

University of Warwick institutional repository: <http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap>

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick

<http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap/52742>

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it. Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

**An Assessment of the African Peer Review
Mechanism (APRM): The Case of Nigeria**

By

Mouzayian Valerie Khalil

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Politics and
International Studies**

**University of Warwick
Department of Politics and International Studies**

September 2012

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page Number
LIST OF CHARTS, FIGURES AND TABLES	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	viii
DECLARATION	ix
ABSTRACT	x
ABBREVIATIONS	xi
INTRODUCTION	1
Development and Governance	2
NEPAD and the APRM	5
Nigeria and the APRM	8
Research Questions	11
Theoretical Approach	14
Research Methods	18
Contributions to Knowledge	23
Outline of the Thesis	29
CHAPTER ONE	34
LITERATURE REVIEW: GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA	34
Introduction	34
Defining Governance	24
Recent Political Trends	39
The Good Governance Agenda	42
Good Governance in Africa	48
Non-State Actors and Governance in Africa	51
Good Governance in Africa's Development Agenda	54
Literature on the APRM so far	57
The African Peer Review in Nigeria	66
Conclusion	69
CHAPTER TWO	70
RESEARCH CONTEXT AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	70
Introduction	70
The Case of Nigeria	73
<i>History and Country Profile</i>	73
Prebendalism in Nigeria (Richard Joseph)	81
Hegemony and Good Governance Agenda (A neo-Gramscian	

Perspective)	87
Methodology	93
Conclusion	97
CHAPTER THREE	98
THE AFRICAN PEER REVIEW MECHANISM (APRM)	98
Introduction	98
History of the APRM	98
Objectives of the APRM	101
Structure	105
<i>African Peer Review Forum (APR Forum)</i>	106
<i>African Peer Review Panel of Eminent Persons (APR Panel)</i>	107
<i>African Peer Review Mechanism Secretariat (APR Secretariat)</i>	108
<i>African Peer Review Country Teams</i>	109
<i>African Peer Review Partner Institutions</i>	111
<i>African Peer Review Focal Point (APR Focal Point)</i>	112
Process	114
<i>Stage One: Gathering of information</i>	116
<i>Stage Two: The Country Review visit</i>	117
<i>Stage Three: Preparation of APRM Team report</i>	117
<i>Stage Four: Review and Approval of the draft report</i>	118
<i>Stage Five: Publication and Distribution of Report</i>	118
<i>National Programme of Action (NPoA)</i>	119
Monitoring and Evaluation of Implementation	121
Funding the APRM	123
Conclusion	125
CHAPTER FOUR	128
THE AFRICAN PEER REVIEW MECHANISM IN NIGERIA: STRUCTURE, PROCESS, AND FORMULATION OF A NATIONAL PROGRAMME OF ACTION	128
Introduction	128
Objectives	129
APRM Organisational Structure in Nigeria	132
<i>National Focal Point</i>	133
<i>Overseeing Bodies</i>	136
<i>Technical and Research Support</i>	143
Process	148
<i>Accession and Country Support Mission</i>	152
<i>Data Gathering and Drafting of Reports</i>	155

<i>Country Review Team (CRT) Visits</i>	156
Funding in Nigeria	158
Conclusion	163
CHAPTER FIVE	165
THE APRM IN NIGERIA: IMPLEMENTING (OR NOT) A NATIONAL PROGRAMME OF ACTION	165
Introduction	165
Implementing the National Programme of Action in Nigeria	172
<i>Standards and Codes</i>	178
Theme 1: Democracy and Political Governance	180
<i>Prevention and Reduction of Intra- and Inter-State Conflicts</i>	181
<i>Constitutional Democracy, the Rule of Law and Independence of the Judiciary</i>	185
<i>Promotion and Protection of Economic, Social, Cultural, Civil and Political Rights</i>	188
<i>Fighting Corruption in the Political Sphere and Ensuring Accountability, Efficiency and Effective Public Office holders and Civil Servants</i>	190
<i>Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women, the Child and, Young Persons and Vulnerable Groups</i>	192
Theme 2: Economic Governance and Management	197
<i>Promotion of Macroeconomic Framework and Sustainable Development</i>	198
<i>Implementation of Sound, Transparent and Predictable Government Economic Policies and Public Finance Management</i>	199
<i>Acceleration of Regional Integration</i>	200
Theme 3: Corporate Governance	202
<i>Provide an Enabling Environment and Effective Regulatory Framework for Economic Activities</i>	203
<i>Ensuring that Corporations Act as Good Corporate Citizens with Regard to Human Rights, Social Responsibility and Environmental Sustainability</i>	207
<i>Promoting the Adoption of Codes of Good Business Ethics in Achieving the Objectives of the Organisation</i>	209
Theme 4: Socio-Economic Development	211
<i>Acceleration of Socio-Economic Development to Achieve Sustainable Development and Poverty Eradication</i>	213
<i>Strengthening Policies, Delivery Mechanism and Outcomes in Key Social Development Areas</i>	215

<i>Ensuring Affordable Access to Water, Sanitation, Energy, Finance (Including Micro Finance), Markets, Shelter and Land to all Citizens, Especially the Poor</i>	216
Conclusion	217
CHAPTER SIX	220
EXPLAINING THE (NON) IMPLEMENTATION: ACTOR INFLUENCES	220
Introduction	220
Official Actors: National Level	222
<i>The Role of the Individual Leaders</i>	222
<i>The Legislature: (Role of Senate and House of Representatives)</i>	229
<i>National APRM Secretariat and NEPAD Nigeria</i>	233
Official Actors: Sub-National Level	238
<i>NEPAD State Coordinators</i>	238
<i>State Government and the State Peer Review Mechanism</i>	239
Official Actors: Regional Level	241
<i>African Union, NEPAD, APRM Continental Secretariat</i>	241
<i>ECOWAS</i>	244
<i>African Technical and Development Partners</i>	246
Official Actors: Global Level	248
Non-Official Actors	252
<i>Civil Society</i>	252
<i>Corporate Sector and Business</i>	256
<i>Media</i>	256
Conclusion	264
CHAPTER SEVEN	272
EXPLAINING THE (NON) IMPLEMENTATION: UNDERLYING SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCES	272
Introduction	272
Prebendalism and the APRM in Nigeria	273
<i>Mistrust and Cynicism</i>	278
<i>The National Cake</i>	286
<i>Zoning and Party Politics in Nigeria</i>	289
Hegemony and the Good Governance Agenda of the APRM	302
Conclusion	306
CONCLUSIONS	310
Main Arguments in Review	311

<i>Actor Influences</i>	312
<i>Underlying Social and Political Influences in the National Context:</i>	
<i>Prebendalism</i>	317
<i>APRM and African Ownership: Neo-Gramscianism</i>	321
Recommendations for Further Research	325
BIBLIOGRAPHY	329
APPENDIX ONE: General Country Profile Information	349
<i>Historical and Projected Growth Rates for Real GDP, Inflation and value of Total Trade (%)</i>	349
<i>Table showing Macro Economic Indicators (2006-2010)</i>	349
<i>Sectoral Contributions to GDP (%) for 2010-2011</i>	350
<i>Chart showing Oil and Non-oil Growth (2006-2010)</i>	350
<i>OPEC Share of World Crude Oil Reserves and Nigeria's Oil Reserve Compared to other OPEC countries (2010)</i>	351
<i>Table showing Entrants into the Active Labour Market from 2006 – 2011</i>	351
<i>Table showing Unemployment rate by Place of Residence in 2011</i>	352
APPENDIX TWO: List of Interviews and Interviewees	353

