of methodology and thesis development, it is important to locate the parameters within which institutionalism discourse is considered. Finally, the ambiguous concept of regionalism is tackled as far as the ramifications of this thesis is concerned and in addition, certain terms in the research question which are seen as vital to making research relevant findings such as “the definitive role” and “decision making” are spelt out within the bias of this thesis.

Institutionalism

Institutionalism is a useful analytical tool in comparative politics, where institutions become variables which provide explanation for political, economic, and social phenomena and outcomes. It involves the development of a theoretical framework which seeks to examine the importance of formal institutions in economic and socio-political systems as opposed to group and individual behavioural and social dynamics.

The term institutionalism covers traditional institutionalism and neo-institutionalism (new institutionalism). Specifically, this study focuses on neo-institutionalism, which is a middle-range theory of integration, drawing from the grand theory of neo-functionalism. It focuses on two approaches to neo-institutionalism, rational choice and historical, as foundation for discussing the history and legislation of African integration.



Regionalism

Regionalism is such an ambiguous concept that attempting a broad definition is like trying to negotiate a slippery slope. It warrants careful navigation as there are many potentially difficult areas. Thus, in defining regionalism, many authors try to take the safe route of working with definitions that are strategically beneficial to their particular course. Clarifying the concept of regionalism within their frame of reference makes it easier to analyse regionalism trends and processes. With ‘regionalism’ being so ambiguous, approaches in definition have gone from broadly arranged context and meaning (Lee, 2003:8; Breslin & Hook, 2002:4), to the allocation of distinct and definite properties (Hurrell, 1995:38).

At different times, regionalism studies in international relations and political economy studies have been at different levels of development. For instance, in the 1990s, “new regionalism”, as well as new international political economic theories like the Gramscian theories of power, were the phenomena to be studied. In the early 2000s, concepts like sub-regionalism and micro-regionalism developed to accommodate the different manifestations of regionalism. It is submitted, therefore, that, with the range of definitions from different periods in its global manifestation, a conceptual framework for the term will be provided in terms of this study.

Regionalism is thus conceptualised in the paper as:

1. State-driven formal regional project.
2. Both a response to globalisation and a component of the globalisation process.
3. Encompassing the concept of regional integration, which connotes, to a larger extent, the promotion of supra-nationality (institution building) and, to a lesser extent, intergovernmentalism.
4. Involving geographically proximal states.

Thus, in terms of conceptualisation, regionalism is seen in this thesis as a regional project state driven through intergovernmental interaction (Ravenhill, 2001:6; Breslin & Hook



2002:4). Regionalism is also projected as a top-down process (Breslin & Hook, 2002:4), as formal (Bach, 1999) and as having a geographical significance (Ravenhill, 2001:6; Grugel & Hout, 1999:4; Gamble & Payne, 1996a:2). The geographical restriction of regionalism has been contested by some authors in explaining certain regionalism projects (Hettne & Soderbaum, 2000:461-463), nevertheless, its use as part of this conceptual framework is defended later in this thesis.

The conceptual framework which identifies state actors as units of analysis in regionalism augurs well for this research. This is because the framework for this study considers formal structures (permanent or semi-permanent), projects (economic, political or technological) and top-down processes (institutional or intergovernmental) in explaining regionalism. Additionally, it lays little emphasis on economic concerns as a superlative means of analysis but rather as a part of the whole political economy. Margaret Lee's (2003:8) definition of regionalism sums this up as:

The adoption of a regional project by a formal regional economic organisation designed to enhance the political, economic, social cultural and security integration and/or co-operation of member states.

In attempting to conceptualise the term in line with the research objectives of this thesis, the aim of clarifications is to provide a conceptual image of how regionalism is to be defined for the purposes of this study. First the study examines regionalism from the broader context of globalisation, then from different levels of regionalism analysis. This is because of the sometimes confusing interchanging use of concepts such as regional integration, regional co-operation and economic integration in literature, especially when context is not clarified.

Definitive role of PAP

The Pan African Parliament is the outcome of a collective-choice bargaining process. For the purposes of this study, the definitive role of PAP refers to its functionality within the



AU system. This is because scholarship provides that institutions exist because they serve a particular function. In this case, outcome X (a policy, institution or organisation) exists because it serves function Y (Pierson, 2000:476). Early sociologists like Hebert Spencer (Turner & Maryanski, 1979:11), theorised that there can be no understanding of structure without functional needs, as this is the determination of the origin and development of an entity.

