

Conference Report



**REVIEWING A DECADE OF PEER LEARNING
AND PROJECTING A FUTURE OF GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA**

17-18 MAY ADDIS ABABA ETHIOPIA



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Executive Summary

A two-day conference titled “APRM+10: Reviewing a Decade of Peer Learning and Projecting the Future of Governance in Africa” was convened for civil society organisations (CSOs) and other stakeholders in the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on 17-18 May 2013. This was done in the context of the celebration of ten years of the existence of the APRM (2003-2013), and sought to reflect on the achievements and challenges of the mechanism in its first decade; and to further project a future for the APRM as Africa’s preeminent governance self-assessment tool. The conference was held just ahead of the APRM colloquium and the 50th Anniversary celebrations of the Organisation of African Unity-African Union (OAU-AU).

The conference was jointly organised by the Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project (AfriMAP) of the Open Society Foundation (OSF), the Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA), the Oxfam Liaison office with the African Union Oxfam and the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). The Organisers have been involved in the APRM from the beginning, including: participating in country self-assessment exercises as Technical research Institutions (TRIs), developing and revising various APRM instruments, training and capacity-building on the APRM, APRM-related research and publication, as well as joining country review teams (CRTs).

The conference sought to draw together a critical mass of African CSOs from across the continent to discuss the progress made by the APRM, the roles and experiences of CSOs, and the future challenges that the APRM faces, both at national and continental levels. Over 120 participants took part in the conference, ranging from CSO representatives, academics, government officials, diplomats and representatives of the APRM’s main strategic partners, namely the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and the African Development Bank (AfDB).

Proceedings of the conference covered presentations by academics, civil society representatives and other experts who have been involved in various aspects of the APRM over the past ten years such as country self-assessment research, scientific and expert panels that advise the APRM continental structures (the APR Panel and Continental secretariat), activist organisations and stakeholder groups. They sought to specifically highlight the experiences of civil society organisations in the APRM, in light of the central role the mechanism places on the participation and partnership of this sector in self-assessment, policy planning and implementation processes at national and continental levels. In addition, the conferences explored the prospects of the APRM in the next ten years, in an effort to project the future of the mechanism.

Deliberations of the workshop highlighted, among others, recognition of the importance of the APRM in the larger context of governance reform in Africa in the past decade, and specifically its role in opening up the political space for all citizens to converse openly and frankly concerning important national issues; as well as its potential to further the cause for transparency and accountability as the hallmarks of good governance. The particular significance of the National Plan of Action (NPOA) as a planning and reform tool that needs to be integrated into national planning, implementation and monitoring platforms was also emphasised.

Among the lessons learned have been the central role that the APRM requires of civil society and other non-state actors, particularly in the assessment phase of the process. However, the weakness of participation and ineffective involvement in the post-review stages was also highlighted as a challenge for both civil society and governments. This threatens to erode the gains of the Mechanism, especially the direct impact of APRM recommendations in the eyes of the African citizens; and therefore needs to be systematically strengthened.

Concern was further expressed regarding, among others, the following:

- The slow implementation of NPoAs and reporting on progress by APRM countries.
- The general failure to mobilise resources for NPoA implementation, particularly from national resources – and the continued reliance on external funding and facilitation in this regard.
- The apparent treatment of NPoAs as stand-alone projects and failure to integrate them into national platforms of policy reform, planning and implementation.
- Resource and capacity constraints experienced by civil society with regard to the monitoring, evaluation and other supports to implementation of APRM recommendations. This is exacerbated by continuing difficult relations between civil society and government in many countries.
- The uncertain position and place of the APRM within the emerging African Governance Architecture (AGA), combined with rudimentary resource capacity of the continental APRM Secretariat and its vague mandate. These have limited the effectiveness of the APRM to support countries and strengthen incentives for membership.

Given the above, the conference made a number of recommendations, which are contained in the conference communique attached to this report. Among the important recommendations, the following may be highlighted:

- That all countries participating in the APRM strive for more efficient and timely implementation of the recommendations emanating from their review reports – thus strengthening the demonstration effect and improving incentives to participation (for both those within the mechanism and those still uncertain about joining).
- That all stakeholders look into the possibility of universalising the APRM: making it mandatory to join the Mechanism, as this would provide a common platform and further speed up integration into continent-wide governance reform and integration initiatives.
- That the APRM seek closer and clearer integration into the emerging African Governance and Security sector institutional frameworks at continental levels.
- That civil society work to strengthen its capacity and cross-national initiatives aimed at improving information sharing, monitoring and advocacy in the post-review phases of the APRM process; and to further strengthen its sensitisation programmes for effective citizen participation.
- That commitment to universal participation should recognise the role of all non-state actors in the APRM, including business and particularly Africa's diaspora

populations – which are becoming increasingly important and influential in governance, development and the generation of knowledge.

The conference produced a communiqué, which is intended to be both a rallying call for more effective support for the APRM from all stakeholders, as well as a roadmap for activities related to the Mechanism within the non-state community as they enter the second decade of this innovative, home-grown African initiative.

Acronyms

ACDEG	African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
AfDB	African Development Bank
AfriMAP	Africa Democracy Monitoring and Advocacy Project
AGA	African Governance Architecture
AMAT	APRM Monitoring and Advocacy Template
AMP	APRM Monitoring Project
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
COMESA	Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa
CRM	Country Review Mission
CRR	Country Review Report
CRT	Country Review Team
CSAQ	Country Self-Assessment Questionnaire
CSAR	Country Self-Assessment Report
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
EAC	East African Community
ECOSOCC	(AU) Economic, Social and Cultural Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EISA	Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (formerly Electoral Institute of Southern Africa)
EMB	Election Management Body
EU	European Union
FDA	Foreign Direct Investment
GPAD	(UNECA) Governance and Public Administration Division
HSGIC	(NEPAD) Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
MCA	Millennium Challenge Account
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGC	(APRM) National Governing Council/Commission
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPoA	National Programme of Action
NSA	Non-State Actor
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OSF	Open Society Foundation

OSISA	Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa
PAP	Pan-African Parliament
PSC	(AU) Peace and Security Council
REC	Regional Economic Community
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAIIA	South African Institute of International Affairs
TRI	Technical Research Institution
UMA	Union of the Arab Maghreb/l'Union du Maghreb Arabe
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

Introduction

A two-day conference titled “*APRM+10: Reviewing a Decade of Peer Learning and Projecting the Future of Governance in Africa*” was convened for civil society organisations and other stakeholders in the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on 17-18 May 2013. This was done in the context of the celebration of ten years of the existence of the APRM (2003-2013), and sought to reflect on the impact, achievements and challenges of the mechanism in its first decade; and to further project a future for the APRM as Africa’s preeminent governance self-assessment tool.

About the APRM

The APRM was established in March 2003 by the Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC) of NEPAD as an instrument for self-monitoring by the participating governments. 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. This is done, among others, through sharing of experiences and reinforcement of successful and best practices; including identifying deficiencies and assessing the needs for capacity building (see APRM Base Document (available at www.nepad.org)).

Since its inception, the APRM has made significant progress in terms of the number of countries that have acceded, with the current membership standing at thirty-three (33): Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sao Tome & Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda and Zambia. Of these, 17 countries have completed the self-assessment and have been peer reviewed. They are: Ghana, Rwanda, Kenya, South Africa, Algeria, Benin, Uganda, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Mali, Mozambique, Lesotho, Mauritius, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Tanzania and Zambia. The second Country Review Report of Kenya is ready for peer review by the APR Forum.

A key output of the APRM is the National Programme of Action (NPOA), through which the assessed country commits itself to reform and policy action. The NPOA is a comprehensive document that outlines both the areas of deficit in the four thematic areas of assessment and the strategies (with identifiable and quantifiable targets, inputs and outputs).

Throughout its various stages – and particularly in the review and planning processes- the APRM stresses and is designed to provide opportunities for the participation of citizens in policy debates. The lead up to NPOA fosters national dialogue, an interrogation of deficiencies in governance, and enables a platform for the exchange of practical ideas on how best local problems can be solved through local approaches and recognised best practices. Therefore, the active involvement and participation of civil society is built into the APRM.

APRM+10: Conference Concept and Rationale

The APRM+10 conference sought to focus on appraising the achievements and challenges of the APRM in its first ten years; and examining prospects for the future survival and success of the mechanism. The strategy was to draw together a critical mass of representatives from African CSOs,

members of the mechanism's implementation structures and representatives of the continental (AU) governance structures, to discuss the progress made by the APRM, the roles and experiences of CSOs, and the future challenges that the APRM faces, both at a national and continental level.

In addition to issues relating specifically to the 10-year review of the APRM, the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the OAU-AU further provided an opportunity to reflect on the achievements/non-achievements of the mechanism linking these specifically to the successes/nonsuccesses the OAU and especially the AU has recorded over the years. The specific objectives of the conference therefore included:

- Interrogating how civil society can hold member states accountable through monitoring of NPoA implementation and other commitments at national level.
- Examining the relationship of the APRM with other governance reform initiatives and institutions within the AU, including the Pan-African Parliament (PAP), the Peace and Security Commission (PSC), and the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG) (and therefore addressing questions such as, what value does the Charter add? Does it represent a major departure or can the two coexist and reinforce each other? How can legislative rules and principles as outlined in the Charter be aligned with PAP's mandate? How can the PAP better engaged with the APRM recommendations?).
- How the APRM can be widened and promoted to a more universal African instrument, including: to what extent would it be possible and desirable to make the APRM more binding (for example, making accession compulsory?).

The outcome of the discussions and recommendations of the conference were captured in a communiqué, which will be presented to the APRM structures, policy makers and relevant stakeholders for consideration. The communiqué was conceived and designed as a reflective document for discussion with the APRM structures, policy makers and relevant stakeholders in maintaining the momentum of the APRM and moving the mechanism forward. It is further intended to serve as a guide for a wider CSO strategy in heightening the APRM's visibility, rejuvenating interest in the mechanism, and operationalising monitoring plans and tools by CSOs to hold state actors to account on their deliverables and national commitments. The text of the final conference communiqué is attached as an Appendix to this report.

Summary of Proceedings

Day 1: 17 May 2013

Introduction and Welcome

Chair: Denis Kadima (CEO – EISA)

Opening Remarks: by H.E. Erastus Mwencha (Deputy Chairperson of the African Union Commission)

Keynote Address: H.E. Abdoulie Janneh (Former UN Under-Secretary General of UNECA)

The Keynote Address took a broad sweep of the theme of APRM at 10: the background to the Mechanism, its achievements and challenges, and possibilities in the future. Specifically, the role of civil society and expectations for the conference were outlined. Among the important points made were the following:

- That the APRM is a unique and innovative initiative which some other “mechanisms” have tried to use as a model for monitoring governance (the UN Convention Against Corruption).
- That the APRM had achieved great coverage among African countries, especially considering that it is voluntary, opens the political leadership to unprecedented public scrutiny, and imposes large expenditure on state funds (33 of 53 countries having acceded).

The benefits of the APRM have included:

- i. Opening up the political space for citizen participation in policy debates at national level (no other initiative before had achieved this).
- ii. Fostering national debate on important issues, including advocacy for good governance and improved service delivery.
- iii. Warning of impending crises (in Kenya), and when the situation worsened, becoming the point of reference in addressing it.
- iv. Creating a platform for African peer learning and sharing of experiences.

The lessons learned in the process have included:

- i. Political commitment is central to the success of the APRM, as is ownership by a diversity of stakeholders.
- ii. Extensive and systematic sensitisation is important for the success of the APRM.
- iii. Monitoring and evaluation of the NPoA implementation, while important, is rarely done systematically.
- iv. Irregular submission of progress reports is partly a result of scarce resources, thus the importance of the role played by different partners in supporting the APRM (resource contributions).
- v. Both relations with domestic partners/stakeholders and the complementarity of APRM NPoAs with domestic planning platforms have not been optimal.

- vi. It remains to see how the APRM fits into the African Governance Architecture that is emerging at a continental level.

The challenges, therefore, have been:

- i. That joining the APRM has become an objective (end) in itself, rather than a means to an end (thus the number of countries which have acceded but have yet to go through even the first review is a concern, and the sluggishness in initiating second reviews).
- ii. That the APRM does not seem to appeal to newly elected leaders (generation following the founding group), and similarly civil society does not see the benefits of participation in it.
- iii. That although the APRM is being reintegrated with NEPAD, there remains serious organisational challenges with the Continental Secretariat.
- iv. That the institutionalisation of the Focal Points Forum/Committee runs the danger of competing for mandate with the Panel.
- v. That the panel itself has a number of questions hanging over it, including mandate, term, length and how it is selected.