LIST OF CHARTS, FIGURES AND TABLES

		Page Number
LIST OF CHARTS		
Chart 2.1	Breakdown of Interview Methodology	94
Chart 2.2	Categories of Interview Respondents	95
Chart 4.1	Breakdown of Financial Contribution to NPoA by 3 Tiers of Government	159
Chart 6.1	Total Access to ICT by Device in 2011	258
LIST OF FIGURES		
Figure 2.1	Map of Nigeria Showing 36 States and Population Density based on 2006 National Census Figures	77
Figure 3.1	Stages of the APRM	119
Figure 4.1	Nigeria's APRM National Structure	133
Figure 7.1	Map of Nigeria Showing Political Parties across 36 States	294
Figure 7.2	Map showing the Party Affiliation of 36 State Governors in Nigeria, 2012	296
LIST OF TABLES		
Table 4.1	Constitution of the First National Working Group (NWG) in 2004	138
Table 4.2	Re-constituted National Working Group (NWG) According to Stakeholder Groups in 2007	139
Table 4.3	Breakdown of Membership in the National Council of APRM after November 2008	142
Table 4.4	Technical Research Institutes (TRIs) in Nigeria 2004 – 2005	144
Table 4.5	Lead Research Organisations (LROs) in Nigeria in 2006	147
Table 4.6	Timeline of Events in Nigeria's APRM	150
Table 4.7	Chronology of the APRM in Ghana and Nigeria	151
Table 4.8	Timeline overview of Several APRM Countries	

	from Different Regions	151
Table 4.9	Costing of the NPoA in 9 Peer Reviewed Countries in US Dollars (except South Africa which is stated in Rands)	161
Table 5.1	Percentage of Political Positions Occupied by Women in Nigeria	195
Table 6.1	Percentage Distribution of Access to Radio by State	259
Table 6.2	Percentage Distribution of Access to Mobile Phones by State	260
Table 6.3	Percentage Distribution of Access to Internet by State	260
Table 7.1	Total Number of Gubernatorial States Won by Various Political Parties since 2011 – 2012	296

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am thankful to my supervisors, Professor Jan Aart Scholte and Professor Peter Burnell, for their unwavering guidance and support throughout the years. Their knowledge and expert direction has shaped not only my thesis, but my approach to research. Thanks again to Professor Scholte for his support with the grant which facilitated my fieldwork to South Africa in June 2011.

My sincere gratitude goes (especially) to Steven Gruzd (former Head of the APRM and Governance Programme), and staff of the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), Johannesburg, South Africa for hosting me at the Institute during my fieldwork and giving me a solid base and networks for conducting my research.

I appreciate the support of all those who contributed their expert knowledge and opinion as respondents during my fieldwork in Nigeria in 2010 and 2011; with special appreciation to Dr Jerome Afeikena (SPRM); and the staff of NEPAD/APRM Nigeria.

I am grateful to Mr O. Edun for his intellectual and financial support which enabled this research idea to become a reality. Thank you.

To my family – Thank you all for your understanding, constant love and support throughout the years.

My dearest friends – I won't name names. You have all been there with me through the blood, sweat and tears. To my special chaplaincy family, all who have passed through over the years, I will be eternally thankful for knowing each of you. You have all made my time at Warwick feel like home away from home.

Reverend Father (Dr) Prem Fernando, your spiritual guidance and friendship has been vital to my journey in the last 4 years.

My appreciation also goes to the management and staff of The Library for their support and friendship over the years.

Mum, it is finally over!!! I promise. Daddy, I wish you could see me now.

Gloria in excelsis Deo

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the research presented in this thesis is my own work which comprises of empirical knowledge derived from primary and secondary data collated through fieldwork in Nigeria and South Africa from 2009 to 2012. All the information acquired through elite interviews was used with the written permission of the interviewees. Anonymity has been maintained as and when requested in all cases. I confirm that the research presented in this thesis has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

ABSTRACT

This thesis assesses the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) as it has played out in Nigeria. The APRM is an initiative by the African Union (AU) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) to promote good governance through self-assessment and monitoring by African states. The APRM is particularly interesting as a continental (rather than single-country) programme which puts the good governance agenda in the hands of African states themselves (rather than international financial institutions, for example).

Focusing on the National Programme of Action (NPoA) of 2009 - 2012, the research finds that the APRM has had little or no impact on governance in Nigeria. Notwithstanding the NPoA's limited contributions to national development, the entire process has failed to recognise, engage and tackle the underlying socio-political dynamics of politics in the country, which have the most impact on governance structures and processes. The thesis accounts for this outcome by examining structure (through the role of actors) and underlying socio-political dynamics, both nationally and internationally. In terms of actors the research explores the role of individual leaders, NEPAD and APRM secretariats (national and continental), federal state representatives, regional and sub-regional organisations, international donors, and civil society in the APRM process. In terms of underlying factors, Richard Joseph's theory of prebendalism gives analytical power to understanding the APRM within Nigeria's political culture, while the neo-Gramscian perspective of cultural hegemony enables an analysis of the APRM within the broader international context. Both contribute to a holistic assessment of the APRM in Nigeria. Neither one of these two theoretical contributions is able to offer a comprehensive assessment if used unmodified or on their own.

The APRM has the potential to open new political spaces for collaborative engagement between government and civil society in Nigeria, with the possibility of beneficial effects for governance and accountability. So far, however, this potential has not been realised. This must be judged as a significant shortcoming to date.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABU	Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (Nigeria)
ACHPR	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
AfDB	African Development Bank
A&F	Administration and Finance (Nigeria)
ALF	African Leadership Forum (Nigeria)
APR	African Peer Review
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
AU	African Union
AUSDGEA	African Union Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
BOF	Budget Office of the Federation (Nigeria)
BPE	Bureau of Public Enterprise
BPP	Bureau of Public Procurement (Nigeria)
CACS	Commercial Agricultural Credit Scheme (Nigeria)
CAMA	Company and Allied Matters Act (Nigeria)
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
CCGPCN	Committee on Corporate Governance of Public Companies in Nigeria
CDD	Centre for Democracy and Development
CEDAW	UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CET	Common External Tariff
CISLAC	Civil Society Advocacy Legislative Centre
COPE	Conditional Cash Transfer Programme (Nigeria)
CRM	Country Review Mission
CRR	Country Review Report
CRT	Country Review Team
CSAR	Country Self-Assessment Report
CSM	Country Support Mission
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CSSDCA	Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa
DBMS	Data-Base Management System
DfID	United Kingdom Department for International Development
DMO	Debt Management Office (Nigeria)
DRR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration

ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDS	Entrepreneurship Development Schemes (Nigeria)
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
EISA	Electoral Institute for the Sustainability of Democracy in Africa
FBIR	Federal Board of Inland Revenue (Nigeria)
FBOs	Faith Based Organisations
FCCA	Federal Character Commission Act (Nigeria)
FCT	Federal Capital Territory (Abuja, Nigeria)
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
FIRS	Federal Inland Revenue Service (Nigeria)
FMA&WR	Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Water Resources (Nigeria)
FMDAs	Federal Ministries, Department and Agencies (Nigeria)
FMF	Federal Ministry of Finance (Nigeria)
FRA	Fiscal Responsibility Act (Nigeria)
FRC	Fiscal Responsibility Commission (Nigeria)
GBP	Great British Pounds (currency)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEP	Girls' Education Project
GIS	Geographic Information System
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GSM	Global System for Mobile Communication
IAP	Industrial Arbitration Panel
ICIIEC	Islamic Corporation for the Insurance of Investment and Export Credit
ICPC	Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (Nigeria)
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IEA	International Energy Agency
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IGSR	Institute of Governance and Social Research
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMO	International Maritime Organisation
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission (Nigeria)
IPCR	Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution
IR	International Relations
JOCRIP	Judgement Order Compliance Registry Programme

LRO	Lead Research Organisation (Nigeria)
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MEND	Movement for Emancipation of Niger Delta
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPR	Monetary Policy Rate
MTEF	Medium Term Expenditure Framework
MTTS	Mass Transit Train Service (Nigeria)
MTW	Mobile Training Workshops (Nigeria)
MWASD	Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development (Nigeria)
NACA	National Action Committee on AIDS (Nigeria)
NAPEP	National Poverty Eradication Programme (Nigeria)
NARTO	National Association of Road Transport Owners (Nigeria)
NASSI	National Association of Small-scale Industries (Nigeria)
NAVC	National Anti-Corruption Volunteer Corps (Nigeria)
NBA	Nigerian Bar Association
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics (Nigeria)
NC-APRM	National Council on APRM (Nigeria)
NCC	Nigerian Communication Commission
NDE	National Directorate of Employment (Nigeria)
NDUF	Niger-Delta United Front
NEC	National Energy Council (Nigeria)
NEEDS-2	National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy-2 (Nigeria)
NEITI	Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NEPZA	Nigeria Export Processing Zones Authority
NFP	National Focal Point (Nigeria)
NGF	Nigeria Governors' Forum
NGN	Nigerian Naira (N) (currency)
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NIPC	Nigerian Investment Promotion Council
NJC	National Judicial Council (Nigeria)
NOA	National Orientation Agency (Nigeria)
NPC	National Planning Commission (Nigeria)
NRC	Nigerian Railway Corporation
NSC	National Steering Committee (Nigeria)
NURTW	National Union of Road Transport Workers (Nigeria)
NWG	National Working Group (Nigeria)

OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OFI	Other Financial Institutions
OSIWA	Open Society Initiative for West Africa
PAP	Pan- African Parliament
PDI	Programmes Development and Implementation (Nigeria)
PDP	People's Democratic Party (Nigeria)
PIND	Partnership Initiatives in the Niger Delta
PME	Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (Nigeria)
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RBDA	River Basin Development Authorities (Nigeria)
S&Cs	Standards and Codes
SAIIA	South African Institute of International Affairs
SEC	Securities and Exchange Commission (Nigeria)
SERVICOM	Service Compact (Civil Service, Nigeria)
SGF	Secretary of the Government of the Federation (Nigeria)
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
SOW	School-On-Wheels (Nigeria)
SPRM	State Peer Review Mechanism (Nigeria)
SSGs	State Secretaries of Governors (Nigeria)
TCC	Tax Clearance Certificate
TNC	Trans National Corporation
TRI	Technical Research Institutes (Nigeria)
UBE	Universal Basic Education
UI	University of Ibadan (Nigeria)
UN	United Nations
UNCC	United Nations Conference Centre
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNN	University of Nigeria, Nsukka
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollars (currency)
VEDSP	Village Economic Development Solutions Programme
WACCA	West African Centre for the Advancement of the APRM
WBI	World Bank Institute
WGI	World Governance Indicators
ZAR	South African Rand (currency)

INTRODUCTION

This thesis critically examines the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) as a mechanism for assessing and potentially improving governance in African states. The study focuses on the formulation and implementation of the APRM in Nigeria with attention to the actors involved, as well as how and why implementation has or has not progressed over the years. The central research question asks: in what ways, to what extent and why has the APRM affected governance in Nigeria? This research seeks to assess the nature and degree of any impact of the APRM on governance in Nigeria; and the reasons why the APRM has or has not had any effect on governance in this pivotal country in Africa.

The research examines a crucial issue in debates about development – the issue of governance – in the context of Nigeria’s paradoxical reality. The paradox exists in terms of the very high availability of natural and human resources on the one hand and widespread poverty and underdevelopment on the other. In particular, a study of the APRM presents an opportunity for critical reflection on contemporary attempts by African leaders and peoples to set out on their own autonomous course on the pressing issue of development. Rhetorically, the APRM seeks to achieve positive contributions to the critical process of governance assessment within the continent: self-assessment for Africans, by Africans. This study aims to uncover the extent

to which this self-evaluation works in reality through a theoretically informed in-depth empirical analysis of the continent's most populous country, Nigeria.

This introduction provides a guided tour of the entire thesis. It first sets out the research context. A second step below lays out the central and subsidiary questions which direct the research. Subsequent parts of the introduction provide an overview of the theoretical framework, the methodology, and the dissertation's original contributions to knowledge. The introduction closes with an outline of the thesis chapter structure. In this way the introduction provides an overall framing for the detailed analysis that follows in the body of the dissertation.

Development and Governance

There have been various explanations for Africa's failure to develop, and Africa is not lacking in the number of strategies and programmes towards its development either. Yet, despite the attention and support in the form of foreign aid pumped into the continent over the years - more than two trillion United States dollars (USD) of foreign aid over the past fifty-five years – to Africa the biggest recipient by far, development remains elusive, despite the genuine advances in economic growth and even in some human development indicators that a number of Africa countries have recorded in

the last decade.¹ Explanations given for this failure in Africa include: geographical and topographical;² historical and cultural;³ disparate tribal groupings and ethno-linguistic composition of African peoples;⁴ lack of strong, credible and transparent public institutions;⁵ aid dependency;⁶ and many more. Presumably, this failure is a result of a confluence of all or some of the above factors, in varying combinations in different parts of the diverse continent.

The Cold War marks a significant period in the history of international politics and has also impacted the ideologies and approaches to development aid, specifically in donor-recipient relationships.⁷ As Thomas Weiss has pointed out, “the end of the Cold War suddenly removed both the willingness to turn

¹ Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How there is Another Way for Africa* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), p. 28.

² Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel: A Short History of Everybody for the Last 13,000 Years* (New York: Vintage, 1998) quoted in Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid*, p. 29; and Paul Collier, *Africa: Geography and Growth*, Centre for the Study of African Economies, Department of Economics (Oxford: CSAE, 2006) <http://www.kc.frb.org/publicat/sympos/2006/pdf/collier.paper.0901.pdf> accessed 14/04/09.

³ Reference to Max Weber’s arguments on how the Protestant work ethic contributed to the speed of technological advancement and the industrialisation in industrial Britain and Europe, in Talcott Parsons, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. xx.

⁴ See Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why The Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can Be Done About It* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) and Richard Joseph, *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: the Rise and Fall of the Second Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

⁵ See David Landes in *The Wealth and Poverty of nations: Why Some are so Rich and Some so Poor* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999) where he argues that the ideal growth and development models are guaranteed by political institutions; also, Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), argues that a country’s underlying legal and political institutions make it conducive to investment which brings about growth and development; and Dani Rodrik, *In Search of Prosperity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), argues that institutions with dependable legal-political frameworks are the foundation for long-term growth.

⁶ Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid*.

⁷ Quoting Simonis’ observation about the significance of the Cold war on development support via foreign aid distribution to developing countries; Simonis, ‘Defining Good Governance- the Conceptual Competition is on’, *Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin fur Sozialforschung* (Social Science Research Centre Berlin, June, 2004), p. 2.

a blind-eye towards outlandish regimes as well as incentives for the West to support authoritarian rule.”⁸ Since the beginning of the 1990s, the concept of governance took a new turn in its conceptualisation and usage. The overall failure of exclusively market-based structural adjustment policies to bring about development in the Third World shifted the attention of donors to the effects of *bad* governance in Africa. The age-old notion of governance gained popularity among development practitioners as a crucial factor for development; and *good governance* often became “conditionality for development assistance from donor agencies.”⁹ There appears to be a consensus among policy makers and academics that “good governance matters for development, and herein, for effectiveness of development assistance” and that this has increased the demand for monitoring governance.¹⁰ The quest for good governance has gained popularity in the development agenda. From the 1990s multilateral institutions pioneered the use of good governance as a condition for development aid in the form of loans and grants, and this practice has spread throughout the global, regional, national and local levels of development practice.

Africa has had an historical record of bad governance which has remained rampant across the continent since the later part of the twentieth century.

⁸ Thomas G. Weiss, ‘Governance, Good Governance and Global Governance: Conceptual and Actual Challenge’, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 5 (October 2000), p. 799.

⁹ Simonis, op. cit., p. 2.

¹⁰ Lise Rakner & Vibeke Wang, ‘Governance Assessments and the Paris Declaration’, *A Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI) Issues Paper*, prepared for the UNDP Bergen Seminar (September 2007), p. 1 <http://www.cmi.no/publications/file/?2747=governance-assessments-and-the-paris-declaration> accessed 27/04/09.

Analysts have successfully argued that good governance is a *sine qua non* for development.¹¹ This idea corresponds with the thinking and practice of democratisation, which Samuel Huntington has described as the “third wave of democratisation” which swept through the developing world from the latter part of the 1980s.¹² This change in focus, it has been argued, can be ascribed to the failure of first-generation structural adjustment, ideological shifts in the international sphere, and the significant deterioration in socio-economic development in much of the developing world.¹³

NEPAD and the APRM

The African Union (AU) through the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) has integrated the pursuit of good governance into Africa’s comprehensive development strategy at the continental and sub-regional level.¹⁴ This strategy paints a picture of Africa’s development attained through regional integration on the basis of self-determination and sustainability. It stresses African ownership as the fundamental element which will ensure

¹¹ K. Y. Amoako, Executive Secretary, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), presentation statement at Harvard International Development Conference, 2003.

¹² Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratisation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993).

¹³ Many scholars, especially in critical literature on Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPS), have highlighted the shift in focus based on the failures of SAPs, and the negative effect it has on socio-economic development (in Africa) for example, Adebayo O. Olukoshi, *The Elusive Prince of Denmark: Structural Adjustment and the Crisis of Governance in Africa*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Research Report No. 104 (1998); Patrick Chabal, ‘The State of Governance in Africa’, *SAIIA Occasional Paper*, No. 26 (2009), p. 3.

¹⁴ There is a distinction observed in literature on regionalism in Africa between *Continental* and *regional* levels; where continental refers to the African Union and regional is used interchangeably with sub-regional.

sustainability; the agenda therefore emphasises the need for home-grown strategies built on participation from all stakeholders in the society: public, private and civil society actors.

