A RESEARCH PROPOSAL

THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN AFRICAN PEER REVIEW MECHANISM

BY

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DECLARATION

This Project paper is my original work and it has never been presented to any other Institution for academic examination.

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DEDICATION

To my family more so my parents Mr. and Mrs. Odida, for you have always encouraged and supported me throughout my academic life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION ii
DEDICATION iii
ACRONYM i
ABSTRACT iii
CHAPTER ONE 1
INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND 1
1.0 Introduction 1
1.1 Background 2
1.2 Research Problem 3
1.3 Objectives 4
1.3.1 Overall Objective 4
1.3.2 Specific Objectives 4
1.4 Research Question 4
1.5 Hypothesis 5
1.6 Justification of the Study 5
1.6.1 Academic Justification 5
1.6.2 Policy Justification 5
1.7 Literature Review 6
1.7.1 Civil Society 6
1.7.2 The Advent of CSO 6
1.7.2.1 Modern Thinkers 6
1.7.2.2 Classical Thinking of CSOs. 7
1.7.3 CSOs Existence within the State System 9
1.7.3.1 Proponents for CSOs Existence within the State. 9
1.7.3.2 Proponents against CSOs existence within the State. 10
1.7.4 Civil Society Existence at Continental Levels. 11
1.7.4.1 Civil Societies in Europe 11
1.7.4.2 Civil Societies within Africa 12
1.7.4.3Civil Society Organisations within African Union 17

1.7.4.2.1 African Governance Architecture (AGA) 21
1.7.4.3 CSOs within APRM 22
1.7.5 CSO within European Union 24
1.7.5.1 CSO within the OECD (0rganisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) 26
1.7.6 CSO Within United Nations 27
1.7.6.1 Universal Periodic Review 29
1.8 Gaps within the Literature Review 30
1.9 Summary 31
1.10Theoretical Framework 31
1.11 Research Methodology 33
1.11.1 Population Sample 34
1.11.2 Data Collection Procedures 34
1.12 Operationalisation of Key Terms 34
1.13 Scope and Limitation of the Research 36
Chapter Outline 36
CHAPTER TWO 37
THE THIRTEEN YEARS OF APRM EXISTENCE. 37
2.1 Background and Introduction of the APRM 37
2.2 Gains Made by the Mechanism. 39
2.3 Challenges Faced By the Mechanism. 44
2.4 Conclusion 50
CHAPTER THREE 51
CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS WITHIN APRM 51
3.0 Introduction of CSO 51
3.1 CSO engagement with APRM Structures 53
3.1.0 CSO Interaction with the Continental Secretariat 53
3.1.1 CSOs within the Heads of States Forum 55
3.1.2 CSOs within the APRM Member States 56
3.1.3 CSO within the Panel of Eminent Persons 58
3.1.4 CSOs Engagement with APRM Strategic Partners 59

3.2 Conclusion 61
CHAPTER FOUR 62
CSO STRATEGY IN THE APRM. 62
4.0 Strategies for CSOs Influence within the APRM 62
4.1 Advocacy as a Strategy 63
4.2 Lobbying 65
4.3 Litigation and Petitioning 67
CHAPTER FIVE 69
SUMMARY CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS 69
5.0 Summaries 69
5.1 Summary of Study Findings 69
5.1.0 Evaluation of APRM existence 69
5.1.1 CSO presence with APRM 70
5.1.2 CSOs Strategy for Engagements 70
5.2 Conclusion 70
5.2.1 Conclusion Around the hypothesis 71
5.2.2 Conclusion around the Objectives 71
5.3 General conclusion 71
5.4 General Factors Inhibiting the Mechanism 71
5.5 Policy recommendations 73
REFERENCES 75
FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE 79

ACRONYM

AGA	African Governance Architecture.
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism.
AU	African Union.
CCPAU	Centre for Citizen Participation in African Union.
CIDO	African Citizens and Diaspora Directorate.
CRR	Country Review Report.
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
ECOSOCC	Economic, Social and Cultural Council.
EISA	Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa.
EU	European Union.
MDGz	Millennium Development Goals.
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation.
NPoAs	National Programmes of Actions
OAU	Organization of African Union.
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.
SAIIA	South African Institute of International Affairs.
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs.
SDGz	Sustainable Development Goals.
SOTU	State of the Union.
UN	United Nations.
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commissions for Africa
UPR	Universal Peer Review Mechanism.

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ABSTRACT

The study is about CSOs involvement in the APRM process. The main objective is to examine and evaluate APRM's existence for the last thirteen years, look at the gains and drawbacks that the mechanism has encountered. Basically to assess whether the mechanism has been able to live by its principles and aspirations as discussed in chapter two of the study.

Chapter three of the study interrogates CSOs involvement in the mechanism. It analyzes the mechanism structure and CSOs presence within the different structures of the APRM. It basically seeks to evaluate the relationship between CSOs and the entire components of the APRM. Chapter four on the other hand exposes the strategies that CSOs use to engage the mechanism, it seeks to evaluate whether the tools being used are effective or inept when it comes to influencing the entire APRM mechanism. The chapter also gives a synopsis of the strategies CSOs should use when it comes to lobbying within the mechanism. The chapter basically outlines CSOs role in the Mechanism.

The data in the study was collected through both primary and secondary means. Primary sources comprised field and conference interviews with officials from various Pan African CSOs during APRM conferences and workshops. Focus group discussions were held through the APRM Youth Working Group Kenya.

Study findings show that APRM is growing gradually and by 2020 it will have gathered full momentum to operate effectively. The secretariat among other key stakeholders have drafted a five year revitalization strategic plan(2016 – 2020) that will see the mechanism attract more membership and an increase on its operational framework. CSOs presence within the mechanism is low but gradually growing.

The study recommends that more civic engagements should be conducted to popularize the mechanism and promote popular participation in the process. APR Forum and secretariat should develop a strategy of luring more AU members into the mechanism. APRM member states should also be encouraged to reaffirm their commitment to the country self-assessment review process, they also need to honor their financial obligations promptly.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction

APRM Glossary Terms define Civil Society as an aggregate of organizations, institutions and associations that manifest interest in the will of the Citizens, distinct from the State. APRM glossary terms considers Civil Society to be an amalgamation of the following; Social groupings representing women, children, the youth, the elderly and people with disability and special needs; Professional groups such as associations of artists, engineers, health practitioners, social workers, media, teachers, sports associations, legal professionals, social scientists, academia, business organizations, national chambers of commerce, workers unions, employers unions, industry and agriculture as well as other private sector interest groups; Non-governmental organisations, Community-based organisations and voluntary organisations among others such as cultural organizations.[1]

Civil society organizations aspire to create ideal states or rather just societies,[2] whereby both the state and the people dedicate themselves to the common good of wisdom and justice. It is in the quest of the above that civil society organizations operate under. Good to note is that civil society organizations are not homogeneous; they operate under different thematic dynamism, ranging from political spectrum, social to economic. Within the political spectrum civil society organisations champion for better democratic values, whereas in the socio-economic spectrum they champion for human development.[3]

African Peer Review Mechanism is an instrument voluntarily acceded to by Member States of the African Union[4] as a self-monitoring mechanism intended to foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability, high economic growth,

[1] APRM Secretariat***, Country Self – Assessment Questionnaire***, Pg VI.
[2] Wickramasinghe N.(2001) ***Civil Society Organizations in Sirilanka.*** New Delhi.
[3] Human Development – Define***
[4] AU Constitutive Act (2000).

sustainable development and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration through sharing of experiences and reinforcement of successful and best practice.[5]

The researcher therefore intends to look at the relationship between Civil Society Organisations, and APRM.

1.1 Background

Africa has always had a rich history and therefore civil society in Africa can be traced back to the pre-colonial years. The Egyptian Civilization, Benin Kingdom gives a very rich background of CSO groupings in Africa. CSO in those years were trying to grapple with war, diseases, drought and economic needs.[6] There were detriments of dictatorship in the pre-colonial error emanating from certain Kingdoms, which left CSOs with no option but to challenge the Status Quo.

In as much as Pre Colonial CSOs were loosely organized their principle was so much inclined to today's Universal Declaration of the Human Rights, and the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights. Their demands were principally correct and were always channeled towards the existing form of authority.

The colonial period saw Pan African CSOs are organize themselves into formidable outfit to challenge the colonial status quo. Demands for self-determination from the African people entrenched the spirit of pan Africanism amongst Africans. National politics was galvanized around continental agenda, with calls for liberation from the colonial York. 1945 saw African leaders attend the Pan African Congress held at Manchester to discuss and establish continental agenda's.

Pan African Congress had the true picture and reflection of what CSO undertake today. Most of the resolutions raised and passed then, evolved around human rights. For instance the remarks made below were so done in 1945 by the Pan African Congress, but may sound alive and meaningful today if made by CSOs in Saharawi against Morocco:

[5] APRM Secretariat, ***Country Self-Assessment Questionnaire for African Peer Review Mechanism,*** Pg 18
[6] TordoffWilliam(2002), ***Governments in Africa,*** Pg 25 - 52. Interest Groups.

"We *are determined to be free. We want education. We want the right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts and emotions, to adopt and create form of beauty. We demand for Black African autonomy and independence, so far and no further than it is possible and this one world for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federation.''* [7]

Civil Society Organisations therefore propose to elevate living standards in backward areas, create a synergy between national frontiers with global and continental political economic systems. Minimize the factors that contribute to economic instability, promote the attainment of higher levels of health, literacy, culture and social justice. In other words they agitate for that which sovereign states do not provide yet they ought too.[8]

APRM was adopted in 2003,[9]through a Memorandum of Understanding between AU Member States. The mechanism enjoys a membership of 35 sovereign States from the AU. Countries that accede to APRM commit themselves to periodic reviews on four thematic areas, namely Democracy and Political Governance, Economic Governance and Management, Corporate Governance, and Socio Economic Development. So far 17 Countries within the APRM have conducted their first base review, 18 are yet to do so.

1.2 Research Problem

Thirteen years down the line, 18 member states of the APRM have not conducted their first base reviews and subsequent periodic reviews as is required by the APRM base document.[10]Upon acceding to the Mechanism Member States are expected to assesses themselves within the first 18 Months, unfortunately that has not been the case.

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[7]Legum (1962) Pg 135 – 137.

[8] David S, Soule S and Kriesi H (2007), ***The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements.*** Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

[9] APRM Base Document.

[10]APRM Country Self-Assessment Questionnaire (2003). ***Base Review, "****when a country officially acceded to the APRM process. Bearing in mind that African Countries are at different levels o development, on joining the APRM, a country will be assessed (the base review) and a timetable (programme of action) for effecting progress towards achieving the agreed standards and goals must be drawn up by the state in question, taking into account the particular circumstances of that state. According to the Base Documents, the* ***Base Review*** *is supposed to be undertaken within* ***18 months*** of a country becoming a member of the APRM process." Pg 18

The other problem is that, some of those countries that have assessed themselves have not released their progress reports, and those that have released the reports have been slow at implementing their National Program of Action a precedent that is not in tandem to the APRM Principles and aspirations. It is upon that backdrop that the researcher opted for the above research topic.

1.3 Objectives

1.3.1 Overall Objective

To evaluate and reexamine the existence of APRM

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

i) To establish the relationship between CSOs and APRM.
ii) To ascertain the tools being used by CSOs to influence APRM.
iii) To examine the impact of APRM.

1.4 Research Question

i) Has the APRM been able to live by its principles and aspirations?
ii) Do CSOs hold a space within the APRM?
iii) What strategies can civil society organisations use to influence APRM?
iv) What kind of Recommendations have CSOs put in place to APRM member states to enhance compliance in conducting reviews?
v) What strategies can civil society organisations use when conducting lobbying for the adoption and implementation of National Programmes of Action?
vi) Where Next For Civil Society Within APRM ?[11]

[11] CSO Conference (2016), ***Revive APRM Conference,*** Nairobi. "…..CSOs and APRM must form a synergy of working together……Where to Next For Civil Society?

1.5 Hypothesis

The call for citizen action by Civil Society Organizations has the ability to influence APRM member states into conducting self-assessment reviews and submitting their country review reports on time. And to further implement the National programmes of Actions.[12]

1.6 Justification of the Study

1.6.1 Academic Justification

APRM being a new mechanism has very little to show in terms of secondary data. Academicians have not taken their time to write much about the mechanism either through criticizing, popularizing or commending the mechanism. In short very limited literature is out there on bookshelves that talks about the mechanism.[13]The research therefore believes that the study will mark a great contribution to the limited secondary literature that already does exist.

CSOs do not have a clear framework on how to engage the APRM.[14] Their role and steak in the mechanism has not been clearly defined. It is therefore upon that backdrop that the researcher wants to develop a clearly outlined and defined framework, under which CSOs can operate through when engaging APRM. The research will also adduce to the knowledge of understanding the linkage and relationship between CSOs and APRM.

1.6.2 Policy Justification

"Where to next for civil society within APRM?" –SAIIA & EISA.[15]

There is a very limited space for CSO to engage APRM at the national level; a policy therefore needs to be developed that reaffirms and assures CSOs space in the Mechanism at the national level.

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[12] Snow D, Soule A and Kriesi H (2007), ***The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements,*** Oxford.

[14]- CSO Conference (2015) "***Where to next for civil society within APRM***, Nairobi.

[15] *CSO Conference (2015), ***Conference at Intercontinental,*** Nairobi.

CSOs existence within the APRM can only be assured through an enshrined legal Instrument and not through an application of goodwill from the Forum, Secretariat, Panel of Eminent Persons or the Member States of the APRM. African Union for Instance accommodates CSO as is enshrined in ***Article 6*** ECOSOCC.[16]The same policy framework needs to be developed in APRM to re affirm CSOs space and existence within the Mechanism.

1.7 Literature Review

The literature reviewed explains the advent of civil society organisations and how much they have evolved over time from a historical point of view to the modern day society. It further explains the gradual relationship between civil society and the state.[17]

1.7.1 Civil Society

Civil Society is a broad term that includes nongovernmental organizations, charities, trusts, foundations, unions, social movements and advocacy groups that manifest interests in the will of citizens. Principally CSOs are autonomous and independent from the state. The third sector actually keeps reminding the state of what her responsibilities are to the citizenry. The emergence of International Organizations has attracted CSOs into the international arena. CSOs no longer manifest their interest only on national issues but also on continental and global international affairs.

1.7.2 The Advent of CSO

A great debate has always ensued as to when CSOs started existing, whether it was before the advent of the state system or way before the state system was created. The following discussions among modern and classical thinkers will guide the study;

1.7.2.1 Modern Thinkers

Modern thinkers believe that Civil Society Organisations are a product of the emergence of the state system developed in 1648,[18] they base their arguments going by the definition that Civil Society Organisations can only exist outside the state, meaning that without the state then their cannot be a civil society organisation. According to modern thinkers states are new

[16] AU Constitutive Act (2000).
[17] Wickramasinge N (2001), ***CSOs in Sirilanka: New Circles of Power.*** New Delhi.
[18] *See, Westphalia Treaty 1648.

entities that were developed by the Westphalia treaty of 1648, and therefore if states are new entities so are CSOs.

Tenets within the Westphalia treaty of 1648 laid emphasis on the citizenry as the basic component in the creation or determination of a state. And therefore citizens interests were to be delegated to the state, but since states by nature are notorious in violating individual rights. An alternative entity distinct from the structures of government had to be created, to monitor and regulate states behavior, thus the creation and rise of CSOs.[19]

Modern thinkers insist that before the conference of Westphalia nation states never took it upon themselves to consider their citizens as components of the state, national interest overrode everything else.[20] In the event of a war the loss of combatants was considered as collateral damage. What was actually important was to win the war and not the conditions of peace to securitize human life.[21] Such a setting clearly portrays that there was no space for civil society organisations existence. National security deemed the existence of CSOs as a threat to peace and the state. Civil disobedience was seen as a precursor to revolution and therefore CSOs could not exist before the advent of Westphalia treaty 1648.

1.7.2.2 Classical Thinking of CSOs.

However classical thinkers have opined that Civil Society Organisations have existed way back before the advent of the state system.[22] Their argument has been that before the state system, their existed a form of political power that acted at the behest of the state. Societies organized themselves into associations outside the purview of the existing political power. Their argument is that, political power has always existed and that there has never been a vacuum.

