

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF COUPS ON HUMAN  
SECURITY IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF CENTRAL AFRICA  
REPUBLIC (CAR), 2013- 2015.**

**BY**

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## **Dedication**

This dissertation is dedicated to a veteran, whose works deserve to be remembered by the living and the dead, my late mother, Siketiwe Duburo.

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I am so ever grateful to the almighty God for guiding me throughout the research.

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This dissertation path taught me that in life “*I will never walk alone*”.

## Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABC	Attitude, Behaviour and Context
APRD	People Army for the Restoration of Democracy
AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Co-operation
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CAR	Central Africa Republic
CNN	Cable News Network
CPCJ	Convention for Patriots for Justice and Peace
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECCAS	Economic Community for Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community for West African States
FACA	Central African Army
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FDCP	Democratic Forces for the People of Central Africa Republic
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non Governmental Organisations
IRC	International Rescue Committee
KPCS	Kimberly Process and Certification Scheme
LCDH	Central Africa Republic League for Human Rights
LRA	Lord Resistance Army
MSF	Medicins Sans Frontieres
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
OAU	Organisation of African Union
OCHA	Office for the Coordination for Humanitarian Assistance
SAPES	Southern Africa Political and Economic Series Trust
UFDR	Union for Democratic Forces of Unity
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programmes
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children Education Fund
US	United States of America
VOA	Voice of America
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation
WWF	World Wildlife Fund
ZIDERA	Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act

## **Abstract**

*The overall objective of the research was to ascertain the impacts of the 2013 coup in CAR on human security. The research investigates the effects of the coup in CAR on all the seven elements of human security which are economic, political, food, community, health, environmental and personal or individual security. What was also essential to the research was to investigate the causes of unconstitutional change of government in Africa with particular focus on CAR. The other objective of the study was to explore factors which exacerbate coups in Africa with particular focus on CAR. The research also examines measures which were enhanced by the international community to avoid the recurrence of coups. The research also explores the hurdles faced in trying to implement the aforementioned measures. The last objective of the research was to proffer recommendations on what needs to be done to avert the menace of coups in Africa and CAR. The research was guided by the concept of human security, concept of state failure, frustration aggression theory and the concept of natural resource curse. The research used qualitative methods with a case study as the research design of the research. Primary data collection methods such as key informant interviews were utilised in the study. The research also used secondary data collection methods such as documentary search. Non Probability sampling techniques such as purposive sampling were used in order to select relevant and competent respondents. Data was analysed using thematic analysis. The study demystify that, the failure of Independent African regime and the authoritarian crisis are some of the factors which are making Africa and CAR to provide fertile grounds to coups and political instability. Natural resources mismanagement is also linked to the influx of coups in Africa and CAR as the failure to manage natural resources in CAR led to economic quagmire. The issue of resource skulduggery by government official in CAR was explored as evidence that buttress the claim that CAR is failing to utilise its vast resources. The interplay between sectarian cleavages and colonial legacy also fuels the economic crisis in CAR. The study noted that the 2013 coup in CAR had ramifications on human security. The recommendations which were proffered were that there is need for effective and robust management of natural resources in CAR, the country should transit from authoritarianism into a democratic state and there is need of a comprehensive DDR programme as the previous Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) programmes failed.*

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background to the Problem

The phenomenon of unconstitutional change of government can be traced back from the Antiquity period. A chronological list of failed and successful putschist revealed that the first putschist occurred in Israel in 876 BCE when Zimri ousted King Elah and become a king himself. Besong (2005: 2) posits that, “coup d’etats have long been part of a political tradition, Julius Caesar who is known as the most famous of Roman generals come to power through a coup and was also a victim of another coup”. It is common knowledge that in every political system the aftermath of a coup is characterised by a deplorable and reprehensible state of human rights as the new leader will be canvassing for support to maintain his grip on power through force. It can also be noted that the end of colonialism in Africa was followed by a wave of sudden illegal displacement of government and most of the states which were affected by the problem of putschist are Franco Phone states. The process of usurping power through illegal means is shown by Ruth (1997: 183) who encapsulates that, “get the keys to the military headquarters, turn out the armoury, take the post station, the airport, the radio station and arrest the person of the president and you capture the state”. Barka and Ncube (2012: 2) state that, “since the years of independence African states have faced more than 250 military coups when counting both successful and failed coup attempts”. The political, social and economic conditions which were prevailing in different African societies and colonial legacy at work during different periods have all contributed in fuelling conflicts and coups in the continent. Africa accounts to 53% of the military coups which had taken place in the world since the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The end of colonialism in Africa was marked by a tremendous proliferation of unconstitutional changes in government. Omotola (2011: 36) extrapolates that, “these unconstitutional changes of government had ramifications on democratic consolidation, peace and economic growth”. Alexander (2013: 133) postulates that, “from the Egyptian revolution in 1952 and 1998, there were 85 skirmishes or unconstitutional changes of government in Africa and 78 of which took place between 1961 and 1997”. These unconstitutional changes of government and failure to hold credible elections in Africa has exacerbated tension and puts human security at risk. Adebayo (2011: 28) posits that:

...the assorted fortunes of democracy and a sense of apprehension about its reversal, which the preceding epitomised, appears to have compounded all known fundamentals of good governance, including transparency and control, leading to the deception of the high hopes that attended the jubilee of a new period of democracy in Africa two decades earlier.

Table 1.1 shows the frequency of coups (both successful and failed) in Africa by regions.

Region	1960- 1969	1970-1989	1990-2015
<b>North Africa</b>	8	10	8
<b>West Africa</b>	19	49	43
<b>Central Africa</b>	8	14	14
<b>Southern Africa</b>	0	10	7
<b>East Africa</b>	10	26	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>85</b>

*Source: researcher analysis of data from different literatures.*

The regions which are mostly affected by the menace of unconstitutional changes of government are Central Africa Region and West Africa Region. Although the menace of unconstitutional change of government had been rampant in Africa and other Francophone states, it is CAR that repeatedly grabs international headlines on unconstitutional change of government. The current crisis which is bedevilling Central Africa Republic (CAR) stemmed from illegal change of government. Academics like (Omotola 2011; Bratton and van de Walle 1997) agree that, CAR has been unstable since its independence from France in 1960. Herbert et al (2013: 11) encapsulate that, “the stability of the CAR has repeatedly been disturbed by five successful military coups including the most recent one in March 2013”. Alexander (2013: 2) postulates that:

...the history of the CAR is rich with uprisings, from 1960 onwards, the country’s government has almost never been replaced peacefully in 1965, the country’s first president, David Dacko, was overthrown by Colonel Jean-Bédél Bokassa (subsequently Emperor Bokassa I), in 1979 Bokassa was overthrown by Dacko (although with the help of the French) and in 1981, Dacko was overthrown again, but this time by General André Kolingba and In 2003, a coup d’état was carried out by General François Bozize...

President Bozize was overthrown in March 2013 by the Seleka movement through a coup, Herbert et al (2013: 4) postulates that, “in March 2013 a coalition of rebel groups Seleka led a violent coup in the Central African Republic (CAR), ousting the former President François Bozizé from ten years in power and instating the new President Michel Djotodia”. This coup

puts the country into humanitarian and economic crisis and there were widespread reports of violation of human rights. The Seleka which in English means coalition is according to Herbert et al (2013: 5) “a loose coalition of rebel groups, and is not an official political party”. The Seleka accused the erstwhile President Bozizé of failing to adhere to the agreements from the 2007 bilateral peace agreement, the 2008 Inclusive National Dialogue, and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) programmes.

The aftermath of the coup was characterised by a myriad of human rights abuse that led to human insecurity. According to Human Rights Watch Report (2013: 2) “the Seleka has killed scores of unarmed civilians, has engaged in wanton destruction of numerous homes living people in animosity”. There were also documented reports of deliberate killing of women and children between March 2013 and June 2013 and according to the report by June 2013 more than 1000 homes both in the capital Bangui and other provinces were destroyed. Daniel Bekele (2013: 2) who is Africa Director at Human Rights Watch postulates that, “Seleka leaders pledged to usher in a new beginning for the people of the CAR, but instead have carried myriads of attacks on civilians, looting, and murder, and what is worse is that the Seleka have novitiate children as young as 13 to execute out some of this carnage.”

The military coups which are rocking CAR are as a result of the failure of state apparatus. Herbert et al (2013: 4) posit that, “the weakness of state capacity and authority in many core state functions have been a root cause of military mutinies and unconstitutional change of government in CAR”. Alexander (2013: 4) postulates that, “the CAR state frequently fails to ensure the security of the state from rebellion and coups. It also fails to protect the security and welfare of civilians from violence and poverty”. This has resulted in the emergence of rebel groups. The unconstitutional change of government which affected CAR had implications on human security as after the coup CAR become a fragile state. The problem of human security was also fuelled by foreign rebel groups which took advantage of the instability in CAR. Alexander (2013: 3) states that, :

...the Central African Republic directly borders several “problem” regions in Africa. Firstly, the north of the country is under the control of Chadian rebel groups, secondly, the east borders the Sudan province of Darfur and, finally, to the south of the country is the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and its rebels. To the southeast of the Central African Republic, the notorious Ugandan Lord’s Liberation Army (LRA) is in operation and all of these compounds the situation considerably...

Herbert et al (2013: 4) posit that, “Internal problems have been compounded by the destabilizing effects of regional politics in particular the complex relations with Chad and

regional ‘men in arms’. Given its history and geography (a landlocked country surrounded by several conflict-affected countries), CAR is particularly vulnerable to fluctuating regional developments”. Therefore the trajectory of the study is to look on the impacts of internal instabilities on human security in CAR.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The innate problem of unconstitutional change of government in Africa had negative ramifications on human security. Since the end of the Cold War African states have been providing fertile ground to unconstitutional change of government. The problem was spearheaded by weak economy, inadequate coup proofing and the geopolitical interests of super powers. At the heart of the menace of coups in Africa there is one state which had hog limelight for wrong reasons and continues to grab international headlines due to the frequency of coups. Since 1960 there have been a total of 5 successful coups in CAR and this led to animosity as there is widespread fear that the country will continue to face the menace of coups. Yoshida (2014: 1) postulates that, “military coup in Africa has been a prominent form of regime change in post-colonial African states, and the CAR is one of the states which had experienced a lot of coups”. The problem with the unconstitutional change of government which occurred in CAR in 2013 is that it is inimical to human security. According to a Report by Human Rights Watch (2013: 64), “the CAR absolutely is a “forgotten” human rights and humanitarian crisis and most people become homeless and sojourners as they are forced to flee from their homes by the Seleka, a lot of people are now taking shelter in the bush in tents made from trees and leaves, and are failing to access food or water...” The United Nations (UN) Refugee Agency Report (2015: 2) postulates that, “With more than 900,000 people from CAR forcibly displaced since the outbreak of violence in March 2013, the CAR crisis is drastically and traumatically becoming the largest forgotten humanitarian crisis of our time. There are more than 460,000 CAR refugees in neighbouring countries and some 436,000 people are internally displaced. In CAR, a total of 2.7 million people are in need of immediate humanitarian assistance”. The problem which is under investigation is of unconstitutional change of government in CAR which triggers human insecurity and as a result CAR is now considered as a failed state. The other problems which are emanating from the coup are negative spill over effects as the conflict had affected other states in Central Africa Region. CAR has become a theatre of coup and this is inimical to the process of democratisation. To elucidate, this culture of coup has implication on development and it also hinders legitimate governments.

### **1.3 Objectives**

The objectives of the study are,

- To find out the factors which exacerbate unconstitutional changes of government in Africa with particular focus on CAR.
- To analyse measures which were put in place to avoid the recurrence of unconstitutional changes of government in Africa and CAR.
- To examine the challenges faced in promoting measures put in place in addressing the problem of unconstitutional change of government in CAR.
- To ascertain the impacts of unconstitutional change of government on human security in CAR.
- To proffer recommendations on what can be done to prevent the recurrence of unconstitutional change of government in Africa with specific reference to CAR.

### **1.4 Justification of the Study**

Although a lot of academics have written extensively about unconstitutional changes of government, this study travels a different path. Firstly the study focused on unconstitutional change of government which occurred in CAR in 2013. This is fundamental as there is little literature which focused on the case of CAR this is ignited by the fact that the conflict is a recent one. The conflict in CAR is a “forgotten” crisis, so this study was a precursor in galvanising international awareness on the impacts of the coup on human security. The conflict is a recent one and the other factor which ignited the researcher to focus on the subject is that little literature focus on the impacts of unconstitutional change of government on human security.

The other significant of this study emanates from the fact that, other studies which were carried out by other researchers such as Cowell and Jonathan (2014) used quantitative research methods, this study used qualitative research methods. This is likely to bridge the weakness of other studies. The study is likely to benefit students of International Relations, academics, regional organisations like Economic Community of Central Africa states (ECCAS) and Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS), African Union (AU) and the international community. This study is important as it is going to galvanise awareness on unconstitutional change of government and human security. The study is likely to

stimulate debate in the international community about the impacts of unconstitutional change of government and human security. This study is a platform for advocacy and lobbying since it seeks to influence policy makers on unconstitutional change of government and human security.

The incidence and impacts of coups are hardly reflected in the sparse literature proposing generalisation about their impacts. The study therefore took a probabilistic approach. Certainly there are a plethora of studies on the military coups in Africa (Collier and Hoeffler (2005), Hirori (2013), however there is scarce literature on the military coup in CAR. Most of the study focused on the coup in Madagascar, Guinea and Guinea Bissau but the choice of the study on coups has been shaped by the availability of data. Therefore despite the scarce data which is available on the subject under investigation, the research took this study as an opportunity to leave his mark on coups.

### **1.5 Preliminary Conceptual Framework**

The research utilised the concept of human security, concept of states failure, the Frustration and aggression theory and the concept of natural resource curse. These concepts and theories are significant to the study since they explain how the problem is manifesting, how the problem can be solved and challenges encountered in trying to address the problem and they also work hand in hand with the objectives of the study.

#### **1.5.1 The Concept of Human Security**

Buzan and Hansen (2009: 202-203) postulate that, “a comprehensive integration and expansion of security was made to encompass development and the concept of Security was propelled by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1994”. The rationale behind the logic of security is that it should be holistic and inclusive. Buzan and Hansen (2009: 203) posit that, “the concept of security should be expanded beyond territorial defence, national interests and nuclear weapons to encompass “universal concerns” and the prevention of conflicts...” The UNDP Report (1994: 23) posits that, “Security was transformed from nation’s states and is now centred on how people live...and whether they live in conflict or peace”. This concept of security dovetails with the study as it highlights how unconstitutional change in government affects human security. The importance of this concept to the study is that it enables the researcher to familiarise with the concept of human security and how it started.

### **1.5.2 States Failure**

Ever since the evolution of states in international relations, it was believed by scholars like Rotberg (2003: 2) that, “the state has a primary obligation to provide public goods to its citizens and failure to provide those political goods was construed as a failure on the part of the state”. Rotberg (2003: 2) is the major proponent of the concept of states failure. Rotberg (2003: 5) extrapolates that, “failed states are strained, tense, deeply conflicted, alarming, and contested rancorously by warring groups. In most failed states, government army’s battle armed rebels led by one or more rivals”. This concept can be generalised in the case of CAR as it had generated into a fragile states. The significance of this concept is that it enables readers to understand how states failure affects human security.

### **1.5.3 Frustration Aggression Theory**

The frustration aggression theory also undergirds the research. The theory was propounded by Dollard and Sear (1939) who state that, “frustration is a condition that surface when circumstances interfere with a goal response and this will transverse to aggression”. To buttress what the Frustration Aggression Theory propounds the unconstitutional Changes of government which had bedevilled CAR are caused by frustration which then ignite aggression among members of the group. According to the Human Development Index Report (2010), “CAR is a landlocked country which is ranked at 185 with a human security at the rate of 2.157% and development is at the rate of 0.348%”. This shows the significance of the Frustration Aggression Theory as the failure by the regime led by Bozize ignited the Seleka to stage a coup.

### **1.5.4 Concept of Natural Resources Curse**

McNeish (2010: 1) argues that, “prior to the late 1980s; the traditional foresight concerning the nexus between natural resource abundance and development was that the former was advantageous for the latter”. However, since the late 1980s, there has surfaced a plethora of scholarly literature that encapsulates that natural resource abundance increases the likelihood that countries will experience negative economic, political and social outcomes including poor economic performance, low levels of democracy, and civil war. According to Auty (1993: 29) “the term resource curse is now generally applied to chronicle how countries rich in natural resources are unable to use that wealth to develop their economies and how counter-intuitively these countries had lower economic growth and development outcomes than countries without natural resources”. McNeish (2010: 3) argues that, “in general the



resource curse was used to refer to a wide range of economy types heavily reliant on non-renewable and renewable resources such as diamonds, timber, coca and oil". McNeish (2010: 3) postulates that, "as the contention surrounding the resource curse has developed it is notable that two non-renewable resource types essential to the world economy have captured the attention and influence in policy circles". These are minerals and hydrocarbons (oil and gas).

The concept is applicable to the study because CAR has abundance natural resources such as diamonds, oil, gold, timber among others but these natural resources are igniting coups in CAR due to mismanagement and illicit trading. According to the US Institute of Peace (2007: 15) "as renewable or non renewable materials that occur in nature and are a necessity and essential to humans, such as topsoil, oil, land, minerals, forests, wild life, water, air and fish." It can be deduced from CAR that natural resources are now an imminent threat and menace to international peace and security.

### **1.6 Preliminary Literature Review**

Omotola (2011: 5) points out that, "Africa is at the intersection of democratisation which culminated in an astronomical increase in the number of "democratic refugees" in many African nations, the word refugee is used to refer to a coalescence of marginalisation and exclusion of citizens". Yoshidi (2014: 4) postulates that, "the affliction of the Seleka members against government failure to furnish security were more categorically divulged than political motives". The Seleka essential demand was the fulfilment of DDR of rebel and armed groups and traffickers fighting for control of diamond area". Although the aforementioned scholars tried to articulate on the ramifications of coups on democratic consolidation they did not explain adequately on how those coups are affecting human security. They even fail to proffer recommendations on what African states can do to curb the problem of coups. Therefore this research was inspired by the existence of literature gap on the impacts of coup on human security.

Wangome (1985: 11) posits that, "coups are stemming from political squabbling whereby the civilian leaders have been unable to resolve their differences in the interest of the nation, the inefficiency of the civilian government coupled with corruption has been a common factor". Gutteridge (2003: 76) concurs with Wangome when he postulates that, "after independence African societies expected the government to be familiar with their problems and find solution, however this has never been so". The scholars were able to articulate the causes of

coups in Africa but due to unavailability of data they fail to give a comprehensive analysis on the impacts of coups in CAR on human security. The researcher makes up a conclusion that unconstitutional changes are exacerbated by grievances which different ethnic have and unconstitutional change of government are executed for personal ambitions.

The coup in CAR has ignited academics, civic society organisation to write about the impacts of the coup on human security. The Human Rights Watch Report (2013: 74) postulates that, “the 2013 coup in CAR resulted in numerous murders of people associated with the army of the ousted President Bozize”. The Report further highlights that following the coup there was a great human rights catastrophe. Alexander (2013: 2) reaffirmed that, “following the coup the army chiefs promised allegiance to the new government and this principally affects the entire structure of the army”. Whilst the inherent impacts of coups in CAR are visible, Gutteridge (2003: 77) states that, “unconstitutional changes of government have not improved African economic conditions but rather they are putting African states down ward”.

Due to the unprecedented rise of unconstitutional change of government various convention were signed in an endeavour to reduce the recurrence of unconstitutional changes of government.

Alexander (2013: 7) postulates that, “the idea of dealing with unconstitutional change of government existed before the formation of the African Union (AU)”. Alexander (2013: 7) asserts that, “there are three AU instruments that give a definition of unconstitutional change of government this are, the Lome Declaration on the Framework of the Organisation of African Union (OAU) response to Unconstitutional Changes of governments, the African Charter on Democracy, Governance and Elections (Addis Ababa) and the AU constitutive Act”. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3 of the study. Omotola (2008) postulates that, “the international community uses sanction to deal with the problem of unconstitutional change of government”.

The availability of scarce literature on the 2013 coup in CAR is exacerbated by the fact that the crisis is a recent one. This might because the crisis took place when the attention of academics, policy makers, and activist were focused on a series of Arab Springs (in particular the ongoing Syrian crisis). This makes the CAR a “forgotten” humanitarian crisis. This factor has ignited the researcher to contribute to the field of peace and security.

The concept of human security represents a robust but controversial, attempt by academic and policy community to redefine and broaden the meaning of term security. Keller (2011:1) asserts that, “traditionally the concept of “security” has been couched in neo-realist terms, relating to protecting the territorial integrity and political sovereignty of nations”. Security thus meant protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity of states from external military threats, (Acharya 2011: 480). The concept of state security dominated security analysis and policy making in the cold war period. In the 1970s and 1980s academic literature on security responding to the Middle East oil crisis and the growing awareness of worldwide environmental degradation began to think of security in broader non military terms but the state remained the object of security, or entity that is to be protected, (ibid.2011). The concept of human security challenges the state centric notion of security by focusing on the individual as the main referent object of security. According to Dorn (2010: 1), “the 1994 Human Development Report defined human security as people’s safety from chronic threats and protection from sudden hurtful disruptions in patterns of life”. The seven types of security which were listed as components of human security are, economic security, food security, health security, environmental security personal security (physical security), community security and political security. Human security is basically freedom from pervasive threats to people’s rights, safety and lives.

