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# **A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF THE AFRICAN PEER REVIEW MECHANISM (APRM)**

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**A Critical Appraisal of the African Peer Review  
Mechanism (APRM)**

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Ashebir Alemayehu, entitled: A Critical Appraisal of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of the Master of Arts in African and Oriental Studies specialization on Human and Economic Development in Africa complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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## **List of Abbreviations and Acronyms**

AAF-SAP	African Alternative Framework to SAP for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation
ACHPR	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
ADB	African Development Bank
AGDOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
APPEC	Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery
APM	Millennium Partnership for Africa's Recovery Programme
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
AU	African Union
CBOs	Community-Based Organisations
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CRM	Country Review Mission
CRR	Country Review Report
CRT	Country Report Team
CSAR	Country Self-Assessment Report
CSSDCA	Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa
DCs	Developed countries
ECA	Economic Commission of Africa
ECOSOC	Economic, Social and Cultural Council
ENSRGST	European Nuclear Safety Regular Group Stress Tests
FAL	Final Act of Lagos.
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FBOs	Faith-Based Organisations
HIPC	Heavily Indebted poor Countries
HSG	Head of States and Government
HSGICs	Heads of States and Government Implementation Committee
IFIs	International Financial Institutions

IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDCs	Less Developed Countries
LPA	Lagos Plan of Action
MPA	Millennium Partnership for Africa's Recovery Programme
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAI	New African Initiatives
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGC	National Governance Council
NGOs	Non- Governmental Organizations
NPoA	National Programme of Action
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODA	Official Development Assistance
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
PAP	Pan-African Parliament
PSC	African Peace and Security Council
SADC	South Africa Development Cooperation
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
TRIs	Technical Research Institutions
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development Investment Policy Review
UNECA	United Nation Economic Commission of Africa
UN-NADAIMF	United Nation New Agenda for the Development of Africa International
UN-PAAERD	United Nations Program for Africa's Economic Recovery and Development
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization

## Abstract

*The overall objective of the study is making a critical appraisal of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). The APRM was established in 2003 to monitor the adoption and implementation of policies and practices that would lead to political stability, high economic growth and accelerate regional cooperation and integration through sharing experience, dialogue and peers pressures. The study will need to address contributing factors for the establishment of APRM and its role in promoting African indigenous socio-economic and political realities. It has examined the level of harmonization of tasks with AU and other partner institutions. It has also examined the benefits, instruments, challenges and opportunities of APRM. The study adopted qualitative methodology mainly depending on secondary data collected through document analysis. An attempt was made to collect empirical data through key informant interview. Therefore, while the study mainly used a critical appraisal approach, descriptive and explanatory parts are also used to provide essential background information to make analysis very clear. The research adopted the deductive method of reasoning in analyzing the data. Ethical considerations and triangulations were employed to make objective analysis in order to draw valid conclusions.*

*The conclusion that emerges from such analysis is that African resentment against the western-based assessments, manipulation for accreditation, voluntary nature, absence of binding decision and increasing financial flow to the continents are the main motives for the establishment of APRM. It is a separate and independent institution under AU. The role of civil societies in the post review process, implementation of NPoA and progress report is worthless. They were selected on the basis of their inclination towards the government through intentionally neglecting strong and vibrant civil societies. Besides, the documents were failed to put clear procedure to recruit members of NGC. It enhances partnership and cooperation, increase financial flow, adopts an African based-experience and South-South cooperation. It also identifies issues ignored in the national development plan and cross-cutting issues. The attempt of APRM to embrace the African indigenous traditional values and norms, which are the base for the social capital, is insignificant. It depends on the good will of reviewed country to glorify the indigenous traditional values and norms. It has either empowered or transformed the traditional values and norms to enhance the competitiveness of Africa globally. The absence of strong reinforcement and enforcement mechanism make the APRM toothless to voice on mal-practices of respective country and failed to take decision and recommendation on very sensitive issues. Its instruments are weak and very soft to implement the recommendations. It has poor follow up mechanism. Lack of adequate human and financial resources, lack of political commitment, limited awareness and the complex nature of the review are the main challenges of the APRM. Its reputation only restricted in a few top officials of the executive branch of government. The existence of strong stakeholder in the process, growing number of membership and the positive interest of DCs is opportunistic ground to implementation of APRM. Therefore, the study will put critical recommendations on the membership, enforcement instruments, overlapping responsibility and national institutions and process on the APRM.*

# **Chapter One**

## **Introduction**

### **1.1 Background to the Study**

The Pan- African movement that succeeded in hosting the first Black Conference in Chicago, in 1900, laid the basis for the subsequent establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The latter was established in 1963 and worked to bring African nations together to gain and strengthen their independence from the yoke of colonialism (Badejo, 2008). It stood against colonialism, apartheid and dependence on foreign countries. It had also got a power to end problems related to independence and Apartheid but failed to bring sustainable development. Besides, it couldn't also involve the marginalized continent in the global economy. Be that as it may, the OAU was succeeded by the African Union (AU) in 2002. The key mission of the AU is to consolidate unity and cooperation among the member countries and then peoples in order to improve living conditions in the continent. The 54 member states hoped that the unity would make it possible for African countries to be heard in global discussions and negotiations (Ibid: 12-13). The OAU and AU employed different means to realize "the African Big Think" (United States of Africa) or the future unification of Africa. To this end, major treaties, conventions and declarations had been signed among African countries and development partners to bring socio-economic and political developments (Knife, 2003).

Since independence, African-based development initiatives and strategies firmly based on defining and articulating Pan-African principles of 'self-reliance', 'respect for human dignity' and 'racial prides' serve as critical drives to rescue the continent from the problems it faces. They also serve as the prime objective of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) (ECA, 2011a). In their effort to bring development, African scholars and political leaders have come up with different proposals to bring sustainable socio-economic development in the continent. Even if the development initiatives sponsored by OAU as well as AU are motivated by Pan-African principles, they are implicitly or explicitly influenced by external powers.

Since the 1960s, the OAU has carried out development initiatives to bring sustainable development in Africa in collaboration with development partners. The OAU Summits of 1970, 1973, 1977 and 1979 employed economic integration as a means to realize African economic development (Ibid). Bajra (2003:5) stated that:

OAU, in collaboration with UNECA, mobilised African intellectual and political resources to discuss the crisis and come up with a vision and plan of action for getting Africa out of the crisis for a better future. This serious effort led to the now famous Monrovia Declaration (1979), Lagos Plan of Action (1980) and the Final Act of Lagos (1980).

The above three documents had been important because they laid down the basis for future African development vision. For instance, the Monrovia Declaration (1979) provided a vision in which Africa in 2000/2020 will “have a high degree of self sufficiency, a democratic national development which will distribute the fruits of our efforts more equitably, will have a strong African solidarity and that Africa will carry more weight in world affairs”. These efforts have been put in to practice in the Lagos Plan of Action of April 1980, which enjoined all African states to establishing sub-regional economic blocks with the ultimate aim of establishing an African Economic Union by the year 2000. This was however revised because of the ambitious nature of the plan. The LPA gave primacy to the development of agriculture (first for food and then for export), industrialisation (to satisfy basic needs), mining industries (to recover total and permanent sovereignty over national resources and establish mineral based industries), human resources and science and technology (Bajra, 2003:6).

In order to put into practice what they have agreed in the LPA, the Heads of States and Governments (HSGs) of the OAU passed the special Final Act of Lagos in 1980, in which they pledged to set up an economic community by the year 2000 that would “promote collective, accelerated, self-reliant and self-sustaining development of member states; co-operation among these states; and their integration in the economic, social and cultural fields.” They have criticized the industrialized countries for ignoring industrial and economic development in Africa (Bongmba, 2006:64).

The importance given to economic cooperation and integration led African leaders to transform, within ten years after the establishment of the African Economic Community in 1991. The treaty laid down in detail the process of achieving the Economic Community in

successive stages over a period of 34 years. It has clearly stated that it takes into consideration the Monrovia Declaration, the Lagos Plan Action and the Final Act of Lagos (FAL). More importantly, in conducting inter-state relations, it has affirmed adherences to the earlier principles enshrined in the Lagos Plan of Action, some of which included equality and inter-dependence of member states, solidarity and collective self-reliance, inter-state cooperation, peaceful settlement of disputes, recognition, promotion and protection of human and people's rights and accountability, economic justice and popular participation in development. Clearly, the LPA had continued to provide the inspiration of all future African visions and initiatives until the emergence of NEPAD (Ibid). These 'African' frameworks were formulated without much input from majority people of the African and can, therefore, hardly escape the charge of being alien in spirit.

While the LPA was an optimistic vision of Africans themselves to get out of poverty, the development partners, including the World Bank come up with a document known as Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: an Agenda for Action, in 1989. It has identified corruption, bad governance and the huge bureaucracies as obstacles for Africa's economic growth. As a solution, the World Bank (WB) has urged African governments to adopt an export-led growth strategy and liberalise foreign trade (Bajra, 2003:24). In order to implement the plan, the World Bank had forced African countries to take policy reforms through Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), which was very unpopular in most of the LDCs. Nevertheless, the UN Economic Commission (UNECA) for Africa come up with alternative to it. It was called Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery, 1986-1990 (APPER), adopted by the 21<sup>st</sup> Ordinary Session of the Assembly of HSG of the OAU in July 1985. It basically needs African states to implement LPA and FAL. It urges them to improve food situation, agriculture, debt burden and economic cooperation. This was later converted into the UN Program for Africa's Economic Recovery and Development, 1986-1990 (UN-PAAERD), in which the westerners committed to support and complement the African efforts (Ibid).

In 1990, the UNECA had formulated a document known as the African Alternative Framework to SAP for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation (AAF-SAP). It advocates for a large infusion of foreign capital in Africa. It was mainly developed in

response to Bretton Woods programme of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) that was widely criticised in Africa and the LDCs. At the same year, the UN produced another document known as New Agenda for the Development of Africa (UN-NADAF) that underlined the acceptance of democracy by Africa as the basis for development (Ibid). The African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation (1990), the Declaration on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes Taking Place in the World (1990), the Relaunching of Africa's Economic and Social Development: the Cairo Agenda for Action (1995) had all been attempts made by the OAU to realize development in the continent (Knife, 2003).

Since the 1980s development partners, especially the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF), hoped and prioritized good governance as pre-condition for African development. In spite of the failed attempts to address Africa's economic problems in the late 1970s and in the 1980s through launching comprehensive program, it had significant African input observed when one looks at the documents deeply. The emphasis was given on African self-reliance and integration, popular participation in development, the importance of the state as a catalyst in development, removing inequalities in the global market system and providing an African alternative to market-led growth (Agbu, 2003:97).

Unlike the OAU development initiatives, the AU initiatives included democracy, good governance and human rights issues seriously so as to put them high on the political and developmental agenda (Mangu: 2007). The 37<sup>th</sup> summit of the HSGs of OAU adopted the New African Initiative (NAI), subsequently renamed New Partnership of Africa's Development (NEPAD), in July 2001 in Lusaka, Zambia. It was an amalgamation of the Millennium Partnership for Africa's Recovery Programme (MPA), the OMEGA plan and Compact for African Recover, which gave birth to the NAI in 2001. The third plan, namely, the Compact for African Recovery, was embraced the idea of a "Peer Review Mechanism" with financial support made by the UNECA in late 2000 (Nmehielle, 2004:242). Subsequently, it was edited and officially became a programme of OAU as well as AU's since 2002. The NEPAD Document alludes to the fact that:

African leaders have learned from their own experiences that peace, security, democracy, good governance, human rights and sound economic management are conditions for sustainable development. They are making a pledge to work, both individually and collectively, to promote these principles in their countries and sub-regions and in the continent. (Nmehielle, 2004:243)

NEPAD is different from the previous African initiatives which were motivated and designed based on Pan-African ideology aspiration. It generally accepted the partnership and cooperation between African countries and developed countries to accelerate the development of Africa. NEPAD is a massive, bold and ambitious project aimed at both the enhancement of governance practices and the economic reconstruction and development of the continent. Unlike previous initiatives of OAU, NEPAD is seen as progressive which took governance and democracy as key issues to bring development. In October 2001, the 1<sup>st</sup> meeting of the NEPAD HSGIC that took place in Abuja, Nigeria, reflected that: *“African leaders should set up parameters for good governance to guide their activities at both the political and economic levels. In this regard, it decided that, it would consider and adopt an appropriate peer review mechanism and a code of conduct” (Ibid).*

Following that; the next HSGIC meeting of March 2002, adopted the APRM. The third meeting in Rome, in June 2002, subsequently approved a Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance. In recognition of the imperatives of good governance for development, the NEPAD HSGIC came up with the contents and provisions of the APRM on 9 March 2003, in Abuja, Nigeria. The March 2003 meeting also adopted a set of ‘Objectives, Standards, Criteria and Indicators’ for the APRM. The meeting agreed to the establishment of a Secretariat for the APRM, also based in South Africa, and the appointment of a seven-person ‘Panel of Eminent Persons’ to oversee the conduct of the APRM process and ensure its integrity (Abubakar, 2011). Since its official declaration in 2003, the number of countries acceding to sign of the MoU has been increased. In 2014, thirty-four countries have voluntarily acceded for membership in APRM. Among them, Seventeen of the countries have completed their self-assessment exercise and have been peer-reviewed by the Forum of Heads of State and Government (Communiqué of 18<sup>th</sup> APR Forum, 2013 and Pan African News Agency, January, 2014).

The concept of “peer review”, which is commonly applied in educational institutions, has been used by African elites to examine and monitor the implementation of state policy or

action in accordance with agreed standard. Hence, APRM is a unique and major aspect of NEPAD that is designed as a constructive peer review dialogue and self-assessment instrument to ensure that the policies and practices of participating states conform to the agreed principles and standards of NEPAD. APRM as a concept has represents a new shift in inter-state relations in African for the purpose of achieving common standards among African states on the basis of mutual respect (Ajayi, 2003). APRM identified objectives and other necessary institutional structures to conduct peer review based on voluntary accession of AU member states. It is used as criteria for evaluating a country's compliance to the pledge of good governance that used as a measure to attract assistance, which the international community promised under the NEPAD partnership. The central assumption of this study will have to critically appraise the APRM to ensure good governance and sustainable economic development.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

APRM is an instrument that is voluntarily acceded to by member states of the AU as an African self-monitoring mechanism (APRM base document, 2003:para1). It show African leaders commitment to stand together to bring development based up on common standard through sharing experience, peer learning and dialogue. According to the NEPAD (2002:para7), APRM evaluates the quality of governance on a voluntary basis in four areas:

- I. Democratic and Political Governance;
- II. Economic Governance and Management;
- III. Corporate Governance and
- IV. Socio-Economic Development.

In order to realize its mandate that is embodied in the Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance, African leaders' commitment and dedication is important to realize the peer review. The APRM process urges countries 'to consider seriously the impact of domestic policies, not only on internal political stability and economic growth, but also on neighbouring countries' at regional and continental base (Deegon, 2009). While applying to join the APRM process, African countries, at different levels of

development are initially assessed and given a timetable for a programme of action. It is designed to foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices through the sharing of experiences and reinforcement of successful and best practice (APRM Base Document, 2003:para3).

Since independence, the hope of subjugated people under colonial rule for freedom, democracy and economic development have not been realized in post independence periods. Africa becomes a continent mainly characterized by suppression of human right, bad governance, authoritarian rule, corruption and economic crisis. The social development statistics revealed that the continent is lagging behind in the world. According to HDI (2005), 21 low scoring countries are located in Africa. It has also the largest number of the poorest population in the world. The total percentage of the population living in extreme poverty has increased from 41.6 percent in 1981 to 46.9 percent in 2001. It meant that the number of people living in extreme poverty has almost doubled, from 164 million to 316 million. Hence, out of the 42 nations of the world those are classified as the least developed countries (LDCs), which form the poorest of the poor nations, 29 of these countries are within the African continent. Africa has been significantly vanished US\$ 854 billion through illicit financial flows over the 39 year period (1970-2008) which much higher than the continent loses by corruption (ECA, 2013a and Stigilz, 2006). The wave of globalization has another threat through undermining their sovereignty and ability to make decisions themselves in key areas that affect their citizens' well-being through putting explicit and implicit constraints. The basic pillars of globalization has not created flat environment for African countries to get out poor from misery (Stigilz, 2006).

In contrast, the promising progresses are observed which has potential in changing the image of Africa in international political arena. Across the continent there is a consensus that good governance, civil liberties, constitutionalism and increases transparency and accountability needed to realize development. In the decade from 1996 to 2006, 44 elections were conducted in Sub-Saharan Africa; between 2005 and 2007, 26 presidential and 28 parliamentary elections were held on the continent (ECA, 2009). African countries have registered high growth rates in the past 10 years and have not wrinkled by the global economic crisis rather favourably benefited as compared to other emerging economies. Yet the level of gross

domestic product (GDP) per capita and the pace of GDP growth have not reached levels found in other regions of the world, from 2002 to 2012, GDP growth in sub-Saharan Africa experienced growth rates of 5.7 percent ( World Economic Forum, 2013).

As a result, APRM is taken as a milestone in the history of Africa in which leaders would come to the discussion table to comment each other to bring socio-economic and political development in the continent. The APRM can therefore be seen to represent an important litmus test for African government. It provides a useful lens through which political scientist and economists can examine whether the participating government work to end poverty and marginalization of the continent from global economy. It has proven to be an excellent diagnostic tool to address the institutional gaps in Africa (Duval, 2011). Despite its innovative and creative approach, different scholars (Akopari, 2004; Kebonang, 2005 and Tawfic, 2004) raise the issues as to whether African leaders would have the courage and got to criticize each other in implementation of APRM, which they had, is questionable. Despite its practical limitation, it is a shift to gave up the long existing tradition of sovereignty. It is APRM should *“help break a destructive solidarity between African rulers, who for too long have supported each other in holding power by rigging elections, banning opposition parties, and intimidating the press”*(Tawfic, 2004).

To bring the desired outcomes, the development initiatives should be harmonized with various actors. The illusion of leaders and partners about APRM should be clearly avoided to take action together at continental base. The action of AU as well as NEPAD should be harmonized with APRM. The relationship between AU and NEPAD is confusing. First, the major decision of NEPAD is made by HSGIC rather than AU Summit. Second, the location of these inter-related institutions in different place makes the tasks of APRM of more difficult. Sometimes the APRM Secretariat gets confused to which submit their report to AU or NEPAD (Akopari, 2004).

The APRM documents did not clearly indicate the measures that will be taken in cases where states may fail to implement the recommendation of peer review process. The APRM documents simply state that in case of each eventuality the ‘appropriate measure’ will be taken (APRM Base Document, 2003: Para 24). There is no predefined strong instrument or motive that enforce participant states in APRM to fellow their peers best practice and

recommendations. In fact the absence of credible instruments like sanction or condemnation that limits the impact of APRM on actual policy reversals of the reviewed state. APRM do not have a mechanism to expel a country from the membership. Without strong instrument of enforcement, APRM may face difficulties to implement the decisions and recommendations (Akopari, 2004; Grimm and etal, 2009; Kebonang, 2005 and Tawfic, 2004). Despite the potential role of APRM in promoting and strengthening good practices, it encounters a number of problems since its inception including issues related to its structure at national level, voluntary accession, selection criteria of Panel and their independence, involvement of civil societies and funding (Tawfic, 2004).

In order to examine the role of APRM, there are two important issues that could be taken into consideration. First, except in few countries, there are very few studies that thoroughly analyze the APRM contribution to democracy and good political governance, economic governance and management, corporate governance and socio-economic development on those states that have completed their first peer review process. Second, there is no study that empirically appraises the impact of APRM on member's states. In fact, this is mainly the result of APRM exclusive dependence on qualitative measurement instruments.

The study attempts to critically examine APRM to ensure good governance and sustainable economic development. To this end, in this study it is strongly argued that the issue of peer review should be looked primarily from the point of view of the political and socio-economic needs of the majority of local people who live below poverty line. It has clearly been stated in the documents of APRM and NEPAD, peace, security, democracy, good governance, human rights and sound economic management are conditions for sustainable development. Still, none of them are addressed adequately the problems in the content. The recurrent African trend of producing failed states has been rise since 2003. Practically, its political elites have not broken silence towards their peers whatever happen in domestic affairs of respective member states. The instruments of APRM to implement its recommendations should be reconsidered to make its decisions binding. The study will look at harmonization of action among AU, NEPAD and APRM. Unless the bilateral and/or multilateral institutions recognize and scrutinize its outputs, it will only be symbolic and ceremonial to the APRM to conduct peer review. So, the purpose of this study is to make a critical appraisal of APRM focus on its

role in promoting indigenous values, benefits, challenges and opportunities based on data collected from secondary and primary sources.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The basic research questions that study will address include in the following:

1. What are the contributing factors for the establishment of APRM?
2. To what extent the APRM tasks harmonized with regional, continental and international institutions?
3. What are the benefits of joining APRM?
4. To what extent do the objectives, standards, structure and indicators of the APRM reflect the African indigenous socio-economic and political realities?
5. To what extent are the instruments of APRM effective to implement the decisions and recommendations of country review report?
6. What are the challenges and opportunities of APRM?