In this case the research aims to understand the functional role of the Pan African Parliament within the AU system and its implication for regionalism. The legislative framework defining the role of the PAP comprises the *Constitutive Act* of the African Union (article 17), the *Protocol to the treaty establishing the African Economic Community relating to the Pan African Parliament*, and the *Rules of Procedure* of the Pan African Parliament. This framework largely guides identifying and understanding the functional consequences PAP holds for its designers. In other words, PAP exists in the form it does because of its utility to designers. The task of this research therefore is to unravel who these designers are, what this functionality of PAP is and the implications for African regionalism.

In determining functionality, a rational choice model is proposed as basis or starting point for inquiry. In this case, rational choice ties in strongly within the framework of functionalist views. This is because, where there is a rational, purposeful actor, institutional effects (be they institutional arrangements or outcomes) are seen as the intended consequences of institutional designers and can thus be used as a yardstick to infer the definitive role of an institution. However, rationality only serves as a beginning point for inquiry, as the thesis also delves into some of the non-rational arguments on institutional growth. This means that, to project the growth trajectory for PAP in African regionalism, an understanding of its emergence would suffice first.



Decision Making

Decision making is an integral component of leadership and it also has the potential of promoting greater accountability in the management of organisations. The Public Administration dictionary (Fox & Meyer, 1995:33) defines decision making as “a management technique used to reach decisions by analysing information, evaluating alternatives and in each case choosing the ‘best’ policy or line of action.”

For the purposes on this research, decision making is conceptualised from the standpoint of institutional relevance and growth. Even if one argues that the present institutional arrangement in the PAP reflects the positions of its designers, it can also be argued that it is possible for the PAP to transcend its present design limitations. The aim of the research then is to draw out factors which may expand PAP’s tasks in decision making in the AU. This expansion of tasks can also be termed influence. The greater the power of an entity is, the greater its influence in terms imposing norms and practices in the organisation. Influence thus determines the extent to which certain interests can be exerted within an international setup. The issues addressed in this research have to do with those aspects of the institutional arrangement in PAP that provide leverage in terms of influence for PAP in the long term. Consequently, in conceptualising decision making for this paper and in determining the extent to which its role will add influence to regionalism in Africa, the institutional, legislative and administrative arrangement or structure in the Pan African Parliament is probed.

Finally, the role of PAP in decision making is determined by how it is positioned in the overall AU institution building process which, in turn, is hinged on the intended functionality of PAP as far as its designers are concerned. This research goes about determining its influence in decision making from this view point. The hope is that the study will also contribute some insight backed by research into the institutional building and the evolution of regional integrative institutions in Africa. As an explorative study, it is envisioned that this will give research leeway for more in-depth research in African institutions of integration.



Chapter Two

Methodology

There is no one right way to approach a social research topic. According to Marshall and Rossman (2006:97), methodology is a theory of acquiring knowledge and the activity of considering, reflecting upon and justifying methods. A methodology like this should interrogate a method or technique to determine its appropriateness in pursuing a research question. Clough and Nutbrown (2005:146) suggest that, in order to get to the critical core of the research, there needs to be an understanding of the relationships between the research question, the research design and the field questions. These authors further suggest that linking the research question to the research design gives purpose to the research. While the field questions expand the content of the research question, when field questions are applied to the research design, it provides form, structure and character to the research. With the above in mind, the objective of this methodology is to develop a research space conducive to the unique approach envisioned for this study. This will involve firstly identifying the research problem, mapping out the research design and setting out the limitations envisioned in terms of the chosen methods. The next section explores the problem which the research sets out to explore.

2.1 Statement of the problem

It is important to bear in mind that the research problem in this section will influence the research design. This is research which, generally, focuses on a fledgling regional institution, the Pan African Parliament, and its role as an integrative institution in an equally fresh African regionalism space represented by the African Union. To narrow down to the research question, there are three talking points that guide this thesis.