The specific challenges for civil society in the APRM include:

- i. How to widen and improve the quality of its participation in the APRM.
- ii. How to better monitor implementation of NPoA.
- iii. How to coordinate and deal with nationally-owned programmes and those that are donor-driven, given different accountability requirements and issues of mandate.
- iv. Whether the NSA community itself holds its leaders and operations to the same standards of accountability that APRM demands of government.

Expectations of the conference would include, therefore:

- i. Reconceptualising civil society to go beyond NGOs (to cover all NSAs, including business, CBOs, etc.)
 - a. Basing inclusion on the value-addition that each participant brings, rather than blanket inclusivity that adds little value to the issues of the APRM (principle of selectivity)
- ii. NSAs should push for the ratification of the ACDEG because it complements the APRM and strengthens it.
- iii. They would look into strengthening their own initiatives to support the APRM – and especially dissemination of information to new/non-member states of the APRM.
- iv. They would start taking a long-term view in thinking about the APRM, the MDGs, etc.; and project a future of good governance for Africa past the year 2015.
- v. They would also start exploring issues that are currently missing from the APRM, such as the governance of natural resources, armies and public sector reform.
- vi. Rallying for the repositioning of the APRM central to the African Governance Architecture.
- vii. The APRM secretariat would develop better strategies for interfacing with NSAs (to complement the current direct access to governments).

These would be ways in which NSAs would help carry the APRM forward.

Ten Years of Self-Assessment: A Reflection

Chair: Emmanuel Akwetey

Panelists: Fatima Kharadja, Samuel Cudjoe, Gilbert M. Khadiagala, John Tesha and Adele Jinadu (Discussant)

The purpose of this session was to set the tone of the conference by addressing the question: “10 years down the line, what has the APRM achieved?” Focusing specifically on the experiences of civil society, discussions sought to tease out and analyse good practices, constraints and challenges that the mechanism has faced in its first decade.

APRM Achievements and Challenges

Presentations and discussions recognised the significance achievements of the APRM, and recognising that it represents both a continuing evolution of debates and conceptualisation of the governance (and shared values) agenda in Africa, as well a revolutionary jump in the paradigm of state-society relations:

- Internally-focused notions and systems of accountability
- Reimagining and re-engineering state legitimacy
- Strengthening the integration agenda as an extension of continental liberation (in line with the decolonisation agenda of the OAU) – and the RECs as building blocks
- State-society relations, and particularly opening up of political space to critical self-reflection
- Encouraging governance reform through evidence-based assessment
- Stimulating and promoting national ownership of governance

The current coverage of the APRM (accession of 33 out of 53 AU members) in ten years is encouraging, but the mechanism needs to be universalised. In this connection, the issue of moving to make the APRM compulsory was raised as one strategy. However, the crucial challenge here has been implementation and making the APRM (particularly NPoAs) more effective.¹ This would retain both ownership (since there is no coercion/compulsion to participate) as well as incentive by demonstration that the initiative works.

The mechanism has improved governance, as evidenced by the interest to join, commitment to participation, as well as country-specific reforms that have been attributed to it. However, part of the challenge here has been the lack of integration with other AU governance reforms (example being the Charter on Elections and Democracy) and institutions such as RECs to implement the policies even though there is a confluence of agendas.

At national level, one of the main challenges has been that the APRM continues to be an elite initiative, marked more by high-level communiqués, conferences, etc.; less inclusion of ordinary citizens; and a less than full achievements of the objectives above. The tangible delivery of change, in the form of implemented and effective NPoAs has been a major challenge, as have national ownership, coordination of APRM with other initiatives within the continental (and regional)

¹ Here the slow implementation, non-prioritisation and/or outright disregard of APRM recommendation by governments were highlighted. Particularly important in this connection was the politics of selective implementation/disregard of recommendations (governments implementing only those they liked and ignoring those they disliked), and the inability of civil society to exert positive influence towards implementation.

governance and development spheres; and continued reliance on external resources – all threatening the achievements and undermining the sustainability of the APRM in future.

Civil Society Participation and Experiences

Overall civil society involvement has improved in line with APRM requirements, but the experience has varied across countries and stages in the process. Therefore there is need for more concerted, effective and systematic participation – beyond representation and token consultation. At the heart of the challenges faced here have been the fundamental imbalances in relations between state and society, the unchanged (or slow-changing) nature of the African state, and the internal weaknesses of civil society on the continent. Among the specific manifestations of these have been the following:

- There continues to be no consensus on who constitutes civil society and who they represent (questions of legitimacy and interests).
- Weakness of civil society's role in sensitisation, advocacy, capacity building, networking, and training (within APRM and generally).

The place that was exclusively the place of the state was the review stage, and now civil society groups are part of the president's delegation.

Projecting the Future

In looking towards the future, some of the central questions and issues revolve around how to strengthen national APRM processes and the role of civil society in them; how to make sure that it works and it remains relevant; and how to deepen and sustain the involvement of stakeholders, both state and non-state (including how to reverse the trend towards marginalisation and less interactivity at the peer review stages – among Heads of State and Government).

Therefore, within the APRM, civil society's role has to change: the CSO community has to increasingly build its perception (especially by government) as a partner, reinforcing capacities and strategies and linking with grassroots level. Particularly important here is the shared values agenda, where civil society has to positively contribute to the debate and entrenchment of APRM as a mechanism for Africans by Africans. This includes, among others

- the domestication of international standards;
- dissemination of information and sensitisation of the citizenry;
- rethinking the role of donors in the APRM;
- pushing for universal accession; and
- building capacity to effectively participate in all stages of the process (not only assessment, but also in implementation of NPOAs).

In summary, if the vision of the APRM is to fundamentally change the relationship between the state and its citizens, but also between citizens, then debates and actions should not be confined to only institutions, but also address state-society relations. Further, there needs to be demonstrable incentives for participation: after accession and reviews there needs to be effective implementation. This should include the APRM structures, institutions and processes also practicing what they preach: transparency, inclusiveness, openness and effectiveness – adhering to the set time tables for various stages and effectively engaging the citizenry (for example publication of findings, frank national discussions and effective dissemination of information surrounding national APRM assessments and recommendations).

WORKING GROUPS and ROUNDTABLES

Two working group sessions kicked off discussions round the issues outlined in the preceding session. These sought to more intensively and critically analyse the role of civil society in the APR process by closing looking at some of the monitoring tools and what they teach concerning the implementation of the APRM.

Working Group 1: Show casing CSOs work in monitoring the APRM

Chair: Jeggan Grey-Johnson

Panelists: Tšoeu Petlane, Gedion Gamora, Susan Mwape and Yarik Turianskyi (Discussant)

Background

This Working Group was designed to present experiences of CSO monitoring of APRM at different stages, from the immediate post-accession stages (Zambia) to implementation (Lesotho and South Africa). These experiences included the development of monitoring and evaluation tools for use by CSOs in 2010 as part of an effort to keep the APRM momentum, which had waned. The objective was to share some lessons learned from these experiences and sketch out what could be possible directions and strategies to strengthen CSOs' monitoring and advocacy for APRM in future.

Summary of Presentations and Discussions

Three experiences were presented, namely:

- The pilot implementation of an APRM monitoring and advocacy tool developed to assist CSOs in following APRM implementation and to develop advocacy strategies (the APRM Monitoring Project) in Lesotho and South Africa.
- A civil society initiative to mobilise pressure for implementation of APRM in the early stages (assessment and review) and to position CSOs for effective participation into the process (the Zambia Civil Society APRM Secretariat).
- Analysis and recommendations on how existing shared values on good governance as contained in various AU instruments and institutions can be used by CSOs to strengthen their participation and effectiveness within the APRM, particularly as monitoring and advocacy tools.

The presentations and discussions recognised the importance of shared values as a starting point and common ground of the new quest for good governance in Africa, of which the APRM is a part; and appreciated the existence of various instruments the AU has put in place to achieve this at both national and continental levels. In order to ensure that these have a practical and positive impact, citizen involvement (and therefore the central role of CSOs), political commitment, effective monitoring and communication were highlighted as central, particularly during implementation. The main challenges identified included:

- Declining public interest as countries moved from accession, ratification, assessment/review to implementation.
- Continued uneven and difficult relations between governments and civil society, revolving mostly round the differing mandates concerning national governance issues.
- Limited capacity of stakeholders and organisations to consistently and systematically engage with governance assessment and monitoring: to use available indicators effectively, to

integrate their use with CSO activities, to coordinate with other CSOs across national borders and at continental level (and therefore to use best practices and learn from one another), and to provide evidence-based pressure to drive governance reform.

The experiences showcased confirmed the above pattern of shortcomings, and suggested ways to overcome this, including:

- The need to explore strategies for generalising and strengthening pressure on governments to accede to and conduct an honest and open review; keeping civil society abreast of and informed of APRM developments and debates at home; and building the capacity of civil society to engage in the APRM at different stages.
- Encouraging the dissemination of information about best practices coming out of the APRM. This would strengthen peer learning, one of the core strategies for the success of the APRM.
- Strengthening common values and identifying synergies among various African governance initiatives that governments sign up to, so that the APRM is not isolated or seen as competing with other reforms. This is important because of the resource and capacity constraints that CSOs face, and would strengthen and deepen reform in such contentious (but common) problem areas such as lack of transparency and accountability, poor human rights, election rigging and the low visibility of women in governance.
- Fine-tuning the AMP instruments (the AMAT template) and encouraging its wider use beyond the pilot countries. This would include probing and establishing direct links between what has been done nationally (governance reforms and practices) to the APRM.²
- Maintaining and strengthening channels of communication on the APRM for civil society, especially in the crucial stages of implementation and reporting.
- Strengthening the commitment of civil society to complementing rather than competing with government efforts, thereby strengthening both the possibilities of success and national ownership in the long run.

² It was noted that in the AMP project, progress made was seldom being linked back to the APRM. This was in contrast with the way in which initiatives were linked publicly and officially to the MDGs, where very strong linkages could be identified. In the SA report, most of the issues highlighted spoke to the NPoA, but tended to link these more to achievements since the end of Apartheid.

Working Group 2: Managing Diversity: Minorities, Gender and Youth in the APRM

Chair: Jolly Kemigabo

Panelists: Nicholas Ngigi, Emmanuel Ishie Etim, Patrick Mpedzisi and Leah Maina (Discussant)

Background

Difficulties associated with the management of diversity have been a constant theme in many APRM reports. This working group sought to throw a critical eye at some of the missing linkages in the both the process and implementation of the APRM, specifically focusing on gender and intergenerational interactions and how diversity is to be managed in the process.

Summary of Presentations and Discussions

Presentations and discussions highlighted the recurring theme of the management of diversity as one of the main challenges facing many African countries, especially in the light of the quest to improve representation, voice and participation of marginalised and underprivileged communities. It was noted, however, that many CRRs fail to effectively address issues of groups such as women, the youth, the elderly, sexual and national minorities. Among the causes of this, it was suggested that the states' agenda has generally been to either pursue nation building through harmonisation/homogenisation strategies, or the political mobilisation of such diversities. The following points were made in this regard:

- Minorities are not homogenous: they are complex, overlapping and are often difficult to define and thus difficult to manage constructively (subgroups that exist in wider society also exist within youth).
- Concerning youth, 5 key diversity issues were identified, namely class, status, political affiliation, ethnicity, gender and religion.
- The identities that underlie diversity derive from features attributed at birth as well as those constructed from the social environment.
- On the positive side, identities and ascribed positions in society are malleable, and this can be used to understand, manage and transform the management of diversity – as conscious choices to positively mobilise along group characteristics and incorporate marginalised voices.
- While youth marginalisation was seen as a problem (through unemployment, limited education opportunities and politicisation), the potential of this group as a national resource should be emphasised and appreciated. The often-used adage that the youth are the future of any society should lead to a more systematic and positive approach to their empowerment. This requires a paradigm shift in approaching initiatives like 'youth-led development', which requires government policy that does not simply brand youth programmes as help – but cater to the youth as a group that can help themselves given the right conditions.
- While the APRM takes place within borders, there is a need to manage diversity across borders. This refers to all dimensions of diversity, not just ethnicity, which appears to be the issue threatening many African countries in accommodating diverse voices in the political space.

- While the dynamics of diversity management differ from country to country, there are core commonalities – for instance regarding the status, participation and treatment of youth and women, and the politicisation of ethnicity. This should encourage learning from one another on how to empower and include these groups in important national debates, and how to utilise their cross-national strengths to overcome national problems.

