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

By

RACHEL MUKAMUNANA

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

Philosophiae Doctor, PhD, in Public Affairs

In the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

Promoter: Professor Jerry O. KUYE

PRETORIA March 2006
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
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis could not have been done without the help and support of many people. I hereby wish to express my thanks and appreciation for the effort of all those who made this work possible. I would like to extend a special word of thanks to my study leader, Professor Jerry O. Kuye, for his tireless and diligent mentoring and advice. You encouraged me always to give of my best.

I would like also to thank all the personnel, professors and administrative staff at the School of Public Management and Administration (SPMA), University of Pretoria, for their collegiality and support. Thank you for providing me with the opportunity for professional and personal growth over the four-year period at the SPMA, both as a doctoral candidate and assistant lecturer.

Special thanks go to a number of people who enriched this work, either through the provision of information or through critical reading. I particularly think of Dr Nembot, coordinator of the Political Governance Review at the African Peer Review Mechanism Secretariat in Midrand, South Africa, for providing me with valuable information on various aspects of the APRM process and operations. Special thanks also go to the officials in charge of the NEPAD/APRM in Rwanda, in particular, the Executive Director and the Communications Officer, for their warm welcome and for availing information on the peer review process in Rwanda. I sincerely thank my friends, Dr Himbara and Dr Nsingo, for the invaluable comments and advice on this work.

My heartfelt thanks go to my family, in particular my fiancé Tewodros, my sister Laetitia, my brother Norbert, and my aunt Janvière, for the unrestricted love, understanding and support. To all my friends, your love and support assisted me in the successful completion of this research project.
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.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ........................................................................................................ iii
DECLARATION ....................................................................................................................... iv
ABSTRACT .......................................................................................................................... v
TABLE OF CONTENTS ..................................................................................................... vii
LIST OF TABLES .............................................................................................................. xv
LIST OF FIGURES ............................................................................................................. xv
ACRONYMS ....................................................................................................................... xvi
CLARIFICATION OF TERMS ............................................................................................ xx
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY ........ 1
INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................................. 1
AN OVERVIEW OF AFRICA’S DEVELOPMENT POLICY ............................................. 3
THE LAGOS PLAN OF ACTION .......................................................................................... 3
THE AFRICAN-ALTERNATIVE FRAMEWORK TO THE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT
PROGRAMME .................................................................................................................... 7
CHALLENGES OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA: SOME
MAJOR OVERVIEWS ........................................................................................................ 9
HISTORICAL FACTORS: SLAVERY AND COLONIALISM .............................................. 9
THE COLD WAR AND DONOR POLICIES ..................................................................... 11
LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE ISSUES .................................................................. 12
IMPERATIVES FOR THE AFRICAN RENAISSANCE: FORMATION OF THE
AFRICAN UNION, NEPAD AND APRM ........................................................................ 13
THE AFRICAN UNION (AU) AND ITS OBJECTIVES ................................................. 14
NEPAD: ITS INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS ........................................................................ 16
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEVELOPMENT OF NEPAD</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOVERNANCE STRUCTURES OF NEPAD</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGIES OF NEPAD</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preconditions for development: political and economic governance</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sectoral priorities</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobilisation of resources and market access</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEPAD’S MONITORING MECHANISM: THE APRM</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESEARCH APPROACHES</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUALITATIVE VERSUS QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHENOMENOLOGY</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GROUNDED THEORY</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETHNOGRAPHY</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASE STUDY</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SYSTEMS APPROACH</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESEARCH DESIGN</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE: NEPAD AND APRM .........................83

PEER REVIEW MECHANISM ........................................................................83
  Defining peer review ..................................................................................84
  The process of peer review ........................................................................88
  Functions of peer review ...........................................................................89
  Requirements for successful peer review ....................................................90
  Two models for compliance in international regimes ..................................91
  Implications of peer review mechanism .....................................................94

THEORIES OF REGIONALISM AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION ..................95
  Defining regionalism and regional integration ............................................95
  Approaches of regional integration ............................................................97
  Regionalism in the globalisation era ..........................................................105
  Implications of regionalism on governance ...............................................108

DETERMINANTS OF GOVERNANCE, LEADERSHIP AND ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT ..........................................................................................110
  THE RULE OF LAW ..................................................................................110
  ACCOUNTABILITY AND TRANSPARENCY .............................................113
  IMPORTANCE OF ACCOUNTABILITY AND TRANSPARENCY ...............115
  PUBLIC PARTICIPATION ............................................................................116
  EFFECTIVE AND EFFICIENT PUBLIC SECTOR .....................................121
  DEMOCRACY: THE CONTROVERSY .........................................................123
  GOVERNANCE – A DEFINITIONAL FRAMEWORK ...................................130

CONCLUSION .............................................................................................131
CHAPTER 4 CASE STUDIES: GOVERNANCE AND LEADERSHIP MODELS IN AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

MAJOR POLITICAL SYSTEMS IN THE WORLD

LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEMS

EGALITARIAN-AUTHORITARIAN POLITICAL SYSTEMS

TRADITIONAL INEGALITARIAN POLITICAL SYSTEMS

POPULIST POLITICAL SYSTEMS

AUTHORITARIAN-INEGALITARIAN POLITICAL SYSTEMS

POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

GOVERNANCE DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

INDEPENDENT AFRICA: NEOPATRIMONIAL REGIMES AND AUTHORITARIAN RULE

LEADERSHIP, POLITICAL STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

TYPES OF AFRICAN POLITICAL REGIMES UNTIL THE DEMOCRATISATION ERA (1990)