### **1.4 Objective of the Study**

The overall objective of the study is to make a critical appraisal of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and its impact on participating countries.

The study will also address the following specific objectives:

1. Examine the contributing factors for the establishment of APRM;
2. Investigate the harmonization of APRM with regional, continental and international institutions;
3. Investigate the benefits of joining APRM;
4. Analyze the extent to which the objectives, standards, structure, and indicators of APRM reflect the African indigenous socio-economic and political realities;
5. Examine the effectiveness of instruments used by APRM to monitor, evaluate and implement the decision and recommendations of Country Review Report;
6. Critically examine the challenges and opportunity of APRM in realizing its objectives.

## **1.5 Significance of the Study**

APRM is one of the youngest continental structure that aims at achieving political stability, high economic growth and accelerate regional cooperation and integration. Therefore, this study is relevant for a number of reasons. First, the study attempts to give a clear picture of institutional structure of the APRM. It will enable individuals and those who are interested to understand the APRM to weight its strengths and weaknesses of the structure. Second, it would appraise works done on promoting democratic and political governance, economic governance and management, corporate governance and socio-economic development through embracing the APRM as a continental peer review. The study attempted to point out its benefits on partly reviewed countries and role to rescue the long-existing problems in Africa. Third, it also tries to examine the challenges and opportunities of APRM in the implementation process. Fourth, this study will be a modest contribution to the knowledge on the peer review mechanism in the context of evaluating the performance of sovereign states. Finally, it will pave ways for further research on the APRM through clearly indicating areas that need intervention and study.

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The scope of this study is to critically analyze the structure, roles, significances and effectiveness of APRM. It covers the period from 2003 to up to date because it constitutes the period that the APRM has been putting into practice. It mainly focuses on one part of NEPAD program, i.e., the APRM. It will identify the motives, benefits, challenges and opportunities of APRM. It will also put recommendations to institutionalize the objectives of APRM throughout Africa.

## **1.7 Limitation of the Study**

While conducting the study, researcher has been subjected to various limitations. The first limitation is shortage of time and theoretical and empirical literature which might be affected the depth and width of the research. Second, the fact that this study is conducted outside the office of headquarter APRM Secretariat, which is located in Mindrand, South Africa, the researcher is forced to principally depend on secondary sources. This adds burdens to go

through several materials and respondents that are relevant to the study and this might create some challenges to the study. Third, the researcher planned to conduct interviews with higher officials of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance and Economic Development of Ethiopia but this has become very difficult to achieve because of the lack of willingness of the individuals. They were also not well informed. The ambassadors of selected countries of Africa were also not willing to provide information. Finally, the data-base system in the website of APRM Secretariat concerning is inadequate to give updated data on countries status.

## **1.8 Organization of the Paper**

The main topic of the study is divided into five Chapters. The second Chapter deals with the conceptual and theoretical perspective of peer reviews in general. It briefly describes the institutional structure and the thematic areas of APRM. The third chapter conveys the research methodology and status of APRM countries. The fourth Chapter focuses on the contributing factors for the establishment APRM. It critically examines the APRM from African indigenous socio-economic perspectives. It examines the extent of APRM in harmonizing its task with partner institutions. Furthermore, the benefits, challenges and opportunities are discussed. The final chapter will deliver conclusion and recommendations of the study.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Literature Review**

This chapter mainly deals with the conceptual and theoretical framework of peer review. To this end, the chapter has three parts. The first part deals with the concept of peer review. The second part focuses on the different theories of peer review. Hence, the sovereignty theory, the institutional theory and the social capital theory are critically examined and utilized for this study. The third part of this chapter gives attention to the mandate, purpose, principle, structure, types, stages and other related issues of APRM.

#### **2.1 The Conceptual Framework of Peer Review**

The concept of “peer review” has emerged in the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, its role in international affairs has not been reached a level of common understanding despite it has been receiving strong attention in international political, economic and environmental affairs.

##### **2.1.1 The Concept of Peer Review**

The concept of “peer review” is complex and assumes different meanings in different contexts. In recent years, the term has been employed in various occasion. As the result, there are a number of conceptual problems observed. The application of peer review had been widely started in the academic area in the 18<sup>th</sup> c to review medical sciences research and experiments. Those days, peer review was referring to a process of evaluating the research

finding for competence, significance and originality by qualified experts. It became an instructional part of the scholarly process across all subject domains only in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> c, in response to the growth of scholarly research and greater subject specialization (Revill, 2013).

Apart from widely used in the academic area, the recent trends showed that peer review had been applied in international and regional organization to evaluate and assess the states performance in political, economic and environmental activities. Due to scant literatures (Kebonang, 2005), the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Biological and Toxic Convention cited the definition given by Pagani (2002:4):

Peer review can be described as the systematic examination and assessment of the performance or practice of a state by other states, with the ultimate goal of helping the reviewed State improve its policy making, adopt best practices, and comply with established standards and principles.

He stated that peer review is used to examine and monitor the implementation of state policy or action in accordance with agreed standard. In the process, both the reviewed and the participant can expose themselves for policy dialogue in which best practices are shared among them. Furthermor012e, Pagani(2002) described that peer review is different from judicial procedures because the peer review is not conducted to make binding decision and fact finding. Therefore, peer review is a simple reporting and data collection on particularly agreed areas.

The peer review mechanism had been used at the OECD for more than 40 years ago. OECD (2003) defined a peer review as an examination of one state's performance or practices in a particular area through active involvement of other states, civil society, business and labour organizations. OECD affirmed that peer review should be discussed among equals and "not a hearing by a superior body that will hand down a binding judgement or punishment". Peer review requires countries to put in discussion table of the national issues to improve it in future through learning and sharing experience from other. The reviewed country is obliged to improve its performance based on the recommendations of the review process and take lesson from others experience (OECD, 2003).

The well structured and managed peer review process is a constructive, persuasive and non-adversarial process. It has a source of input to improve the performance of organization, institution or state through providing sound arguments on commonly agreed areas. The focus area of peer review is motivated by shared commitment to national sovereignty, mutual respect and equality of all parties. It should be based upon a common desire to implement mutually agreed goals efficiently (Kanbur, 2004).

In general, peer review is a mechanism of evaluation established by members of a given international organizations based on agreed, shared and non-adversarial values to promote and improve the implementation of members towards the common objectives and standards. Historically, peer review as a working method is most closely associated with OECD; there are a number of peer review mechanisms established in different parts of the world to achieve specific objectives. The most known peer review mechanism are African Peer Review Mechanism (2003), Financial Action Task Force (FATF, 1989), Development Assistance of Peer Review(OECD), European Nuclear Safety Regular Group Stress Tests (ENSRGST, 2011), IMF Surveillance, WTO Trade Policy Review Mechanism, UNCTAD Investment Policy Review, Universal Periodic Review of UN, Human Rights Council, Mechanism Convention against Corruption, Mechanism for Follow-up on the Implementation of the Inter American Convention against Corruption and Peer Review on Energy Efficiency( Revill, 2013 and Tawfic, 2003).

Pagani (2002) noted out that the effectiveness of peer review relies on the influence and persuasion exercised by the peers during the process. In the process, the peer pressures applies through forming recommendations, informal dialogue, public scrutiny and comparisons which had significant impact on domestic public opinion, national administrations and policy makers. The peer review effectiveness has also depends on clearly stated “rules of the game” and the extent of countries accept them as guideline to bind their national and international action accordingly. Besides, it depends on the extent of shared values, the commitment of participant countries, mutual trust and credibility (Comley, 2007). APRM has not developed in vacuum environment rather based on the experience other international regional peer review mechanisms. APRM will achieve its intended goal if the best practices and experience of the international trends taken it account while designing the structure of the institution.

### 2.1.2 The Functions of Peer Review

In modern politics, national interest is a key guiding principle; peer review can be applied in a number of overarching issues. It has been utilized in a number of international institutions to examine the performance of countries in commonly agreed objectives and standards. Therefore, the role peer review mechanism is only restricted in the thematic areas that participant countries have agreed up on (Kanbur, 2004 and Pagani, 2002). The main functions of peer review are:-

1. **Policy dialogue:** peer review will create opportunity for participants to reflect on policies of others and their application on the ground. The dialogue among participant can enhance cooperation through creating common understanding and consensus on policies at national and regional level. The participation may also get chance to adopt a new policy guidelines and recommendation without costing time to induce.
2. **Transparency:** a reviewed country has chance to present and clarify a national policy that may comparatively be effective in development and in attraction of FDI. It fosters the good practices that country has wanted to glorify and share with others. Further, the publication and dispense of discussion document enables members and public to be aware on issues reviewed and use it for decision making purpose.
3. **Capacity building:** peer review facilitates condition for a mutual learning through exchanging best practices. The process can not only benefit the country under review through building their capacity but also those who are participating in the process as examiners or as members of the responsible collective body. It strengthens country capacity in formulating and implementing policies at national level.
4. **Compliance:** peer review can serve as instrument of monitoring by enforcing the country according to internationally agreed policies, standards and principles. It makes country to take action in consistence with what they agreed under the review document. Peer review puts a “soft enforcement” system that encourages countries to take part in the process freely regardless of their respective economic performance or political orientation as the case observed in APRM.

### 2.1.3 Requirements of Peer Review

In order to put peer review into practice, there are a number of prerequisites that should be considered (Comley, 2007; OECD 2002 and 2007; Pagani, 2002; Reville, 2013 and Tawfic, 2003). These are:

1. **Objectivity:** nomination of an objective, expert set of “peers” to produce a credible review. The reviewer should only judge the performance based on objective assessment.
2. **Baseline of information:** prior to conduct an official peer review, the concerned organ has to develop adequate amount of a baseline of information to conduct a review. The information should include all thematic areas that the review process covers.
3. **Clearly stated Principles, Criteria and Standards:** it is important to make sure that all countries participating in the process are clear about the principles, criteria and standards. The well stated and agreed principles, criteria and standards enables to conduct an objective review.
4. **Incentives:** the review conducting group should put clear the agreed incentives for participant countries that they get or achieve at the end of the peer-review process. The participants are encouraged to keep their achievement and work for better performance.
5. **Follow-up Process:** peer review process requires continuous feedback and monitoring system. The effectiveness of peer review depends on the institutional ability to put practice its recommendation. The establishment of well structured and a credible follow-up process is important for the efficacy of the process.
6. **Political will:** unless the political will of members to perform the process, it is difficult to get the intended result of the process. It meant that it requires enthusiastic political will to precede the review process by implementing the recommendation and implementing best practices.
7. **High degree of trust and respect:** the establishment of free, independent, and credible institution is important to make sure the participants have the trust and respect not only the process but also accept the final report of the peer review. Those

who are participate in the review process should be ensure and recognize the process is free from the manipulation of neighbouring countries and various interest groups.

#### **2.1.4 Principles of Peer Review**

In order to conduct quality and credible peer review, scholars have identified a number of principles. In this part, the major principles of peer review discussed.

##### **Competence**

Technical competence is an essential feature of any successful review mechanism. To be technically competent, the review body must be sufficient enough in terms of human, financial and material resources. Fombad and Kebonang (2006) stated that the competency of the review mechanism to discharge its functions will depend not only on those resources allotted to it but also on the actual task that has been assigned to review. The amounts of issues covered with the review process have to be clearly addressed before the process. Kanbur (2004) points out that “ *no matter how technically competent the staff of the review body is, if it is asked to do too much and is stretched too thin, it will be ineffective in delivering what is required of it*”.

##### **Independence**

The independence refers to the extent of being free from political manipulation of the process though executive influence of the government. Any suggestion of influence on the reviewers, either from those reviewed or from forces extraneous to the review, would undermine the integrity of the review (Fombad and Kebonang, 2006). The freedom given to the review commission may implicitly and explicitly impact on the final findings of the review. Therefore, the total process of review mechanisms must be insulated from state interference and is forthright in their assessment of states. Lack of independence and openness overshadow the credibility of review mechanisms (Kanbur, 2004).

##### **Consistency**

There must also be consistency in the framework or guidelines to be used in the reviews. This involves having a uniform set of review guidelines to maintain consistency and predictability and ensure provision of an objective benchmark for judging whether or not states have complied with their obligations (OECD, 2007). Using different criteria to assess similar areas of reform leads to arbitrariness and inconsistency in the review process and might also produce mixed outcomes or messages (Fombad and Kebonang, 2006).

### **Transparency**

Lastly, transparency must be ensured through publication of the review and outcomes for stakeholder to use it as a benchmark (Tawfic, 2003). The publication of the report also serves encouraging and shaming the participant to take action and reforms in compliance with agreed criteria. Admittedly, the extent to which this strategy works with respect to states will depend on the value that states place on their reputation (Fombad and Kebonang, 2006).

#### **2.1.5 Benefits of Peer Review**

The well-organized and successful peer review has brought a number of benefits for those states that are reviewed and participate in peer dialogue. Peer review gives lesson to share best practices of the review country for other and create opportunity to get positive criticisms from participants. It helps the participant to identify the strength as well as weakness of certain issues that are included agreed before the review carried out (Tawfic, 2003). It enables the reviewed country to look its level performance through exposing its experience for others. It has great potential to achieve common goals through created conducive environment for discussion and peers dialogue (Pagani, 2002). The peer review has creates opportunity for reviewed country to identify deficiencies, shortcoming and fostering best practice, sharing experiences and improving individual and collective performance. The process will impose 'desirable' policies on reviewed countries from the experience others and internationally agreed principles (OECD, 2007). Therefore, APRM review will make frankness, robust debate, differences of opinion and criticism less threatening and more acceptable in Africa. The more citizens demand a highest level of governance, the more it will be supplied. If carried out fairly, Africa's people will feel they have a stake in this process (Gruzd, 2009a).

## **2.2 Theories of Peer Review**

In this study, theories are important to help to understand the phenomenon under investigation clearly and reach into sound conclusion and recommendation. In fact, there is no theoretical point of view developed yet to clearly help as to conceptualize the peer review. Therefore, the study forced to use theories that applied and developed to examine development and integration at regional and international level has been used to understand the vivid picture of peer review since the target of APRM is foster the adoption of policies and practices to bring political stability, economic growth and integration at the continental level. Thus, sovereignty theory, institutional theory and social capital theory will be critically examined and utilized for this study.

### **2.2.1 Sovereignty Theory**

Nowadays, the rapid increase of non-state actors and the face of globalization became the bone of contestations and divergence in terms of analysis and understanding of the state as a sovereign political entity. Consequently, crucial features of state sovereignty, ability to make and enforce laws, the power to define and defend territorial borders, the capacity to shape and direct economic performance, have been weakened (Bartelson, 2006).

It is widely accepted that the events of 1950s onward, particularly the development projects, regional integration, war on terrorism, globalization and attempts to promote human rights in LDCs has undermined the role of economically and politically weak states in protecting their sovereignty. Africa become one of battle field of the above mentioned issues, has to serious look sovereignty today than before in international relation. The end of colonialism did not enable Africa to achieve economic and cultural independence from the west (Bartelson, 2006). The OAU and AU have been working hard but fail to reverse the marginalization of continent in global economic and political issues. The transformation of OAU to AU has not changed the fate institution rather a mere continuation of the OAU under a different name (Akonor, 2007). The people of Africa have raised a serious question about the credibility of these institutions in promoting sovereignty in contemporary world. The failure of AU to solve the current problems through mobilizing domestic capacity in the continent, particularly the attack of Libya by the west without the consent of AU, has strong implication for the sovereign of state as well as its continental institution including APRM (Chipaike, 2012). The APRM requires voluntary membership to learn and share experience through mutual and

closer cooperation without costing their sovereignty. Without any precondition, participating countries has the right to withdraw themselves from the peer review (Abubakar, 2011).

Literatures in regional integration revealed that states want to surrender the sovereignty and national decision making ability under supernatural institutional governance to bolster their regimes and governments (Söderbaum, 2004). This may or may not promote the interest of the citizens and the broader public perception. The states who are barging for regional integration can possibly be due to two reasons of national interest. First, state in Africa are “weak” that fail to promote national or public interest rather than working for absolute sovereignty and formal status of government. Secondly, the core process of regional governance ignores the needs of people in respective regions and nations. Thus, the designs are exclusive and centralized to give lineshare for political elites, civil servants and key bilateral and multilateral donors. As result, African states focus on formal and absolute sovereignty in conducting international relation. Since 1960s, the elites in Africa engage in ratifying and drafting agreements to continue the process of integration. It is true that political leaders and regimes have high intention to promote rather than reduce state sovereignty and its legitimacy (Söderbaum, 2004).

Hence, the APRM is instrument design to upgrade the performance of the existing corporate, political and economic governance status throughout the continent. The theory gives insight to examine the motivating factors for surrendering their sovereignty to assess and evaluate with external institution. It also gives insight to analyze the historic change in which ruler that personalize the state power and vanquish their own people has agreed to be reviewed by other sovereignty states.

### **2.2.2 Institutional Theory**

Institutional theory burst on the organizations scene during the mid-1970s and has generated much interest and attention. It mainly considers how rules, norms and routines are established as authoritative guidelines for social behaviour and enquires into how these elements are created, diffused, adopted and adapted over space and time; and how they fall into decline and disuse (Scott, 2004:1). Institutional theory has been employed in social science to examine how the interaction at micro level contributes to interaction at global level.

The term institutions comprise different meaning in varies fields and contexts. In this study, the definition given by Scott (1995:33) is employed to understand the term. He asserts *“institutions consist of cognitive, normative and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behaviour. Institutions are transported by various carriers cultures, structures and routines and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction.”* In this definition, institutions are multifaceted systems incorporating symbolic systems, cognitive constructions, normative rules and regulative processes carried out through shaping social behaviour. Therefore, institutions are established to achieve socio-economic and political purpose in given society.

Steinmo (2001) identified three areas in which institution structure shapes politics. First, institution defines who is able to participate in the particular political arena. Secondly, institutions shape the role of political actors. Thirdly, institutions influence what these actors believe to be both possible and desirable in achieving what they want to do. In order to implement the intended target or functions, institutions should be composed of formal rules, informal constraints and their enforcement. Scott (1995) indicates that the survival of institution depends on its conformity to the rules and belief systems prevailing in the environment.

Today, old and new institutional theories have emerged as two contending theories in understanding institutions at international level. Old institutionalism focuses on the study of public or constitutional law and the formal operation of the key political institutions (Thoenig, 2011). It displayed little interest in broader social behavior or the impact of institutions on public policies. This theory gives emphasis to formal law and agreements that are responsible for the existence of institution and its realization of final destiny.

Neo-institutional theory is developed during the mid-1970s across the social discipline. New institutionalism theory focuses on the way in which institutions embody values and power relationships (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). It stresses how the shared value are guides the action of institution in the society. The New-institutionalist theories sought to highlight the role institutions play in determining the outcomes of social and political behaviour. Powell and DiMaggio (1991) explained 'new institutionalism' as cognitive and cultural explanations

of social and organizational phenomena by considering the properties of supra-individual units of analysis that cannot be reduced to aggregations or direct consequences of individuals' attributes or motives. They also argue that institutions arise and persist when they confer benefits greater than the transaction costs incurred in creating and sustaining them economically. Politically, institutions can also ability to shape the political decision making process through putting influence on its structure (Alence, 2004). It meant that instructions are ability to shape political outcomes of any process. Institutions also promote cooperation by means of which states regulate their relations with one another within a particular issue. Institutions not only always reflect the preferences and power of the units constituting them but also share those preferences and that power (Scott, 2004).

