

**CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN MADAGASCAR:
AFRICAN UNION AS ARENA TO RESOLVE
POLITICAL CONFLICT (2009-2014)**

THESIS



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**PROGRAM MAGISTER ILMU SOSIAL
SEKOLAH PASCASARJANA
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APPROUVAL OF THE THESIS

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JUNI 2018**



DECLARATION

I, Rakotondrasoa Helinjiva, hereby declare that, this thesis with the title:

**CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN MADAGASCAR: AFRICAN UNION
AS ARENA TO RESOLVE POLITICAL CONFLICT (2009-2014)**

is the result of my research under the supervision of an academic supervisor.

All the sources, references and quotations I have used in it have been quoted
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and / or sanctions that will be imposed on me.

Stated in : Bandung

Date : 28/06/18



Helinjiva RAKOTONDRA SOA

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ABSTRAK

Uni Afrika (UA) memainkan peran penting dalam membantu penyelesaian konflik politik Malagasi di tahun 2009-2014. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan dan menganalisis peran Uni Afrika dalam penyelesaian konflik politik di Madagaskar pada tahun 2009. Penelitian kualitatif ini memakai teori Liberalisme, khususnya Liberalisme Institutional yang mengedepankan konsep organisasi internasional, dan konsep Resolusi Konflik. Hasil penelitian dan analisis menunjukkan bahwa UA telah membantu resolusi konflik melalui peran Komisi Ekonomi UA (SADEC dan COMESA). Komisi-komisi tersebut telah melakukan mediasi untuk mewujudkan proses perdamaian di Malagasi. Ada lima cara utama yang dilakukan AU dalam resolusi konflik di Madagaskar, yaitu koersi (*coercion*), negosiasi dan tawar menawar, adjudikasi (*adjudication*), mediasi dan arbitrase. Langkah-langkah ini mengantar pada penyelenggaraan pemilihan yang demokratis di Madagaskar yang menunjukkan keberhasilan mediasi yang dilakukan AU. Namun demikian, terdapat kritik terhadap pendekatan AU dalam menyelesaikan konflik politik, khususnya terkait dengan netralitas dari mediator AU yang cenderung berpihak kepada salah satu pihak yang berkonflik.

Kata kunci: Uni Afrika, resolusi konflik, politik, Madagaskar, perdamaian

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ABSTRACT

African Union played the important role in the resolution of the political conflict in Madagascar in 2009. Its economic commissions, the SADEC and the COMESA, began the peace process, the dialogues and the mediation from the beginning of the meetings until the end of the conflict. The purpose of this study is to describe how the AU resolved the conflict in Madagascar in 2009, and also to analyze the role of the AU during this conflict resolution. This qualitative research uses the theory of Liberalism, especially Institutional Liberalism which highlights the concept of the International Organization and its roles in the conflict resolution. The collection of data was done through the secondary data. This research discloses that in the conflict resolution process, the AU adopted five steps, namely coercion, negotiation and bargaining, adjudication, mediation and arbitration. These steps lead to a democratically election in Madagascar which shows the success of the mediation. Nevertheless, there were critiques towards the AU's approach to resolve the political conflict, particularly in regard to the neutrality of the AU mediator who showed their subjectivity by supporting a particular conflicting party.

Keywords: African Union, conflict resolution, politics, Madagascar, peace

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RESUME

Le rôle de la résolution du conflit politique de 2009 à Madagascar a été principalement tenu par l'Union Africaine. Cette dernière avec ses commissions économiques mixtes, la SADEC et le COMESA, a été l'initiateur du processus de paix, des dialogues entre les protagonistes et de la médiation. Elle fut chargée de cette tâche jusqu'au dénouement final de la crise par une élection présidentielle en 2014. Le but de cette étude est d'analyser et de démontrer comment l'UA a résolu le conflit politique malgache. La méthode qualitative est la méthode utilisée dans cette étude avec le type de méthode descriptive. La collecte des données s'est faite à travers des données secondaires. Après les études et les recherches, les résultats nous montrent l'existence de certaines failles dans la résolution du conflit à Madagascar de 2009 à 2014 d'une part. Des failles assez considérables malgré un évident succès du processus de paix d'une autre part. L'Union Africaine, dans son action future peut certainement combler les lacunes et s'améliorer encore plus dans ses actions futures sur la résolution de conflit non-armé comme celui de Madagascar.

Mots-clés : Union Africaine, résolution de conflit, politique, Madagascar, paix.

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This study is submitted as a final proof of competence obtaining the Master of Ilmu Sosial (MIS) degree from Parahyangan Catholic University.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Almighty God for the gift of his eternal love by giving me the good health and the courage to do all that I have done until today.

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Last but not least, I extend my deepest gratitude to my dear parents, my dear family and my friends, from near and far, who have supported me morally during this long and hard test. God bless you

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AfDB	: African Development Bank
AGOA	: African Growth Opportunities Acts
AMU	: Arab Maghreb Union
AU	: African Union
AUC	: African Union Commission
BBC	: British Broadcasting Cooperation
CAPSAT	: Corps des personnels et des services administratifs et techniques
CEN-SAD	: Community of Sahelo-Saharan States
COMESA	: Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CPLD	: Community for Portugese-speaking Countries
DRC	: Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	: East African Community
ECA	: Economic Commission for Africa
ECCAS	: Economic Community of West African States
ECOWAS	: Economic Community of Central African States
EU	: European Union
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
GIC-M	: Groupe International de Contact-Madagascar
HAT	: Haute Autorite pour la Transition
IGAD	: Intergovernmental Authority for Development
IMF	: International Monetary Fund

MAP	: Millennium African Plan
MONUC	: Mission de l'Organisation des Nations-Unies pour la Congo
NEPAD	: New Partnership for Africa's Development
NIA	: New African Initiative
OAU	: Organization of African Union
OIF	: Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie
OSCE	: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
RFI	: Radio France Internationale
SADEC	: Southern African Development Community
TGV	: Tanora malaGasy Vonona
TIM	: Tiako I Madagasikara
UNCTAD	: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	: United Nation Development Program
US	: United States

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

After the Coup d'Etat in 2009 in Madagascar, African Union get involved in resolution of the political conflicts in the country. The African Union generally provides peacefully through its organ of Peace and Security Council (PSC). The PSC has powers in the areas of conflict prevention, peace-building and peacebuilding, support for peace, determination of opportunity and modalities of intervention, imposition of sanctions, in the implementation of the common defense policy and counter-terrorism policies, in the harmonization and control of regional pacification mechanisms¹.