Plebiscitary one-party system

Military oligarchy

Competitive one-party system

Multiparty system

INFLUENTIAL FACTORS FOR BAD GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

Colonialism and its political legacy

Ethnic factor
Policies of central planning.................................................................157
Foreign policies ..................................................................................159
BEYOND AUTOCRACY: DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA....161
EXPERIENCES OF DEMOCRATISATION IN AFRICA.......................................163
INSTITUTIONS AND THE SUSTAINING OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE .........168
  Legislative institutions ........................................................................170
  Judicial institutions ............................................................................172
  Political parties ..................................................................................174
  Civil society .....................................................................................176
GOVERNANCE AND INSTRUMENTS OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ...........179
  Bureaucracy and policy implementation .............................................179
  Public administration reforms ............................................................181
  Challenges of administrative reforms in Africa ....................................182
REGIONALISM AND POLITICAL/ADMINISTRATIVE COOPERATION IN AFRICA ...184
  Integration and interstate treaties in Africa ...........................................184
  African efforts for peace and security ..................................................190
  Africa and the new global order: strategies and challenges ...................195
CONCLUSION ......................................................................................200
CHAPTER 5 AFRICAN PEER REVIEW MECHANISM: A CASE ANALYSIS
........................................................................................................201
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND.....................................................201
ANALYSIS OF APRM POLICIES AND STRUCTURES ..............................203
  MANDATE, PURPOSE AND PRINCIPLES OF THE APRM.......................203
Leadership authority of the NEPAD and the APRM.................................................240
Voluntary participation..................................................................................................244
Absence of enforcement mechanisms.........................................................................246
DIFFICULTIES OF IMPLEMENTATION.........................................................................248
Content of the APRM: questionnaire, standards, criteria and indicators.....................249
Administrative capacity for implementation ....................................................................250
Role of stakeholders in the APRM process .....................................................................253

CONCLUSION ..............................................................................................................255

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ................................256

INTRODUCTION.........................................................................................................256

SUMMARY...................................................................................................................258

CONCLUSIONS.............................................................................................................260

THE APRM IN A NUTSHELL ......................................................................................260
MERITS AND POTENTIALS OF THE APRM..............................................................263
OBSTACLES AND CHALLENGES OF THE APRM ....................................................266
RECOMMENDATIONS................................................................................................271

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND PROVISION OF ENFORCEMENT MECHANISMS ..271
DONORS’ SUPPORT AND MUTUAL ACCOUNTABILITY..........................................274
PRESSURE FROM CIVIL SOCIETY...........................................................................274
INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY BUILDING .....................................................................275
DOMESTICATING THE APRM ...................................................................................276
TARGETING CRITICAL GOVERNANCE AND POLICY ISSUES...............................277
SYSTEM OF INFORMATION DISSEMINATION.............................................................278
REFERENCES ........................................................................................................ 281

BOOKS .................................................................................................................. 281

REPORTS, JOURNALS, AND PRESENTATION PAPERS ................................. 290

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS ON THE NEPAD AND THE APRM ....................... 296

INTERNET SOURCES .......................................................................................... 297

NEWSPAPERS ....................................................................................................... 302

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: NEPAD in comparison with previous African development plans . 29

Table 2.1: Types of Sources of Evidence ............................................................. 53

Table 3.1: Functional dimensions of governance and their institutional arenas .......................................................... 77

Table 3.2: Stages of the market integration approach ...................................... 99

Table 4.1: Regime type of Sub-Saharan Africa until 1989 .............................. 154

Table 4.2: Democracy and political freedom in Africa .................................. 164

Table 5.1: List of African states that have acceded to the APRM' MoU........ 222

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: NEPAD governing structures ......................................................... 21

Figure 2.1: A simplified systems model ......................................................... 48

Figure 5.1: APRM, AU and NEPAD Structures: A relational model configuration ......................................................... 218
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACRONYMS</th>
<th>EXPLANATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAF-SAP</td>
<td>African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACJ</td>
<td>African Court of Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACP</td>
<td>Africa, Caribbean and Pacific countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADB</td>
<td>African Development Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AEC</td>
<td>African Economic Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AHG</td>
<td>Assembly of Heads of State and Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMU</td>
<td>Arab Maghreb Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APEC</td>
<td>Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPER</td>
<td>Africa’s Priority Programme for Economic Recovery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APR</td>
<td>African Peer Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APRM</td>
<td>African Peer Review Mechanism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APRM/O&amp;P</td>
<td>African Peer Review Mechanism/Organisation and Process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APRM/OSCI</td>
<td>African Peer Review Mechanism/Objectives, Standards, Criteria, and Indicators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of South East Asian Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BWIs</td>
<td>Bretton Woods Institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEWS</td>
<td>Continental Early Warning Systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMESA</td>
<td>Common Market for Eastern and Southern African States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSOs</td>
<td>Civil Society Organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECCAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of Central African States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>Economic, Social and Cultural Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G4</td>
<td>Germany, Brazil, India, and Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G8</td>
<td>United States of America, France, Italy, United Kingdom, Germany, Russia, Japan, and Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G8-AAP</td>
<td>G8 Africa Action Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GATT</td>
<td>General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIPC</td>
<td>Heavily Indebted Poor Countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSGIC</td>
<td>Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPA</td>
<td>Lagos Plan of Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAP</td>
<td>Millennium Partnership for Africa Recovery Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MERCOSUR</td>
<td>Common Market of the Southern Cone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOU</td>
<td>Memorandum of Understanding</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Perratton, 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-liberalism** 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
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.