The 'New institutional' theory emphasises politics and institutions in accounting for the wide variation in economic structure and performance throughout history and across the world. The theory provide an important insight that institutional effectiveness depends on a political and institutional environment that aligns the political incentives facing governments with the requirements of economic growth and improved social welfare (Alence, 2004). Moreover, Scott (1995) indicates that, in order to survive, organisations must conform to the rules and belief systems prevailing in the environment because institutional isomorphism, both structural and procedural, will earn the organisation legitimacy. Thus, the old institutional theories give perspective to analysis APRM from legal basis that institutions are established. Whereas the new institutional gives insight to analyze the strength of APRM from socio-cultural, economical and political aspects. Therefore, the institutional theories have important to analysis this study due to the following three reason. First, the values of APRM should be institutionalized so to be accepted as a guideline for future action of state as well as civil society. Second, unless it brings incentives for the participating country, the process of peer review puts the value of the institution questionable. So it helps to examine the benefits of APRM. Third, it has gives insight to examine the ability of APRM to influence the participant countries to either improve or adopt new policies in the area the review took place.

### **2.2.3 Social Capital Theory**

Since the publication of Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work* in 1993, the concept of social capital has achieved a new prominence in the social discipline science (Boix and Posner, 1996). The social capital theory has brought about new insights to look into a number of civic associations' role in building the capacity for social cooperation in a given community. The theory induces new perspective to examine the good governance through embracing a new variable, the vibrancy of the civic community, in the equation which previously on state explanation on electoral competitiveness, institutional design, political polarization, bureaucratic capacity and socioeconomic modernity (Boix and Posner, 1996).

As originally formulated in the first half of the 1990s, the study of social capital held that collective action will not take place if the persons involved do not trust the other participants to put their own share in the work (Boix and Posner, 1996). It offered lack of trust between people as a major explanation for why collective actions that would benefit all are at times not undertaken. Social capital theory focuses on the existing social networks and its characteristics that strengthen the ties, trust and reciprocity among society. In any society, the level of trust depends on repeated exposure, shared values, honesty in communication, follow-through on commitments and the consistency in behaviour (Siisiainen, 2002).

According to Putnam, only groups of people endowed with enough "social capital" (norms, networks and mutual trust) are able to escape this perennial social dilemma (Verweij, 2005). Putnam's concept of social capital has three components: moral obligations and norms, social values (especially trust) and social networks (especially voluntary associations). Putnam's central thesis is that the successful accumulation of social capital a given region leads to a well-functioning economic system and a high level of political integration. The legitimacy of modern society is found on the "trust" of authority and government of generalization. In area with a well-functioning local government and a prosperous economy, vital social networks, the public activity of citizen has created an atmosphere of mutual cooperation, vital social networks, equal political relations and the traditional participation. The total accumulation of these phenomena will bring the ethos of mutual trust between citizens (Verweij, 2005).

The social capita strengthens through participation in "intermediary" organizations or civic organization. Social capital can explain the presence or absence of economic growth, human well-being, healthy populations, entrepreneurship and innovation, environmental protection,

satisfactory democratic policies and procedures. However, societies vary greatly in their level of social trust. According to the recent World Values Surveys and European Values Study, more than 65 percent of people in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway agreed that most people can be trusted, while less than 10 percent of people did so in Brazil, Uganda, Tanzania, and the Philippines. Putnam revealed that social trust in post modern industrial societies comes from two related sources: norm of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement. He argues states can facilitate social cooperation through forming cultural associations-by giving the example that Northern Italy is better governed than southern Italy because it has more governmental watchdog organizations or public affairs group but because it has more sports clubs and cultural associations. These differences between horizontal and vertical patterns of organizing social allegiances and alignments had fatal consequences for the development of political actors (Siisiainen, 2002).

The social capital theory enables us to look in deep into the forces beyond the actions of elites in escalating the institutionalization of APRM. Without the popular participation of the local community, it is impossible to realize and achieve the dreams of APRM. Therefore, the existing traditional values of Africa are helpful to put into practice the goals of APRM. Social capital is a necessary condition for successful local development, social integration and political participation. The theory helps to examine the shared values in the African society in 21<sup>st</sup> c through engaging the civil societies in development and integration process. The target of APRM will not be achieved easily unless the existing social capital incorporated in the process. NEPAD is recognizes the diversity of African society in terms of economic growth, ethnicity, culture and other aspects of social life. NEPAD clearly stated claims that it 'will be successful only if it is owned by the African peoples united in their diversity; thereby admitting that widespread African support is vital for NEPAD's success (NEPAD, 2001). Therefore, the social capital theory helps as to examine the role of shared values in realizing the objectives of APRM.

## **2.3 African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)**

### **2.3.1 The Mandate, Purpose and Principle of APRM**

#### **2.3.1.1 Mandate of the APRM**

The mandate of the APRM is to ensure that the policies and practices of participating states conform to the agreed political, economic and corporate governance values, codes and standards contained in the NEPAD Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance (APRM Base Document, 2003: para 2). It is the mutually agreed instrument for self-monitoring by the participating member governments. The overarching goal of the APRM is for all participating countries to accelerate their progress towards adopting and implementing the priorities and programmes of the NEPAD, achieving the mutually agreed objectives and compliance with best practice in respect of each of the areas of governance and development. This can only be achieved through the sustained efforts of the country itself, involving all stakeholders (Objectives, Standards, Criteria and Indicators for APRM, 2003:3).

#### **2.3.1.2 Purpose of the APRM**

The primary purpose of the APRM is to foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration through sharing of experiences and reinforcement of successful and best practice, including identifying deficiencies and assessing the needs for capacity building (APRM Base Document, 2003: para 3).

#### **2.3.1.3 Principles of the APRM**

The APRM set down principles that help to carry out independent peer review which free from political manipulation in respective countries. Therefore, the APRM document strongly stated that every review exercise carried out under the authority of the mechanism must be technically competent, credible and free of political manipulation (APRM Base Document, 2003:para 4).

### **2.3.2 The Institutional and Governance Structure of the APRM**

#### **2.3.2.1 APRM structure at Continental level**

The NEPAD HSGIC in the OAU/AU Summit in Durban, South Africa, in July 2002 envisages the following four distinct organisational components of the APRM.

## **1. The Committee of Participating Heads of State and Government (The APR Heads of State Forum (APR Forum))**

The APR Forum is the highest decision making authority in the APRM. In the forum only those states that have voluntarily been chosen to accede to the APRM are allowed to take part. APR Forum has ultimate responsibility for oversight of the APRM organisation and processes and for mutual learning and capacity building required to make the APRM effective, credible and acceptable (APRM O&P, 2003:3). The chair person of APR Forum is elected by the HSGIC. The term office of the chairperson of APR Forum is not specified. The mandate of the APR Forum (APRM O&P, 2003:3) is to:

- I. Appoint the APR Panel and its Chairperson;
- II. Consider, adopt and take ownership of CRRs submitted by the APR Panel;
- III. Communicate the recommendations of the APR Forum to the HSH of the reviewed country immediately after the review meeting;
- IV. Exercise constructive peer dialogue and persuasion to effect changes in country practice where recommended;
- V. Transmit APRM Reports to the appropriate AU structures in a timely manner;
- VI. Make public CRRs and press releases pertaining thereto;
- VII. Establish and approve the rules of procedure for the APR Forum and approve members of the APR Panel and
- VIII. Approve a Code of Conduct for all components of the APRM organisation and ensure that the APR process is fully funded by the participating countries.

## **2. Panel of Eminent Persons (APR Panel)**

The APRM will be directed and managed by a Panel of 5 to 7 Eminent Persons. The Chairperson of the APR Panel will serve for a period of up to 5 years while the other Eminent Persons will each serve for a period of up to 4 years. The Eminent Persons must be Africans who have distinguished themselves in careers, high moral stature and demonstrated commitment to the ideals of Pan-Africanism. They are nominated by participating countries, then short-listed by a committee of ministers and appointed by the APR Forum (APRM Base and Document, 2003:para7). The members selected on the basis of regional balance, gender equity and cultural diversity and will have minimal capacity to carry out their mandate and will require access to additional technical expertise (APRM O&P, 2003:5). According to APRM O&P (2003:4), the APR Panel shall have the following mandate:

- I. Exercise oversight of the APR process with a view to ensure the independence, professionalism, and credibility of the process;
- II. Oversee the selection of the APR Teams and appoint them to conduct country reviews;
- III. Recommend appropriate African institutions or individuals to conduct technical assessments;
- IV. Meet when required to review and make objective assessments of and recommendations on the CRRs submitted to it by the APR Secretariat;
- V. Consider recommendations contained in the CRRs and make recommendations to the APR Forum;
- VI. Submit to the APR Forum all CRRs with recommendations on measures that could be taken to assist the country in the improvement of its governance and socio-economic development performance and
- VII. Develop its own rules of procedure, submit these to the APR Forum for approval and approve those of the APR Secretariat and the APR Teams.

### **3. The APRM Secretariat (APR Secretariat)**

The APRM Secretariat is located in Midrand, South Africa. The APR Secretariat will provide the secretarial, technical, coordinating and administrative support services for the APRM functions on a continuous basis and will be supervised directly by the Chairperson of the APR Panel at the policy level and in the day-to-day management and administration by an Executive Officer (APRM O&P, 2003:5-6). The APR Secretariat will work closely with the CSSDCA Unit of the Commission of the AU as the harmonizing and alignment processes are being pursued between the two units. According to APRM O&P (2003:6-7), the functions of the APR Secretariat will include:

- I. Maintaining extensive database and information on the four areas of focus of the APRM and the political and economic developments in all participating countries;
- II. Preparation of background documents for the APR Teams;
- III. Facilitating technical assistance to participating countries ;
- IV. Proposing performance indicators and tracking the performance of each participating countries;
- V. Liaising with participating countries and partner institutions to follow progress of technical assessments;
- VI. Plan and organize the Country Review Visits;
- VII. Recommend to the APR Panel on the composition of APR Teams and recruit the experts required for research and analysis;
- VIII. Liaising with interested external partners and support participating countries in resource mobilization for capacity building;
- IX. Organising regional networks in the various areas of focus of the APRM and convene workshops for the sharing of experience and best practice and to address constraints experienced in the implementation of country programmes of action;

- X. Liaising with the institutions issuing the standards and codes listed in the Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance and
- XI. Ensure full documentation of the APR processes at country, sub-regional and continental levels to facilitate learning.

#### **4. The Country Review Team (APR Team)**

The Country Review Team will be appointed to visit the country to review progress with the country's Programme of Action (PoA) and produce the APRM report on the country. It will be constituted only for the period of the country review visit. Its composition will be carefully designed to enable an integrated, balanced, technically competent and professional assessment of the reviewed country (APRM O&P, 2003:7). The APR Panel will approve the composition of the APR Team and its terms of reference for each country review visit. The visit will take place when the country has completed its draft PoA and invite the APR Secretariat to send an APR Team to conduct the review process. This holistic review will assess the quality and scope of the final draft PoA. Its focus will be on identifying the deficit in the country's draft PoA. It will indicate how the country can best be assisted in strengthening its final draft PoA and its capacities to implement it (APRM O and P, 2003: 9).

##### **2.3.2.2 APRM structure at Continental level**

Beyond the continental structure, each participating country needs to build a coordinating structure at the country level in order to participate in the APRM. Thus, in order to implement the APRM, 'country guidelines' of APRM urges accessed countries to establish the following institutions at national level of each country (APRM National Structure, 2004).

- I. **A National Focal Point:** establish at Ministerial level or an equivalent person who reports directly to the Head of State or Government. It is responsible for managing the national process. It works in inclusive, integrated and coordinated manner with existing policy-decision and medium-term planning processes;
- II. **A National Commission or National Governing Council:** responsible for overseeing the national process and signing off on the documents produced. It should be diverse enough to embrace a wide range of interest groups and autonomous of government. It must have clear written terms of reference for operation, legal status

and terms of service. It is recommended that the NGC be involved in follow up of implementation of PoA;

III. **A National APRM Secretariat:** provide administrative and technical support to the NGC. It ideally established outside of government with an independent budget. It should report directly to the NGC. It also responsible for liaising between the NGC and the continental APRM Secretariat.

IV. **Technical Research Institutions (TRIs):** responsible to administer the APRM questionnaire and carry out background research. The TRIs should be well-known for their competence and technical capabilities to conduct sound study. The final output should undergo validation to ensure that the report is representative of the public views. They are appointed by the NGC and report directly to it.

### **2.3.3 The APR Partner Institutions and Technical Assessments**

The APR Forum agreed to work in collaboration with different partner's institutions of AU. Accordingly, the ECA has been requested to conduct the technical assessment in economic governance and management while the African Development Bank (ADB) requested in banking and financial standards. The two institutions will be the primary resource institutions in their respective areas of competence (APRM O &P, 2003: 8). Similarly, on matters relating to human rights, democracy and political governance, the APR Forum will request the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), the African Committee of the Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, Central Organ of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution or the Peace and Security Council (PSC), Pan-African Parliament (PAP), the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA) Unit, or other unit. It is strongly believed that close cooperation among APRM and Partner institution is important because they gave available data when APRM conduct country review. In selection process of partners' institution, the key issue is protection of African ownership of the APRM (APRM O and P, 2003: 9). APRM O and P (2003: 9) stated that the APR Panel will advise the APR Forum as to which African institutions are invited to conduct the technical assessments on corporate governance and socio-economic development. It is anticipated that the APRM have to work with a wider

range of Partner Institutions, including those that set international standards, oversight institutions, African research and policy institutions engaged in policy advisory services.

#### **2.3.4 Types of Reviews under the APRM**

The APRM Base Document (2003:14) inaugurated four distinct reviews types to achieve socio-economic and political development. The first review type is base review which carried out when a country officially accedes to the APRM process. It is supposed to be undertaken within 18 months of a country becoming a member of the APRM process. The second review is periodic review that takes place every two to four years. The third is Ad-hoc review carried out when APRM member state might be requested for its own reason. It is not part of the periodically mandated reviews. The fourth is special review might be initiated at any moment when early warning signs suggest an impending political, economic or social crisis in an APRM member state. This type of review would be AU conducted in the spirit of assistance and helpfulness between African states, and would be called for by the APR Forum, in solidarity with the government concerned.

#### **2.3.5 Stages of the Peer Review Process under the APRM**

The APRM base document (2003) identifies five stages in the APR process. Once a country has acceded to the APRM, the APR Secretariat will arrange a mission to the country with a view to negotiate the exact terms of the MoU on Technical Assessment and Country Review Visit using the outline provided. When the MoU between the APR Forum and the Government is signed the stages set for the APR process will start. The participating countries may have pass through the following stages.

##### **Stage One**

The first stage involve a study of the political, economic and corporate governance and development environment in the country to be reviewed, based principally on up-to-date background documentation prepared by the APRM Secretariat and material provided by national, sub-regional, regional and international institutions (APRM Base Document, 2003:para18). It is preparatory stage. The activities to be accomplished in this stage include:

- a. Gather information on the situation in the country;

- b. Make careful analysis of the available information in terms of the APRM objectives, standards, criteria and indicators;
- c. Prepare a background document on the situation in the country
- d. Prepare the draft country PoA and share it with the country partners and the APR Partner Institutions;
- e. Develop a plan for country visit of the APR Team to the country
- f. Prepare a proposal on the composition, terms of reference and work plan of the APR Team and submit to the APR Panel (APRM O&P, 2003:11-12)

## **Stage Two**

In stage two, the Review Team will visit the country concerned where its priority order of business will be to carry out the widest possible range of consultations with the government, officials, political parties, parliamentarians and civil society organizations (APRM Base Document, 2003: para 19). The Review Team to carry out its review smoothly and with full access to all sources of information and stakeholders without any limitation. They have also conducted serious consultations and briefing meetings that intended to serve a number of purposes (APRM O&P, 2003:13).

## **Stage Three**

In stage three, the preparation of the Team's report is going to start at this stage. The report must be measured against the applicable political, economic and corporate governance commitments made and the NPoA (APRM Base Document, 2003: para 20). The Team's draft report is first discussed with the government concerned to ensure the accuracy of the information and to provide the government with an opportunity both to react to the Team's findings and to put forward its own views on how the identified shortcomings may be addressed. These responses of the government will be appended to the Team's report (APRM Base Document, 2003: para 21). The Team's report will need to be clear on a number of points in instances where problems are identified (APRM Base Document, 2003: para 22).

## **Stage Fourth**

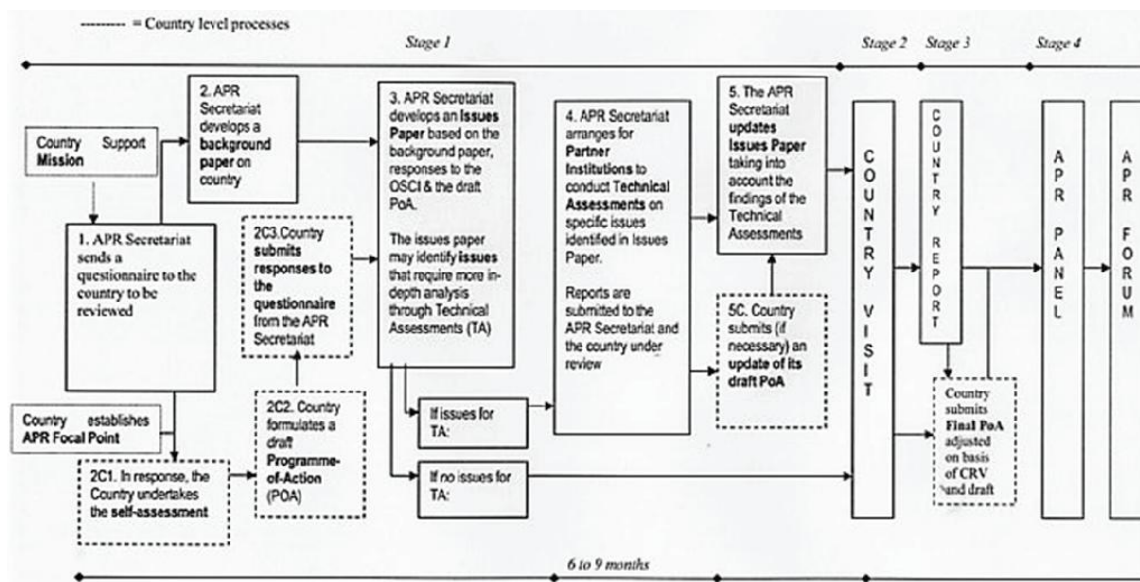
The fourth stage begins when the Team's report is submitted to the participating HSGs through the APRM Secretariat. The consideration and adoption of the final report by the participating HSGs, including their decision in this regard, marks the end of this stage (APRM Base Document, 2003: para23). The APR Forum meets to consider the report and the

recommendations of the APR Panel to decide what action to take in accordance with its mandate. It ends with the Chairperson of the APR Forum communicating the decisions of the Forum to the HSGs of the country being reviewed (APRM O&P, 2003: 14).

### Stage Five

The fifth stage will make public the APRM Report on the country reviewed. The APR Forum provide assistance to reviewed country to rectify the identified shortcomings (APRM Base Document, 2003: para 24). Six months after the report has been considered by the HSGs of the participating member countries, it should be formally and publicly tabled in key regional and sub-regional structures such as the PAP, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, the envisaged Peace and Security Council and the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) of the AU (APRM Base Document, 2003: para25

**Figure 1. Brief Summary of Five Stages of APRM**



*Source: NEPAD/APRM/Panel3/guidelines/11.2003/Doc8*

The follow-up to this first cycle is equally important for sustaining the efforts to improve governance and socio-economic development in Africa. During this follow-up stage, the following is envisaged:

- a. The country modifies its NPoA and continues to implement it and monitors progress;

- b. The APR Secretariat monitors the country's progress and interacts with the implementers of the Programme to assist where necessary, especially with capacity building and resource mobilisation;
- c. The APR Secretariat organises regional workshops on issues identified in the review reports and facilitate networking and sharing of experience and best practice among participating countries, with the participation of the APR Partner Institutions; and
- d. The APR Secretariat, Partner Institutions and, possibly, Development Partners continue to support the country with technical assistance and capacity building to ensure the effective achievement of the objectives and targets of its NPoA (APRM O&P, 2003:15).

In general, the completion of above five stages of peer review process leads to the production of three important documents. These are:

- ❖ **The Country Self-Assessment Report (CSAR)**, prepared by the country concerned on the basis of the APRM questionnaire. It is only published at the discretion of the state concerned.
- ❖ **The Country Review Report (CRR)**, prepared by the APRM Secretariat and its technical partners under the supervision of the APRM panel. It presented to the APRM Forum by the Eminent Person assigned responsibility for the country review.
- ❖ **The National Programme of Action (NPoA)**, prepared at country level based on the CSAR. It will presented to the APRM Forum.

In addition, countries that have completed their reviews are then required to submit to the APRM annual progress reports on the implementation of their programmes of action.