## **1.7 Methodology**

### **1.7.1 Research Design**

The study utilised qualitative research methods. Babbie (1999) defines qualitative research method as, “an inquiry into the human problem which emphasises the significant of looking into variables in the innate setting in which they are found”. The reasons why the researcher prefers qualitative research methods to quantitative methods is that qualitative research methods enables in depth examination of phenomenon and this was enhanced by key informant interviews. In the study the research was able to explore complex questions which were difficult to explore through quantitative methods for instance the question of human security. The last reason why the researcher prefers qualitative methods is that it enables the researcher to gather subjective information which was analysed using thematic analysis.

### **1.7.2 Case Study Design**

The research used a case study research design. In the study the researcher examined the case of CAR. The use of a case study in the study is compatible with key informant interviews as the case study design helped the researcher to examine the problem of unconstitutional changes of government as well as its contextual situations.

### **1.7.3 Documentary Search**

The method of gathering data which was utilised in the research is Documentary search. This secondary data includes Electronic Journals, Academic Newspapers and Articles. The documents were accessed from the University of Zimbabwe Library, the Southern Africa Political and Economic Series (SAPES) Library. The documents such as journal articles and reports were accessed.

### **1.7.4 Key Informant Interviews**

The other method of gathering data which was utilised in the research is key informant interviews with key informants. Of the intended 7 key informant interviews only 4 interviews were conducted and the other interviews were affected by the unavailability of the selected respondents. Carolyn and Palena (2006: 5) define a key informant interview as, “qualitative research method that involves conducting exhaustive individual interviews with a small number of participants to scrutinise their perspectives on a particular subject, problem, program, or situation”. The target population for key informant interviews were policy markers, academics, and members of the civic society. Before conducting key informant interviews the researcher constructed an interview guide which was utilised during interviews. Respondents from the Faculty of Arts (UZ), Amnesty International, OCHA and Save the Children were interviewed.

### **1.7.5 Sampling**

Brink (1996: 133) postulates that, “sampling is the process of selecting a sample from a population in order to obtain information regarding phenomenon in a way that represents population of interest. Since the research design of the study is a case study approach, the researcher will make use of purposive sampling”. This is a subjective, selective and judgemental sampling technique which falls under the faculty of non probability sampling technique. Through this technique, the researcher selected the respondents to participate during key informant interviews. The sampling method enables the researcher to be flexible

as the researcher used his knowledge to handpick participants. Brink (1996: 135) posits that, “purposive sampling is more convenient and less economical than other sampling methods. In the study 7 respondents were earmarked for the interviews and were supposed to be drawn from the population of academics, members of the international non-governmental organisations (INGO), civic society and regional and sub regional organisations.

### **1.7.6 Ethical Consideration**

In order to assure the credibility of the findings of the research, the study followed and respected ethical principles. It is common among academics that research ethics is vital for credible research. Remenyi et al (1998: 115) postulate that, “research ethics is a very challenging subject which the researcher candidate has to face and which if not addressed correctly may cause the results of the research to be considered tainted or even invalid”. Therefore, the research followed ethical issues in all facets of the research such as respecting the rights of the participants, following ethics in data collection, following ethics in data presentation, respect for research site and disseminating the research.

#### **1.7.6.1 Rights of Human Subjects and Confidentiality**

All the prospective respondents were fully informed about the nature and risks involved in the research. The researcher view all the prospective participants as “autonomous” that is they have the right to refuse to participate, participate with reservations, withdraw from the research without any recrimination. This principle was followed during interviews and it was not applied in documentary search since it is not compatible with secondary data. The researcher acknowledges that he had an obligation to assure confidentiality in the study. Sieber (1992: 52) posits that, “the term confidentiality refers to agreement with person about what may be done with the information he or she gives”. Roberts (2010: 34) extrapolates that, “all participants in the research must be informed about what happens to the data collected from them and about them and be assured that all the data will be held in confidence”. Just like informed consent, the principle of confidentiality was respected mainly on the data which was collected through interviews. However the technique was not applied to all data.

#### **1.7.6.2 Ethical Issues in Data Collection and Presentation**

The researcher also respected ethical principles in the process of collecting data using questionnaires, the internet and interviews. The researcher requested for permission from the participants and the data which was gathered was used in good faith. Research sites were also

respected in the research as Stake (1994: 244) postulates that, “qualitative researchers are guest in the private spaces of the world, their manner should be good and they code of ethics strict. Therefore, the research displayed a degree of sensitivity with the sites of the research by informing prospective participants on time”. Creswell (2005: 225) states that, “participants must be reminded a day or two before data collection of the exact time when you will interview or observe them stage the data collection so that they will feel comfortable responding and schedule”. Therefore the researcher followed the ethical procedures articulated by Creswell.

In interpreting data, the researcher avoids deception and misrepresentation of other people works. The research also shunned fabrication and falsification of data. Roberts (2010: 38) postulates that, “fabrication is making up data or results and falsification is changing data or results to deliberately distort them and then including the information in your research”. Remenyi et al (1998: 111) posit that, “any attempt to window dress or manipulate and distort the evidence is of course unethical as is any attempt to omit inconvenient evidence”. Therefore the research shunned the strategies since there are not useful or rational because even when the hypothesis and theoretical conjectures are rejected the research is perfectly valid. (Remenyi et al (1998: 111) ).

The researcher also shunned plagiarism, other form of academic fraud and the researcher avoids copyright infringements. These ethical principles are vital in protecting the reputation, image and degree of the researcher. The researcher also utilised the copyright law to protect the researcher’s dissertation from unauthorised access and use. To ensure the copyright law the researcher will place a notice in the dissertation.

### **1.7.7 Validity**

In order to promote the quality and trustworthiness of the findings of the study, the researcher used participatory research approach such as member checks and peer to peer research model. The other technique which was used to enhance validity is triangulation, this includes combining different methods of collecting data like in depth interviews and documentary search.

### **1.7.8 Reliability**

The researcher utilised negative case analysis in an endeavour to enhance the credibility of the findings. The other methods which were utilised to enhance reliability are, standardising data

collection techniques and recording every data which the researcher came across. The researcher also pre-tested tools in an endeavour to enhance reliability of the findings. The researcher tested the survey questions to be posed during interviews, pretesting and piloting is likely to help the researcher in identifying gaps and questions that does not make sense.

### **1.7.9 Data Analysis and Presentation**

The researcher used thematic analysis to analyse the data which was collected through primary and secondary data collection methods. After collecting data using documentary search and key informant interviews, the researcher focused on identifiable patterns, themes of behaviour. The major task was to identify patterns of experiences from the data collected. Thematic analysis encompasses the application of codes to the data obtained in an endeavour to ascertain if there are any patterns in the respondents responses. A valid discussion was cemented after identifying the themes and reading related literature. By reading the related literature the researcher was able to make inferences for the interviews undertaken. The conclusion was drawn from interweaving the findings and theoretical literature. Data analysis is making sense of the data and interpreting the data appropriately so as not to mislead the readers. The method was feasible to the study because as it enables examining, pinpointing and recording patterns within the data which will be collected by the researcher. The researcher also utilised the comparative analysis, this enables the researcher to analyse data from different settings and groups.

Word summary, tables, annexes and diagrams were used to present research findings from both primary and secondary data. The methods were used to present the results of the study.

### **1.8 Delimitations**

The study focused on the impacts of unconstitutional change of government on human security. The period which was under investigation was between 2013 and 2015. The study did not focus on how the four previous unconstitutional change of government affects human security. It is clear that although CAR had a long history of unconstitutional changes of government, the researcher will only focus on the coup which occurred in 2013. The study also focused on CAR and it did not focus on other unconstitutional change of government which occurred in Africa like in Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast.

## **1.9 Limitations**

The research was crippled by the inaccessibility of first hand information from the people who were affected by the unconstitutional change in government. To cover the gap the researcher used both primary and secondary data collection methods. . Ethical issues were also a short-come to the researcher, and this was covered up by using triangulation. The sensitivity of the subject was also a limitation as some of the targeted respondents refuted to participate. This was covered up by the use of secondary documents. The issue of bias and exaggeration of information by the respondents or from documented reports also affects the research. In order to prevent bias, exaggeration and distortion the researcher used triangulation. From the seven earmarked respondents only four participated and this was also a barrier to the research.

## **1.10 Dissertation Outline**

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

Chapter 3: The Innate Problem of Coups in Africa and CAR

Chapter 4: Impacts of the 2013 CAR Coup on Human Security

Chapter 5: Conclusion, Recommendations and Implications for Further Study



## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The telos of this chapter is to provide an in-depth analysis of concepts of the study. This chapter is the bedrock of the study as it encompasses conceptual framework and perspectives of different scholars on the study. The significance of this chapter is to explain the conditions which trigger unconstitutional change of government in CAR and how the unconstitutional change of government affects human security. The chapter explores the concept of human security, state failure, (the frustration aggression theory) and the natural resource curse. The chapter also integrates the views of different scholars in an endeavour to understand the factors which led to unconstitutional change of government in CAR, measures put in place to curb the problem of unconstitutional change of governments in Africa and the impacts of the CAR coup on human security.

#### **2.2.1 Human Security**

While there exist a lot of literature which focused on the evolution and history of human security Christie and Acharya (2008: 5) postulate that, “solid arguments for each particular history, but in all literature there was also a common refrain, regardless of the date to which the concept was traced back”. In each instance human security was said to evolve out of a rejection of state-centric security practices, Scholars like Acharya (2011: 480) argues that, “the concept of national security dominated security analysis and policy making during the cold war period but in the 1970s and 1980s there was a shift and a rethinking on the concept of security so that it could be broader and be in non military terms”. However the concept of human security has historical roots, as early as 1705 the French Philosopher Leibniz of the need for states to provide common security to citizens and Montesquieu argued that the true freedom could only occur when people are secure. This basically entails that the great philosopher saw the need for a holistic approach to the concept of security where they were concerned about the security of the individual and primarily concerned with the security of the state. Again in the 1950s political scientist Harold Lasswell argued for a broader conceptualisation of the concept of security as he perceived security as all measures which proposed in the name of national security do not necessarily contribute to the intended end. According to Lasswell (1950), the greatest security comes as a result of striking a balance between all aspects of human security.

Acharya (2011: 480) posits that, “human security was a handiwork of a group of development economists like Mahabub al Haq who conceptualised the UNDP Human Development Report”. The development economist reaffirmed that, the concept of human security must focus on building human capabilities in an endeavour to confront and curb illiteracy, poverty, diseases, discrimination, restriction on political freedom and the threat of violent and conflicts. Keller (2010: 2) encapsulates that, “the notion of human security grows from the assumption that there are needs, problems and issues that are common to all mankind no matter what part of the world they live”.

The concept of human security gathered momentum in 1994 and there was an emphasis to redefine the concept of security so that it can include other aspects like development. Kofi Annan cited in Kondo and Makaza (2014: 35) encapsulates that, “in its broadest sense the concept of human security embraced far more than the absence of violent conflicts but it also includes human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual had the opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her own potential”. Omarion (1995: 4) postulates that, “the euphoria about the concept of human security can be traced to the publication of the UNDP Human Development Report in 1994”. Gasper (2005) states that, “the concept of human security is an intersection of concern with reasoned freedoms focus on the basic needs a concern for stability as well as levels in key human development”. Salovic (2010: 133) postulates that:

...security is the pursuit of freedom from threats and should be horizontally expanded from exclusively military into political, economic, societal and environmental sectors and vertically expanded to individuals, social groups and humanity as a whole other as exclusively states...

The significance of the concept of human security to the study is that it provides a comprehensive understanding of the concept of human security. The concept of human security entered the lexicon of peace and security studies in 1994. According to the UNDP Human Development Report (1994: 22), “human security is an adaptable engrossment, it is germane to people everywhere in rich and poor countries, there are many menaces that are prevalent to all people like failure to respect the dignity of people, escalating unemployment, drug illicit and trafficking, crimes and pollution”. The report is regarded as a precursor of human security, the relevance of this concept to the study is that there is alleged to have occurred a humanitarian catastrophe in CAR as stated by Bekele (2013). The researcher will utilise this concept to measure the impact of unconstitutional change (a threat to human security) on human security.

Buzan and Hansen (2009: 202-203) state that, “the concept of human security took a holistic approach in understanding the concept of security”. Buzan and Hansen (2009: 205) postulate that, “a comprehensive understanding of the concept of security needs one to answer basic and yet fundamental security on what is security, whose security and how security can be achieved”. This concept is applicable to the study as the study seeks to examine how the unconstitutional change of government in CAR affects human security. Kane (2014: 3) postulates that, “the ensuing violent in CAR has taken religious and communitarian dimensions and it had led to unprecedented and humanitarian consequences”. The concept is therefore applicable in the study as it enables the researcher to measure to what extent and how the unconstitutional change of government in CAR affected human security.

According to the Human Development Report (1994: 23), “human security is a concept that converges upon people and is perturbed with how people live and breathe in a society, how people freely exercise their many choices, how much they approach markets and social opportunities and whether they live in peace or conflict”. Looking to the problem under investigation human security is under constant threat as CAR is in conflict. According to the UN (1994: 22-23) “human security can be summarised as a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence a dissident who was silenced”. The UN further elaborated that human security is universal and its components are interdependent and based upon preventive rather than reactionary measures and intrinsically people centred.

According to the Strategic Comment (2013: 3) “levels of violence in the CAR, and the civilian casualty toll, have steadily risen throughout 2013, but were particularly high in October and November 2013”. It is imperative to note that one need to have a comprehensive understanding of the concept of human security in order to understand how the conflict in CAR is affecting human security.

The Human Development Report (1994: 23) postulates that, “when people perceive threats to their immediate security they often become less tolerant”. This is also under investigation as at first the Seleka were threatened by the government of Bozize and they become intolerant as they are now targeting Christians. Kane (2014: 315) notes that, “in CAR the skirmishes between Muslims and Christians is a repercussion of an implosion of the security scheme, both national and regional”. Gasper (2005: 2) postulates that, “human security analysis looks at threats to fulfilment of basic values in people’s lives and human security can be easily

identified through its absence than its presence”. This rendered the concept relevant to study as in the case of CAR human rights groups like Human Rights Watch, International Crisis Group (ICG) and Amnesty International started to talk about human security in CAR after the unconstitutional change of government prior to that they were hardly involved on human security.

The last aspect on human security is its relationship with human development. According to the Human Development Report (1994: 26), “there is a direct link between human security and human development, as progress in one area enhances the chances of progress in the other, but failure in one area also heightens the risk of failure in the other”. This aspect is relevant in CAR due to the current crisis and sporadic conflicts human progress or development is low. Brown and Zahar (2015: 11) state that, “a ghastly development history, poor governance, and a plethora of ensuing coups have contributed to the political preclusion of a majority of the country’s citizens, principally those living outside the capital and notably the minority Muslim population”. This shows that human security is a critical panacea for participatory development.

The concept of human security encompasses seven areas which are political security, personal security, health security, economic security, community security and food security. Acharya (2011: 482) posits that, “the concept of human security represents both a vertical and horizontal expansion or deepening and widening of the traditional notion of national security defined as protection of state sovereignty and territorial integrity from external military threats”. Acharya (2011: 482) states that, “in its broader sense human security is distinguished by three elements which are its focus on the individual or people as referent object of security, its multidimensional nature and its universal or global scope”. The telos of human security is to ensure freedom from want and freedom from fear for all persons. The Copenhagen School of Security Studies also stipulates that the concept of human security consists of sectors, securitisation and regional security.

#### **2.2.1.1 Economic Security**

The first dimension of human security is economic security which entails a situation in which individual have a stable source of financial income which allows for the maintenance of his or her living standard. Kondo and Makaza (2014: 75) state that, “the concept of human security is hollow if it is not underpinned by economic security as lack of a means of support and regular income undermine a person’s livelihood security. Acharya (2011: 486) states that,

“economic security as encapsulated by the UNDP Human Development Report involves a guaranteed basic income for individuals, usually from beneficial and remunerative job or in the last resort from public finance net”. The Commission of Human Security Report (2003) as cited in Kondo and Makaza (2014: 75) states that, “when people livelihood are deeply compromised, when people are uncertain about where the next meal will come from, when their savings suddenly plummet in value and when their crops fail and have no savings”.

A general analysis of economic security shows that political instability is inimical to economic security since the former leads to unstable economic flows, insufficient economic resources and asset losses. Hence, this was analysed using the current coup which took place in CAR.

### **2.2.1.2 Political Security**

Political security is the defence against any form of political oppression and it entails respects of the principle of the rule of law, constitutionalism and separation of powers. It therefore seeks to ensure that people are living in a community or environment that respects their inherent rights, values, freedom and morals. It is imperative to note that threats of political security can be spearheaded by governments, government agents stemming for the incumbent leader. This can in the form of systematic repression, ill treatment of individuals, “discriminate” displacement corruption and disregard for human rights. Hence, the researcher investigated how the coup in CAR affected political security. Acharya (2011: 481) posits that, “the categories of human security are interrelated hence political security is essential in promoting personal security”.

### **2.2.1.3 Environmental Security**

The definition of environmental security has proved to be elusive since there are few definitions of environmental security. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund Report (2013: 2) postulates that, “environmental security is the relative public safety from environmental threats which are triggered by natural or human processes due to the mismanagement, accident, careless, ignorance or design coming from within a state border or from external forces”. The Millennium Projects (2015: 2) states that, “environmental security is the condition of human-environment vital that includes rehabilitation of the environment destroyed by military actions and amelioration of resource dearth, environmental decadence and biological menaces that could lead to social shambles and conflict”. It is imperative to

note that political instability opens the floodgates for the vanishing of the environment through natural resource looting.

#### **2.2.1.4 Personal Security**

The UNDP Human Development Report (1994) posits that, “personal security entails the protection of individuals from physical and psychological violence whether from the state or external forces, sub state factors, from domestic abuse and predatory adults”. It can be noted that personal security is a permanent aspect of life everywhere in the world whether the referent object lives in a town, city or village. Hence personal security is universal and it is related to economic security. The UNDP Human Development Report (1994) states that, “the concept of personal security is a generic concept that mirrors many real and perceived experiences of livelihood and individuals, it is not just a priority for fragile and conflict affected contexts but all settings whether upper-middle or lower income. It is clear that in a precarious political environment personal security is threatened”.

#### **2.2.1.5 Community Security**

The Safe World (2014: 1) states that, “community security as putting the people in the lead and helping them to improve their experiences of safety and security”. The concept of community security entails that, there is need for institutional and technical reforms, the public must be engaged as well as be part of planning and implementing responses. The Safe World (2014: 1) states that, “the focus of reforms should be reinvigorated and redirected towards supporting effective and responsive decentralised service delivery mechanism that builds upon local capacities for change”. Political instability hinders community security.

#### **2.2.1.6 Health Security**

Despite the availability of a plethora of literature on health security a universal definition of the concept of health security is still eluding the discipline of international relations. The Commission of Human Security (2003) states that, “health security is accordingly higher priority of ensuring universal access to primary health care services, sexual health care services and a general access to health services”. The Preamble of the Constitution of the World Health Organisation (WHO) (1946) also dovetails what the Commission on Human Security extrapolates about health security as the constitution refers to “happiness, harmonious relations and security for all people. According to the WHO (2005: 34) the constitution of WHO states that, “the health for all people is essential for the attainment of

peace and security”. However, just like other categories of human security a robust political environment is fundamental for the achievement of health security, hence there is a likelihood that in a political turmoil health security will be affected. The concept of human security is interrelated to other categories of human security.

#### **2.2.1.7 Food Security**

According to the World Food Summit of 1996 as quoted by the WHO Report (2004: 12), “food security can be construed as existing when all people at all times have access to sufficient food which is safe and nutritious to maintain a health and active life”. The Food First report (2008: 1) states that, “food security as extant when all people at all occasions have economic and physical access to sufficient amounts of culturally, nutritious and safe adequate food to maintain a healthy and active life”. The various definition of food security shows that, it includes both physical and economic access to food that meet people dietary needs as well as their food preferences. There is also an inter linkage among the various dimension of human security as food security is vital for health security and economic security is vital for food security.

Food security is premised on food system which is defined by the Food First (2008: 2) “as the production, distribution, access, consumption and disposal of food. It is imperative to note that food security is built on three pillars which are food availability, food access and food use”. Food availability entails the availability of sufficient quantities of food on a consistent basis, food access entails having sufficient resources to obtain appropriate food for a nutritious diet. Food use entails an appropriate use based on knowledge of essential nutrition and care as well as requisite water and sanitation. It is clear that during political instability people will have difficulties in accessing quality food due to stigma, discrimination and unavailability of resources. This will lead to malnutrition and other health diseases.