Since the establishment of the AU, the quest for development in Africa has been articulated in the language of self-determination, African ownership and leadership.¹⁵ The AU speaks of the decline of *afro-pessimism*, hailing Africans intent on promoting *afro-responsibility*, “meaning that the future of Africans primarily depends on themselves and that it is incumbent on them to chart an Agenda for Africa.”¹⁶ In adopting the APRM African leaders have pointed to the shortcomings of the institutional structure over which they preside and have attempted to carry out a mode of assessment that could expose them to criticism from their peers.

At the Assembly of the African Union in July 2002 at Durban, South Africa, African leaders expressed the need to design their own governance agenda. The guiding principles for a unified governance framework were articulated in the “Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance.”¹⁷ This declaration is the framework for NEPAD to strengthen the political and administrative framework of African governments in line with

¹⁵ The African Union replaced its predecessor- Organisation of African Unity (OAU) - in July 2002, in accordance with the Sirte Declaration by African heads of State in September 1999.

¹⁶ *Strategic Plan for the African Union Commission (SPAUC)*, Vol. 1 (African Union Commission, May 2004), p. 17.

¹⁷ Assembly of Heads of States and Government, 38th Ordinary Session of the OAU, (Organisation of African Unity, July 2002) Durban South Africa
http://www.au2002.gov.za/docs/summit_council/aprm.htm accessed 27/03/09.

the principles of democracy, transparency, accountability, integrity, respect for human rights, and promotion of the rule of law.¹⁸ The APRM is one of NEPAD's tools for improving governance in the continent in accordance with these principles. The challenge for the APRM is therefore to help shape policies and institutional development in ways that enhance good governance towards sustainable development through peer review and sharing of best practice.

The APRM is at the core of Africa's development agenda, with its primary purpose integrated into compliance with NEPAD's core democratic principles. The scheme has been described as the "moral contract" which ensures that African leaders adhere to their commitments in line with NEPAD's agenda in the continent.¹⁹ Essentially, the APRM through self-assessment and peer review aims to enhance mutual trust and accountability, improving governance towards regional integration for development across the continent.

The APRM's role has been predominantly diagnostic. It initiates country self-assessment and consultative formulation of a National Programme of Action (NPoA) to address the identified problems. Still, the mechanism has the potential to trigger other processes such as civil society participation which will stimulate improvement and progress in African states, as the APRM

¹⁸ Amoako, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ Dr. Kojo Assan's speech titled: 'The Implementation of African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in Ghana', delivered in Addis Ababa (11-15 October 2004), p. 2.

process opens socio-political spaces through consultations between members of civil society and national governments.

Conceptually, the agenda of the APRM is in accordance with the overarching agenda of international development agents, both multilateral and bilateral. Yet, by its emphasis on African ownership and to the extent that it can establish, assert and sustain this position, the APRM has the ability to take on an African life of its own. This can only be determined by the degree to which it enforces its guiding principles; successfully promotes civil society participation in the process; helps reduce corruption and rent-seeking in political and social life; and creates a suitable environment for economic development not only through foreign investment, but also through the development of indigenous businesses and investment.

Nigeria and the APRM

The administration of Nigeria's APRM is located within the NEPAD Nigeria office in Abuja and its reporting lines are linked directly to the Office of the Presidency through the Secretary of the Government of the Federation (SGF) who serves as the head of the National Focal Point (NFP).²⁰ However, there is one significant issue which has been cited by the Federal Government as a hindrance to the implementation of the APRM via NEPAD

²⁰ More details of the national APRM structure will be presented and discussed in Chapter Four.

Nigeria over the years.²¹ There is a bill pending approval in the House of Representatives to pass into law the status of NEPAD as a Commission (NEPAD Commission Bill). The significance and impact of NEPAD's status as a commission will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

Nigeria was one of the first countries to sign the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) acceding to review under the APRM in March 2003. It took another gruelling two years and ten months before the Country Self-Assessment Report (CSAR) was finally submitted to the APRM secretariat.

Nigeria is a political quagmire of governance and accountability issues. Any assessment of governance in Nigeria flags up reports of corruption, clientelism and elements of patrimonial politics. Its ethnically infused democratic politics makes this large state an interesting albeit challenging empirical study. This research explores the interaction between the APRM agenda and governance in Nigeria. It investigates whether or not the APRM process has had any impact on governance and provides theoretically and empirically grounded explanations behind the reasons for that impact or lack of impact.

²¹ Newspaper articles have reported this issue which was identified by the Federal Government since the implementation of NPoAs took off in 2009, e.g. Clement Idoko, 'NEPAD-APRM Lacks Enabling Law in Nigeria- FG', published online by *Nigerian Tribune* (Abuja, 14 December 2010) <http://www.tribune.com.ng/index.php/component/content/article/14718-nepad-aprm-lacks-enabling-law-in-nigeria-fg> accessed 13/06/12.

At the outset the Nigerian government, enthused by President Obasanjo's personal interest and value for the review process, infused resources into creating awareness and ensuring nationwide outreach for the country review visits. Even among civil society organisations (CSOs), there was interest in the APRM, even if cautious and suspicious interest. More details on the Nigerian APRM structure and process with a list and description of all the various actors are given in Chapter Four.

In Nigeria the self-assessment process kicked off with accession in March 2003. The first Country Support Mission (CSM) visit from the continental secretariat took place in July 2005. This was followed by a follow-up mission from the CSM in July 2007, in response to a significant stall in APRM activity in between national elections and transition of successive governments. This follow-up mission is a distinctive feature of Nigeria's APRM experience, and a response to specific needs of the participating state. A draft of the CSAR along with the National Programme of Action (NPoA) was submitted to the continental APRM secretariat in January 2008, leading up to the Country Review Mission (CRM) in February 2008. The final CSAR was published in June 2008.

The NPoA was scheduled for implementation from 2009 – 2012 but has encountered significant delays. Chapter Five of this thesis identifies specific areas of implementation and the changes (if any) in governance processes

and institutional frameworks based on the NPoA. This review is presented systematically in line with the four APRM thematic areas: Democracy and Good Political Governance; Economic Governance and Management; Corporate Governance; and Socio-economic Development. In all, the Nigerian APRM review took a long time to complete during two different successive governments, and the response of civil society fluctuated from cynicism to positive engagement and even indifference during this time.

The result of the APRM in Nigeria, in terms of implementation of NPoA, has been disappointing. There have been limited resources available for the NPoA from the national budgets, and when some progress has been made, the poor monitoring and evaluation mechanism means that these cannot be convincingly attributed to the APRM process. Civil society has mostly disengaged from this African initiative in Nigeria.

Research Questions

The central question of this thesis asks: in what ways, to what extent and why has the APRM affected governance in Nigeria? The aim of the research is to investigate and explain the nature of the APRM's impact on governance (if any) in Nigeria; the degree of this impact; and the reasons why the APRM has or has not had effects on governance in Nigeria.

Although the research initially set out to identify, analyse and explain the APRM's impact on governance in Nigeria, in fact what it is able to do is demonstrate that there has been limited progress in the implementation of its NPoA. More so, the analysis picks up on the lack of a Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) mechanism, which makes the process of impact assessment difficult to ascertain. This also makes it difficult to confidently ascribe any progress or improvements in governance within Nigeria since 2003 to the APRM itself. Therefore, while it has not been possible to establish specific causality between the APRM and changes in governance in Nigeria, the thesis is able to give an account of how the APRM has unfolded in Nigeria.

This primary research question leads to some secondary questions regarding the conceptualisation and design of the APRM. The core guiding principles of the APRM are: technical competence, credibility, and freedom from political manipulation.²² Hence an assessment of the APRM must critically examine these principles and consider the extent to which they have been met, in this case in Nigeria. Since the APRM is portrayed as an African-owned mechanism, it is important to investigate the extent to which this quality has influenced the role, level of engagement and impact of the mechanism in Nigeria. As a peer review mechanism, it is also important to

²² African Peer Review Mechanism, *APRM Base Document*, Paragraph 4
<http://www.eisa.org.za/aprm/toolkit/resources-core.htm> accessed 27/03/09.

investigate the use of peer pressure as a means of ensuring commitment to the principles of the APRM.

The question of the APRM's impact on governance in Nigeria has wide and significant implications. The APRM and its governance agenda are tied into an overarching development strategy for the entire continent. It is, therefore, important to decipher and make empirically tested analyses of the APRM's ideological and institutional framework. An empirical case is used as evidence of this assessment. Nigeria as one of the leading regional players, and a large economy in Africa; it also presents an interesting case study with its highly politicised and multi-ethnic characteristics. So this study sets out to provide original theoretical and empirical insight into Nigeria's socio-political culture and the power dynamics underlying governance, in relation to the APRM. If Africa is to develop within the framework of regional economic integration, Nigeria has a key role to play as the most populous country in the continent and one of its largest economies. The APRM is an initiative that is part of a regional development strategy in Africa. Hinged on the idea that good governance enhances the conditions for socio-economic development, the APRM is a vital part of the bigger picture painted by the AU and NEPAD for African countries to achieve economic growth which is inward-looking and less reliant on foreign aid.