Firstly, it is suggested that the long-term survival of the Pan African Parliament is hinged on the influence and impact the Parliament has on regional decision making in the African Union. Investigating this influence remains the objective of this study. However, the PAP's influence and impact cannot exist in a vacuum. For instance, the African Union is also in a process of growth, having recently gone through a re-structuring process itself. This restructuring has resulted in the adoption of a new constitutive Act of the African Union in 2000, in Lome in Togo, and the subsequent formation of the African Union in Durban in 2002. At present, the dominant AU organs that impact on the regional policy process are the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, who bargain grand policy areas for the AU; the Executive Council, which drives policy implementation; the Permanent Representative Committee, which assists the Executive Council; and the African Union Commission, which, as the AU secretariat, supports the integration of AU policies and programmes into the Regional Economic Communities. Apart from the Permanent Representatives Committee and the Pan African Parliament, the thesis sees the present policy landscape as curiously resembling that of the Old Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Secondly, for a highly intergovernmental and centralised system like the African Union (AU), the supranational role expected from a democratic institution like the Pan African Parliament will prove to entail an uphill task for the PAP. Now, this points to the problem of the place and the significance of the Pan African Parliament in the traditional African Union decision-making process. Ideally, the PAP is supposed to have the duty of negotiating the legislative support for policies and projects, as well as budgetary, supervisory, advisory and investigative functions. The legislative framework that defines the role of the PAP are the Constitutive Act of the African Union (article 17), the Protocol to the treaty establishing the African Economic Community relating to the Pan African Parliament, and the Rules of Procedure of the Pan African Parliament. However, the problem is whether the PAP is expected to manifest these powers. In this case, the research will aim to unpack the definitive role of the Pan African Parliament within the AU, concerning if and how this function translates to the PAP's influence in AU decision making and, by implication, African regionalism.



The research problem thus lies in the suggestion of a possible connection between the Pan African Parliament's definitive role and the intentions (rational or otherwise) of its designers. These intentions, in turn, it is argued, are mirrored in the structure of the PAP's institutional and legislative arrangements. This is because the term "definitive role", as will be discussed later, refers to the functionality of the PAP in the AU. Some scholars share the view that institutions emerge because they are achieving a purpose for institutional designers (Pierson, 2000; Shepsle & Weingast, 1987; Hall, 1987; Smith, 2004; Tsebelis & Garret, 2000). This in essence means that the function that the PAP is expected to play in the AU, and functionality in turn, are reflected in the intentions of designers of institutions. Thus, it is proposed that the PAP's definitive role could be uncovered by going back to the context of its emergence, in this sense, the intentions and interests of its designers and the collective choice problem it was intended to solve.

2.2 Research question

It is argued that finding out what the PAP's definitive role is, will be the basis for interrogating PAP influence in AU decision-making systems and, by implication, the PAP's role in African regionalism. To this end, the research will want to answer the following question:

“To what extent could the definitive role of the Pan African Parliament influence decision making in the African Union?”

Predicting or determining this influence is a challenging and perhaps ambiguous task. Nonetheless, this is where developing a tailored research design comes in. However, to delve into institutional influence means making the institution, in this case the Pan African Parliament, the *unit of analysis*. It is suggested that a tailored research design for this study will have to be able to provide both theoretical and contextual support in discovering this definitive role of the PAP and how it ties into its influence in decision making in the African Union. This means developing a research design that will utilise



those suggestions on and explanations about the macro and micro nature of regional integration, as well as incorporate theoretical and analytical frameworks that capture tested prescripts on institutional origins and outcomes. On this note, the following sections show the research design and arguments for each method adopted.

2.3 Research Design

A research design guides decisions on data management. Generally, it will indicate a plan consistent with the purpose of the study and, specifically, will refer to the type of study (O'Sullivan et al., 2003:25). Just as with any social scientific enquiry, a research purpose can vary from the descriptive to the explanatory. Additionally, theories that emerge are based on the purpose of the studies that produce them (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The purpose of this research is explorative. An exploratory study is useful when studying little known phenomena, entities or areas (Kumar, 2005:10). The PAP began its sittings in 2004, and is currently in the process of building itself up as an institution. Thus, attempting to build comparative explanations and making generalisations at this stage may be a bit too ambitious. However, as an exploratory study, the thesis sets out to discover the unique environment of the PAP's emergence, the impact of this environment on its design and growth potential and, of course, how the environment, emergence, design and growth of the PAP tie into its role in AU decision making. Secondly, the design has features of a case study.

2.3.1 Case Study

A case study has a generally agreed feature, which is the concentration on a single unit (Stake, 2003:135; Welman & Kruger, 1999:190; Babbie & Mouton, 2001:281). There is scholarly consensus that case study designs are complex, complicated and combine a variety of methods (Willis, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Stake, 2003). The objective of a case study is to understand the dynamics, uniqueness and complexity of a



particular phenomenon. This is what O'Sullivan et al. (2003:39) describe as the “how” a phenomenon occurred and the “why” it may have occurred. “How” and “why” connote a preoccupation with origin and function. Thus, in considering the definitive role of the PAP and to determine its influence, the case study objectives of how and why become more significant. Determining the ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions of a case brings up the issue of the design of this case study.