## **2.3.6 Thematic areas of APRM**

### **2.3.6.1 Democracy and Good Political Governance**

This area looks at ensuring that member state constitutions reflect the democratic ethos, provide accountable governance and that political representation is promoted, allowing all citizens to participate in the political process in a free and fair political environment. As stated in the Objectives, Standards, Criteria and Indicators for the APRM (2003:5), the documents state the following key objectives:

1. Prevent and reduce intra-and inter-country conflicts;

2. Constitutional Democracy, including periodic political competition and opportunity for choice, the rule of law, a Bill of Rights and the supremacy of the constitution are firmly established in the constitution;
3. Promotion and protection of economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights as enshrined in all African and international human rights instruments;
4. Upholding the Separation of powers including the protection of the independence of the judiciary and of an effective parliament;
5. Ensure accountable, efficient and effective public office holders and civil servants;
6. Fighting corruption in the political sphere;
7. Promotion and Protection of the rights of women;
8. Promotion and Protection of the rights of the child and young persons and
9. Promotion and Protection of the rights of vulnerable groups, including displaced persons and refugees.

### **2.3.6.2 Economic Governance and Management**

Good economic governance including transparency in financial management is an essential pre-requisite for promoting economic growth and reducing poverty. According to Objectives, Standards, Criteria and Indicators for the APRM (2003: 16), the key economic governance and management objectives are:

1. Promoting macroeconomic policies that support sustainable development;
2. Implementing transparent, predictable and credible government economic policies;
3. Promoting sound public finance management;
4. Fighting corruption and money laundering and
5. Accelerating regional integration by participating in the harmonization of monetary, trade and investment policies amongst the participating states.

### **2.3.6.3 Corporate Governance**

According to the objectives, standards, criteria and indicators for APRM (2003: 20-21), this area focuses on promoting ethical principles, values and practices that are in line with broader social and economic goals to benefit all citizens. It works to promote a sound framework for good corporate governance. The objectives for corporate governance under the APRM are:

1. Provide an enabling environment and effective regulatory framework for economic activities;
2. Ensure that corporate acts as good corporate citizens with regard to human rights, social responsibility and environmental sustainability;
3. Promote the adoption of codes of good business ethics (e.g. Cadbury and King Codes) in achieving the objectives of the organization;
4. Ensure that corporations treat all their stakeholders (shareholders, employees, communities, suppliers and customers) in a fair and just manner and

5. Provide for accountability of corporations and directors.

#### **2.3.6.4 Socio-Economic Development**

Poverty can only be effectively tackled through the promotion of democracy, good governance, peace and security as well as the development of human and physical resources. As indicated in the document on Objectives, Standards, Criteria and Indicators for APRM (2003: 23), the key socio-economic development objectives are:

1. Promote self-reliance in development and build capacity for self-sustaining development;
2. Accelerate socio-economic development to achieve sustainable development and poverty eradication;
3. Strengthen policies, delivery mechanisms and outputs in key social development areas(including education for all, combating of HIV/AIDS and other communicable diseases;.
4. Ensuring affordable access to water, energy, finance (including micro-finance), market and ICT to all citizens, especially the rural poor;
5. Progress towards gender equality, particularly equal access to education for girls at all levels and
6. Encourage broad based participation in development by all stakeholders at all levels.

Each objective of the four thematic areas contains own standards, criteria and indicators to measure, assesses and evaluate the performance of participating countries if they once accessed the APRM MoU. The members' states have obliged to integrate these objectives while designing and implementing policies at national level (Objectives, Standards, Criteria and Indicators for APRM, 2003). The description of the institutional structure at national and continental level helps to understand and process. It gives insight to analysis the APRM practical limitation while countries gone through the review enables to explore the harmonization of APRM with bilateral and multilateral institutions. It enables to examine the challenges and opportunities of APRM.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Research Methodology and Status of APRM Countries**

This chapter has two parts. The first part focuses on the methodological aspects of the study. The second part the chapter briefly highlights the current eminence of APRM participating countries.

#### **3.1 Research Methodology**

##### **3.1.1 Design of the Study**

Since the target of this study is to identify the strong and weak side of APRM, critical appraisal design is chosen as an appropriate qualitative methodology. A critical appraisal design emphasis on reviewing and identifying the strengths and weaknesses of a given program or a research. Like other research types, it should be carried out in a systematic manner in order to achieve its intended objective. While the study mainly uses a critical appraisal approach, descriptive and explanatory parts are used to provide essential background information to make analysis very clear. These designs help to critically appraise the subject in a detailed manner and help to make sound finding and conclusion.

##### **3.1.2 Sources of Data**

A critical appraisal approach is needs rigorous evidence to show whether the intended objective of the institution or program achieved. As the research focuses on comprehensive assessment of APRM institution, which functioning at continental level, it is difficult to cover the issues through primary data. Therefore, the study adopted mainly secondary method of

data collection to effectively answer the research questions and meet the objectives of the study. Hence, books, research papers, articles, journals, reports, communiqués, press releases, conference paper, annual reports, newsletters and newspapers that are dealing with APRM were exhaustively used. Therefore, the available material that are prepared for MA thesis and Doctorial dissertations, especially produced by abroad university, were searched through internet and critically reviewed based on their relevance to subject under study. The library of AU and UNECA are surveyed and materials reviewed for the study. Besides, the primary data was collected from available informants.

### **3.1.3 Method of Data Collection**

In order to conduct any kind of research, the selection of appropriate types of data collection instrument is crucial. Hence, in collecting data for this study, document analysis and key informant interview were employed to investigate the subject in study.

#### **3.1.3.1 Document analysis**

Since the study mainly depends on secondary sources, the document analysis is selected as vital instrument. The document analysis enables the researcher to collect data related to the APRM objectives, structure, procedures and organization. It was enabled to collect data on its benefits, challenges and opportunities. The main document sources for the study includes books, research outcomes, articles, journals, reports, communiqués, press releases and annual reports that are dealing with APRM. Data from the APRM, NEPAD, AU, UNECA and RECs secretariat/website; conference and seminar proceedings; and speeches/declarations by statesmen and important members of civil society were also used to get better insight about APRM. Furthermore, the country review and progress reports that are published by the APRM secretary are among highly trusted source to evaluate the performance of participating states and the impact of APRM over time.

#### **3.1.3.2 Key informant Interviews**

The key informant interview has given the researcher a wealth of knowledge about the APRM and an in-depth understanding of its structure, role, individual perceptions and views about the APRM. The key informants also need to reflect on the motivating factors for

establishment, role it plays in promoting African indigenous socio-economic and political realities, the benefits of joining membership, the instruments, the challenges and opportunities of APRM. The researcher plan to conduct interviews with experts, economists, politicians, academicians, managers and journalists who are working at the AU, UNECA, CSOs/NGOs, universities, research centres, ambassadors, diplomats and others had not succeeded due to certain inconveniences. They have no clear awareness on procedure of APRM since many of its activities were done by HSG. Besides, the headquarter office of APRM is located outside the research conducted, it is difficult to get informed respondent. Ambassadors and diplomats were not aware of APRM and cooperative to give interview. The interviews with continental institutions are included in the study. Therefore, two informants who where expected to greater significance to the study based on their experience and the position they are serving in APRM, AU and ECA staff were selected for the interview. During the interview, the researcher read the guidelines to the respondents which requested the interviewer to be interviewed and guaranteed anonymity of the respondents. The interview guideline was attached at appendix part of the study. Permission was sought from participants at the beginning of the interviews to tape record the proceedings. The tape recording of these interviews was meant to allow for better storage, interpretation and analysis of the data.

### **3.1.4 Selection of Respondent**

The study tried to critically appraise the APRM role in promoting best practices and shared values to achieve political stability and socio-economic development in the continent. Therefore, the purposive judgement sampling, in which the selection of the respondents depends on the knowledge and availability of the population, is used. The researcher has more interest to evaluate the performance of countries under APRM through the available data due to the following reason. First, it is difficult to easily access primary sources of data through conducting interview from various stakeholders since the NGC automatically closed at the end of validation of the country review report in various countries. Second, since most of the APRM activities are done and controlled by the HSG, accessing documents and getting well-informed respondent from the ordinary people on the process is difficult. Therefore, secondary data drawn from published and unpublished papers sourced from library and e-journal which contain information, ideas, data and evidence written from a particular

standpoint and experience on the APRM allowed to draw up conclusion on the subject under study. Through purposive sampling, respondents were selected from the staff of ECA and AU due to their knowledge and strong attachment to the APRM process.

### **3.1.5 Data Analysis and Interpretation**

As pointed out previously, the data for this research was collected by employing a qualitative research methodology which where the document analysis and key informant interviews. The researcher has used general and common steps in qualitative research to analyze and interpret data for this study. Therefore, throughout the study, the researcher continuously reflected on the data, asking analytic questions and writing brief notes about the areas that need additional data. The study adopted the deductive method of reasoning in analyzing the data. The information gathered through interview and document analyses was critically read to make deductive reasoning possible. The researcher has gone through the following steps in this study. Firstly, the data was organized and prepared for analysis through transcribing interviews and optically scanning material and arranging the data into different types depending on the sources of information. Secondly, the researcher has gone through all transcribed and scanned documents carefully to obtain a general sense of the information and to reflect on its overall meaning. Thirdly, detail analysis and interpretation was conducted with a coding process. The researcher has put themes and selected key terms from text and interview data and used the coding process to critically examine them for analysis. Finally, the researcher has tried putting personal interpretation through analyzing the literature and primary sources.

### **3.1.6. Ethical Consideration**

To avoid the possibility of bias and miss interpretation, the following ethical issues and procedures were considered. Firstly, the researcher has informed individuals who participate in the study about the purpose and aim of the study. They were also informed about the purpose for which they are included in this study. Secondly, during the data collection, the researcher respected the site as well as the gatekeepers. The data were collected with minimal disruption to organization. Finally, all materials quoted or cited in the study are acknowledged.

### 3.2 Status of APRM Countries

Since January 2014, 34 of the AU member countries had voluntarily signed up to the APRM. Currently, 20 countries had yet to accede. This implies 64 % of the African states have agreed to voluntary compliance and mutual learning mechanism of NEPAD available to submit themselves to the review process. However, deeper inspection showed that of the 34 countries that had acceded, only 17 had actually started and completed their first peer review cycle. There are 14 countries has not started any process after signing the MoU. Of the 17 countries that had completed the first cycle peer review, two countries, particularly Ghana and Kenya, have completed their NPoA and started the second self-assessment exercise. There are 3 countries launch the process and undergo a comprehensive national self-assessment exercise involving all relevant constituencies. The CSAR and NPoA are then sent to the APR Secretariat and the APR panel. The CRR and NPoA are publicized and some of them were available at their APRM Secretariat website (Bing-Pappoe, 2010 and ECA, 2013b).

**Table 1. Status of APRM Countries**

No	Country	Date of Accession	Status of countries	Overall contribution through DBSA & UNDP (USD)
1	Algeria	09-Mar-2003	Reviewed	2,500,000
2	Angola	08-Jul-2004	Not Started	400,000
3	Benin	31-Mar-2004	Reviewed	640,000
4	Burkina Faso	09-Mar-2003	Reviewed	800,000
5	Cameroon	03-Apr-2003	Not Started	624250
6	Chad	26 Jan-2013	Not Started	
7	Congo	09-Mar-2003	Not Started	
8	Djibouti	01-Jul-2007	Stage one	200,000
9	Egypt	09-Mar-2004	Not Started	1,300,000
10	Equatorial Guinea	29 Jan-2014	Not started	
11	Ethiopia	09-Mar-2003	Reviewed	400,000
12	Gabon	14-Apr-2003	Stage one	825,000
13	Ghana	09-Mar-2003	Reviewed	700,000
14	Kenya	09-Mar-2003	Reviewed	800,000
15	Lesotho	08-Jul-2004	Reviewed	700,000
16	Liberia	29-Jan-2011	Not Started	
17	Malawi	08-Jul-2004	Not Started	300,000
18	Mali	28-May-2003	Reviewed	800,000

19	Mauritania	30-Jan-2008	Not Started	-
20	Mauritius	09-Mar-2003	Reviewed	100,000
21	Mozambique	09-Mar-2004	Reviewed	800,000
22	Niger	14 July-2013	Not started	
23	Nigeria	09-Mar-2003	Reviewed	4,350,000
24	Rwanda	09-Mar-2003	Reviewed	400,000
25	Sao Tome & Principe	28-Jan-2007	Not Started	-
26	Senegal	09-Mar-2007	Not Started	200,000
27	Sierra Leone	08-Jul-2004	Reviewed	100,000
28	South Africa	09-Ma-2003	Reviewed	8,086,914
29	Sudan	22-Jan-2006	Stage one	100,000
30	Tanzania	08-Jul-2004	Reviewed	100,000
31	Togo	29-Jun-2008	Not Started	202,000
32	Tunisia	26Jan- 2013	Not Started	
33	Uganda	09-Mar-2003	Reviewed	300,000
34	Zambia	22-Jan-2006	Reviewed	600,000

Source: compiled by the researcher from APRM annual report of 2011, Bing-Pappoe, 2010, Communiqué of 18<sup>th</sup> APR Forum, 2013 and Pan African News Agency, January, 2014.

Despite the success of having been adopted by the richest and most powerful countries on the continent, especially Algeria, South Africa and Nigeria, it is difficult to conclude that the APRM has been implemented by the majority of African countries. The signing of most populous countries of Africa is important to get out the people of Africa from misery of socio-economic and political problems since it create opportunity to share best experience. The five regions of Africa are found at different stages at varying degrees of implementation of the APRM (figure 1).



**Figure 1. The geographic location of APRM (2013)**

Source: ECA, 2013b.

NB: the map has not updated since January, 2013. The Equatorial Guinea and Ghana which have signed the MoU and launched the second review process were not indicated in the map, respectively.

## **Chapter Four**

### **A Critical Appraisal of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)**

This chapter is divided into seven parts. The first part deals with contributing factors for the establishment of APRM and the second with APRM and Partner Institution. The latter mainly tries to discuss the relation between AU, NEPAD, RECs, bilateral and multilateral institutions and civil societies. The third section discusses the benefits of APRM on democratic and political governance, economic governance and management, corporate governance and socio-economic development. The fourth section analyses the role of APRM in promoting the indigenous socio-economic and political realities of Africa. The fifth sections discuss the instruments of APRM while the six section outlined the challenges of APRM. The last section uncovered the major opportunities of APRM.

#### **4.1 Contributing Factors for the Establishment of APRM**

The APRM seeks to promote adherence to and fulfilment of the commitments contained in NEPAD Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance. The APRM spells out the institutions and processes that will guide future peer reviews, based on mutually agreed codes and standards of democracy, political, economic and corporate governance (NEPAD, 2002). There are different factors that are identified as causes for the establishment of APRM. “Afro-pessimistic” writers strongly argue that APRM is not domestically designed to monitor governance problems of Africa. They argue that APRM is either a creation of the G8 or an attempt by Africa to meet the demands of the G8. It will not succeed in addressing Africa’s real problems because the problems and the solutions are missing specification in the first place (Bing-Pappo, 2010). On the other hand, “Afro-centric” leaders portrayed that APRM has domestically developed by taking lessons from the past experiences of Africa. They considered APRM as a panorama to improve governance in Africa, if it is implemented inclusively and transparently. The APRM is, therefore, a hotly contested phenomenon within the African political space (Bing-Pappo, 2010). Therefore, as the following sub-chapter shows the main contributing factors for the establishment of APRM are associated with political and economic motives.

#### 4.1.1 Political Motives

According to some observers the establishment of APRM is the upshot of African resentment against the western-based measurements of socio-economic and good governance. Today, human right, good governance and socio-economic development reports published by different regional, continental and international organizations condemn the policies and practices of Africa (Taylor, 2005). Therefore, inauguration APRM is considered as a retreat of political elites from those institutions through exposing themselves for domestic uncritical and soft evaluation in order to claim they are respecting and recognizing good governance. Historically, unless the developed countries and their institutions approve the achievement of African good governance practice and socio-economic development, there is no independent, credible and efficient domestic institution in Africa that can review the democratic performance of states. Therefore, APRM should be planned, owned and run by Africa to review countries performance towards good governance and socio-economic development. It is a declaration in which independent states surrender their sovereignty for external institution to review domestic policies and progress to achieve good governance and socio-economic development. One of my informants stated that:

It is not the money rather the interest of Africa to share experience to improve governance pushed leaders to found APRM. Africa has good governed experience that observed in the annual governance report of ECA. It is the way of glorifying the real achievement of African governments that is criticised always by the western-based institutions (Informant<sup>1</sup>, 19/03/2014).

APRM requires voluntary accession that exclusively depends on eagerness of political elites to take part in APRM. It requires the rational choice or decision of Heads of States and Governments (HSG) to join or pull out from the process. The former Chairperson of the APRM Panel of Eminent Persons, Babès (2011) stated that *“APRM is a unique initiative undertaken by African leaders. Countries that voluntarily accede to it are those that accept to look at themselves in their mirror and see what they look like. They want to know what image they portray to their African peers”* (APRM Newsletter, 2011).

The inauguration of APRM has brought different experience in political history of Africa in which leaders of reviewed states requested external states to review their advancement to commonly agreed standards of democracy, good governance and socio-economic development. One may ponder whether the credibility of the APR Forum has found solution to get out the continent since HSG them are part of the problem. What the continent missed in their long history of independence is lack of good leadership of the highest integrity, capable of mobilizing and motivating people and pursuing a policy of inclusion rather than exclusion (African Quarterly, 2009).

The APRM is the response of new generation of leaders' commitment to get themselves out of traditional tolerance of OAU which a decision has always been met not to intervene in the internal affairs of members counties. It is the first experience in the world in which leaders' voluntarily accessed to external reviewers and sits jointly to talk about and comment on the internal affairs of reviewed country. The fact stands that if not African governments renovate their commitment from paper to ground through mobilizing the required support to APRM, the aspirations to monitor their own behaviour without the intervention from outside Africa will not be credible and fruitful (Gruzd, 2009b). The inter-African economic and political ties should be enhanced to implement agreements. Mathews (2005) stated that "the African Renaissance embodies the vision of a more dynamic, stable, integrated and prosperous Africa" which is advocated by the former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki" has been played important role in provoking other peers for institutionalization of APRM. As being belonging to one of the reformist leaders of Africa, Thabo Mbeki has played a crucial role in putting into ground what they agreed at the NEPAD (Gruzd, 2009b). It is ambition of those groups to depict. One of my informants stated that:

We Africans have a lot of good experience that can ensure and show Africa the progress achieved and the right track it followed. It is a wrong perception to totally characterized Africa by violation of basic rights and practices of wrong socio-economic policies. It is important to acknowledge the positive changes in the continent (Informant<sup>2</sup> , 24/03/2014).

Therefore, APRM is extensively perceived as an arena in which leaders can openly discuss on sensitive issues and learn from their experience. It has a potential to become the problems of Africa through creating strong dialogue and sharing experiences. The joining of long-serving HSGs which criticised and discharged the non-African observers of election for their critical report clearly shows that the instrument has depended on political motivating factor than the eradication of poverty and marginalization of the continent in global economy through creating community-based solutions (Pan African News Agency, January, 2014).

#### **4.1.2 Economic Motives**

The end of the Cold War has closed the room for those countries that look for development assistance through using ideological advantage. The ideological obedience had compromised the principles of good governance, human right and prudent socio-economic developments policies. The failures of communism in the ex-Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have paved the way for the triumph of capitalism throughout the world (Fukuyama, 1992). The political trends since the 1980s and 1990s have revealed that capitalism is inescapable phenomenon rather it is benchmark for measuring good governance. A number of Western governments and international financial institutions such as the WB and the IMF began to insist that aid and investment had to be linked to economic and political reforms in Africa. Africa has hence been forced and encouraged to institutionalize the principles of good governance through taking liberal political and economic reform (Wiseman, 1995). As has already been mentioned in the introduction part, SAP, AAF-SAP and UN-NADAF had stressed the instantaneous realization of liberal economic and political reforms to rescue the continent from the crisis.

Since 1980s and 1990s, the provision of ODA has been dependent on conditionalities that recipient countries must fulfil. Foreign aid is provided to developing countries to serve not only the needs of recipient countries, but also donors own political, strategic and economic agenda (Collodel, 2011). The launch of NEPAD and APRM are mostly regarded by scholars (Amuwo, 2002 and Bongmba, 2006:72) as a manufactures of African leaders commitments to put into practice inescapable doctrines of neoliberal and good governance principles. In response to African readiness, the developed countries agreed to help the

continent by declaring different documents. As the trends shows that the main beneficiaries are those politically and economically strong African territories and/ or the few leaders on the continent which perceived as being pro-liberalizers with an “approved” record on human rights and democracy by the West (Taylor, 2005).