Figure 2.1 shows anatomy of human security.



*Source: Researcher analysis of the findings.*

The figure shows the categories of human security.

### **2.2.2 State Failure**

The phenomena of state failure gathered momentum in the field of peace and security studies in the 1990s. According to Rotberg (2003: 32), “states failure and security and development challenges have been commonly linked since the inception of the concept in the 1990s”. The major proponent of the concept of states failure is Rotberg (2003: 4) who states that, “nation-states fizzle because they are tormented by internal skirmishes and can no longer deliver consummate political goods to their citizens”. An assessment of the concept shows that this concept is applicable to the study as the CAR authorities have failed to provide political goods such as employment to the citizens. The significance of the concept to the study is to show the nexus between human security and states.

Rotberg (2003: 4) encapsulates that, “in contemporary periods, nation states complements the building blocks of legitimate world order the violent disintegration and palpable weakness of selected Latin American, Oceanic, African and Asian states threaten the very foundation of that organisation”. This is the case in CAR where the nation state has failed and is now a threat to human security, legitimate and order. According to Human Rights Watch (2013: 2), “the Seleka (“alliance” in Sango, the main national language) said they aimed to liberate the country and bring peace and security to the people”. But for most Central Africans, 2013 has



been a dark year, marked by rising violence and vicious Seleka attacks against civilians in Bangui and the provinces. This shows that there is no accountability in CAR.

The applicability of the concept to the study can stem from the fact that CAR is sharing borders with failed states and this has fuelled the human security conundrum in CAR. Powell (2012) states that:

...the CAR has also been affected by conflicts in neighbouring Sudan, Chad, and DRC, with rebel groups and government forces from neighbouring countries freely using remote rural areas as rear bases for military operations. This has created a significant flow of small arms, further fuelling instability, particularly in northern CAR. Conflict in its neighbours has also generated refugee flows into the CAR, which is housing some 11,000 recognized refugees from Sudan, Chad, and the DRC...

The fact that CAR borders states which are marred by sporadic conflicts is exacerbating the problem of human security.

The concept of state failure embraces the concept of coup proofing. Bohmelt and Pilster (2008: 331) state that, “coup-proofing entails the subtlety and strategies initiated to prevent the military from taking power, affects battlefield performance. The concept of state failure further shows that in a failed state there are a lot of coups since they will be no institutions and structures to prevent the occurrence and recurrence of military coups”. CAR is an epitome of the states without coup proofing structures. The Strategic Comment (2015: 2) postulates that, “CAR has been viewed as a failing state wracked by coups and counter coups and ruled by military leaders since gaining independence from France in 1960”. The theory of state failure can therefore be linked to the study as the concept emphasises that states must have coup proofing to avoid the resurgence of coup. In the study CAR has been a theatre of both successful and failed coups. Alexander (2013: 2) postulates that,

...the history of the Central African Republic is rich with uprisings, from 1960 onwards, the country’s government has almost never been replaced peacefully in 1965, the country’s first president, David Dacko, was overthrown by Colonel Jean-Bédél Bokassa (subsequently Emperor Bokassa I), in 1979 Bokassa was overthrown by Dacko (although with the help of the French) and in 1981, Dacko was overthrown again, but this time by General André Kolingba and In 2003, a coup d’état was carried out by General François Bozize...

The above assertion buttress what the concept of state failure says about coup proofing as CAR is awash with coups.

The concept of state failure is synonymous to the Frustration and Aggression theory which is a behavioural theory which tries to explain what will happen when states fails to provide

political goods. According to Dollard (1939: 1) postulates that, “the occurrence of violence behaviour always presuppose the existence of frustration and contrariwise”. This theory is linked to the study given that the Seleka staged a coup against the government in 2013 because they were frustrated by the failure of the government. Frustration in the context of the study was seen when the Christians formed the Anti-Balaka Movement in March 2013 to retaliate on what the Seleka were doing (counter frustration). To elucidate more on frustration, Berkowitz (1989: 59) states that, “frustration is a response to blocking of an expected attainment of a desired goal leading to hostile aimed at thwarting that particular expected goal”.

Dollard (1939: 9) extrapolates that, “aggression is a sequence of behaviour, the goal response to which is the injury towards whom is directed”. It can be seen that aggression is viewed by Dollard as a goal oriented undertaking. According to Dollard (1939:31-32):

...the Frustration Aggression Theory surmise that (a) the greater the satisfaction forecasted on accomplishing their objectives the more aggressively ascended people will become when kept from achieving their goals (b) the strength of a resulting inflammation to aggression will be curtailed by whatever partial regalement obtained (c) the frustration –propagated aggressive disposition will enumerate over repeated instances of unhappy expectations.

The link between this theory and the study is very clear, since attaining independence from France in 1960 CAR has been rocked by unconstitutional changes of government because the military and the civilians were frustrated by the failure of the government. The security conundrum which had affected CAR is caused by bad governance, ethnicity. According to Cowell (2013: 17):

... the glaring economic and social disparities between the north and other areas, especially the region around the capital, Bangui, are significant contributory factors to political instability. The population of the north is marginalized, and many who have joined the rebel movements complain of a lack of salaries and basic services such as schools and hospitals in their communities. The weak State in CAR means that much of the north is outside the control of the security forces. It is a lawless region where shadowy rebel and bandit groups operate freely and often prey on the civilian population...

This shows that poverty has ignited the Seleka to be aggressive. It can be noted that when the Seleka staged a coup they went on to commit human rights violation and this has resulted to a “logical response” from the Anti-Balaka. Kane (2014: 313) states that:

Seleka are Muslims from the northern regions of the country and neighbouring states, including Sudan and Chad. Coming out in opposition to Seleka is the so-called anti-Balaka (anti-Seleka), a group of locals predominantly composed of Christians. The

ensuing skirmish, which has taken on religious and communitarian dimensions, has had unprecedented security and humanitarian ramifications.

It is clear that for the researcher to have a comprehensive understanding of the study he needs to integrate the concept of human security, the concept of power and the concept of state failure. The Frustration aggression theory is a step child of the concept of state failure.

### **2.2.3 Natural Resource Curse**

The concept of natural resource curse entered the lexicon of international relations in the 1980s and it was coined as a result of a surge in intra and interstate conflicts due to the desire to control natural resources. McNeish (2010: 1) extrapolates that, “natural resources have become one of disparate diminishing phenomena commonly enumerated as defining many of the derivative economies of the global south”. This has resulted in a surge of terms in an endeavour to understand the crisis bedevilling resource rich countries especially from the global south. McNeish (2010: 1) encapsulates that, “some of the terms used to define the conflicts which are being faced by resource rich states are: paradox of plenty, resource curse, paradox of plenty, intractable conflicts, new wars, resources wars, resource securitisation, blood diamonds, petrol-violence inter alia”. From the terms coined by McNeish it can be deduced that natural resources are fuelling conflicts in Sub Saharan Africa and CAR is among the states which are marred by resource conflicts.

To augment the concept of resource curse, (ibid) states that, “what is most vexing about resource rich states is that while those states contribute essential inputs to the global economy they largely remain underdeveloped and politically unstable with a sizeable majority of their citizens living on less than a dollar per day”. The feasibility of the concept to the study is that it shows how the conflict in CAR manifested. The current crisis bedevilling CAR can be best explained from corruption, mismanagement of natural resources, kleptocratic rule and wanton raw material exploitation which lead to a comatose economy through rapid deindustrialisation, environmental degradation, poverty and escalating unemployment.

The vast minerals and other natural resources has been factored out as the major cause of political turmoil in the Central Africa region, East Africa region and the Africa Great Lakes region where rebel groups and warlords have been engaging in illegal extraction of minerals to fund and sustain their “carnages”. This has led to the prolong conflicts by attracting other regional and international actors to intervene and the resultant was a co-web interests that usually crystallise into a civil war which puts international peace and security into jeopardy.

The alarming labour conditions, untenable arrangements of development, growth and violent turmoil also has a bearing on human social and economic conflict that exposes populations to dangerous international migration and displacement patterns putting human life on danger.

In the modern era, the most renowned material focus of the nexus between natural resources and conflicts has been blood, or conflict diamonds. Conflict diamonds are diamonds which are traded unorthodoxly and illegally to fund conflict in war-torn areas, especially in Central and Western Africa. Conflict diamonds become famous in international relations during the brutal conflicts in Central Africa region, West Africa region and East Africa region in the 1980s. Illicit rough diamonds have also been used by rebels to fund the conflict in CAR. According to a Report published by the Price-Waterhouse-Coopers (2007: 49-50), “it is also notable that over the last decade and half there has been a tremendous increase in mining activities and connected violent uprisings in many countries in the global south”. Bebbington (2009: 46) posits that, “as investment has increased in the global south mining has spread into new territories and states, some with no prior history of the industry and others with recent histories of momentous political skirmishes and this has triggered growing resistance and popular uprisings and protests”.

Humphreys et al (2007: 77) postulate that, “rather than satisfying the visceral expectations of economic glory and prosperity, the exploration of oil and gas has frequently been associated with an increase in poverty and conflict”. McNeish (2010: 4) extrapolates that,

...it is now widely believed that oil extirpation hits the poor at a number of levels and that there is also a growing agreement amongst economists that the disruptive economic repercussion of oil investments act to traumatically and drastically reduce growth and affects the non-oil economy as well lead to a weakening of governance and democratic institution which exposes the economies to poverty, unemployment and conflict hence leading to diminishing prospects of international security...

Karl (1997: 37) contends that, “oil countries, while appear to be distinct, are marred by analogous social classes and arrangement of collective action. In those states, such as in the Niger Delta of Nigeria dependence on petroleum leads to superfluous fiscal dependence on public spending and petrol dollars, at the consumption of statecraft”. In CAR, discontent has been simmering for decades and this has led to violent conflicts between militant groups and the government. Oil booms, which create the illusion of prosperity and development, are believed to actually diminish regimes by augmenting oil-based motives and further weakening state capacity leading to failed state status which is prone to violence and

breakdown of institutions exposing populations to insecurity. Hence, the researcher investigated if natural resources in CAR have contributed to the 2013 coup.

## **2.3 Literature review**

### **2.3.1 Causes of Unconstitutional Change of Government in Africa**

Collier and Hoeffler (2005: 2) state that, “in Africa coup plots are by far the most common challenge to the continuity of the regimes and there are similarities on the causes of coups in Africa and the causes of civil wars”. Collier and Hoeffler (2005: 2) state that, “a common core of economic factors underpins proneness to coups in Africa and civil wars, low income and lack of economic growth”. Wangome (1985: 17) states that, “in Africa the involvement of the military in politics has led to military coups and when the military felt that, their interests are threatened they execute a veto coup”. Collier and Hoeffler (2005: 5) state that, “policies which threaten the military in Africa have led to the unprecedented occurrence of coups hence in order to avert coups in Africa there is need to have policies that favours the military”. The researcher noted that apart from low economic growth geopolitics is also causing coups in Africa.

Collier and Hoeffler (2005: 3) posit that, “the incentives for a violent challenge to the state are some combination of greed and grievances which entails the capturing of resources and the rectification of wrongs”. The scholars noted that a coup is easy to execute than a rebellion. Collier and Hoeffler (2005: 4) state that, “the barriers to feasibility faced by a rebellion are largely material as a rebellion needs to acquire armaments and money to finance thousands of soldiers, a coup faces no such difficulties and overall the barriers to a coup are likely to be lower than those of a rebellion. Collier and Hoeffler (2005: 4) state that, “however a coup faces a different barrier, the loyalty of the army achieved either by a sense that a challenge is illegitimate or by co-opting the military into the benefits of power, normally this sense of loyalty is the effective barrier to a coup”.

Hirori (2013: 40) states that, “despite the wave of global democratisation that began in the late twentieth century, seizure of government power by means of a coup has remained a viable strategy for various political players in much of the Sub Saharan Africa”. Clark (2008) as cited by Hirori (2013: 39) states that, “military coups are prominent in non democracies states but leaders in democratic states are not immune to coup and coup threats either”. Hirori (2013: 40) states that, Acemoglu and Robinson (2001), Huntington (1995), Jackman (1978),

Kposowa and Jenkins (1993) and Lindberg and Clark (2008) agrees that economic under performance in both Sub Saharan Africa and Latin America has led to coups. Galetovic and Sanhuenza (2000) as cited by Hirori (2013: 42) state that, “social instability and colonial legacy has led to the proliferation of coups in Sub Saharan Africa”. Powell (2012) and Quinliven (1999) as cited by Hirori (2013: 43) state that, “political leadership coup proofing strategy also determines the occurrence of coups, the more the state had a positive coup proofing strategies, the less it is likely to be convulsed by coups”.

### **2.3.2 Causes of Unconstitutional Change of Government in CAR**

Herbert et al (2013: 26) postulate that, “the legacy of coups and past conflict in CAR are key roots causes of coups and conflict in the country today, since gaining independence from France in 1960, CAR has only one peaceful transfer of power in 1993 and arms have remained the key to political success”. McFarlane and Marlan (2014) support Herbert as they posit that, “CAR has experienced dictatorial rule, corruption...almost without exception every ruler in CAR since independence come to power or was ultimately overthrown through unconstitutional means and this has become a norm of transferring power”. There is a gap from the arguments proffered by the scholar as the legacy of coup is not the factor which is triggering unconstitutional change of government but there are other factors which the researcher wants to discover. The researcher needs to find factors which make CAR a theatre of coups. What might be the causes? Is it because of greed?, grievances?, or colonial effect/ foreign interests?.

The problem of military coups in CAR is alleged to be fuelled by foreign states. Campbell (2006: 3) posits that, “CAR and Chad have a long history of harbouring each other’s insurgent groups and rebels in the Northeast of CAR are potentially linked to forces in both Chad and Sudan”. Devon (2015: 6) supports Campbell when he encapsulates that, “Chad has been involved in the internal politics of CAR for quite some time and there were occasions that Chad supports the Seleka in order to draw the Chadian elements of the group deeper into the CAR and thus stop them from launching attacks into Chad. The scholars show that foreign nations have interest in CAR”. The ICG Report (2015: 51) reinforced the arguments proffered by two scholars when it postulates that, “Chad has an influence in the coup, Bozize fall was due to a loss of regional support, he came to power through a coup orchestrated from Chad in 2003...this support gradually dissipated to the point that some observers feel that

Chad was responsible for the Seleka's increasing power". Herbert et al (2013:26) articulate that:

...internal problems have been compounded by the destabilising effects of regional politics in particular the complex relationship with Chad and regional "men in arms". Given the history and geography of CAR which is a landlocked country surrounded by several conflicts affected countries and this makes CAR vulnerable to fluctuating regional developments...

From the above, the researcher concludes that their arguments have provenance. It can be noted that, the scholar's arguments are not very persuasive rather they offer an insight to the problem. It can be noted that bordering fragile states is a factor which is fuelling coups not causing.

Agbor and Michael (2013: 1) posit that, "colonial legacy has a role in the current problem bedevilling CAR". According to Agbor and Michael (2013: 1), "for the CAR a major implication of the coup is that going forward it is less likely that the country will advance to democracy, the legacy of the French rule left CAR with no visionary leadership and ill-developed institutional and physical infrastructures". This was also reinforced by Herbert et al (2013: 26) who state that, "the history of coups in CAR is linked to the weakness of state capacity and authority in many core states functions. The state fails to protect the security and welfare of its citizens from violence and poverty and alongside this, the recent emergence of "rebel groups" is both a consequence and proximate cause of recent unconstitutional change of government". The arguments proffered by the scholars are persuasive and objective. The only difference between the two literature stem from the fact that the former literature states that colonial legacy is one of the factors which are inimical to strong institutional structures while the latter literature only stated that structures are weaker and did not explain why, which this study seeks to address.

The aspect of weak structures is related to the issue of coup proofing, if institutions are weaker they will be no coup proofing and as a result the state will become a theatre of unconstitutional change of government. The other factor which has been triggering unconstitutional changes of government in CAR is the issue of grievance. Herbert et al (2013: 27) state that, "in order to understand the unconstitutional change of government in CAR one needs to understand and examine the impact of the national dialogue process and peace agreements and the resulting political settlement". Campbell (2013: 1) states that:

...the beginning of the violence in 2013 was as a result of grievances from rebel groups which formed a coalition to remove the president from power and this marked the failure of peace agreements and renewed a surge of violence in CAR. Seleka claims that it is fighting for the formation of unity government, the release of political prisoners and repatriation of foreign troops that have been used to bolster the weak government army...

It can be noted that, this explanation is persuasive and holds water. But the explanation proffered by the scholars needs to be reinforced with the factor of weak institutions which lacks coup proofing.

The other prime hurdle to the CAR conundrum is the issue of greed. According to the Cable News Network (CNN) (2013), “there was political turmoil after the president was overthrown, looters hit the main cities and violence became the order of the day”. Ngoma (2010: 92) extrapolates that, “another explanation for the prevalence of coups in Africa may actually not have anything to do with the political or economic ideals but as a result of naivety, gullibility and ignorance principally on the part of the organisers of the coup and to a lesser extent their supporters”. This might be applicable in the case of CAR.

### **2.3.3 Measures which were put in Place to End the Problem of Coups in Africa**

According to Square (2009: 16), “the first measure which was put in place to address the problem of unconstitutional change of government is the 1999 Algiers Declaration on Unconstitutional Change of Government”. Square (2009: 16) postulates that, “this was followed by the “Lome Declaration on the Framework for an Organisation of African Union (OAU) Response to Unconstitutional Changes of Government” which was adopted in 2000 at the 36<sup>th</sup> ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of States Kufuor (2003: 393) states that, the Lome Declaration encourages ascension to power through constitutional means and censures unconstitutional change of governments”. Kufuor (2003: 393) postulates that, “the accord describes coups as something which is ‘gloomy and obnoxious developments’ which must be ‘indubitable condemned and rejected’”.

According to the Lome Declaration (2000), in order to give effect to the principles enunciated the following situations could be construed as unconstitutional change of government:

- (a) Military coup d'état against a democratically elected government
- (b) Intervention by mercenaries to replace a democratically elected government
- (c) Replacement of a democratically elected government by an armed group
- (d) The refusal by an incumbent government to relinquish power to the winning party after free and fair elections.



The Lome Declaration (2000) states that, “in the event that unconstitutional change of government takes place in a member state the current Chairperson on behalf of the African Union should promptly condemn such a change and urge for the speedy return to constitutional normalcy. It can be noted from a plethora of unconstitutional change of government which had rocked Africa that although the AU name and shame people who executed unconstitutional change of government returning to political normalcy in those states has been cumbersome due to the fact that the methods used by the AU to condemn such a mutiny are not effective and there is no common position among AU member states. The other convention which deals with unconstitutional change of government is the AU Constitutive Act.

The other Convention which outlaws unconstitutional Changes of governments is the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance. According to article 3(10) of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance in Africa, states parties shall implement this charter in accordance to the principle of condemnation and rejection of unconstitutional changes of government. ECCAS also condemns unconstitutional change of government and in the event that there is unconstitutional change of government it responds through imposing sanctions. Although the AU has imposed sanctions on delinquent states, sanctions have been inefficacious in Africa as some states have not been deterred by sanctions from executing coups. In 2008 Guinea was placed under sanctions, in 2013 Burundi was also put under sanctions by the AU. The literature under measures put in place is very clear and objective, however it emphasises on democratisation as a means of preventing unconstitutional change of government but CAR is a hybrid democratic state.

## **2.4 Conclusion**

The chapter shows that the concept of state failure, the concept of power and the concept of human security are important in the study. The concept of power and the concept of state failure are associated with unconstitutional change of government in CAR. The literature in the study highlighted that, unconstitutional change of government in CAR is rampant and the problem is stemming from weak political institution, greed, grievance, colonial effect and the fact that the country is surrounded by “men in arms”. Sectarian cleavages, underdevelopment, the problem of refugee and humanitarian crisis were cited by different literature and reports as the impacts of the unconstitutional change of government in CAR. The next chapter will focus on the inherent problem of coups in Africa and CAR. The following chapter will scrutinise the factors which makes Africa and CAR fertile grounds for military coups.

## **CHAPTER 3: THE INNATE PROBLEM OF COUPS IN AFRICA AND CAR: AN OVERVIEW**

### **3.0 Introduction**

The chapter is a follow up of chapter 2 which examined the concepts which are feasible to the study. This chapter focused on the inherent problem of military coups in Africa and CAR. In articulating the problem of coups, the chapter used a funnel approach that is it started to scrutinise the inherent problem of unconstitutional change of government from a continental perspective (Africa) up to CAR. The chapter consists of an in-depth analysis on the causes of coups in Africa and CAR, and the researcher ascertained if there are any commonalities on the causes of coups in other African states and CAR. This enabled the researcher to understand the factors which trigger unconstitutional changes of government in Africa with particular emphasis on CAR. Therefore the researcher was able to analyse if there are commonalities in the causes of coup in Africa and CAR. The other telos of the chapter was to analyse measures which were put in place to avert the problem of unconstitutional change of government in Africa and CAR. The chapter also analysed why there are a proliferation of coups in CAR despite the presence of measures aforementioned. The chapter identified prime hurdles to coup proofing in Africa and CAR.