They further argue that before the adoption of the Westphalia treaty,[23] loosely formed associations existed outside the existing form of political power. The loosely structured

[19] Plato, ***The Republic.***
[20] Hans Morgenthau, ***Politics Among Nations.***
[21] Tsun Tzu, ***The Art of War. ****
[22] Africa Contemporary Record 1975/76 Pg 203***
[23] *See, Westphalia Treaty (1648). "……***A State must have; well defined territory, a standing army, a permanent citizenry, and a government in place…….***"***

associations commonly known as public spheres[24] kept reminding the existing form of political authority whenever it was going astray. Public debates and dialects at that particular time were a manifestation of CSOs existence.[25]

Classical thinkers argue that by the very nature that back then association were loosely structured, Should not be used as a yard stick to disqualify CSOs existence. Actually the loosely structured associations are what have transformed into today's well-structured and institutionalized organizations that today modern thinkers call CSOs.

Classical thinkers admit that modern CSOs are well institutionalized and organized compared to the previous CSOs.

From the debate, the researcher realizes that both conceptions are driven by the principle that the role of the civil society organisations is to ***exert influence in the decision making process of either the state or any form of political power that acts at the behest of the state.***[26]

20th century saw the rise and proliferation of CSOs more so after the end of the cold war, 1989 paved the way for democracy as a form and system of governance. Democracy basically acknowledges the people are the sovereign power of a state; therefore citizen's decisions and interests largely count in the day to day running of the state.[27]

It is therefore evident that democracy provides an enabling environment for CSOs to thrive, because it acknowledges the people as the sovereign power as opposed to the state. As a resort to that, CSOs are major stakeholders in the day to day running of sovereign states, regional organisations, and international organisations, because they develop policies that respond to social, demographic, political and structural factors of the society.

[24] Public Sphere – define***
[25] *See, Socrates debates***
[26] QUOTE******
[27] Kenyan Constitution (2010), ***Chapter One.*** *'*All Sovereign powers belong to the people…"

1.7.3 CSOs Existence within the State System

1.7.3.1 Proponents for CSOs Existence within the State.

Plato and Socrates believed that an autonomous system outside the State was justifiable to ensure that justice was preserved and practiced, in short Plato and Socrates were trying to advocate for CSOs existence. On the other hand Niccolo Machiavelli believed that the State should be a central actor an autonomous entity independent and free from any other source of authority. [28]

Plato and Socrates believed in morality doing that which is right, they preferred to suffer injustice than to commit it.[29]Plato became disillusioned by the State system more so after evaluating the 30 tyrant's leadership in Athenian state. Plato viewed the existing cities as hopelessly corrupt and the only way out was to be governed by a Philosopher King whom should be from outside the existing form of political institutions. His analogy was that, the existing political institutions were already decayed and it would be a tall order to expect reforms from them. Someone therefore from the civil society was better placed for the job to conduct reforms. Plato and Glaucon believed that obeying and adhering to the rule of law was a precursor to justice and ideal states.

Plato believed in a just city, because justice was a precursor to beatitude and peace in the world. Justice creates an ideal state and the best form of governance. He believed in ***Ariston Kratos*** rule by a few and rule by the best, he further emphasized on the education system and meritocracy as the best form of assigning responsibilities.[30] Plato was to later discredit democracy as the rule for the unfit since the entire process was driven by temperament and its outcome relied on mobocracy quantity as opposed to quality and rationality.[31]

Plato emphasized that, it is the responsibility of the society to create an enabling environment for individuals to realize their full potential, exactly that which NGOs are tasked with?

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[28]Niccolo Machiavelli,(1532) ***The Prince.***

[29]Owuoche Solomon, ***Introduction to Political Theory,*** Pg 2

[30] Plato (1955), ***Republic,*** Harmondsworth, Penguins.

[31] For democracy to be feasible personal interest should be sacrificed for the general good of society, The consequence being citizen harmony, the ability of citizens to assemble directly to decide on laws and policy.

Aristotle also postulates his belief in the rule of law and emphasizes on the constitution. He reiterates that the constitution ensures that the governor, governed and the government are regulated by the same legal status. It is in the same spirit that CSOs aspire for the adoption of the rule of law and equality.

1.7.3.2 Proponents against CSOs existence within the State.

Niccolo Machiavelli on the contrary does not belief in morality and CSOs at large, his beliefs are entrenched in ***real politik.*** Niccolo beliefs that Italy as a state became weak because it had opened up its space for CSOs existence. He therefore eludes that politics need to be divorced from morality and other forms of civility.

Machiavelli does not belief in human beings, he postulates that they are corrupt and untrustworthy thus the need for an absolute monarchy. His belief was that the state should not be questioned neither should it be answerable to any external organisation nor entity for that matter (CSOs). Machiavelli believed that an effective statesman was one who operates outside the law.[32]His main belief was that the end justifies the means and the only way to judge a statesman is to evaluate whether he/she has been able to deliver on national interest.

Hegel supports Machiavelli and he also postulates that states should posse's absolute power and for that matter non state actors like CSOs should subordinate the state. For the preservation of the state the ruler can use kindness, cruelty, murder, force and ruthlessness to preserve the state and enable it achieve national interest.

Thomas Hobbes concurs with Hegel and Niccolo. He also believes that the state is leviathan and therefore should not be challenged or regulated by non-state actors.[33] Machiavelli, Hegel and Aristotle both make reservations that the use of force and absoluteness must have limits and should not be applied unnecessarily, since force cannot achieve the end at all times. The latter should only be applied when there is surety to achieve or meet national interest. [34]

[32] Machiavelli Niccolo (1532), ***The Prince .****
[33] Thomas Hobbes (1651), ***Leviathan***
[34]Wolin, (1960: 223 – 224).

1.7.4 Civil Society Existence at Continental Levels.

1.7.4.1 Civil Societies in Europe

In Europe the period of enlightenment epitomizes the existence of CSOs. It is not clear when the enlightenment period begun, however its detriments were felt during the seventeenth to eighteenth century. The period of enlightenment changed how the Europeans viewed the government and society; it marked the period of intellectual consciousness. It was a time of controversy between those who believed in the existing institutions and those who dint believe in them.

The period saw science and religion conflict, it was a period where people hoped to apply science and reason at the expense of religion. It was a period of coming up with new ideas to old questions.[35] During the period, governments and religion were placed on the spot due to maladministration and religious blasphemy. Scholars like Isaac Newton formed scientific anti thesis against religious bigotry on the laws governing nature.[36] Locke on the other hand introduced laws protecting natural rights to life, liberty and property.

The table below shows the new ideas that came with the period of enlightenment in Europe.

Table 1.1: Ideologies of enlightenment

Idea.	**Thinker**	**Impact.**
Natural rights – life, liberty, property.	Locke.	Fundamental to US declaration of Independence.
Separation of powers.	Montesquieu.	France, US, Latin America nations use separation of powers in new constitutions.
Freedom of thought and expression.	Voltaire.	US Bill of Rights, French Declaration on Rights of man and citizen; European monarchs reduce or eliminate censorship.
Abolishment of Torture.	Beccaria.	US Bill of Rights; torture outlawed or reduced in nations of Europe and the Americans.
Religious Freedom	Voltaire.	US Bill of Rights; French Declaration on Rights of Man and Citizen, Europeans monarchs reduce persecution.
Women's equality.	Wollstonecraft.	Woman Rights groups from in North America and Europe.
Social Contract.	Rosusseau.	US Bill of Rights, French Declaration on Rights of Man and Citizen.

[35] Amatsimbi M and Omusotsi, ***Topics in World Civilisation. Nairobi.*** Pg 190.
[36] Newton Isaac, ***Laws of ******

The above ideas were shared widely in Europe through advocacy, and as a result a good number of monarchs initiated reforms that honored the listed ideas. In America to be specific the colonialists revolted against King George III and as recourse they gained independence.[37] A new government came into place and domesticated the ideas and principles of the enlightenment period. In France the French Revolution of 1789 – 1799 was a call for social, economic and political reforms.

It is therefore evident that the enlightenment period had a focus to break tradition, irrationality, superstition and tyranny. The main aim was to promote humanity by overhauling the society through introduction of better policies and institutions to govern. Enlightenment period encouraged social equality and gave rise to democracy around Europe and the world. The same cry for liberty was extended to Africa, Asia among other continents. It can therefore be summed up that Academicians and Social movements were the key drivers of CSOs existence during the enlightenment period in Europe. The ideals of enlightenment epitomized the institutionalization of liberty, freedom, equality and the famous declaration of rights. [38]

1.7.4.2 Civil Societies within Africa

The pre colonial African political system can be categorized into two faces; those with elaborate government structures and those without.[39] Those with elaborate government structures were known as centralized administrative systems. Whereas those without were known as stateless or decentralized systems. Functionally centralized systems had elaborate hierarchy of authority that linked the center to the localities. In the case of decentralized, there was absence of centralized authority linked to the localities. Buganda Kingdom and the Wanga Kingdom depicted a clear picture of centralized forms of authority[40]. Whether a society was centralized or decentralized there was a mechanism of dispersing authority. Disbursement of authority was well balanced and channeled in both political systems. It was

[37] ImmermanRichard(2010) ***Empire for Liberty,*** New Jersey: Princeton Press.
[38] Amatsimbi M and Omusotsi B, ***Topics in World Civilizations,*** Nairobi.
[39] Walter O.Y (1992), ***Politics and Administration in East Africa,*** Nairobi: English Press.
[40] Maxon R.M (1992), ***The Colonial Roots, pg 33-60******

very difficult to endure anarchy in decentralized systems since there was a traditional form of authority at both family level and societal level.[41]

Kingship was the source of authority in centralized governance systems. Whereas in decentralized systems, within a homestead the Man was the ultimate source of authority and at the community level, councils of elder's wielded authority. Among the Meru in Kenya, Njuri Ncheke were respected and made decisions at the behest of the community.

Africa's pre colonial political system faced civic engagement from civil society organisations. For Instance within the Sokoto Empire the Hausa and Fulani co-existed despite having different socio-economic activities. The Hausa were farmers whereas the Fulani were pastoralists. Hausa, apart from being farmers were traders and well educated, enabling them to hold high positions in government. Unfortunately the Hausa were to later use their powers to dominate and molest the Fulani among other communities. That did not go down well with the communities being led, thereby presenting their grievances as follows;

- Forceful Conscription into the Army to fight fellow brothers.
- Practiced slave trade.
- Undermined fellow Africans as to being lesser human beings, racism to be precise.
- The Hausa were very corrupt.
- Imposed high taxes.

The above grievances made communities to lose confidence in the Hausa leadership thus the call for alternative leadership from the Fulani. It was time to embrace reforms and when a Fulani by the name Usman Dan Fodio came to power he ensured that reforms were enacted. From the above the researcher can emphatically say that civil society existed in the Pre Colonial Africa.

On the same spirit of trying to re affirm the existence of CSOs in Africa, within the pastoral communities they had activists who would champion for resource distribution to their animals and the community at large. The activists agitated for grounds where their animals would graze and people farm. All the grievances raised were channeled to the kingdoms source of

[41]TordoffWiliam(2002), ***Politics and Government in Africa,*** Pg 24. "…..many Africans lived in stateless societies organized around the family, kinship groups and clan…."

authority. When drought struck activists pushed their kingdoms to migrate them to safer grounds free from hunger and where diseases would not strike. That explains why most African societies kept migrating from one place to another.The19th century saw most African societies subdued into colonial protectorates through the 1895 Berlin conference principles. For instance Buganda Kingdom was placed under the British protectorate.[42]The colonization process in Africa gave an impetus to the rise of civil society organisations in Africa. Colonialists came with a number of conditions, principles and traditions that were alien to Africans. And therefore in the spirit of detest a number of civil society organisations arose.

European intrusion into Africa provoked civil society organisations within African communities to act. In Kenya the Young Kavirondo Association agitated for the abolishment of forced labor, dissolution of specific labor camps within Western Kenya, they sought for the granting of individual title deeds, sought for construction of government facilities within Western Kenya.[43] The Ukambani Members Association on the other hand protested against an impending government destocking decree. From the two associations the researcher realizes that both existed outside the government and their interest was manifested from the will of the people. Most of these associations were to later transform into political outfits at national levels.[44]

The spirit of challenging foreign status quo made Pan African CSOs to merge into one strong organisation known as the Pan African Congress, led by Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, and Julius Nyerere among other African leaders. Their call was to ensure that Africa was to be free from foreign domination and governance. Soudan therefore got her independence in 1955 and 1957 saw Ghana attains her independence; South Africa was to later attain her independence in 1994. Self-determination was at the very heart of many African people and associations. OAU was an ideology and the brain child of the Pan African Congress.
Unfortunately when African states came to power they inherited the same colonial governance structures that had been used to govern them. That gave an assurance that colonial legacy, had to live on. Colonial legacy meant that African governments were to use divide and

[42]Karugire S.R (1980), ***A Political History In Uganda,*** Nairobi.
[43]Maxon R.M (1992), ***The Colonial Roots,*** Pg 42,
[44]Ogot and Zeleza, ***"The Road to Independence,"***

rule as a means of governance,[45] and the end result of that was for marginalization and socio-economic disparities to thrive. Post-independence politics was characterized by ethnocentric politics, with reflecting patterns of super-ordinate and subordinate communities. Post-colonial Africa embraced one party political system; constitutions were amended to accord the president executive powers as was the case in Kenya. In Uganda, Militarism was deployed as a means of politics which meant that democratic values and principles could not work.[46]Executive presidency and militarization of politics generated the struggle for political power. Coup d'états became the order of the day as will be seen in the table below;

Table 1.2: Successful coup d'état in Africa 1958 -1989

Region	Country	Year	Total.
West Africa	Benin.	1963, 1965*2, 1969, 1972.	5
	Burkina Faso	1980, 1982, 1983, 1987.	4
	Ghana	1966, 1972, 1978, 1979, 1981.	5
	Guinea	1984	1
	Guinea Bissau	1980	1
	Liberia	1980	1
	Mali	1968, 1991	2
	Niger	1974,	1
	Nigeria	1966*2, 1975, 1983, 1985.	5
	Sierra Leone	1967, 1968.	2
	Togo	1963, 1967.	2
Central Africa.	Burundi	1966*2, 1976, 1987,	4
	Central Africa Republic (CAR).	1966, 1979, 1981, 2003.	4
	Chad	1975, 1979, 1981,	3
	Congo Brazzaville.	1968.	1
	Democratic Republic of Congo. (DRC)	1965.	1
	Equatorial Guinea.	1979.	1
	Rwanda	1973.	1
East Africa.	Somalia	1969	1
	Sudan	1958, 1969,1985, 1989	4
	Uganda	1966, 1971, 1979, 1980, 1985, 1986.	6
Southern Africa.	Lesotho	1986	1
	Madagascar	1975	1
North Africa.	Algeria	1965	1
	Libya	1969	1
	Mauritania	1978, 1984.	2
	Tunisia	1987.	1
Total.			

*Source; YARIK,**African Accountability: What Works and What Doesn't.** PG 14.*

[45]Maxon R.M (1992), "***The Colonial Roots,"*** Pg 34. "….***an equally significant dimension was the policy of divide and rule inaugurated with the colonial conquest…"***

[46]Pinycwa A.G (1992), "***The Militarization of Politics in An African State: The Case Of Uganda***," Pg 216 "…***the Ugandan experience is one which is both rich and very unfortunate with regard to the matter of Militarization of Politics……"***

The table above indicates how bullets replaced ballot papers as a means of ascending to power; it is therefore evident that civil society could not thrive during the periods of 1958 – 1989. Democratic principles had been eroded and therefore CSOs could not thrive.

Events were to later change in 1989 after the end of the cold war and emergence of SAPs.[47] America became the hegemonic power and championed for Democracy as a means of governance, SAPs on the other hand demanded for CSOs inclusion in the governance process. The two positions gave rise to Civil Society Organisations once again in Africa. SAPs which had been introduced by World Bank advocated for a number of reforms in Africa's governance architecture. The demands ranged from constitutional reforms to the adoption of multi-party form of politics. From 1990 – 1999, 42 countries of out of 48 in sub Saharan states embraced multiparty politics. That culminated to presidential and parliamentary elections.[48]

African governments highly depending on donor funding had no option but to embrace what the donor community had emphasized. Post-cold war period therefore saw the greatest proliferation of CSOs in Africa. Activism became a full time career for a good number of Africans, because NGOs had the money and space to operate from.