APRM is a mechanism by which African leaders have realized and agreed to good governance and democracy to achieve socio-economic development. NEPAD document also dictates the developed countries to support Africa struggle to get out from poverty and marginalization of the continent in global economy. Therefore, Africa needs to improve governance systems in exchange for more development assistance and investment through showing commitment to the APRM (NEPAD, 2001). It may be true that “democracy in the form of multiparty elections was generally seen by African rulers as the price to pay for continued financial assistance rather than as the political modality that will make

development more likely”(Amuwo , 2002:66). Therefore, the economic motives have also played important roles in inspiring countries to take part in APRM to improve governance. It was the economic motives that enforce African leaders to think the issues of good governance and democracy while striving for development. As the NEPAD (2001: Para: 185) document clearly state:

To reverse the decline in Official Development Assistance (ODA) flows to Africa and to meet the target level of ODA flows equivalent to 0.7 per cent of each developed country’s gross national product (GNP) within an agreed period. Increased aid flows will be used to complement funds released by debt reduction for accelerating the fight against poverty.

As obviously stated in NEPAD (2001), the economic motives have reinforced African leaders to realize and keep good governance, human right and democracy as preconditions. Hence, the leaders have interest to gain more development assistance while joining the APRM.

## **4.2 African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and Partner Institutions**

### **4.2.1 AU, NEPAD and APRM**

The pledge of AU to solve social, economic and political problems is clearly stated in the objectives of the Constitutive Act of the African Union. Like OAU, AU has inherited the long-lasting principles of Pan-Africanism. AU structure is recognized as more effective and strong which gives power for the continental institution than OAU. The establishment of PAP ensures the full participation of African peoples in the development and economic integration of the continent (AU, 2000: Art 17). It was a new step that aimed in broadening the political arena which was previously restricted and dominated by a few political elites. Furthermore, the Constitutive Act of AU (2000:Art 4(h)) has empowered the union to intervene in member states pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in presence of wars, genocide or other humanitarian crime despite its failure to normalize the conditions in Somalia and Mali.

Since its inauguration, AU has been taking measures to tackle the dilemma of Africa by notifying different documents and passed declarations. Notably, NEPAD is a long term vision of an African bold, owned and led development programme (Hope, 2005). It calls development partners to assist Africa to fulfil the required massive heavy investment funding under the best practices possible. The NEPAD documents has identified and put the causes for the backwardness of Africa and puts objectives to be put into practice to get out the continental from the problems. The initiative is governed by a Heads of States and Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC) composed of 20 member's countries from five sub-regions of the Africa. It lists good political, economic and corporate governance as a prerequisite to move forward in their quest for sustainable development (Hope, 2005). Since its establishment of NEPAD and the APRM, the question of harmonizing tasks among those interrelated and interconnected institutions of Africa is not addressed in a satisfactory manner. One of the current members of APR, Rashed (2013) stated that *“a need to strengthen the link with NEPAD programmes, and to enhance APRM engagement with the Regional and Sub-Regional Economic Communities in the continent, and other Pan African Institutions.”*

The relationship between AU and NEPAD is important to clearly understand the origin, structure and ownership of APRM. The structure of AU and NEPAD is not strongly integrated to implement the APRM. NEPAD is controlled and run by HSGIC, which meets once in every four months. The origin of NEPAD, as briefly discussed under chapter one, is the amalgamation of the Millennium Partnership for Africa's Recovery Programme (MPA), the OMEGA plan and Compact for African Recover. The main proponent of NEPAD, the South African president Thabo Mbeki, in a letter to the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Jean Chretien, argued that AU is the owner and responsible organ to implement the NEPAD (Gruzd, 2009a).

While the MPA and the OMEGA plan focused on mega-projects to develop and integrate the Africa, UNECA initiative of Global Compact for African Recover has come up with the idea of peer review as centre for African development. It was founded based on a mandate given by the African ministers of finance in 2000 (Akokpari, 2004). UNECA document has also taken ideas from the UN Millennium Declaration of September, which had set plans for development needs of Africa. The document stressed the urgent needs of creating solid foundation for democracy; conflict prevention and resolution eradication poverty, promoting sustainable development, debt cancellation; improved market access, improved capacity to resolve health related crisis and improved assistance. The Compact designed by ECA included means to deal with problems listed. So peer review is a response designed to improve governance in vice versa for better aid, trade, debt relief and investment from developed countries (Westhuizen, 2003).

According to scholars despite its establishment by UN to implement the neo-liberal doctrines, UNECA acts as the economic wing of OAU as well as AU. It has played a crucial role in institutionalizing the APRM. Therefore, as one expects the location of the headquarters of NEPAD and APRM to be in Addis Abeba, Ethiopia, nevertheless it is located in Mindrand, South Africa, unable to oversee the day-to-day activities of both NEPAD and APRM by AU (Akokpari, 2004). APRM have also been subjected to arguments about lines of authority (Gruzd, 2009a and Tawfic, 2004). The key problems that need to be addressed in process of integrating AU, NEPAD and APRM are the redundancy of documents and agreements. For instance, there is overlapping responsibility

that needs clear boundary line between APRM, the CSSDCA, the PSC and the ECOSOC. Unlike APRM, the CSSDCA, PSC and ECOSOC are signed by all AU member states. The overlapping responsibility among the various structures of AU will undermine the potential role of APRM for realizing socio-economic development and good governance.

The thematic areas covered by the APRM have been subjected to controversies. Some proponents of APRM suggested that APRM should have a limited scope in economic and corporate review while AU should be responsible for political review as South Africa foreign minister suggested (Cilliers, 2002). More strongly, Mbeki announced that political governance review was the jurisdiction of the AU and thus NEPAD and APRM would simply focus on economic performance (Taylor, 2005). This implies that African political elite are not ready to discuss on political affairs which oblige countries to surrender sovereignty at certain extent. AU commitment to make APRM all-inclusive is also slow process. There are a number of copies of the CRR available in the AU Commission library and resource center in 2014. This implicitly shows that the APRM and AU have been improving their relation despite the extent of using the report for decision making is insignificant. One of the informants stated that:

The APRM is a programme of NEPAD. NEPAD is a body in the African Union. The African Union Commission has been using the APRM reports. Further, APRM reports are point of reference while making decisions on the various governance and economic issues. They are also immediate reference material for the African Governance Architecture (Informant<sup>2</sup>, 24/03/2014).

But the sub-component of NEPAD, APRM will remain independent and housed in Midrand, South Africa, without representative at the AU headquarters office. The AU Summit in Sharmael-Sheikh, Egypt that with held in 2008 has enhanced the APRM status and urges closer integration with AU. The AU Assembly declared that:

It calls upon the government of the Republic of South Africa to grant all facilities to APRM for the discharge of its mandate; decides that APRM Structures, namely the APRM Forum, the APRM Panel and the APRM Secretariat shall be part of the processes and structures of the African Union; and requests the Commission to negotiate and conclude a host

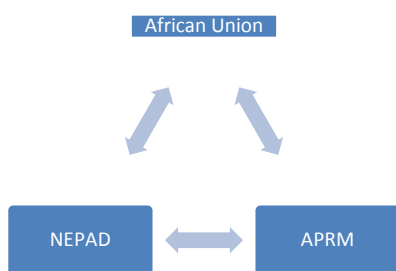
agreement, with the Government of the Republic of South Africa, for APRM with a view to facilitating the discharge of its mandate (Gruzd, 2009:9a).

Consequently, a series of discussions was held and finally a host agreement between South Africa government and AU was signed in October 2008. The agreement legalized the existence of APRM Secretariat formally in South Africa and also gave responsibility of AU will have to play role in the appointment of the director (Gruzd, 2009a). Besides, one of the informants stated that:

APRM is legally integrated to African Union but operationally different. The necessary rules and regulations were yet developed. The process needs independence to avoid the big mechanism from the manipulation of AU. AU political affairs team work with APRM (Informant<sup>1</sup>, 19/03/2014).

In short, as seen below in the model, APRM is acts as independent organ of AU and interact with various bilateral and multilateral institutions, including NEPAD. As it first design to evaluate the performance of countries under the NEPAD, it emerged as mechanism for AU to assess the deficits and best practices of countries in achieving political stability and economic growth.

Model: illustrating the relationship between AU, NEPAD and APRM.



Source: own illustration

It is one progressive development for APRM which previously seen as the NEPAD sub-component now succeeded in establishing it as separate and independent institution. It is an independent entity and instrument of AU to ensure good governance and sustainable socio-economic development. The hope that APRM rescues the Africa problem is highly

dependent on the level of elite's interest to use its feedback to create prudent socio-economic and political policies. Unless all AU member states accessed for the membership, it is logically and practically difficult to use the reports of APRM. AU members have no legal right to comment and participate in APR Forum. The AU has to facilitate conditions in which all members accessed for the APRM.

#### **4.2.2 APRM and Regional Economic Communities (RECs)**

The ambition for regional integration in Africa has been launched since the establishment of OAU in 1963. It has got momentum in the 1970s and 1980s. The African countries that have followed open-door policies since the early 1980s have paved the way for regional arrangement. The early regional integration policies stimulated by OAU were partly political vision of OAU and the import substitution policies. This aspiration is currently inherited by AU. It is a fact that in-ward-looking regional integration strategy has not worked in a manner expected by AU. There is aspiration among political elites to practically implement the regional integration than theoretical talk-shops. The RECs were originally created and formed only for economic reason has been incorporating political and security issues as a serious agenda in the institution (Kajee, 2005).

Although OAU and AU have launched many regional trading initiatives in the continent over the last several decades, Africa's markets remain poorly connected with each other. The share of Africa's intra-regional trade in total goods exports is just 12 percent, compared with 25 percent for the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, 65 percent for the European Union, and 49 percent for the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) bloc in 2011 (World Economic Forum, 2013). Although these estimates probably underreport the actual volume of trade because of the high levels of unregistered cross-border activity, survey results suggest that informal border flows may comprise up to 90 percent of trade (World Economic Forum, 2013). Therefore, APRM has important to realize the goal in relation to integration through sharing experience and adapting common policies. It is explicitly expressed under Consultative Act of AU (2000) that AU has a mandate to "co-ordinate and harmonize policies between existing and future RECs for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union".

The simple discussion on economic integration can't be realized without significant agreement on the political implications of the integration aspect. The Africa, solely enjoys sovereignty since 1960s, is not politically ready to surrender the independence to such a continental integration. The various AU institutions, especially APRM and RECs need the willingness of state to put partly their sovereignty and delegate power to sub-regional and continental levels (Kajee, 2005). As empowered in the Constitutive Act of AU (2000: art 5) that allows AU to intervene in internal affairs of members state and provided mandate for sanction against state when they fail to act to cope up with decisions and policies of union. Therefore, the APRM is a crucial instrument to identify and put recommendation in relation to the four thematic areas that facilitate the integration and development in the continent. It will also identify the obstacles of regional integration.

Apart from integrating and harmonizing its actions with the existing RECs, it is difficult to get meaningful contribution from APRM for regional integration. As Kajee (2005) strongly argues NEPAD and APRM have been placed at weak status as far as regional structure is considered. However, the appropriate utilization of existing RECs has facilitated the works and decreases the financial constraints on the peer review process; they are not invited and involved in the process. They can also support the Secretariat, Eminent Panel and CRT by making reports on the actual political and economic realities on respective regions and states.

RECs can work on key concern areas of APRM; intra-and extra-conflict controlling mechanism, curbing corruption and improving infrastructure delivery (Kajee, 2005). In this regard, one of the informants stated that:

Integration is one of the crosscutting areas stressed in the APRM. The APRM has discussed and put recommendations to facilitate the regional integration in the continent. It cannot push countries to be integrating but advice and put recommendation to use the benefits provide through integration (Informant<sup>1</sup>, 19/03/2014).

The AU have to clearly set procedures for the RECs to use the policy standards issued by APRM through speeding up its full integration in AU structure and enabling all of the members to accessed to APRM. APRM guideline on governance and economic issues are

ingredient to put into practice the vision of forming African Economic Community. Therefore, RECs have to use the standards of good governance and socio-economic development of APRM rather than formulating new code to ensure their activities in respective regions. In 2004, SADC Summit in Mauritius did issue a new guideline on free election but did not provide links with the APRM (Kajee, 2005). Since the achievements and realization of the goals of AU depends on the extent of citizens' engagement in regional and continental initiatives, APRM has provided opportunity to utilize the consent of various stakeholders. APRM attempted to put remarks on individual countries performance and role in facilitating the regional integration.

The CRR has also identified problems in reviewed countries and put necessary recommendation to facilitate and speed up regional integration. It identifies both best practices and problems to be addressed to integrate the reviewed country into regional economy. According to the APRM CRR of Ethiopia (2011) the country has been increasing intra-COMESA total trade since 2000 and its Airlines has established sufficient flights to other COMESA member states over the year. The APRM report has also indicated the possible solution to avoid the potential domination of economically strong states over weak state. It is impossible for neighbouring countries of South Africa to compete through introducing free trade agreement while the country accounts for approximately 40% of all industrial output, over half of all generating electricity and 45% of mineral production in Africa (APRM CRR of South Africa, 2007). The CRR has appreciated the South Africa government attempts to create fair-trade in the region.

The involvement and the participation of people in the integration process have still at low level. The government of Africa has tried very low to inform its people over what is going on the executive and legislative branch. According to APRM CRR of Ghana (2005:71) the authorities explain that the Ministry of Regional Cooperation and NEPAD keep the citizens well informed about government activities in regional integration efforts and not enter into any agreement without the needed support from the people of Ghana. In recent decades, the role of private sector is engine to generate economic growth. Therefore, the government has to introduce the opportunities provided by the regional integration for the private sector. One of the informants stated that:

Since countries came from different regions and sit together to review, indirectly, it has contributing to the integration through providing a new experience. The governments in their respective country have to inform the agreements and benefits to the local people. They have to create enabling environment for the people to share values and take part in economic activities (Informant<sup>2</sup>, 24/03/2014).

Therefore, the process has identified the potential benefits of regional integration in respective countries. The APRM CRR has showed that the participation of RECs in the process will not only help the AU to achieve the African Economic-Community but also identify benefits and losses being the member of RECs.

#### **4.2.3 APRM and Bilateral and Multilateral Institutions**

As briefly highlighted in chapter two, the APR Forum agreed to work in collaboration with different partner's institutions of AU. Accordingly, UNECA, ADB and other AU Commissions are important partner institutions in the realization of APRM objectives, standards and indicators (APRM O &P, 2003: 8). Despite the importance of these, the APRM documents have not explicitly indicated the role of external development partners. As the APRM O &P (2003: 10) implicitly stated that the APRM will work with a wider range of Partner Institutions, including those that set international standards, oversight institutions, African research and policy institutions engaged in policy advisory services. It has ready to work with institutions that would respect and protect the full ownership of Africa over the APRM. Therefore, the two UN socio-economic development institutions, ECA and UNDP have closely working institutions with it.

The contribution of UNECA has begun in bringing the ideas of peer review through including it in the Compact document. It is the one who get privilege to take part in review process. The ECA has also played important role in creating awareness on APRM through launching training and guidelines for various stakeholders. It has provided extensive technical and strategic support to the APR Panel of Eminent Persons, the APRM Secretariat and the APRM participating countries at each of the five stages of the review process. It has prepared various guidelines and documents that facilitate the work of APRM. Besides, its pioneering work in creating Africa-specific indicators on governance

helped to formulate the comprehensive questionnaire for the APRM CSAR. In many of the APRM participating countries, the National Research Institutions became the Technical Research Institutions (TRIs) to conduct the national self assessment reports (ECA, 2013b).

Besides, the UN has expressed the strong support and commitment for the realization of APRM. As Ban Ki-moon's (2013) stated that the UN remains committed to supporting the APRM and the NEPAD. While the APRM does work for governance, NEPAD does roadmap for socio-economic development. The two programs have been helping Africa to advance along the path of democracy and development to benefit the continent's people. The UN has belief on the potential benefits on APRM. Furthermore, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's (2013) stated that:

The APRM has identified a number of areas where African countries need to improve. It showed the need to better manage natural resources, stop corruption, end xenophobia, address youth unemployment and take action against organized crime and terrorism. Above all, the APRM points to the critical need to halt unconstitutional changes in government and, when they happen, to respond robustly in defence of principle. Ten years ago, the APRM was a bold initiative that showed the world that African leaders were ready to take action on difficult and sensitive problems of governance and democracy. Ten years on, this approach has proven its value (States News Service, October 21, 2013).

Since the inauguration of APRM, there are a number of UN organs working closely with it. The UN has also established special adviser on African affairs. Despite the UN and its specialized organs role on ensuring the existence and continuity of APRM process, they have not played any role during the review discussion. Therefore, the role of UN is supportive and capacity development for the institute. Maged Abdelaziz, UN Under-Secretary-General and Special Adviser on Africa, stated that:

We are considered a partner, but we do not play any role in the evaluations, because this is an inter-African mechanism. But we can provide advice and support if needed for improvement of one aspect or another. In the intermediate period between the initial report and the answering report, if there is anything that the United Nations can support, usually we do that. (UN News Centre, 2013).

The material and capacity building training provided by the UN has played decisive role in ensuring the continuity of the program. It is a fact that UN institutions have conducted annual review on different aspects of socio-economic and political governance to produces critical and independent reports.

#### **4.2.4 APRM and Civil Societies**

The participation of civil society has been increasing in a number of African countries. Despite the weak and heavily dependent on the financial gifts of the developed country, the role of civil society is not negligible in achieving broad based-development and strengthening effective democratic governance in Africa. African civil societies are handicapped to pursue their own power to mobilize the domestic resource for the development. The participation of civil society is minimal in formulating and designing policies in Africa. Even through NEPAD and APRM have rooms for civil society participation, rather there are only HSG invited to put their input in the discussions. Instead, civil society, intellectuals and the broad masses of the people, who are committed to African economic and political cooperation and integration than their leaders, should be closely associated with and play an active role in the process (Development Policy Management Forum, 2002).

In the 21<sup>st</sup> C, African political elites attempted to hear the voice of their people and civil societies in their continental issues. Significantly, at the initial stages of the peer review process, the APRM recognizes the importance of a fully inclusion of different stakeholder in consecutive discussion sessions (ECA, 2005). The APR Team will interact and consult extensively with government and state officials, business, labour, civil society, non-state institutions, the media and private citizens in the preparation of background materials and a

CSAR process (APRM O&P, 2003:13). The participation of civil society in the APRM is strongly incorporated in the core documents of the mechanism. The Objectives, Standards, Criteria and Indicators for the APRM (2003:2) states that:

The overarching goal of the APRM is..... achieved through the sustained efforts of the country itself, involving all stakeholders. It requires that each country carefully develops a Programme of Action with time bound objectives and linked to national budgets to guide all stakeholders in the actions required by all – government, private sector, and civil society – to achieve the country’s vision.

The guiding documents of the process have not only invited the participation of civil societies in preparation and implementation of NPoA but also to give feedback in the socio-economic and good governance performance of countries during actual visit of the country by the CRT. Although the APRM defines a number of terms, the definition of civil society is not explicitly made in any of the official APRM documents. The closest reference to a definition of civil society that can be found in the APRM Self-Assessment Master Questionnaire, where reference is made to “Stakeholders” which according to the document includes “...*all the representative constituencies in a community including but not limited to government, civil society, trade unions, youth, private sector, women’s groups and religious organizations*” (APRM Self- Assessment Master Questionnaire, 2003).

Masterson (2007) has identified three areas that APRM has failed to define civil societies. First, APRM’s definition is not clear whether civil society conceptualized as separate from the trade unions, youth and etc. or whether these groups are part of civil society. Secondly, in constituting the APRM at national level, the mandate is given for participant states to define who takes part in the review process. Thirdly, there are a number of non-state organizations, stakeholders and actors that one not captured in this definition but influential and disadvantaged groups in African domestic politics, including ethnic minorities, people living with disabilities, research institutions, universities, cultural organizations and others. Therefore, the past peer review lessons has given three important implications for the civil society participation in APRM. First, civil society has a propensity of waiting up for call until the government officially announce the programme. Second, the readiness of civil

society to use the opportunity provided by the APRM to pressure their government rehearsal in political, social and economic policy development is insignificant. Third, the active attachment civil societies in the country self-assessment, preparation of programme of action and country review team is important to get credible and all-inclusive report at the end of the process (Herbert, 2007).