### **3.1 The Proneness to Coup in Africa**

Ken and David (2008) posit that, “a coup is an unorthodox, unlawful, unexpected and clandestine removal of a government and a coup is usually executed by a cabal of the existing state organs to replace the toppled regime with another”. Besong (2005: 2) defines a coup “as a quick and decisive seizure of governmental power by a strong military or political group”. It is the sudden overthrow of a government, usually done by a small group that just replaces the top power figures. There are different types of coups and the first type of coup is the guardian coup, the second is breakthrough coup, the third is veto coup and the fourth is bloodless coup. Besong (2005: 3) states that, “the objective of a guardian coup is to avert corruption, kleptocracy, and misrule and improve public efficiency”. Under the guardian coup there is no fundamental change to the power structure as the leaders of the coup perceive their actions as temporary and a necessary evil. There are sporadic incidences of guardian coups in Africa as African societies are pregnant with military coups and veto coups and the study focused on the impacts of the guardian coups on human security. There is a security conundrum on the phenomenon of the “guardian” coups as the leaders of the putschist will always claim that the

sole reasons of executing a coup is to end the aforementioned social ills but in reality the leaders of the coup will end up being corrupt just like the deposed leaders. This conclusion was reached after a critical analysis of the unpopular policies which were instigated by Jammeh after he comes to power. Perfect (2010: 54) states that, “one of the criticisms levelled against Jammeh is his manoeuvre to make Gambia an oil wealth nation and his lack of success in fighting poverty”. Human Rights Watch (2015: 32) states that, “human rights of Gambia have been horrible and terrible since Jammeh ascend to power in 1994”.

Ovono (2013) states that, “breakthrough coups occur when the revolutionary army topple a long serving or traditional government and establish bureaucratic elite”. Huntington (1968: 198) extrapolates that, “in a breakthrough coup the soldiers plays the role of the reformer, moving the society from oligarchic to radical praetorians”. Just like the guardian coups the breakthrough coups hardly happens. Ovono (2013) states that, “Egypt has faced a deluge of breakthrough coups which occurred in 1952 and 2013 when the military deposed the incumbent Mohamed Morsi”. Africa Confidential (2008) states that, “there was also a breakthrough coup in Gambia in 1994 when President Sir Dawda Jawara was deposed from power by a group of youthful putschist in the Gambian National Army led by Yahya Jammeh”. The coup took place without bloodshed and met with very little resistance as the civilians were tired of 32 years of economic disappointments under Jawara rule.

The veto coup is initiated by the military if the military perceives that its interest has been, is being or is likely to be affected. Under the veto coup the military will prohibit the people’s collective participation and social mobilisation in governing themselves. Huntington (1968: 199) states that, “a veto coup can occur when the government in power begins to clamour for radical policies or starts to appeal to groups whom the military does not wish to see gain power and the military will intervene to thwart or “veto” the actions”. The arguments which were put forward by the scholar dovetails with the views of Ken and David (2008) who argue that, “in the veto coups the armed forces confront and stifle large scale, broad based civil and political opposition leading to oppression and civil unrest”. An example of a failed veto coup occurred in Burkina Faso in 2015 and Lesotho 2014 when the military attempted to oust Prime Minister Thabane from power. Ovono (2013) posit that, “there was a veto coup in Guinea on 23 December 2008 after the death of President Lansana Conte”. A critical analysis of the coups in Africa revealed that the continent has faced an unprecedented increase in veto coups. Veto coups are prevalent in states without coup proofing where there is the direct involvement of the military in politics. The last type of coup which was discovered by the

researcher is the bloodless coup. A bloodless coup is a sudden change of government which is non violent as no-one will be killed. There is scarce incidence of bloodless coups in Africa. According to Africa Confidential (2008), “there was a bloodless coup in Somalia in 1969, bloodless coup in Mauritania in 1978 and Tunisia also experienced a bloodless coup in 1987 when Zine El Abidine Ben Ali ousted President Habib Bourguiba from power”.

The problem of military coup has been excruciating African states since the end of colonialism, this has plagued African states into comatose economy. Collier and Hoeffler (2005: 3) state that, “coup remains a common problem in Africa and since 2000 there have been successful coups in CAR, Togo and failed coups in Sao Tome principle and Equatorial Guinea”. Since dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century there were failed coups in Equatorial Guinea (2004), Gambia (2014), Lesotho among others. Ovono (2013) who is the Head of African Desk at Internet without Borders posits that, “there was a total of 255 successful and failed coup in Africa since the independence of each respective African state” Ovono (2013) also stressed out that, “there was a failed coup in Gambia when Cherno Njie attempt to depose the incumbent Jammeh from power in 2014”.

*Table 3.1 Coups in Africa by Periods.*

<b>Period</b>	<b>Number of Failed Coups</b>	<b>Number of successful coups</b>
<b>1960-1969</b>	21	37
<b>1970-1979</b>	14	29
<b>1980-1989</b>	34	37
<b>1990- 1999</b>	6	13
<b>2000-2009</b>	16	11
<b>2010-Present</b>	26	7
<b>Total</b>	117	134

*Source: Researcher synthesis of the findings of the study.*

### **3.2 Coup Leaven: An African Overview**

The factors which were identified as the primary cause of unconstitutional change of governments in Africa are the ineffectiveness of the central government, the failure of African government in averting economic quagmire and the authoritarian crisis. The other factors which explains why African states are providing fertile grounds for coup is the coup contagious. Colonial legacy and geopolitics have also been linked with the problem of coups.

The other circumstance that led to coups in Africa is the absence of free and fair elections and this is crippling democratic consolidation. Following is a detailed discussion of the factors which were outlined as the causes of unconstitutional change of government in Africa.

### **3.2.1 The Failure of Independent African Regimes**

Barka and Ncube (2012: 5) state that, “the events of putschist during the post independence, Cold War and post-Cold War periods were relatively pacific as the coups did not involve heavy violence or casualties”. Ulfelder (2014) who is a freelance political scientist states that, “coups are not African dilemmas so much but dilemmas of poor states with sluggish economies and Africa happens to have more states characterised by economic quagmire”. From the views of Ulfelder (2014), it can be noted that independent African regimes were dogged with a plethora of activities which includes nation building and the failure to pursue the activities led some African states to succumb to fragility. To compliment his arguments Ulfelder (2014) encapsulates that, “the pattern of military coups was prevalent in every other part of the world just at different times in history, Latin America faced a lot of coups in the 1960s and 1970s and the incidence vanished off rapidly in the past couple of decades as most states in Latin America got less poor and more democratic”.

Wangome (1985: 16) states that, “the in-efficiency of the civilian government in post colonial Africa, coupled with corruption, money laundering and maladministration has been a common factor, after independence the people expected the government to be familiar with their problem and find solutions but this has not been always so”. Barka and Ncube (2012: 7) are of the opinion that, “the long desire to radically change the social base of their countries away from status ridden oligarchies to embrace democracy and the rule of law induced some military leaders to intervene in politics”. A notable example is Thomas Sankara who led a coup detat in Burkina Faso in 1983 with the telos to establish a just, reformed and prosperous society. It can be noted that, the problem of military coup in Africa is triggered by weak government. Ulfelder (2014) is optimistic that in Africa the frequency of coups will decline as more and more states get into positive spirals of development as what happens in Latin America.

According to Transparency International in its Global Corruption Report (2004: 15), “in Africa and other developing societies there is a rampant increase in political corruption, political corruption includes politics of patronage and party politics”. The Report noted that corruption can elicit a number of reactions, the first is voter apathy followed by public

disillusionment with democracy and its capacity to avert corruption. The other response is the ignition of the general population to take action and this will crystallise into rebellion, coups and civil wars. Besong (2005: 14) postulates that, “the military coup in Mauritania (2005) was caused by poor economic development, mismanagement of the economy”. The coup led to the removal of President Taya by Colonel Ely Ould Mohammed Vall. Collier and Hoeffler (2006: 21) posit that:

...over times coups have been going out fashion and are closely related to economic weakness, low income and low growth. As a result outside Africa the phenomenon is now rare, however in Africa due to the prolonged failure of the growth within the continent coup risks remains high and this has a significant implication for military spending...

Wangome (1985: 6) states that, “a common factor which is fuelling military coups in Africa is the economic quagmire which was caused by the incumbent leaders in Africa, corruption and money-laundering caused by politicians had become so rapid and the general population will be willing to topple the leaders and substitute democracy for military”. Military coups are perceived as a leeway to end the corrupted leaders and people will place their hopes on military regimes expecting the regime to drive the states into economic path although it could be otherwise. One of the respondents Adekeye Adebayo (2015) who is the head of the Centre for Conflict Resolution posits that, “corruption is the key element in economic under-performance and a major barrier to Africa’s desire to alleviate poverty and socio economic development”. It can be concluded therefore that the longevity of comatose economy in Africa shows the failure of the state and how natural resources are a curse in Africa, hence a clear relationship between the findings of the research and some conceptual framework like the natural resource curse and state failure. The 2008 coup in Guinea, 2004 failed coup in Equatorial Guinea, 2015 failed coup in Burundi among other coups were triggered by the failure of the government.

### **3.2.2 The Authoritarian Crisis**

The authoritarian crisis is one of the factors which are fuelling military coups in Africa. According to Emmanuel Dupuy (2013) who is the President of the Institute for prospective and security studies in Europe, “authoritarian crisis has been one of the innate problem in Africa since the end of democratisation, it is quite interesting to note that most of the African states did not respond to the third wave of democratisation which was ushered in the new world order (the end of the Cold War)”. According to Kate Byom (2014) who is the Senior

Programme Associate for Africa at Freedom House, the stereotypical African regime is made up of a dictator and his cronies.

The flawed elections and constrained civil liberties which had been rampant in CAR politics during the last four decades exemplify a widespread pattern of electoral irregularities and violations of freedoms in many countries in sub-Saharan Africa. The Freedom House Report (2012) extrapolates that, “when the “third wave democratization” began in 1990, Africa was home to just three countries Botswana, Mauritius, and the Gambia that could be called “democracies.””. Between 1990 and 2010, more than twenty countries made a tremendous shift to democracy or to something away from authoritarianism. According to Freedom House (2007), “today of the 28 African countries which are construed as democracies, just six are “liberal” democracies, with scores no worse than a 2.0 for political rights and civil liberties; five are “electoral” democracies with scores around 2.5; while the rest occupy a “gray zone” between democracy and full authoritarianism”. The Freedom House Report (2007) concludes that, “in every measure, Africa is today the least democratic region”, and Reilly (2003: 12) extrapolates that, “elections have three essential functions, they serve as avenues for people to choose their representatives”. This could be done in choosing their representatives to legislative or executive offices. Second, they are a ways of choosing governments, and third, they give legitimacy to the political structures. Africa has been a fertile ground for despotism since the Color Revolutions and the Arab Spring.

An analysis of the above findings can reveal that Africa as a continent is pregnant with “pseudo” democracies “semi consolidated” regimes and “electoral” regimes which had the propensity of holding elections as a “formality”. Thus it can be noted that the new democracies or what Joseph (1998) calls “virtual democracies” were characterized by the post-cold war “fallacy of electoralism” (Karl 1990) in which largely cosmetic elections were held regularly for the sake of international “presentability.” According to Thompson (2010: 143) most of the African states are hybrid regimes as they had elections which are marred by controversy; the list of the countries includes Ghana, Sierra Leone, Kenya, and Central Africa Republic among others. It can be noted that the innate problem of failing to hold elections had resulted in Africa succumbing to conflicts, anarchy where life is “short brutish, nasty solitary and there is war for all against all” (Hobbesian nightmare). Bratton (1998: 52) postulates that:

...elections do not constitute a solidified democracy ... But ... elections remain essential, not only for inaugurating democratic regimes, but as a necessary precondition for capacious democratic solidification. The consistency, fairness,

and acceptability of elections indicates whether fundamental constitutional, behavioral, and temperament foundations are being laid for feasible democratic rule...

The perennial problem of disputed elections in Africa has been coupled by the inherent problem of free press. Teshome (2009: 9) states that

the media is important in the society and people had labeled the media as the “fourth estate” and the most fundamental roles of the media in democratic nations are to cover political occasions and facts in the most objective, impartial and open way, promoting a different of perspectives and opinions as well as interpreting news in order to make the public construe the relevance of the information they receive.

However politics in Africa is awash with violations of the freedom of expression, this is mainly done as a political mudslinging. In emphasizing the importance of the media in society former United States of America (US) President Abraham Lincoln (1864) enunciated that, the media is very important to societies to the extent that if I will be given the opportunity to choose the government without the media and the media without the government would prefer the latter.

According to the Press Freedom Index Report which was published by Reporters without Borders (2013: 2), “in ascertaining press freedom in different countries many criteria are considered starting from legislation to violence against journalist, most of the democratic states are on top of the index, while authoritarian states are on the bottom list”. A study of the index published by the aforementioned think tank shows that 7 African states are in the “relegation zone” on the index. This shows a deplorable and comatose environment for press media hence this has led to the proliferation of military coups in Africa.

Ken and David (2008: 17) postulate that;

the African governments’ reposes of a dictator and his aides who have ascend to power through clandestine electoral skirmishes, intimidation, and ballot-box manipulation. They incarcerate, disappear, or kill opposition leaders, journalist and civil society activists who clamour for democracy and human rights. However, these strategies are increasingly archaic.

It can be argued that the frequency of successful military coups in Africa can be understood from the lens of authoritarian rule. The successful coups in Guinea (2008), Mauritania, Guinea Bissau and Egypt (2013) and failed coups in Equatorial Guinea, Lesotho (2015), Burundi (2015) and Gambia (2014) were as a result of weak economies, colonial legacy and authoritarianism.

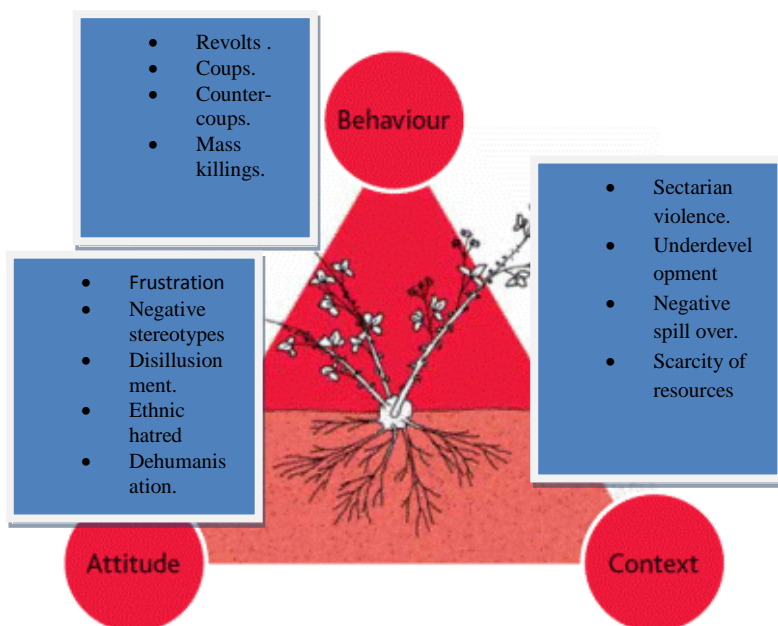


### **3.2.3 Coup Contagious in Africa and other Miscellaneous Causes of Coup**

The proneness to coup in Africa can also be understood from the auspice of coup contagious. According to Ulfelder (2014) “coup contagious entails that the occurrence of military coups in one African country will likely to ignite a coup in another country”. To elucidate, the coup contagious entails that just like the wave of democratisation which led to more states transforming into democratic states, there is also a wave or spring of military coups. Ulfelder (2014) posits that, “Mali coup of 22 March 2012 slimly led to the coup in Guinea Bissau on the second week of April”. The other driving force of military coups in Africa is the role of the military in politics. When the military feel that their interests has been, is being or is likely to be infringed they stage a military coup to preserve their vital interests”. Ovono (2013) states that, “the failed coup in Burkina Faso (2015) was planned by General Gilbert Diendere who was the long serving political aide of the former President Compaore. The leader of the putsch was trying to veto the actions which were being implemented by the new interim government”. In Burkina Faso the executors of a failed coup were in sighted by the fear of prosecution on the events which led to the death of former Burkina Faso President Sankara (1987) who died in mystery.

There is no consensus among scholars on the causes of military coups in Africa. It is crystal clear that the causes of coups in Africa are not static but they are rather dynamic. The conclusion drawn from the problem of coups is that, that the inherent problems of military coups in Africa are not common as they differ depending on the environment. There are some common causes of coup which includes low income, lack of democratic institutions (coup proofing) and geopolitical interests.

Figure 3.1 ABC Triangle: Illustrating the complexities of coups in Africa.



Source: Researcher analysis of the findings.

The figure is a framework to show the major actors during the execution of coups in Africa by going deeper into three conflict dynamics and complexities of coups in Africa which are attitude, behaviour and context. The figure reveals how the attitudes of people are shaping their behaviour and the environment which circumscribes the behaviour of people.

### 3.3 Major Findings: Understanding the Causes of the 2013 Coup in CAR

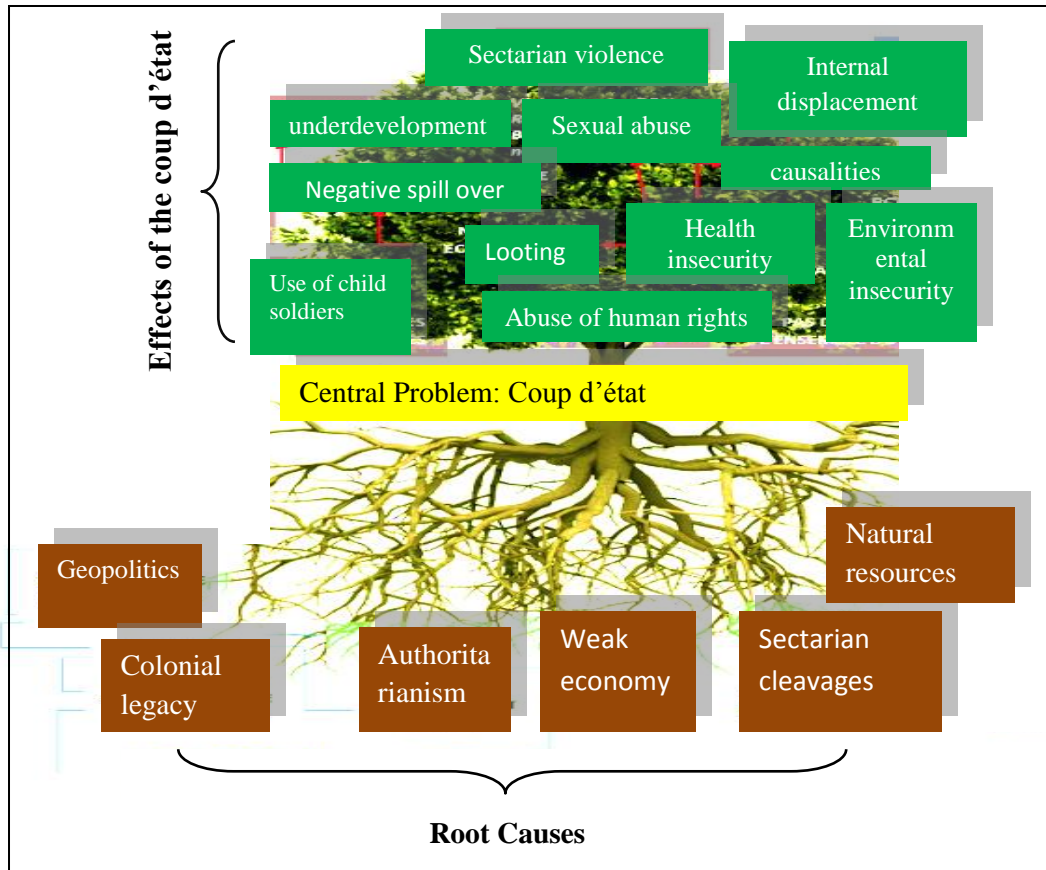
Table 3.2: CAR: Fact Sheet.

<b>Population</b>	4.7 million
<b>Religion</b>	Christians 75% and Muslims 25%
<b>Ethnic Groups</b>	Baya, Banda, Mandjia, Sara, Fulani, Mboum, M'baka, Yakoma and others
<b>Current President</b>	Catherine Samba Panza (interim President)
<b>Independence</b>	From France on 13 August 1960
<b>Geography</b>	A landlocked country which borders Chad to the North, Sudan North East, South Sudan East, DRC and Republic of Congo to the south and Cameroon to the West.
<b>GDP</b>	\$2.574 billion total and per capita is \$547
<b>GDP nominal</b>	\$1.688 billion total and per capita is \$358
<b>Natural resources</b>	Gold, uranium, timber, diamonds, oil, fertile lands, petroleum, hydropower

Source: Researcher synthesis of data from the ADB data base and World Bank data base.