Global and Continental institutions such as World Bank, African Development Bank, African Economic Consortium, Global Coalition for Africa, and United Economic Commission for Africa, compelled African governments to embrace and involve civil societies in their governance structure.[49]

Civil Society Organisations became stronger than opposition parties; African governments listened to their demands and adopted their recommendations. In Kenya during the run up to the 2002 elections, civil society organisations helped the opposition parties to formulate a winning strategy against the existing Kenya African National Union government. The strategy crafted was that opposition parties should form an alliance then front one candidate for the presidential seat. The strategy worked for the opposition by winning the election.

[47] Charles W.K(2010), ***World Trends and Politics, ******
[48] World Bank, African Development Bank, et.al…… ***Can Africa claim the 21century***, pg49.
[49] World Bank, African Development Bank,et. al…. ***Can Africa Claim the 21 century***. Pg 51.

The post-cold war error saw a number of dictatorial regimes fall from power, Mobutu Sese seko literary flee from his country Congo. Ballot boxes replaced bullets, and governments that used guns to ascend into power were delegitimized and condemned. CSOs took up the role of ensuring that electoral integrity was honored, they also took up the role of sensitizing the public on the principles of democracy.[50]

Unfortunately some African countries such as Egypt, Ethiopia, and Rwanda among others have not fully opened up their spaces for CSOs existence.[51]

1.7.4.3Civil Society Organisations within African Union

African Unions was constituted in the year 2000 following its transformation from OAU. [52] The idea of a continental organisation was born from a civil society movement known as the Pan African Movement. African leaders felt the need to have an organisation that would champion and secure Africa's interest.[53] Kwame Nkrumah and William Tubman took it upon themselves to push the idea of a continental union, thus the establishment of the OAU in 1963.[54]

The two leaders were to later differ on the modality of its operation. Tubman wanted a functional organisation whereas Kwame wanted a political confederation. African Union was to later adopt a functional mode of operation that William Tubman advocated for.

OAU's sole mandate was to ensure that all African states were free from colonization, a mandate that it championed for so well. Because by1994 it had ensured that all the 53 African states were exercising self-determination free from European dominance. It is only Western Saharawi and South Sudan that were facing dominance from their fellow African states. South Sudan was facing dominance from Sudan, whereas Western Saharawi is still facing dominance from Morocco. In 1984Morocco withdrew her Membership from the OAU, she

[50] *See, Katiba Watch In Kenya.
[51]Human Rights and Democracy Network (2015), ***17th EU-CSOConference***. Brussels.
[52] AU (2000) ***CONSTITUTIVE ACT***.
[53]Olukoshi A and Adejumobi, (2009). ***The African Union and Strategies for Development in Africa.***
[54]" Kwame Nkrumah, (1957). ***Independence Speech***. "…..Ghana's Independence is meaningless if other African states are under subjugation…."

did so as a sign of protest for OAU recognizing Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (Western Sahara) as a sovereign state and admitting her into the continental organisation.

The continental organisation endured a series of challenges, both positive and negative. For instance in 1994 when South Africa was gaining her independence a genocide was taking place in Rwanda.

The working relationship between AU and civil society organisations can be traced back during the times of OAU. In 1997 the then Secretary General of OAU Salim Ahmed Salim while addressing the council of Ministers recommended a formal working relationship between OAU and CSOs the conference was themed;[55]

"Developing *Partnerships between the OAU and African Civil Society Organizations."*

Prior to the above arrangements, OAU through UN (Economic Commission for Africa) organized for a conference in Arusha that developed the Charter on Popular Participation.[56]The above events therefore give an indication that a working relationship between CSOs and AU had been forged way back in the 20th century through OAU in the Arusha Declaration of 1980. [57]

The constitutive act of the African Union was adopted by the heads of state in 2000 Lome Togo; its entry into force was in 2001. July 2002 marked the inaugural summit of the AU at Durban, South Africa. The AU inherited so much roles and organs from the OAU, meaning it has more roles to play. Key among them roles is to promote peace and security, to protect democratic principles and institutions, to foster good governance and adherence to human and people's rights.

AU organs are; assembly of heads of states, executive council of ministers, Permanent Representative Committee, commission of the African union, Economic Social and Cultural Council, pan African parliament, court of justice, specialized technical committees and financial institutions.

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[55]Olukoshi A and Adejumobi, (2009). ***The African Union and Strategies for Development in Africa,*** Pg 185.***
[56] *See, OAU, ***Arusha Declaration.***
[57]Organisation of African Union (1963), ***Constitutive Act.***

Other institutions and initiatives that have been established by other treaties, protocols and agreements are Peace and Security Council, African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights, African Committee of experts on the rights and welfare of the child, African Court on Human and people's rights, New Partnership for African Development, African Peer Review Mechanism and African Governance and Architecture that was adopted in 2011.[58]

AU was to later live by the spirit of working closely with CSOs after its establishment in 2002; the third sector was placed under ECOSOCC in 2005. ***Article 6*** of the technical committee stipulates the requirements for an organisation to be accredited by AU.[59] CSOs hold different status at the continental body, for instance some hold observer status whereas others prefer organizing their own forums at the sidelines parallel to AU Summits. CSOs engage with AU Organs through four ways, namely; Institutional spaces, Invited spaces, Created spaces and Joint spaces.

Pan African CSOs have constantly organized for side line events through Created spaces parallel to AU Heads of States Summits. They also participate in pre AU summits that set the agenda for the AUs main Summit. AU organs have constantly organized for joint activities with CSOs, for instance the Pan African Parliament. Actually all AU organs embrace CSOs as potential stakeholders in their programs.

To promote a cordial working relationship with CSOs, ECOSOCC an arm of AU decided to set up a CSOs desk at its offices, and the desk is being managed by CIDO.[60] Setting up the desk was an indication that the continental body greatly acknowledges and appreciates the great contributions that CSOs make to AU.

It is so unfortunate that some AU member states have developed a perception that CSOs are a source of disorder and violence at the expense of civility and development. The perceptions

[58] *See, Protocol on African Governance and Architecture Frame Work Document***

[59] The CSO should be national, regional, continental, or an African Diaspora. The CSO must have objectives and principles consistent with those of the AU as set out in ***Article 3*** of the Constitutive Act. The CSO must be registered in a member state of the union and/ or meet the general conditions of eligibility for the granting of observer status to NGOs. The CSO should provide information on funding sources in the preceding 3 years.

[60] AfiMap and SOTU (2010), ***Strengthening Public Participation.***

are being triggered by the constant push by CSOs on AU member states to uphold and live by the principles of the continental legal instruments.

The discomfort being raised by some AU member states against CSOs has not dampened the spirit of CSOs engagement with Sovereign states. Instead it has motivated them into ensuring that AU member states comply with all international and continental norms set by AU. CSOs have also made it their concern to ensure that those African countries that have not ratified AU legal instruments do so.

African Union has a membership of about 300 civil society organisations under ECOSOCC; ***Article 6*** of the same organ enshrines the requirements needed for an organisation to attain membership at the AU. Lobbying, advocacy and picketing are some of the various tools that CSOs use to influence continental agendas.

CSOs within the African Union after attaining their accreditation status are obliged to work under any structures of the AU. That is so because CSOs are dynamic and each has an area of expertise and interest. It is encouraging to see that Pan African CSOs are engaged in all AU organs and activities.

Interestingly enough is that Pan African CSOs have taken it upon themselves to ensure that they evaluate the personnel working for AU both at the ASAP and the secretariat. History will attest to the fact that CSOs made an affront that Omar El Bashir should not chair ASAP because his country was undergoing a civil war under his watch and leadership. He was later accused of having committed genocide that led to his indictment at the Hague court.[61] The year 2016 has also seen CSOs gain interest on who is going to succeed Dr. Dalmin Zuma. CSOs concern is to ensure that the process is free and fair. [62]

It is therefore very important to appreciate AU's effort of ensuring that all her organs and member states include CSOs in their programs.

[61] United Nations (1998), **Rome Statute.**
[62] Discussion held in Kigali by the Continental Youth Forum co-hosted by Oxfam SOTU and Msafara.

1.7.4.2.1 African Governance Architecture (AGA)

AGA was adopted in the year 2011 during the 16th ordinary session of the assembly of the African Union in Addis Ababa. The architecture was developed to safeguard and promote good governance according to ACDEG and also to protect and promote Human rights according to the Banjul Charter. AGA provides a platform where all stakeholders in the AU can dialogue so as to translate AGAs aspirations into reality.[63]

AGA platforms are organized into five focus areas namely; Governance, Democracy, Human Rights and transitional justice, Humanitarian Affairs, constitutionalism and the rule of law. AGA's specific objectives are to accelerate ratification, domestication and implementation of African legal instruments among other standard codes as enshrined in AGAs Framework.[64]

AGA is governed by a bureau that has a chairperson and a vice chairperson. Below the bureau is the secretariat that is based at the AU's Department of Political Affairs. The Architecture has developed an operational synergy with other entities such as NEPAD, APRM, RECs, among other organs and institutions to help it realize AGA objectives.

AGA has two sessions of meeting whereby one is ordinary and the other is extraordinary. During the meetings AGA can decide to make the sessions open or closed depending on the agenda being discussed. When the sessions are open, invited participants are then accredited to participate in the proceedings where they can make oral or written submissions.

All AU member states are part of AGA and after every two years they are expected to evaluate themselves on the status of their governance and human rights standards. The evaluation process should take 9 months and then submitted as a State report addressing the states commitment to governance and human rights principles, showing the efforts that state has taken to ensure that its commitment is realized. And ultimately indicating measures taken towards implementation of the standard codes, the Architecture also expects the member states to list obstacles and challenges faced. [65]

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[63] Constitutive Act of the African Union(2000), ***Article 3g&h, Article 4m.***

[64] AGA Framework(2010) **Pg. 3; Objectives:*To ensure that all AU member states adopt and implement human rights standard codes.***

[65] AGA Secretariat(2015), ***Draft Rules of procedure of the African Governance Platform.*** Addis Ababa.

The Status report is then tabled for further discussion and evaluation, the latter is done through an inclusive process whereby AU organs, agencies among other stakeholders like CSOs are invited to take part. Further recommendations and necessary steps of actions are then given. AGA is an equivalence of APRM.

1.7.4.3 CSOs within APRM

African Peer Review Mechanism is a self-monitoring mechanism that was established in 2003 by African Union member states. The mechanism operates independently under a voluntary memorandum of understanding among African states. Currently the mechanism enjoys a membership of 35 African States. APRM focus area is on four thematic areas namely democracy and political governance;[66] economic governance and management;[67] corporate governance;[68] and socio economic development.[69]

Signatories to the mechanism commit themselves to periodic national self-assessment reviews on their compliance status to AU and UN standard codes. The main aim of the mechanism is to ensure that her member states adopt global and continental standard codes into their national legal frameworks.

APRM is structured in the following order; the APRM Heads of State and Government Forum which is the final decision making body for the mechanism, below the Heads of State and Government there is the Panel of Eminent persons whose sole mandate is to take charge of the review process, the APRM secretariat then comes below the panel of eminent person and their role is to perform coordination and administrative work.[70]

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[66] *See, The Durban Declaration on Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa(2002), The AU Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance (objective 2,5,6), The NEPAD Framework Documents (all Objectives), The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)(objective 3).

[67]*See, Standards and Codes on; Guidelines for Public Debt Management, Good Practices on Fiscal Transparency, Abuja Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (1991), Principles of Corporate Governance (International and National), Best Practices for Budget Transparency, Good Practices on Transparency in Monetary and Financial Affairs.

[68] *See, International Accounting Standards, International Standards on Auditing, Labour Codes of the International Labour Organisation.

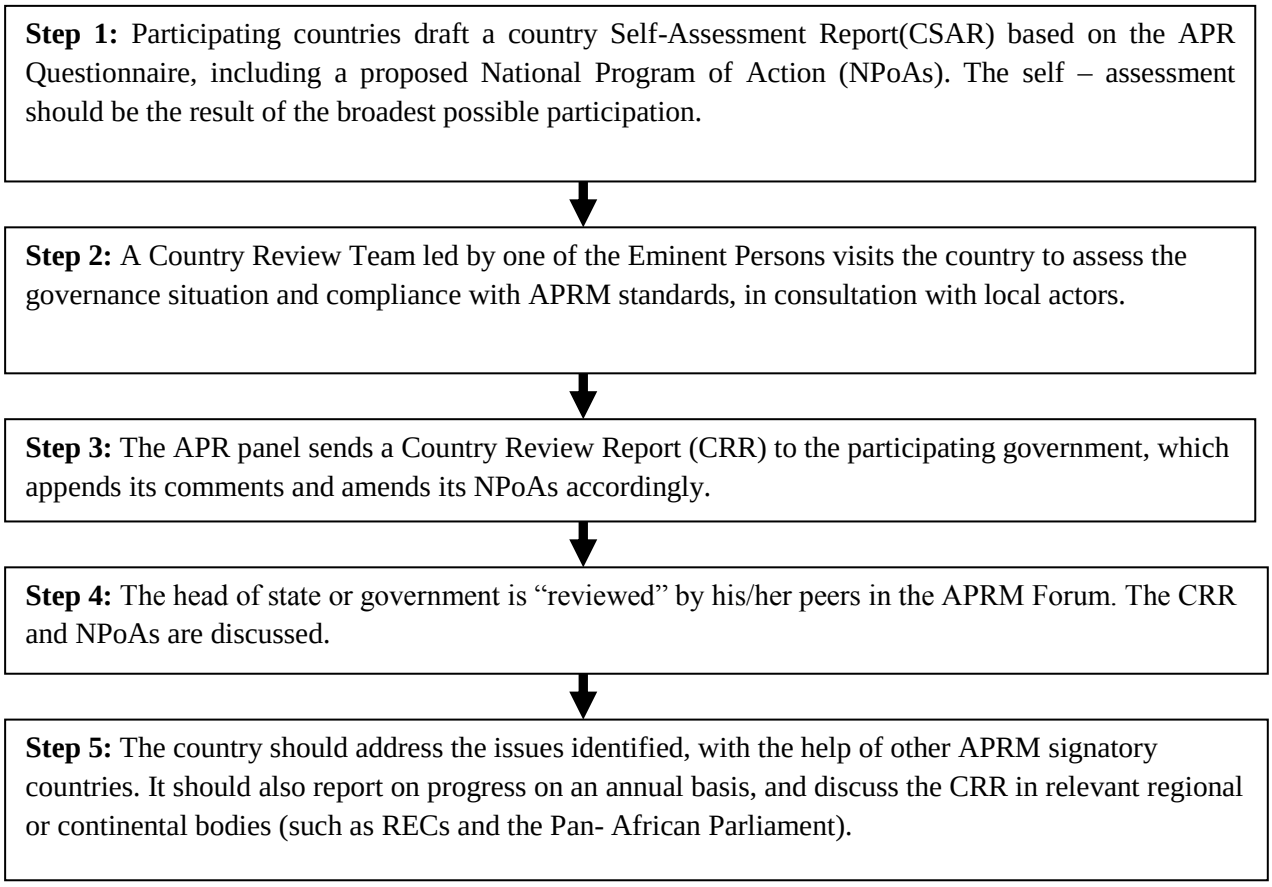
[69] *See, UN Declaration on the Rights to Development, UN Millennium Declaration(2000), World Summit on Sustainable Development (2002).

[70]NEPAD Secretariat (2003), ***APRM Base Document.*** Midrand.

APRM's continental secretariat office is based in Midrand, South Africa; member states are expected to have their own independent APRM country offices but that has not been the case in all APRM member states. Only a few countries like Sierra Leone, South Africa just but to mention a few have ensured that their APRM country offices are Independent and autonomous from NEPAD. Few countries like Kenya have merged their APRM country offices within NEPAD, which should not be the case.

Each APRM member state is expected to conduct its own country base review process through a multi stakeholder participatory manner. Below is the procedure of the review process;

Figure 1: The Review Process of the APRM.



Source; APRM Secretariat, ***Country Self-Assessment Questionnaire,*** Pg 7-8[71].

[71] APRM Secretariat, ***Country Self-Assessment Questionnaire for African Peer Review Mechanism,*** Midrand.