Therefore, the questions raised in this research are important to address the underlying political issues surrounding Nigeria, and the broader African development agenda. Actually, governance as a concept in the context of international and national politics refers to the decision-making and implementation processes which involve an interaction of formal and informal structures. Governance also pools together various actors', including but not exclusive to the government. Therefore, any analysis of governance should take all these actors into consideration. They include: government, civil society, the civil service/public sector, professional groups, political parties and pressure groups, trade unions, and other social, religious and cultural groups. In short, an assessment of the APRM in Nigeria seeks to critically analyse the conceptualisation of the governance agenda and decipher the indicators which can bring about a significant impact on governance processes in the country.

Theoretical Approach

This study provides a theoretical explanation of the course of the APRM in Nigeria. An assessment of governance under the APRM will then serve to understand aspects of the nature of contemporary good governance agenda paradigm in Africa. This refers to the discourses and practices characterised by the enforcement of measurable criteria used to define *good* or *bad* governance that was introduced into the development aid regime by the

World Bank in late 1980s. These characteristics of good governance include: voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption.²³

While it is useful to bear in mind the danger of imposing too rigid a theoretical framework on a range of different societies, especially in a diverse continent like Africa, still it remains imperative to clarify the theoretical context of this study.²⁴ Two perspectives have been selected in order to provide a holistic and integrative explanation to this topic. One, prebendalism, is more focused on the domestic context of Nigerian political culture. The other, neo-Gramscianism, is more focused on the international context. Both perspectives provide insight into various levels and relationships around governance.

Over the years academics have ascribed the weakness of African states to the “political unwillingness on the part of government ministers to respect the legal and rational principles underpinning a functioning state.”²⁵ Investigation into these issues has raised the use of concepts such as "clientelism", "patrimonialism", and "prebendalism" to describe the socio-political process

²³ These are the factors in the ‘Worldwide Governance Indicators’ (WGI) measured by the World Bank as part of a *Governance Matters* resource, <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.asp> accessed 23/03/09.

²⁴ Jurg Steiner, *The Consociational Theory and Beyond*, p. 340, in Richard Joseph, *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 45-46.

²⁵ Paul Ntungwe Ndue, ‘Introduction’ in ‘Restoring Legitimacy to Public Authority in Twentieth-Century Africa’, *Perspectives on Political Science*, Vol. 28, Issue 2 (1999), p. 75.

and system of governance in Africa.²⁶ All of these concepts come to play in the analysis of governance in Nigeria, but the notion of prebendalism will be used as a primary framework for explaining governance in Nigerian political context because it specifically addresses the Nigerian case.

Prebendalism, a political perspective developed by Richard Joseph, will be used in this thesis to explain the state of governance and structure of socio-political relations in Nigeria. The aim is to create a clear picture of the state of governance in Nigeria in order to make an assessment on the impact of the APRM. Prebendalism explains the socio-political relations behind governance in Nigeria and shows how these relations interact with, and impact upon: (a) the (rhetorical) quest for good governance; and (b) the ability of civil society to engage in the APRM process through ensuring implementation of the National Programmes of Action (NPoA).

Richard Joseph is a political scientist and African Studies scholar who developed a theoretical framework explaining the dynamics and characteristics of political culture in Nigeria. His original work was based on his observations up to the period of Nigeria's second republic (1979–1983).²⁷

²⁶ "Clientelism" - Rene Lemarchand, 'Political Clientelism and Integration in Tropical Africa: Competing Solidarities in Nation-Building', *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 66, No. 1 (March 1972), pp. 68-90; "Patrimonialism" - Jean-Francis Medard, 'The Underdeveloped State in Tropical Africa: Political Clientelism or Political Neo-Patrimonialism', in Christopher Clapham, eds., *Private Patronage and Public Power: Political Clientelism in the Modern State* (London: Frances Pinter, 1982); and "Prebendalism" - Richard Joseph (1987), op. cit., quoted in Paul Ntungwe Ndue, 'Conclusion', in op. cit., pp. 75-81.

²⁷ Richard Joseph's book on prebendalism in Nigeria titled: *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria*, (Cambridge University Press, 1987).

Since then, the notion of prebendal politics in Nigeria has provided descriptive, analytical and theoretical power to many scholarly works on the country. Recently, in September 2011, Richard Joseph was invited along with a panel of academics from the United States of America, to a Prebendalism conference organised in Lagos, Nigeria. It was titled: *International Conference on Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: Critical Reinterpretations*. This gathering is an indication of the continued relevance and potency of Joseph's theoretical contribution to the study of Nigerian politics.²⁸

To complement prebendalism as a more domestically oriented theory, the neo-Gramscian perspective assesses the APRM in terms of its entrenchment within a broader international agenda. Developed in the field of International Political Economy since the 1980s, neo-Gramscian theory forms the basis for exploring the good governance agenda (the foundation of the APRM's approach) as a legitimating ideology for the subordination of Nigeria (and Africa) within a capitalist global political economy. Furthermore, it provides necessary context for understanding and explaining the global and international influence in the issue of good governance and governance assessment in Africa. This contextual location of the APRM is necessary in order to bring the African ownership criterion under scrutiny as an indicator of the mechanism's ability to meet its set goals.

²⁸ International Conference on *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: Critical Reinterpretations*, official website <http://www.prebendalconference.com/index.html> accessed 19/07/12.

In sum, while neo-Gramscian analysis provides both an ideological and international space for an investigation of governance, good governance agenda and the APRM in Africa, Joseph's prebendalist analysis is useful for understanding and setting the scene for an assessment of governance within the Nigerian context. These two theories combine to address the multifaceted character of a governance discussion in Nigeria. However, in the course of examining Nigeria's actual experience with the APRM it is to be expected that both the neo-Gramscian and prebendalist insights might need to be modified or adapted to take full account of how the APRM has fared in practice so far. That is to say, the theoretical starting points are to be viewed as general guides and not to be seen as comprehensive and inflexible straightjackets.

Research Methods

The research for this thesis has examined the APRM structure and process in Nigeria in detail both empirically and theoretically. The research process involved use of primary and secondary sources for data on the APRM in general as well as specifically in the Nigerian case. The thesis sourced data from official APRM documents and academic publications on the APRM from within and outside Africa.

Official APRM documents accessed during this research include: Communiqués and Meeting Reports; the CSAR; Progress Reports on Implementation of the NPoA; base documents on the APRM including Guidance and Implementation outlines, Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), and the Questionnaire templates. Many of these official documents were accessed online, for example, on websites of the APRM continental secretariat, the NEPAD secretariat, various national APRM secretariats, and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). Other documents were obtained as hard copies in the course of fieldwork. Locating and obtaining access to original documents and publications on the APRM at the continental and especially at the national level (in Nigeria) was one of the most significant challenges of this research. Where direct access was not possible during fieldwork, data had to be sought and triangulated from numerous online publications including newspaper articles, blogs and online forums and social networking sites such as Twitter.

Qualitative data was elicited *inter alia* through 41 interviews carried out during two field visits to Nigeria (March 2010 and October-November 2011) as well as a further field visit to South Africa (May-June 2011). Interviews were conducted with APRM officials at the continental secretariat in South Africa and the National Focal Point in Nigeria; civil society representatives in Nigeria and South Africa (including participants and non-participants in Nigeria's APRM process, and mass media); representatives of

bilateral donors; and academics. The data was collated and analysed against the backdrop of identified theoretical perspectives. During fieldwork in Nigeria and South Africa there was opportunity to carry out two observations of NEPAD and APRM events on the implementation of the APRM, and these observations have contributed to the primary data for this research.

During the two field trips to Nigeria, face-to-face and email interviews were conducted with key APRM and civil society officials and representatives in Abuja and Lagos. In total there were fifteen interviews in 2010: 14 face-to-face and 1 email interview; 6 interviews and 1 non-participant observation at a key NEPAD/APRM event in Abuja in 2011.²⁹ Notwithstanding some difficulty making contact with prospective interviewees at the onset, there was a snowball effect which was aided by the ability to sustain contact via email and telephone in the period between visits. The interviewees included past and present Directors of the APRM department in NEPAD Nigeria, research and support staff of the APRM, representatives of other groups including: 2 (out of 5) Lead Research Organisations (LRO) in Nigeria, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), labour union, academics and other civil society.