But due to several conflict and wars in Africa, the PSC is no longer the only one to deal with peace and security in the organization. The economic communities or sub-organs like SADEC, COMESA, CEDEAO have become the emissaries for the AU peace and conflict-resolution process in countries in crisis. Indeed, Africa is one of the most Continent

¹ Yves Alexandre CHOUALA, *Puissance, résolution des conflits et sécurité collective à l'ère de l'Union africaine. Théorie et pratique*, Annuaire française de relations internationales, 2005, p. 292

torned by conflict and AU has already been involved in several conflict resolutions such as in Burundi in 2003, in the Comoros in 2004, Sudan in 2004 and Somalia in 2005. AU established the first AU peacekeeping mission in Burundi in 2003. It held elections in the Comoros as part of the conflict resolution process. It sent peace keeping forces to solve the civil war in Darfur and Somalia.

The past colonialism has been blamed as main cause of African conflicts. It is true that the colonial heritage has contributed to the rise of recent conflicts in Africa, but it does not mean that colonialism is the causal factor behind recent conflict in African countries. Faria Fernanda (2004) states:

Imposing borders that does not correspond to the social and ethnic realities of these regions certainly does not contribute to a sense of national unity on which political leaders could have been based for maintaining national integration and stability. Moreover, the economic infrastructure that these countries inherited only perpetuated the dependence of the former colonies, as it did not meet their requirements as new independent states².

Africa is one of the continents where regional and sub-regional communities are very active in promoting cooperation between countries in various fields. The growing number and complexity of conflict situations in

²Faria Fernanda, *La Gestion des crises en Afrique subsaharienne, le Role de l'Union Europeenne*, 2004, Occasional Paper No55

Africa, as well as the lesser interest of the international community in the region following the Cold War, have led many African States and organizations to take initiatives and find solutions to their own problems. African regional and sub-regional organizations and their Member States have made considerable efforts to develop their own mechanisms and adapt their structures to respond to conflict situations in the region (Fernanda, 2004).

There are several sub-regional economic communities, playing fundamental roles in this continent of 54 countries. The importance of the roles played by these organizations at the level of African countries sometimes depends on the poverty of the majority of these countries. Despite the global decline in poverty, sub-Saharan Africa is becoming more and more poor. Indeed, extreme poverty in 2015 rose to 35.2% of the population in this area of Africa. This represents almost half of the most disadvantaged countries in the world. The World Bank suggests that:

"The region as a whole is failing to keep pace with the rest of the world. The situation is particularly worrying in Madagascar and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where 80% of the population lives below the poverty line according to the report"³.

Dependence is also due to the many political crises and conflicts that devastated the economy, politics and social life of the affected people. In

³ Kardiatou Traore, Report on World Poverty: The Situation on Sub-Saharan Africa of Concern, 05/08/15, Afrik.Com <http://www.afrik.com/l-extreme-pauvrete-sous-les-10-de-la-population-mondiale-situation-preoccupante-en-afrique>, consulted on 10/08/17

most cases, the conflict are often political origin and bring serious impacts on the economy of the country as well as on the social condition and the right of the population. People do not have access to a freedom or a lifestyle which are guaranteed by the standards and charters ratified by his country.

Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, states:

Since 1970, there have been more than 30 wars on the African continent, the vast majority of which originated from internal conflicts. In 1996, 14 of the 53 African countries experienced armed conflicts, responsible for more than half of all deaths caused by conflicts worldwide and causing more than 8 million refugees and displaced persons. The consequences of these conflicts have seriously undermined Africa's efforts to ensure long-term stability, prosperity and peace⁴.

Despite the fact that the face of Africa became a bit illuminated at the beginning of 2000, Africa remains (with Asia) one of the region where most protracted conflicts or armed conflicts frequently occur⁵.

“Promoting unity, solidarity, cohesion and cooperation among the peoples of Africa, and among African states”, is one of the ambitions of the African Union in the first article of the Constitutive Act. A constitutive act signed and ratified by 53 African Heads of State, that is, all African

⁴ Report of the Secretary-General to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) entitled "The causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa", April 1994

⁵ SIPRI Yearbook 2003, SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute), chapitre 2, <http://www.sipri.se/pubs/yb03/ch02.html>, consulted on: 10/08/18

countries. Madagascar, thus, is an integral part of the African Union and adheres to all the disciplines and charters of the Union.

The AU is doing its best to keep the continent strong and interdependent. It also retains a right of control over the life of a member state in the event of an extreme situation for example, as the Constitutive Act always emphasizes.

The African Union is a continental organization constituted by all the countries of the African continent and is based on a "sovereign equality and interdependence of all the member states of the Union⁶". In order to further consolidate the union, the Organization has established sub-regional communities in which countries can get benefit. The most well-known and active sub-organizations within the African continent are the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

The aim of this Union is to consolidate relations between African countries for a free and more open exchange at the level of all the countries. It is a better application of global governance and globalization itself within the continent. Members can therefore trade with each other or with other countries of another continent. Members also benefit from economic exchanges, financial and other assistance through these organizations. In fact, the sub-organizations within the African Union allow members to

⁶ Constitutive Acts of the African Union, Art.3, b

enjoy global governance, especially in the economic sense. A country has access to new economic or commercial markets through these sub-organizations. Obtaining financial aid from donors or the World Bank also becomes easier with a recommendation of good governance or transparency observed by sub-organizations for example. According to Carol Thompson (1991),

“Neither the states nor the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) itself are mobilizing class forces, but many social groups in southern Africa are taking advantages of new goals and opportunities under regional cooperation”⁷.