During the Country Review Process step 2 calls for a multi stakeholder participatory model and it is at that particular moment that CSOs get to participate in the review process. CSOs are then allowed to make their submissions on the state of the nation to the panel of eminent persons. The submissions can either be made verbally or through presentation of a written document. The other stage that CSOs are expected to participate is during the implementation of NPoAs. More about CSOs engagement with the mechanism shall be discussed in subsequent chapters 3 and 4 (**contributions of CSOs popularizing the mechanism)**

The current chairperson of the mechanism is H.E. Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta who took over from H.E Sirleaf in the year 2015. H.E Olesegun Obasanjo former president of Nigeria, H.E Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal and H.E Thambo Mbeki former president of South Africa are the founding fathers of the APRM. The mechanism was developed through the philosophy of African Solutions for African problems through shared values. [72]

The APRM member states therefore are ; People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, Republic of Angola, Republic of Benin, Republic of Botswana, Republic of Burkina Faso, Republic of Cameroon, Republic of Chad, Republic of Congo, Republic of Cote D'Ivoire, Republic of Djibouti, Republic of Egypt, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Republic of Equatorial Guniea, Republic of Gabon, Republic of Ghana, Republic of Kenya, the Kingdom of Lesotho, Republic of Liberia, Republic of Malawi, Republic of Mali, Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Republic of Mauritius, Republic of Mozambique, Republic of Niger, Federal Republic of Nigeria, Republic of Rwanda, Republic of Sao Tome and Principle, Republic of Senegal, Republic of Sierra Leone, Republic of South Africa, Republic of Sudan, Republic of Tanzania, Togolese Republic, Republic of Tunisia, Republic of Uganda, Republic of Zambia.

APRM member states are expected to pay an annual subscription fee of $100,000 to the mechanism.

1.7.5 CSO within European Union

European Union is a continental organization for the European States with a membership of 28European states. The Union was established way back by the Coal and Steel workers from

[72] *See, H.E President Uhuru Muigai, ***Speech 24th APRM Heads Summit***. Addis Ababa.

the Saar region through the Treaty of Paris 1951.[73]European Union is small in terms of geographical size her population sample is also small when compared to that of AU member states.

So far EU has played the lead role in protecting the civil society space within the global arena, they have ensured that through organizing annual EU – NGO Human Rights Forums, CSOs find a platform to re-energize themselves through the theme; ***"….promotion and protection of civil society space…"*** EU does that to reaffirm their commitment to the rule of law, good governance & democracy, but ultimately the protection of human rights.[74] Within the EU structures CSOs are accommodated under ECOSOCC.

CSOs within the European Union are keen at ensuring that Human Rights are observed and respected all over the world. For such reasons they have ensured that former American leaders George Bush and Dick Cheney do not set foot in Europe due to the atrocities that they committed during the Iraq invasion.

Deterring President Bush from going to Europe and declaring him and his Second lieutenant as persona non grata in Europe by the Civil Society shows the vibrancy of CSOs in Europe. The above gives an indication that CSOs within Europe have a liberal space to operate under and have taken it upon themselves to be the custodians of the international law among other standard codes.
European Union is a great financial donor to CSOs all over the world.

The beauty of CSOs in Europe is that they monitor the private sector.

The vibrancy of CSOs in the European Union has been well displayed at the World Trade Organisation, where European Union CSOs come together for a collective bargain. The unity among European CSOs on global platforms has constantly demoralized and frustrated African States when it comes to influencing global policy.

[73] European Coal and Steel Community (1951). ***Treaty of Paris.***
[74] Human Rights and Democracy Network (2015), ***17th EU – Human Rights Forum: Promoting and Protecting Civil Society Space,*** Brussels: HRDN

European CSOs play greater role in shaping their national interest and foreign policy,[75] actually they are major stakeholders in the Bi lateral and Multi-lateral agreements that their countries make.

1.7.5.1 CSO within the OECD (0rganisation for Economic Cooperation and Development)

European Union has a peer review mechanism that was developed in the year 2005. The development of the mechanism was driven by a consensus for collective development through shared commitment and vision for Europe's integration.

European States are committed to the mechanism that is why two years down the line after the formation of OECD in 2005 by 2007 all her member states had conducted their first base review process and released their CRR. Their commitment to the mechanism was further realized when the member states implemented the recommendations arrived at in totality.[76]

Implementation of the reviews had tremendous impact on Europe's financial sector which saw them become the third largest Donor Agency in the globe in the year 2010;[77] the Union had surplus finance to loan out. European CSOs made great contributions to the DAC (Development Assistance Committee) review process by providing policy recommendations.

European Union has constantly promised to support Pan African CSO in whatever way it can. SAIIA & EISA the leading APRM CSOs made an undertaking of approaching EU to offer her support to the APRM process.[78]

EU has however raised concern over the shrinking space of CSOs existence in Africa. African countries are developing and passing punitive laws that do not promote CSOs existence.[79]

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[76] www.oecd.org/dac/peerreviews/eu
[77] www.oecd.org/dac/peerreviews/eu
[78] SAIIA and EISA(2016), ***CSO conference; #Revive APRM Where Next For Civil Society?*** Nairobi.
[79] Human Rights and Democracy Network (2015), ***17th EU – NGO Human Rights Forum: Promoting and Protecting Civil Society Space.*** Brussels.

1.7.6 CSO Within United Nations

International Organizations have always existed and most of the techniques and procedures being used today have evolved over time.[80] Palmer, the 19th century saw the development of administrative structures under which international organizations could operate under, such developments laid impetus for the establishment of the League of Nations in the 20th century. Much as the League of Nations was short lived it epitomized the new era of International organizations by passing its structures and standard codes to the United Nations. Basically UN borrowed heavily from the League of Nations.

The complexity of interstate relations led to the establishment of international organization, states realized that for peace to prevail, for economic growth and development to be realized. A platform had to be created under which sovereign states would assemble together to deliberate and set norms under which they can operate under collectively.

Nation States are the major actors in International organization; they determine the existence and disillusionment of International organizations. In as much as states have proven to be powerful in the international arena, regional organizations and alliances have equally proven to be more powerful than International organizations. Northern Atlantic Treaty Organization for instance has proven to be more powerful than United Nations Stand by Force architecture.

United Nations is a global institution that enjoys a membership of 193 states.[81] It transformed from the League of Nations in 1945. The establishment of the League of Nations was through private to government and government to government undertakings during the years of 1914 – 1919 when World War I was at its climax.[82] Britain formed a League of Nations society; France also established similar committees to that of Britain. Woodrow Wilson on the other hand developed a 14 pointers pamphlet that advocated for the establishment of the League of Nations.[83]

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[80] Palmer and Perkins (2010) ***"… Any cooperative arrangements instituted among states, usually by a basic agreement, to perform some mutually advantageous functions implemented through periodic meetings and staff activities…."***

[81] United Nations (1945), ***Charter of The United Nations,*** San Francisco.

[82] Palmer and Perkins(2010),

[83] See, Woodrow Willson, ***14 Pointer Pamphlet.****

The above saw the development of a pans peace conference in January 1919 that established a covenant among five main states, namely; United States of America, France, Italy, Japan and Britain. The covenant from the five states was later to be presented in April the same year at the Paris conference that created the treaty of Versailles. The following year January 1920 saw the establishment of League of Nations with a membership of 49 member states. The covenant had 26 Articles that expressed the institutions objective.[84]

Just like earlier stated nation states can always be powerful than international organizations, power relations between sovereign nation states led to proxy wars that culminated into the World War II.[85]The war proved that the League of Nations was inept and could not stop the warring factions. The end of the war necessitated a new approach to combat world peace and security and thus the advent of the United Nations.[86]

United Nations therefore ensured that her membership had to double up and increase the number of organs within its structural framework. The organization also resorted into drafting new legal instruments, setting up global norms and regimes that are geared towards peace, security and development. It also ensured that there was harmony between the member states. United Nations was quick to learn and improve on the mistakes that the League of Nations had endured. And instead of developing a security structure evolving around balance of power principle, it resorted to the collective security principle.

World War I & II showed how nation states can be notorious and how their selfish interests can lead the world into a state of paralysis.[87]CSOs having had an obligation to exist outside the state felt the need to be part of the organization but rather exist outside the Organization as they have always existed outside the state. Their intention of existing outside the organization was to ensure that they perform their cardinal obligation of being able to provide oversight.

In the UN structures Civil Society Organisations are accommodated under the Economic and Social Council, ECOSOCC ensures that; higher standards of living are achieved, it also

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[85] Bullock, A.C,(1964), ***Hitler: A Study in Tyranny,*** New York.

[86] Martin Dixon, (2007) ***International law, Pg 13. "..It is only sovereign states that can enter into effective multi-lateral treaty…"***

[87] Palmer and Perkins, (2010). ***International Relations,*** Pg 298 – 324.

ensures that universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms are achieved without discrimination as to religion, sex, race or language.

ECOSOCC has a membership of fifty four member states elected by the General Assembly for three year period. ECOSOCC is the main focal point of interactions between UN with other affiliated stakeholders like CSOs. ECOSOCC does the coordination and makes the contact, it deals with information gathering, drafting and depositing of treaties, protocols and conventions. They set all UN agendas ranging from Millennium development goals to sustainable development goals.[88]

For the many years that the UN has existed, it has been able to exhibit the dynamism of CSOs through its various agencies. The UN agencies have partnered with a number of CSOs in most of their endeavors. CSOs champion for certain causes and advocate for a number of issues within the globe. Lately, environmental CSOs have been the most vocal at UN, Climate change is here and it's threatening the existence of humanity, flora and fauna. The CSOs have therefore been championing for the reduction of carbon emissions form UN member states.

During the United Nations General Assemblies meetings, CSOs organize for their own parallel and sideline events. UN is an equal donor too CSOs, and hosts the biggest number.

1.7.6.1 Universal Periodic Review

UN has its own peer review mechanism known as the Universal Periodic Review. Adherence to the mechanism is compulsory to all the 193 UN Member states. UPR mainly focuses on the Human Rights agenda. The mechanism interrogates her member states by looking at what measures they have taken to ensure that the Human Rights agenda is well entrenched, exercised and respected at the national level of UN member states.

UPR was developed in the year 2006 when the Human Rights Council was created through ***UNGA Resolution 60/251***. The council was tasked too "undertake a universal periodic

[88]ECOSOCC accredits CSOs, and once that is done CSOs are free to operate under any UN structures. United Nations hosts and engages the largest number of CSOs compared to EU.

review, based on objective and reliable information, of the fulfillment by each state of its human rights obligation and commitments in a manner which ensures universality of coverage and equal treatment with respect to all states." [89] To ensure that human rights agenda is achieved within the national frontiers UPR offers technical assistance to UN member states that have faced challenges when trying to implement the agenda.

The review process being compulsory all UN member states have conducted their first base review process and submitted their outcome reports. UN does not take it lightly when a member state does not honor its commitment to the mechanism.

The assessment tools of UPR range from UN Charter, applicable international law, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, human rights treaties that have been ratified by a state and the voluntary undertakings that a member state has committed itself too.

UPR is normally conducted by a special working group which then submits the outcome report for further discussion and interrogation at the plenary. UPR is a multi-stakeholder process and CSOs among other stakeholders are accorded enough opportunity to participate in the process. CSOs are allowed to submit their own reports to the UPR working group and further take part in interrogating national reports/outcome reports at the plenary. [90]

1.8 Gaps within the Literature Review

The relationship between CSOs and the African Union has been well documented in numerous Secondary materials. The flip side of that is, very limited secondary material does exist to explain the relationship between CSOs and the APRM.

Scholars have not taken their time to simplify the concept of APRM, failure to which a good number of Africans do not understand the operational framework of the mechanism. The researcher therefore wants to define APRM as a concept. And also break down its operational framework. And further explain CSOs role in the mechanism.

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[89] UN(2006) , ***Resolution*** (A/HRC/RES/5/1), 60/251, 16/21, 17/119.

[90] Objectives of UPR: ***Improvement of the human rights situation on the ground, the sharing of best practices among states and other stakeholders, support for cooperation in the promotion and protection of human rights.***

1.9 Summary

The study therefore intends to make contributions through documenting the gains and drawbacks that the mechanism has experienced so far since its adoption.

The study will also document CSOs engagement with the mechanism; highlight the relationship between the mechanism and CSOs.

By the end of the study the researcher wants to give policy recommendations that can help develop and improve the mechanism.

1.10Theoretical Framework

The Researcher will use Neo Functionalism Theory.

Neo Functionalism as a theory was developed by Ernst Benard Haas; the theory basically focuses on cementing a synergy between technical/professional/secretariat and the political arm of governance. It basically looks at the evolution of governance patterns within an existing institutional and organizational structure.[91]

The theory lays emphasis that sovereign states should create the necessary conditions for interactions and consultation with different stakeholders in the governance process. Both the state and different stakeholders have a role to play in the governance structure. It is therefore upon the state to form a synergy on how it can work with various non state actors for the common good of the people. [92]

Checks and balance are paramount in the governance structures, and duplication of roles should be avoided at all cost.

Technocrats should be allowed to craft and develop policy frameworks whereas politicians and governments should be left to do the implementation. CSOs on the other hand are

[91] Haas, E. B. (2004) (1958), ***The Uniting Of Europe: political, social, and economic forces,*** *3rd ed Notre Dame, Indiana.*

[92] Ndiaye, A (2009), ***African Researchers and Decision Makers: Building a Synergy for Development.***

expected to monitor and evaluate the entire process and where need be they should be able allowed to add their input. [93]

CSOs exist outside the state, however their functions and mode of operation has been constantly perceived to be political, ***"……civil society made it to the top of academic discourse only after it was reinvented as a political notion…". – Ute Frevert.*** The notion started as a conceptual claim but it steadily gained practical importance when CSOs were used as weapons against state bureaucracy in East and Central Europe.[94] CSOs bred loyal, conscious, active and responsible citizens. [95] It is upon that backdrop that the neoliberals believed that CSOs have a responsibility to play in public governance and socio-political transformation.

African Union as it stands is a functional organization if the researcher is to adopt the principles set by William Tubman,[96] the various organs, commissions and technical committees give a wider indication that AU is purely a functional/Technical Union; however it cannot be washed away that the Pan African Parliament, General Assembly and the Assembly of Heads State paints a picture that AU is a political Union.

Neo Functionalism as a Theory provides that both technical and political entities need to work together for smooth operation and sustainability of the organization.[97] When organizations are left to operate on their own technically then their functions may become obsolete and eventually disappear but when they are synergized with political entities they can then grow and acquire new roles. The European Coal and Steel Community is a living example of a technical organization that after adopting the political dimension experienced growth and developed new roles as well as functions, whereas the League of Nations and OAU which at some point purely focused on interstate politics ended up collapsing.

A neo functionalist approach therefore looks at the political as well as technical process of governance; it looks more into the evolution of the governance patterns within an existing

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[94]Cassier, Ernst,(1979), ***The Philosophy of the Enlightenment,*** Princeton University Press.
[95]Reifeld H and Bhargava R, 2005. ***Civil Society, Public Sphere and Citizenship,*** Pg 60.
[96]Olekushi Adebayo(2005), ***African Union Strategies.*** Pg 15
[97]KegleyC.W(2010), ***World Politics: Trends and Transitions.*** Pg 211

organizational structure rather than the creation or proliferation of new organizations. For instance when organizations are left to operate technically they may never realize regional, continental or global integration, since integration is a political process that needs political leadership. [98]

Within the APRM the heads of state forum is more of a political arm, since its composition is made up of Heads of states. The Secretariat on the other hand is the technical arm because it is composed of the elite and expatriates who develop policies. The working relationship between the two arms of the APRM epitomizes neo functionalism as a theory.

Therefore APRM as a mechanism gives a very good synopsis of neo functionalism as a theory. The mechanisms success is highly determined by the coordination from both the political arm (Forum) and the technical arm that hosts the secretariat. Each arm of the mechanism plays its role independently but work interdependently for the common good of the Mechanism.

1.11Research Methodology

The three main types of research procedures that are normally used as a means of data collection and analysis are Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed method research. [99]

The research is going to employ Qualitative means for exploring and understanding individual views in regards to the APRM. Qualitative process involves handling emerging questions and procedures of data collection in the participants setting. Data shall then be analyzed inductively building from particulars to general themes. The researcher then makes interpretation of the collected data.

The researcher is basically going to use direct Interviews and focus groups. Direct Interviews will basically focus on the interviewer engaging a respondent. Focus groups will also be deployed with a focus on APRM Working Group Kenya. After collecting the views the researcher will later on interpret and analyze the views inductively.