Roundtable 1: Creating knowledge on Governance: The contribution of research institutions to the APRM

Chair: Claude Kabemba

Panelists: Godwin Murunga, Kojo Busia, Mari-Lise du Preez, Faith Abiodun and Ebrima Sall (Discussant)

Background

As the APRM enters its second decade, it is imperative that knowledge production centres are intrinsically involved in the process: to document current dynamics and to critically engage with emerging governance trends. This session sought to examine the role of research in the APRM beyond the “technical” work of TRIs and other institutions of knowledge production in the first phase of national reviews.

Summary of Presentations and Discussions

The presentations in this session which began with an examination of the research work involved in preparing the APRM Country Reports, noting that the exercise in all countries involved some of the most comprehensive and intensive investigation of national issues; was undertaken by the countries’ preeminent scholars and researchers; and involved the distillation of citizens’ voice and thinking into the most comprehensive information packages generated at national level.

On the other hand, several questions were raised and discussed, which aimed at taking the “baseline” and challenges identified in the review phase of the APRM into the future. These are summarised below.

First, there continues to be a gap between the compilation of “citizen thinking” that is reflected in the findings of the APRM and the translation of these into indigenous and organic worldviews that should concretely help Africans frame their future. The challenge, therefore, is the translation of information collected by Africans (in this case, in the first instance through the APRM work) into knowledge about and for their future.

Second, there were discussions surrounding whether knowledge produced by Africans has worked to stimulate new thinking and theoretical insights on governance and development. If the APRM, among others is to have a longer-term impact on Africa, it has to stimulate better and more innovative thinking about governance thinking and knowledge that should be both specific to African context but also be a contribution to debates on governance more widely.

Third, and more practically, the concern was raised that information and knowledge so far generated in Africa should continue to be properly and positively utilised to drive policy planning and implementation. In this vein, APRM should be a spur to shifting from theory, policy and finally practice that objectively alters the circumstances of African lives.

In summary, this session critically examined the role that the “African thinker” has played in the APRM, but went further to pose an agenda of knowledge creation as part of the entrenchment of the APRM. This could happen through better translation of the African worldview into a tool that helps map the future of the continent. Thus the use of knowledge generated in the APRM exercise (and other related initiatives) could be a stimulus to more rigorous thinking about the nature of governance. Furthermore, the translation of theoretical work and empirical findings into inputs into

policies can ultimately transform the lives of Africans. This was posed as a challenge to Africa's knowledge producers as an agenda for strengthening the APRM and other indigenous continental initiatives in the future, thus ensuring their sustainability and the relevance of indigenous knowledge institutions such as universities and research centres.

Roundtable 2: Financing Governance Institutions – An understanding

Chair: Roseline Achieng

Panelists: Angela Reitmaier, Bhekikhosi Moyo, Ezra Mbogori, Zemenay Lakew and Fenwick Kamanga (Discussant)

Background

Very little, if at all, is understood on how institutions finance processes, especially the ones in the realm of governance. This round table was dedicated to some of the funding institutions that aid continental organisations. The question that the panel sought to analyse and shed light on is: which processes are given priority and why? This was aimed, among others, at understanding how the results obtained from country review exercises and NPoAs can influence funding priorities.

Summary of Presentations and Discussions

Presentations in this session concentrated on three major themes, namely outlining the funding prerogatives and philosophies of some of the major donors (UNDP, AfDB, MCA, etc); their delivery mechanisms, priorities and channels; and coordination of these with the APRM - and how civil society organisations fit into these. In summary, the following issues were debated and points made:

- That the majority of donor agencies premise their operations on certain principles, the first of which is non-interference or desire not to dictate policies to either governments or societies where they operate.
- That the relationships of cooperation are based on shared values: because donors seek to promote certain values (and therefore outcomes) from their intervention, they generally establish or enter into relations with governments, organisations and groups that seek the same.
- That while examples taken from external sources may be used, it is either international standards or those local organisations aspire to that underpin these relations.
- The role of donors is to both assist move towards these agreed goals and to close the capacity gaps (resources, systems, policies, etc.) while enabling or facilitating their domestic development.
- That the APRM has not been designed as measuring tool to facilitate aid, but may be used for this purpose as it integrates measurable indicators – only that this should be an end in itself, and that it should not be adjusted to fit this approach.
- That civil society is one of the local/national partners with whom donors cooperate, and this is part of a comprehensive strategy – depending on the donor, issues, the capacity and values pursued.

Day 2: 18 May 2013

Working Group 3: Thinking through NPOAs -The role of NGCs and CSOs

Chair: Grant Masterson

Panelists: Adele Jinadu, Laura Nyirinkindi and Roseline Achieng' (Discussant)

Background

This Working Group critically examined the role and functions of the NPoA as an integral (and perhaps most important) output of the APRM. Particularly important here was the place and function of National Governing Councils (NGCs) and Civil Society Groups (CSOs) in the implementation of NPoAs: problems and challenges they have faced and are likely to encounter, including transparency and accountability; and civil society's continuing voice in the process.

Summary of Presentations and Discussions

The thrust of presentations and discussions here revolved around the following themes:

- The nature and effectiveness of NPoAs as policy change instruments: how these have evolved and how they integrate with other national planning and policy tools.
- The institutional, process and political impediments to NPoA implementation, monitoring and evaluation.
- The nature, effectiveness and voice of NGCs, and particularly of civil society in these, to influence policy implementation.

Presentations in particular used studies of country experiences, and consolidated studies of comparisons across APRM countries, to distill lessons, identify challenges and begin making suggestions to strengthen shortfalls identified.

On NGCs, the overall conclusion was that there are variations in the ability of the NGC to play their role across the various stages of the process, but that the common theme or challenge has been the absence of standardised stipulations regarding the composition, independence, authority, mandate and operation of NGCs – and therefore the specific role of civil society in these. While several examples of NGC effectiveness were related, as well as those of civil society capacity in various roles, it was suggested that a more structured approach may be necessary:

- NGC composition, appointment and regulations to be standardised across the continent
- Resources made available
- Independence of operations (including budgeting and appointment of personnel) to be guaranteed
- NGC to be institutionalised (constituted as a legal entity), its functions and mandate clarified, and role of civil society clearly defined.

On the NPoA, several challenges were identified, the main of which was its “addendum” status in the APR process, its non-inclusiveness and non-transparency, its weak anchoring and integration with other in policy frameworks, unrealistic costing, and lack of a monitoring and evaluation system. In addition, both NGCs and civil society are generally marginalised in the implementation of the NpoA. This is despite the fact that the NPoA is the most critical deliverable of the APRM process. No wonder then that NPoA recommendations are under-implemented.

Working Group 4: Transparency and Accountability: More than just government responsibility

Chair: Tšoeu Petlane

Panelists: Onyekachi Wambu, Dominic Liche, Lulseged Abebe and Rafiq Hajat (Discussant)

Background

This Working Group sought to integrate two broad themes: the role of non-state actors in pushing for and demonstrating transparency and accountability on the one hand; and the role of African diasporas in promoting the values of good governance and contributing to development on the continent.

The overall argument here was that, as a tool for promoting accountability and transparency, the APRM opens up space for the participation of more than just governments, but also importantly civil society (which is catered for within the Mechanism) as well as the African Diaspora (which is identified as the 6th region (in addition to the five continental regions – North, South, East, West and Central) by the AU).

Summary of Presentations and Discussions

Presentations and discussions in this session sought to reiterate the objective of the APRM as a tool for fostering accountability and transparency, for including civil society and other stakeholders in promoting good governance and sustainable development. The session emphasised the important role played by:

- a) Civil society in developing solutions to governance issues through the review process, and holding the state accountable to the implementation of polities and reforms – especially those emanating from the APRM in the form of the NPoA.
- b) The African diaspora (estimated at about 100 million worldwide) in contributing to both the political (mainly through commitment to the ideals of pan-Africanism) and economic development on the continent (through remittances and other forms of economic transfers) on the continent.

A further issue examined was the need for civil society and other non-state actors to practice and demonstrate accountability and transparency themselves in their operations: so as to contribute to strengthening both the values of good governance and the legitimacy of this sector as a major stakeholder in the APRM. There was consensus that transparency and accountability cannot be limited to nation state governments only (or simply state-civil society accountability) but should spread to all sectors of governance or society.

As a continental initiative, the APRM requires support and the accompaniment of institutions and individuals that advocates and work for Africa's success and growth. The involvement of the diaspora to deepen democracy and governance in Africa was highlighted as important in this connection, but the role of the diaspora is not clearly spelt out in the APRM guidelines. And because they are perceived as falling under the CSOs category, their involvement has largely remained insignificant. The challenge therefore, was how to track and reach this diverse group, and to use it in the drive to strengthen the APRM and good governance and development generally. Already, the diaspora is contributing in various ways, including:

- Financial Capital (in the form of remittances to pay for education, healthcare, investment to build houses, start businesses etc.).
- Political Capital (lobbying and advocacy for the interests of the home country and the continent with various host countries).
- Intellectual Capital (skills and knowledge transfer).
- Cultural Capital (as promoters and consumers of food, arts etc. from the home country).

Therefore, it was crucial that this community (or communities) be integrated into the APRM, so that their potential can be more systematically harnessed. Some suggestions were proffered in this connection, including:

- bringing different perspectives and raising issues that participants are hesitant to discuss during country assessments.

In this connection, therefore African countries could look into measures such as:

- the establishment of specialised units in diplomatic missions, to register and reach out to the diaspora.
- working with the diaspora to launch an awareness creation campaign on APRM aims, objectives and principles.
- facilitating and participating in Focus Group Discussions, reviewing assessment reports, sponsoring activities, and lobbying governments on the implementation of NPoAs.
- mobilising diaspora resources (financial, skill and knowledge) to augment and enhance the capacity of CSOs in Africa.

In this manner, therefore, national CSOs, the diaspora and governments could buttress the APRM, and in coordination promote and ensure transparency and accountability internally and among themselves in fulfillment of the objectives of the Mechanism.

Panel Session: APRM and the Emerging Governance Architecture

Chair: Essam Sharaf

Panelists: Maurice Engueleguele, Nicola Tissi, Sabiti Makara, Shola Omotola and Kgothatso Semela-Serote (Discussant)

Background

In 2011 the African Union (AU) established the African Governance Architecture (AGA) as flagship initiative of its Shared Values agenda. AGA and APRM have a shared remit: promoting human rights, economic development, democracy and good governance. This panel examined the emerging governance architecture and sought to understand how the APRM can forge linkages with some of the governance structures such as the PAP, the Department of Political Affairs, ECOSOCC and CIDO, the Peace and Security Commission and NEPAD.

Summary of Presentations and Discussions

The AGA was designed to be a framework to coordinate existing initiatives of different actors in the realm of governance, so as to prompt an integrated continental approach. In this context, the AGA holds the potential to become a support mechanism for the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), spotlighting governance gaps in Africa that bear implications on peace and security for a given country or region.

The newly-ratified Charter for Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG) can play the role as legal anchor of the AGA and bridge between the two Architectures.

Secondly, there is an urge to define the role of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) within the nascent Architecture. In particular, the APRM can become the designated mechanism within the AGA to keep track of implementation and ratification of shared values instruments in African countries, an area in which the Mechanism has already shown tangible value.

Firstly, more effort and energy needs to be invested in ensuring that all the 54 Member States of the AU accede to the mechanism and undergo governance reviews.

Secondly, concerted efforts need to be made to persuade all APRM countries to sign, ratify and implement ACDEG, while also lobbying and advocating for the universal ratification of the Charter by all AU Member States.

Thirdly, by all means possible, the implementation of both APRM and ACDEG must ensure a balanced role for both state and non-state actors in order to guard against state-centricism and promote boarder citizen engagement with these continental governance initiatives.

Fourthly, sustainability of APRM and ACDEG, in the long run, should be predicated upon stronger institutional and operational synergies between the AGA and the APSA because sustainable human development is unattainable without democracy and peace.

Fifthly and finally, AU Member States should mobilise domestic resources for the effective implementation of NPoAs and domestication/implementation of ACDEG rather than depending on external donor contributions as this may have deleterious consequences for national ownership of these initiatives.

Projecting a Future for the APRM

Chair: Olabisi Dare, AU Commission

Panelists: Khabele Matlosa, Grace Ongile, Jinmi Adisa, Desiree Assogbavi, and Adebayo Olukoshi (Discussant)

Introduction

There is clear advancement in the quantity and quality of governance in Africa. Current trends show that democracy is the more preferred option of governance than in the 1960s. However, the continent needs need more development-orientated growth, which would lift more people out of poverty. Therefore, both good governance and accelerated regional (and continental) integration remain a challenge for the continent.