The table shows some facts about CAR, almost all of the information which is contained on the table explains why CAR has been rocked by coups. However a detailed discussion on some of the aspects contained on the table was done below.

Figure 3.2 Conflict Analysis Tree: Illustrating the Causes and Effects of the 2013 coup in CAR



Source: Researcher analysis of the findings.

The tree shows the causes of the 2013 coup in CAR and its effects on human security. This chapter will only discuss about the causes of coup in CAR and the effects of the coup on human security will be discussed on chapter 4.

### 3.3.1 Central Africa Republic: An Anatomy of Phantom State

There are commonalities on the causes of coups in Africa. According to Christian Mukosa (2013), who is Central Africa expert at Amnesty International, “CAR is a landlocked country which has been plagued by chronic instability and the causes of the instability are under development”. Herbert et al (2013: 9) state that, “during the reign of Bozize in CAR state authority was weak especially in the northern regions and outside the capital Bangui”. The claims made by the scholars are substantiated by the statistics which were given by Transparency International. According to Transparency International in its Corruption Index of 2012, CAR was ranked at number 144 out of about 182 states. The Corruption Index of

2008 unearthed that, CAR was ranked at number 134 out of about 176 countries. In 2011 the Corruption index rated CAR at number 154 out of about 176 states. The empirical evidence which was furnished by Transparency International vindicates that money laundering, kleptocracy and corruption are some of the features of CAR politics and as a result there is low income therefore this make CAR a weak state.

Against the backdrop of the failure of the central government in providing political goods to its citizens and quality service delivery, during the reign of Bozize natural resources were used to enrich the ruling elite. According to Ovono (2013) “CAR should be a wealthy state given the abundance of natural resources in CAR such as arable lands, oil, rainfall a plethora of minerals and wildlife and a low population, however some of the resources such as oil and diamonds are unutilised or used to fund conflicts”. The views of Ovono were cemented by Lompard (2013) who gave a detailed analysis of how Bozize enrich himself. Lompard (2013) states that, “Bozize concentrated on aggrandisement projects this retarded development and actively destroy commercial enterprises vital to the economy”.

Bozize come from the southern part of CAR which is a predominantly Christian region. The Northeast region and central region is predominantly Muslim region. According to Dupuy (2013), “President Bozize kleptocratic government control Bangui, the wood and diamond reserves of the southwest and marginalised regions with diamonds deposits in the east”. In a typical action which is reminiscent of the resource curse the government is alleged to have stole money to buy properties in Burkina Faso and South Africa (The Times 28/03/2013). This was supported by Ovono (2013) who states that, “ever since the end of colonialism CAR has lacked visionary leaders who privatise CAR territory, made little investment in terms of schools and hospitals”. Lompard (2013) also stressed that, “diamond smuggling and corruption touch the highest levels of the CAR and in 2004 Bozize was detained at a Germany airport with a briefcase full of diamonds other government officials pay for artisanal miners to dig diamonds or simply buy them from collectors and then use official travel to carry the stones to Europe where they are then sold”.

Herbert et al (2013: 22) states that, “just like other weak and failed states, the CAR exhibits a core-periphery pattern”. The government marginalised other cities and the resources are concentrated in the capital city and limited sphere of influence, distant areas especially rural areas hardly exist outside Bangui control. This problem is compounded by the weak police and army. Lompard (2013) states that, “since the time Bozize came to power he felt

threatened by a strong armed forces and deliberately kept the Central African Army (FACA) and the police weak". This was supported by Boggero (2008: 20) who posits that, "the proportion of national budget allocated to security decreased, the result was that the size of the military decreased". Boggero (2008: 20) states that, "the portion allocated to the gendarmerie a military corps that has some public security functions dropped from 12.5 % of the national budget in 1981 to 4.6% in 2000". The problem of marginalisation can be traced back before Bozize ascend to power. This is substantiated by Bierschenk and De Sardan (1997: 445) who posit that;

. . . the inexistence of the state in the rural areas of the CAR is so astonishing that the position in principal respects has almost reached the level of satire. It also shows the more ordinary situation in other regions of the continent where the exuberance of a centralised, over-staffed post-colonial governments can take place perfectly with the enunciated absence in the rural areas of other functions which are frequently supposed to be furnished by the state, including fundamental administration and justice, as well as educational, social and health services.

According to Ulfelder (2014), "the chronic instability which had been bedevilling CAR was caused by France which had a tendency to destabilise CAR just like what it did in Mali and Ivory Coast". This is mainly done by France to protect its economic interest in Francophone Africa. Ulfelder (2014) also extrapolates that, "France was sponsoring puppet rulers who served the interest of colonial powers". Ovono (2013) concurred with Ulfelder when she states that, "the current problem facing Francophone African states is as a result of colonial legacy and unlike Anglo African states which were developed by the Britain, France hardly developed its colonies as it practised privatisation of territories". Hence this shows that successive CAR regimes which took over after independence inherited a difficult situation as France set the tone for underdevelopment.

The problem of weak state in CAR has resulted in the proliferation of rebel groups due to the incapacitation of the army and the police the government have not been able to halt the problem of warlords and rebel groups. Herbert et al (2013: 17) state that, "CAR army exhibited its weakness in protecting its territory from the intrusion of foreign warlords and rebel groups and this leaves the state rife with bandits, rebels and poachers". The failure of the Bozize government was exhibited from its inception in 2003, this led the country to descend into a civil war rebellion in 2004.

The existence of renegades in CAR was caused by the failure of the central government in driving the economy. Dupuy (2013) stressed that, “the current problem in CAR can be better understood from the context of the CAR Bush war of 2004 which pitted the Union for Democratic Forces for Unity (UFDR) and government forces”. In the Northern part of CAR there was an influx of rebel groups because the state apparatus were incapacitated. Dupuy (2013) states that, “some of the rebel groups which were operating in CAR includes the UFDR, Convention for Patriots for Justice and Peace (CPCJ), the Democratic Forces for the People of CAR (FDPC) and Wa Kodro Salute Patriotic Convention”. Boggero (2008: 15) states that,

...the CAR’s recent history was flourishing with a number of cases of assassinating and kidnapping; roads have become insurmountable because of attacks by warlords and bandits, the so called zaraguinas; and arms bazaars, like the one in the capital at Kilomètre 5, provide the essential tools for any kind of organised violence. It could be said that where the sovereignty of the state ends, as it is argued in the state stops at PK 12...

The CAR government had not been efficacious in dealing with rebel groups and as a result it lost swarthy of territories to rebel groups. According to Africa Confidential (2008: 48), “in March 2005 rebellion occurred in the North Eastern part”. The rebellion was carried by the People’s Army for the Restoration of Democracy (APRD) which later on moved towards the Kabo-Kaga Bandoro corridor which was about 350 kilometres away from Bangui. Spittaels and Hilgert (2009: 7) state that, “the APRD is an ‘amateurish progression that seems heartfelt in its conviction that it fights for the security of the region’”. The other rebellion was executed by the UFDR. The ICG (2007: 30) states that, “the putsch was a coalition of three groups and it was operating in the North Western part in Birao”. Boggero (2008: 16) states that, the rebellions lead to a crisis of governance as the Central Africa Armed Forces and the Presidential elite guards were the only forces that remained loyal to the government.

Lompard (2013) states that, “due to the weakness of the police and the army the rebel groups were gradually taking control of the territories”. The recent coup in CAR can be understood from the perspective of a failed 2008 inclusive national dialogue, failed comprehensive peace agreements and a failed DDR. Hebert et al (2013: 4) states that, “the outcomes of dialogue and peace processes have been weak in terms of state and civilian security, power sharing, and reform”. Some of the peace agreements anchored the security sector reforms, rebel groups were clamouring for their inclusion in the security sector. Some of the agreements

were not honoured and this led the rebel groups to form a coalition called the Seleka against the government. The coalition of the rebel led to the military coup on 24 March 2013.

Figure 3.3 The structure of the Seleka rebel.



*Source: Researcher synthesis of the findings.*

The above figure shows how different rebel groups integrated to form the Seleka rebel in 2012. The integration of those rebel groups to form the Seleka in 2012 is of significant because the Seleka deposed Bozize from in 2013 through a coup. The information on the year in which some of the rebel groups were formed is not provided.

### 3.3.2 Geopolitics

Apart from the perennial failure of successive governments in CAR, the innate security conundrum in CAR can also be understood from the lens of geopolitics. Geopolitics is the power struggle over “strategic” territories for the purpose of political control over space. The term geopolitics was coined by Rudolf Kjellen (1864-1922) who defines geopolitics as the influence of such factors like geography, demography and economics on the politics, especially the foreign policy of a nation. In this case it can be noted that geopolitical interest of states like France, Chad, Cameroon, Sudan, South Africa and Uganda and the US had triggered the coup of 2013. Geopolitics is the analysis of geographic influences on the power relations in international relations. Haushofer (1869-1946) posits that “geopolitics is an ambitious science the new national science, a doctrine on the spatial determinism of all political process based on the broad foundations of geography especially political geography”.

In the case of CAR the interplay of resource geopolitics, regional and continental geopolitics has led to the 2013 coup. There are five major components of geopolitics which are featuring in the CAR problem these are continental geopolitics, regional geopolitics, resource geopolitics, identity geopolitics and international geopolitics.

According to Mukosa (2013), “the crisis in the CAR was also fuelled by the changing geostrategic rivalries and competition on the continent as they have rapidly increasing after the end of the Western states intervention”. Mukosa (2013) further extrapolates that, “the crisis in CAR is as a result of the scramble for resources which are found in CAR”. Mukosa (2013) blamed neo-colonialism and Western Imperialism as the causes of conflicts in Africa. (ibid) further articulates that, it can be noted that the super powers are involved in Africa because the continent is endowed with natural resources. According to the Brooking Report (2013), “just as with the French, the Americans are also worried about China dominance in Africa and at the end due to super power geopolitics sub Saharan states remained under developed and they will be marred by plethora of conflicts”. According to the Brooking Report (2013), “China engagement in Africa has profound geo-political implications for the US foreign policy in Africa, China is looking beyond the traditional pursuit of economic interest... the failure to perceive and prepare for China’s moves would be dangerous, unwise and detrimental for the US in the near future”. It can be noted that geo-economic interest of super powers had a detrimental effect on Africa’s economy and this left African states in an economic quagmire. It can be noted that CAR is not an exception and the 2013 coup can also be understood from the lens of the “new scramble” for Africa.

Identity geopolitics had also triggered the 2013 coup in CAR. According to Mukosa (2013), “members of the Seleka were recruited from the Muslims from countries like Chad, Sudan and Uganda”. This shows that identity geopolitics contributed to the conflict in CAR. According to the Human Rights Watch Report (2014), “the Seleka also recruits its members from the Peuhl cattle herders an ethnic group which is predominant in Central Africa and West Africa”. The Peuhl are a predominantly Muslim ethnic group who dominate the cattle trade in West and Central Africa. Due to the strategic location of CAR it is a strategic state for countries with profound geopolitical ambitions.

Resource geo-politics is another driving force of the conflict in CAR. Resources geo-politics is a new component of geopolitics which asserts that the interest of natural resources in a resource endowed states by other states can plague the state into conflict. The countries which



had profound resource interests in CAR according to Ovono (2013) are Chad, US, China, South Africa and France. Different oil companies from the aforementioned states were seen in CAR trying to extract and siphon resources. The major resource in CAR which had caught international attention is oil. According to the Times 28-03-2013, “South Africa, US and other states were involved in entrancing oil in CAR”. The newspaper further exposed other South African companies which were linked to the large scale oil prospecting in the Central Africa region including an oil lake in the neighbouring DRC that stretches to the Southern Region of CAR. The newspaper named and shamed Caprikat and Foxwhelp owned by Jacob’s Zuma nephew Khulubuse Zuma and both the companies are registered on the virgin island.

The Brooking Report (2013) dovetails with what the newspaper said, according to the Report, “South Africa’s pursuit of closer ties with emerging powers from Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) could be viewed by some as a way to deflect possible political pressure from its Western rivals”. BRICS solidarity, however, is at its frailest when it comes to the politics of global resources control that underlie the current shifts in the CAR.

The problem of weak governance in CAR has been exacerbated by the abundance of natural resources in CAR. According to Doko (2013), “the problem which is faced in CAR is a struggle between different militias for control over natural resources such as timber, gold, diamond and ivory rather than the willingness to transform politics”. The issue of natural resources has already been discussed under resource geopolitics but in this case the desire to control mineral deposits by local groups is worsening the situation.

China is not an exception on the scramble for resources in CAR, Ovono (2015) posits that, “China has become a pivotal player in oil exploration in the CAR. A turning point in France-CAR relations was seemingly reached when the now deposed Bozize granted oil exploration rights to the Chinese in 2009”. The Brooking Report (2013) states that, in a speech that year, Bozize revealed that his offer of the same exploration rights to France had been rejected by Total Oil. Whilst France did reinforce its troops’ presence in the CAR from 250 to nearly 600 soldiers as rebels made their successful last push. Paris pointedly refused to intervene to save Bozize as it did previously in 2006 and 2007. This left the state weaker and prone to military coups.

According to the Brooking Report (2013), “from the diplomatic cables which went viral on the internet through Wiki leaks in 2009, it seems that Paris saw CAR’s growing ties with China as undercutting French interests there”. Beyond courting especially Chinese capital,

Bozize opposed the acquisition by Areva, France's nuclear giant, of mining rights held by the British-Canadian firm UraMin in 2007 a key irritant in the relationship. Before approving Areva's plan, which would see the company produce 1000 tonnes of uranium concentrates annually, Bozize initially demurred, describing the acquisition as "disregarding the interests and rights" of the Central African people. This frustrated France which historically has been a key player in CAR politics. The Brooking Report (2013) states that, "the wiki leaks cable also exposed Chad as an interested player in the oil revenue in CAR". The Brooking Reports (2013) is supported by Enough Project's field researcher Kasper (2014) who asserts that, "Chad is drilling oil from that border region and it is actual a shared oil field with CAR and as a result Chad has high interest in keeping tight control over the area.

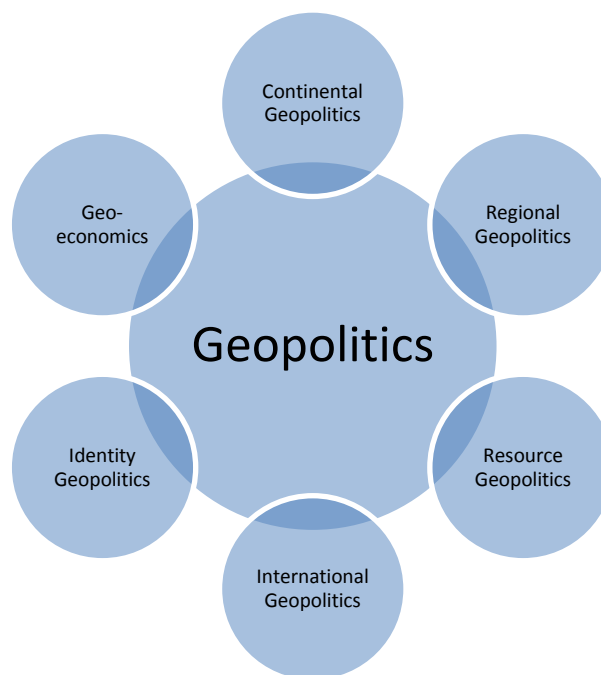
At regional level the US is interested in the CAR because it had vast resources like oil. The Brooking Report (2013) posits that, Sub Saharan Africa has become a strategic player for US and this prompted the International Energy Agency to anoint Sub-Saharan Africa as the new frontier in global oil and gas. The overall implication of the resource interest of different countries in CAR is that they will be political meddling so that the states will be able to access the resources in CAR and as a result CAR became a failed state. The interest of oil in CAR is reminiscent of the concept of natural resource curse. In this context rather than steering development in CAR, the discovery of natural resources is exacerbating conflicts in CAR, hence human security is now at the vanishing point.

Regional geopolitics is at play to the perennial problems of coups in CAR. Ovono (2013) posits that, "Chad has been involved in CAR for quite some time. The Chad President Deby assisted Bozize to usurp power and he capitalised on that power grab by enabling his forces to operate in the North of the CAR to decimate Chad's rebel groups which were based in CAR". Herbert et al (2013: 17) posit that, Chad is interested in CAR because of regional security and there have been a lot of activities done by the Chadian rebels in CAR and some were even associated with CAR rebel groups which eventually formed the Seleka. There was an avalanche of conspiracy theory which states that Chad backed the Seleka in-order to draw the Chadian elements of the group deeper into the CAR and thus stop them from launching attacks into Chad.

To add on the Chadian effect CAR is located in a region which is regarded as a theatre of conflicts as a result this chronic instability in Central African Region has a devastating effect to the stability of CAR. Ovono (2013) states that, "one of the most vexing problems in the

Central Africa Region and the Africa Great Lake Region is the existence of warlords and rebel groups”. The region is where the notorious rebel group LRA from Uganda is operating. The LRA has been operating in CAR and it was providing military and technical assistance to other rebel groups which were operating in CAR. The UFDR, APRD received technical and logistical support from the LRA from 2005 to 2012. According to Ulfelder (2014), “the Joseph Kony effect is also present in CAR because his rebel group is borderless. Kony who is a fugitive and leader of the renegade LRA is wanted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for war crimes and crimes against humanity”. When the Americans were hunting for Kony they came into contact with different rebel groups which latter formed the Seleka. Herbert et al (2013: 15) states that, “CAR has become a state whose borders exist only on maps, where government control is restricted to the 25 square miles occupied by the Capital Bangui”.

Figure 3.4: Anatomy of Geopolitics in CAR.



*Source: researcher synthesis of the findings of the study.*

The above figure shows the various structures of geopolitics in CAR and how those different trends of geopolitics caused the 2013 coup in CAR. A detailed discussion of the structures of geopolitics had already been done. The figure represents an analysis of the data which was collected by the researcher.

### **3.3.3 Sectarian Cleavages**

Another prime hurdle to political stability in CAR is sectarian cleavages. The conflict in CAR is regarded as a clash of civilisation as the conflict pitted two distinct groups the Seleka and the Anti-Balaka. Kane (2014: 313) states that, “Seleka are considered to be Muslims from the northern regions of the country and neighbouring countries including Sudan and Chad and in opposite of the Seleka is the Anti-Balaka or Anti-Seleka a group which is predominantly made up of locals who are Christians”. However, Kalondo (2013) refuted that sectarian cleavages was the major cause of the conflict since historically CAR has no history of deep-seated religious enmity or sectarian conflict and he concludes that those who blamed sectarian cleavages on the coup in CAR are “opportunists”

However a deeper inquiry of the subject unearthed that while members of the Seleka are radical Islam they also share a sense of communal identity and seeks to avenge the actions of CAR previous governments which were predominantly composed of Christians. The conclusion was reached after some cases of violence in CAR indicated that the Seleka were targeting Christians. According to Arieff and Husted (2015: 5), “the whole Muslims in CAR are supporting the Seleka and they are aggressive to Christians”. The anti Christian bias was seen just after the Seleka had usurped power, Arieff and Husted (2015: 5) states that, “once in power, Seleka leaders ordained over the collapse of an already fragile nation, and they oversaw cruel attacks on rural Christian communities in the northwest, Bozize’s home region”.

This did not go well with the Christians who in turn formed the Anti-balaka or anti machete which in retaliation began to fight the Muslim Community.

### **3.4 Austerity Measures put to Curb the Problem of Coups in Africa**

The spread of democracy clause as a strategy to make states to immune from coups has received a quite bit of attention from policy makers, statesman and international institutions. Cowell (2011: 753) states that, “in the 1990s the OAU began to diminish its non-interventionist strategy through sequent protocols aimed at averting cross-border security puzzles”. In 1999 the OAU initiated the ‘Decision on the Right of Political Participation’ as well as the ‘Declaration of the Framework for an OAU Response to Unconstitutional Changes of Government’ (the Lome’ Declaration).

The Lome Declaration required countries to respect, maintain and uphold to a democratic constitution and hold regular and credible elections. Mukosa (2013) notes that, “CAR is one of the states in Africa which held elections as a formality and this was undergirded by the 2005 and 2011 which were marred by controversy amid reports intimidation of voters and election fraud. The Lome Declaration also outlawed four practices in relations to the transfer and acquiring political power, these are military coups, overthrowing a constitutional elected government, use of mercenaries to execute coups and the refusal of the incumbents to relinquish power to the winning candidates as a result of credible elections. The Lome Declaration outlined procedures which will be followed in the event that the aforementioned activities happen. The first procedure is the suspension of a delinquent state this was initiated by the African Union after the 2013 coup in CAR. The Declaration also empowers the AU and sub regional organisations to impose sanctions which includes freezing of assets of the people who carried the coup, sequestration of diplomatic relations. Despite a plethora of resolutions and actions which will be initiated by the international community, the occurrence of a military coup has a devastating effect on human security.