[98] Charles W.K (2010). ***World Trends and Politics.***
[99]Ndiaye, A. (2009), ***African Researchers and Decision Makers.***

The researcher therefore believes that Qualitative method will enable the study achieve its desired goals.

1.11.1 Population Sample

APRM being a young mechanism has very few people and organizations that understand its functionality. The researcher therefore intends to use non-probability means of settling upon a sample size. By using non probability it will be easier for the researcher to target a sample size that can give tangible and reliable data.

By adopting non probability means, the researcher will use his judgment and observation to select individuals and organisations that understand the mechanism so well. Respondents will therefore be drawn from Pan African activists, and organisations that understand APRM's structure and operations holistically.

1.11.2 Data Collection Procedures

The researcher will use both primary and secondary means to collect data. Primary means will entail collection of raw data from focus groups discussions and direct interviews. Direct Interviews will entail face to face questioning and discussions.

Secondary means on the other hand will entail the collection of data from print materials such as books, reports, articles and journals from libraries. Digital print and credible web sites will also be used to extract materials.

1.12Operationalisation of Key Terms

a) ***AFRICAN UNION*** **–** A continental organization for African States has a membership of 54 states.

b) ***APRM***-African Peer Review Mechanism is a tool that was developed for AU member states to use in evaluating themselves through self assessment.

c) ***Civil Society Organizations*** **–** the aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest interests and will of citizens.

d) ***Legal Instruments / Standard Codes*** **–** They are set laws that can either take the form of treaties, protocols or even conventions.

e) **State of The Union –** A coalition of civil society organizations working together to hold African Governments accountable for the ratification and implementation of African Union decisions.

f) **Agenda 2063 –** It is a policy framework that was developed by African Union and her member state to enable Africa realizes growth and development in the next fifty years.

g) **Centre for Citizen Participation In African Union –** An independent Non Governmental Organization that is people driven by ensuring a substantive AU – CSO engagement, its main objective is therefore to rally CSO to engage with AU.

h) **European Union –** It is a European continental organization that enjoys a membership of 28 European States.

i) **United Nations –** It is an international organization that was established in 1945 at San Francisco, charged with vast responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security.

j) **Public Sphere –** consists of inter-communicating spaces available in principle to everybody and into which people may bring issues that concern everyone.

k) **Implementation –** the act of putting a law or policy into effect or force

l) **Compliance –** The act of adhering or obeying the principles of a law or policy by putting them into practice.

m) **Ratification –** The act of a state willingly committing itself to a law or policy by the head of state or a representative of the government appending his or her signature to the set laws, unilateral statements can also be taken into considerations.

n) **Heads of State Summit/Forum –** An annual gathering that is normally done by International and continental organisations to bring heads of states together through a conference.

o) **Lobbying –** The act of trying to influence or persuade for this matter a sovereign state into adopting or agreeing into a set law or policy.

p) **Advocacy –** The act of giving support to a cause by trying to sensitize a target group through civic education so that they can be conscious and take the necessary action that is required or expected of them.

1.13 Scope and Limitation of the Research

The study will target Pan African institutions, individuals and organisations that are geared towards the APRM, NEPAD and AU.

The study will also be limited to APRM member states only.

Some of the constraints that the researcher is culpable to face range from; time, geographical coverage, human and financial resources, limited sources of secondary data among other factors that researcher is yet to realize during the study.

Chapter Outline

Chapter one shall entail the research proposal giving an Introduction, Background, Research Problem, Objectives, Research Questions, Hypothesis, Hypothesis, Justification of the Study, Literature Review, Gaps within Literature Review, Summary, Theoretical Framework, Research Methodology, Operationalization of Key Terms, Scope and Limitation and the Chapter Outline.

Chapter Two shall entail Objective one which is ***The Impact of APRM as a Mechanism to The Member States,*** it shall then be followed by Chapter Three that shall ***Examine the Relationship between CSOs and APRM Structures.*** Chapter Four shall then ***Evaluate the Impact and Role of CSOs in the APRM.***

Chapter Five shall then carry the ***Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations of the Research.*** And then the subsequent pages shall entail indexes and references.

CHAPTER TWO

THE THIRTEEN YEARS OF APRM EXISTENCE.

This Chapter presents an introduction of what APRM is and what it has been able to achieve overtime. The Chapter will also give an outline of the gains and obstacles that the mechanism has experienced.

2.1 Background and Introduction of the APRM

NEPAD was developed in 2001 to foster development and eradicate poverty within Africa.[100]The NEPAD base document outlines that its sole mandate is "to eradicate poverty and place countries, individually and collectively, on the path of sustainable growth and development, and at the same time to participate actively in the world economy and body of politics."[101]

NEPAD therefore focuses on the following programmes; Peace and Security, Democracy and political Governance Initiatives, Economic and Corporate Governance Initiative, and eventually sub regional and regional approaches to development.[102]

NEPAD provided a platform for the adoption of the APRM Mechanism during its Sixth Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee in 2003 Abuja, Nigeria. Since then NEPAD has played host to the APRM by ensuring that all her programs run smoothly. NEPAD still plays host to some APRM offices at national level, for instance Kenyan APRM offices are all under NEPAD.[103]

The adoption of the mechanism came into force through a Memorandum of Understanding.[104] The sole mandate of the APRM is to therefore, " foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration through sharing of experiences

[100] *See, Principles of Lagos Plan of Action, Abuja Treaty and African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights.
[101] NEPAD (2002), Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance.
[102]NEPAD Secretariat (2002), Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance. Midrand.
[103] *See, APRM Kenya Offices.
[104] *See, Memorandum of Understanding of the APRM (2003), Abuja, Nigeria.

and reinforcement of successful and best practices, including identifying deficiencies and assessing the needs for capacity building."[105]

APRM focuses on four thematic pillars namely Democracy and Good Political Governance, Economic Governance and Management, Corporate Governance and Socio Economic Development. APRM Member States are therefore expected to adopt and domesticate certain international and continental standard codes that are anchored around the four thematic areas.

Once an African State has acceded to the Mechanism it therefore commits itself to an assessment review process guided by a continental self-assessment questionnaire. The continental questionnaire should be restructured to conform and suit the country under review. The review process basically entails five stages.[106]

APRM has therefore been into existence for thirteen years and it is important to evaluate its existence since 2003. In 2008 the mechanism developed some administrative challenges because it lacked a CEO; it was not until 2015 that a new CEO was officially appointed into the mechanism by the current Chairperson H.E Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta.

The evaluation is important because it will help distinguish realities from perceptions. The mechanism having been inept during the years of 2008 – 2015 a good number of negative perceptions was developed. Prophets of doom and pessimists alluded that the mechanism was dead, and therefore they viewed the glass as to being half empty.

Optimists on the other side believed that the mechanism was half full in a glass and that it was just experiencing some small and short turbulence which would be resolved over time and true to their words that came to pass in the year 2015.

However both divides are entitled to their views.[107]

[105] APRM Base Document.
[106] * See, Figure 1, on Chapter One of this research, it entails the review process.
[107] Turianskyi Y, ***'Two Steps Forward Two Steps Backward'*******

2.2 Gains Made by the Mechanism.

The mechanism has been able to set best standards on how countries can conduct their own review processes. The creation of the APRM led to subsequent establishment of other review mechanisms such as OECD established by the European Union in 2005, Universal Periodic Review established by the United Nations in 2006 and the African Governance Architecture established by the African Union in 2011. It is therefore evident that APRM marked the genesis of review mechanisms and procedures such as OECD, UPR and ultimately AGA.

APRM covers a wider thematic area when compared to the other review mechanisms. It basically focuses on four thematic platforms whereas the rest focus on one thematic area each. UPR focuses on Human Rights standard codes as well as AGA, whereas OECD focuses on Europeans integration and international trade. It is therefore evident that APRM covers a broader area ranging from Democracy and Good Governance, Socio economic development, Economic Governance and management to Corporate Governance. Meaning its review process is comprehensive and rigorous enough to evaluate a country holistically.

The country self – assessment questionnaire has proven to be interrogative enough to the extent that it can suggest early warning signs of an impending political, economic or social crisis.[108] Kenya's 2006 CRR had predicted post-election violence in the 2007 elections if cross Cutting issues such as land, ethnicity, and electoral reforms were not addressed.[109] True to its findings and predictions that came to pass. As a resort to that when African Union was sending a panel of eminent person to go and pacify Kenya. They ensured that Garca Machel was among the team since she had earlier visited Kenya during the first APRM review process. Her presence was important because she knew what was ailing Kenya and how to go about it. South Africa's 2007 CRR had also predicted Xenophobic attacks if economic reforms were not conducted.[110] True to its prediction Xenophobic attacks rocked South Africa in 2015 at the province of KwaZulu – Natal . The outcomes from the review reports gives an

[108] APRM Secretariat (2004), ***Country Self Assessment for the African Peer Review Mechanism,*** Johannesburg.
[109] APRM Secretariat (2006***), Kenya Country Review Report.***
[110] APRM Secretariat (2007), ***South Africa Country Review Report***.

indication that the country self-assessment questionnaire for APRM is an effective tool that interrogates, monitors and evaluates countries holistically both from political, social to economic spectrum. From the two predictions the researcher can affirmatively say that APRM findings and NPoAs are genuine.

The Country Self Assessment Report has constantly been used as a growth and development blue print by the member states. Many African States have inept political manifestos and so what they do once they ascend to power is to refer to the recommendations on the reports commonly known as NPoAs. Kenya for instance developed the Youth Enterprise Fund and Women Fund (UWEZO) as a resort of the 2006 report. Today Many African governments are allocating a 10% budgetary allocation to the Agricultural Sector because CAADP is a major standard code in the APRM Self Assessment Questionnaire. It is therefore evident that the APRM report acts as an alternative development blue print for many countries through the NPoAs.

Membership to the mechanism has been bulging over time. At its adoption it only had a membership sixteen AU member states, acceding to the mechanism, [111] but thirteen years down the line the mechanism has seen its growth rise to 35 AU member states. The mechanism has therefore been able to attract nineteen more AU member states and as it stands Namibia has shown interest into the Mechanism. Going by the precedent whereby membership is increasing gradually an assumption can be made that the mechanism has proven its relevance and that is why it has been appealing to more AU member States.

Harmony between member states has been exhibited within the Mechanism. In that no member state has contemplated withdrawing from the mechanism. History will attest to the fact that when there is no harmony between communities of sovereign states, then prospects of it collapsing are inevitable. Back in 1919, the League of Nations collapsed as a resort of antagonism between the Member States.[112] In 1977 the East Africa Community also collapsed because there was antagonism between the Member States. Kenya and Tanzania for instance had bitter exchange of words with Tanzania referring to Kenya as "a man eat man society"

[111] Name the countries: ***Algeria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Mali, Mauritius, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Republic of South Africa and Uganda.***

[112] Palmer D and Perkins (2010), ***International Relations; The World Community in Transition,*** Pg 298 -324.

and Kenya reiterating back that Tanzania as to being "a man eat nothing society".[113] It is therefore very important to take note that harmony within an association or community of states is not an automatic or natural process, but a virtue that is harnessed. Harmony and peaceful coexistence is what holds a community of states together.

Instances where nation states cannot exercise harmony, options have always been to pull out in protest, well that has not been witnessed in the APRM. In 1987 Western Saharawi was admitted as a member of the AU, an idea that did not go down well with Morocco and as recourse to show displeasure Morocco withdrew her membership from the Africa Union.[114] The above gives an indication that harmony is a precursor to peace and it is therefore very important for states to embrace the virtue of harmony. A Virtue that APRM has ensured within her member states. It is also very important to acknowledge that harmony and unity promotes democracy and for that matter Democracies do not go to war.[115] The researcher can therefore emphatically allude that APRM has been effective since it has ensured harmony, cooperation and peace among its Member States.

17 countries have so far conducted their first base reviews and subsequent country review reports culminating into National Program of Action. The exercise of conducting reviews is very expensive and therefore when half of the states show their commitment and dedication to the process then it is an indication that the mechanism is heading to the right direction. Countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Rwanda and Kenya have done tremendous efforts by trying to ensure that they implement some of their National Program of Action.[116] In fact Ghana's electoral laws are ranked 9th,[117] in the world because she progressively implemented her NPoAs on the Thematic area of Democracy and Governance. Rwanda also tops the world in terms of economic growth because she has taken her review processes seriously by subsequently implementing her NPoAs. It is therefore evident that actualizing National Programs of Actions provides an opportunity for tremendous growth and development.

[113] Adar K.G and Ngunyi M, (1992). ***The Politics of Integration in East Africa,*** Pg 412.
[114] Yarik & Gruzd (2015) , ***African Accountability***,
[115] *See, Immanuel Kant: ***Democratic Peace Preposition.***
[116] Kenya Progress Report on the implementation of the APRM National Programme of Action.
[117] Max G and Ferran M (2014), ***Electoral Integrity in Africa,*** Pg 20.

The culture of conducting reviews is being emulated and Kenya for that reason is in the process of conducting its second tier review process, an undertaking that will rank it the first country to ever conduct the second review process.[118] Egypt has also given an undertaking of reviewing herself, a very positive development indeed. After undergoing the Arab Spring, it is important for Egypt to review herself because from the review process she will be able to diagnose the causes of the political instability and find amicable solutions to the conflict through the projected NPoAs.

From 2008 -2015 APRM had been dwindling because it lacked a CEO; however the appointment of H.E President Uhuru Kenyatta as the new chairperson in 2015 saw him appoint Professor Eddy Maloka as the new CEO of the Mechanism. His appointment as the new CEO added impetus to the operations of the Continental Secretariat. Upon his appointment the secretariat has been able to draft a vision plan for the APRM through a strategic plan 2016 – 2020. [119]

The Chairperson on the other hand gave an undertaking that he will ensure that all AU members become part and parcel of the APRM. He gave the undertaking during the 24th APRM Heads of State Forum,[120]and his remarks raised hopes for the revitalization of the Mechanism. The Chairperson through the spirit of leading by example has pushed his government to ensure that they be the first member state to conduct the second tier review process. He went ahead to give the highest pledge of US$ 500,000 to the APRM financial Year 2016.[121] The Chairperson and his CEO are truly making progressive strides by providing a leadership that will enable the mechanism regain the time lost during the eight years of dormancy.

The annual subscription fee that has been set by the APRM is reasonable; actually it is US$100,000 to be precise. It should be noted that APRM member states remain the largest

[118] *See, Report on Validation of the 2nd APRM Country Self Assessment Report, 4th – 5th May 2016.
[119] APRM Secretariat (2015), ***Strategic Plan 2016 – 2020.*** Midrand.
[120]"Let us encourage the brotherly countries that have not acceded to the Mechanism to come on board. Let us also honor our financial obligations by paying our APRM subscriptions on time. Let us be the generation that entrenches good governance across our continent for the advancement of our people and future generations" – President Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta's Speech at the 24th APRM Summit.
[121] *See APRM Financial Kitty, 2016.

financial contributors to the mechanism. The amount that the donor community channels to the mechanism cannot supersede the contributions that the member states honor and pledge to the mechanism.

It must also be appreciated that the mechanism has provided a platform for African Heads of State to converge as peers and share their experience in leadership and governance. The platform provides an opportunity for the peers to evaluate themselves when presenting their country review reports, upon which they advise each other on the best way forward. The set platform by APRM is great because it provides an opportunity for the Heads of States and Government to benchmark and offer mentorship to one another on African solutions to African problems through shared values.

APRM has promoted the culture of domesticating continental and global legal instruments at national levels. A good number of standard codes have been entrenched into national constitutional framework. For Instance ACDEG[122], CAADP,[123] and Human Rights Charter have regained prominence and acknowledgement within APRM member states. Guns and Bullets are being replaced by ballot boxes, and in as much as presidential term limits are being extended. The extension is being done within the confines of law through conducting referendums like was the case in Rwanda in the year 2015. APRM Governments are now considering the agrarian sector when drafting budgetary allocations by setting aside 10% 0f their annual budgets to the Agrarian sector. By March 2014, 33 countries had signed CAADP compacts a standard code that had been largely neglected before the adoption of APRM. [124]

It is therefore very important to acknowledge and take into account the tremendous developments that the mechanism has realized for the last thirteen years of its existence.

[122] *See Principles on ACDEG, CAADP and ACHPR
[123] NEPAD (2010), ***Accelerating CAADP Country Implementation: A Guide for Implementers, Midrand, www.caadp.net/pdf/CAADP_imp_guide_WEB.pdf.***
[124] SOTU(2014), ***Continental Compliance Report,*** PG 60 – 67.