As the majority of African countries lives on international aid and financing, the sub-organizations or the Union itself serves as a bridge or facilitator between these countries and international organizations, giving it the right to country.

As part of Sub-Saharan Africa, one of the poorest regions in the world, the area includes 48 countries, with 47% of the population living with less than \$ 1.25 a day according to the United Nations (2012)⁸, Madagascar is among the countries most dependent on foreign aid and financing. Besides, Madagascar has to meet the international standards because Madagascar is being part of an International Society as defined by Barry Buzan:

⁷ Thompson B. Carol, *Democracy and Socialism in Africa*, 1991, Cohen & Goulbourne, San Francisco, p223

⁸ <http://www.cgap.org/countries/sub-saharan-africa>, consulted on 13/08/18

*International society (Grotius/rationalism), or sometimes states-system, or interstate society, or society of states, is about the institutionalization of mutual interest and identity among states and puts the creation and maintenance of shared norms, rules and institutions at the center of IR theory*⁹.

It is not new that the international community has been committed to resolve a political conflict in one or two countries. At the multilateral level, organizations such as the European Union, the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the World Bank and, to a certain extent, other organizations such as the Commonwealth, the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP), the International Organization of the Francophonie (OIF), and other groups of countries, are increasingly committed to promote peace and stability in Africa¹⁰.

At the beginning, as in the war in Somalia in 1991, the United Nations for instance has been involved in settling conflicts in Somalia in 1991. However, at the end of 1999, there were new outbreaks of violence which threatened neighboring countries in Africa. The conflicts occurred in Sierra Leone and DRC in 1999, Eritrea and Ethiopia in 2000, Liberia in

⁹ Buzan Barry, *An Introduction to English School of International Relation*, 2014, Politu Press, P.12

¹⁰ Faria Fernanda, *La Gestion des crises en Afrique subsaharienne, le role de l'Union Europeenne*, 2004, Occasional Paper No 55
https://www.peacepalacelibrary.nl/ebooks/files/ISS_EU_occ55.pdf, consulted on 10/08/17

2003, Burundi and Côte d'Ivoire in 2004. To respond to the conflicts, the UN approved the establishment of new peacekeeping missions in Africa. At the end of August 2004, the number of UN military personnel in sub-Saharan Africa reached 47,000 (compared with 31,500 in November 2003) and is expected to increase further with the strengthening of MONUC in the DRC¹¹. However, the organizations often fail in restoring peace in the countries.

In Africa, the African Union has played important role in conflict resolution. The form of the role depended on the intensity of the conflict. AU used military intervention in the area where the dispute was so intense and violent. AU will use peaceful approach in other areas where there is certain degree of stability. Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations recognizes the role of regional organizations in the maintenance of international peace and security¹².

The forms of participation of the AU or its sub-organizations vary according to the form of the crisis. In the case of the Malagasy political crisis, African Union endorsed SADEC to play the role through mediation. Since August 2009, SADEC has been at the forefront of the conflict scene.

¹¹ Resolution 1565 (2004) of 1 October 2004 of the United Nations Security Council. A MONUC reinforcement of 5,900 peacekeepers (lower than requested by the Secretary-General) was granted by the Security Council and MONUC's mandate was extended by one year.

¹² Articles 52 to 54 of the Charter of the United Nations

1.2 Research Problem Identification

According to the Constitutive Act, being a membership in an association, group, and organization requires restrictions and rules. In the Constitutive Act of the AU, the sanctions against the Member States are very clearly marked. The two most important points whose sanctions are explicitly mentioned are the violation of the Constitution¹³ and war crimes and genocide¹⁴. Article 4 in the Constitutive Act of African Union suggests:

“The right of the Union to intervene in a member state upon decision of the Conference, in certain serious circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity”,

The article also suggests that

“Condemnation and rejection of anti-constitutional changes of government”.

In such cases, the AU reserves the right to intervene militarily in the event of a peacemaker and through mediation in order to engage in a dialogue between the protagonists. The usefulness of a sanction lies in maintaining the balance of the organization, in enforcing the Charters and values within the union. Article 30 of the Acts provides for the suspension of a country from any Union activity, in a case of violation of the Charter.

¹³ Constitutive Acts African Union, Art. 4 /p

¹⁴ Constitutive Acts African Union, Art. 4 /h

It should be remembered that most African countries are financially dependent, which means they have to borrow at high interest rates and sometimes lock themselves into the vicious circle of debt. That is why it is imperative for these countries to diversify their sources of funding, as recently advocated by UNCTAD¹⁵. The countries of sub-Saharan Africa or Black Africa depend on financial aid and sub-organizations of the African Union to be able to revive their economy or simply to be able to contract new economic markets. More than 400 million people live below \$ 1.5 per day in sub-Saharan Africa, a finding showing a case of extreme poverty in the African continent because a person living below \$ 2 a day is considered extreme according to UNDP. Despite GDP growth of 5.6% this year, according to the IMF projection, sub-Saharan Africa will always remain the poorest area of the globe because the so-called growth does not really benefit the local population rather of the mining activity according to the newspaper La Tribune¹⁶. The cause is simple, they are among the most indebted countries in the world according to the IMF, which does not facilitate the borrowings nevertheless essential to their economies. Moreover, the economic market is not easy to penetrate for economic operators without the sub-organizations of the African Union.

There are eight economic sub-organizations that the African Union recognizes, as the Southern African Development Community (SADEC),

¹⁵<http://www.agenceecofin.com/economie/2607-39815-le-top-10-des-pays-d-afrique-subsaharienne-les-plus-endettes>, consulted on 10/08/17

¹⁶ www.Latribune.fr, with AFP, 20/04/2013, 9:56, 809 words, consulted on 07/08/17

most of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa are part of it. Its role is oriented towards sustainable development through economic means and the opening up of the international economic market. It has a financial and economic function but also a competence in the maintenance of peace, created on August 17, 1992, the SADC has a wide scope of competences. From financial and monetary integration to peacekeeping, according to the newspaper *Jeune Afrique*, sub-organizations help countries to conquer new world markets.