The AU as well as APRM have to augment the participation of civil societies through advocating awareness creation on the program. Herbert (2007) has also identified a strategy for constructive and effective role of civil society in the APRM. In order to get objective assessments, the appropriate representation of civil society is crucial in NGC. The establishment of clear and objective rules help the council to act fairly and transparently. A more rigorous approach is needed to produce critical report which is supported by evidence from different interest groups. As far as the target of APRM is to identify the deficits of government to take action, civil society will reflect the basic problems of governance and would find out community-based solutions. They can also talk to CRT and assist them through providing authentic evidence and indicate areas ignored in CSAR. Since APRM has a recycling process, civil society should seek to influence the government in subsequent annual progress report every year and the entire review which supposed to be repeated every two or four years.

APRM is the first of its kind in which the performance of the government assessed through the participation of civil societies at national level. It is also bold document which strongly requests the engagement of civil society in addressing governance issues in the continent. But the inclusion of civil society in NGC is different across the country completed the first peer review process. Except in very few countries, the NGC is entirely dominated by the government officials and civil society that strongly associated with ruling elites. Rwanda and surprisingly South Africa appear to have had the most government-controlled national commissions while the national governance council of Ghana and Benin is predominantly dominated by civil societies (Tungwarara, 2010). The two countries assigned effective and creditable think-tanks to collect information on each thematic area. In the case of Ethiopia, among 23 members of Ethiopian NGCs, four government, four opposition parties, one Developing region, four private sectors, nine civil societies and one academia are

represented. The CRM also held discussions with non-stake stakeholder groups, including private sector representatives, civil society organisations, women's groups and political parties. CRM visited five regions and two city administrations from 9 to 16 September 2009. The CRM met with women's groups, youth, people with disabilities, elderly, minority groups, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), academia, media, small businesses, faith-based organisations (FBOs), trade unions, private sector operators and community-based organisations (CBOs). They gave perspectives on governance and development in Ethiopia (APRM CRR of Ethiopia, 2011).

Ethiopia NGC was merely a nominal entity and its functional activities were controlled by its chair and the secretariat. Its composition and representatives of various civil societies were determined by government which undermine its independence and credibility. The independent and strong civil societies and other important stakeholders, including representatives of the media, children, people living with HIV/Aids and persons with disabilities were not properly represented in the NGC. For instance, women's associations were represented by three seats which are established by the will and interest of the government. Although they took part in discussion, they were failed to contribute due to communication barrier. The master questions neither interpreted nor translators to the local language they well understand. Besides, the declaration of civil society law in 2009 has hampered the independent organisations that dealing with governance and security matters in the country. The law states that the organizations that receive over 10% of their income from external sources cannot be registered as Ethiopian entities and hence are denied a legal identity (Tigist and Medhane, 2011).

APRM process involves a variety of stakeholders to take part in the discussion process but the time constraint denies its credibility and efficiency of their contribution in the final report of the CRR. Very short discussion was organized with the national parliament and other stakeholders; half day session was arranged and organized to discuss on four thematic areas (APRM CRR of Ethiopia, 2011). Another major problem is the difficulties of involving all representative civil society in the review process. The evidence in the reviewed country has failed to involve influential civil society. African governments remain suspicious of NGOs and CBOs and have devised several ways to neutralise their

effective participation. Most participants were carefully selected due to their pro-government approach. Furthermore, NGOs and CBOs provide little information due to lack of clear awareness on the APRM. There is a need for NEPAD and APRM to give civil society a greater role than it now plays and for it to be actively involved in drawing up the final review report (Fombad and Kebonang, 2006:53).

The other critical question raised against the APRM is that the participation of organized civil society groups in the processes of APRM does not ensure the voice of rural poor people heard in the process. The reviewed countries have reluctant to translate the APRM documents to local language that easily understand in various conferences organized at the national level. Especially, the South Africa translated into 11 official languages, namely, Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Pedi, Sotho, Swati, Tshonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu (Mbelle, 2010 and Mukamunana, 2006). In South Africa, a consecutive discussion has been conducted between authorities and civil society to involve them in the post review process (Hansungule, 2014). Those countries that completed the review process were immediately dissolved the NGC and give the mandate for the Focal Point to run issues related to APRM. The process was receiving little attention after completion of the review report. It was also regarded as final day of ending the involvement of civil societies in the process. Despite its flaws, nobody will deny the fact that the peer review system should represent a major opportunity for civil society to hold leaders accountable for their public promises (Frempong, 2005).

### **4.3 The Benefits of APRM**

The APRM reviews would be conducted periodically in the participating member states to ascertain if their policies and practices show progress in the achievement of agreed upon goals and to check whether they comply with agreed upon political, economic and corporate governance values. The process would also aim at ascertaining if the codes and standards as outlined in the NEPAD declaration implemented (Makgalancheche, 2006:73). The APRM has the potential to bring remuneration to improve the political and socio-economic governance in the continent if it put into practice. According to Africa Recovery (2003:10) the APRM is mainly aiming to:

- ❖ Improve the standards of human rights;
- ❖ Improve and enhance economic management;
- ❖ Use peer review scrutiny and pressure to induce the adoption of good practices and to adhere to agreed codes and standards;
- ❖ Monitor and track progress towards agreed NEPAD goals and codes of standards;
- ❖ Assess how good practices can be effectively transferred to other African states;
- ❖ Ensure that policies are based on the best current knowledge and /or the practical experience of peer countries;
- ❖ Improve conflict resolution;
- ❖ Identify, evaluate and disseminate good practices;
- ❖ Enhance African ownership of the development agenda and
- ❖ Identify capacity gaps and recommend approaches to address identified gaps

In this section, the actual and potential benefits of African Peer Review Mechanism are discussed in detail.

#### **4.3.1 Improve Leadership and Democratic Governance**

The APRM reflects the ultimate commitment of African leaders to act according to the basic tenants of democracy and good governance. In the 1980s, good governance has been singled out as the major factor to bring real sustainable social and economic development on the continent; the APRM has potential in institutionalizing the principles of good governance in Africa. NEPAD and APRM have reflected strong commitment to realize socio-economic development through applying good governance. Furthermore, the APRM is a comprehensive assessment mechanism which encourages African states to adopt policies and practices of good governance to bring the long dreamed political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated regional and continental integration on the continent (Mukamunana, 2006). Since APRM provide opportunity for dialogue and sharing experience between participating countries of Africa, it enables them to identify their weakness and find solution to fight against poverty and underdevelopment through taking collective action. African politicians frequently compete by appealing to ethnic and regional representation in national government rather than advocating particular policy changes to give up poverty and underdevelopment. The APRM offers an opportunity

to change this political dynamic and focus the national conversation on progress and policy (Herbert and Gruzd, 2008).

The world experience shows that democracy and good governance cannot be achieved without the popular participation of the people. In most countries of Africa, the public transparency and accountability is poor. APRM has potential in enhancing participation of citizens to keep the government transparent and accountable through providing reliable and detail information. Since transparency positively correlated with good governance, APRM socialize it through producing quality, reliable, unbiased and fair reports on the performance of countries. The APRM will expose public official's accountability in African countries (African Quarterly, 2009 and Hope, 2005). Therefore, organizations would assist to gather information that would be used to arrive at logical conclusions regarding a country's position in performing socio-economic and political governance (Makgalancheche, 2006:73).

#### **4.3.2 Enhancing Partnership and Cooperation**

Unlike African development initiatives, NEPAD has given emphasis on the development of partnerships between Africa and its bilateral and multilateral partners. APRM assessment offers African countries have agreed to fight corruption, strengthen their institutions, adopt market-oriented policies, respect human rights and the rule of law and spend more on the needs of the poor through the support of rich countries. The latter have to enhance their contribution in areas of trade, aid, investment, and debt relief. The G8 countries express their commitment to support NEPAD and the APRM at their 2002 Summit which released a G8 Africa Action Plan. The plan acknowledge the assurance made by Africa's leaders in emphasizing good governance and human rights as essential preconditions for Africa's revival as well as their focus on investment-driven economic growth and economic governance as the engine for poverty reduction (Hope, 2005). Moreover, the APRM process would be used by the G8 countries to inform their considerations of eligibility for enhanced partnerships (Taylor, 2005). They asked the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) to look for opportunities of monitoring and surveillance mechanisms which provided by the NEPAD and APRM. The rich countries have promised "enhance partnership" if

Africa countries hold themselves to the principles of democratic and economic reforms through self-monitoring instrument of APRM (Hope, 2005).

The APRM has also received quite sympathetic responses from the EU, European Employers' Associations (which hope for more public-private partnerships in Africa), the OECD, the WB, the IMF and the UN. The UN not only approved the NEPAD and its APRM but also validated their principles to high degree. For example, in September 2002, the UN General Assembly decided that the UN's own policies for Africa will henceforth be based on the NEPAD goals (Hope, 2005). Although the bilateral and multilateral donors introduce policies that designed to increase financial flow to Africa, especially Paris Declaration, Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC), the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGDOA), the Everything-But-Arms and the Cotonou Preferences, APRM has to harmonize and integrate its assessment to be more reliable and acceptable. It has potential in increasing the financial flow that already earmarked and pledges made by DCs to help Africa in its development efforts signal that the new partnership and the policies of good governance that underpins the APRM will ultimately bear fruits (Mukamunana, 2006). Moreover, one of my informants stated that:

The APRM will replace the previous attempt of AU program known as 'African Innovative Work' through enable countries to adopt from each other. It not only focused on the good and best practices but also why countries fail to achieve progress in the socio-economic development and good governance (Informant<sup>2</sup>, 24/03/2014).

The informant described that APRM has been creating opportunity for Africa to learn from their own experience that they easily accommodate into domestic context. The HSG have share and adopt the new experience from Africa that had been looking and adapting good practice from developed countries for a long centuries.

As the new initiative, the APRM has also potential in enhancing the South-South cooperation to share and learn experience. According to Tungwarara (2010:7) the APRM provides an interesting and exceptional pattern of South-South peer review. No other regional grouping has committed itself to similar peer review on political as well as economic governance issues. So APRM will bring African countries together to learn

lessons from each other on the four thematic areas that stressed in the APRM base document and NEPAD. It will foster and accredit the good governance and socio-economic development experience from the continent.

### **4.3.3 Accelerating Regional Integration Process**

Mukamunana (2006) stated that APRM as a mechanism that helps subscribed countries to adopt good policies and best practices of governance can contribute towards the achievement of regional integration goals in various ways. First, the political governance review of the APRM seeks to foster the adoption of policies and mechanisms to prevent and reduce all types of intra- and inter-country conflicts. The peer review will reduce the civil conflicts and wars, which have claimed million of African lives, displaced people and destroyed economies. Second, the economic and corporate policy reforms suggested in the NEPAD and the APRM are important to creating conducive environment for FDI, improve the macroeconomic environment, boosting economic growth and intra-regional trade and economic integration. It is accelerated regional integration by encouraging the harmonization of monetary, trade and investment policies among participating states. Third, the NEPAD and APRM are recognized to accelerate the process of regional integration by using some of their aid packages advance African countries as integrated regions instead of single units.

The end of Cold War has reduced the ideological differences all over the world. Therefore, Africa has been accepted that good governance as precondition to spring rapid socio-economic and corporate governance. The AU various declaration, implicitly and explicitly, acknowledged the neoliberal economic reforms as the only way to realize rapid socio-economic and corporate governance (Hope, 2005). They embraced the tenets of neoliberal economy in NEPAD and APRM which make the two programs more popular and accepted in the west than the people of Africa. AU urges the RECs to establish free trade area which will facilitate condition for the political integration. One of the informants stated that:

The role of APRM for facilitating the regional process is significant. Since it create opportunity for countries to discuss each other from different regions, it has indisputable

role facilitating the process. For instance, when Ethiopia reviewed, Nigeria, Benin and Algeria who came from different regions reflect on the report (Informant<sup>2</sup>, 24/03/2014).

Therefore, APRM, which mainly used AU and UN documents as indicative criteria, has played an indisputable role in institutionalizing the universal accepted principles of good governance and socio-economic development in Africa to promote regional integration based on shared and agreed standards.

#### **4.3.4 Enhance Public Trust**

The inauguration of APRM has demonstrated the shift in the governance trend that previously outcasted the involvement of people and civil societies in governance issues to more attention on the people and partners. It is the benchmark in history of African states' endeavour to make the governance more democratic, responsive, transparent and accountable. Civil societies always urged African states to take economic and political reforms to improve economic and political governance. Civil societies have got involved in the process at a minimal level. It is recognized that APRM has great potential in building and strengthening the culture of popular participation in decision making, which is essential for the consolidation of democracy and good governance in Africa. The participation of civil society to take part in national affairs is not only dependent on the government-provided opportunities but also on the readiness of civil societies to use the occasion provided by the APRM (Mukamunana, 2006).

Unlike other initiatives which were predominantly occupied by political elites, APRM is a paradigm shift in opening up political space for civil societies and the people of Africa in their respective countries. It also invites the HSGs to make comprehensive decisions on sovereign countries' performance on socio-economic and political governance. The OAU as well as AU development initiatives have limitations to embrace the private sectors. But the APRM has attempted to create a mechanism of popular participation in Africa. Kajee (2013) stated that *“by ‘mainstreaming’ governance through the APRM process, citizens were equipped with the opportunity to have a voice in identifying governance projects which are prioritized for peer review and assistance.”* She also stated that the APRM process has made a noteworthy contribution to the realisation of the rights of people to

participate meaningfully in their self-development which enshrined in the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development (1990).

The past eleven years of APRM has given important lessons to make sure that its contribution for the development of Africa depends on the extent of the program received public trust and acceptance. For the people of Africa, the continent is the first destination site for the community of Diaspora and local investors. Africa is seen by many as a risk area but for Africans, Africa should be a major opportunity for investment, hence the NEPAD and APRM have to level the playing fields for investor confidence (Makgalancheche, 2006:77). It enhances the public trust through involving different stakeholders in the process. One of the informants stated that:

APRM is the first and the only experience that internationally open dialogue to hear the voice of people. It obliges HSGs to be carefully reviewed and not judge other country learns and others share experience. Before the reports will be validated at APR Forum, the CRT go everywhere in the country that open up dialogue. Therefore, the reports will highlights the areas that countries can give attention and forgotten (Informant<sup>2</sup>, 24/03/2014).

Since the APRM has requires and open up political discussion among different stakeholders, it plays important role in bearing national consensus. It have enabled key stakeholders to exchange information and build a national dialogue on good governance and socio-economic development programmes, thereby increasing transparency of the decision-making process and building trust in the pursuit of national development goals (Gedion, 2013).

#### **4.3.5 Strengthening Capacity**

While globalization requires strong, competitive and efficient institutions take advantages provided, in recent decades, the individuals, public sector, private sector, civil society and local communities' institutions capacity are generally weak though out Africa. They have incapable to develop and implement the appropriate policies for poverty reduction, sustainable development and maintain good governance. Through APRM, capacity

constraints will be identified and recommendations offered to develop capacity to sustain development and improve governance (Hope, 2005). Therefore, APRM enables states to design coherent policies which are high prospect for achieving good governance and sustainable development.

It is undeniable fact that the eleven years of APRM journey has diagnosed and highlighted systemic and structural issues that affect most African states in their governance systems and pose barriers to sustainable economic growth and development. Kajee (2013) has identified management of religious and ethnic diversity, land and resource governance, corruption, elections and electoral management and mismanagement of human capital and resources are the major issues the APRM country review report stressed.

### **APRM and “Indigenous” Socio-Economic and Political Realities in Africa**

Except the short review of African Quarterly (2009) and Hansungule (2014), other writers have dared suggest the concept of peer review may have African origin. As they suggested that most of concepts of peer review written have tended to see it as European construct which makes it very hard to sell in Africa. However, literature on early African society abundantly shows that the contrary. Peer review is not an alien concept in African civilisation. But the concept of peer review in traditional African society has found in practices of peer review in African age-groups as a common phenomenon. The traditional rulers those who belong to same age-groups gathered together for counsel, advice or direction to ensure their community peace and security. Therefore, peer review in its original sense is an African invention used to ensure a stable governance system in traditional African society before colonialism. As a social value, APRM has maintaining individual and community peace and security through maintaining social cohesion and equilibrium. It needs further and deep investigation of indigenous socio-cultural practices of African community so as to give deep insight of socio-cultural base of APRM.

Before the advent of colonial power, the traditional institutions had played very important role in keeping the social cohesion and unity among the society. The colonial powers had divided the same ethnic group into different territory which had aggravated the conflicts in post colonial Africa. The uneven economic growth and infrastructure developments,

disfavouring certain ethnic groups, fragmentation of modes production and institutional governance and the existence of parallel system of governance have also aggravated the problems in the post colonial Africa (ECA, 2011b). All of the problems inherited by the independent African states have remained intact in the post colonial periods. As it recognized that yet African countries established political, economic, social and cultural governance system to accommodate the interest and aspirations of its diverse identity groups and enable the various groups to cooperate and compete peacefully (ECA, 2011:17b).

However, the traditional values are essential to set up normative standards to indicate the qualities of governance as good or bad, right or wrong. They are also imperative to modern African states; the norms, moral standards and principles in politics and governance in the continent are guideline for practice. Those values have sometimes played destructive and constructive role (ECA, 2011b). Therefore, policies programmers have to consider the traditional values that deep rooted in their society and mobilize the rural community where the majority African people survive.

The natural and historical factors have made Africa the most politically divided continent on earth having rich culture and varied colonial experience than any other continent. It has 54 states and 104 international boundaries. The condition was also aggravated by the ill-designed policies of colonial power to achieve their short term objectives. The colonial masters and the post-colonial independent leaders of Africa ignored the indigenous traditional political institutions. The former mainly destroyed the traditional political institutions because they are instrumental in galvanizing anti-liberation movement. The latter, rather than looking solution from existing traditional values system to solve problems, in many African countries such as Uganda, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Brandi, Guinean and Lesotho, a new generation of republican, radical and progressive elites, in the name of “progress and democracy”, popular sovereignty, socialism and secular politic orders abolished, killed or overthrown the traditional rulers and governance system. Subsequently, they pushed the respective countries into prolonged violent and bloody civil wars, authoritarian rule, political chaos, economic insecurity and widespread misery in 1970s and 1980s (Hansungule, 2014). The traditional political institutions not only have mobilized the

ethnic and social bases of leadership but also defined the identity of whole population. Many of primordial markers of identity group, such as race, ethnicity, religion, language and kinship, have contributed specific community to develop its own identity make-up that easily separate them from others (ECA, 2011b and Hansungule, 2014).

To accommodate the “indigenous” traditional institutions, the AU has demonstrated a compelling vision for the norms and values of democratic governance on the continent in its founding Constitutive Act, APRM, the AU Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption and the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance as well as the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR) (Gedion, 2013). The existences of traditional institutions in the absence of modern institutions have played important roles on Africa, where modern institutions are odd and inaccessible to majority who live in rural of Africa (ECA, 2011b). Empowering or transforming these institutions is mandate of respective countries that participated in the APRM process. One of the informants stated that:

Since APRM has given autonomous for the reviewed country, it is the national government mandate to adopt the master question into their domestic context. Further, the APRM questionnaires are very comprehensive which attaches every aspect of socio-economic and political governance of Africa. (Informant<sup>2</sup>, 24/03/2014).

Although Africa has attempted to respect their values in different ratified documents, an intrinsic governance value of Africa have not been effectively communicated at regional and international level. Communicating and establishing appreciation for African particularities, contexts and perspectives would enhance the image of the continent on the development and application of governance values. This requires an Africa’s engagements in regional and global dialogue platforms. In this regard, it is vital to consolidate action on APRM and the proposed African Governance Platform as a mechanism to facilitate information flows, coordination and evaluation of the implementation of common normative rules and standards pertinent to promote governance values in the continent (Gedion, 2013). The APRM reports see diversity as resource rather than a problem if it managed properly. It also recognizes the governance deficit may lead into violent conflict

(ECA, 2011b). The attempts have done to embrace the indigenous traditional system to cope up with the modern democracy in a very few countries. Rwanda, Ghana and the South Africa have tried to include their ethnic chiefs in central government system. The government of Botswana have the most succeeded country through accommodating the indigenous traditional institutions into modern system. The central government of Botswana have shared and delegated responsibility to chieftaincy based on representation by lesser chiefs and elected district councils. Local government consists 9 elected district council. They have managed to build and domesticate values and practices. It helps the country to evolve a more stable political development through adopting multi-party system. Besides, it has also helped the country to maintain good or better economic and human rights records (Hansungule, 2014).