2.3 Challenges Faced By the Mechanism.

AU enjoys a membership of 53 sovereign states;[125] out of that figure only 35 have acceded to the APRM, which should not be the case.[126] The Mechanism was developed for all AU Member States and not just but a few. In as much as the APRM talks about not enjoying full membership from AU member states because her accession is on Voluntary basis. The Mechanism should be alerted that accession to AU, UN and all other regional bodies has been through voluntarily accession as is prescribed in the ***Vienna Convention on the law of Treaties 1969***. Neither association nor organization has ever used forceful means to attract or retain its members. And therefore it's an excuse when APRM purports that her membership is not broad because of the principle of voluntary accession. All that APRM needs to do is prove its relevance and all APRM member states shall accede to the mechanism.

Sovereign States have the prerogative to choose when to enter into a treaty or not.[127] Ten years down the line after the formation of the AU, all African States became Members to the organization through self-volition not coercion.

APRM base document envisages that once a country officially accedes to the mechanism then an assessment should be done within the next 18 Months upon which the review process should begin.[128] Unfortunately that has not been the case. 18member states of the APRM have for the last thirteen years defiled the aspirations of the review process by failing to conduct the first base review process. Focus should therefore be geared to the 18 member states, on why they have not adhered to the principles of the review processes.[129]

Could the failure be that the countries are ignorant on what is expected of them upon acceding to the mechanism?[130] Or are the review processes too cumbersome and therefore the 18 Months set period cannot be practically implemented.[131] Or could it be that the cost of

[125] *See, President UhuruMuigai Kenyatta's Speech (2016), 24th APRM Head of State Summit. "***….so far APRM has a Membership of 37 States…..." –** Addis Ababa.
[126] AU Constitutive Act, (2000)
[127] Martin Dixon (2007), International Law, ***The Vienna law in Treaties (1969)***
[128] *See 'APRM Country Self-Assessment Questionnaire, Base Review Document'. Midrand: 2003
[129] *See, APRM Base Document, ***The Review Process.***
[130] *See, Debate on How African States enter in Agreements to redeem their images not knowing what the actual agreements contain.*** ICC.
[131] Survey Respondent.

honoring the review process too high as has been envisaged by those countries that have undergone the first review process,[132] or could it be a question of lack of political good will from the member countries? The questions raised are fundamental and need to be addressed.

The 17 Member States that have conducted their Periodic Reviews have not gone a step further to conduct their second tier review process as is required by the review principles.[133] The other challenge is that among the countries that have conducted their reviews, some have never released their progressive reports, a precedent that does not go down well with the review principles. Once reviews have been conducted they culminate into National Programmes of Action for implementation. On the contrary very few countries like Ghana have done tremendous effort in ensuring that their NPoAs are realized to the latter.[134]The real situation is that a big number of APRM member states have given the implementation of NPoAs a wide berth.

The challenge of APRM not enjoying full commitment and support from all AU Member States may put its existence within the Continent into Question. A situation that is very delicate since pessimists may view or brand it as a political alliance,[135] for a few within the continent. The perception of being an alliance has a possibility of bringing friction within the continent.

APRM has always held its Forums and meetings at the margins of the AU summit, but in July 2016 during the AU 27th Assembly of Heads of State and Government Summit held in Kigali, Rwanda, APR Forum and Summit never took place as has been the tradition. AU struck out APR Forum from the program. The cancellation of the 25th APRM Summit raised uproar and protest from APRM member states and as recourse to that the APR Forum and the Secretariat petitioned the AU Commission and the organizers for sabotaging APR Forum among other activities.

[132]Gruzd S and Turianskyi Y (2015), ***African Accountability: What Works and What Doesn't,*** Pg 22
[133] See* Periodic Review Programme**;** "……***are meant to be conducted every two-four years***……."
[134] APRM Panel of Eminent Persons (2005), ***APRM Country Review Report No 1: The Republic of Ghana.*** Johannesburg.
[135] Palmer and Perkins,(2010). ***International Relations,*** Pg xxvii.

"*The CEO introduced a correspondence and communication from the Kigali agenda. The meeting expressed its regret and unanimously agreed that a petition be authored and forwarded to the AU commission and others responsible for planning the Kigali summit to ensure inclusion of the APRM agenda in other subsequent Summits*".[136]

The above dissatisfaction and remarks from APRM member states already gives an indication of a possibility of we verses them arising, if that may ever come to rise then the possibility of the mechanism being brandished as a political alliance for few African Heads of State will be inevitable. The cancelation of the 25th Head of State Forum therefore left APRM with no option but to override on the TICAD Conference that was to be held on August 2016 in Nairobi, Kenya.[137]

APRM has a right to invoke a Special Review whenever it receives early warning signs of an impending political, economic or social crisis in an APRM member state.[138]That may not be possible if APRM still does not enjoy a full membership of the AU. Non APRM member states may use AU through the African Peace and Security Architecture[139]to veto the decision arrived upon by the APRM. By putting APRM's decision into scrutiny and also sought for its legitimacy within the continent. A crisis is therefore looming if APRM can not enjoy the full Membership of all AU member states. The above scenario was experienced in the League of Nations and thus the World War II.

The review process of the APRM is done on a voluntary process unlike AGA where the review process is mandatory. Upon acceding to the APRM member states are therefore left to decide for themselves when to do their review process. The voluntary principle of conducting self-assessment has seen APRM member states defile the aspirations of the mechanism.

The Mechanism talks about annual submissions of about US$100,000 from the Member States, an undertaking that has completely been dishonored. Financial contributions have not been timely as is required by the law, besides that some do not contribute at all to the kitty, a reflection that their contributions are accumulating into arrears. The lack of timely

[136] APRM Interim Committee (2016), ***Outcome Document V0630,*** Pg 8
[137] See, APRM Forum(2016), ***25th Summit of the APRM Forum and Meetings,*** Nairobi.
[138] APRM, ***Country Self- Assessment Questionnaire*** , Pg 18.
[139]*See African Union, ***Protocol on Peace and Security***.

contributions has forced the Secretariat to rely on donor funding from Organizations like AFDB, UNECA and UNDP, Pessimists allude that donor funding is normally accompanied by conditions and therefore that stands to erode the mechanisms autonomy and independence. The untimely contributions explain why APRM is not in a position to hold its own independent forums and have a comprehensive work force.

Table 3 Funds Pledged From APRM Member States In Financial Year January – July 2016.

COUNTRY	**AMOUNT US$**	**PAYMENT.**	
1. Cameroon.	US$ 278,019	Received.	
2. Cote d' Ivoire.	US$ 117,479	Received.	
3. Djibouti.	US$ 500,000	Received.	
4. Lesotho.	US$ 130,976	Received.	
5. Nigeria.	US$ 100,000	Received.	
6. Rwanda.	US$ 199,935	Received.	
7. Kenya.	US$ 500,000	Pending.	
8. South Africa.	US$ 100,000	Pending.	
Funds Pledged	**US$ 1,923,679.**		
Total Funds Received.	**US$ 1, 623, 679.**		

The above table indicates that out of a membership of 35 APRM member states, only 8 member states gave their financial pledges for the year 2016, out of the 8 only 6 countries were able to honor their pledges by July 2016 in totality. The remaining two countries namely South Africa and Kenya were yet to honor their pledges.[140]

From the table above the questions to therefore ask are? Are contributions too high for Member states to afford or are the set periods for depositing the money untimely to the Member States! Without financial contributions from Member States the secretariat is then forced to seek for well-wishers support and donor funding, in short go on a begging spree.

[140] *See table 2, on this paper.

NEPAD having been launched in 2001 has played the role of a brother's keeper for the APRM, meaning that some of the mechanism's country offices have solely been depending on NEPADs Institutional Framework to date.[141] An idea that is misplaced and not progressive at all to the mechanism. APRM country offices ought to be independent and autonomous. Conception has therefore been misconstrued in Kenya that APRM is a department within NEPAD; since her country offices are housed within NEPAD premises.[142] That has seen a good number of NEPAD officials double up as APRM officials.

The two entities should be independent but work interdependently since their thematic pillars and programs are interrelated.[143]NEPAD's sole objective is to foster development and realize the eradication of poverty within the continent, whereas APRM's sole mandate is to ensure that her Member States adopt continental and global policies that are aimed at steering growth and development. Therefore whereas APRM ensures that policy is adopted and domesticated, NEPAD on the other hand goes ahead to ensure that its implementation is realized.

The APRM continental questionnaire has not been reviewed since 2010 and therefore as it stands it does not address the aspirations of Agenda 2063, which were adopted in 2013.[144]In the country self-assessment questionnaire the thematic area on Socio – Economic development address and lays focuses on MDGz as standard codes to be adopted whereas a global shift has been made to SDGz which are geared towards addressing critical issues such as; Eradication of poverty; Reducing inequalities; within and among states; and Ensuring sustainability of the earth and its life support systems. At the heart of this agenda are 17 Sustainable Development goals, 169 related targets and 230 indicators towards addressing governance, economic, social and environmental challenges. [145]

[141] NEPAD FRAMEWORK, was launched in 2001 as a continental development print of the OAU.
[142] *See, Kenyan Offices.
[143] NEPAD FRAMEWORK PILLARS: - ***Peace and security Initiatives, -A Democracy and political Governance Initiative, An Economic and Corporate Governance Initiative; and Sub regional and regional approaches to development,*** 2003
[144] *See Aspirations of Agenda 2063: ***inclusive growth and sustainable development, an integrated continent, good governance and democracy, peaceful and secure Africa, cultural identity and common heritage, development driven by youth and women, an influential global player.***
[145] *See, Aspirations of SDGz: They are 17 Goals.

Agenda 2063 has not been incorporated in the country self-assessment questionnaire yet it is Africa's development blue print. The above indicates that the continental questionnaire has not been revised nor edited to accommodate the new continental and global agendas. To be precise Agenda 2063 and the SDGz have not been listed as standard codes within the continental country self-assessment questionnaire.

The thematic area on Corporate Governance is the most neglected and the standard codes are mostly defiled. Going by the panama leaks on Corporate Governance, Africa is losing a lot of revenue through tax evasion and avoidance.[146] The amount of revenue being lost through taxation loupe holes is so much compared to what Africa receives as donor aid and grants.

If Africa can seal the taxation loupe holes and tap the lost revenues then Africa as a continent can survive without donor funding. Multinational corporations are destined to Africa because Africa has proven to be a good tax haven and with favorable labor policies to exploit workers but favor corporations.[147] The above therefore indicates that the thematic area on corporate governance is inept because it has not been fully adopted and its application is still in question.

2.4 Conclusion

Indeed APRM as Mechanism can be viewed from both divides as to either being half full in a glass or half empty from the same glass. The above is determined by what lenses one wears. However for the Mechanism to realize its full potentiality pressure must be mounted to the Member States,[148]because it's upon their commitment that the success of the mechanism is based on.

[146] *See, Panama leaks.
[147] Alence Rod (2015), ***Mining For Meaning.***
[148] Palmer and Perkins, (2010)."***International Relations.*** **Part Three, "The Control of Interstate Relations, Pg 211 -357.**

CHAPTER THREE

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS WITHIN APRM

This chapter is going to talk about the civil society's existence and space within the different APRM structures. It will give an account of where CSOs are fully embraced and welcome visa a veer where they have been completely locked out. In short it is going to give a synopsis of CSOs existence within the APRM.

3.0 Introduction of CSO

Civil Society Organisations within the APRM structures are defined as: "All organizations, networks, and associations between the level of the family and the level of the state, excluding enterprises that exist to pursue private profit…… They include but not limited to the following, social groups such as those representing women, children, the youth, the elderly, and people with disability and special needs; professional groups such as associations, legal professionals, social scientists, academia, business organizations, national chambers of commerce, workers, employers, industry and agriculture as well as other private sector interest groups; Nongovernmental organizations, Community – based organizations and voluntary organizations, as well as cultural organizations".[149]

APRM as a mechanism embraces and upholds CSOs as potential stakeholders within its structures and process. The thematic area on Democracy and Good Political Governance cements the relationship between CSOs and APRM. It also lays emphasis on the inclusion of other potential stakeholders such as media within the mechanism.[150]

CSO are largely known to be crusaders of justice and champions for equality within the society, they champion for the rights of marginalized and propose better policy for institutional set up and governance. They go ahead to ensure that the integrity and rights of the people are respected by the state among other non state actor agents.[151]

APRM on the other hand shares the same ideologies with CSOs which are;

[149] APRM Secretariat, (2003). Country Self Assessment Questionnaire, Pgvi.
[150] *See, AU Charter (2007), Democracy, Elections and Governance.
[151] *See, Country Self Assessment Questionnaire , Thematic Area on Democracy and Good Political Governance, Objective 4 & Question 3.

- Improvement of the quality of governance through the identification of deficiencies and remedial measures;
- Attainment of socio-economic and other development-related goals;
- Achievement of excellence or 'best practices' and acquiring peer recognition of competence or excellence;
- Improvement of the quality of governance in other participating countries through peer learning and sharing of experiences;
- Conformity to acceptable established international and African standards; and
- Accelerated regional integration through the achievement of common practices and standards.[152]

The thematic area on Democracy and Good Political Governance goes further to epitomize the existence of CSOs in the mechanism by asking the following questions to its member states. The questions are as follow;

- How Vibrant, Independent and influential are civil society organizations in your country?
    I. Describe the legal regime governing civil society organizations in your country.
    II. Describe any systems in place for the promotion and protection of civil society organizations.
    III. Outline any mechanism, policies or process currently in place which permit or obstruct civil society input in policy making and implementation. [153]

The above questions being asked at APRM member states gives an affirmation that the Mechanism truly believes in CSOs existence. The mechanism has taken it upon itself to ensure that CSOs are accorded humble space to grow and operate freely within the APRM member states and within the mechanism as well.

[152] APRM Secretariat, (2007). Proposed Procedure for the Conduct of Country Peer Reviews by the Committee of Heads of State and Government Participating in the African Peer Review Mechanism.
[153] APRM Secretariat, Country Self Assessment Questionnaire. Pg 36

The standard codes that the Mechanism has listed for adoption by its member states, shows the undertaking that the mechanism has taken upon itself to ensure CSO existence and protection. Just to mention but a few the standard codes range from the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights (1948), the international convention on civil and political rights(1966), Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Promote and Protect Universally Recognized Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms(A/RES/53/144) and the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights(1990). The few mentioned standard codes basically reaffirm the mechanisms commitment to social justice.

CSOs interaction with the APRM's structure is quite mixed and attracts different reactions. The way CSOs interact with the continental secretariat is quite different from the way it interacts with the member states and Heads of states Forum.

3.1 CSO engagement with APRM Structures

3.1.0 CSO Interaction with the Continental Secretariat

APRM continental secretariat is based in Midrand, South Africa. The body is charged with the responsibility of providing administrative, logistical, and conducting research. It also supports the Forum of Heads of State and the Panel of eminent persons. The secretariat further organizes for meetings, assembles country missions, workshops and does communications for the mechanism. The secretariat also ensures that APRM maintains a cordial working relationship with its strategic partners, member's states among other stakeholders. They collect and make follow up on financial contributions expected from the member states.

To ensure that a synergy does exist between CSOs and the Mechanism, the continental secretariat has established a communication liaison office that fosters a multi stakeholder working relationship within the Mechanism.CSO appreciate the effort, respect and support that the continental secretariat has accorded them. The support is necessary because it promotes popular participation and it also encourages CSOs to own the process.

When the continental country self assessment questionnaire was being drafted CSOs took part in the process, EISA and SAIIA which are the leading CSO in the APRM process made

tremendous contributions to the development of the questionnaire.[154] CSOs contribution did not only stop at developing the continental questionnaire but they have been part of the process of revaluating the questionnaire to conform to newly developed standard codes and agendas. The latest revaluation was done in 2010.[155]

CSOs among other stakeholders in partnership with the secretariat took part in the process of drafting APRMs draft Strategic Plan 2016-2020,[156] a blue print that seeks to guide APRMs activities and sets a vision for the next four years. The Strategic Plan will be the first ever to be developed since the inception of the Mechanism. It is therefore important to appreciate the multi stakeholder working relationship that the secretariat has embraced with the CSOs.