Design of the Case study

Case studies are principled on contextual determinations and the questions about the generalisability of findings. The table below shows briefly the limits and boundaries of the case study design for this thesis. This is explained subsequently:

	What the design does	What the design does not do
1	A single unit case study	It is not a comparative study of the locus and focus of European and African integration. However, it taps into the theoretical schools emanating from the study of European integration.
2	It provides a broad description of environment, context and content (institutional arrangement) in PAP emergence and growth as a single unit case study.	It turns down the idea that, because African regionalism is modelled along the lines of European institutional integration, it should be basis for a comparative study of cases.
3	It escapes intrinsic boundaries by locating the case study within a framework of relevant theories emanating from the study of the more entrenched European integration system.	It is, however, not intrinsically bound
4	It uses these theories as basis for reflection on theory building on African integration.	It does not use these theories as basis to reframe or build on generalisations.

Table 2.1 3 Case study design



Contextual focus: Contextual detail is important in a case study (Stake, 2003:141; Babbie and Mouton 2001:282). In this case, the PAP is an entity that emerged and operates within certain contexts: the historical, political, institutional, governance and leadership landscape of African integration space, among others. Thus, there will be a chunky description of the landscape of governance and leadership in African integration and the legislative framework that established the PAP. Here the question of “how” will encompass political, economic, and global factors, events, individuals, groups and decisions that led to the emergence of the PAP. “Why” will be looking for the function or the problem that the PAP was established to address by its designers in African regionalism. Looking for this function will mean identifying intentions of PAP designers and the reflection of these intentions in the present institutional arrangements in the PAP, in relation to the AU decision-making system.

Generalisability versus intrinsic value: One of the prerequisites of social scientific enquiry is the potential for generalisations. Therein rests the dilemma of case studies. Some researchers (Campbell & Stanley, 1966:6; Glaser & Strauss, 1999:20-31) are of the opinion that studying unique cases intrinsically has no scientific benefit in terms of theory building or generalisability to other cases. Campbell and Stanley (1966:6) pointedly argue that comparisons should be basic to scientific evidence. However, Stake (2003:140), one of case study’s most ardent advocates, argues that generalisations or (as the author puts it) ‘instrumental’ considerations should not be the emphasis of all research. To illustrate this, Stake (2003:140) points to his observation that, while many case study methodology scholars point to the need for generalisations, in practice, most case study work is driven by intrinsic interests in the particular case.

A hybrid approach: For the purposes of this thesis, a workable combination of both views will suffice. On one hand, this study does not lay any claim to the explanations that generalisation engenders through comparative case studies. Nevertheless, as Stake (2003) has tried to argue, this should not take away from its research and knowledge value, especially in showing gaps in the development of the PAP. On the other hand, the thesis cannot also be caged in as an intrinsic study bounded within its own unique world. This is



because the thesis also sets out to show how findings in this case study fits within the parameters of previous knowledge. The hybrid approach thus takes aspects of these case study arguments into consideration in the research design.

In searching for inherent value, this study will inspect the Pan African Parliament from two different angles: how it originated and why it exists. Firstly, its institutional origins (“how”) will be investigated. This will involve a detailed focus on the environment of the PAP’s origin. Secondly, asking the question “why” will focus on the Pan African Parliament and its role in deepening integration. This will concentrate attention on the function the PAP performs, especially from the point of view of its designers. It suggests that exploring the institutional arrangements within the PAP will show how designers’ intentions are imprinted therein. The thesis will motivate that these institutional arrangements reflect the levels of the PAP’s influence in AU decision making, as intended by its designers. However, this intrinsic component of the PAP will not be limited only to the PAP’s unique context. This is because determining the influence of the PAP’s definitive role in AU decision making with the use of a conjectural benchmark will afford the thesis some comparative benefit. So, the role of previous knowledge in terms of theories developed in the study of European integration institutions becomes relevant.

The study of the European Union over the past 50 years has produced a large body of literature whose theories and models seem to have become the yardstick in comparative regionalism (Frankel, 1973:48). These theories are important to this study because they provide a basis for the arguments to be presented in the case study. According to Maluwa (2003:159), these “theoretical debates which have dominated social science and international relations since the 1950s... particularly in relation to the relevance of the experience of European integration... have a certain resonance with the process of institution-building in post colonial Africa”. Yet, it is imperative that, just like in early misconceptions of evolutionism in the social sciences (Turner & Maryanski, 1979:30), there should be caution in the tendency to see regional integrative efforts in Africa as an evolutionary process which will culminate in the fully evolved European example. This is



because, as will be discussed in the next chapter in terms of locus, the contexts vary and, in terms of focus, while the theoretical schools of European integration have developed over time, there seems to be a dearth of scholarship in terms of region-relevant and specific theories that attempt to explain African regionalism. Thus, it will be difficult to attempt to speculate on the trajectory of Africa's regionalism in the light of the results of Europe's regionalism experience.