The attempts of Botswana and others have revealed that the traditional indigenous institutions are compatible with modern system rather than competitive. The African indigenous traditional institutions incorporated the core principles of good governance (transparency, accountability, responsiveness and election) and exercised the concept of peer review before OECD or other international institutions have neither empowered nor involved (Dejene and Yigremew, 2009). Unfortunately, APRM has failed to embrace the existing social capital that strength its role and acceptance among the majority of people of Africa.

Thus, it is imperative for governments to assess and find out workable policies that cope up with the existing values and norms of Africa before adapting and adopting the socio-economic development and political governance. Institutions that have a relatively short history or that have not yet gained widespread acceptance are more vulnerable to challenge and less apt to influence action (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996). In order to anchor modern institutions, the local realities of Africa should be considered. As Ake (1993) argue democracy has to be recreated in the context of the given realities and political arrangements which fits the cultural context, but without degrading its universal values and inherent principles. In decentralizing state power, Africa should ensure the democracy they have opted to consider the ethnic groups, nationalities and communities. Democratic governance is needed to serve as a theoretical basis for the APRM in order to meet the

democratic needs of the African continent (Tawfic, 2003). Africa need the type of democracy that reflect the vital interest of social base which stress increase of social and economic rights. Africa democracy is unique that reflect the socio-cultural realities of Africa. Africa is the place where communal life is not eroded while the western values penetrating deep through liberal democracy model. The type of participation in Africa requires communal participation rather than individual, which is silent feature of western based liberal democracy. African sense of participation requires active involvement in a process that of setting goals and making decisions (Ake, 1993). Looking the African democracy from the liberal perspective has given a low-level of nation and state-building and fragmentation of its modes of production and institutional system in Africa. Therefore, building democratic institutions consistently require contextualization of the democratization process and building an infrastructure to sustain it (ECA, 2011b). APRM has to be open up space to include indigenous and community-based civil societies since they have play critical role in shaping and influencing socio-economic and political practices at community level. One of my informants stated that:

APRM is comprehensive documents so as to cover the whole practices of countries socio-economic and good governance. Since APRM is not strict rules which guides countries evaluation, the reviewed country has mandate to adapt questionnaires into their national context. For instance, the Rwanda report has identified the gacaca justice which is different and reflects the traditional values of the society. The reviewed countries have also take consideration not to miss the original meaning and objective while interpreting questionnaire in to local language to glorify what they have. (Informant<sup>1</sup> , 19/03/2014).

The Revised APR Questionnaires (2008) states that the management of inequality, competition and unfair exploitation of natural resources, ethnic, religious and other diversities are important to minimize potential sources of conflict in the reviewed country. The mismanagement of those issues negatively harms the country's peace, stability and security. The APRM questionnaires have also given emphasis to the freedom of religion.

The revised questionnaires have also included the environmental issues that affect primarily the rural and marginalized groups seriously.

The countries have critically considered while designing national policies that linked with traditional values of the society. As the APRM CRR of Ethiopia (2011) appreciated the positive and creative utilization traditional value of ethnicity for democracy and development base while it negatively perceived as source of conflict in most countries of Africa. It also recommended country to look over other identity types and traditional values. It has also heightening ethnic tension and potential conflict that would be occurring.

In order to be actively engaged in the globalization, countries make sure that indigenous traditional institutions and values empowered and transformed to stronger and competitive in global economy. One of informants stated that:

World is a global community that no part of world operate isolation. For any country to be relevant in global economy, it must embrace the political and economic reality of world. APRM evaluates how African members countries working on transparency, accountability and participation. The pre-colonial African chiefs had indigenous values of political system and utilize citizen's consultation and discussed issues of village. The village leaders meet at time and give an account. It has different mechanism to keep their leaders accountable and transparent. Hence, APRM has incorporated together the global trends of APRM. Therefore, to significant extent, the APRM reflect traditional values of African.( Informant<sup>2</sup>, 24/03/2014).

The APRM, therefore, has to reflect and embrace the indigenous values of Africa without lacking globally accepted principles of good governance and economic and corporate governance principles.

#### **4.5 The Instruments of African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)**

Since its official establishment in 2003, the instrument used to monitor and implement the recommendation of APRM are open for debate. Despite its critiques, the APRM have

completed 17 countries review process and forwarded recommendations to be improved in the successive progress reports. The APRM is a voluntary monitoring mechanism that relies on dialogue, peer pressure and sharing experience. It meant all members states of AU are eligible to accede to the APRM by signing the MoU. The APRM MoU (2003:5) accepts that constructive peer dialogue and persuasion would be exercised, where necessary, in order to encourage improvements in country practices and policies in compliance with agreed African and institutional best practices recommended.

The APRM Base document (2003:para24) stated that those reviewed countries shows a demonstrable will to rectify the identified shortcomings, the APR Forum will provide what assistance they can, urge donors and agencies to come to the assist the country reviewed. It meant that the assistance and measure will depends on political commitment and readiness of reviewed countries to accept and implement the recommendation of APR Forum and APR Panel. Further, the APRM MoU (2003:para 32) stated that the participating countries may terminate their participation in APRM by giving written notice to this effect to the NEPAD Secretariat, which in turn will inform the participating states in writing. Nevertheless, if participating countries failed to take corrective measures to rectify identified shortcomings, the participating HSGs wish to put the government on notice of their collective intention to proceed with ‘appropriate measures’ by a given date (APRM Base document, 2003: para24). Each of the APRM documents failed to specifically indicate the necessary ‘appropriate measures’ in the case of unwillingness of states to put into practice the recommendations provided in CRR. Indeed, ‘these vague measures neither penalizes a country for an unfavourable review nor provides it with incentives to undertake the recommendations of the review or take steps to avoid an unfavourable review’ (Taylor, 2005:12).

However, due to the voluntary nature of the whole process, the participating countries did not actually implement the APRM recommendations of the Panel and Forum. Thus, if state elites were to go back on the recommendations based on the CRR, there is no checking mechanism verifies them actually undertaking it (Taylor, 2005). The APRM has not only limitations to take action when the states failed to implement recommendations but also

failed to indicate the appropriate measures to be taken when states unable to contribute the annual budget support to the institution as they agreed in MoU.

In the eleven years of its practice, some methodological questions still wait solutions to be addressed. The revision of APRM master questionnaires is one step in avoiding the redundancy of objectives and questions. The mass media freedom and environmental issues which were forgotten in the first question included in the revised questionnaires. Since the contents of APRM are continental vision, the voluntary nature of accession in the programmes had hindered and undermined its effectiveness. Of course, the voluntary nature is done to give freedom of states to decide over their membership. Kobo Busia, the head of UNECA's APRM Support Unit, said that:

The idea of making it voluntary was related to Africa's history of reforms imposed from outside without success. The Compact provided a vision of what Africans can do for themselves (democracy, governance, peace, security) and then what the international community can do for Africa in terms of transformed aid. The context of Africa's historical development trajectory vis-à-vis donor interventions cannot be lost in this debate. If you review all the documents put forth by the ECA from the LPA to the Compact, the issue of donor dependency and the confounding of Africa's development has been an underlying message (APRM Newsletter, 2011).

APRM is criticised as 'lack teeth' (Akopari, 2004; Cilliers, 2003:14; Herbert, 2003:3; and Kajee 2004:12). They criticised that APRM lack strong mechanism to monitor and evaluate the performance of country and implement the recommendations. The mere publication of the reports does not created countries to learn from practice of past and others. Despite APRM has facilitate countries to share experiences and consolidation of the best practices and achievements, including identification of the weaknesses and assessments of needs in the area of capacity building, the impact is insignificant on partly reviewed countries. Kenya is categorized in the first group of countries to undergo the review process, 2007 post-election violence, high stakes public corruption and failure of government to learn has undermined the value gained from the process. It generally recognized that neither Kenya

nor the rest of the reviewed country has learnt anything from the process (African News Online, Monday, March 30, 2009).

The APR Forum, Panel and Secretariat have also opted to being silent to reflect on the post-election violence and civil unrest. According to Khadiagala (2013) the failure of APRM to take anything on the post-election of 20007 of Kenya was clear indication of the failure of APRM. The APRM reports have thus far produced valuable knowledge and sources of data on participating countries, but few countries have managed to translate the APRM prescriptions into policies that improve governance and reduce socio-economic vulnerabilities that endanger peace and stability (African News Online, Monday, March 30, 2009).

The peer review is non-punitive and non-adversarial process (OECD, 2007). It offers arena for peer learning, peer dialogue and peer pressure (Comley, 2007). The APRM MoU has also identified these means instrument to bring the desired changes on the reviewed country. Therefore, no matter what ever takes place in domestic politics of member's state, the APRM have no means to correct it. It has not empowered to make binding decision and dictate leaders to work for the wellbeing of the people. The participating countries are not bound to implement APRM recommendations; they may even reject some of them as inappropriate (Ighobor, 2013). Abdelaziz (2013) stated that:

The APRM reports have more moral value than any kind of coercive value, because usually countries do these reports before they go to the Universal Peer Review in the Human Rights Council of the United Nations in Geneva. So usually this prepares the country to open up and to try to overcome its difficulties in a friendly atmosphere within the African Union, prior to its review in the Human Rights Council (UN News, 2013).

The APRM process of continuity and sustainability will depends on the commitments of HSGs since it is independent and voluntary accessed for membership. The implementation of the recommendations of APRM depends on the commitment of elites. Currently, it appears that a report's moral force isn't strong enough to pull 17 countries into the APRM

or make 17 others agree to be peer-reviewed (Ighobor, 2013). One of the informants stated the situation as follow:

If there is any intervention and disruption to any HSGs the process will collapse. The same person to be accepted to be reviewed took a commitment in other front of HSGs. Our HSG prefer to silent and shin in front of society. So the discussion and the dialogue held among peers. The HSG have present country review report and progress report of implementation of programmes of Action. If participating countries not keep promise, nobody will kick out them from AU or APRM. Rather it is a process depends on dialogue, trust and discussion among the HSGs (Informant<sup>1</sup>, 19/03/2014).

Further, as the OECD (2003:6) stated that:

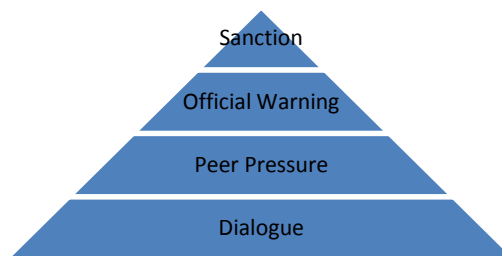
... peer review is a discussion among equals, not a hearing by a superior body that will hand down a binding judgment or punishment. A state may be more willing to accept criticism, and its neighbours to give it, if both sides know it does not commit them to a rigid position or obligatory course of action.

As the views of scholars suggest the HSGs have to present the result of the review process for the national stakeholders as far as APR Forum has not open for everybody. The involvement of all stakeholders in the post-review will uplift the report acceptance and reputation.

It is fact that APRM has potential in upgrading the governance standard of Africa. The APRM is seen as representing a radical departure from previous practices where commitments to good governance were made through the appending of signature to multilateral agreements. In contrast, the APRM is the first attempt by African states to subject the regimes to a monitoring process administrated fellow Africans. It is fresh opportunity to ensure that the basis of governance transcend the narrow confines of personal rule, patron-client relations or ethno-religious politics (Akokpari, 2005:11). Therefore, all stakeholders have to do in collaboration with APRM to improve the living

condition of the people of Africa. The instruments of APRM are not effective to put the decision of APR Forum and APR Panel. The APRM Secretariat has been also powerless to monitor the implementation of the recommendations. Its separation from the NEPAD does not empower the APRM rather make thing more complicated. APRM is not included in the articles of AU. It is not binding even those states ratified it nationally (Gruzd, 2009a). Kobanga (2005) suggested way to improve the instruments of APRM to make it more effective and empower to bring desired change. He has also adopted a hybrid model to make it more effective. This hybrid position advocates for a mixed balance between the use of peer pressure and sanctions in the APRM. It also calls for the inclusion of all the key players, such as international institutions, in the APRM process and decision (Kobanga, 2005:53).

Model 1. Hybrid model to make more effective the enforcements decisions



*Source:* adopted from Kobanga(2004)

As the figure shows, as one move from the bottom to top, the instruments used will became more strong and coercive. He stated that the dialogue must not only be all-inclusive (involve all stakeholders) but must also be held in a non-adversarial manner. Only when dialogue has failed can punitive measures be taken by moving up the pyramid (Kobanga, 2005). Even so, such punitive measures must be taken only as a last resort.

#### **4.6 The Challenges of African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)**

APRM is usual to play a leading role in improving socio-economic and political governance through prioritizing the programmes of the NEPAD. Despite being as a major achievement in Africa's development, a number of challenges have been identified as obstacle to the implementation of the mechanism. In this section, the economic and

political challenges are questioning the continuity and sustainability of the process will discuss in detail.

#### **4.6.1 Economic Challenges**

##### **4.6.1.1 Insufficient Resources**

The experience from peer reviewed country revealed that the process requires high cost and adequate amount of funding both at continental and national level to execute its activity effectively and efficiently. In order to perform its day-to-day activities, the APR Secretariat does not currently have its own funding. In fact, APRM Base Document (2003:para27) had been urged that each participating state should contribute US \$100,000 annually for the running of the Secretariat. The experience revealed that African countries have had difficulties in paying their membership even for the AU and its predecessor, the OAU. The APRM depends on generous support from South Africa and Nigeria and bilateral and multilateral institutions. The biggest financial contributions afford them a large degree of control in the appointment of officials (Akopari, 2005; Fombad and Kebonang, 2006; Kouassi, 2011 and Taylor, 2005). According to the Annual Report of APRM 2011 \$ 26,328,164 were received from member states while Congo (2003), São Tome & Principe (2007), Mauritania (2008) and Liberia (2011) members have been waiting to put their contribution. Yet Libya government accessed, but offered \$100,000. The contribution of bilateral partners, multilateral partners and private partners was reached \$ 15,127,543. For realization of APRM, all members should contribute equally so to prevent the domination of economically strong states over others. But what one can observe from the APRM report (2011) is that the NEPAD initiators have contributed 62% until 2011. NEPAD and APRM provides a new opportunity for Canada and South Africa's, through financing key areas of development and propagating and leading the programs, respectively, to dominate the development discourse of Africa since 2002s (Westhuizen, 2003).

The investigation on the failure of African development-based initiatives is mainly associated with financial problems. The leaders have lacked moral commitment to finance initiatives rather than put a lot of hot and impressive declarations in consecutive annual Summits. Akopari (2005:17) stated that: *“African has been known as a continent of*

*‘disappointed hopes’, where elaborate and innovative proposal have been implemented on an ad hoc basis, or have been ephemeral in life-span”*. The lack of resource at the country level has serious impact on the function of APRM. Technical experts are not readily available in many countries to pull the process (Ighobor, 2013). Therefore, broadening financial resource base helps to get quality, critical and creditable report.

#### **4.6.1.2 Lack of Institutional Abilities**

Unless institution established their foundation on existing social values, norms and customs, it is difficult to mobilize the appropriate needed public support to institutionalize its goal. Here, the extent of APRM in institutionalizing the established rules, standards and indicators of APRM into ground is important. The shared understanding of the rules, which form the basis of the APRM initiatives determines to acceptability and credibility. Despite the fact, the institution has lack the base among the society. Besides, it lacks capacity to monitor and implement the reports of countries that have completed the peer review process. The mere report of progress by respective participant state will not be indicating the actual implementation of NPoA and recommendations. The participating countries need to harmonise and integrate the NPoA with the National Development Plans, and ensure adequate resources for its funding (Rashed, 2013). However, the concept has been challenged particularly by the political decision to establish the National Focal Point being free. It established too close to the HSGs which considered as ‘enemy territory’ in the eyes of other social formations (Hansungule, 2014:101). National Focal Point of Ethiopia, which located at office of Prime Minister, has no actual link to facilitate its work with other offices of government since the completion of CRR. For instance, the Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia, the departments of Africa Affairs and NEPAD have no specific tasks rather than circulating letters and arranging national and international meeting concerning the issues. After completion of the report officially the NGC and its Secretariat closed in August 2010, their rights and obligations were transferred to the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development by Regulation number of 188/2010 has not clear about the process (Tigist Fisseha and Medhane Tadesse, 2011). Surprisingly, the ministry has known nothing about the program rather than attending meeting called by the Focal Point. While APRM may be clear on paper, it remains silent on the institutional capacity and the kind of political will

that has not always been there among African governments (African Quarterly, 2009:39). Therefore, according to observers it is political game which includes only the few political elites of HSGs.

#### **4.6.2. Political Challenges of APRM**

##### **4.6.2.1 Lack of Competence**

The APR Secretariat is presently understaffed and lacks research capacity to conduct in several key areas. Since APRM targets have broad, the Secretariat have failed to conduct simultaneous and consecutive peer review in many countries. For instance, while Ghana, Rwanda, Kenya, Mauritius and South Africa where under reviews, Algeria, Senegal and Uganda are waiting in the line to be reviewed. Shortage of competent staff not only delays the review process but also limits the quality of report produced under mechanism (Fombad and Kobanga, 2006). Still the capacity constraint of APRM has not been solved. Rashed (2013) stated that *“there are still capacity constraints to implement such a complex, resource intensive, technically demanding and participatory process.”* The APR Panel has recommended the involvement of three categories of partner institutions (strategic partners, regional-resource institutions and international-resource institutions) to strengthen the technical capacity of the review. The Secretariat may encounter practical difficulties in synthesising the outputs from a variety of subcontracted analyses (Kajee, 2003). The capacity of Secretariat has to be developed through recruiting competent staff members and providing them training and share experience from OECD and other international review mechanisms.

APRM focus on democratic and political governance; economic governance and management; corporate governance and socio-economic development which are broad thematic areas those are difficult to measure in the context of Africa through comprehensive approach. The APRM assessment entirely depends on qualitative assessment which is subjective and open for different arguments. Although qualitative instrument has give detail description of things that are not expressed numerically, it is also important to look countries performance based on quantitative approach (Tawfic, 2004 and Taylor, 2005). In addition, it is fact that the APRM focuses on areas that are fairly well

covered by other international organization. For instance, the African Human Security Initiative has been using expert analyses to assess the human security climate of the African countries in the study (Ashaye, 2013). The value of what it is likely to be added is probably minimal. APRM has wanted to evaluate the achievement 24 objectives, 78 criteria and 93 examples of indicators that listed in four thematic areas. There is need to narrow the review before it's become unrealistic and superficial (Fombad and Kebonang, 2006). The reviewed countries have expressed complains and criticism on the methodological aspects of APRM. President Paul Kagame of Rwanda and APRM officials criticised the APRM methodology and the CRM that stayed in the country for ten days. President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa also criticised the APRM equally on methodology particularly the way it commented and concluded on a reviewed country's issues, programmes and activities (Hansungule, 2014).

#### **4.6.2.2 Lack of Independence and Credibility**

The independence of APRM is important to determine the credibility of the review process. Hence, the establishment of the APR Panel is aimed at ensuring that the process is not disproportionately influenced by the review country's government. The independence of the institution may enable to collect accurate information and independent assessment of the conditions in the countries being reviewed (Fombad and Kebonang, 2006 and Kajee, 2003). Fombad and Kebonang (2006) and Taylor (2005) in their analysis of APR Eminent Panel members concluded that they are directly and indirectly serving in different bureaucracies structures of their government in their earlier period experiences. There is tendency of manipulating the process. The described that the first members of Panel Graca Machel (Mozambique), the wife Nelson Mandela; Adebayo Adedeji (Nigeria), ex-head of UNECA and ex-minister in one of Nigeria's coup-generated military government; Marie-Angelique Savane (Senegal), former ex-head of the UN Population Fund's African bureau; Bethuel Kiplagat (Kenya), ex-ambassador under Danaiel arap Moi; Dorothy Njeuma (Cameroon), ex-minister of education in Cameroon and Chris Stals (South Africa), ex-head of the South Africa Reserve Bank were active in partisan politics in their home countries. They argue that some of these political appointees are readily vulnerable to manipulation. While Dorothy Njeuma acting as a member of Panel, she is the member of the ruling part

and urges their people to vote for Biya (Taylor, 2005). However, a full appreciation of the ability of this Eminent Panel to operate independently will be possible only when the reports of their reviews are first discuss at national level and made public before validation by the HSGs. The participating countries have also executed their commitment through establishing independent NGC which get wide spread national support and accreditation from various stakeholders. The credibility and sustainability of the APRM does depends on the political will of African leaders to open up their government to scrutiny and creating competent and capable institutions of APRM Secretariat and National APRM structure (Mukamunana, 2006). They have moral duty to create conducive environment to include personally qualified, efficient and credible members at national level.