The secretariat has in several occasions organized for workshops in conjunction with CSOs to engage broadly and offer capacity building trainings to enable stakeholders understand the APRM process holistically.[157] The workshops have been fruitful in that CSOs have been able to exploit the availed platforms to champion for their desired interest and goals within the mechanism aimed at influencing policy formulation. However in most cases CSOs have ended up launching complaints about their frustrations from APRM member states rather than commending the mechanism.

The challenges that CSOs have endured from the secretariat over time are lack of proper financial support and untimely communications. A good number of APRM meetings are normally held in Midrand, South Africa and CSO officials have in most cases been forced to finance their own trips to the meetings, which should not be the case. Decorum ought to be that the convener foots the bill. Communications for sideline events have always been poorly relayed, and accreditations done at the eleventh hour. That was evident during the 24th APRM Heads of States Forum where communications for the cancellation of the Heads of State Forum were done at the eleventh hour.[158] The 25th Heads of States Forum on the other hand

[154] *Statement from Melanie Meirotti (2015), ***APRM Thematic Chapters; Unpacking The Master Questionnaire.*** Nairobi.
[155] * Statement from Steven Gruzd (2016), ***Civil Society Engagement –Side Event of the APRM special Summit.***
[156] Interim Committee and Adhoc Committee on Heads of State (2016), ***OUTCOME DOCUMENT VO630,*** Pg 7.
[157] http://www.aprm-au.org
[158] *See, 24th APRM Heads of State Forum held in Addis Ababa.

saw CSOs get accreditation a day to the Heads of State Forum.[159] The Heads of State Forum have also been victims of the late communication and cancellation of the conference as was the experience in the 24th and 25th APRM Heads of State Forum.

3.1.1 CSOs within the Heads of States Forum

The APR Forum is composed of Heads of States whom their countries have acceded to the APRM. The heads of states choose one of their peers to be their Chair of the Forum and APRM at large. The Forum is the highest decision making body of the APRM, they meet at least twice a year at the margins of the AU Summits, where they review one another and share ideas of best practices as peers.[160]

Parallel to the Heads of State Forum CSOs have always organized for their own sideline event meetings. Convening the meetings have always proven to be a challenge because, in some cases CSOs always been to lock out. A very unfortunate incident indeed .The cause has been that some Heads of States are allergic to CSOs and do not want anything to do with them, hence the call to lock them out. The agenda's and resolutions that CSOs pass and submit to the Heads of State's forum are never taken seriously. Such behavioral attitude dampens the spirit of CSOs thus creating antagonism between the Heads of States and the third sector.

Antagonism between the two institutions is not healthy because they both play critical roles within the mechanism. CSOs play the role of policy formulation and in many at times their recommendations and resolutions are tabled before the Heads of States Forum. The Heads of States Forum then plays the role of approving or discarding the resolutions. It is therefore important for the two institutions to have cordial and harmonious working relationship rather than having a strained relationship.

The above paragraph therefore gives an indication that if the two institutions do not develop a harmonious working relationship then a deadlock within the Mechanism is inevitable and will eventually lead to the failure of the mechanism.

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[159] *See, 25th APRM Heads of State Forum held in Nairobi.

[160] SAIIA(2014), ***The African Peer Review Mechanism: Development Lessons From Africa's Remarkable Governance Assessment System.*** Pg 14.

3.1.2 CSOs within the APRM Member States

APRM enjoys a membership of 35 sovereign African States which are also part of the African Union.[161]APRM envisages that all AU member states should be part of the mechanism.[162] The Mechanism stands to gain more when all African governments are part of the process in that they can guide and share their best practices through the spirit of "shared values".

Out of a membership of 35 states only 17 have undergone the full APRM review process, 18 are yet to comply. The review process has been used as a yard stick by CSOs to measure states commitment to the mechanism. And therefore when 18 states have not complied with the mechanisms principle on the review process then CSOs questions the states commitment to the mechanism.

The relationship between CSOs and APRM member states has not been cordial within a good number of states.[163] A good number of APRM member states have constantly insisted that the mechanism is a process that only involves governments and therefore CSOs have no role in the Mechanism. The dissenting states reiteration has been that CSOs presence and participation should only be felt during the review process when stakeholders are expected to submit their views to the panel of eminent persons and the Technical teams. [164] But not in the day to day running process of the APRM.

APRM member states have insisted that CSOs have no business in the implementation of NPoAs. However the panel of eminent persons has been quick to reiterate that actually CSOs are highly needed to monitor the implementation process of NPoAs,[165]since APRM member states have not shown enough commitment when it comes to the implementation of NPoAs.

CSOs are therefore needed to help member states develop programs and strategies on how they can implement their NPoAs, as well as monitor and evaluate the implementation process

[161] AU Constitutive Act, 2000.
[162] *Speech by the Chairperson at the 24th APRM Heads of State Summit. http://www.aprm-au.org
[163] *Speech, (2016), "…..in my country Sierra Leone CSOs had to force themselves in ……" Prof. Osman Gbla – Sierra Leone NGC Chairperson. *** Nairobi.
[164]* See, The Five Stages of the Country Review Process.
[165] *Speech, Dr. Mustapha Mekideche(2016), Chairperson of the APRM Panel of Eminent Person, Nairobi

to help realize and detect what works and what does not.[166]Borrowing past experiences from SAPs it is good to be cognizant of the fact that not all policy programs recommended will always work positively for the realization of growth and development of nation states. [167]

A good number of APRM member states have heeded to the calls of including CSOs in their national process. Ghana for instance ensured that her National Governing Council is highly composed of individuals from the civil society, ranging from clergy men, gender activists, non partisan citizens and members from professional bodies such as the legal fraternity.[168]Kenya on the other hand in 2005 encouraged CSOs to select their own representatives to the National Governing Council.

APRM member states have developed a trend of duping CSOs whereby they do not select CSOs transparently into their NGC. They select CSOs that are pro government or rather those that can be easily coerced. In South Africa for instance two thirds of the CSOs selected to the NGC had their allegiance to the ruling party African National Congress.[169]Rwanda and Ethiopia on the other hand have not shied away from completely locking out CSOs in their process and their reiteration has been that CSOs have no business in the APRM Process, a real realist thinking.

Instances where CSOs have been locked out they have ensured that they lobby and mobilize strategically until their agendas are included in the various reports, as shall be seen in chapter four. In Uganda for Instance CSOs that have been perceived to be radical to the government have in many at times used CSOs that are pro government to pass their agenda.

The unpredictable space for CSOs within the APRM member states explains why civil society's interest has been fully galvanized on the thematic area of Democracy and Good Governance.[170] CSOs belief and hope has been that if the thematic area on Democracy and Good Governance is fully realized by the APRM member states, then CSOs existence within the Mechanism shall be fully assured.

[166]SAIIA(2014), Research Report 15, Pg 29.
[167] *See, Debates on SAPs***
[168] Herbert R and S Gruzd, op.cit. , pp 260 – 261
[169]SAIIA(2014), Research Report 15, Pg 27.
[170] *See, Country Self Assessment questionnaire the Standard Codes on Democracy and Good Governance.

The few countries that have embraced CSOs participation in their review process have seen their countries progress tremendously. The book Can Africa Claim the 21 Century re affirmed that for African countries to realize growth and development then they must incorporate CSOs in most of their development programs.[171]What CSOs basically do is to remind governments of their expected roles and commitments, and offer advice to them whenever they are losing track.

The other challenge that CSOs experience within APRM member states is that a few countries like Kenya have merged APRM under the NEPAD offices thus diminishing the mechanism to the level of a department within NEPAD which should not be the case. When an entire institution is reduced to the level of a department then CSOs are technically knocked out, because a department is too minute for CSOs to neither monitor nor engage.

It is therefore important for the APRM continental secretariat to ensure that her member states develop independent and autonomous institutional framework for APRM offices at the Country level. In that way CSOs will be in a position to engage APRM consistently, comprehensively and holistically.

The other beauty of the APRM process is that however much a member state my try to influence or manipulate the process, the final outcome of the document will always reflect and highlight on the real issues that the government ought to address. The outcome reports have always been candid, Ethiopia tried influencing the process but the final draft gave a true reflection of what Ethiopia was.

3.1.3 CSO within the Panel of Eminent Persons

The panel of eminent person is composed of remarkable African leaders whom have shown exemplary leadership. The panel is composed of former and current politicians, technocrats among academicians.

When composing the global panel of eminent persons regional and gender representation has always been taken into consideration and ensured. The panel of eminent person's is

[171] WB, AFDB and IMF(2000), ***Can Africa Claim the 21st Century.*** Pg 72 – 73.

answerable to the Heads of states forum.[172] The panel leads county missions, oversee the drafting of the CRRs, and finally submit reports to both the Heads of State forum and the secretariat.

CSOs have had a smooth working relationship with the panel of eminent persons and in many at times the panel of eminent persons has ensured the inclusion of CSOs in the CRR process. The panel believes that CSOs have a greater role to play within the mechanism and it is actually through them that Africans can own the process.

The panel of eminent persons has constantly reaffirmed that the spirit of public participation cannot be fully realized if CSOs are locked out. CSOs have been known to speak for the voiceless and their views represent the masses, therefore their presence re affirms the principle of public participation.

So far CSOs participation into the APRM mechanism is very low. NGOs are the most active participants and they are mainly, EISA, SAIIA and APRM Kenya Youth Working Group. Other CSOs like trade unions, the private sector, media, academicians and social groupings have been completely absent. It is therefore upon the active CSOs to develop a strategy and lour their partners into the process.

APRM member states should therefore develop positive attitude towards CSOs and embrace them as equal stakeholders of the process. A multi stakeholder initiative will ensure that the process is progressive.

3.1.4 CSOs Engagement with APRM Strategic Partners

APRM being a multi stakeholder agency has attracted external partners mainly from the African Union, United Nations and its various agencies among other donor communities. The main UN agencies are UNDP and UNECA. From the AU side the mechanism enjoys partnership from the Assembly of Heads of States and the African Development Bank.

[172] SAIIA(2014), ***The African Peer Review Mechanism: Development Lessons from Africa's Remarkable Governance Assessment System.*** Pg 14.

The two global and continental organisations provide logistical, technical and financial support to the mechanism. AU(ASAP) for instance allows the APRM Forum to meet along its margins during their annual Heads of States Assembly, AFDB on the other hand an agency of AU provides donor support to the Mechanism. UNDP also provides funding and at the same time manages the Multi-Donor Trust Fund Model. [173]

However it is good to take note that APRM member states provide the largest amount of finance to the mechanism compared to the donor agencies.

"Some 64% of funding for the APRMs central operations comes from African sources, compared to 36% from foreign governments and development organisations".[174]

APRM strategic partners have had a cozy relationship with CSOs within the APRM structures. Many at times they have pressured APRM member states to provide space for CSOs within their countries. In as much as strategic partners fund APRM and the member states the good will has been extended to CSOs. The donor communities within APRM strongly believe that CSOs presence within the mechanism should be paramount and fostered as a culture and tradition. More emphasis of CSOs presence within the state is documented in the report Can Africa Claim the 21 Century by African Union and the United Nations.[175]

APRM member states have in many times made their reservations that the donor community should not finance CSOs but rather channel the funds to the implementation of NPoAs. Rwanda and Egypt for instance have developed a perception that if CSOs are adequately funded then they may end up threatening the existence of the state through the call for Citizen Action. According to the two states the call for Citizen Action what is famously coined as civil disobedience is a precursor to political instability.[176]

[173] Multi Donor Trust Fund Model, ***is whereby a central funds kitty is developed that is charged with receiving and disbursing the funds to the APRM processes to avoid reduce donor influence and interference.***
[174] SAIIA(2014), ***Research Report 15,*** Pg 23.
[175] WB, AFDB and IMF(2000), ***Can Africa Claim the 21 Century***.****
[176] Human Rights and Democracy Network(2015), ***17th EU-NGO Human Rights Forum,*** Brussels.

3.2 Conclusion

To sum up, CSO existence within the mechanism has not been fully realized. More needs to be done to ensure that CSOs take full charge of the APRM process. SAIIA, EISA and APRM Kenya Youth Working Group have re-affirmed their commitment to the mechanism. They have also taken it upon themselves to tag along other CSOs into the process, through conducting research and offering training programs to CSOs that do not understand the Mechanism properly. APRM member states on the other hand have started developing positive attitude towards Pan African CSOs meaning that the space is gradually opening up.

CHAPTER FOUR

CSO STRATEGY IN THE APRM.

The chapter basically talks about CSOs role in the Mechanism it shows the different strategies that CSOs use to influence the Mechanism.

4.0 Strategies for CSOs Influence within the APRM

APRM envisages the adoptions of better policies to enable African states realize good governance, economic growth and development, but for that to be realized a lot of effort and strategies are needed to enable the mechanism perform. It is good to note that the success of APRM is largely determined by her member states commitment and actions to the ideals of the mechanism. However going by the trends, APRM member states have showed less commitment to the mechanism and therefore an external force is needed to influence the member states to act, internal mechanism have proven to be inept.

CSOs exist outside the state and therefore they have had the potential to influence both the mechanism and her member states. The strategies used by CSOS range from lobbying, petitioning, litigation to advocacy. So far the strategies developed by CSOs have proven to be effective.[177]

The statement of problem in this research has been that APRM member states are not living by the principles and ideals of the mechanism, and therefore action needs to be undertaken to enable member states live by the principles of the Mechanism.[178]

To cut the long story short APRM member states need to conduct their country review process timely, they need to honor their financial obligations to the mechanism, and most of all they need to implement their NPoAs in totality. It is upon that backdrop that CSOs presence becomes an important factor within the Mechanism. As an organisation that exists outside the state, CSOs participation in the mechanism therefore acts as a game changer by ensuring that the above raised concerns are honored by APRM member states.

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[177] Geyer Yvette(2006), ***Advocacy and Communication: Hand Book Series for Community Based Organisations.*** Pretoria.

[178] SOTU(2010), ***State of the union Continental Report 2010: Time to close the gap between continental promises and the reality of African people.***

CSOs engagement into the APRM process is not to merely bulldoze member states into adopting the set standard codes, but to specifically offer advice and guidance to APRM member states on what the policies they are acceding to. African governments have in the past done the mistake of copy pasting policies that they do not necessarily understand just too merely redeem their images or attract donor funding.[179] CSOs are therefore better positioned to advice APRM member states because they conduct research extensively and are in a position to monitor and evaluate the set policies. They can therefore determine what works and what doesn't.

4.1 Advocacy as a Strategy

Advocacy means the action geared towards influencing policy, positions or programmes of an institution.[180]Advocacy is a very powerful tool when it comes to influencing policy; it has proven to be effective in a number of ways more so through civic engagements. Advocacy can take many angles ranging from conducting seminars to trainings and road show protest. Picketing is still part of advocacy.

SAIIA and EISA have taken the lead role of advocacy within the APRM; they conduct research and release their findings through publishing reports and offering recommendations that can influence policy and the institutional framework of the APRM. APRM Kenya Youth Working Group on the other hand has resorted to media engagements and campaigns.[181] They frequently visit media houses and give talk shows about the APRM. The talk shows have been fruitful because in most of the time, it has triggered reactions from the citizens.[182]

APRM Kenya Youth Working Group has not only focused on traditional media but they have resorted to social media, twitter to be specific. Twitter has proven to be a powerful tool because it transcends borders and by a click of 140 characters it arouses discussions around the globe and through tagging followers a conversation is generated and passed across.[183]

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[179] *SEE World Bank and IMF(1989), ***Structural Adjustment Policies.***
[180] Yvette Geyer(2006), ***Advocacy and Communication; Hand Book Series for Community Based Organisations.*** Pg 2.
[181]Gamson W. A (2007), ***Bystanders, Public Opinion, and the Media,*** Oxford.
[182] APRM Kenya Youth Working Group, ***KBC Radio Channel 1***: ***Morning Show.***
[183] *See, Twitter Handle***, @APRMYouth_254**

During APRM conferences twitter handles and Face book pages have been used to communicate to the outside world.

The continental secretariat on the other hand has gone a notch higher to develop an APRM software Application that can be installed on Android gadgets, a very progressive move for advocacy and communication.

SOTU which was a coalition of ten civil societies around Africa anchored its activities around popularizing AU legal instruments, so that AU member states would implement and domesticate the AU legal instruments. SOTU believed that translation of the legal instruments into reality stood a positive tremendous impact on the lives of 1 Billion African citizens.