²⁹ More details of these are mentioned in the Methodology section in Chapter Two; and details of all interviewees can be found in the Bibliography.

The field trip in South Africa was hosted by the Governance and APRM Department of the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). This body served as a network base for contacting the APRM continental secretariat and interviewing various civil society organisations, research organisations and international donors involved in the APRM (mostly in South Africa) but with a wider knowledge of the overall process. Due to the limitations in travel and logistics, SAIIA provided access to an online survey web tool ('Survey Monkey') with which I was able to create an online questionnaire which was disseminated to selected respondents. This was a crucial part of the data collection process and helped to fill in gaps in the information about the APRM in general. In all, twenty interviews were completed during the South Africa fieldwork: thirteen face-to-face interviews, three exclusively via online survey, two via a combination of email and survey, one email only, and one Skype interview.

Also, within the thesis is a review of secondary literature on governance and the links between governance and development in general and in Africa. This ranged from official NEPAD and APRM documents, reports and publications; research and academic publications by mainly African research institutes and organisations; quantitative data from national and international reports and surveys on Nigeria in relation to governance and development criteria. Other sources include books, journal articles, news and social media publications on the issues of governance, development and Nigerian politics

in particular. The data from NEPAD and the APRM form the focus of analyses, especially those related to the origin, structure and process of the review process; in addition reports on Nigeria (country report and NPoA) are analysed in the thesis. While academic-related publications exist on the APRM in general, and in specific case studies, this thesis adds empirical value to the limited knowledge, understanding and analysis of Nigeria's APRM not previously available.

A further assertion related to this is that the APRM stands to make an impact mostly through the ripple effect that its implementation will have through participation from African civil society which apply peer pressure to hold governments accountable to their promises as indicated in the NPoA. This research thus puts particular weight on the level of engagement from civil society as an indicator of the APRM's ability to meet its stated objectives in Nigeria. This level of engagement from civil society may or may not be anticipated depending on the extent to which governments intend to use the APRM for the benefit of its intrinsic objectives, rather than as merely a tool to gain favour in the disbursement of foreign aid. Rhetorically speaking, the combination of Nigerian ownership and participation has the potential to alleviate the existing disconnect between the public arena (government) and private life (civil society) of the Nigerian people, thereby stimulating the socio-political and economic participation with enhanced accountability that runs from the bottom up.

Predominantly based on qualitative data, the primary empirical goal was to make an assessment of the impact of the APRM in Nigeria. Hence, data collated from Nigeria has been used to draw conclusions on the effects, suitability and sustainability of the APRM's conceptualisation, design and implementation for meeting its set goals. The empirical data elaborates the structure and process of the Nigerian implementation of the APRM. By providing an update on the process up to July 2012, this research uses the data to add to the existing literature on the APRM in Nigeria. Specifically the analysis of empirical data was explored through the lens of two theoretical frameworks that had not previously been used for the purpose of assessing Nigeria's experience of APRM in this way, and brings together both national and international dimensions.

Contributions to Knowledge

This research aims to fill a gap in academic literature by providing empirical and theoretical analysis of the APRM's impact on governance in Nigeria. The thesis makes four significant contributions to knowledge: (a) to empirical evidence on the APRM in general; (b) to empirical evidence on the APRM in Nigeria; (c) to theoretical understandings of the APRM, in the use of prebendalism and neo-Gramscian analysis; and (d) to refinement of prebendalist theory.

The existing scholarly literature on APRM in Nigeria is patchy, and although it tells us something about some aspects, it fails to address some big and important questions. Such as, the nature and degree of impact (if any) that the APRM has had on governance in Nigeria. The thesis goes further by providing empirically and theoretically informed explanation and analysis of the reasons for this impact or non-impact of the APRM in Nigeria. In contrast, the existing literature on Nigeria's APRM has either had a structural and process-focused account or, as in F.O.N Roberts' work, concentrated on a few specifics like civil society engagement with the APRM only.³⁰

In the wider literature on APRM, there has been significant interest in understanding its structure and process and this has continued over the years, but with a shift towards focusing on individual case studies. This is found in the work of organisations like South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) and the Electoral Institute for the Sustainability of Democracy in Africa (EISA), both based in Johannesburg, South Africa. For example, SAIIA has published shadow reports and monitoring reports on the APRM in South Africa and Lesotho. SAIIA has also contributed to the wider literature by locating the APRM within the context of governance issues in Africa more generally. Yet there has not been any close focus on Nigeria specifically,

³⁰ This aspect of contribution to existing literature will be explored in more detail in the next few paragraphs; F.O. Nyemutu Roberts, 'Nigeria', in Grant Masterson, Kojo Busia and Adele Jinadu, eds., *Peering the Peers: Civil Society and the African Peer Review Mechanism* (Johannesburg: EISA, 2010), pp. 157-179.

which is surprising given Nigeria's economic and political influence or significance in Africa.³¹

A fuller account of existing literature on the relationship between good governance and development in Africa can be found in the early pages of Chapter One of the thesis. Chapter One also goes on to provide a background to the context of recent political trends in Africa's development strategy which led to the APRM, which is relevant for an understanding of the subject and analysis in the thesis.

First, then, this thesis adds significantly to the general literature on the APRM as a whole. The process received attention around Africa and the donor community at its onset and for a few years after as the pioneer countries began and completed their reviews. This includes Ghana, Kenya, Rwanda, and South Africa. However, for various reasons identified and discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, interest in the process since then has diminished among African states, and especially from the international donors (multilateral and bilateral parties). In terms of research carried out in academic circles, the momentum has reduced over the years, but interest is maintained by organisations like SAIIA and EISA, which have received funding for this purpose from the Netherlands and Switzerland. Their work is focused on research and advocacy in the empowerment of civil society to

³¹ Steven Gruzd, eds., *Grappling with Governance: Perspectives from the African Peer Review Mechanism* (Johannesburg: Fanele 2010).

engage with governments on the APRM in participating countries (with particular focus on south and east African countries, so far). But notwithstanding what has been written about Ghana (chosen for its significance as a good example of APRM best practice and being the first country to complete the review process), neither Nigeria nor any other West African country have been prioritised. So this research highlights and updates significant progress, developments, and challenges of the APRM as of July 2012 in a country whose size and importance might entitle observers to think that it could - or should - be a leader in Africa. Moreover the thesis is based not only on secondary data but from original findings obtained by field work including at the regional head office in Midrand, South Africa (June 2011).

Second, this thesis brings the literature on the APRM in Nigeria up to date. There have been two main studies on the APRM in Nigeria so far. The first, Adele Jinadu's "The APRM Process in Nigeria" was published by Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA) and Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project (AfriMAP) in July 2008., which is soon after Nigeria submitted its country report and provided detailed description on the structure and process of the APRM in Nigeria, with a brief discussion on "trends, challenges and opportunities."³² The second and more recent publication is a chapter titled "Nigeria" written by F. O. Nyemutu Roberts in

³² L. Adele Jinadu, *The African Peer Review Process in Nigeria* (Open Society Initiative for West Africa- OSIWA, and Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project- AfriMAP, 2008), pp. 28-34.

an edited book published by EISA in 2010, titled “Peering the Peers: Civil Society and the APRM”.³³ This later publication by Roberts focused on civil society and other stakeholders’ role in Nigeria’s APRM, especially in terms of the nature, level and challenges of engagement.

Although this thesis draws on these existing published reports and articles on the Nigerian case it also contributes new empirical data from two field trips to Nigeria in 2010 and 2011, which adds both more detail and greater analytical depth to understanding the APRM process in Nigeria. It also includes a chapter which analyses the NPoA implementation, which is something that has not been done for the APRM in Nigeria before now, due to the lack of availability of empirical data.

In all, this research provides: a holistic picture of the Nigerian APRM structure; a clear account of the process based on primary and secondary data; an empirical assessment of Nigeria’s APRM through theoretical lenses that provide insight into the Nigerian political culture and its relevance to the country’s APRM experience in relation to the state of governance.

Third, the research contributes original theoretical understanding and analyses of the APRM, in the use of prebendalism and neo-Gramscianism. By explaining the APRM through the theoretical lens of prebendalism by Richard Joseph, this thesis is able to proffer an extension of Joseph’s

³³ Roberts, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-179.

characterisation of Nigerian political dynamics, which was first formed in the 1970s, during Nigeria's second republic. Since then, Nigeria has evolved and moved on to the fourth republic. Nigeria has been a democratic state from 1999 to present, which makes it important to reconsider the characteristics of prebendalist politics in the context of the current state of Nigeria's socio-political structure and dynamics. This research draws on empirical observations to identify and explain new elements and their role in understanding and explaining the APRM in Nigeria more particularly. Alongside the prebendalist framework which dwells on the domestic or internal situation the thesis also draws from the neo-Gramscian perspective on hegemony. This helps explain the ideological origin and location of the APRM's good governance agenda within an international/global context. The thesis not only tests the African ownership criteria of the APRM empirically, but through the selected theoretical perspective this research engages with the wider context and implications when globalisation meets indigenous development strategy (the idea of cultural hegemony). This link has not previously been made in research on the APRM.