Mukosa (2013) noted that, “the language used by the Declaration is very controversial as it seems as if it was suggesting that coups are outlawed in so far as they oppose the democratic form of government”. The clause of the declaration is vague because it seems as if overthrowing of a tyrannical or military regime or equally insurrection cannot be rendered as illegal. Inference on the declaration that outlaws coups can be made from the 2000 constitutive Act of the AU which is crystal clear as it outlaws coup. The act vehemently denounced coups as a means to transfer power and the declaration states that delinquent states must be promptly suspend from the AU following a coup. Therefore coups are subject to blanket prohibition and the act requires the AU to collectively reject the unconstitutional and unorthodox transfer of power. The act also encourages states to upheld democratic norms and principles.

Indicatively, the AU reserves the mandate to intervene in ‘respect of grave circumstances’ and the Act defines a non-exhaustive list of such circumstances. It is controversial as to how far this principle works but it is clear that state sovereignty is no longer used as a shield to supranational or multilateral criticism or action over an unconstitutional change of government. In the context of CAR the AU suspended CAR from the body and it provides a military operation to avert the crisis. However, despite the AU actions the crisis in CAR continued.

According to African Confidential (2008: 51), “the Constitutive Act is different to previous declarations, as all AU member states signed up to the Act at the same time a, supporting the idea that states consented to adhere to these constitutional principles in their domestic legal systems”. This legally justifies the idea of automatic suspension as the provision is contained in the same Article that guarantees ‘non-interference by any Member State in the internal affairs of another’. Although this only applies to multilateral recognition within the AU it nevertheless represents a significant advance from the non-intervention position of the OAU. African Confidential (2008: 51) states that, “of the entire sub regional organisation in Africa it is only ECOWAS that comes up with declarations that outlaws the unconstitutional change of government and ECCAS are yet to come up with legal provisions that prohibits coups”.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

The chapter presented and discussed about the inherent problem of coups in Africa and CAR. The chapter also gave an in-depth analysis of the causes of coups in other African countries and then moved on to look on the causes of coups in CAR. The chapter revealed that coups are not Africa’s problems or CAR problems but coups are problem of poor countries with weak states and CAR is a weaker state this is why it is marred by coups. The causes of coups which were unearthed by the researcher include weak economies, authoritarianism, ne-colonialism, geopolitics, sectarian cleavages, and natural resources inter alia. The researcher also looked on the measures which were put in place in trying to avert the problem of coups. The researcher noted that despite a plethora of conventions signed to curb the problem CAR is still marred by coups. The data presented in this chapter was gathered through documentary search and you tube interviews of academics and policy makers. The following chapter will examine the impacts of the coup in CAR on human security.

## **CHAPTER 4: IMPACTS OF THE COUP IN CAR ON HUMAN SECURITY**

### **4.0 Introduction**

The chapter focused on discussing how the unconstitutional change in CAR affected human security and therefore the discussion in this chapter was hinged on all the seven categories of human security which were encapsulated by the UNDP in 1994. In order to have a comprehensive understanding of the impact of the coup on human security, the chapter scrutinised how the unconstitutional change of government affects each of the categories of human security which were encapsulated by the UNDP Report of 1994. The topics which were integrated in the chapter are restatement of the methodology of the study, an analytic of the findings of the study. The sub topics which are contained in the chapter are economic insecurity, political insecurity, health insecurity among other categories of human security. Succeeding is a comprehensive presentation of the chapter.

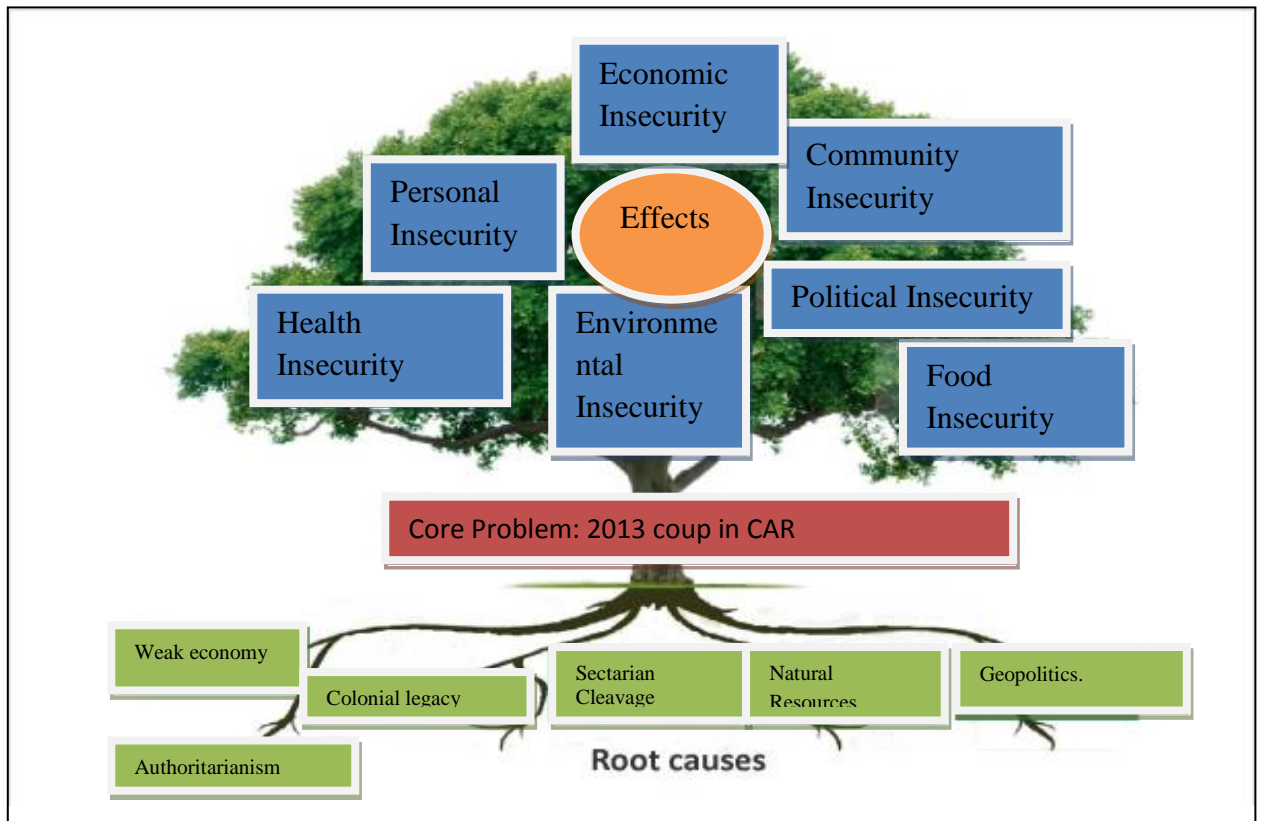
### **4.2 Interpretation of Methodology and Objectives of the study**

The objective that trusses this study was to investigate the impact of unconstitutional change of government in CAR on human security. In an endeavour to fulfil the aforementioned objective the study adopted a qualitative methodology with a case study being utilised as a research design. The 2013-2015 unconstitutional change of government in CAR was the case study and data collection was done using key informant interviews and secondary data analysis. Four respondents were interviewed and the respondents were selected using purposive sampling technique. The respondents were drawn from the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance (OCHA), Amnesty International (Zimbabwe), University of Zimbabwe (UZ) Faculty of Arts and Save the Children. The study also makes use of information found on You Tube interviews with academics and members of the civic society. Collected data was analysed using thematic analysis to come up with essential themes which were discussed throughout chapter 2, 3 and 4. Diagrams, tables, figures and word summaries were used to present the data.

### **4.3 A Critical Summary of Major Findings**

Findings of the study extensively extrapolate that unconstitutional change of government in CAR had ramification on human security. All of the categories of human security which were postulated by the UNDP Report of 1994 were affected by the unconstitutional change of government which occurred in CAR.

Figure 4.1 Conflict tree: Illustration of the effects of the 2013 coup in CAR on human security



*Source: Researcher analysis of the findings of the study using thematic approach.*

Figure 4.1 is a thematic analysis of the effects of coup in CAR on human security. The general impacts of the coup in CAR which were already analysed on figure 3.2 are re-examined in the figure using a thematic approach. Therefore the figure took cognisance of the seven dimensions of human security which were outlined by the UNDP Report of 1994.

#### **4.4 Implications of the Coup on Economic and Health Security**

Economic security entails the situation in which people have a better living standard, earn a living through employment. Perennial political instability in Africa and CAR in particular has been linked to economic insecurity. When the Seleka rebels ascend to power in 2013 they declared Michel Djotodia as the new President of the country. The seizure of power by the Seleka in March 2013 was the final stage in the gradual and inevitable collapse of the economy of CAR. According to the ICG (2015: 2), “the coup in CAR puts the state into a political, economic and social catastrophe that is likely to take long to resolve”. Although the history of CAR is pregnant with a myriad of political, social and economic turmoil, the 2013 was the worst crisis. The unconstitutional change of government in CAR ushered in a political



instability which affected macro economics in CAR, fiscal management and corporal governance. One of the respondents echoed that, “in order for a state to promote economic security for its citizens it must have a vibrant fiscal policy, good corporal governance and it must be able to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)”. Hence the presence of instability in CAR affected the aforementioned economic indicators.

#### **4.4.1 Influx of Rebel Groups**

When the Seleka usurped power on 24 March 2013 there was a state of lawlessness which was triggered by the inability of the leaders of the Seleka to control the soldiers. According to Amnesty International (2013: 4), “since the Seleka took over power in CAR there was a state of anarchy in CAR and this precipitated the presence of rebel groups in CAR some of the rebel groups were from CAR and some were from neighbouring countries like Sudan and Chad”. The rebel groups took advantage of the turmoil in CAR to have safe havens in the country. The presence of rebel in the country threatened investors and as a result they decided to leave the country. One of the carnages which were carried by the rebel groups is supported by Marima (2013: 4) who states that, “an exchange of gunfire and rockets on the Northwestern border with Cameroon escalated fears that the “forgotten” state would succumb into a conflict and as a result some business people feared for their business”. Fighting between the Seleka and pro-Bozize put towns and rural settlements in Northwestern Ouham prefecture and other regions under siege. As of 2013 more than 100 civilians were killed in the clashes and the whole village have been set into an inferno and as a result thousands of people become sojourners.

The coup in CAR reached a crescendo in 2013 and it later crystallised into sectarian violence between the Muslims and Christians and this was caused by the inability of the leaders of the Seleka to control the group. According to an official based at ICG office of Central Africa (2014), “Djotodia was not able to govern the country after the coup and the decision by the Seleka to hold elections after three years clearly indicates that the real power is within Seleka, the military communities dominate the political leadership, this is a catastrophe as the Seleka does not seem to have a political programme or the first page of a political programme”. The above views from the official revealed that although CAR has been ruled by despotic leaders prior to the occurrence of the coup it become a more “militarised and authoritarian state” after the coup. This affected progress in CAR as there was no transparency, rule of law and

corporal governance during the reign of the Seleka, hence CAR faced two years of disappointment under the Seleka.

The Human Rights Watch Report (2013) dovetails with what the ICG Report outlined about the effects of the coup, the report states that, “the political skirmishes in CAR turned into the worst looting spree which had never occurred in CAR”. The Seleka and other criminal gangs pillaged businesses, homes, religious mission, government offices, health centres and public utilities. According to the OCHA (2014), “CAR national union of business leaders submitted companies that suffered looting and vandalism after the Seleka usurped power. The list of about 23 companies contained the most important business companies in CAR”. The looting by the Seleka has caused the closure of some companies in CAR and as a result there was a surge in unemployment. One of the companies which were ransacked by looters is a construction company called China International Fund. According to one of the managers of China International Fund, in an interview with the Voice of America (VOA) (2014), “looters took vast amount of equipments and building materials, they emptied the containers of cement and they made off with the steel reinforcement bars that the Chinese had stocked”. The manager claimed that the company took losses of more than US \$14 million from the looters. The World Bank Report (2014: 4) supports OCHA reports, the report encapsulates that, “in Bangui which is the capital of CAR, the Seleka looted the entire neighbourhoods as they took control of the city and places like Damala, Boy-Rabe, Kasai and Walingba saw wanton attacks and civilians have been killed”. The World Bank Report (2014: 4) posits that, “Boy-Rabe has been routinely ransacked by the Seleka and government officials claimed that these were disarmament operations”. This shows a picture of a phantom state in which economic security is in jeopardy and there is war for all against all.

#### **4.4.2 Precarious Economic and Political Situation**

The aftermath of the coup in CAR was pregnant with an unstable economic and political and situation. The scramble to control natural resources in CAR had prolonged the conflict thereby leaving CAR in a comatose economy. Bollen (2015: 3) extrapolates that, “poor governance and a weak state in CAR has been exarcebated by a conflict driven by the desire to control natural resources in CAR “Conflict diamonds” were prevalent in the regions of Haute-Kotto, Berberatti and Haute-Sangha”. This was buttressed by Doko (2013) who states that, “when the Seleka took over power what was faced in the resource provinces is the struggle between different militia for control over natural resources like timber, ivory and

diamonds rather than willingness to change politics”. The findings of the study support the concept of resource curse since the scramble to control natural resources had fuelled the conflict in CAR due to illicit trading of rough diamonds in CAR. Although the illicit trade of diamonds existed prior to the execution of the coup by the Seleka, the process escalated in after the 2013 coup in a Hobbesian nightmare. The ramification of this jostling to control natural resource in a phantom state is economic insecurity and economic quagmire. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) Report (2014: 6) states that, “the 2013 security crisis in CAR has crystallised into a humanitarian crisis and the collapse of the economy, a rampage of looting destruction of infrastructures and lawless conditions prevailed throughout the past years as the leaders of the coalition were unable to stop the looting, provide security and restart economic activities”. By the end of 2013 about 1 million people were displaced, against the backdrop of a humanitarian catastrophe and heavy international pressure resulted in the Seleka led government to relinquish power in January 2014 opening the way for a more inclusive and transitional government.

According to a renowned watchdog Enough Project (2015: 12) in its annual report, “armed groups in CAR earn as much as \$5.8 million annually from the mining and sale of diamonds and illegal taxation in the country and much of the carnage in CAR has been carried out with small arms like bows and arrows and the armed groups used the “revenues” they get from the trade of “conflict” diamonds to finance their carnages”. In response to the influx of “blood” and conflict diamonds in CAR, the Kimberly Process and Certification Scheme (KPCS) imposed sanctions on CAR on 23 May 2013. The sanctions which were imposed by KPCS affected the trade of diamonds in CAR and this has negative impacts on cash flows, human capital and human development. The targeted sanctions which were imposed on CAR by KPCS and other economic agencies lucidly have spill-over effects on ordinary innocent civilian yet the motive of the sanctions were to cushion as much as possible the infinite consequences. Addressing the impacts of sanctions on economic security, Andreas (2005: 347) states that,

...although economic coercion aims to restrict political elites access to scarce economic and military resources, the leaders more often than not can mitigate the negative effects of economic coercion by controlling the allocation of the increased scarce resources within the society as well as using transnational black markets and illegal smuggling.

The above perspectives buttress the resource curse concept as vast natural resources in CAR are like a double edged sword as there are both a blessing and a curse. What is lucid about the

sanctions is that even if the sanctions which were imposed by KPCS and other economic agencies did not cause epidemics and death directly they exacerbates a dramatic and traumatic dwindle in the standard of living which lead to pandemics and casualties. A historical overview of sanctions which were imposed on states undergird that sanctions are associated with low economic growth. Clawson (1993: 27) states that, “in Iraq sanctions reduced the living standards by about one third, in Yugoslavia average earning were reduced by about half and in Haiti about 250 000 export oriented jobs were lost in 1991”. In Zimbabwe while sanctions cannot be entirely blamed for the economic crisis which had bedevilling the country since 2000 it is fair to conclude that the sanctions which were imposed under the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA) of 4 December 2001 played an equally pivotal role in oiling the economic crisis.

#### **4.4.3 Withdrawal of Donors and Investors**

The political and economic conundrum that followed the coup in 2013 intensified the severe economic depression and recession which was already present in CAR. According to the International Rescue Committee (IRC) Report (2014) due to the political crisis commercial activities crippled and this affected the anticipated economic recovery. The Agricultural sector which prior to the 2013 coup accounts for more than half of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and which employed more than 70% of the population succumb to the recession due to lack of productivity , the intensity of the internal displaced population and the difficulties of accessing finance and disruption due to security problem. The World Bank Report (2014: 5) states that, in September 2013 the United Nations revealed that 170 000 people fled intensifying fighting between the Seleka and the anti-Balaka in the Northern part of CAR around Bossangoa. This perennial turmoil had scared potential investors and as a result some of the investors have left the country. Due to the conflict some companies like Mcdanaige, Inkript Technologies and Industria DeTabaco Leon Jimene ceased their business operations. The closure of companies had negative repercussion on economic security as there was a gradual decrease in FDI. FDI is essential in alleviating poverty in CAR and steering the country towards resilient development and the gradual decrease in FDI in CAR affected development.

The conflict in CAR will never be forgotten because it led to the swung of inflation, destruction of the infrastructure, caused the investors to flee the country and the result of this was unfavourable balance of payment, gradual decrease in FDI and unfavourable GDP. The

World Bank Report (2014) posits that, mining production was another cardinal sector for CAR boost the GDP but due to the conflict it was not able to boost the economic performance in CAR. The coup implication on economic security was that it led to income insecurity, job insecurity, employment insecurity and labour market security.

#### **4.4.4 Vulnerability of the Economy to External Shocks**

According to the IMF Report (2014: 2), “the March 24 2013 usurping of power by a coalition of the Seleka rebels triggered a political and security crisis that resulted in a sharp contraction of economic activities, budgetary pressure, widespread destruction of administrative and economic infrastructures, a paralysis of the public administration intercommunity conflict and a serious humanitarian crisis”. The then new government led by Djotodia faced a plethora of daunting challenges which includes restoring security, rejuvenating the economy and rebuilding the democratic process. Due to ramshackle infrastructure investors abandoned the country and this was a major blow to the anticipated economic recovery. According to the IMF (2014: 6), “the history of economic under performance in CAR can be traced to as far back as the 1960s where economic growth was insufficient to provide economic stability, employment opportunities and social development and this was compounded by the global financial crisis of 2007”. It can be deduced that the current political dilemma bedeviling CAR affected economic security as poverty remains pervasive and macroeconomic indicators become weaker thereby contracting the economy and further cutting the meagre living standards of the population

Bollen (2015: 7) states that, “due to the instability in CAR highway robbers block agencies access to some areas and the offices of the agencies and warehouses are ransacked and looted”. The problem was also compounded by the fact that CAR had few roads and some of the roads were blocked by warring parties and this makes them impassable. Bollen (2015: 7) concludes that, “this makes some of the places in the Northern part of CAR expensive to provide aid since agencies were forced to rely on aircraft”. One of the respondents states that, “the conflict in CAR had triggered donor fatigue as the donor community find it difficult to raise funds for their work in a country plagued by tension and a history of corruption and this is a blow to economic security”.

Table 4.1 shows the macroeconomic indicators in CAR before and after the coup.

Indicator	2012	2013	2014	2015
<b>Real GDP Growth</b>	4.1%	-36.0%	1.0%	5.3%
<b>CPI inflation</b>	5.9%	6.6%	7.4%	5.7%
<b>Budget balance</b>	3.7%	-6.3%	3.2%	-3.8%
<b>Current Account Balance.</b>	5.3%	6.6%	11.2%	4.1%
<b>Balance of Trade</b>	-5.07%	-7.15%	-6.79%	-5.29%

*Source: researcher synthesis of data from World Bank, Global Finance, Economic Research and African Economic Outlook.*

Table 4.1 shows the gradual and dramatic decline of macroeconomic indicators in CAR due to the 2013 coup. The table undergirds the findings as it shows that the fall of economic indicators affected economic security.

The coup in CAR affected health security, soon after the rebels seized power from Bozize the country plunged into an episode of humanitarian emergency as the majority of the people were failing to access essential medical services because of the state was now enveloped by anarchy and there was lack of funding due to donor fatigue. According to Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) (2015) which is a renowned health nongovernmental organisation (NGO), “soon after the coup in CAR there was a humanitarian catastrophe, malnutrition and the spread of endemic and preventable diseases”. The NGO also articulated that cases of malaria reached an alarming rate. WHO (2015) states that, the political instability in CAR affected the public health system and this resulted in large number of women dying during pregnancy and childbirth. The problem was emanating from absence of adequate health facilities since some of the facilities were looted during the offensive.

IRC (2013) postulates that, “due to the political instability in CAR access to health services has been minimised and curtailed and this was caused by the displacement of people”. The most affected religion was Christianity as Christians outside bigger towns have no access to adequate health services, health centres in some of the provinces has been abandoned or

looted. Medical staffs are reporting increasingly difficult to treat injuries as members of the Seleka combatants become more brutal in their attacks. Tran (2013: 4) extrapolates that, “in March 2013 there was an outbreak of malaria and this was the worst outbreak in several years”. The effect of this on the health system is that it comes at a time in which there were endemic malnutrition and this has severe repercussion on the population in the long run. The IRC (2013) concludes that, sanitations and hygiene standards are difficult to observe as large population are in hiding or living together in small church compounds.