While this is not a comparative case study on the practical realities of the European Union (EU) and African Union (AU), institutions of integration, in particular the Pan African Parliament (PAP) and the European Parliament (EP), it will draw on certain generalisations that have emanated from observations on the institutional-driven integration of Europe. Thus, the research will be backed by a theoretical framework that examines middle-range theories of integration, like institutionalism theories of institutional origins and outcomes, as well as grand theories of integration like intergovernmentalism and neo-functionalism which try to explain the overall process of regional integration. These frameworks will largely guide identifying and understanding the design and functional consequences of the PAP in African regionalism.

In an attempt to explain deepening integration in Europe, different schools of thought have tried to explain how European integration institutions have over time assumed supranational status. While some theories attribute it to the deliberate surrender of sovereignty by member states, others explain this growth in power in the ability of institutions to grow and develop a life of their own. It is within this theoretical space that the study is located. Thus, supporting theory on institutions in this study will be two-pronged:

1. **Grand theory:** a neo-functionalism and intergovernmentalism approach investigating the place of institutions (PAP) in overall deepening regionalism (supranationality versus sovereignty)



2. **Middle range:** An institutionalism (rational choice, historical, sociological) angle. Theories that consider how institutions develop supranational status through the processes that drive institutional origin and growth.

It is argued, as will be examined in Chapter three, that, by investigating these theoretical projections, the thesis will be able better to frame what the definitive role of the PAP might be. It will also show how this role adds to or takes away from the PAP's influence in decision making about African integration.

2.4 A Measurement Instrument: a note on functionality

How can the definitive role of the PAP be determined? Functional arguments indicate that what an institution does (institutional functioning), explains the institutional design. Paraphrased, the emergence (origin) of an institutional form is the direct result of the function it serves. Taking this view further, it can be deduced that “outcome X exists because it serves function Y” (Pierson, 2000:476). Builders of institutions will tend to fashion institutional arrangements based on functional outcomes that favour them. In this case, function could be described as “generally the resolution of some sort of collective choice problem” (Pierson, 2000:477). Functionality, thus, will be used as a basis to measure the PAP's “definitive role”.

In further considering functional prescripts, the behavioural model of rational choice comes in because the nature or form of institutions is possibly explained in the functional consequences for those who create them. There are arguments that functionality is based on a rational choice prescription which states that individuals can be rational in making decisions so far as actors are concerned about examining the potential social and political outcomes or consequences (Riker, 1980; Shepsle & Weingast, 1987; Hall, 1987). Actually, some authors like Kato (1996:564), on rationality submit that “fundamental principles of political behaviour are the same across different political systems despite



seemingly different configurations of institutions and political phenomena”. This infers that, no matter what political institution or system is being studied, a rational choice approach would present theoretical standpoints that can be used to logically explain political outcomes. In this case, rational choice ties in strongly within the research problem.

Nevertheless, some authors (Pierson, 2000; Miller, 2000; Kato, 1996; Thelen & Steinmo, 1991) see rational choice prescriptions as simplistic. They suggest that, while institutional outcomes may be seen as the intended consequences of their designers’ action, when examining the functionalist approach, terms such as instrumental, farsighted and intended should be further interrogated. These three angles for argument are examined below.

Instrumental versus appropriateness

Within a strong rational design, the means-end debate predominates, with calculating, self-motivated actors making decisions based on the potential effectiveness of outcomes. Be that as it may, instrumentality in institutional design has been questioned by other approaches where appropriateness is proposed (March & Olsen, 1989). Appropriateness in this sense is reflective of cultural motivations which are tied to sociological approaches to institutionalism (Hall & Taylor, 1996:946). In this case, institutional designers’ purposes in terms of sociological institutionalism may be more appropriate than instrumental. This is tied to cultural and value quotients like learned performance, as against means-end efficiency motivations of rationality, like reduction of transaction costs. This view is based on questioning the place of effectiveness or instrumentality versus appropriateness in decisions of institution designers.