African regional and sub-regional organizations have all been established, without exception, to meet the economic and social development needs of their member States. None of them was intended to deal with internal or inter-state conflicts and no serious attempt to add this competence to their field of action was made until the 1990s.

In this context, the problem arises when a country is in crisis or in political conflict. The sanction of the African Union, strict and effective, imposes economic sanctions, including the freezing of the economic market of a country, which would lead to the immobilization of the quasi-total economy of the country and of the whole population and government. As evidenced by an article by the World Bank, on June 5, 2013, Madagascar is a country with enormous economic potential. Before the crisis, economic growth in Madagascar averaged 5% per year. However, during the period 2009-2013 growth was zero. Using an annual growth rate of 5%, GDP in

2013 would have been 20% above its current level, which would have represented an additional \$ 8 billion for the Malagasy economy¹⁷.

The 5% economic figure mentioned by the World Bank was due to the fact that Madagascar belonged to SADEC. The AU sub-organization opening the doors to new markets such as the African Growth Opportunities Act (AGOA), which creates thousands of jobs in the textile sector. Madagascar joined the AGOA market in the early 2000s under the presidency of Marc Ravalomanana, a United States ally. According to the Radio France Internationale website, integration into the AGOA market involves 40,000 direct jobs in the textile market¹⁸. During the first agreement with AGOA, Madagascar exported \$ 300 million per year to the United States through this market. A market won thanks to the confidence that the United States puts in the member countries of the SADEC.

After the political conflict of 2009, all the international aid, all the markets Madagascar acquired were reduced due to the sanctions of the African Union. The transitional regime after the Coup d'Etat did not obtain any accreditation from the African Union because “unconstitutional and anti-democracy”.

¹⁷ Article from the World Bank
<http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2013/06/05/madagascar-measuring-the-impact-of-the-political-crisis>, accessed on 18/08/17

¹⁸ After the 2009 coup, the Great Island had been suspended, which had led to the loss of more than 35,000 direct jobs, especially in the textile sector, via RFI
<https://www.usaid.gov/documents/1860/supporting-madagascar-benefit-african-growth-and-opportunity-act-agoa-exports>, consulted on 20/08/17

The problem then focuses on the true role of the African Union and its sub-organizations. Indeed, sanctioning a government of its unconstitutionality effectively, the whole country and the whole population is condemned. The already economically fragile country, already among the last in terms of development, is increasingly falling into the shadow of poverty with the economic sanctions of the AU. The practice can be called into question when there is total fury against the country in question and especially when the mediation turns into interference. Many problems related to the integrity, the real objectivity of SADEC, the AU and the President of the AU led to many questions. The resolution of the crisis by the AU's sub-organizations has always be in the form of pressure, pressure being the sanctions.

1.2.1 Research Focus

This research focus between the period from the beginning of Malagasy Political Crisis of 2009 until the new democratic and constitutional election in the country in 2014. The reason is simple, it was during this period that a mediation operation initiated by the AU's sub-organizations was held in the country. It was also the time when the role of the AU is the most questioned according to the identification of the problem.

The space of the research is based in Africa, the area of the African Union and Madagascar. As is well demonstrated by the researcher's phrase in International Relation, Studies of international relations try to explain a broad range of political interactions among countries, societies, and

organizations¹⁹. In this case, the research work goes beyond the boundaries of a single state, and of an organization, thus explaining the correlation between an organization and a state.

1.2.2 Research Question

From all these approaches leading to the center of the problem of the research work, a formulation of all the problems and questions concerning the role of the AU in the resolution of the conflict is thus: **What role did African Union play in resolving political conflict in Madagascar (2009-2014)?**

1.3 Research objective and contributions

1.3.1 Research Objective

The research concerns Africa, the African continent and its organization. The objective of this research is to describe the role of the African Union in resolving political conflict in Madagascar. The purpose of the research is to highlight the importance of the role of the AU and its sub-organizations at the level of African countries, especially Black Africa. The research also seeks to identify how AU and its sub-organizations attempted to resolve a crisis within a member state.

¹⁹ Detlef F. Sprinz and Yael Wolinsky-Nahmias, *Models, Numbers, And Cases, Methods for Studying International Relations*, 2004, The University of Michigan press, *Ann Arbor*

1.3.2 Research Contribution

It is very important for a research to contribute to the field of which it belongs and which the researcher has chosen to work. In our case, the field is the International Relation and especially the International Organizations.

This research contributes to a deeper study of international organizations in the resolution of a non-armed conflict. It is also shed light on the effects of sanctions on a government. In the case of the African continent and the AU, this research provides a new insight into the role of the AU, based on criticisms and remarks, to the extent that the AU countries are attached to it and its sub-organizations.

Finally, talking about the conflict in Madagascar in 2009 in parallel with the management of the resolution of this conflict by the AU leads to ask questions and to open up new perspectives and new policies regarding the true role of international and regional organizations. Despite the existence of these organizations, poverty and underdevelopment remains difficult to tackle. Political conflicts ravage many countries in Africa. This research can therefore help to make international and regional organizations more focused on poverty alleviation than to deploy forces in order to prevent all these conflicts. By addressing the issue of poverty, international organizations may help to complete the management of crises.

1.4 Literature review

The issue of conflict in Africa has gained many attentions from scholars. There are at least three literatures which are relevant with this research.