To augment the above analysis one of the officials from MSF (2013) head of mission in CAR extrapolates that, “when the Seleka rebels ousted Bozize from power and carried offensives, hospitals and health centres were ransacked and medical staff fled in fear of their lives”. The effect of the instability is that some of the medical centres were left without doctors, medicines and medical supplies and as a result the majority of people in CAR had no access to health care centres and services. According to United Nations Children Education Fund (UNICEF) report (2014), the most affected health centres were those based in Bangui, Bambara, Bouar and Bossangoa. The report also stated that, in CAR high death rates were recorded for children and many of whom were chronically malnourished and vulnerable to diarrhoea, malaria, measles and meningitis. Even where healthcare exists, few people can afford to pay for it. As a result, the country's health statistics have steadily declined and are some of the lowest in the world.(WHO 2015 World Health Statistics Report).

According to MSF (2015), “the humanitarian crisis in CAR was also fuelled by the withdrawal of some UN agencies and many NGO which withdraw their operation in Bangui soon after the coup and this left the majority of the people without aid”. A population of about 4,4 million was abandoned by the donor community at a time they need more help and this has resulted into the outbreak of malaria. MSF (2015) states that, “in the first quarter of 2013 the health facilities it supported treated about 74 700 patients for malaria and this was a 33% increase over the same period in 2012 when 50 442 patients were treated for malaria prior to the political conundrum”.

The problem of health insecurity was also escalated by the problem of refugees and internal displaced population. According to OCHA (2015), “by mid 2013, 18 000 refugees most of them from Sudan and Congo were taking political asylum in CAR. According to OCHA (2015) as of October 2015 about 447 487 were internally displaced in CAR and 456 714 were refugees in Sudan, Congo, Chad and Cameroon”. MSF (2015) states that, the political

instability in CAR has led to an increase in refugees and internal displaced population and this worsened an already precarious food security situation a poor harvest, food supplies and volatile food prices and this is likely to lead to a dramatic and traumatic increase in malnutrition.

According to UNICEF (2015), there were documented reports which hinted on lack of adequate clean water by the internal displaced population and cases of sexual abuse in refugee camp. According to UNHCR (2015: 7), “when the emergency begun some 3 000 to 5 000 refugees were arriving in Cameroon per week and Cameroon was already hosting a sizeable number of refugees from CAR”. Most of the refugees were in desperate condition showing physical evidence of the extreme violence they had suffered. Many were severely malnourished following weeks of walking through the forest without food or with little food. The above analysis shows the health problem encountered by refugees in their camps and while there were on the exodus to refugee camps. The UNHCR (2015: 7) states that, “the relocation of the refugees to safer sites and the provision of life saving services like water and sanitation, shelter and health care remains a key priority”.

OCHA (2015) states that, “as of 2015 1,5 million people in CAR were food insecure, the public health system is highly insufficient and international NGO have with few options no choice but to substitute for food”. Most of the health facilities were in shambolic situation in 2012 and are now non functional. Medical personnel are not skilled enough because of the difficult of obtaining medical training and many are not performing their duties due to the widespread insecurity in the provinces.

MSF (2015) postulates that, “the disruption of health system by political instability affected the treatment of people with HIV and other diseases”. About 11 000 people who were on antiretroviral treatment prior to the occurrence of the coup have their treatment interrupted due to drug supply crisis. Routine vaccination for diseases such as measles and meningitis and whooping cough has also been disrupted. According to the UNHCR (2014), “some health structures were damaged during the offensives and 50% of the health centres were looted and 42% damaged”. In an exclusive interview with VOA the head of a health centre in Bangui Petevo District Mossoro gave a detailed account of how the health centre was looted he claimed that, everything was stolen, everything looted including money. Most senior medical staffs fled to the capital in 2013, and are unwilling to return to their jobs because of the



continued violence. This, together with widespread looting of supplies and cars meant many health facilities closed.

Although the humanitarian crisis reaches the crescendo in 2013 statistics shows that before the crisis 3.2 million people had no access to health care services, centre and comprehensive information on health. History of economic disappointment had plunged the state into a comatose economy and this left the health service system lingering. Most of the health workers stationed in rural areas left their jobs because of insecurity and unpaid salaries and there is perennial shortage of vaccines and essential drugs.

#### **4.5 Implications of the Coup on Political Security**

When the Seleka rebels removed Bozize from power they declared Michel Djotodia as the interim president. According to France 24 (26/03/2013), “Djotodia who seized power on 24 March announced late on 25 March that he would rule by decree and have suspended the constitution and dissolved the parliament”. The former diplomat Djotodia announced that he would rule by decree until elections are organised in three years. By suspending the constitution and dissolving the parliament Djotodia breached constitutionalism which is a major pillar of political security. One of the respondents stressed that, “when Djotodia declared himself as the new president of CAR he joined the “unofficial fraternity” of illegitimate leaders of CAR who have used force to ascend to power thereby compromising political security”. This can be inferred from the fact that Djotodia regime deviated from free and fair elections and universal suffrage.

The other problem of political insecurity was exacerbated by the composition of the Seleka. Lompard (2013) states that, “when Djotodia came to power he faces daunting tasks of restoring order in a country that has faced myriads of political instability but the problem was worsened by the fact that the Seleka is a coalition made up of “diverse”, “heterogeneous” and “divided” groups including such bush guerrilla leaders, bandits and exiled politician”. The views of Lompard are supported by Hebert et al (2013: 5) who describes the Seleka as a loose coalition of rebel groups and renegades. Hence Djotodia faces challenges in stamping his authority on the group. Amnesty International (2014) states that, “the government of Djotodia become famous of using political repression, access to decision making power as well as democratic electoral process might be compromised, political power remains highly centralised and focused almost exclusively in the hands of the president”.

The aftermath of the coup was followed by the rule by man and this resulted into a sectarian violence. According to UN news centre (2013), “the conflict in CAR become a religious violence between the Seleka a Muslim sect and the anti-Balaka, at first the Seleka put the political security of the Christians under siege and this forced the Christians to create the anti-Balaka”. The deterioration of political security in CAR was noticed by the assistant secretary general for human rights Ivan Simonovic (2015) who posits that, “it is urgent to establish a credible and legitimate national security composed of a limited number of both former regime security and Seleka forces”. The claims are substantiated by the UNHCR (2015) which states that, “armed men which are believed to be from the Seleka cut the throats of 10 people on 10 November 2014 in the village of Ndassima and this was followed by an overnight attack on the nearby village in Mala”. An official in CAR states that, men from Bambari and others from Mbires abducted 8 people in Mala and dozens of the other people in the village went missing”. The events affected political security as this lead to an increase in both internal and external displaced population.

The ICC Report (2014: 40) postulates that, “large parts of the Central African population have been affected by the armed conflict, which has caused internal displacement and refugees, both of which have increased in number over time”. According to United Nations Security Council Report (2013: 49), “prior to the take-over of Bangui by Seleka, 173,000 people had been displaced in the north and north-east of the country and another 45,000 people fled the country to neighbouring states from December 2012 to April 2013 and 2.5 million are in urgent need of humanitarian assistance”. From the reports it is clear that the conflict in CAR had created a humanitarian crisis and resulted in the increase of the internal displaced population. The unconstitutional change of government is an obstacle to development.

According to the UNHCR (2015), “suspected members of the Seleka attacked two camps for internally displaced population and this resulted into the death of 8 people and a fatal shooting of a UN peacekeeper from Cameroon”. There were a plethora of cases of attacks of refugee camps and camps for internal displaced population. One of the respondents stressed that, “there was an attack of an internal displaced population camp in the central city of Bambari on 23 September 2015 and 3 people were killed, 30 wounded and 40 shelters were set on fire by suspected members of the Seleka”. The respondent also articulated that, “on 4 October the rebel fighters entered the Batangafo camp and fired shots and torched huts and community shelters”.

The problem of political security was compounded by the persistent lack of political agreement among political actors and incessant violent confrontation. The new government led by Djotodia also indicated that it was not willing to establish a legitimate government and this prompted the Christians to revolt against the government. The World Watch Monitor (2013) articulated that, “sectarian violence was disproportionately affecting the Christian community which was targeted by the Seleka rebels”. The Christians have been deliberately targeted by the Seleka and there is a religious dimension of the conflict in CAR and the conflict became an “interfaith conflict”. (Ibid).

To support the above assumptions, the Central Africa League for Human Rights (LCDH) as quoted by Human Rights Watch (2014: 9) states that, “on 26 February 2014 heavily armed Seleka fighters joined by Muslim Peuhl cattle herders carried out deadly attacks on the village of Bowai in the North East of Bossangoa”. The unabating attacks were targeted at Christians and this resulted into 8 casualties and at least 10 people were wounded by gunfire. The Human Rights Watch (2014: 9) reported that, “the attacks triggered the civilian population to flee their homes and the Seleka fighters seized the opportunity to set some of the buildings on fire. There were also instances in which members of the Seleka trapped people in their homes before they set the homes on fire and this resulted in many people dying in an inferno”. On the other side the anti-Balaka were also hypnotising members of the Muslim sect. The anti-Balaka militias slaughtered more than 80 Muslims in Bossemptele and members of the anti-Balaka were avenging the devastation wrought by the predominantly Muslim the Seleka. (Ibid).

The Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection (2015) also states that, “the Seleka rebels initiated targeted violence against the Christians and as a result various Christian authorities denounced the Seleka exactions such as the profanation of churches as well as looting and attacking of churches in the Northern parts of the country”. When the Seleka ascend to power in 2013 its leader Djotodia was regarded as a power usurpation presenting the most serious obstacles in the establishment of the rule of law, order, transparency and other pillars of good governance. Judah (2013: 4) states that, “the Seleka rebels were perturbed by the extreme violence against Christians and the impunity with which the carnages were carried”. The Premier of CAR Tiangaye who was appointed by the Seleka described the lawlessness and injustice which engulfed CAR after the coup as catastrophic. (France 24 30/05/2014) According to France 24 (30/05/2014) , “religious tolerance in CAR was vanishing in CAR due to the conflict and on 28 May 2014 Muslim rebels attacked a catholic church compound

in Bangui”. The attack took place at a compound at Notre-Dame de Fatima church where thousands of Christians who were fleeing persecution from the Muslims had taken refuge. The attack was the most drastic, and the most brazen blamed on Muslim since the inception of the conflict.

The Human Rights Watch (2013) highlighted the horrendous acts perpetrated by the Seleka which primarily targets non-Muslims. The report highlighted that, “rebel fighters have been evicting and looting Christian rural population and such actions were calculated at creating space for certain nomadic communities and their cattle”. In Bangui the government linked forces gunned down vigilante defence groups and six people were killed.

One of the respondents posits that, “other human rights violations that the Christians have been victims includes intentional killing of civilians and razing of more than 1 000 homes resulting in the increase of both the internal and external displaced population”. The respondents also states that, “there were also instances of marginalisation in the already vulnerable communities as the Seleka were siding with the Muslim Community”. This was supported by a prominent pastor (2015) in CAR who declares in a letter that, “both catholic and protestant churches and Christians in general are more vulnerable to the conflict, Muslims in occupied cities are better protected and even public servants, moreover Islamic leaders are respected and honoured by the Seleka in opposition to Christian leaders”.

#### **4.6 Implications on Individual and Community Security**

When the Seleka rebels nominated Djotodia as the new incumbent of CAR there were clashes between members of the rebel groups and South African forces. At least 13 South African forces were killed in the skirmishes and 27 were wounded (The Times 28/03/2013). The clashes affected personal security of the South African forces. They were also reports of marauding gangs called the “zaraguinas” who took advantage of the anarchy in CAR to kidnap children’s and babies there-by instilling fear on rural inhabitants. The group targets anyone in position of wealth and those perceived to be wealth risk. One of the respondents stressed that, the bandits come from Niger and Chad and they capitalise on the state of lawlessness in CAR to make money.

The political unrest in CAR can never be forgotten as it leads to an alarming increase of sexual exploitation. One of the respondents states that, “in January 2014 over 1000 cases of sexual violence were reported in CAR due to the state of lawlessness that engulfed CAR and the

incidences of sexual abuse have grown to astronomical levels”. According to the UN Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General for Sexual Violence in Conflicts (2015: 1), “since the beginning 2527 cases of sexual related sexual violence were documented in CAR including rape perpetrated to terrorise civilians with many victims being assaulted in their homes during door to door searches and while sheltering in the bushes and in fields. Women and girls were systematically targeted”. There have been cases of conflict related sexual violence against men and boys.

Not all cases of sexual violence are reported due to the political unrest, sensitivity of the issue and fear of victimisation. The UNHCR (2014) states that, “cases of sexual violence and other abuses including rape and sexual slavery by both the warring parties were documented”. One of the women who was once a victim of sexual violence during the conflict gave a detailed account of how she was abused by members of the anti-Balaka, she states that, “...if they saw a woman they wanted they just took her and if she had a child, the child will be thrown away...” (UNHCR 2014). Conflict related sexual violence reached alarming rates at the zenith of the crisis in the prefectures of Ombella-Mpoko, Ouham, Ouham-Pende, Nana-Mambere, Lobaye and Mambere-Kadel

The problem of sexual exploitation was also triggered by the presence of foreign peacekeepers. According to the CNN (29/01/2016), “for the second time in six months the allegation of sexual violence levelled against foreign soldiers in CAR has emerged”. The recent abuse involved six children, five girls and a boy who are between 7 and 16 years. The CNN (29/01/2016) further stressed that, “there have been 14 allegations of sexual violence, abuse and exploitation in CAR since the UN established a peacekeeping force in CAR in April 2014”.

The security of children has also been affected by the violence in CAR, UNICEF (2015), states that, “the coup affected children who were separated from their families and have been subject of sexual violence and displacement”. Many schools have been looted by armed forces and teachers forced to flee the violence and nearly two third of the schools in CAR were closed. The report by Save the Children (2015) dovetails with the report by UNICEF, the report extrapolates that, “armed groups in CAR recruited children at the end of 2012 and the dawn of 2013”. The report further encapsulates that, in November 2013 between 5000 and 6000 children have been recruited into armed groups as compared to 2 500 children recruited

in 2012. UNICEF (2015) concludes that, schools were closed due to fear of the conflict and as of 2015 an estimated 6 000 children were recruited as child soldiers.

One of the respondents states that, “during armed conflict in CAR children were used by self defence groups, pro government force and rebel groups”. The respondent states that, “the soldiers who took part in the clashes between the South African forces and the rebels claimed that they saw children as young as 10 being used by the Seleka and most of the children were in the front line”.

The “forgotten” crisis in CAR affected personal security, the coup in CAR affected the security of the people in the South East of the country. Due to the mayhem in the country there was infiltration of rebel groups in the country. The notorious LRA and other rebel groups seized the opportunity to attack people who live in the South East of the country. This forced the people to flee from their homes and seek refugees in the villages of Obo, Zemio. Rafia and Mboki. This left the civilians suffering from post traumatic stress disorder.

To worsen the burden faced by the population, since the drastic change of government in CAR humanitarian organisations have faced an avalanche of logistical and security restrictions that makes harder for them to reach the other part of the country especially the one which were facing crisis. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is a typical example of humanitarian organisation that partially waives their operations. The ICRC (2013) states that, “we have been present in CAR since 2010 to offer humanitarian assistance but we were forced to scale down our activities when our base in Rafai was looted on 27 March 2013”. The problem which was encountered by both the internal and external displaced population was shelter and this compromised personal security. ICRC (2013) postulates that, it continued to support local communities and displaced population by giving them the equipment to boost their livelihood. However a critical look on the humanitarian assistance provided by ICRC and other humanitarian agencies shows that the assistance was not adequate to cater for the entire population.

According to the International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect (2014:1), “often referred to as the “forgotten” conflict violent in CAR has risen to extreme levels since the Seleka staged a coup in early March 2013”. This sent the nation into the wholesale unrest that proceeds to take the sectarian turn in the following months. Vlavinou (2014: 2) states that, “the coup plunged the country into violence and chaos, and there has been an uneasy quest for peace ever since”. The ICG (2015: 1) states that, “in March 2013, the ex-Seleka’s seizure of

power was the final chapter in the gradual but inevitable collapse of CAR state, it plunged the country into a crisis that is likely to take a long time to resolve”.

The state of lawlessness which followed the unconstitutional change of government in CAR is also supported by the Human Rights Watch. The Human Rights Watch Report (2013:17) postulates that:

... 2013 has been a dark year, marked by rising violence and vicious Seleka attacks against civilians in Bangui and the provinces. With no checks on their power, the Seleka rule arbitrarily and with complete impunity, with the government failing to follow through on its public commitment to bring to justice those responsible for recent abuses.

This was also supported by Navi Pillay (2013), UN High Commissioner for Human Rights who described the situation as “almost total impunity” with “no justice, no law and order apart from that provided by foreign troops”. The Human Right Watch Report (2013: 17) states that, “Seleka forces have destroyed numerous rural villages, looted country-wide and raped women and girls. In one attack in Bangui on March 25, Seleka fighters raped two sisters, aged 33 and 23, in their home”. The Human Rights Watch Report (2013) further articulated that, “the Seleka stole or destroyed food and seed stocks, and there are now massive food shortages”. Residents including children are living in the bush near their fields and homes, in tents made from trees and leaves. Most have no access to clean water. In this dire situation, the people of CAR have been left to fend for themselves.

Kane (2014: 317) posits that, “the hurdle to democratic transitions in CAR is sectarian cleavages this is stemming from the fact that the chronic violence has pitted Muslims and Christians”. The Seleka are Muslims from the northern regions of CAR or neighbouring countries including Chad and Sudan. In opposition to Seleka is the Anti-Balaka (anti-Seleka) which is a group of locals which is primarily composed of Christians. ICC Report (2014: 56) states that, “there is a reasonable basis to believe that from February 2013 onwards, a series of multiple acts of violence (including killings, attempted killings, serious injuries, and rapes) were carried out by Seleka and directed against civilian populations in the CAR perceived to be supporters of the former (Bozize) regime and or of anti-Balaka”. The religious difference is another factor which had put CAR into anarchy. According to the ICG (2013:4), “by end of 2013, the violence in CAR became sectarian in character, and sectarian violence was prevalent in the Western and Central Region” The lawlessness of the state was caused by the failure of Seleka leadership. Vlavonou (2014: 319) states that, “a key question is why Michel

Djotodia was forced to resign when former presidents of the country have always managed to rule after their coups, at least before being toppled by another coup, the Seleka coalition was already carrying the seeds of its own failure”. The International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect (2014:5-6) postulates that:

...the Seleka fighters were accused of having used child soldiers in their successful overthrow of the Bozize government, as well as having engaged in looting of villages, the raping and killing of civilians, and the abduction of members of the national army, violence on the part of the Seleka continued even after Djotodia had assumed office...

There was also the surge of internal displaced people in CAR, the Human Rights Watch (2013: 4) states that, there is widespread empirical evidence which buttress that the Seleka fighters forced villagers out of their own home in order to loot their crops and other resources, some villages told the Human Rights Watch (2015) that, the attacks by the Seleka were aimed at creating space for members of the Mbarara community who are predominantly nomadic pastoralist who herd their cattle between Chad and CAR and members of the Mbarara sect are allies of the Seleka.

Table 4.2 shows number of refugees from CAR who were in neighbouring countries as at December 2015.

Country	Number of Refugees
<b>Republic of Congo</b>	35 000
<b>Chad</b>	143 000
<b>Cameroon</b>	370 000
<b>DRC</b>	50 000

*Source: Researcher analysis of the data from UNHCR, OCHA Reports, UN Reports and the AU Reports.*

The coup in CAR also affected the personal security of people living with disabilities. Human Rights Watch (2014: 2) posits that, “people with disabilities in CAR were often left behind and struggled to flee for safety when their homes and communities came under brutal attacks from armed groups”. When Human Rights Watch reach sites for internally displaced people they faced difficulties accessing sanitation, food and medical assistance. One of the hurdles encountered by people with disabilities is abandonment, isolation and neglecting. People with disabilities faced stigma and discrimination.



#### **4.7 Implications on Environmental Security**

The political turmoil in CAR resulted into a deplorable environment. CAR is one of the countries in Africa which are famous for vast expanses of timber, fertile lands, wildlife and mineral wealth. The most significant environmental menaces which were caused by the political crisis are water pollution, desertification, degradation of the environment and the destruction of the wildlife due to mismanagement and poaching. In the midst of the violence and anarchy in CAR the Ministry of Forestry launched a bidding process for five concessions covering an area of over a million hectares in the South Western region of the country. However this initiative was affected by the conflict as the institutional structures which were tasked with presiding over the project were crippled by the conflict. The Human Rights Watch (2014) states that, “timber materials which were supposed to be used during the project were looted and some are not yet operational and this raises serious concern over how transparent the project will be”. The conflict provided cover for some people to gain control over natural resources.