Long-term versus short-term consequences

Rational choice supposes that implications of political decisions only play out in the long term (Pierson, 2000:449). Nevertheless, it is difficult for political actors to think in the long term. This means that institutional design cannot be explained only by analysing long-term consequences, as put forward by rational theorists. In reality, more often than not politicians make decisions for the short term for political gain. According to Pierson (2000:449; 1996:136), “long term institutional consequences are often the by-products of actions taken for short-term political reasons”. As a result, unless in exceptional cases, long-term consequences are hardly considered. Pierson (2000:481) makes suggestions as to the conditions that can make far-sightedness or long-term decision making feasible. These conditions require actors to both care about the future and feel capable of influencing it. However, the unpredictability and complexity of political behaviour makes it difficult to think in the long term. Arguments such as these that question some of the key arguments on rationality are relevant for the study of a fledgling Pan African Parliament.

Intended versus unintended consequences

Tied to the long-term/short-term arguments is the issue of intended or anticipated consequences, which is important in debating functionality. Unintended consequences, according to Pierson (2000:485), will most likely occur where mental processing of particular issues is error prone or where there is cognitive limitations (Miller, 2000:535). As people tend to focus on dramatic, recent failures, there could be a systematic error in decision making. Secondly, social context is complex as social variables are so intricately intertwined. Thus, one intervention can result in a series of consequences that may not be anticipated. Considering the foregoing, it is counter-productive to ignore the issue of unintended consequences as they are prone to occur, society being what it is. It is therefore suggested that, as Goodin (1996:29) elucidates, the social environment is “accident prone”, so, rather than ignore this fact, it should guide discussions in this thesis.

On a final note, although Pierson has queried the place of functionality and by implication rationality, there has been no approach that, in explaining institutional design, has totally discredited it theoretically (Pierson, 2000; Miller, 2000). Granovetter (1985:506) suggests that, while rational choice is problematic, it remains a good working hypothesis. As for the sociological and historical arguments on institutions, it has been construed in some studies taking a more interpretative approach to the study of institutions, that cultural approaches apply to unique case studies (Kato, 1996:565). Rational choice institutionalists and sociological/historical institutionalists seek the same goals of trying to explain why institutions emerge and develop unique sets of rules and procedures. Therefore, this study will argue the functionality of the PAP, largely taking into the consideration the rationality of its designers, albeit balancing the argument with some of the limitations identified in arguing the rationality premise.

2.5 Data Collection

For case studies, the more varied the data sources the better for the case study (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:282). The following sources were used to acquire relevant material for this research.

2.5.1 Primary and secondary sources

There was extensive use of documented sources. This was done by consulting a wide variety of literature. However, there is an element of *participant observation*, first as an observer during the 6th plenary session and subsequently as an intern at the Pan African Parliament in the documentation division (see Annexed²). I decided to use my opportunity as an intern and my observations and notes during this time as a source of data. Kumar (2005:119) posits that observation as a source of primary data is most suited when there is a chance that objectivity from an information source is doubtful. In this

² Copy of letter of application to intern submitted to PAP; contract letter from GTZ as an intern.



case, notes, information and knowledge taken during my three-month engagement with the PAP as an intern were relevant. Furthermore, documented materials such as descriptive statistics (annual reports), the legal framework that established and supports the PAP as an institution were invaluable as primary sources. These included the following:

1. Relevant AU treaty, protocol, decisions, declaration documents
2. Treaty establishing the African Economic Community relating to the Pan African Parliament
3. The strategic framework
4. Action plans or operational framework
5. PAP Annual Report 2004-2005
6. PAP resolutions and recommendations

Secondary sources were literature on relevant and recent research and studies on regionalism, institutionalism and regional integrative institutions, especially the European Union, which is at present the biggest source of material on institutional integrative trends and theories:

1. Regionalism theories
2. Grand theories and middle-range theories of integration
3. Literature on institutionalism theories

Finally, it must be noted that the data collection strategy involved having at least three approaches (triangulation) in terms of the literature research. Firstly, observation, interviews with role players, research from books and journals, AU and PAP materials themselves. Finally, other sources of data, such as internet sites, policy publications of the African Union and other regional institutions were also fully exploited.

2.6 Analysis

Mouton (2001:108) articulates that analysis involves “breaking up” the data into manageable themes, patterns, trends and relationships. Now, the methodology of an investigation determines which approach to use for analysis. In case studies in particular, emerging patterns are necessary. The analysis of data is based on information obtained from literature and observations. Therefore analysis attempts to relate the results from the case study to the theoretical framework adopted for this thesis; this means finding links, if any, between study findings and previous knowledge.