The first literature is written by Faria Fernanda, *Crisis Management in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Role of the European Union*, 2004, Occasional Paper No 55, is one of the debates on conflict resolution in Africa. In her introduction, the author talks about the International Community and their roles in African crisis management. The research question focuses on the major obstacles faced by the institutions and mechanisms put in place for conflict management in Africa. In a second point, Faria Fernanda focuses on the concepts of bilateralism and multilateralism. This is in order to answer the question and give answers that corrode the institutions and mechanisms set up by the United Nations, the European Union for the management of conflicts in Africa. The author argues that conflicts in Africa, as many experts says, originated in colonialism. Rather, on the geopolitical and economic side, Fernanda supports the argument that it is the inadequate division of borders and African countries during colonialism that continues to gnaw Africa to this day. With regard to mechanisms and institutions for conflict management, the author advances the argument of mistakes on the part of the African Union and that only the United Nations or the European Union could be able to solve certain conflicts. However, both come up against regionalism and the oldest principles of international law. The AU with the sub-organizations and all the active actors of the AU

are analyzed by the author here. The essay is written in a circumscribed and clear way, moreover it analyzes in depth and objectively the role played by the European Union in Africa, a real and striking fact of the history of Africa day. Faria Fernanda explains the EU's policy towards Africa, thus putting the points on the scope of EU actions in Africa. Finally, of course, the essay refers to concrete examples of conflict management in Africa, such as the case of Darfur in Sudan, and the Artemis operation in Bunya in the Democratic Republic of Congo. In this essay, the relationship between the EU and Africa is put on the index by the author. An especially economic relationship and rather leaning towards an independence of Africa to the EU.

The second literature is written by Bjørn Møller, *The African Union as a Security Actor: African Solutions to African Problems?*, Danish Institute for International Studies, Working Paper no. 57- *Regional and Global Axes of Conflict*, August 2009 Crisis States Working Papers Series No.2. In this article, the author describes the controversy of the word “African Solutions to African Problems”. It recounts how many times this phrase has been on Google and how much of that fact raises issue. However, the problem according to Moller is the meaning of this expression, he asks the question on the feasibility of this concept. Is a State obliged to assist or intervene in a State solely because of its geographical position, he asks, or is it just an encroachment as one does football team. Or that African solutions to African problems will be more successful. Such are the

questions formulated by the author in this essay. To this end, the concept of hegemony is for him the best adapted for debating the question. One might see hegemonic stability theory as a variant of international relations realism, in which case the emphasis is placed on the role of power (Guzzini 1998: 142-60). The term has also been used by mainstream authors belonging to the international political economy tradition, such as Charles Kindleberger (Kindleberger 1981; 1986) as well as by international relations theorists such as Robert Keohane (Keohane, 1984).

The third literature is written by Abdelfatau Musah, *ECOWAS and regional responses to conflicts*, Thomas Jaye & Stella Amadi, West Africa is one of the articles in the Consortium for Developments Partnerships. The author describes Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in his article. From the beginning, he traces the process of African Union commission. It explains how the AU's sub-organization focused on the economy became a commission for the maintenance of peace and security in Africa. Thus, it can find the account of the many wars and conflicts that the Commission has faced and how it has restored peace in certain parts of Africa and especially West Africa. The author argues that the role, but above all the transformation of ECOWAS into commission after having been just a secretariat in the AU in 2007 has taken its toll and is recognized by its ability to maintain peace and security in the continent. The concept of supremacy over all the African states of the commission is strongly appreciated by the author in his article.

As can be seen, Africa and its interminable conflicts interests many scholars, researchers and experts. It can also be seen from these three articles that Africa has privileged African solutions to its problems. Joint committees or specialized committees were formed under the aegis of the AU to better identify the problems. The three articles is about Africa and a conflicts in the continent focus on the maintenance of peace in armed conflicts. Rare are the works talking about mediation and mission through these organizations and these commits and this is what this research differ from the previous theses. This research focuses on a non-weapon conflict, but the political conflict between the government and opposition who sought for power in Madagascar.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this study is Institutional Liberalism which holds three basic liberal assumptions: (1) a positive view of human nature; (2) a conviction that international relations can be cooperative rather than conflictual; (3) a belief in progress.

The roots of Liberalism are found in the seventeenth-century Grotian tradition (Hugo Grotius, 1583-16454), the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, nineteenth-century political and economic liberalism, and twentieth-century Wilsonian. Grotius believed that states, like people, are

basically rational and law-abiding²⁰. Liberalist theory is positioned on a world order or the opening of a state to one or more states and where dialogue and interdependence take precedence. In other words, liberalism at the outset was an economic one, where States had to act in the common interest, in the interest of the whole world but no longer in its own interest. It is based economically on the concept of laissez-faire or the vision of a free exchange and a free economy of Adam and Smith. Later, Economic Liberalism opened the way to International Liberalism. Robert Gilpin argues that from Adam Smith to [liberalism's] contemporary proponents, liberal thinkers have shared a coherent set of assumptions and beliefs about the nature of human beings, society, and economic activities²¹. Thus the belief in human nature and in society has led the experts in international relations to measure the importance of a society where the States are members of an organization and share the same visions for the interest of the community. The key element of the concept will be the sharing of common interests, both economic and ideological. As Robert Keohane states:

"In contrast to Marxism and realism, liberalism is not committed to ambitious and parsimonious structural theory. It

²⁰ Karns-Mingst-Stiles, *International Organizatio: the politics and process od Global Governance*, 3d edition, 2015, Rienner, 670p

²¹ Robert Gilpin, *The Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton, 1987), p.27

*remains a source of strength and primary as a guide to normative choice*²²

Liberalism, whether institutional, economic, political or social, is based on the cooperation and interdependence of States in order to better ensure equilibrium and peace in the world.

