

**CHALLENGES OF THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR
AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT (NEPAD): A CASE
ANALYSIS OF THE AFRICAN PEER REVIEW
MECHANISM (APRM)**

By

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PRETORIA

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To my late parents, ANTOINE and ODETTE, your departure from this world diminished the meaning of life in me, but your desire of my success made me realise this dream.

And

To all whom, wholeheartedly, fight for a peaceful and prosperous Africa

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DECLARATION

I, Rachel Mukamunana, hereby declare that the thesis submitted for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor in Public Affairs at the University of Pretoria, apart from the help recognised, has been carried out independently and has not been formerly submitted to another University.

ABSTRACT

This study seeks to investigate the effectiveness of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in fostering good governance practices in Africa. The APRM was established in 2003 subsequent to the launch of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in 2001, as an instrument to monitor the adoption and implementation of policies and practices that would lead to political stability, high economic growth and accelerated regional cooperation and integration as set out in the NEPAD document. The ultimate goal of the APRM is to instil good governance in Africa, which NEPAD considers the *sine qua non* for Africa's development.

The principal finding of this study is that the mechanism of peer review through the APRM has the potential to foster good governance in Africa, and thus, to pave the way to poverty alleviation and development. The peer review process provides an opportunity for participating countries to become aware of the strengths and shortcomings in their policy-making, governance institutions and practices and to share best practices of administrative, political and economic governance. It offers a forum for dialogue, peer learning, and regional and continental cooperation in which the challenges facing African countries, both individually and collectively, can be tackled. The APRM has initiated a process of dialogue between government and other societal actors (mainly civil society and business) about governance and development issues and how these can best be addressed. This is an important step towards the consolidation of democracy and better governance in Africa. It is for these benefits and for the potential for better governance that the APRM needs all the political and financial support it can get.

The APRM is, however fraught with many challenges, which are likely to impede the effectiveness of its contribution. These challenges include the voluntary nature of the APRM, its inability to enforce policy, the absence of adequate funding, poor and limited administrative resources for implementation. In addition, the weak civil society in most African states militates against meaningful participation in and contribution to the process of

peer review. Addressing these obstacles is imperative for the APRM to deliver its full potential. To this end, the study proffers a number of recommendations, which include the provision of strong political and financial support from African states, capacity building of national institutions that oversee government performance, such as the parliament and civil society, and the consistent financial support of donors and the international community. The study reveals that the road to a successful and effective APRM, and thus to a peaceful and prosperous Africa may lie in the future, but the foundation for Africa's political and economic renaissance must be laid now.

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ACRONYMS

AAF-SAP	African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programme
ACJ	African Court of Justice
ACP	Africa, Caribbean and Pacific countries
ADB	African Development Bank
AEC	African Economic Community
AHG	Assembly of Heads of State and Government
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
APPER	Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery
APR	African Peer Review
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
APRM/O&P	African Peer Review Mechanism/Organisation and Process
APRM/OSCI	African Peer Review Mechanism/Objectives, Standards, Criteria, and Indicators
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
AU	African Union
BWIs	Bretton Woods Institutions
CEWS	Continental Early Warning Systems
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern African States

CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOSOC	Economic, Social and Cultural Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
G4	Germany, Brazil, India, and Japan
G8	United States of America, France, Italy, United Kingdom, Germany, Russia, Japan, and Canada
G8-AAP	G8 Africa Action Plan
GATT	General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
HSGIC	Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LPA	Lagos Plan of Action
MAP	Millennium Partnership for Africa Recovery Plan
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MERCOSUR	Common Market of the Southern Cone
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding

MP	Member of Parliament
NAFTA	North America Free Trade Area
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NPM	New Public Management
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAP	Pan African Parliament
POA	Programme of Action
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PTA	Preferential Trade Area
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme
PSC	Peace and Security Council
REC	Regional Economic Community
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SAIIA	South African Institute of International Affairs
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
TNCs	Trans National Corporations

UK	United Kingdom
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference for Trade and Development
UNECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola/ National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UN-NADAF	United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa
UN-PAAERD	United Nations Programme of Action for Africa's Economic Recovery and Development
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
USA	United States of America
WTO	World Trade Organisation

CLARIFICATION OF TERMS

African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) is an instrument for self-monitoring and evaluation voluntarily acceded to by member states of the African Union (AU). Its mandate is to ensure that the policies and practices of participating African states conform to the agreed political, economic and corporate governance values, codes and standards contained in the “Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance”.

Civil society is defined as a sphere of social interaction between the state and the economy composed of organisations arising out of voluntary association in a society (Cohen and Arato, 1992: ix). The organisations of civil society represent many diverse social interests, and include such organisations as trade unions, cooperatives, community-based organisations, youth groups, women associations, academic institutions, and human rights groups. Civil society does not however, include groups that are illegal with undemocratic agendas. Civil society is seen as a mechanism to protect citizens against unbridled political power and to ensure government accountability.

Clientelism is a term first used in anthropological studies of traditional peasant communities to describe exchange relationships in which landowners (patrons) provided services such as land, physical security or protection unavailable to recipients (clients), and in return received crops, labour, other services and gratitude (Scott and Kerkvliet, 1977:443-444). The term has been adopted by political scientists to refer to a form of social organization common in many developing regions. Political clientelism is defined as a more or less personalised, affective, and reciprocal relationship between actors, or sets of actors, commanding unequal resources and involving mutually beneficial transactions (Lemarchand and Legg, 1972:151). In clientelist systems, leaders, who are powerful and rich "patrons", promise to provide powerless and poor "clients" with jobs, protection, infrastructure, and other benefits in exchange for votes and other forms of loyalty. Often, leaders

employ coercion, intimidation, sabotage, and even violence to maintain control of the political regime. In Africa, clientelist politics is seen as the major obstacle to development.