As the title suggests, the session was dedicated to analysing possible future trends for the APRM. It sought to connect the major themes of preceding sessions and consolidate them into a concise vision of how the APRM can be linked to other AU governance structures. The session also proceeded to examine a draft conference communiqué, which was conceived as a public document that would be used as the basis for further action and dialogue among APRM stakeholders to drive the momentum that sustains and propels the Mechanism to success in its second decade. In particular, the session sought to continue the debates initiated in the session on integrating the APRM into AGA institutions and processes.

Summary of Presentations and Discussions

In looking towards the future, central questions of how to strengthen national APRM processes and the role of civil society in them; how to make sure that it works and it remains relevant to the lives of citizens; how to strengthen the Mechanism at a continental level (particularly in complementarity with other governance, security and developmental initiatives – AUC, AGA, APSA and NEPAD); and how to deepen and sustain the involvement of stakeholders, both state and non-state (including the diaspora); were debated.

Particularly important here is the shared values agenda, to which were added common interests and common destinies. Among the recommendations that emerged from this session, specifically relating to where the APRM should be in the next ten years, were the following:

- That since the Mechanism is predicated on commonly-shared visions, values and interests, there should be a concerted effort to commit to the same review templates: universal accession to the APRM, adoption and ratification of the ACDEG, domestication of international standards, standardisation of processes, institutions and timelines within the APRM, etc. This would give real life to commonality among Africans and stimulate the move towards genuine continental integration.
- That the continental bodies, and the APRM secretariat in particular, be capacitated with both the resources and mandate to engage directly with civil society, as this would strengthen dissemination of information and sensitisation of the citizenry (by tapping into the link and expertise that the latter has with the citizens). Further facilitation should also be made for civil society to dialogue across national boundaries, thus promoting NSA integration across the continent.

- That at core, the role of CSOs and other NSAs in the APRM is complementary to rather than competing with the state, and therefore this should be encouraged and nurtured. Processes towards this would include, among others, building capacity to effectively participate in all stages of the process (not only assessment, but also in implementation of NPoAs).
- The role of external funding in both the APRM and other continental initiatives needs to be rethought; and serious commitment has to be made by African states and other stakeholders to deepen ownership of these processes and institutions as a way of ensuring the sustainability of their impact.
- Further, there needs to be demonstrable incentives for participation: after accession and reviews there needs to be effective implementation and integration of APRM recommendations into national planning systems. In a similar manner, at continental level, there needs to be a systematic harmonisation of the roles of various initiatives and mechanisms that together are designed to promote good governance (AGA, APSA), sustainable economic growth, development and integration (RECs, NEPAD).

In summary, if the vision of the APRM is to fundamentally change the relationship between the state and its citizens, but also between citizens, then debates and actions should not be confined to only institutions, but also address state-society relations. It further needs to occupy its proper place in the universe of continental bodies, processes and institutions if it is to play its full role in contributing to the agenda of Africa in the 21st century.

Further recommendations were integrated into the conference communiqué, which is published together with this report.

Appendices

Conference Programme

THE APRM +10: REVIEWING A DECADE OF PEER LEARNING AND PROJECTING A FUTURE OF GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

17 and 18 May 2013, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

DAY 1: 17 MAY 2013		
08h30 - 09h00	<p align="center">REGISTRATION</p> <p align="center">Venue: AFRICA HALL</p>	
09h00 - 09h30	<p>Introduction and Welcome</p>	<p>All Heads of Institutions/ Representatives</p> <p>Denis Kadima (EISA)</p> <p>Winnie Byanyima (OXFAM UK)</p> <p>Jonathan Stead (SAIIA)</p> <p>Ozias Tungwarara (AfriMAP)</p>
	<p>Opening remarks by H.E. Mr. Erastus Mwencha</p> <p>Deputy Chairperson of the African Union Commission</p>	<p>Mr. Erastus Mwencha is a Pan Africanist with over thirty years of experience in policy formulation and institutional transformation at national, regional and continental levels in Africa. Throughout his career, he has been an ardent advocate and zealous engineer of regional integration as a leading principle for Africa's development. He is passionate about Africa and believes in the continent's rise and growth in the present.</p> <p>The second and last term of his mandate as the Deputy Chairperson of the African Union Commission has been placed under the theme: "It's Africa's time." In this context, he views his role as strengthening the institutional systems and building the networks within and outside the continent that will support the continental integration agenda.</p>
09h30 - 10h15	<p>Keynote Address by H.E. Mr. Abdoulie Janneh</p> <p>Former UN Under- Secretary General of UNECA</p> <p>Chair: Denis Kadima (CEO – EISA)</p> <p>Discussant: Ahmed Mohiddin</p>	<p>Abdoulie Janneh is the former UN Under-Secretary-General and Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), prior to which he was UNDP Regional Director for Africa. Mr Janneh remains engaged in supporting the African Union vision, NEPAD, the African Peer Review Mechanism and the climate change agenda.</p> <p>He chairs the Governing Bodies of the African Institute of Economic Development and Planning and the African Trade Policy Centre and also serves on the Boards of the African Governance Initiative, Global Green Growth Initiative and the Coalition for Dialogue on Africa.</p>
10h15 - 10h30	<p align="center">COMMENTS TO KEY NOTE ADDRESS</p>	
10h30 - 11:00	<p align="center">TEA</p>	

11h00 – 11h40	<p style="text-align: center;">PLENARY ONE: AFRICA HALL</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Ten Years of Self-Assessment: A Reflection</p> <p>Chair: Emmanuel Akwetey</p> <p>Discussant: Adele Jinadu</p> <p>Speakers:</p> <p>Fatima Kharadja</p> <p>Samuel Cudjoe</p> <p>Gilbert M. Khadiagala</p> <p>John Tesha</p>	<p>This plenary session will set the tone of the conference. It will seek to answer the question: 10 years down the line, what has the APRM achieved? In doing this, it will focus on the broad overview of governance in Africa and some of the achievements/non achievements of the APRM. The session will analyse good practices, the participation of civil society and the State, the constraints and challenges that the mechanism faced, the failures realised and overall civil society engagement with the mechanism.</p>
11h40 – 13h00	DISCUSSION	
13h00 – 14h00	LUNCH	
WORKING GROUPS		
<p>The working groups in the two break away sessions will fully and critically analyse the role of civil society in the APR process by closing looking at some of the monitoring tools and what they tell us concerning the implementation of the mechanism. In 2010, CSOs worked on monitoring the NPOAs, as part of an effort to keep the APRM momentum, which had waned. As a result, AfriMAP, CPS, and SAIIA designed and launched the AMAT which focused on Lesotho and the Republic of South Africa. This working group will showcase the template and analyse the opportunities and challenges associated with CSOs’ efforts at holding state actors to account using evidence based approach. The second working group will throw a critical eye at some of the missing linkages in the process, specifically looking at gender and intergenerational interactions and how diversity is to be managed in the APRM process.</p>		
14h00 – 14h45	<p style="text-align: center;">WORKING GROUP 1: AFRICA HALL</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Show Casing CSOs work in monitoring the APRM</p> <p>Chair: Jeggan Grey-Johnson</p> <p>Discussant: Yarik Turianskyi</p> <p>Presenters:</p> <p>Tšoou Petlane</p> <p>Gedion Gamora</p> <p>Susan Mwape</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">WORKING GROUP 2: CONFERENCE ROOM 5</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Managing Diversity: Minorities, gender and Young People in the APRM</p> <p>Chair: Jolly: Kemigabo</p> <p>Discussant Leah Maina</p> <p>Presenters:</p> <p>Nicholas Ngigi</p> <p>Emmanuel Ishie Etim</p> <p>Patrick Mpedzisi</p>
14h45 – 15h00	TEA	

15h00 – 16h30	ROUNDTABLES	
	<p>ROUNDTABLE 1: Creating knowledge on the Governance issues: The contribution of research institutions to the APRM.</p> <p>As the APRM enters its second decade, it is imperative that knowledge production centres are intrinsically involved in the process. These knowledge production centres are not political schools <i>per se</i>, but rather they offer opportunities to critically engage with emerging governance trends. As the APRM transforms itself in the second phase, is there a changing role for knowledge production centres in its engagement with the mechanism and the governance issues it sets forth? In answering this question, the case studies of leadership and governance of natural resources will be privileged.</p> <p>The APRM process is perhaps the most time consuming exercise to be undertaken by member states. It involves elaborate research methods to tap into the ‘thinking’ of citizenry about their hopes and aspirations as Africans in the 21st Century. How is this information helping Africans generate knowledge about their future? Is this forming new critical thinking about governance and development planning? Is the information utilized to catalyse intellectual debate? Is the knowledge generated relevant to Africa’s future development? Are we seeing a shift from theory, policy and finally practice through the APRM or is this just another exercise?</p> <p>ROUNDTABLE 2: Financing Governance Institutions – An understanding</p> <p>Very little, if at all, is understood on how institutions finance processes, especially the ones in the realm of governance. This round table will be dedicated to some of the funding institutions that aid continental organisations. The question that the panel will seek to analyse and shed light on is: which processes are given priority and why? Is there space for engagement with non-funding institutions? If yes, how is this space accessed, if not, why? Of importance is how the results obtained from country review exercises and especially NPOAs can influence funding priorities if at all and what not to do/ or do</p>	
	<p>ROUNDTABLE 1: AFRICA HALL</p> <p>Creating knowledge on the Governance issues: The contribution of research institutions to the APRM</p> <p>Chair: Claude Kabemba</p> <p>Speakers:</p> <p>Godwin Murunga: (African Leadership Institute)</p> <p>Kojo Busia: (UNECA)</p> <p>Mari-Lise du Preez: (SAIIA)</p> <p>Faith Abiodun: (African Leadership Academy)</p> <p>Ebrima Sall/ representative: (CODESRIA)</p>	<p>ROUNDTABLE 2: CONFERENCE ROOM 5</p> <p>Financing Development – An understanding</p> <p>Chair: Michael Chege</p> <p>Speakers:</p> <p>Angela Reitmaier (Formally of NEPAD- Kenya)</p> <p>Bhekikhosi Moyo: (Trust Africa)</p> <p>Ezra Mbogori: (Akiba Uhaki – Fund for Social Justice)</p> <p>Zemenay Lakew: (UNDP)</p> <p>Fenwick Kamanga: (AFDB)</p>
16h30 – 18h00	Wrap up with rapporteurs – Drafting committee meets	
19h30 – 22h00	<p>Dinner</p> <p>Venue: Radisson Blu Hotel</p>	

DAY 2: 18 MAY 2013

09h00 – 10h30	WORKING GROUPS	
	<p>The second day of the conference will be kick started by working groups. Working group three (3) will analyse the role and functions of the NPOA as we enter the next phase of the APRM. A crucial question to be asked is how we see the NPOA transforming. With the change, is there a renewed function for National Governing Councils (NGCs) and Civil Society Groups (CSOs)? If yes, which are these? If not, what problems and challenges have yet to be overcome? The issue of transparency and accountability through interrogating the (un)successful implementation of the NPOAs and civil society's voice in articulating transformative agenda is critical in discerning a possible future for the APRM. Working group four (4) will critically discuss how processes can be made transparent and accountability elicited from responsible agencies. The role of the Diaspora communities in popularizing the mechanism as it enters its second phase will also be analysed in this working group. What Diaspora communities are engaged in with a view to holding governing institutions transparent and accountable to their citizens and the lessons that can be drawn from the process of the APRM is an issue that will be interrogated in this working group.</p>	
	<p>WORKING GROUP 3: AFRICA HALL</p> <p>Thinking through NPOAs: The role of NGCs and CSOs</p> <p>Chair: Grant Masterson</p> <p>Discussant: Roseline Achieng'</p> <p>Presenters:</p> <p>Adele Jinadu</p> <p>Laura Nyirinkindi</p>	<p>WORKING GROUP 4: CONFERENCE ROOM 5</p> <p>Transparency and Accountability: More than just government responsibility</p> <p>Chair: Tšoeu Petlane</p> <p>Discussant: Rafiq Hajat</p> <p>Presenters:</p> <p>Onyekachi Wambu</p> <p>Dominic Liche</p> <p>Lulsegged Abebe</p>
10h30 – 11h00	TEA	
11h00 – 12h00	<p>PANEL : AFRICA HALL</p> <p>The Emerging Governance Architecture</p> <p>Chair:: Essam Sharaf</p> <p>Discussant: Kgothatso Semela-Serote</p> <p>Speakers:</p> <p>Maurice Enguelguele</p>	<p>This panel will analyse the emerging governance architecture whilst asking the question, how the APRM can forge linkages with some of the governance structures such as the PAP, the Department of Political Affairs, ECOSOCC and CIDO, the Peace and Security Commission and NEPAD.</p> <p>For example, the credibility of election in many AU member states remains highly problematic. There are serious concerns whether elections are delivering democratic outcomes i.e. are elections turning out to be a genuine expression of popular will. With the coming into force of the Charter, is there an added value that the APRM can play in strengthening the role of Election Management Bodies? Is there a new impetus to prioritise election management utilising the peering concept on the one hand, and the AU Electoral Assistance Unit together with the Democracy Charter on the other (processes, standards and entities) to</p>