Institutional liberalism is a perspective which values the role of international institutions for a better functioning of the world system. Classical liberals such as Bentham, Kant, and Mazzini anticipated that international institutions, especially arbitration courts but also more advanced international federations with their own parliamentary assemblies, would reduce uncertainty and improve mutual trust among states, thereby attenuating the security dilemma and actively promoting international cooperation and world peace. In recent decades, international relations theorists have systematically developed and corroborated this intuition (Badie, Schlosser, Morlino; 2011). Institutional liberal claims that international institutions help promote cooperation between states (Jackson, Sorensen; 2010; p106). In other words, institutional liberalism believes in interaction and exchange between states. International Institution (UN) or Regional Institutions (EU, AU) can help in one way or another a state or all of its member States to develop even more. According to Badie, Schlosser, Morlino (2011), recent scholarship, such as that of Charles Boehmer and

²² Keohane, *International Liberalism Reconsidered*, 166, 172-173. Keohane is also skeptical of Realism and Marxism, although apparently less so

colleagues, has also confirmed the classical liberal intuition that formal international institutions, such as the United Nations (UN) or NATO, independently contributes to peace, especially when they are endowed with sophisticated administrative structures and information-gathering capacities. Institutional Liberalism reflects everything about the African Union and its relationship with members. The theory also gives a sense of duty to a regional organization such as the opening of economic market or the resolution of conflicts for the promotion of peace at the level of member states as in Madagascar. It leads to the concept of International Organization, Conflict Resolution.

International Organizations had a long process before they were born and before they had created the United Nations. The scholars of the international organization began to make their appearance from 1648, when the Treaty of Westphalia put an end to the Thirty Years Gale. Hundreds of drafts are then visible on both sides of the planet. The particularity of these treaties in relation to those before was the pronouncement of the sovereignty of the state; it is a new international system no longer based on religious or other supremacy but on total sovereignty of the state and also a non-interference in the internal affairs of a State. Later, during the contemporary era, international organizations such as the United Nations, and of course their role and functions automatically changed according to the course of time.

International organizations after the Second World War (1945) were created by the great powers and the developed countries for a social, economic and political reconstruction of the world order. It is based on international economic relations for the benefit of all in order to avoid exchanges of good or service concentrated on a state or a few individuals. Early in history, economic and political actors have found it necessary to construct an international order defined as the set of principles of organizations that govern or should govern relations between nations. This order is necessarily unstable. Regulation is the process by which an economic and social order succeeds in reproducing itself over time by retaining the essential elements of its structural characteristics. It involves setting standards and operating rules. These rules and standards emanate from the Charter of the United Nations in 1948²³.

According to Clive Archer, there are three types of roles of the International Organization: instrument, arena, and actor²⁴. International Organizations serve as an instrument in the event that members of the Organization use the Organization as a tool. Members themselves are sovereign States in need of some kind of service from the Organization such as the United Nations or the African Union. The most of states of an International Organization use it to pass their internal policy or their strategy in order to carry out an international or inter-regional action which finds its

²³<http://sesmassena.sharepoint.com/Documents/CHAP%207-%2073%20-%20Organisations%20internationales%20et%20r%C3%A9gulation%20mondiale%2028cours%29%20282011-2012%29.pdf>, consulted on 18/08/17

²⁴ Archer Clive, *International Organization*, 4th edition, London, Routledge, 2015, p. 114

justification only by an approval of an International or Regional Organization. According to Clive Archer (20015: 115), the consequences for the international organization are that is likely to become fought over by the most powerful members eager to utilize it, and thus its chances of independent action are limited. The second function of the International Organizations is arena where there is demonstration of opinion, discussion and fight incessant between the Member States.

Weiss (2009: 3) describes the United Nations as "an exceptional forum and an essential arena which states actually codify norms". The International Organizations, for the ultimate definition of their role, are considered as actors, permanent actors of International Relations and states also. They always assist in the problems of humanity on all fronts, be it economic, social, political, conflicting, and so on. From this role of actor, the International Organizations benefit from the support of Non-Governmental Organizations, International Non-Governmental Organizations. In a nutshell, the role of international or regional organizations vis-à-vis member States is not one way. Member states benefit members as well as the organization benefits States.

A political conflict is a conflict within a country for political reasons. Political conflict cannot be defined in an exact way. Indeed, a political conflict can have multiple causes, and can lead to numerous impacts on the political and governmental life of one or more countries. According to Druckman and Diehl, different understandings are sources of conflict that

often take the form of debate in which convergence or further divergence of viewpoints result²⁵. This conflict, at the heart of the political system, of the government which is defined as the political conflict. A political conflict may be due to an election, a constitutional reform, a referendum, a social and popular movement or a Coup d'Etat. Because of its illegal aspect, few scholars have studied the issue and have bothered to define the term in Public International Law. In his *Précis de Droit Constitutionnel*, Marcel Prélôt thus speaks of "second modes of creation of states and transformations of the regimes "by distinguishing transformations "Consented" to "violent breaks", category in which he distinguishes:

- (1) The insurrection: popular uprising, simple riot or first fruits of a revolution.
- (2) The coup d'état or coup d'etat: of private origin, a coup led from within the institutional system by someone who already has the bulk of the power or who has powerful accomplices.
- (3) The coup d'état: which does not emanate from individuals, a subordinate public body appropriate, outside the prescribed constitutional channels, the authority of the State²⁶.

Carre de Malberg states that "There is no place in the science of public law for a chapter devoted to a legal theory of coups or revolutions

²⁵ Druckman and Diehl, *Conflict Resolution: Theory, Research, and Practice*, Great Britain, SAGE, 2006, p. xxii

²⁶ Prélôt, *Institutions politiques et droit constitutionnel*, Paris, Dalloz, 1969, p.186

and their effects"²⁷. In all cases, the cause is always linked to the government and to the population itself. Sometimes it leads to a reversal of the government in place, sometimes it can be the subject of advancement of the electoral period or a referendum, the effects as well as the causes are numerous. One of the most striking of the political crisis is the Coup d'Etat. The word putsch, of Swiss German origin, is equivalent and is commonly used in French, more rarely in English which uses the French formula or its abbreviated version, coup d'Etat. The expression "coup d'Etat" passed in particular in Indonesian (kudeta) and Japanese (クーデター, kūdetā)²⁸. A coup d'Etat is a violent action taken by a rebel force trying to seize the government and to displace the existing authorities. A coup d'Etat is therefore a blow materialized by the army. Usually, all military coups are based on the weapons and infrastructure available to the military²⁹. A coup d'Etat is unconstitutional and is not democratic. It is contested by the International Community and most International Organizations. However, a polemic hover over the legitimacy of a coup d'Etat when it is outstripped by a populist movement defined as Revolution and is considered as legitimate. A political conflict is still a difficult concept to identify because it depends on several facets, including the economy and the social.