The analytical framework of this study proposes the use of a functionalist/rational choice bias for analysis. This means interrogating the origins and design of the Pan African Parliament and its relevance in the African Union and regionalism. This is particularly linked to the research question “To what extent could the definitive role of the Pan African Parliament influence decision making within the context of regionalism in the African Union?” For analytical purposes, functionality therefore provides an avenue to determine the definitive role of the Pan African Parliament’s emergence and potential for growth. An analytical framework thus suffices:

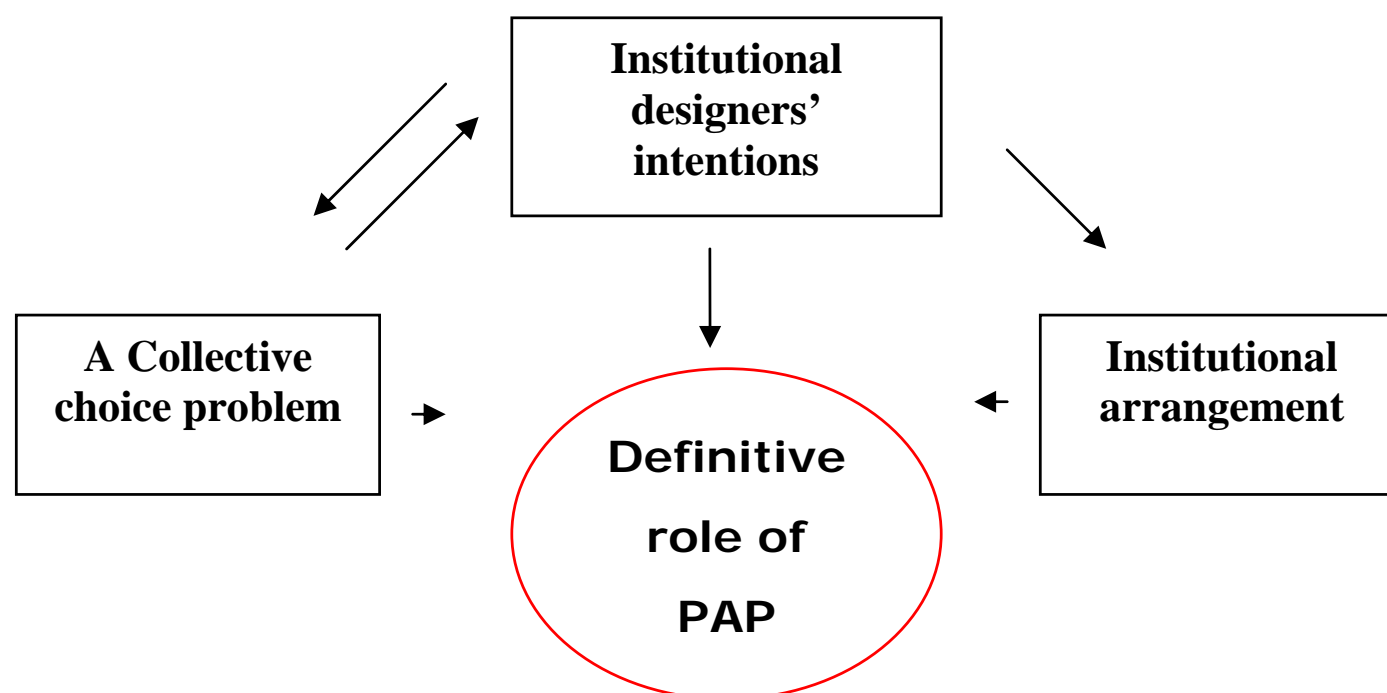


Figure 2. 2: Analytical framework (configuration mine: 2008©)



Explained briefly, the analytical framework shows that the definitive role of the PAP is dependent on certain relationships and incidents. The boxes show the relevant features within the theoretical space, the lines show connections and the arrows represent the impact point of these links. Firstly, it is assumed that the emergence or the presence of a collective choice problem will require members of a regional system (designers) to make certain choices. These choices will result in a resolution, possibly a new institution (outcome). By implication, the role of this institution is related to the collective choice dilemma it is supposed to solve. This role, in turn, is manifested in the nature of its institutional arrangements. Finally, it is supposed that the institutional arrangements reflect the intentions (long-term or short-term) of institutional designers. Thus, institutional arrangements are viewed in two distinct ways as defining the role of the institution and as reflecting the intentions of its designers. Therefore, the nature of the institutional arrangements in the PAP will be used to infer the extent of the PAP's influence within the AU regionalism framework. Based on the above premise, major questions that guided analysis were:

1. What is the collective choice problem that the PAP serves to resolve?
2. Who are the institutional designers of the PAP and how can their motivations in designing the PAP be best interpreted (rational or non-rational)?
3. Is there evidence of long-term as against short-term decision-making goals of the designers?
4. Are there institutional arrangements which are emerging that
 - show intentional or unanticipated outcomes by designers?
 - may result in the PAP gaining influence over time, and thus effectiveness as a regional integrative institution?
 - may limit PAP's influence and thus stunt the growth of the PAP?