	Nicola Tissi Sabiti Makara Shola Omotola	synergise the opportunity for optimum utility of best practices? In the same vein, it is imperative to ask such critical questions to understand how for example, the PAP can use recommendations from APRM and the Charter in initiating dialogue with its members. The role of the Peace and Security commission can here not be underestimated. Coupled to this, is the role of ECOSOCC, which is little known.
12h00 -13h00	DISCUSSION	
13h00-14h00	LUNCH	
14h00-15h00	PLENARY TWO: AFRICA HALL PROJECTING A FUTURE FOR THE APRM Chair: AUC- DPA or APRM secretariat rep Discussant: Adebayo Olukoshi: Speakers: Khabele Matlosa Grace Ongile Jinmi Adisa Desiree Assogbavi	As the title suggests, the session will be dedicated to analysing possible future trends for the APRM. This session will build on Panel two (II), whilst integrating elements discussed in both panel one (1) and three (III). Special attention will be accorded to the emerging governance architecture i.e. how the APRM can be linked to other AU governance structures. The role of the Regional Economic Communities and how the APRM can be interlinked in order to further realise the vision of regional integration will also be discussed as a possible future for the APRM
15h00 -15h30	DISCUSSION	
15h30 -16h00	Preparation of communique as a discussion document	Chair: Brian Kagoro and Celine Charveriat
16h00 – 17h00	Comments from plenary	Chair: Brian Kagoro and Celine Charveriat
17h00 – 17h15	Adoption of communique as discussion document	Chair: Brian Kagoro and Celine Charveriat
17h15 – 17h30	Closing ceremony	Chair: Ozias Tungwarara (CEO-AfriMAP)
17h30 – 17h45	Closing remarks	PRIME TIME – Deputy Chairperson AUC
17h45 – 18h00	Official photo session	With all heads of institutions, Deputy Chairperson AUC / Organising Committee/ Representatives of various institutions
18h00 – 19h00	Cocktail with Journalists Venue: TBC Invitation Only	

Abstracts of Papers Presented

La Société civile : impact réel ou formalité ?

Fatima KARADJA

La contiguïté du 50^{ème} anniversaire de OUA / UA avec celle du 10^{ème} anniversaire du MAEP, constitue un tournant symbolique de l'évolution du continent.

A ce stade, il est fort opportun de réinterroger l'efficacité du mécanisme et son impact sur la gouvernance qui caractérise la scène Africaine.

Le MAEP, mécanisme exemplaire et innovant, il traduit une volonté autocritique impliquant le citoyen, non plus comme réceptacle des politiques publiques, mais en tant qu'acteur et partie prenante de la gouvernance.

A cet égard, son caractère participatif et inclusif fait que la Société Civile est l'une des parties prenantes les plus incontournables.

Toutefois, l'examen des 17 pays ayant fait l'objet d'une évaluation, révèle un déficit dans la participation de la Société Civile soit en terme de nombre soit en terme de qualité.

Autrement, comment expliquer que l'enthousiasme suscité par l'ouverture préconisée au lancement du mécanisme se soit réduit au fil du temps, à une affaire de gouvernement où la participation de la Société Civile devient formelle, voire cosmétique.

A cette étape cruciale de l'évolution du mécanisme, avec l'adhésion de 33 pays, la nécessité de diagnostiquer les causes de cette déperdition et d'en dégager des recommandations s'impose, comme un préalable à la survie d'un outil salubre au renforcement de la démocratie sur le continent.

A cet effet, l'entrée en vigueur de la Charte Africaine pour la démocratie et les Elections, devrait permettre son intégration dans le champs des normes du MAEP, du fait de son ancrage dans les réalités du continent et ses vertus à prévenir les causes d'instabilité, de conflits et d'usurpation des choix des peuples.

C'est à ce prix que le continent pourra espérer recouvrer la stabilité, jouir de ses immenses richesses, réussir son intégration régionale et converger vers la Renaissance Africaine.

The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and the African Union Peace and Security Council (AU PSC): Building Complementarities and Overcoming Competition

Gilbert M. Khadiagala

The APRM and AU PSC are fundamentally linked through the broad objectives of promoting democracy, governance, and security in Africa. Over the years, these links have been underpinned by the recognition that durable peace and security cannot be addressed without deepening democracy and improving political and economic governance. The symbiotic relations are further underscored by the fact that key institutions within the rubric of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)—notably the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) and the Panel of the Wise (PoW)—benefit from the expert knowledge and information contained in the APRM review reports of participating countries. Ten years after the formation of the APRM and AU PSC institutions, it is instructive to probe the nature of the relationships, the opportunities and obstacles around these relationships, and ways of improving coordination and collaboration. Specifically, this paper will examine whether the APRM and AU PSC have complemented or competed with each other in fulfilling the mandates of building a peaceful, prosperous, and secure Africa. What forms of complementarity have been possible between these institutions? How have these complementarities been defined and delineated? What have been the core explanations for competition between them and how have these competitive pressures been managed? Experiences from the last decade should furnish sufficient analytical ground for answering these questions. Also critical, these experiences will be instructive in mapping out the possibilities for future collaborations.

As key props of the African renewal of the early 2000s, both the APRM and AU PSC sought to enhance the capacity of African states to manage and own political and development challenges. But, despite the rhetorical invocation of common and interlocking objectives, several problems prevented the development of organic linkages between the two institutions. First, the relations between the APRM and AU PSC evolved slowly because of differences in conception and outlooks: although open to all members of the AU, the APRM emerged as a voluntary process in which countries accepted to be assessed and peer reviewed in several arenas of governance. For all intents and purposes, therefore, through the accession process, the APRM was markedly selective in contrast to the comprehensive process of accession of African countries to AU institutions through the AU Constitutive Act. Bridging the divide between selectivity and comprehensiveness has taken a long time and thus compromised the search for synergies. Second, the lack of meaningful collaboration stemmed from the delays in the merger of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and APRM institutions into the AU; even after the merger, questions abounded about the breadth and depth of the relationships. Finally, the AU PSC institutions have also been slow to evolve because they have faced multiple problems of lack of resources personnel, and capacity. For these institutions, the last decade has been of basic institution-building: erecting bricks and mortars before embarking on serious implementation of any roles and mandates.

In recent years, as the APRM process has become more comprehensive with increased accessions and as the AU PSC institutions have started to overcome problems of resources and clarity of mandates, there have been opportunities for both institutions to begin thinking of forms of partnerships that may grow from new comparative advantages. 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 socioeconomic vulnerabilities that endanger peace and stability. Woeful compliance potentially puts these assessments into disrepute, contributing to widespread cynicisms about the APRM process. By the same token, although the APSA has the mandate for action to prevent conflicts in Africa, its CEWS has remained weak and under-resourced. Building collaborative relationships with the APRM would thus entail that the APSA draws more from the analytical strengths of APRM reports and assessments to

improve the capacity for pre-emptive action. Similarly, the PoW report on the Prevention of Election Violence has recognized that rather than building an independent information base on elections and electoral processes, the PoW should tap into the insights and reflection derived from APRM participating states. Such information can then improve the intervention capacity of the PoW as they seek to pre-empt conflicts over elections. Furthermore, as the PSC contemplates annual analyses of the progress on democratisation of the member states, it will be enriched by APRM reports; these analyses will also, in turn, update APRM reports and provide a permanent mechanism for monitoring compliance by member states. These new institutional partnerships may be some ways of rationalizing resources and enhancing coordination around questions of effective conflict prevention and building durable peace, security, and stability.

Future coordination of efforts between the APRM and the AU PSC may be critical in the reinforcement of common values articulated during the AU Heads of State and Government Summit in 2011. This reinforcement can only occur when countries that are not signatories to the APRM embrace the practices and patterns enshrined in the review process and when signatories gradually build the capacity of implementing the recommendations in the APRM reports. Moreover, with the popularization and wider acceptance of the common values on democracy, governance, and security, the PSC as the apex institution will be in a strong position to advance strategies of compliance and enforcement of these values.

CSO Monitoring of the APRM: Experience of the AMP Exercise in Lesotho and South Africa (2010-11)

Tšoeu Petlane

The object of this paper is to present and assess the experience of civil society monitoring of APRM implementation, using the case of the APRM Monitoring (AMP) pilot project implemented in Lesotho and South Africa in 2010-11. The project was a joint initiative of the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) and AfriMAP. It sought to help enhance the capacity of civil society organisations in these countries to monitor and influence the implementation of APRM recommendations (especially those contained in the National Programmes of Action –NPOAs) for their countries through three distinct strategies, namely data collection (using an instrument specifically developed for the purpose called the APRM Monitoring Template –AMAT); evaluation of the performance of their country on selected issues of national concern; and developing strategies for collaboration and policy influence using evidence-based findings of the AMP project.

The experience of the AMP project, while encouraging and empowering for many civil society organisations, also highlights a number of weaknesses of civil society with regard to engagement with policy Monitoring and Evaluation. These include capacity, resource and time constraints, where participation is influenced and often limited by the amount of these resources available for organisations to devote to M&E. Thus the participation and concentration of many CSOs tends to wane in proportion to the amount of resources needed by processes such as the APRM and AMP. On the other hand, the quality and consistency of engagement appears to increase in direct proportion to the relevance of the issue subject to be monitored.

Using the experience of the AMP project in Lesotho and South Africa, the paper proceeds to outline the specific challenges facing CSO monitoring of the APRM (and similar reform initiatives), to highlight the achievements and potential strengths of these organisations to partner together and with government to strengthen service delivery and reform. The assessment concludes that CSOs continue to be valuable and strong partners for the types of reform and improvements suggested by the APRM (in principle and in terms of country-specific proposals); but that the capacity and resource constraints of these formations continue to be a hurdle to their full and more effective participation. On the other hand, a focus on development of tried and tested tools, and on interest-based participation (targeting CSOs on the basis of what they do, and therefore creating a directly identifiable thematic/issue basis for following reform initiatives) has the potential to reinforce and strengthen the role of CSOs in the APRM as effective partners of state and society.

Red Flags Ignored: Governance Values and Practices in Africa.

Gedion Gamora

Values are essential to set up normative standards that are indicative of qualities of governance as good or bad, right or wrong. They are also imperative to modern African states as they are the guiding norms, moral standards and principles in politics and governance in the continent. There are positive and negative values and practices in a particular governance culture that promote governance or adversely affect governance respectively. Negative values that adversely affect governance in Africa among others are lack of transparency and accountability, poor human rights record, corruption in politics and governance, political clientelism and patronage, patriarchy in politics, women marginalization in politics and election rigging. To reverse the negative governance values, which are entrenched in informal de facto traditions and practices in politics and governance in Africa, the AU demonstrated a compelling vision for the norm of democratic governance values on the continent in its founding Constitutive Act, African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), the African Union (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). There is also a continent wide consensus on zero tolerance for unconstitutional change of government. The continent has also set up a functional peace and security architecture to respond to conflict situations, which encompasses promoting governance and democracy in the context of solidarity, reconciliation and harmony. These principles reflected the changing governance values and practices on the continent and distinguish the AU from its predecessor the Organization for African Unity (OAU). Yet the members' states of AU have not equally committed themselves to own; work towards ratification, domestication and compliance over these values and there is lack of political commitment to regional standards. Hence, the researcher recommends that the above problems must be addressed by the AU member states. In addition, more attention must be given on building democratic governance as African challenges are rooted in governance problems driven by flawed electoral process, failure to appreciate diversity, recurrent military coup d'état, autocratic and despotic regimes. Governance values that are intrinsic to 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 strengthening of 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. In all the above discussion the role of political leader is paramount as Africa's greatest deficit is its dearth of moral leadership that adheres to ideal governance values and committed to social transformation.

African Youth Charter and APRM - Lesson to be Learnt

Emmanuel Ishie Etim

The demographic profile, political and socio-cultural context of African countries justified the unmet need for a dedicated Continental Charter on the Rights of Young people. The status of youth rights and development in Africa, seats as a critical value driver for civil liberties and deepening citizenship agency and should convene multi-level public policy attention and priority.