In sum, therefore, by tracing a theoretical and empirical explanation of governance in Nigeria during its encounter with the APRM, this study examines and explains the (non-) impact of the APRM on the state of governance in Africa's most populous state and makes a significant

contribution to existing literature on the APRM process in Nigeria, and use of the prebendalist framework.

Outline of the Thesis

The thesis is comprised of seven chapters, excluding the Introduction and Conclusion. It begins with a literature review on governance and development, and the APRM in Africa and Nigeria, the dissertation progresses to introduce the theoretical framework. This is followed by more descriptive chapters on the APRM before delving into the explanatory and analytical text, and finally the conclusion.

Chapter One contains a review of literature on the relationship between governance and development in Africa in general, but specifically in relation to the good governance agenda which is the basis of the APRM. It presents literature on recent political trends in the region which are linked to the relationship between governance and development. It also introduces the contextual linkages between good governance agenda and Africa's development; the relationship between non-state actors and governance in Africa; and good governance and Africa's development agenda. This chapter also presents literature on the history and evolution of the African Union, NEPAD and the APRM in general. Furthermore, this chapter outlines briefly the origins of the APRM in Nigeria.

Chapter Two covers the research context and the theoretical framework of the thesis. In this chapter contextual information about the case study will be discussed to set the scene for empirical and theoretical analyses. This includes an overview of the political history, socio-cultural and geo-political facts of the Nigerian state to enable clear analysis of its political culture and governance. The other part of the chapter presents the theoretical context of the analysis of the APRM and governance in Nigeria. Furthermore, the chapter includes a section on the research methodology, presenting all the techniques and approaches applied in data gathering and analysis.

In Chapter Three the thesis focuses on the subject of the APRM in detail by looking into its history, objectives, structure, process, and funding. Here, detailed description of the APRM structure and process are presented along with some findings about the challenges faced by the continental secretariat in funding the process. This chapter differs from Chapter Four in that it focuses on the APRM from a continental level, according to the prescriptions set out in the official guidelines and Memorandum of Understanding (MoU).

Chapter Four focuses specifically on the APRM in Nigeria. It provides historical and institutional information on this country's experience of the APRM, and also details the course of the review process. The chapter provides a detailed description of how the APRM was structured and the

process at all review stages up to the publication of the country report. This leads on to discussion on the National Programme of Action (NPoA) and its implementation.

Chapter Five assesses the degree of (non-) implementation of the NPoA in Nigeria along the four APRM thematic areas. The discussion uses empirical evidence to: (a) identify specific areas of (non-) implementation in the country; and (b) identify the changes (if any) in governance processes and institutional frameworks in the period since Nigeria's accession to the APRM. The chapter presents an evaluation on the basis of the government's own report, titled *First Progress on Implementation of the NPoA*, presented at the 17th APRM Summit in January 2012. The aim of the chapter is to identify tangible institutional and/or policy changes in governance, in order to assess the impact of the NPoA implementation in Nigeria so far. The chapter concludes that there is evidence indicating some progress in important areas of governance and development. However, on the whole the government has failed to integrate the APRM process into its national governance and development structures, processes and strategies and has neglected monitoring and evaluation. These are significant weaknesses that could have negative long-term consequences. To date there are no obvious signs that these shortfalls are being taken seriously or are being addressed.

Chapter Six provides an explanation of the APRM's (non-)implementation from the perspective of actor-based involvement at the national, regional and global levels. For this purpose the actors are categorised along official and non-official lines. This chapter analyses the role of various actors, their contributions and the impact of their role on the APRM process in Nigeria in order to explain the general non-implementation of the NPoA. The actors examined include: African leaders, the Legislature, the National APRM Secretariat, the NEPAD State Coordinators, the African Union and other regional and sub-regional organisations, African technical and development partners to the APRM, civil society associations, corporate sector and businesses, and the media.

In Chapter Seven the thesis turns to providing a more structural explanation and analysis of the APRM's (non-)implementation due to underlying social and political influences at the national and international level. The analysis in this chapter interprets empirical data through the lens of the two main theoretical perspectives applied in this thesis: prebendalism and neo-Gramscianism. Both perspectives aid our understanding of the (non-)implementation of the APRM through an explanation of the underlying socio-political influences in Nigeria (as set out in prebendalism) and within the context of wider international forces (as set out in neo-Gramscianism).

Finally, the conclusion Chapter of the thesis provides a summary of the key findings and observations of the research. It goes on to identify and highlight wider implications of the research findings including some of the significant contributions made by the thesis to the use of prebendalist perspective for understanding Nigerian political structure and dynamics today. Other points covered in the conclusion include a summary of the main merits, limitations and challenges faced during the research in various stages of the empirical and theoretical enquiry and analysis. Then some recommendations are made in various aspects of the research and analysis which could not be covered in this thesis that are suitable for further study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

African Peer Review Mechanism, *APRM base document*. Midrand: APR Secretariat, 2002. <http://www.eisa.org.za/aprm/toolkit/resources-core.htm>. Accessed 27/03/09.

African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), Communiqué issued at the end of the First Summit of the Committee of Participating Heads of State and Government in the APRM (APR Forum) Kigali, Rwanda (13 February 2004) <http://www.iss.co.za/AF/RegOrg/nepad/aprmcomfeb04.pdf>. Accessed 28/03/09.

African Peer Review Mechanism, *Annual Report 2008: African Peer Review Mechanism*. Midrand: APRM Secretariat, 2008.

African Peer Review Mechanism, *Annual Report 2009: African Peer Review Mechanism*. Midrand: APRM Secretariat, 2009.

African Peer Review Mechanism, *Bulletin of the African Peer Review Mechanism Secretariat*, Volume 02 Quarterly (April-June 2011), pp. 1-12

African Peer Review Mechanism, *Country Review Report for the Republic of Ghana (June 2005)*, pp. i-242.

African Peer Review Mechanism, *Country Review Report Number 8, Federal Republic of Nigeria (June 2009)*, pp. ii-330.

African Peer Review Mechanism, *Popular Version of Lesotho's Country Review Report*. Midrand: APRM Secretariat, 30 June 2009.

African Peer Review Mechanism, 'Names and Contact Details of Members of the National Council on APRM.' Unpublished contact list acquired during fieldwork (Abuja, March 2010).

African Union (AU), *Strategic Plan for the African Union Commission (SPAUC)* <http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/AboutAu/Vision/Volume1.pdf>. Accessed 23/03/09.

African Union, *Strategic Plan for the African Union Commission (SPAUC)*, Volume 1. Addis Ababa: African Union Commission, May 2004

<http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/AboutAu/Vision/Volume1.pdf>. Accessed 14/09/12.

Faseyi, Samuel, Director (Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation), NEPAD Nigeria, The Presidency, *Roles of NEPAD State Coordinators in Ensuring Good Governance at the State Level*. Presentation at Meeting of NEPAD State Coordinators and the Media on 'NEPAD as Africa's Transformation Agenda', Vines Hotel, Abuja, 26-27 October 2011.

Gboyega, Alex, *Creating Effective Collaboration Between NEPAD – Nigeria and the Other Tiers of Government for Good Governance*. Presentation at Meeting of NEPAD State Coordinators and the Media on 'NEPAD as Africa's Transformation Agenda', Vines Hotel, Abuja, 26-27 October 2011.

Jinadu, Adele, *Democracy and Good Governance in National Development: The APRM Country Process*. Presentation at Meeting of NEPAD State Coordinators and the Media on 'NEPAD as Africa's Transformation Agenda', Vines Hotel, Abuja, 26-27 October 2011.

Lawal, Zakari, Director Monitoring and Evaluation, National Planning Commission, The Presidency (Nigeria), *The Role of National Planning Commission in Monitoring and Evaluation of NEPAD's National Plan of Action Projects*. Presentation at Meeting of NEPAD State Coordinators and the Media on 'NEPAD as Africa's Transformation Agenda', Vines Hotel, Abuja, 26-27 October 2011.