It was calculated that these questions would serve the themes for the analysis and discussion of the findings in Chapter 4 on the definitive role of the Pan African Parliament and its long-term survival and influence in regional integration.



2.7 Research Limitations

The limitations in this research were approached from two angles. The first angle was the boundaries that needed to be set in terms of the scope of inquiry. The second boundary comprised those research constraints, which may have resulted from the research methodology itself and the case study environment in terms of dynamics and change in the research environment.

2.7.1 Setting the boundaries for the research

There were certain anticipated limitations to this study, especially in terms of its methodology. These limitations show the boundaries of the scope and theoretical framework of this research. It was imperative that the limitations be set in order not to overshoot the focus of the research. As such, the following set the boundaries for inquiry:

1. The research would concentrate inquiry into the unit of analysis (PAP) from the emergence of the PAP to its sixth ordinary session in 2006 (1999-2006). However, the regional history and evolution that led to the establishment of the PAP augured well for the design and analytical framework for this thesis.
2. Regionalism in this study would focus on institutions – how institutions impact on regional policy outcomes, whether they are economically or politically biased.
3. Theoretical grounding for the research would draw inference from tenets of an institutionalism model and regional integration theories, both as tools for inquiry and analysis.
4. In as much as organisational arrangements play a role in understanding some of the theoretical standpoints in new institutionalism studies, this study was not intending to deal with organisational theories per se, but to reflect on how some of these theories, such as behavioural theories, have shaped theoretical thought in institutionalism theories.



2.7.2 Research process limitations

These were research constraints which were likely to affect the overall findings of this research in terms of the validity and applicability of the findings. Social research is limited in many ways, as one has to contend with its human, social and environmental dimensions. In the current case, the Pan African Parliament in itself presents a unique challenge in that it is an organisation in the process of growth.

Methodology

It is acknowledged that the methods in social research are not watertight. In this sense the following limitations were observed:

Limitations of research design: Firstly, this study was an exploratory study which was limited in many ways. Exploratory studies lead to insight and understanding and seldom provide explanations or make predictions. It is possible that the results of this research can not be used for generalisation purposes. Nevertheless it is hoped that whatever observations and recommendation may arise from this study can be applied as basis for further inquiry into the regionalism process in Africa.

Limitations of the Case Study: There seems to be resistance from some scholars on the scientific value of single unit case studies which are not viewed through the lens of other cases. In its entirety, this is not that kind of study. However, this also is not a comparative case study that tries to view a case based on the experience of other cases. This is because context-based and historical exigencies are a challenge for comparative research on regional integration in African and European experiences. This study, rather, has taken certain strengths of the two opposing approaches to case study and combined them. Thus, while there is the element of detailed contextual structuring of arguments, these arguments are based on generalisations and theories drawn from previous knowledge. There are limits to what this approach can achieve. While it may show



certain patterns as reposed in theory, it will not provide explanations that can lead to generalisations and theory development.

Limitations of measurement instrument: Going from the argument that outcomes determine institutional functionality, studying the Pan African Parliament at this stage poses a challenge as institutional building and consolidation processes are still on-going. Thus, relying on its young and pliable institutional arrangement as an outcome of designers' intentions poses a research dilemma. However, the same can be said of the African Union and its other organs. Thus, these PAP institutional arrangements, while not set in stone at present, can still be used to infer the opportunities for growth and influence of the PAP within the larger growing AU system.

Data collection: Personal observations and interviews have been used in the data collection for this study . While it is acknowledged that such data collection methods provide advantages like comprehensiveness and perspective, it is also prone to certain complications, such as ethical and bias issues. The qualitative nature of the study also will most likely not provide quantifiable models which could be used by policy decision makers. However, it will probably serve to highlight the significance of a new phenomenon in African regionalism.

Finally, an attempt has been made to give a methodological foundation for the research in this chapter. This has set out what was possible in terms of the research design and the limitations that were embedded in the nature of the research unit and design. It is hoped that the chapter as a whole provides a guide to the theoretical framework that supports this thesis.