²⁷ Carré de Malberg, *Contribution à la théorie générale de l'Etat*, Sirey, 1920-22, quoted by Boyer, « Coup d'Etat et révolution »

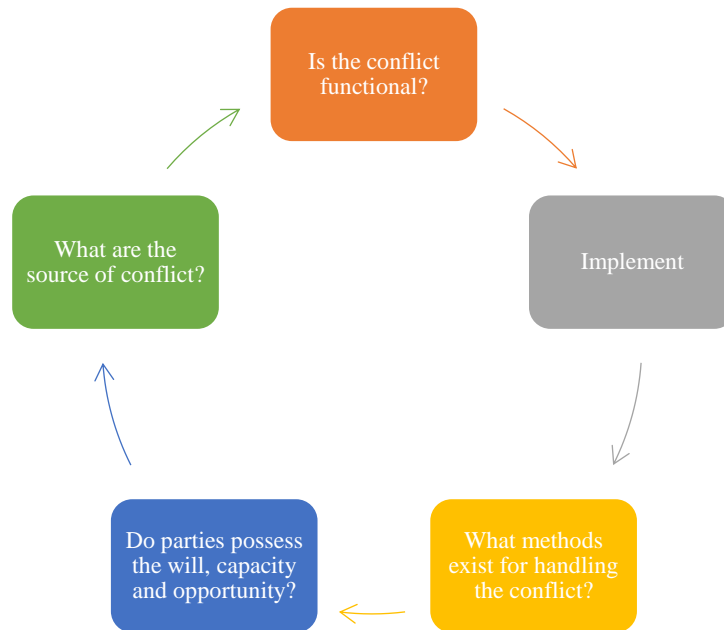
²⁸ <http://www.dictionnaire.com/browse/coup-d-etat> consulted on 16/03/18

²⁹ Définition de coup d'État - Concept et Sens
<http://lesdefinitions.fr/coup-detat#ixzz4rQm7NCzf>, consulted on 13/08/17

Conflict resolution is usually carried out by regional or international organizations. To assess the impact of regional and international organizations on conflict resolution, it is necessary to define the term. Drawing from Ramsbotham (2009: 29) and Wallensteen (2002: 08), in this research, conflict resolution is a comprehensive term that denotes a situation where belligerent parties enters into a political agreement cease all violent action against each other. A major element of conflict resolution is that belligerent parties must enter into a political agreement, which resolves the sources of their conflict. To clarify the term, an agreement of this kind is usually a formal settlement signed under solemn conditions; informal, implicit understandings between the parts may also occur (Wallensteen: 2002: 8). In order to establish that a political agreement is necessary for conflict resolution, it is important to first demonstrate that, according to the Clausewitzian view of conflict, war is merely an instrument of politics (Clausewitz: 1976: 255)³⁰. According to Alan Tidwell, conflict resolution is a cycle, a long process that must be complete to achieve a result. This process is highlighted in the figure below.

Figure 1.1 Conflict resolution seen as a cyclical process

³⁰ Institutions and Conflict Resolution in Africa, Anthony Demetriou, Jun 21 2013

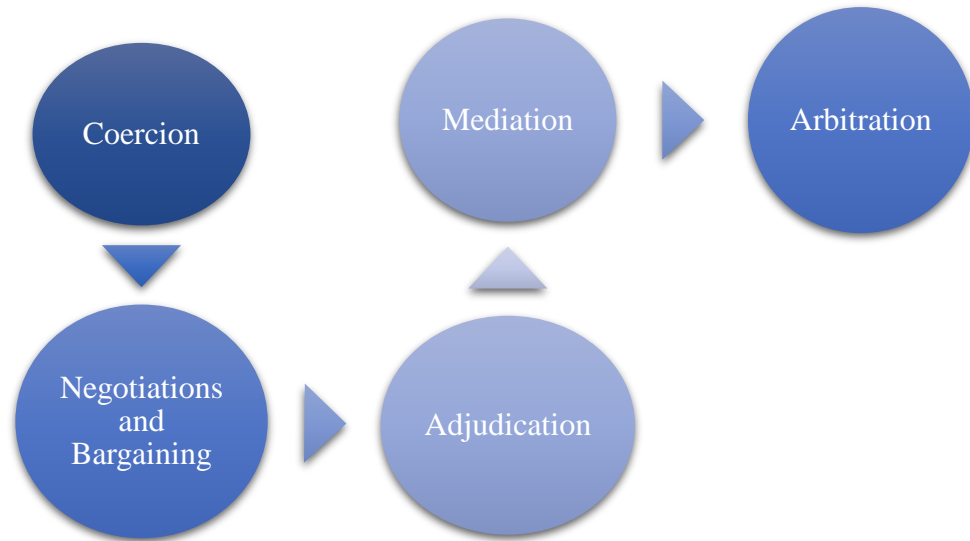


Source: Tidwell C.Allan, 1998, *Conflict Resolved?: A Critical Assessment of Conflict Resolution*, Continuum, London, New York

This chart shows the process conflict according to Alan Tidwell. This process describes a large view of determining the proprieties of the conflict. A several questions needs to be answered before the process of conflict resolution begun. According to Alan Tidwell, there are five questions that has to be ask: is the conflict functional? How about the implementation? What methods exist to handle the conflict? Do parties possess the will, capacities and opportunities? And the last question is the source of conflict. Once this process is over, conflict resolution is presented in three different forms: negotiation, mediation and facilitation.

According to Schellenberg, five important steps must be taken for conflict resolution as shown in Figure 1.2.

Figure 1.2 Schellenberg's conflict resolution process



Source: Schellenberg A. James, 1996, *Conflict Resolution: Theory, Research and Practice*, State University of New York Press

The first step is coercion, which is defined as the use of sanction for the parties who has committed the fault. It is a beginning of the phase and a way to put pressure on the party to enter negotiation.