The African Youth Charter, was preceded by the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, and other existing Pan African human rights systems (notably the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and governance); although it entered into force as a legal framework in August 2009, the African Youth Charter serves as an aspiration document in promoting the rights of youth lacking linkages to any mechanisms for protection, enforcement and accountability.

The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) as a technical body of the African Union Commission (custodians of the African Youth Charter) has currently 31 member countries. The AU 2011 Malabo Summit on Accelerating Youth Empowerment for Sustainable Development Assembly/AU/Dec.363(XVII) in requesting the APRM to “incorporate the monitoring of the implementation of the African Youth Charter and the AU Decade Plan of Action with a specific focus on youth social, political and economic development within Member States as also a basis for evaluation” recognized it as one of the instruments for accelerating implementation of the AYC and its Decade Plan of Action.

Through this decision, stakeholders can compel the Member State to Own, Govern and Know the socio-demographic value of youth development and empowerment. With features for effective accountability as it goes beyond M & E as it creates a platform for mutual accountability.

Managing Diversity: Young People in the APRM

Nicholas Ngigi,

The objective of this paper is to explore the role of the African Peer review mechanism as a tool of managing diversity with a focus on the African youth. The APRM celebrates 10 years of existence in 2013, during this decade the APRM had as January 2013 attracted the membership of 35 out of the 54 members of the African Union.

The last decade has been a mixed one for Africa and its continental structures including the APRM. Through numerous country assessments and National Plan of Actions, a general consensus is emerging around four major systemic issues that afflict the continent. These include: management of diversity; land and resource governance; corruption and elections and electoral management.

The major governance crises that have afflicted the continent in the last decade have largely been fuelled, driven and sustained by a youthful population. Africa has the youngest population in the world. The youth (aged 15 – 35 years) account for 60% of the 1 billion Africans. Unfortunately this has translated into a high incidence of youth unemployment which poses a significant challenge to development, and political stability in the continent as was seen during the Arab uprising, and the post-election crisis in Kenya, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Ivory Coast.

As we explore the role of APRM in diversity management with a focus on the youth, the temptation of thinking of this group as homogeneous should be avoided. Within them, they are layers of identity and attributes that distinguishes its members. These layers and how an individual negotiates and utilizes them determine their social outcome. Gender, tribe, religion, access to education etc, are but a few attributes available to young people in the continent, their deployment creates such a diverse grouping in need of diversity management within, among and between themselves and the older members of society.

The APRM has contributed to the development and deepening of democracy as well as cultivating the culture of accountability through the peer review mechanism. The process has, in varying degrees, mobilized a diverse group of voices within the participating member state in the determination of major gaps and in the development of the National Plan of Action. This in itself is a critical step towards creating a culture of diversity management and tolerance. This paper will explore the place of the youth in the APRM process in framing this diversity and the suggested management recommendations.

It will look at the contextual framework of youth and diversity management in Africa by exploring the existing continental, regional and national frameworks geared towards diversity management. It will interrogate the success or otherwise of these in contributing and or underlying diversity management among the youth. The paper will further look at the role and place of the African youth in democratic and democratizing processes including but not limited to elections and or other mechanisms of transitions in Africa. The paper will finally explore the role that the APRM process can play as a tool for diversity management and transformation of the social economic wellbeing of young people in the continent.

Managing Diversity: Talking Minority Rights in Africa

Kemigabo Jolly

This paper provides insight into the issue of managing diversity and ethnic minorities in Africa from a non-governmental organization (NGO) perspective.

This perspective is informed by Minority Rights Group International (MRG)'s over four decades experience working actively with minorities and Indigenous peoples on the African continent. MRG is currently involved in legal advocacy at the African commission on Human and Peoples rights (ACHPR) and the African Court of Human and Peoples rights.

While international and regional mechanisms for the protection of minority rights such as the different instruments under the African Union and the UN exist, minority communities - and the organizations representing them - have still too little knowledge of their existence and how to access them. The paper gives an overview of minority rights in Africa, contextualizing them in the regional and international minority rights protection framework. Attention is given to the nature and management of diversity in the continent which underscores the importance of minority recognition in realizing stability and lasting peace in Africa.

Finally, the paper attempts to highlight APRM's contribution towards minorities in the last ten years through a brief review of a few selected APRM country reports. Thoughts on opportunities for APRM to strengthen her commitment towards minorities in Africa are also shared.

Managing Diversity – Youth, Employability and the APRM

Patrick Mpedzisi,

This paper will seek to identify the management of diversity in Africa as a key governance challenge and how youth have contributed to the dynamics of managing diversity while also exposing how they are affected by trends in managing diversity. The paper will also particularly examine the linkage with employability among youth in Africa and managing diversity. The paper will establish that Youth are not merely a challenge in this area but also present some of the solutions to managing Africa's rich diversity.

In the past decade Africa has been undergoing a review of its governance practices among other objectives, in order to identify key lessons from country experiences. One key common area affecting the stabilisation of governance is the management of diversity in Africa a key constituency in this regard is the young people in people. Youth in Africa today have aspirations for a just and equitable world and are not prepared to allow these ideals to fall by the wayside. Though there has been steady progress in Africa towards nurturing good governance and entrenching democracy, the challenge remains, to what extent is democracy-building facilitating constructive management of diversity. Youth play a critical role in the management of diversity due to their large numbers and the energy with which they engage in political and democratic processes.

Recent popular uprisings in North Africa and post-election crisis's in Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya and Zimbabwe and instabilities in Mali, Somalia and Central Africa Republic are indicative of youth exasperation from marginalisation and disempowerment and youth will not accept a future where their voices are stifled on issues affecting their future. This frustration has resulted in violent stand-offs, further pushing youth to the margins of constructive participation in Africa and leaving many parts of Africa facing economic stagnation and limited the chances for employment. Some of these youth find themselves open to exploitative relationships due to various economic factors that affect their employability while many are unable to respond to the growing and changing economic trends of the continent. Entrepreneurship is seen as an after-thought by many countries with educational systems still strongly focused on developing and employee rather than and employee. Power relations also exist where elites have access to key resources that can unlock the challenges of inequality and youth feel obligated to challenge these inequalities. Where young minds are unoccupied, there is always the danger of destructive forms of engagement or exploitative relationships that can entrench unequal power relations.

The APRM and other processes have exposed the question of youth and particularly youth employment and the issues of managing diversity as key challenges that require urgent addressing. A better understanding of the youth constituency and the emerging economic trends is key for tailoring solutions that are implementable. However ultimately it will be in the realm of governance that the real solutions will be administered.

Through interrogating the role of youth in diversity management, this Paper will identify policies, processes and practices already in place to ensure that the energy and aspirations of the youth are channelled positively thereby improving their employability and ability to positively affect management of diversity. It will further identify strategies for inclusion of youth in mainstream decision-making and roles for youth to enhancing Africa's cohesion and positive transformation.

The APRM and Knowledge Creation Institutions in Africa

Godwin R. Murunga

The APRM is a mechanism created by the NEPAD for self-monitoring on a number of key items by the participating member countries of the AU. One of the areas of monitoring is governance. But governance is a complex concept whose importance is often stated/acknowledged but hardly practiced in a manner that matches commitments made by AU member countries. Indeed, part of the reason why academics, civil society and their knowledge creation institutions are frowned upon and/or distanced from the process in some countries is because of a dissonance in how each conceptualises and seeks to practice governance. This presentation will seek to explain the dissonance and attempt to find appropriate ways of developing synergies that will make the APRM future processes more inclusive. Further, it will examine ways of making the process less technocratic and popular in content and reach. Finally, it will suggest ways knowledge institutions can be involved in critically engaging the public to understand the importance of the mechanism and highlight the importance of popular participation in the review processes.

Generating Knowledge on the Governance Issues: A Perspective from UNECA

Kojo Busia

It is now an established perspective that the APRM has gained international reputation as “innovative approach” to governance globally, since no other continent has been able to create and sustain (at least for the last ten-years) a comparable assessment benchmarking progress in good governance under a regional inter-governmental organization. Although governance assessment as an instrument for enhancing accountability and transparency and providing empirical basis for policy reform has been around since the 1990s (following the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the proliferation of democracy and governance assistance programs sponsored mainly by the donor community), none of these instruments has been systematically designed and implemented with the innovation in process and content as the APRM. The distinct contributions of the APRM to the thinking and practice of governance has been the simultaneous emphasis on content of governance assessment (regionally chosen indicators) and on the complexity of the process of assessment (methodology, structures, oversight, validation and peer review processes emphasizing domestic ownership). It is this uniquely African innovation to democratic governance assessment that has generated knowledge that is informing new critical thinking on governance and development in general.

This paper will take a comparative look at the traditional approaches to governance assessments in Africa that existed prior to the APRM process and review the extent to which the APRM differs both in content and process. By reviewing these traditional governance assessment approaches, the paper would seek to establish the uniqueness of the APRM and how it is generating specific knowledge and changing the discourse about challenging governance issues facing Africa presently and into the future. The main argument and conclusion of the paper being that the APRM methodology has led to a shift in paradigm as to how African perceive their governance challenges and how they are working hard to confront these issues.

The roles for civil society in innovative governance initiatives: Lessons from the EITI

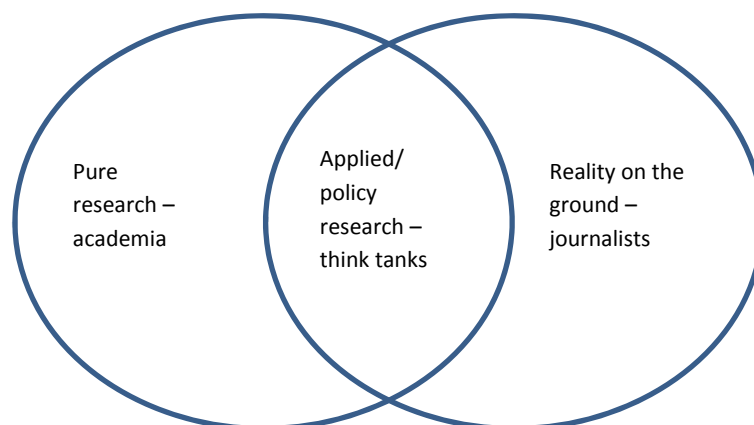
By: Mari-Lise du Preez

On the eve of the ten-year anniversary of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), this presentation considers the role for civil society organisations in innovative governance initiatives. However, rather than speaking to the broad field of governance covered by the APRM, the presentation will draw lessons from the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), an initiative that focuses on one aspect of governance – transparency – in a specific sector – extractives.

The EITI traces its origins to a civil society campaign called “Publish What You Pay” (PWYP). It is a voluntary initiative that aims to address the so-called “resource curse” by increasing transparency, specifically of companies’ payments to host governments. In essence, the initiative involves companies declaring what they pay to governments and governments in turn declaring what they receive from companies. These payments are independently verified and reconciled in a process overseen by a multi-stakeholder group consisting of government, companies and civil society.

Civil society clearly played a lobbying role in the creation of the EITI and continues to do so by urging more countries and companies to sign up. In addition, civil society provides an oversight function, exemplified by their representation in the multi-stakeholder group (MSG). In addition to these roles, that of knowledge creation institutions begs further exploration. Though universities, “think tanks” and journalists might agree that knowledge changes the world, their roles in the change differ. As illustrated below, think tanks straddle the worlds of pure research and that of policy and practice.

Diagramme 1: Basic typology of knowledge creation institutions (for illustrative purposes only):



In the case of the EITI or the APRM, think tanks will typically address questions such as: “Does the initiative speak to the research?”, or “Does the initiative speak to the reality on the ground?” By way of example, an Occasional Paper by researchers from the Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI)³ and published by the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) – both policy think tanks – argue that the EITI addresses the challenges identified by political economy models of the resource curse only in part. Another publication⁴ – this time by a

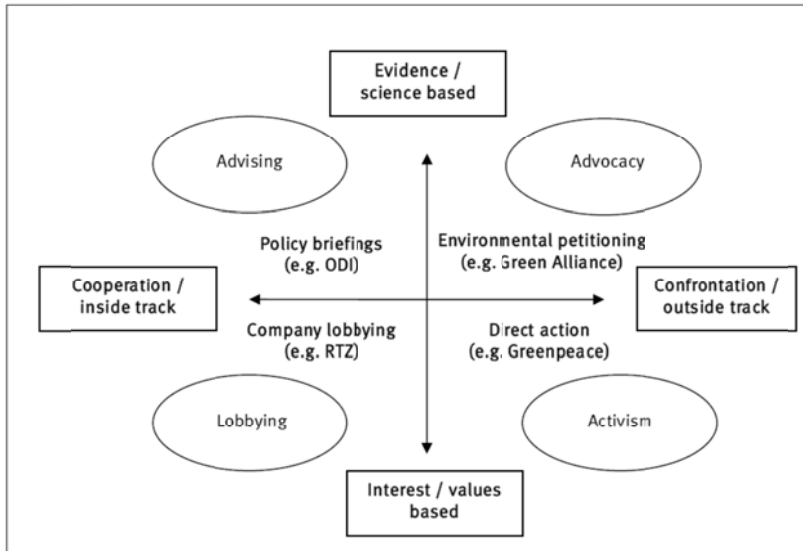
³ Kolstad I & Wiig A, ‘Political Economy Models of the Resource Curse: Implications for Policy and Research’, *SAIIA Occasional Paper 40*, September 2009.