The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) (2014) reported that, “poor governance, social management and the management of CAR’s abundant natural resources is one of the daunting challenges to stability in CAR”. UNEP (2014) states that, “CAR once had the third largest areas of tropical rain forestry in Africa but this has decomposed due to chronic instability and most of the tropical forest has been degraded by logging and mismanagement”. At the moment little of CAR rain forest can be considered as a primary forest and this is the problem bedevilling other phantom states. To augment on the menace of environmental degradation, during the conflicts members of the anti-Balaka and the Seleka were logging roads using tree branches. This was mainly reported in the Northern part of CAR and prior to the dawn of the new millennium CAR had one of the lowest total deforestation rates among tropical countries but the country forest degradation has increased due to logging, mismanagement. (ibid)

The diverse wildlife system in CAR was affected by the coup as wildlife poaching has increased after the coup. According to the Guardian (25/04/2013), “elephant meat flood the food markets in villages near a famed wildlife reserves in CAR barely one month after the rebels who were also embroiled in the poaching scandal ousted Bozize from power”. The most affected wildlife reserve was the Dzanga-Sangha reserves in the rainforest of South Western CAR which used to house about 3 400 but about 1 800 of the elephants were killed

by poachers. The Seleka rebels were also implicated in the killing of the elephants at Dzanga-Sangha reserves. Although incidences of wildlife poaching were reported during the reign of Bozize they were few. Prior to the coup unlawful hunting was forbidden in intergral natural reserves, national parks, wildlife, hunting reserves and other reserves.

One of the conservationists in CAR states that, “the political turmoil unleashed by rebellion that ousted CAR president has enabled elephant poachers to further their slaughter”. According to an official from World Wildlife Fund (WWF) (2013) as quoted by the British Broadcasting Cooperation (BBC) (26/04/2013), “elephant poaching increased in CAR and given the fact that the conflict is in its formative stages the worst is likely to be experienced as people are looking for ivory” The state of lawlessness that followed the coup triggered wildlife poaching in CAR and elephant meat were sold in public places one of such places is the Bayanga near the reserves. Due to the inability of the Seleka to manage the country after the coup the law enforcement agencies and the rule of law hardly existed. CAR has lost its legacy as one of the last great wildlife refuges in the world due mainly to poaching and deforestation. Poaching, deforestation and overgrazing remain some of the major environmental issues facing CAR today.

Foreign groups also took advantage of the instability in CAR to poach elephants and other animals. The janjaweed and the LRA were among the groups which were implicated in elephant poaching in CAR. BBC (26/04/2013) stressed that, “the Wildlife Conservation Society showed that forest elephants had decreased by 62% across Central Africa Region in the past 10 years and this was caused by poaching”. One of the top officials from WWF (2013) stressed that, “elephant poaching is on the increase and given the fact that CAR for the moment is also in dire strait we fear for the worst in terms of people trying to look seriously for ivory”.

The implication of environmental degradation in CAR is that it will impair human security and ultimately forces people to live their homes to places which are more conducive. The above analysis is based on the assessment of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2007) and the Stern Review (2006) which extrapolates that climate change is as a result of human activities and has ramifications for humans and ecosystem. Therefore given that the coup in CAR led to environmental degradation this might exacerbates the problem of climate change which had rocked all the nations.

#### **4.8 Implications on Food Security**

When the Seleka advanced to the capital in 2012 there was widespread displacement of people and this reduced humanitarian access to the general population in need of relief and aid. According to Amnesty International (2015), “when the Seleka advanced in Bangui they ransacked some of the houses in search of food and on 27 March 2013 they carried their incessant attacks on the town of Dekoa killing 14 civilians”. Nine of the victims were killed in the Catholic Church compound, including five who were directly targeted as they tried to hide in the living room of the compound’s main residential building. After the attack they made off with food thereby leaving the entire population in hunger and starvation. The internal displaced population were failing to access nutritious food, there-by causing hunger and malnutrition on the people.

The military coup in CAR leads to the nationwide food crisis thereby affecting food security. Pastoor (2014: 29) hinted that, “the UN states that due to the conflict in CAR about 1.6 million people mostly Christians are in urgent need of nutritious food, protection, health care and other essential and life saving services”. The food crisis emanated from poor physical infrastructures and incessant looting by members of the anti-Balaka and Seleka. One of the respondents stressed that, due to the crisis most of the relief agencies withdraw their services in CAR and the delivery of food services become sporadic and insufficient for the whole members of the population who were both internally and externally displaced. The World Food Programme (WFP) (2013) posits that, other food agencies like the Food for Peace were facing daunting challenges in reaching the starving population as some were in hiding and the Seleka rebels were also targeting the food agencies. This had repercussion on the wellbeing and human welfare of the people.

The WFP report (2013) hinted that, “food security was caused by conflict related disruption of agriculture production and activities and this affects the availability of basic commodities”. Since the beginning of the violent crusades the prices of basic commodities became exorbitant and therefore it was unaffordable for the ordinary population. The WFP report stated that, since the beginning of the turmoil in CAR trade between the Seleka controlled areas which are predominantly in the Northern parts of the country has drastically interrupted by the conflicts which leads to tremendous increase in the prices of food. According to the Guardian (14/02/2014), “a wave of looting and violence has forced Muslims shopkeepers to flee in numbers, leaving locals to face the new menace of food scarcity and soaring prices”. One of

the effervescent customers who were interviewed by the news crew from the Guardian states that, "...now that all Muslim shops have been looted ransacked prices have been increased substantially..." The exorbitant prices of basic commodities were noted at most renowned markets in Bangui like the Samba Market. One of the respondents posits that, areas which are predominantly Christians were seized by the Seleka and as a result the cost of food increases by 35% leading to food crisis, starvation and hunger.

To augment on food security, even when people do have access to basic foods supplies, insecurity affects the preparation of food. According to the Director General of MSF (2015), "the church compound in Bossangoa is like an open air prison, people do not even dare to go and fetch the wood they need for cooking, and they do not even dare to go out of protected zone back to their homes where they would have a roof over their heads and some proper facilities even though their houses are only a few hundred metres". This problem leads to tension after scarce food resources among communities.

Adams (2013: 4) states that, "soon after the coup looters created chaos in CAR in an endeavour to ransack shops and other big firms". This was supported by Sarah Terlouw (2014) the director of IRC who states that, "there was huge food insecurity after the harvest of 2013, people were stockpiling food reserves and keeping seeds to plant for the next season but those supplies were looted". Even relief agencies were targeted by the looters as food warehouses containing seeds farming tools and other supplies were also ransacked. This forced the humanitarian agencies to halt their assistance programmes as the security situation remains volatile.

According to the WFP (2015), "food insecurity was also caused by late arrival of rains and insufficient access to seeds and other farming equipment due to the conflict". Due to the conflict there was a traumatic decrease in land under cultivation as most of the people flee their field and they sporadically cultivated their land. This resulted in average harvest and depleted national food stocks in 2013 and 2014 seasons. The WFP (2015) forecasted that, crisis levels of food insecurity are likely to continue in most parts of CAR and this is likely to cause ill health and malnutrition. The children are the most affected population by the tremendous shortage of food and this resulted in the proliferation of malnutrition. To avert the crisis humanitarian agencies like WFP, UNICEF collaborate their activities to provide ready to use therapeutic foods for children with severe acute malnutrition.

The survey carried by the WFP in 2013 revealed that about 1.8 million people were in urgent need of food aid. In 2014 the WFP estimated that about 2.1 million people were living in hunger and starvation and therefore they need food assistance. In 2015 the WFP estimated that about 2.5 million people which are more than half of the population were in need of food assistance. In response to the food crisis that was looming CAR the WFP scaled up its food assistance operation to curb the food insecurity faced by both internal and external displaced population. However the increase in the food assistance did not avert the food crisis as this was a “means to an end not an end in itself”.

According to OCHA (2015), more than 470 000 Central Africans are internally displaced and about 459 000 have fled to neighbouring countries where they seek refuge and this worsened the food crisis in the refugee camp. The Office of Food for Peace (FFP) partners with WFP to reach food-insecure people affected by conflict and displacement, including refugees (in Republic of Congo, DRC and Cameroon), IDPs, returnees and host communities. FFP provides in-kind and locally and regionally procured food assistance to WFP to assist these most vulnerable populations through general food distributions, supplementary feeding activities, emergency school feeding, and food for asset activities. FFP (2014) also supports WFP distribution of food vouchers where appropriate.

#### **4.9 Re-examination the Inter linkage between the findings and Conceptual Framework**

The study was guided by the concept of state failure, natural resource curse, the frustration aggression and human security. The findings reveal that when the central government fails to provides political goods to its citizens there will be war for all against all and the anarchical environment that follows the collapse of central government had negative implications on human security. This generalisation can be inferred from the case of CAR. To augment if a state fails to provides political goods to its citizens the people will be frustrated and will resort to violence in an endeavour to maximise their interests. The other linkage between the findings of the study and concepts was on natural resources and human security. The presence of “blood” and “conflict” diamonds and ivory in CAR also compounded the situation. Therefore a general analysis of the nexus among various concepts which were used in the study shows that the improper management of natural resources is associated with state fragility and under state fragility human security will be compromised.

#### **4.10 Conclusion**

This chapter is the bedrock of the study as it presented and examined the findings of the study. The Chapter examined the impacts of the unconstitutional change of government in CAR on human security. The chapter is a continuation of chapter 3 and it set precedence for conclusion and recommendations which were discussed in the following chapter. Findings of the study dovetails with the assumptions of the researcher which was that the unconstitutional change of government in CAR affected the entire cross cutting categories of human security which were encapsulated by the UNDP report of 1994.

## **CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES**

### **5.0 Introduction**

The chapter presents conclusion, recommendations and implications for further research. The conclusion of the study is drawn from the findings of the study and a general analysis of the data gathered throughout the study. The conclusion of the study gives a general answer to all research questions which were outlined in chapter 1 and those questions which buttress the study. The conclusion is premised on the causes of unconstitutional change of government in Africa and CAR, measures which were put in place to curb the problem of coups and the impacts of the coup in CAR on human security. The other category of the chapter proffers recommendations on how to end the problem of unconstitutional change of government in CAR and Africa, how to minimise the impacts of coup on human security (in the event that measures to avert the problem fails). During the research the researcher discovered some areas of the study which will need attention in future, and therefore the last category of the research outlined those areas which need further research.

### **5.1 Conclusion**

To sum up the major factors which caused unconstitutional change of government in Africa are poverty and underdevelopment. Some of the African regimes which come to power after the end of colonialism failed to steer the continent into economic development, and some failed to be familiar with the problems of the people. This was fuelled by the fact that most of the leaders were using autocratic rules and therefore there was no corporate and fiscal governance in Africa. At the end people in Africa developed a negative attitude and this affected their behaviour as they thought that toppling the regimes was the only solution. Coup contagion also led to the proliferation of unconstitutional change of government in Africa. In CAR, although there are commonalities on the causes of coup in Africa, the problem of coup was prompted by the geopolitics, natural resources and colonial legacy. Sectarian cleavage also triggers the coup in 2013 as the coup was labelled as an “interfaith” violence. The study also discovered that just like in other African states authoritarianism and a weak economy led to the 2013 political turmoil in CAR.

The mismanagement of vast natural resources led to the 2013 coup in CAR, rebel groups also used natural resources to bankroll their carnages (ivory conflicts and conflicts diamonds) and this means that natural resources in CAR were also “conflict” resources. The influx of

poachers and rebel groups into CAR from DRC, Chad, Cameroon and Sudan had also triggered the 2013 coup as the rebel groups and poachers such as LRA and the Janjaweed weakened the security apparatus of Bozize government. Super powers meddling in politics of CAR had also weakened the security of the state and this also weakened the economy of the state as the super powers are seeking to extract and exploit the vast resources in CAR.

Due to the persistence of unconstitutional change of government, the international community encouraged state to transit from autocratic rule to democratic rule. In other words the spread of democratisation was seen as a necessary panacea in curbing the problem of unconstitutional change of government. In Africa states come up with rules and regulations that outlaw unconstitutional change of government. The Lome Declaration of 1999 was the first provision that prohibit unconstitutional change of government. The Constitutive Act of the AU (2001) also prohibited unconstitutional change of government and it stressed that members who violate the provision will be suspended from the AU. The African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance also spoke the same language with the above provision and it went on to provides guidelines for free and fair elections. The study concluded that, despite a plethora of provisions which outlaws unconstitutional change of government, Africa is still providing fertile grounds for unconstitutional change of government. However notwithstanding the presence of a plethora of conventions which outlaws unconstitutional change of government, African states are still providing fertile grounds for unconstitutional change of government. The researcher also noted that most of the African states did not respond to the third wave of democratisation which followed the end of the Cold War.

The coup affected economic security in CAR. The coup spearheaded the collapse of the economy in CAR. Although the economy of CAR was on the brink of collapse prior to the coup the occurrence of the coup resulted into a sudden and gradual demise of the economy as was evidenced by the fall of the economic institutions and macroeconomic indicators. Due to the political instability that was enveloping CAR many business people lost their cash, valuable assets to looters who took advantage of the instability. Due to political instability some of the business people withdrew their operations in CAR and this affected FDI. Most of the people lost their jobs as they became sojourners.

The coup in CAR affected human security as it led to the fall of health system in CAR. Due to the outbreak of the coup there was widespread looting of health facilities and health services.



The coup led to the destruction of health centres by members of the Seleka and the anti-Balaka. As a result most of the health workers fled their working places fearing the marauding groups. The violence in CAR led some health agencies to withdraw their assistance and activities in CAR. The overall repercussion of the above problems was the influx of both communicable and non communicable disease and since there were no health workers who were manning the health centres patients go for days, weeks, months without attendance.

The unconstitutional change of government in CAR also affected political security. When Djotodia came to power he suspended the constitution and dissolved the parliament and declared that he will rule by a decree. The rule by decree shows that he was deviating from the principle of the rule of law. The aftermath of the coup was pregnant with a state of anarchy as the Seleka was failing to govern the country. During Djotodia rule people were denied freedom to express their views and the right to participate in political activities of the country.

The coup in CAR also affected personal security as the coup led to the death of people in CAR. There was also a surge of refugees and internal displaced population in CAR as people fear for their lives. There were also documented evidence which shows that members of both the Seleka and the anti-Balaka were sexually exploiting women and girls. There were also a myriad of documented evidence which shows that foreign fighters (on a peace keeping mission) also sexually abused women, girls and boys in CAR. People living with disabilities were the most people who were affected by the conflict as they were reports which show that, they were stigmatised and discriminated during the conflict. Children were also affected by the conflict as they were myriads of reports which shows that they were directly involved in hostilities and this affected their education and behaviour.

The coup in CAR also affected environmental security which is another category of human security. During the skirmishes poachers from other countries like Uganda and Sudan took advantage of anarchy which was engulfing CAR to poach and kill wildlife animals. From the documented reports elephants were the most targeted wildlife animals. People from CAR also took advantage of the crisis in CAR to kill elephants for meat and ivory. The coup in CAR also led to environmental degradation and desertification as the ensuing anarchy allowed people to cut down trees. The above activities which were pursued during the coup had future implications on climate change as this is likely to affect climate change in a negative way.

The coup in CAR also affected another category of food security which is food security. Due to the instability people were not able to access the humanitarian assistance on food which were being provided by relief agencies. The coup also disrupted agriculture production and this led to hunger and starvation in CAR. Due to the instability people looted shops and as a result there was hardly food left in the shops. Relief agencies were also targeted by the looters and this affected the operation of the relief agencies. The looting of food and other basic commodities led to the hike of food prices and due to poverty many people were not affording to buy basic commodities from the shops and this led to malnutrition.

To analyse the above conclusions all the seven categories of human security were affected by the unconstitutional change of government in CAR. Since the categories of human security are interwoven the incapacitation of one category affects the other categories.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

In an endeavour to avert the perennial problems of unconstitutional change of government in Africa and CAR in particular the African regimes and CAR incoming government should follow the principles of democratisation. Democratisation is necessary in spearheading economic development, hence economic growth reduces the occurrence of unconstitutional change of government. The study discovered that unconstitutional change of government is not a problem for African states but a problem for states with weak economies and CAR and other African states have weaker economies this is why they provide fertile grounds for unconstitutional change of government. A robust, vibrant and inclusive society is very essential in addressing the problem of coup. In the case of CAR unconstitutional change of government was triggered by the fact that the government was exercising politics of patronage thereby marginalising the Northern and the Eastern part of the country and this ignited people to take actions against the government. The new government which will be elected on 14 February 2016 should be the government for all people.

In order for African states to transit from coup zones to coup proofing states they should abide by the principles of democracy and good governance which were outlined in the African Charter on Democracy Elections and Governance. The perennial problem of incredible elections in CAR fuels tensions in the country. The 2005 and 2010 elections in CAR were disputed, therefore it is the impetus of the government to accredit international observers. During elections the future government should give media access to members of the

opposition. This can be enhanced by enabling the opposition to launch political campaigns on the state media.

The second recommendation proffered by the researcher is that since natural resources were cited as the major factor in triggering violence, in future natural resources should be scrutinised as a potential cause and driver of conflicts. The incoming government should be able to utilise the vast natural resources in CAR for the benefits of all citizens. Illicit trading of natural resources should be prohibited and natural resources in CAR must be used as a “blessing” by the government and not to act as a “curse”. The peace building potential for natural resources which entails a situation in which natural resources are well managed in an endeavour to avoid the recurrence of conflict diamonds will also be essential to CAR’s recovery and there should be instrumental identification and prioritisation of natural resources related needs within the future context. In order to halt the problem of resource geopolitics the future government should ensure that it uses proper channels to trade its natural resources especially diamonds. The incoming government should also promote security so that it can be able to deal with poachers from Sudan, Cameroon and Chad as well as rebels groups from DRC, Sudan and Chad who have the temerity to invade CAR in search of “conflict” diamonds. The interests of super powers are igniting conflicts in Africa, the strategic interest of super powers in Africa and other developing nations should also be checked and rejected. This can be achieved by having a common agenda among African nations during UN meetings and other regional meetings.

Since CAR has been rocked with sporadic conflicts since 1960, it is imperative for the international community and CAR authorities to pursue a comprehensive disarmament programmes. Most of the people in CAR are armed with small arms and light weapons and this puts the security of people in jeopardy. Apart from small arms and light weapons some people in CAR have guns and sophisticated weapons. So in order to promote peace and security in CAR it is necessary to have a resilient DDR strategy. If the international community and CAR authorities fail to pursue the strategy there is a danger that CAR will again succumb to conflict and this conflict will crystallise into sectarian violence. Apart from a comprehensive DDR strategy there is need to reconcile the warring parties as this is essential to treat the wounds which were caused by the conflict. This researcher envisioned a reconciliation strategy which includes members of the religious sect, civic society and warring parties as the most vibrant reconciliation strategy. In future there is need to held perpetrators of violence responsible for war crimes and crimes against humanity which

emanated from the conflict. The AU, UN Security Council and the ICC should play pivotal roles in ensuring that perpetrators of violence are held responsible for war crimes and crime against humanity.

UN, regional and sub regional organisations should have peace and security mechanisms which are responsive to end a humanitarian emergency. AU Peace and Security Council and the UN Security Council have a mandate of ensuring that when a humanitarian catastrophe occurs they have mechanisms which are fast, efficient and effective in ending the crisis as this is essential in minimising the impacts of the crisis. In the case of CAR the crisis was labelled as a “forgotten” by watchdogs because ECCAS, AU and UN were taking a lackadaisical stance in intervening. Due to the unpreparedness of the international community the crisis degenerates into genocide.

### **5.3 Implications for Further Studies**

Further research on how natural resources driven conflicts are affecting human security in Central Africa region and Africa Great Lakes region are necessary in future. This is going to help the field of peace and security on forecasting about the impacts of resource conflicts, hence they will take preventive measures. During the study, the researcher discovered that there is hardly scholarly attention on how resource conflicts in Africa are affecting the individual security of children and how those resource conflicts are leading to sexual abuse of women and girls. It is of paramount importance that in future there is need of extensive research which focuses on how resources conflicts in Central Africa are affecting personal security of children. There is also the need to research on the other causes of unconstitutional change of government in Africa since there are no commonalities on the causes of unconstitutional change of government in Africa.

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## Appendixes

### Interview Guide

1 What factors makes African states prone to unconstitutional change of government?

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2 Are there any commonalities on the causes of coup in Africa?

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3 Why is that CAR has been rocked by unconstitutional change of government since its independence?

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4 What measures must be taken to avert the inherent problem of unconstitutional change of government in Africa?

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5 In your opinion what are the impacts of the 2013 coup in CAR on human security?

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6 What measures must be taken to avert the recurrence of unconstitutional changes of government in Africa (with particular focus on CAR)?

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7 Do you have any other views or comment on the 2013 coup in CAR and its repercussion on human security?

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8 Do you have any additional comments about the subject which was under discussion?

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