The APRM recommendation will put pressures on states to take action. But the trends show that APRM CRR has limitations to put critical comments on sensitive issues (Kouass, 2011). Despite its negative role in escalating civil wars in great lake region, the APRM has failed to put recommendation on Rwanda. It was criticised for the failure of potentially indicating the crisis in the 2011 Mali crisis and the 2007-2008 post-election violence in Kenya (Ashaye, 2013). There is still a lingering effect of African Heads of State and Governments' reluctance to challenge the State sovereignty principle and criticize each other (ECA, 2011c).

#### **4.6.2.3 Limited Awareness**

The benefits, structure and assessment producers of APRM are not clearly understood by all stakeholders. In this regard, South African Parliament decided to set up its own parallel APRM structure that abided by the government was clear indication of miss understanding of the structural as well as methodologies of APRM (Hansungule, 2014). This implies the procedure is subjective for interpretation and the stakeholders have limited awareness on the process. Kouassi (2011) stated that erroneous ideas about the APRM across various stakeholders undermined its potential role in identifying the strong and weak areas of socio-economic and political governance problems in reviewed countries. The limited awareness of local people should be enhanced through creating the public ownership on the programs. However, the 9 March 2013 has been proposed by the African Union as “APRM Day” is recognized as a day to raise public awareness of the mechanism and its

achievements (communiqué issued at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> APR Forum, 2013). It is one step in entrenching its popularity and widens the dialogues through creating awareness of the people of Africa.

#### **4.6.2.4 Lack of Ownership and Communication**

A major criticism frequently expressed on the process is the lack of ownership of the people of Africa. This has been echoed even within government organs; parliamentarians complain that the process has been housed within the executive level of government, either Office of President or Prime Minister, with no defined role for the legislature (Kajee, 2003). While broad-based participation from civil society groups and citizens in general is desirable, practically, time shortage, information and financial constraints may limit approaches the APRM employed. The observable fact revealed that the process is politically owned by the HSGs without any commitment to engage the people and civil societies subsequent dialogue. In order to get critical report which reflect the interest of people, African government ‘promote ownership of the APRM by the people and allocate sufficient resources for it to remain an African instrument serving African interests’ (Hansungule, 2014:91).

The participating countries have to show the values of APRM report for their people rather than boosting the performance of countries in specified areas without significant changes in living standard of the mass. Besides, the political commitment of HSG is low. The numbers of HSGs attending the consecutive APR Forum Summit are less than signing countries of APRM. Based on the available communiqués, 9, 8, 10 and 12 HSGs were attended the APR Forum of 11<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>, respectively (communiqué of APR 11<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>). Cameroon, Egypt, Gabon and Sudan have been never represented by HSG rather than attending through Ministers and Senior Officials. Since the APR Forum decided representatives of HSGs and partner institutions cannot participate in the discussions that are held among the peers (communiqués of 11<sup>th</sup> APR Forum, 2009), the attendance of HSGs the Forum is important to make constrictive dialogue. The APR Forum should reconsider the approved agendas at the 11<sup>th</sup> APR Forum that deny the participants to comment on CRR. The attendance of HSGs will enable the reviewed country to learn from others experiences. Therefore, APR Forum have to arrange a separate sessions of countries

to review the report through inviting different stakeholders, including partner institution to reflect on the reviewed country will enhance the effectiveness of the report.

#### **4.7. The Opportunity of African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)**

The APRM is a progressive mechanism despite its limitation in practice. It is recognized as an instrument that marks a turning point in reshaping and institutionalizing domestic accountability as a part of contemporary African culture (ECA, 2011c). Jerome (2007) stated that APRM is making it possible for countries as a benchmark of good governance in Africa on shared African and international norms and standards as well as for citizens to participate in the evaluation of how they are governed. It provides fresh opportunity for states to improve their performance without enforcement. It has a lot of opportunistic environment for realization and practice of APRM.

##### **4.7.1 Existence and Inclusion of Different Stakeholders**

As different scholars stressed that building democratic system is not only achieved through the formulation and implementation of democratic principles and law but also enhancing citizens participation in political, economic and social aspects of their society. Africa is not a vacuum place to put democracy in which the principles of democracy had totally been unknown and alien. Africa has its own unique features of democracy that can differentiate it from the western liberal democracy (Ake, 1993). Therefore, while implanting APRM, Africa should consider its indigenous democratic institutions which are helpful and influential in rural Africa where the majority of its people live. Kouassi (2011) stated that APRM has encouraged broad-based promotion of democracy in Africa. Since APRM documents embraces wide diversity of stakeholders, it is an opportunity for academia, opposition parties, civil societies and media to influence the government policies and actions. The APRM will enable Africa to identify and pursuit of common national goals through engaging stakeholders in the formulation of NPoA in their long journey to achieve economically prosperous and politically stable Africa. Therefore, the APRM presents fresh opportunities for strengthening democracy to ensure that the basis of governance transcends the narrow confines of personal rule, patron-client relations or ethno-religious politics (Herbert and Gruzd, 2008:253).

The inclusions of various stakeholders at different level of structure in the APRM are decisive opportunity to get best practices of good governance and recommend an issue that needs the intervention. It encourages open discussions at national level. Through voluntarily costing their sovereignty, APRM is collective commitment of African leaders to promote organizational governance through sharing experience, dialogue and peer pressures (Kouassi, 2011). It does not only provide opportunity to influence the government from domestic pressure but also encourage strong external pressure from peers; the HSGs which constitute the APR Forum. The peers have expected to put pressures on reviewed states to put into practices the recommendation and look into them critically while designing policies.

### **Increasing Membership**

Unlike other OAU and AU initiatives and programs, APRM is not all-inclusive rather it depends on voluntary accession to opt for it. Since there is no strict criterion for the membership in the APRM process, there were many “problematic countries” like Angola, Sudan, Mali and Republic of Congo acceded. Its impact on those member countries was almost non-negligible. In Contrary, the well-governed and progressive states are abstaining themselves from being membership in the APRM. Botswana has opt to wait and see attitude arguing its credibility because they already secure good environment to attract investment, manages its economy prudently and score low corruption levels (Gruzd, 2009a). Despite its controversies, 34 countries accessed for membership in APRM. Among them, 17 countries completed the first peer review process. This is sparking progress as compared to its slow progress at the beginning of the program being operational. It is believed that the rest countries will join it in the near future

### **4.7.3 Widespread Internal and External Support**

Unlike other development and governance initiatives, the NEPAD and the APRM are welcomed by civil societies, private sectors and development partners. Internally, UNECA is major supportive organ in providing data for CRT. ECA has support the country review mission and conduct the technical assessment in economic governance and management. It also requested the ADB to conduct technical assessment in banking and financial standards

(APRM O&P, 2003:8). NEPAD as well as APRM has received overwhelming support from developed countries and international organizations; WB, IMF and EU since they have pro-liberal approaches as it perceived by scholars.

## **Chapter Five**

### **Conclusion and Recommendation**

This chapter presents the conclusion and recommendations of the study. It puts suggestions to improve the institutional structure and arrangement of APRM and recommendations for further research.

#### **5.1 Conclusion**

The overall objective of the study is making a critical appraisal of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). In this study, the researcher strongly argued that the issue of peer review should be looked at primarily from needs of the majority needs and interest of Africans who live below poverty line. As has clearly been stated in the documents of APRM and NEPAD, peace, security, democracy, good governance, human rights and sound economic management are conditions for sustainable development. Still, none of them address adequately to solve the problems in the continent. The number of failed states in the continent has been on the rise since 2003. African political elites have not broken their silence towards their peers whatever happens in the domestic affairs of the member states. The instruments of APRM to implement its recommendations should be reconsidered to make its decisions binding. The study has looked at the harmonization of actions among APRM and the various organs of the AU various organs. Unless the bilateral or multilateral institutions recognize their outputs, it will be more symbolic and ceremonial to the APRM Forum, Panel and Secretarial to conduct peer reviews in the continent. The benefits, challenges and opportunities of APRM should be examined and appropriate measures will recommended to the mechanism more effective in ensuring governance issues in the continent.

Since the target of this study has been to identify the strong and weak sides of APRM, a critical appraisal design is chosen as an appropriate type of qualitative research. The study adopted qualitative methodology mainly depends on secondary method of data collection to effectively answer the research questions and meet the objectives of the study. Besides, the primary data is collected through the key informant interview.

As inferred from different sources, the economic and political motives are the main factors for the establishment of APRM. The African resentment against the western-based critical assessments is mainly the result their de-emphasis of human right, good governance and socio-economic development. It is the way that African leaders want to keep them to universal pillars of democratic principles through inviting their peers to comment on the internal affairs of reviewed country. Yet Africa has not set independent, credible and efficient domestic institution to review the performance of states. Thus, the leaders have attempted to manipulate the political arena which provided by the APRM through revealing them for uncritical, inefficient and unqualified external peer review. The intention to secure legitimacy from the outside reviewers is an important factor that inspires HSGs to take part in the APR Forum. The APR Forum is more of annual ceremonial and festival as compared to the western-based institutions which used 'carrot and stick' to bind their decision. This is partly the reason for its acceptance in more than 34 countries. Since 1990s, the end of Cold War has been enforced African countries to follow-up the prescriptions of good governance and socio-economic policies of the West and their institutions. Hence, APRM is by definition a pledge of Africa to fulfil the requirements of good governance and socio-economic development for increased ODA through accepting the liberal economic and political reforms. Therefore, the quest for countries to join the APRM through sacrificing their sovereignty is principally the economic and political motives than other factors.

The question of harmonizing tasks of APRM with AU and other organizations is not answered in satisfactory manner. The AU has yet empowered and boosted the APRM as it advocated by its proponents. The CSSDCA, PSC and ECOSOC have promoted issues embraced in the APRM. APRM, which promoted initially as a subcomponent of NEPAD, has succeeded in establishing it as separate and independent institution. It is an independent entity in the AU structure like NEPAD and other organs of AU. APRM has secured its independence from NEPAD but worked closely with it. The APRM integration into AU has not concluded with agreements. It is logically and practically impossible to use the reports of APRM for decision making process unless all AU member states accessed for the membership. APRM has been using the LPA and the Abuja Treaty as one standard to evaluate the performance of countries towards regional integration. The APRM has acknowledged partner institution if they respect an African ownership in the process. The

role of ECA and UNDP is very significant for the continuity and sustainability of the process. But they have no right to voice in the review process and CRR. Besides, the role of economically and politically strong countries (South Africa and Nigeria) has potential threat to process since the great financial contribution will provide an opportunity for them to appointment more officers. Despite the fact that civil societies have provided APRM to clearly evaluate the actual performance of countries, the reviewed country systematically neglected the participation of strong and vibrant civil societies in the NCC. The process has undermined the role of civil societies in the post-review, implementation of NPoA and progress report.

The APRM has enhanced partnership and cooperation through promoting universally agreed values. It has the potential in increasing the financial flow that has already been earmarked and pledged made by DCs to help Africa in its development efforts. It promotes Africa to learn from their own experience that they easily accommodate into domestic context through enhancing the South-South cooperation. It would capacitate the reviewed country to use the opportunity provided by the regional integration. It would build the public trust at national level through the opening up of political space. It would help countries to sustain best practices and improve governance. Furthermore, it plays decisive role in identifying issues ignored in the national development plan and cross-cutting issues are among the main benefits of APRM.

Although the indigenous traditional institutions laid foundation of social capital, APRM has reflected little concern on promoting those values and norms. APRM has to empower or transform the traditional values and norms to enhance the competitiveness of Africa globally. The modern institutions have also yet anchored throughout the continent. But the extent of promoting an African indigenous traditional institutions and values is insignificant as far as APRM activities restricted in a few urban areas and followed the western prescriptions of liberal approaches. The questionnaires are also evaluating the performance of countries based on mainly universal values, which mainly emanates from western culture. Therefore, it depends on good will and interest of countries to glorify their values and norms. Despite the fact that the African indigenous traditional institutions incorporated the core principles of good governance, APRM has failed to embrace the

existing social capital that strength its role and acceptance among the majority of people of Africa.

The absence of strong reinforcement and enforcement mechanism in the APRM process has not enabled countries to learn from their pas practices of past and others. No matter what ever took place in domestic politics of member's state, the APRM have no means to correct or comment on it. Therefore, it is 'toothless' to voice on mal-practices of respective country. The instruments of APRM are weak and very soft to implement the recommendations. Therefore, incorporating strong measures like sanction will make the APRM more effective and binding so as to avoid undemocratic governments not to hide themselves through inviting external reviewers of HSG who rare to criticise their follow in international forum. Furthermore, the process has no follow-up mechanism to observe the implementation of NPoA.

Despite being as a major achievement in Africa's development, a number of challenges have been identified as obstacles to implement the APRM. The APRM is very comprehensive, costly, lengthy and complex process which not only needs the political commitments of leaders but also consumes their economic and human resources. It has encountered with lack of adequate human and financial resources. They have to develop their capacity to finance initiatives rather than putting a lot of hot and impressive declarations in consecutive annual summits. The institutions has yet established based on firm social customs, values and norms to mobilize the appropriate needed public support. The poor attendance record of HSG in the attending meeting has also aggravated the problem since the Forum has given only give chance to speak for them. The credibility and sustainability of the APRM does depends on the political will of African leaders to open up their government to scrutiny and creating competent and capable APRM institutions at national level. The people of Africa and government officials have limited awareness on the process. The APRM CRR has limitations to put critical comments on sensitive issues.

APRM has opportunistic ground to implementation of the process effectively. The existence of different stakeholder in the process, notably, ECA and UNDP, is conducive to facilitate the process. Through voluntarily costing their sovereignty, APRM is collective commitment of African leaders to promote organizational governance through sharing

experience, dialogue and peer pressure. It created arena for HSG to realize the good governance socio-economic development in the continent. Despite its controversies, there are 34 countries accessed for membership in APRM. Among them, 17 countries completed the first peer review process. So the growing numbers of participating countries is great opportunity to make the process all-inclusive and laid the base to achieve the dream of Pan-African. Furthermore, the various international organizations have welcomed and wanted to work more closely with APRM is also momentous opportunity to enhance its acceptance and creditability.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

Based on the study, the researcher has identified a number of issues that need workable resolution to enhance the APRM effectiveness and creditability in the eyes of African peoples and development partners. Therefore, the researcher has drawn up the following recommendations.

**Avoid the voluntary nature or create APRM as independent institution of AU;** the APRM evaluates the performance of participating countries based on voluntary accession. It depends on good will of countries to join the review process. The APR Forum has the highest and legitimate power to verify and validate the CRR. Thus, the AU Summit has no legal right to comment on the APRM report and participate in APR Forum unless the countries accessed for membership in APRM. Therefore, to make the report of APRM as a legal document to use it as a short reference to recognize countries performance on good governance and socio-economic development in the continent, AU has to facilitate conditions in which all members accessed for the APRM through avoiding it voluntary nature.

On the other hand, there is also possibility to establish APRM as independent structure which is free from the political manipulation of AU. Since the high-ranking commissioners and officers of AU selected and recruited based on the recommendation of the General Assembly, there is tendency of reflecting and keeping the interest of HSGs. As far as the nature of peer review is considered, who rare to criticise their follow, establishing APRM as independent and separate institution will boost the acceptance and credibility. It will not

only empower the APRM Eminent Panel and Secretariat to voice on critical and sensitive issues of Africa but also the enables RECs in respective region when countries pass through the process. Through empowering the RECs, it is also possible to give a mandate for them to follow up the implementation of APRM in respective countries. The role of bilateral and multilateral institutions should be also revised. The ECA, UNDP and ADB recognized as partner institutions in the process have to be get involve to comment on the CSAR or CRR before or after validation by APR Forum.

**Design strong effective instrument to enforce the recommendations and decisions;** the APR Forum has revise the instruments used to monitor and implement the decisions. They have to delegate more power to the APR Panel and APRM Secretariat to comment on countries performance on the thematic areas. They have to get involved and comment on the process while countries have conducted the CSAR. It is also important to put a minimal standards and criteria for the participating countries to respect and implement while joining the APRM. Those countries that agreed and signed in a strong mechanism will have moral obligation to implement the recommendation even if they joined it on the voluntary basis. They have to extend the enforcement mechanism to use sanction and rejection from participation in the process. The CRM has also comment and suggests governments to take corrective measure on procedural issues while selecting the members of NGC during the process. The HSGs have to present the result of the review at the national level. The APR Forum has needed to put clear procedure to include all stakeholders in the post-review process.

**Avoid overlapping responsibility;** the overlapping responsibility among the various structures of AU should be addressed through integrating the various organs into more strong and effective permanent and binding structure. The AU Human Right Commission, Election Observation Commission, Peace and Security Council and others prepare annual report on specialized areas have to include or integrate their duties and responsibilities with the APRM; it will boost the credibility and effectiveness of the process. The APRM Forum has to organize independent session that not interlinked with AU or NEPAD Summit. By doing so, the APRM voice will became more critical and legitimate source of reference.

Secure and grant more freedom for the APRM at national level institutions; the pre-and post-review institutional structure have needed a certain legal document to keep minimal standard while designing institutions at national level. The lesson from the various reviewed countries revealed that the National Focal Point of APRM is establishing at office of HSGs which is out of the people and civil societies attachment. This type of structure at national level will not enable the institution to voice on critical and sensitive issues independently. Therefore, to keep APRM free from political manipulation and accommodate all stakeholders, there is need to establish NGC completely free from the government attachment. An appropriate procedure will required to constitute the members of NGC so to conduct acceptable and open review through embracing all stakeholders in the country. Specifically, the civil societies, private sectors and other should embrace on the basis of agreed standard and representation. The peer review process must become a fully unlock process that encourages rigorous public debate and the involvement of the broadest range of civil society. Besides, the establishment of the permanent NGC is required to follow up the implementation of NPoA in the post review is required. It will be empowered and make strong recommendation on the reviewed country to make sure that AU and other international institutions are well informed about the specific case that going on reviewed country.

**Host post review meeting at national level;** since APR Forum has not opened for everybody, the HSGs has to clearly aware the result of the review for the national stakeholders' that are involved in the process. The costs and benefits of being joining the process should be discussed and described at national level. This will create common understanding and enable the participation of stakeholders in the implementation of NPoA. Through employing quantitative instruments, there is possibility to show the actual performance of countries based on agreed standards. The ranking countries based on the report will reinforce countries to improve their statues and take action to implement the NPoA.

**Make more responsive for the need of local people of Africa;** the processes have to promote and enhance the capacity of community-based institutions which have potential to mobilize the people and resource for the development. It is also important to give emphasis for all other variables in the process. It is fact that the NEPAD and APRM are emphasised on good governance to accelerate development and eradicate poverty. But there are also other variables that need to be addressed to rescue Africa from poverty and marginalization in global economy. Good governance is the one but not the only cause for the marginalization of Africa. Therefore, empirical studies which have more interested on good governance and human right are also need to give emphasis and conduct research the socio-economic and corporate governance issues.

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**Part II: Interview Questions**

- 1. What do you think the motivated the establishment of APRM? -----  
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- 2. To what extent do you think the APRM tasks harmonized with AU, NEPAD, RECs, Bilateral and Multilateral institutions and civil societies?-----
- 3. What do you think the benefits of joining APRM?-----  
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- 4. To what extent do you think the objectives, standards, structure, and indicators of APRM reflect the African indigenous socio-economic and political realities?-----  
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- 5. To what extent do you think the instruments of APRM effective to monitor, evaluate and implement the decision and recommendations?-----  
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- 6. What do you think the challenges of APRM in the implementation? -----  
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- 7. What do you think the opportunities for the implementation of APRM?-----  
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## Appendices II

### List of informants

<i>No</i>	Name of informant	age	Sex	Place of interview	Occupation	Date of interview
<i>1</i>	Hodane Youssouif	41	F	ECA	Officer of NEPAD/ AU Unit Team at ECA	19/03/2014
<i>2</i>	John Ikubaja	38	M	AU	Officer of Political Governance at AU	24/03/2014

## Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university and all the sources of material used for the thesis have been dully acknowledged.

Name: Ashebir Alemayehu

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as an advisor.

Tesfaye Tafesse (PhD): \_\_\_\_\_

Advisor:                      Signature                      Date

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