⁴ Ossemane R, ‘Is the EITI relevant for reducing diversions of public revenue: The Mozambican experience’, *SAIIA Policy Briefing 61*, January 2013.

researcher from the Mozambican think tank Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos (IESE) – argues that the EITI does not address the specific challenges in the Mozambican extractive sector sufficiently.

In sum, there is a role for civil society in the creation, day-to-day functioning and review of governance initiatives.

Diagramme 2: Strategies for policy influence⁵



⁵ Start D & I Hovland, 'Tools for Policy Impact: a handbook for researchers', ODI Toolkit, October 2004.

Governance Financing

Ezra Limiri Mbogori

The brief paper seeks to identify which processes are given priority in the financing of governance institutions and why. Additionally, is there space for engaging with non-funding institutions in respect of their processes and if this exists, how is such space accessed and if not, why not.

Good governance stands out as a key ingredient in fostering the organic development of any society. While the definition of good governance may be contested, there is an overwhelming consensus regarding the critical role played by good governance.

In its resolution 2000/64, the UN Commission on Human Rights identified the following five elements as key attributes of good governance: transparency, responsibility, accountability, accountability, participation and responsiveness (to the needs of people). Taking these as the primary indicators for good governance it can safely be assumed that any support to governance institutions would look at the extent to which these 'markers' are targeted. In identifying how governance institutions are funded this paper will adopt an approach that will seek to understand the following questions:

- Agenda setting – How the existing governance agendas have been established and to what extent the identified goals of governance processes have been shared;
- Agency – who is best placed to drive the governance agenda;
- Capacity – are the resources made available commensurate to the tasks (as defined in the goal); are the available resources internally well-organized to optimize
- Measurement/determination of outcomes/achievements – what constitutes success is often a contested territory; a possible hypothesis is that the fault-lines are sharpest in processes/projects that manifest low stakeholder input in agenda setting. Has there emerged an agreed system or process for determining outcomes and attributing these to specific programming initiatives? Given that impact and/or outcomes have often remained a fundamental consideration for most funding mechanisms, funders will look at the levels of participation amongst stakeholders and the ultimate ownership of results from activities that are undertaken.
- In the case of APRM a funder would be interested in the extent to which the mechanism addresses the need for broad ownership and participation. How does the citizen perceive the APRM? Is it of any real (as opposed to perceived or contrived) benefit (value) for them? Are there other priorities they would like to see addressed with the resources that APRM might seek, to take its activities forward? What would a cost benefit analysis present in the view of stakeholders.

At its inception, the APRM was a novel idea conceived in Africa and intended to reinforce the ownership of governance structures and practice in the people of Africa. At this starting stage funders were as enthusiastic about the idea as those who had developed it. It was the proverbial 'flavor of the month' at the time.

As the idea has evolved and matured, contradictions have emerged on different aspects of the process and in particular, the commitment of national policy makers to the mechanism. Those funding mechanisms that would be open to supporting exercises like the APRM cycle would inevitably be interested to define what outcomes are expected at the end of, or at different stages in the process and how this then translates to the growth and confidence of different stakeholders over time. Creating a more secure society – building confidence and increasing levels of transparency may all be good end results. How these changes are measured in order to assess the project effectiveness becomes the other challenge.

Thinking Through The NPOA) And The Role Of The National Governing Council (NGC) In The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)

Adele Jinadu

If faithfully carried out, with the requisite political will in state and society, the APRM has the potential of opening up new and uncharted vistas and possibilities for creating the cultural, material and sociopolitical environment for sustainable democracy and development in Africa. It should be able to do so through: (i) providing fresh impetus for both the institutional design and the adoption of policies aimed at strengthening and reinforcing domestic accountability provisions enshrined in the renegotiated constitutional and political architecture of its member states, following upon recent democratic transitions in them; and (ii) creating a uniquely African external accountability mechanisms, with the APRM Forum at the heart of the mechanism, to complement domestic ones.

This paper describes, elaborates upon and analyzes the critical but multifaceted role the APRM National Governing Council (NGC) is designed and mandated to play in its oversight role, which is primarily to shape, direct, monitor and evaluate the domestic accountability mechanisms and institutions of the APRM country process. In this respect it is to ensure the credibility and integrity of the APRM country process, as provided for in the APRM Base Document and the APRM MOU. In this sense, therefore, its oversight role is an essential component of the African continent external accountability mechanisms of the APRM and, indirectly, of those of the African Union (AU) and of the African Regional Communities (RECs).

Regarding the nature of the role of the NGC in the APRM and how it is unfolding, the paper poses the following questions. What factors (the nature and manner of composition and selection/election of its membership; the formulation of its role in the APRM Base Document, the APRM Memorandum of Understanding, and in national legislation; and its financial and other resource empowerment, among others) affect, drive or constrict the NGC's in playing this role? From what sources do these factors arise, and what explains their driving or constricting effect? These are some of the many questions that the paper tries to illuminate and, hopefully, answer.

More specifically, the paper relates the role of the NGC to the imperative of its particular oversight role in evaluating and monitoring the implementation of the country's National Plan of Action (NPOA), whose formulation and adoption flow from and constitute the penultimate stages of the APRM country base review and subsequent ones. The paper argues, with illustration, that the NPOA is important to the APRM country process in that it provides the roadmap forward to the implementation of the findings and recommendations of the APRM Country Review Report (CRR). Its importance lies in prioritizing and providing indicative costs of policy reform to be pursued in this respect.

The paper looks at the nature, expectations underlying and the prospects of the NPOA's achieving its objectives by asking the following, among other questions: What informs the policy prescriptions and costing of the prioritized policy items/recommendations in the APRM's four thematic areas? How are the prescriptions in each area related to those in the other three areas? How reasonable is the time-frame for sequentially implementing the reforms and what considerations go into the sequencing? From where is the funding for the NPOA to be sourced? How is the NPOA to be integrated into the general development policy and reform policies of the country? What institutional and supporting legal framework exists for implementing, monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the NPOA?

In exploring these questions, the paper locates the importance of the NPOA in the opportunity it provides for a coordinated national planning approach to the country's budgetary process and thereby for the integration of the priorities in the NPOA into the budgetary process, including the implementation of the budget. The paper also argues that the contribution of the NPOA in this respect, particularly to the integration of the NPOA into

national planning and budgeting, is its bottom-up approach to the policy process, i.e. its emphasis on participatory and inclusive governance and policy process, which anchors and drives the APRM country process.

The paper cautions, however, that in playing both its general oversight role and its specific one with the NPoA, the NGC not only faces the challenges of difficult resource and capacity, including information and disclosure access problem but also must use its typically multi-stakeholder membership to build durable bridges linking it to and involving the executive, including (ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs,) the judiciary, legislature, the civil society and the private sector for different, yet in some case for similar reasons as well, as partners in driving the APRM country process forward, in line with the objectives and expectations of the APRM to ensure national ownership of the APRM country process.

The role of Civil Society in the implementation of the National Programmes of Action (NPoAs)

Laura Nyirinkindi and Kojo Busia

This paper reviews the role that civil society can play in ensuring that the National Programme of Action (NPoA) is comprehensively implemented. The paper examines some of the strategies that civil society has employed in various NPoA processes and how effective they have been in engaging in the formulation and implementation of the NPoAs. It addresses challenges that civil society organizations (CSOs) have faced in the pursuit of good governance through the APRM/NPoA process. In comparison to the World Bank and IMF sponsored PRSPs process, the paper argues that the APRM presents better opportunities for effective CSO participation in the planning and implementation of the national development plans. The paper identifies areas that may need strengthening and re-orientation.

CSOs are an essential component in the development process and the quality and character of their involvement must match up to this role. CSOs provide much needed agency in promoting social accountability. They can play an important role of providing evidence-based advocacy, data collection and monitoring for the NPoA. In practice, they have utilised several successful strategies to engage in the NPoA, including coalition building, participation in the APRM structures to give strategic leadership and monitoring of the NPoA. CSOs have also provided think tanking around the NPoA and given technical assistance in the preparation of the NPoA. Despite this, in several countries, no notable movement has been registered among CSOs in the APRM process in terms of engaging in the NPoA post the country review processes.

The APRM framework, principles, processes, and substantive content go beyond formal interpretations of citizenship, to ensure equal access to the State, and enhanced participation in governance by individuals and collectives. APRM framework documents seeks to institutionalize civil society in its processes and structures as a legitimate, inalienable and vital partner, to avoid rendering the NPoA a purely technocratic process reflecting the biases of bureaucratic elites. This has the propensity to enable citizens and communities to construct shared coherent goals, whose concrete implementation can then be co-owned by the State to effect implementation. Successes have indeed been modestly registered in countries where CSOs have used the NPoA and APRM processes, platforms and spaces to dialogue, share experiences and coordinate responses and activities.

The NPoA aids the national planning process by identifying and clarifying the governance gaps and priorities and is meant primarily to guide and mobilize the country's efforts in implementing the necessary changes to improve its state of governance and socio-economic development. The NPoA is meant to build on, incorporate and synergize with the relevant elements of various existing programmes, policies and strategies that address the key APRM objectives, e.g. PRSPs, good governance programmes, human rights action plans, gender equity strategies, national development plans, etc. These are areas that civil society traditionally and thematically engage in as part of their mandates and have niches and comparative specialties.

CSO participation in the APRM and NPoA has not been without its challenges. Analyses of the NPoA process in many countries reveal unevenness in the participation of CSOs in NPoA formulation and implementation. In some instances, CSOs lack autonomy in nominating representatives to APRM structures and processes. In several African countries, laws regulating the character of civil society, have hampered important social movements that promote citizen and civil society action. Selective CSO participation raises the risk of narrow identification of NPoA issues e.g. in Benin, CSOs working on gender issues were underrepresented, and this low participation was attributed to underemphasising gender issues.

Processes around the NPoA reporting mechanism illustrate ineffective mechanisms for feedback to the national level stakeholders including civil society, resulting in inconclusive national deliberative processes.

Challenges persist in the downstream and upstream information and communication processes regarding the NPoA, and CSO involvement. There is need to clarify the participation modalities for civil society in monitoring and evaluating the NPoA, requiring a robust framework at national and continental levels to provide a uniform approach to monitoring.

Country experiences reveal that where CSOs have a clear vision and unified approach towards structured engagement in the APRM and NPoA, they garner better consensus on how to engage the APRM/NPA process, and tangible results are registered. The extent to which CSOs can organise and engage meaningfully in the NPoA will serve in raising the bar for transparency and accountability. A strong oversight and collaborative initiative from CSOs is key to ensuring that countries adopt and implement comprehensive NPoAs.

In the final analysis, the paper re-affirms that the APRM/NPOA approach seeks to redefine African politics in terms of partnership or social contract between critical stakeholders on the basis of their collective or intersecting social responsibility to protect and advance the public interest. If these principles are faithfully adhered to, they stand to facilitate the transformative governance along participatory democratic lines to redefine governance in Africa.

The Role of the Diaspora Community in the APRM

Onyekachi Wambu

The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) is 10 years old. Emerging from the context of NEPAD, African governments voluntarily undertake to have their performance assessed under four pillars – democracy and political governance, economic governance and management, corporate governance, and socio-economic development.

So far 31 African countries have voluntarily signed up to the APRM, giving up the right to non-interference and instigating a quiet revolution that will eventually radically change how things are done on the continent.

Unusually and remarkably, ordinary Africans, as individuals and through civil society organisations also participate in the assessment during the review of individual countries. When the recommendations for improvement emerge, they are also active in ensuring that they are implemented.

The incorporation of the diaspora into the mechanisms of the APRM is the next logical step in achieving the goals of the AU: "...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 experience sharing and reinforcement of successful and best practices..."