Development is a multi dimensional process, which involves the reorganisation and reorientation of entire economic and social systems. Development is essentially measured in terms of acceleration of economic growth, reduction of inequality and eradication of absolute poverty. However, it also involves the radical change in institutional, social and administrative structures as well as in people's attitudes (Todaro, 1992:98). Development must have the following three main objectives:

- to increase the availability and widen the distribution of basic life-sustaining goods such as food, shelter, health and protection to all members of society;
- to raise levels of living, including higher incomes, the provision of more jobs, better education and more attention to cultural and humanistic values;
- to expand the range of economic and social choice to individuals and nations by freeing them from servitude and dependence not only in relation to other people and nation-states, but also to the forces of ignorance and human misery (Todaro, 1992:102).

Effectiveness refers to success in goal achievements. Hyden and Bratton (1992:2) define effectiveness as the extent to which the system satisfies the basic functions of the government. Thus, efficiency denotes the “how” of government action, in other words, the way in which the activities of government are carried out; and, effectiveness refers to the success in goal achievement.

Efficiency refers to the relationship between input and output. The goal of efficiency is to minimise cost or resources used to attain a goal. It is defined

as the ability to minimize the use and cost of resources when achieving organisational objectives and goals (Oxford, 1994:203). Therefore, an organisation is efficient when it achieves its goals using minimum resources or inputs.

Globalisation is conceived as the widening and intensification of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from the cultural to the financial to the political (Held, McGrew, Goldbatt, and Perraton, 1999:2). However, the basic and underlying component of globalisation is the economic dimension. Globalisation is the process of economic and technological expansion driving towards the opening up and integration of the entire world into one economic system in which liberalisation provides the policy lubricants to guide the implementation of the process (Keets, 1999:3).

Governance: the UNDP (1997:1) and the World Bank (1994:vii) define governance as the exercise of political, administrative and economic authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. In the 21st century and in the context of globalisation, governance is conceived as the art of governing multiple and complex institutions and systems which are operationally autonomous in relation to each other and are interdependent. In this thesis, governance is defined as an art of providing leadership and exercising authority in a manner to achieve shared societal goals in a complex institutional setting.

Leadership is generally conceptualised as a process of persuasion by which an individual (or leadership team) induces a group to pursue objectives held by the leader or shared with followers (Gardner, 1990:1). In other words, leadership can be defined as the provision of vision and direction and the setting up of goals to be achieved by a group of peoples. Therefore, leadership is important and largely influence and determine the performance of organisations or countries.

Neo-liberaliism is a school of thought, a political economic philosophy, which

advocates less state interference and control in economic activity. It focuses on free market methods and liberalisation of trade. The neoliberal doctrine is also a subset of the so-called "Washington consensus", a set of specific policy goals designed by the Bretton Woods Institutions (World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) for developing Latin America and African countries.

Neo-patrimonialism is the term used to refer to a system of hybrid regime in which patrimonial practices coexist with modern rational-legal authority. Max Weber who coined the term "patrimonial authority" used the concept to distinguish it from the rational-legal authority. Patrimonial authority is defined as the form of authority used in the traditional political systems in which the Chief ruled by dint of prestige and power over ordinary citizens who had no rights or privileges other than those granted by the ruler. The Chief maintained authority through personal patronage and clientelism, rather than through law (Bratton and Van de Walle, 1997:52). In Africa, most regimes are said to be neo-patrimonial.

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is the African socio-economic development plan based on a new partnership between African states and their development partners, especially the highly industrialised countries of the West. The "new" partnership involves, on the one hand, mutual commitment to the principles of democratic governance and market policies by African states and, on the other, an increase of trade, aid and investment flows, by the West. In principle, the new partnership strongly emphasises ownership, transparency and mutual accountability.

Partnership is defined as the dynamic relationship among diverse actors based on mutually agreed objectives, pursued through a shared understanding of the most rational division of labour, based on the respective advantages of each partner. Partnership encompasses mutual influence with a careful balance of synergy and respective autonomy, which incorporates mutual respect, equal participation in decision-making, mutual accountability

and transparency (Brinkerhoff, 2002:21).

Peer review is defined as the systematic examination and assessment of the performance of a country either by other countries (peers), or by designated institutions, or by a combination of the two. The goal is to help the country undergoing review to improve its policy-making; to adopt best practices; and to comply with established standards, principles, and other agreed commitments (OECD, 2003).

Public accountability refers to the obligation and responsibility from public office bearers to give information and explanation of their performance and use of delegated powers (Brinkerhoff, 2001:294). Accountability is a means of ensuring that political representatives and bureaucrats act in the best interests of citizens. Accountability implies the existence of sanctions, because answerability without sanctions is considered to be weak accountability (Brinkerhoff, 2001). In other words, accountability requires institutions and mechanisms of enforcement or control, which guarantee that public office holders are appropriately constrained.

Regional cooperation and integration is defined as a process whereby two or more countries in a particular area join together to pursue common policies and objectives in matters of general economic development or in a particular field of common interest to the mutual advantage of all the participating states (Asante, 1997:20). In today's globalised economy, regional cooperation and integration is approached as a strategy to cooperatively improve competitiveness, and increase negotiating capacities so that countries, as a regional collective, can participate effectively in the world economy and politics.