It is upon that backdrop then, that SOTU undertook an obligation of rallying African Citizens into pushing their governments to ratify, implement and domesticate the legal instrument. SOTU had the conviction that an active citizenry had the ability to influence their governments into complying with the AU legal instruments among other universal standard codes.[184]

The following remarks can be attributed to SOTU;

"In 2014 alone, the AU adopted six new legal instruments addressing various policy issues, ranging from the decentralization of government and cross-border cooperation, to cyberspace security. These are positive steps towards improving lives and eradicating poverty. But translating these into concrete results requires full compliance with the instruments provision: Member states need to ratify, implement, and domesticate these decisions at the national level."[185]

From the above remarks it can be affirmatively said that SOTU was actually re echoing the ideals of APRM on the adoption and domestication of legal instruments. SOTU has therefore

[184] SOTU(2014), ***Continental Compliance Report.*** Nairobi
[185] SOTU (2014), ***Continental Compliance Report.*** Pgvi.

been using advocacy to trigger citizen action, there is a greater chance of adoption when the people are mobilized, to push their governments to act.[186]

To prove their findings and trigger both citizen and state reaction, SOTU released a compliance report chat on the status of ratification of the AU legal instruments and standard codes.[187]

4.2 Lobbying

Lobbying is an attempt by the citizens or organisations to influence those in particularly high level positions to act. It's an exercise of exerting pressure on those in position to act whether as public or private officials.[188]

Lobbying within the APRM can take different dimensions, basically through Invited spaces, created spaces and joint spaces. An invited space is when the APRM secretariat invites CSOs into their forums or meetings.[189]A created space is when CSOs within APRM organize for conferences and meetings with APRM Secretariat OR Panel of Eminent Person to discuss certain principles or aspirations within the mechanism, or when they have an agenda to present. Joint space is when the APRM Secretariat and CSOs among other stakeholders organize for joint activities. Sole intentions have always been to influence or develop a policy.

During the Heads of States Forum Pan African CSOs have constantly held sideline events and invited government officials into their meetings to try and persuade them on certain principles or Agenda that they feel need to be realigned, adopted or abandoned. The art of lobbying is vigorous and for it to succeed it must be inclusive not exclusive. Lobbying needs to be intensive that explains why it is time consuming and very expensive. In 2010 APRM CSOs in Uganda lobbied and ensured that Uganda had adopted the Banjul charter (Rights of Women) before hosting the AU summit.

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[186] Klandermans B(2007), ***The Demand and Supply Participation,*** Pg 368, "..Successful mobilization gradually brings demand and supply…"

[187] *See, SOTU Continental Status Ratification Chart.

[188] Yvette Geyer(2006), ***Advocacy and Communication,*** Pg 3.

[189] For Instance; When the continental country self assessment questionnaire was being developed.

Below is a synopsis of how CSOs within the AU carry out their lobbying;

- Find out which countries are members of the bureau elected to guide AU processes during the year. Meet with them and present your arguments for your issue being on the agenda of the next summit…or the one after. Ask their advice on what would be needed for an agenda item to be agreed.
- Find out which country is the current dean of each regional group and the position of the region on critical issues. Meet with the ambassador of that country in Addis Ababa, together with representatives of NGOs from that region, present your viewpoint and find out where you stand.
- Make sure that you express your advocacy messages within the framework of AU policies and standards and not only the international ones.
- Try to identify which countries are likely to wield the greatest influence for and against an issue of concern make contact with NGOs in those countries to strategize on ways to influence their positions.
- Where there are divided opinions among AU Member States, consider which countries might be able to broker a compromise given their historical position, current influence or other factors. Meet with that country's ambassador and see what may be done.
- Find out what is the position of the five countries that together contribute 75% of the AU budget. If members of the 'big five' budget contributors are hostile, seek to mobilize other countries who may influence them, or work even harder to create a critical mass of smaller countries whose opinion they will find hard to oppose.
- Put together a mapping of the positions taken by member states and regions on important issues to help identify the most important countries to target and use to strategize with your allies.
- Establish and maintain cordial relations with staff of the AU Commission and diplomatic representatives of member states based in Addis Ababa, or work with organisations which have established relations.[190]

[190] AfriMap & Oxfam (2010), ***Strengthening Popular Participation in APRM.***

From the above synopsis APRM CSOs can borrow a leaf on how to conduct lobbying within the APRM.

4.3 Litigation and Petitioning

Litigation is the process of using judicial means to try and influence policy.[191] Litigation as a means of influencing or challenging policy has not been well utilized within the APRM structures by CSOs. In many at times CSOs have felt shortchanged or unrepresented within the National Governing Council but instead of seeking for refuge from the courts they have resorted to drafting petitions and protest letters, which have always proven to be docile.

The researcher therefore feels that litigation is an avenue that needs to be exploited fully by CSOs more so whenever they feel shortchanged or locked out of their national process. Appointment of NGC officials has always been marred by un procedural steps thus locking out youth and women representation. It is therefore important for these marginalized groupings to exploit the avenue of litigation when championing for their rights. Courts have the ability to challenge and reverse the process to ensure that the selection is free and fair. Petition is a means of collecting official views from aggrieved persons or organisations and presenting them to the relevant institutions for redress.

CSOs within the APRM have petitioned the Heads of States Forum and the Secretariat in many occasions. Whenever CSOs are locked out of the APR Forum they have always converged together and petitioned the secretariat or the Heads of States Forum. When the 24thHeads of State Forum was canceled without communications CSOs drafted a petition and protest letter to show their displeasure.

Interestingly enough has been that even the Heads of States Forum has developed the use of protest letters and petitions whenever they feel aggrieved. In 2016, the AU Commission removed the 25th APRM Heads of State Forum from the AU Kigali agenda. As recourse to

[191]Martin Dixon (2007). ***International Law***,

that the APRM Heads of State Forum developed a petition and sent it to the AU Commission, demanding that APRM Forums be included in subsequent AU agenda's.[192]

The tools and strategies that CSOs have used within the APRM have proven to be effective enough in that CSOs have now become part of the process rather than observers. Well more needs to be done within the mechanism and it is therefore upon the CSOs to develop more strategies that can help revitalize the APRM process and secure them their space. CSOs existence into the process therefore guarantees accountability and the promotion of public participation.

[192] ADHOC Committee on Preparation For The July Summit of Heads of State & Government of Countries Participating in the APRM(2016), ***Outcome Document V0630.*** Pg 8.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Summaries

This chapter consist of the study findings in summary, conclusion, conclusion around the hypothesis, general conclusion and finally policy recommendation and further research in that order. The studies main aim was to interrogate what role CSOs play within the Mechanism since APRM envisages that all AU member states should be part of the mechanism so that it can evaluate their performance in the adoption and domestication of both universal and continental policy standard codes.

The policy frameworks to be adopted speak to the aspirations of the African citizens as set out in AGENDA 2063 and therefore their adoption marks a great milestone towards realizing the African dream as set out in the NEPAD base document. The "enthusiasm with which the Heads of State and Government sign and ratify these instruments does not match performance at the national level."[193] That is what the study has come to realize.

The study was guided by the following research objectives; to evaluate and reexamine the existence of APRM; To establish the relationship between CSOs and APRM; To ascertain the tools being used by CSOs to influence APRM.

5.1 Summary of Study Findings

The summary of the study findings are discussed in the following sections according to the research objectives;

5.1.0 Evaluation of APRM existence

In as much as the mechanism does not enjoy the full membership of the AU member states, their interest and concern towards the mechanism are gradually growing. And probably by 2020 APRM membership will have increased by 90%. The existence of AGA within the AU stands to pose a challenge to the APRM if a synergy between the two is not harnessed.

[193] SOTU (2014), ***Continental compliance report.*** Nairobi.

African states are not in a position to conduct to conduct two simultaneous reviews; multiple reviews are important but as it stands honoring the two processes will remain a dream to be realized. That explains why even after the adoption of AGA in 2010 no country has ever been reviewed by it despite the Architecture emphasizing that its review process is mandatory.

In as much as APRM member states are not honoring their financial obligations timely, they still remain the greatest financial contributors to the mechanism as opposed to the donor community. APRM member states contribute 64% and the donor community contributes 36%. It is therefore evident that APRM member states own up the process.

5.1.1 CSO presence with APRM

Indeed CSO presence within the mechanism can be felt within all the APRM structures, right from the Heads of State Forum to the Panel of Eminent persons, the Secretariat, strategic partner's right down to the member states. What can be debated about is the relationship between CSOs and the various structures and organs within the APRM. The relationship can be therefore summarized into two perspectives mutual and antagonistic. But the greatest importance remains to be CSOs space and existence within the APRM has been assured by the Panel of Eminent Persons and the secretariat.

5.1.2 CSOs Strategy for Engagements

The study can reaffirm that CSOs commitment to use advocacy within the mechanism remains the greatest tool kit that they are not ready to abdicate. Advocacy has proven to be effective amongst other tools such as litigation, lobbying and petitions.

5.2 Conclusion

The researcher can therefore conclude that CSOs presence within the mechanism is alive and their vibrancy cannot be wished away. CSO have obligations to fulfill within the mechanism, their main one is to ensure that African citizen own up the APRM process and the other is to ensure that APRM member states live up to the principles of the Mechanism.

5.2.1 Conclusion Around the hypothesis

The researcher has established that the call upon for citizens to act has the ability to influence APRM member states to adopt universal and continental standard codes. The people are sovereign and those rights and powers are enshrined within the respective constitutions of African states. Interview respondents and organisations have also acknowledged that citizens have the potential to influence their governments.

5.2.2 Conclusion around the Objectives

The study findings reveal that, the revitalization program of the APRM will contribute to the increase of its membership, hence attract other AU member states.

The Study findings also show that CSOs are actively participating within the APRM process, their contribution to the development of the country self assessment questionnaire, epitomizes their presence and commitment into the mechanism.

The study established that the continued advocacy being conducted by Pan African CSOs has the ability to attract popular participation into the mechanism by the citizenry thereby owning the process.

5.3 General conclusion

APRM must strive to ensure that it accommodates all AU member states; it must also ensure that all the member states live by its review principles to the latter. The most important factors within the review process are the NPoAs and therefore members states must strive to ensure that they implement them in totality. Since the review process is useless if NPoAs cannot be adopted and implemented.

The few countries like Ghana that have implemented the NPoAs have seen their countries grow and advance, whereas those that have neglected them like South Africa and Kenya have seen their negligence come back to haunt them through civilian unrests.

5.4 General Factors Inhibiting the Mechanism

1. Lower levels of public awareness of the mechanism.
2. Limited levels for CSOs participation within the mechanisms Member States.

3. Untimely reviews and dissemination of progressive reports.
4. Low financial contributions from APRM member states.
5. Low and limited donor funding to Pan African CSOs.

5.5 Policy recommendations

The study recommends the following;

1. APRM continental secretariat should ensure consistency of the review process from the member states. In as much as the review process in authored on a voluntary basis interventions need to be developed to ensure that the member states honor their obligations to conduct the country reviews.
2. APRM should form a synergy with AU organs and other agencies, but most of all develop coordination between APRM and AGA because they share the same aspirations.
3. APRM should attract all AU member states, to win legitimacy within the continent.
4. Invest in popularization of APRM. The public should be taught on the importance of the mechanism, so that they can own the process.
5. The private sector needs to reaffirm its commitment to the Mechanism so that the thematic area on corporate governance can be realized. The private sector has been constantly missing from the mechanism which should not be the case.
6. Governments should set aside funds for the implementations of NPoAs. When drafting fiscal budgetary allocations, governments should consider recommendations arising from NPoAs and allocating them finance for implementation.
7. APRM ought to invest heavily on research to help them determine what policies work and which ones do not so that they can advise states on what policies to priorities first and which ones should culminate later.
8. APRM should ensure that all her member states; establish independent and autonomous APRM country offices free from NEPAD offices. Independent in the manner that they have their own institutional framework, budgetary allocation and human resource.
9. APRM Heads of State Forum should establish its own annual meeting calendar and stop the tendency of joyriding on the margins of AU Heads of States Summits among other Multi lateral Summits. Independent Forums are important because they provide ample time for peers to interact and submit their CRR.
10. APRM secretariat should fully embrace the newly developed strategic plan 2016 -2020. It should be shared among the stakeholders, So that they can align and harness their goals towards the strategic plan. The strategic plan stands to promote and help realize collective responsibility towards APRM through a multi stakeholder approach.

11. The country self-assessment questionnaire should be revised to conform to the aspirations of Agenda 2063 and the SDGz.

12. APRM member states should embrace public participation in the country self assessment process.

13. APRM should develop a Continental Youth Working Group Forum so as to attract young people into the process as is envisioned in Agenda 2063 aspiration 6 that calls on young people to be the drivers of Africa's development.

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P.O. Box 30197 – 00100
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/07/2016

Dear Respondent

RE: FIELD RESEARCH

My name is Meda Bernard Othero, I am a post-graduate student in International Studies at the Institute of Diplomacy & International Studies University of Nairobi. I am currently conducting a field study to collect information for my dissertation entitled: "The Role of CSO's in the APRM" the purpose of this letter is to request for your co-operation in answering questions related to the objectives of the study.

The main objective of the study is to: Evaluate the Impact of the APRM. The primary data for the study will be collected through two main tools. These are Direct Interviews and Focus group discussions.

The data collected will only be used for the purpose of this study. And the findings will be published on the dissertation and also on an academic journal and newspapers.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and serves as proof of your informed consent. Your identity will not be sought and revealed to third parties. Further your anonymity is guaranteed through non-probability selection of respondents. Your sacrifice of personal time is highly appreciated.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Meda Benard Othero.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Objectives

1. To evaluate CSO participation in the APRM.
2. To Analyze the thirteen years of CSO's existence.

Discussion topic	**Key concept**	**Guide questions**
DO CSO's have enough space in the APRM?	Public / popular participation inclusivity in APRM impact of CSO's in APRM	1. What should public participation entail? 2. What does inclusivity mean? 3. What are some of the in puts and outs that CSO's have made in the APRM.
Has APRM been able to achieve it's mandate	Relevance / impart of APRM to member states	1. What are the achievements? 2. What are the drawbacks?

Meda Benerad Othero
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P.O. Box 30197 – 00100 Nairobi

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: FIELD RESEARCH

My name is Meda Bernard Othero, I am a post-graduate student in International Studies at the Institute of Diplomacy & International Studies University of Nairobi. I am currently conducting a field study to collect information for my dissertation entitled: "The Role of CSO's in the APRM" the purpose of this letter is to invite you to a focus group discussion at ……..to be held on ……..at APRM in answering questions related to the objectives of the study.

The main objective of the study is to: Evaluate the Impact of the APRM. The primary data for the study will be collected through two main tools. These are Direct Interviews and Focus group discussions.

The data collected will only be used for the purpose of this study. And the findings will be published on the dissertation and also on an academic journal and newspapers.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and serves as proof of your informed consent. Your identity will not be sought and revealed to third parties. Further your anonymity is guaranteed through non-probability selection of respondents. Your sacrifice of personal time is highly appreciated.

Note that payments for participation will not be made.

Yours faithfully,

Meda Bernard Othero.

SECTION A

1. What is APRM? (According to your understanding?)

   ……

   ……

2. Do you believe that APRM has lived its purpose (if yes, or No, give a reason as to why?)

   ……

   ……

3. What should APRM do to appeal to African citizens & Governments?

   ……

   ……

4. What are the gains that the APRM has made?

   ……

   ……

   b) What are the challenges?

   ……

   ……

5. What is your take on the APRM self-continental Assessment questionnaire? (Is it up to date or outdated?)

   ……

   ……

6. Do you believe that the APRM member states have the political good will towards the mechanism? (give your reasons)

……

……

SECTION B

7. What is your understanding for CSO's?

……

……

8. Do you believe that CSO's have been accorded enough space in the APR? (state your reasons)

……

……

9. Have CSOs made great contributions to the mechanism? (If yes, state some few contributions, if no state why?)

……

……

10. What are some of the challenge's that CSO's face in the mechanism? (State some few if you so believe)

……

……

11. Can you prop some few strategies that CSO's can use when engaging APRM?

……

……

12. Where do feel that we need CSO's strong engagement and participation in the APRM process?
    a) During national – self assessment process [ ]
    b) During the implementation of National Programs of Actions [ ]
    c) At both stages [ ]
13. Give reason's for your answer in Question 12

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