The diaspora are identified as Africa's 6th region by the African Union. There are over 100 million people of African descent around the world, 15 million of those are in the EU. Our work with the diaspora across Europe show the diaspora deploy 6 forms of capital to support development in Africa:

- Financial Capital – remittances to pay for education, healthcare, etc; investment to build houses, start businesses etc, export market
- Political Capital – lobbying and advocacy
- Intellectual Capital – skills and knowledge transfer
- Social Capital – trust networks
- Cultural Capital – promoters and consumers of food, arts etc
- & Time

Some of these contributions are dramatic. For instance, in 2012 the diaspora remitted \$50 billion formally through financial institutions (\$80 billion-plus informally) - making them the biggest 'AID donors' to Africa.

My paper will argue that the resources of the diaspora need to be integrated into the APRM mechanisms. Following consultation with members of the European diaspora, it lays out a number of ideas and options for harnessing these resources to enhance the capacity of African governance through the APRM.

Transparency and Accountability: More Than Just Government Responsibility

Dominic Liche

The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) which was introduced in 2003 is a voluntary self-monitoring mechanism for member states of the African Union whose general aim is to improve good governance in Africa and contribute to sustainable development. It is hoped that the APRM itself will lead to transparency and accountability in many nation states of Africa in that countries that accede to it open their doors to other countries to review them thereby allowing others to know what is going on in their countries. Reviewed countries are expected to provide explanations and justifications for things that are not going on very well.

The APRM acts as a tool for civil society and other interested stakeholders to hold government to account if they fail to implement the National Programme of Action (NAPOA) and the many other things that they promise to do. Very often, the reviews have concentrated on transparency and accountability of government without delving so much in other sectors of governance. But such a limited view has left out many sectors (private, civil society and even churches) that could become more efficient at their work and serving the public good if they embraced the principles of transparency and accountability.

This paper does four things. First, it explains transparency and accountability in both government and non-government sectors giving the challenges that both sectors face. Second, it asserts that transparency and accountability cannot be limited to nation state governments only (or simply state-civil society accountability) but should spread to all sectors of governance or society. Third, it highlights the need to build a culture of transparency and accountability both at individual and communal levels. And lastly, it highlights the need for a practical approach to the implementation of the NPOA so that approaches are well planned, well-coordinated, and that the APRM objectives are not just taken as “by-the-way” governance initiatives by both government and civil society.

The Role of the Diaspora Community in the Africa Peer Review Mechanism

Lulseged Abebe

As a continental initiative, APRM requires support and the accompaniment of institutions and individuals that advocates and work for Africa's success and growth. APRM is unique as it stresses the involvement of all stakeholders including the diaspora to deepen democracy and governance in Africa. As APRM celebrates its tenth anniversary it is essential to take stock of its success and challenges, and use the lessons learned to revise its mode of operation and engagement with all stakeholders. During celebrations to mark its 10th anniversary, Mr. Assefa Shifa, APRM's Chief Executive Officer stressed that "[t]he APRM was not only commemorating its achievements; it was also reflecting on its challenges and exploring ways and means of improving on the process at both country and continental levels." (APRM, African Peer Review Mechanism, 2013)

To date, of the 33 countries that have signed up to the APRM, 17 have completed self-assessment and been peer reviewed. During these processes Civil Society Organisations were involved although their level and degree of involvement varied from country to country.

The role of the sixth sector – the diaspora - is not clearly spelled out in the APRM guideline. And because they are perceived as falling under the CSOs category, their involvement has largely remained insignificant.

Because emigration is an on-going phenomenon, the diaspora has remained a complex group politically and socially. In some countries members of the diaspora have reached up to third generations, thus they have different world views and skills. The diversity, however, is an asset for APRM as they will bring different perspectives and raise issues that other participants in the country will be hesitant to discuss during country assessments.

The challenge for the APRM is how to track and reach this diverse group. Both destination and home countries realise the added value the diaspora can bring politically, economically and socially, and have therefore started to put together systems and policies to attract them. There is already a campaign, which includes the establishment of specialised units in diplomatic missions, to register and reach out to the diaspora. Members of the diaspora, for example in the US and Europe have come together and started professional associations and umbrella organisations in an attempt to contribute to the development of their countries of origin.

To benefit from the expertise of the diaspora, tap their skills and resources, APRM has to use the existing diaspora professional associations, umbrella diaspora organisations and African diplomatic missions. In collaboration with diplomatic missions, host countries, and NGOs working with the diaspora, APRM has to launch an awareness creation campaign on APRM aims, objectives and principles. The diaspora should be motivated to contribute according to their interests and skills, for example supporting the APRM secretariat in gathering background documents (especially those working in the academia), transferring skills and technology, facilitating and participating in Focus Group Discussions, reviewing assessment reports, sponsoring activities, and lobbying governments on the implementation of National Action Plans (NOPA).

It is worth noting too that in some countries the involvement of the diaspora might not be welcomed due to the tension between the diaspora, the incumbent government, and citizens who stayed in county. Often, some members of the diaspora are perceived as "destabilisers", "critical", "bent on undermining the expertise in the country." Their involvement therefore, requires careful scrutiny and planning so that it does not negatively impact the legitimacy of the processes, and avoids conflict. Involving the diaspora will also create an opportunity to remove some of the negative stereotypes citizens have about the diaspora.

It is crucial that APRM works only with credible and recognised groups as well as bipartisan individuals who can bring an added value in achieving APRM's vision and objectives in the four thematic areas: Democracy & Good

Political Governance, Economic Governance & Management, Corporate Governance, and Socio-economic Development.

The road ahead for the African Governance Architecture: an overview of current challenges and possible solutions

Nicola Tissi and Faten Aggad

Following a range of previous commitments to improve the status of governance in Africa, in 2011 the African Union (AU) established the African Governance Architecture (AGA) as flagship initiative of its Shared Values agenda. The AGA was designed to be a framework to coordinate existing initiatives of different actors in the realm of governance, so as to prompt an integrated continental approach. Two years into its creation, this promising initiative has rallied mixed support in and outside Africa, and is now faced with a number of challenges hampering its implementation and success. This paper focuses on two such challenges and puts forward tentative policy recommendations. Firstly, there are currently weak linkages with the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA.) It is essential to secure operational linkages, in light of the growing political appetite for the governance-security nexus in Africa. APSA structures and organs would benefit from a closer interaction and defined workflows with governance counterparts, in order to trigger common responses to the continuous governance and security crises in the continent. In this context, the AGA holds the potential to become a support mechanism for the APSA, spotlighting governance gaps in Africa that bear implications on peace and security for a given country or region. The newly-ratified Charter for Democracy, Elections and Governance can play the role as legal anchor of the AGA and bridge between the two Architectures.

Secondly, there is an urge to define the role of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) within the nascent Architecture. In particular, the APRM can become the designated mechanism within the AGA to keep track of implementation and ratification of shared values instruments in African countries, an area in which the Mechanism has already shown tangible value.

Overcoming these two grand challenges is key in carrying forward the shared values agenda. This paper puts recommendations that are tentative in nature, and do not rule out other arrangements and solutions provided that they facilitate the transformation of the AGA from a set of scattered instruments and actors into a fully-fledged architecture with continental legitimacy.

Locating the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) within the Emerging African Governance Architecture

Sabiti Makara

Within the framework of the objectives of the African Union (AU), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the Declaration on Democracy, Practical, Economic and Corporate Governance, the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Good Governance, and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and other instruments of AU, there has evolved what has come to be known as the African Governance Architecture (AGA). Taken in the perspective of Africa's need for self renewal, the AGA is an overarching framework aiming to promote democracy, economic governance and human rights. This goes along with the evolving concept of 'Shared African Values' that is: the collective shared vision and desire for common destiny of the African continent.

For purposes of this paper, the focus is on the APRM – the voluntary process where African States agree to accede, and willingly engage in self-assessment, and get peer reviewed by fellow states. The APRM concept, ideals and process, mooted in 2003, has seen 31 of the 54 African states accede, and half of these already peer reviewed. This is a sign of a renewed commitment by African states to the values of good governance and development.

The linchpin of AGA is the APRM which has over the last ten years been implemented aiming at deepening democratic practices, testing best governance practices, helping African states to overcome corporate governance deficiencies, and stimulating socio-economic growth. At the practical level, states which have acceded to the APRM realize the need for national political dialogue, building transformative leadership, and self-assessment through inclusive and participatory processes. The peer review and adoption of a National Program of Action have brought civil society, several local and international stakeholders on board to question and to supplement the national governance efforts. In the last ten years, APRM has made notable achievements and some benefits are visible. It has put to practical reality the main objectives of NEPAD – such as the quest for political stability, accelerated economic growth, sustainable development and attempts at economic regional integration. At national levels, civil society engagement with the state has taken place, advocacy for good governance appears unstoppable, and citizens' demand for better service delivery is increasing.

While it is undeniable that the APRM has set a strong foothold on the governance agenda of the continent, it is imperative to review the progress made, obstacles and challenges met, the prospects ahead; and to critically assess the lessons learnt in the last ten years. A significant question remains to be answered on the process and achievements of the APRM: has the APRM impacted significantly on the character of the African states – most of which tended to be authoritarian, non-transparent, corrupt and unresponsive to the needs of their citizens? The sub-question is: What do the lessons of the APRM process take governance of the African States of continent from where it is?

African Peer Review Mechanism and the African Charter on Democracy, Election and Governance: A Retrospective-Prospective Analysis

J. Shola Omotola

The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), ‘a mutually agreed instrument voluntarily acceded to by the Member States of the African Union (AU) as an African self-monitoring mechanism’, was launched in 2003 by the AU. The primary goal of the APRM is to promote high standards of governance by enabling participating countries to learn and adopt policies, standards and practices of countries with success stories for achieving similar successes in their countries, with emphasis on the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD)’s thematic issues: democracy and political governance, economic governance, corporate governance and socio-economic development. Pursuant to this, the APRM undertakes periodic reviews of the participating countries to assess progress being made towards achieving the mutually agreed goals. In a similar fashion, the African Charter on Democracy, Election and Governance (ACDEG) was adopted at the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the African Union (AU) held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on 30 January 2007, the primary aim of which is to promote sustainable peace, democracy and development in the continent. Drawing on comparative insights, this paper develops the thesis that both the APRM and ACDEG approximate regional democratic development plans, with lots of potentials for democratic development. The paper then proceeds to argue that critical reflections on the challenges and prospects associated with the execution of the APRM and ACDEG will help unearth the challenges and prospects of developing sustainable regional democratic development plan in Africa. Proceeding from this methodological standpoint, the paper proceeds to critically explore the applications of these instruments, noting important accomplishments and failures, while underscoring and accounting for observable outcomes. In doing these, the paper focuses primarily on the challenge of unconstitutional change of government in Africa in its diverse forms, the AU’s responses and outcomes. Finally, the paper reflects on the policy implications of the study, emphasizing important factors such as more commitments at the level of political leadership (regional and national), more civic engagement and participation for the ownership and legitimacy of these instruments, and a more robust and inquisitive citizenship, always willing and able to ask critical questions about the governance of their own affairs.

Pan-Africanism, African Peer Review Mechanism and the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance: What does the Future Hold?

Khabele Matlosa

Since its independence fifty years ago, Africa's democratization momentum has been marked by both progress and reversals. With Africa's independence in the late 1950s/early 1960s and up to the late 1980s/early 1990s, the democracy project was not top of national, regional or continental agendas of nation-building, regional and continental integration. The democracy project became a corner-stone of nation-building and continental integration agendas much more in the period late 1980s/early 1990s to date especially with the transformation of OAU into the AU. Significantly, it was during the AU era that both APRM and ACDEG became key aspects of African integration anchored upon the twin-doctrines of Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance. As the APRM enters its second decade, the way forward for its effective implementation and stronger interface with ACDEG should be informed by five main strategic imperatives. Firstly, more effort and energy needs to be invested in ensuring that all the 54 Member States of the AU accede to the mechanism and undergo governance reviews. Secondly, concerted efforts need to be made to implore all APRM countries to sign, ratify and implement ACDEG, while also lobbying and advocating for the universal ratification of the Charter by all AU Member States. Thirdly, by all means possible, the implementation of both APRM and ACDEG must ensure a balanced role for both state and non-state actors in order to guard against state-centricism and promote boarder citizen engagement with these continental governance initiatives. Fourthly, Sustainability of APRM and ACDEG, in the long run, should be predicated upon stronger institutional and operational synergies between the African Governance Architecture (AGA) and the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) because sustainable human development is unattainable without democracy and peace. Fifthly and finally, AU Member States should mobilise domestic resources for the effective implementation of NPOAs and domestication/implementation of ACDEG rather than depending on external donor contributions as this may have deleterious consequences for national ownership of these initiatives.

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