Negotiation/bargaining and adjudication are the second and third step, a step to break the ice or put the protagonists around the bargaining table.

Mediation is the main step in the resolution process. It is the step where a common or a mutual solution came out from the protagonists. The process and the conflict almost ended after negotiation because the two parties already sign an agreement.

Arbitration is the last step and came only if the two parties sign an agreement but one or both of them didn't follow the rules in the agreement. The third party at this step has to be firmer vis-a-vis of the protagonist.

The relevance of Schellenberg's five stages is considerable because they constitute the main scales for a crisis-resolution process and lead to positive results.

Overall, the theories and concepts are the basis in a research work. They are applied in a very clear and precise manner. Indeed, the liberals believe in the bonus of human nature and especially to cooperation, they view the international system as a context within which multiple interactions occur and where various actors "learn" from their interactions, power matters, but it is exercised within this framework of rules and institutions, which also makes international cooperation possible. Secondly, liberals expect mutual interest to increase with greater interdependence³¹. The research will be based on these two main points: interdependence with international cooperation and institutions.

Then, political crises and the coup d'état, a concept to which many conflicts within a state are due, will be discussed in the research after the political conflict due to the coup in Madagascar in 2009. The conflict ended after mediation by the African Union sub-organizations.

³¹ Karns-Mingst-Stiles, *International Organizations: the politics and process of Global Governance*, 3d edition, 2015, Rienner, 670p. P 46

1.6 Research Method and Data Collection Technique

A research work, as it is suggested, is based on research and collections of documents and information concerning the chosen theme. The researcher cannot under any circumstances rely on himself or on facts that have not been proven or have not been subject to research before. A research paper is a study based on accurate data in figures or on collected ideas and information and analysis of reliable sources. Whatever the type of evaluation conducted, it is essential to choose the methods for collecting and analyzing data and applying them correctly.

1.6.1 Research Method

Qualitative research is the research method used in this research work. This method is chosen because it corresponds to the researcher's goal in this study, which is to understand new contexts, to open up new horizons and a new perspective on the topic. Qualitative research strives to analyze actors as they act. It relies on the discourse of these actors, their intentions (the "why" of action), the modalities of their actions and their interactions (the "how" of action)³².

In qualitative studies, we measure with alternatives to numbers, and measurement is less a separate research step. Because the process is more

³² Dumez Hervé, "What is qualitative research? Epistemological, Methodological and Theory Problems ", *Annales des Mines - Managing and Understanding*, 2013/2 (No. 112), p. 29-42. DOI : 10.3917/geco.112.0029. URL, consulted on 20/08/17 <http://www.cairn.info/revue-gerer-et-comprendre1-2013-2-page-29.html>, consulted on 20/08/17

inductive, we are measuring and creating new concepts simultaneously with the process of gathering data. It is research that produces and analysis of descriptive data such as written words or say the observatory and behavior of individuals (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984)³³. Therefore, from this method, we will understand, emit new understandings and dig new areas of study.

1.6.2 Types of method

The type of method is the descriptive method. In other words, the researcher use the description of the organizations and factors in his working method to better study the case. The African Union, the sub-organizations of the AU, the role of the AU and sub-organizations in African crisis management, including mediation, are described. We also speak, from this descriptive research of Madagascar, since it is the case that no one has chosen to highlight in the research. The Malagasy political crisis of 2009 as well as the relations between Madagascar and the AU are studied from the description. From the description also, the conclusions, the necessary analyzes and the new understanding of all qualitative research and descriptive method are drawn. Descriptive research presents six characters as: correlation research, casual-comparative research, case study, ethnography, paper analysis, and analytical method. Descriptive provides a detailed, highly accurate picture, locate new data that contradict past data, create a set of categories or classify types, clarify a sequence of steps or

³³ *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 7/e. W. Lawrence Neuman.

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stages, document a causal process or mechanism, report on the background or context of a situation. Descriptive research presents a picture of the specific details of a situation, social setting, or relationship. Much of the social research found in scholarly journals or used for making policy decisions is descriptive³⁴.

1.6.3 Data gathering method

The collection of data is done in several ways to better center and to have as much data and information as possible. Data collection is very important in research work because it ensures the veracity and concretization of work. As a qualitative method, data collection and data analysis are currently undergoing rapid evolution.

As a result, the collection in this work focus more on external secondary data: the research consists of collecting all the information and data needed for the work from government documents, international institution documents, libraries, books, essays, newspapers, scientific research papers, research papers, and media.

The validity and reliability of the use of these data is assured from the application of theories and the theoretical guide for this theme. This master thesis fully represents the full reliability, the collection and reliability of the

³⁴ *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 7/e. W. Lawrence Neuman.
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data and information because it consists of a research work based on the qualitative method.

Structure of thesis writing

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter consist of research background, research problem identification, Research objective and contributions. It is also composed by the Literature Review, the Theoretical Framework and the Research Method and Data Collection.

Chapter 2: African Union as Regional Organization

This chapter will describe vision and mission of the AU. It also describes the organization and structure of African Union without omitting the Role of African Union in the countries members. The sub chapter is about Historical Background, Vision and Mission, and the Role of African Union in countries members.

Chapter 3: Political Conflict in Madagascar (2009-2014)

This third chapter explain the history, the political system and the 2009-2014 political conflict in Madagascar. This chapter talk about, History, Madagascar Political System, Cause of the political conflict 2009, Impact of the political conflict 2009, and Madagascar as member of African Union.

**Chapter 4: Role of African Union in Conflict Resolution in Madagascar
(2009-2014)**

This chapter consist to analyze and linked the chapter two and the chapter three. For that, it describes why AU was concerned by the conflict in Madagascar, what did AU initiate and do to solve the conflict, and Interpretation of AU's conflict resolution in Madagascar.

Chapter 5: Recommendations and Conclusion

The conclusion is a short summary of the body of the research, it concludes by resuming briefly each chapter and by responding the research question. In the end, the conclusion will give an opening question for a new understanding.