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Nigeria, African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), *Implementation Schedule of the National Programme of Action (NPoA) for the Federal Ministries, Departments and Agencies (FMDAs)*, (October 2008), pp. 1-55.

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Nigeria, African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), *Communique Issued at the Sensitisation Workshop for NEPAD State Coordinators and Journalists from 26th – 27th October 2011 in Abuja*.

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Nigeria, African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), *Comments of the Government and People of Nigeria on APRM Country Review Report No. 8, Federal Republic of Nigeria*. June 2008.

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Nigeria, African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), *APRM Country Self-Assessment Report (CSAR): Executive Summary*. NEPAD Nigeria, 2007.

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Nigeria, African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), *APRM Country Review Report No. 8 Federal Republic of Nigeria: Highlights of the APRM Country Review Report Prepared for the Extraordinary Session of the APR Forum*. October 2008.

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Nigeria, *Nigeria Governance and Development: The New Partnership for Africa's Development*. Ibadan: Caligata Publishing Company Limited, 2010.

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Secretariat, *African Peer Review Mechanism Organisation and Processes (NEPAD/HSGIC/03-2003/APRM/Guideline/O & P)*. Sixth Summit of the NEPAD Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee, Abuja Nigeria, 9 March, 2003.

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Secretariat, *Memorandum of Understanding on the African Peer Review Mechanism "The MOU" (NEPAD/HSGIC/03-2003/APRM/MOU)*. Sixth Summit of the NEPAD Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee, Abuja Nigeria, 9 March, 2003.

New Partnership for African Development, *NEPAD Framework document* <http://www.nepad.org/nepad/knowledge/doc/1767/nepad-framework-document>. Accessed 23/03/09.

Omotoso, Ayodele, Director (Governance), Governance Department, NEPAD Nigeria, The Presidency, *Implementation of the National Programme of Action (NPoA): Issues and Challenges*. Presentation at Meeting of NEPAD State Coordinators and the Media on 'NEPAD as Africa's Transformation Agenda', Vines Hotel, Abuja, 26-27 October 2011.

Organisation of African Unity, '*Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance*', AHG/235 (XXXVIII) Annex I, 38th Ordinary session of the Organisation of African Unity, (8th July, 2002), Durban South Africa
http://www.iss.co.za/af/regorg/unity_to_union/pdfs/au/H3_nepad.pdf. Accessed 28/03/09.

Organisation of African Unity, *Assembly of Heads of States and*

Government, 38th Ordinary Session of the OAU. Durban, South Africa: Organisation of African Unity, July 2002
http://www.au2002.gov.za/docs/summit_council/aprm.htm.

Accessed 27/03/09.

Owens-Ibie, Nosa, *The Media and Good Governance in Nigeria*. Presentation at Meeting of NEPAD State Coordinators and the Media on 'NEPAD as Africa's Transformation Agenda', Vines Hotel, Abuja, 26-27 October 2011.

Presidency, New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), African Peer Review Mechanism, *Progress Report on the Implementation of the National Programme of Action (NPoA) of The Federal Republic of Nigeria (Analysis of Implementation by FMDAs, 2009 – 2010), Volume II, Main Report*, (December 2010), pp. i-105.

Sanni, David, Director, Partnership Department, NEPAD Nigeria, *Partnership and Development Effectiveness at the State Level*. Presentation at Meeting of NEPAD State Coordinators and the Media on 'NEPAD as Africa's Transformation Agenda', Vines Hotel, Abuja, 26-27 October 2011.

Uya, Okon, *Leveraging on NEPAD – APRM for Good Governance*. Presentation at Meeting of NEPAD State Coordinators and the Media on 'NEPAD as Africa's Transformation Agenda', Vines Hotel, Abuja, 26-27 October 2011.

World Bank, *Governance, The World Bank's Experience*. Washington, DC: The World Bank, 1994.

Books and Articles

Adebajo, Adekeye and Rashid, Ismail, eds., *West Africa's Security Challenges: Building Peace in A Troubled Region*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004.

Adedeji, Adebayo, 'You Must First Set Your House in Order', *Africa Recovery*, Volume 16 Number 2-3 (September 2002)
<http://www.un.org/en/africarenewal/vol16no2/162pers1.htm>. Accessed 28/07/12.

Adeosun, Ahmed Babatunde, 'Federal Character Principle and National Integration: A Critical Appraisal', *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, Volume 2, Number 2.4, Quarter IV (2011), pp. 1-13.
<http://onlineresearchjournals.com/ijopagg/art/89.pdf>. Accessed 24/07/12.

Adisa, Jinmi, 'Making the Mechanism Work: A View from the African Union', *African Security Review*, Volume 11, Number 4,
<http://www.iss.org.za/Pubs/ASR/11No4/Adisa.html>. Accessed 02/04/09.

Afeikhena, Jerome, 'Odyssey and Introspection' in Grant Masterson, Kojo Busia and Adele Jinadu, eds., *Peering the Peers: Civil Society and the African Peer Review Mechanism*. Johannesburg: EISA, 2010, pp. 13-28.

Ake, Claude, *Democracy and Development in Africa*. Washington D.C: The Brookings Institution, 1996.

Ake, Claude, *The Feasibility of Democracy in Africa*. Senegal: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, 2000 and 2003.

Andrews, Matt, 'The Good Governance Agenda: Beyond Indicators Without Theory', *Oxford Development Studies*, Volume 36, Number 4 (December 2008), pp. 379-407.

Boas, Morten, 'Governance as Multilateral Bank Policy', *European Journal of Development Research*, Volume 10, Issue 2, pp. 116-134, in Thomas Weiss, 'Governance, Good Governance and Global Governance: Conceptual and Actual Challenge', *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 21, Number 5 (October 2000), pp. 795-814.

Boas, Morten, 'Regions and Regionalisation: A Heretic's View', *Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala*, Discussion Paper 11 (2001), pp. 27-39.

- Boggs, Carl, *Gramsci's Marxism*. London: Pluto Press, 1976.
- Boyle, Brendan, 'Making the News: Why the APRM Didn't' in Steven Gruzd, eds., *Grappling with Governance: Perspectives on the African Peer Review Mechanism*. Johannesburg: Fanele, 2010, pp. 67-81.
- Burnell, Peter and Calvert, Peter, eds., *Civil Society in Democratisation*. London: Frank Cass, 2004.
- Burnell, Peter and Randall, Vicky, eds., *Politics in the Developing World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Chiamuta, Linus, *Sustaining Democratisation in Africa*. Lagos: The Pen Books, 1997.
- Chukwumerije, Okezie, 'Peer Review and the promotion of Good Governance in Africa', *North Carolina Journal of International Law and Commercial Regulation*, (Fall 2006), pp. 49-111.
- Cilliers, Jakkie, 'NEPADS's Peer Review Mechanism', *African Security Review*, Volume 11, Number 4 (2002), <http://www.iss.org.za/Pubs/ASR/11No4/Feature1.html>. Accessed 02/04/09.
- Collier, Paul, *The Bottom Billion: Why The Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can Be Done About It*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Cox, Robert, 'Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Volume 12, Number 2 (1983), pp. 162-175.
- Diamond, Jared, *Guns, Germs and Steel: A Short History of Everybody for the Last 13,000 year*. New York: Vintage, 1998.
- Diamond, Larry, eds., *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993.
- Drainville, A.C., 'The Fetishism of Global Civil Society: Global Governance, Traditional Urbanism and Sustainable Capitalism in the World Economy', in M.P. Smith and L.E. Guarnizo, eds., *Transnationalism from Below*. London: Transaction, 1998, pp. 35-63.
- Dunning, Thad, *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

- Edwards, Michael, *Civil Society*. Cambridge: Polity, 2007.
- Falk, R.A., 'The Infancy of Global Civil Society', in G. Lundestad and O.A. Westad, eds., *Beyond the Cold War: New Dimensions in International Relations*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1992, pp. 219-239.
- Ferguson, Niall, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World*. London: Penguin Books, 2004.
- Giddens, Antony, *Sociology*. Third Edition, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997.
- Gruzd, Steven, eds., *Grappling with Governance: Perspectives from the African Peer Review Mechanism*. Johannesburg: Fanele 2010.
- Herbet, Ross and Gruzd, Steven, eds., *The African Peer Review Mechanism: Lessons from the Pioneers*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs, 2008.
- Heubaum, Harald, 'Making the African Peer Review Mechanism Work: A Rough Road Ahead for NEPAD's Key Component', Research Unit Middle East and Africa, *German Institute for International and Security Affairs*, Working Paper FG 6, 2005/05 (December 2005), pp.1-6.
- Huntington, Samuel P, *The Third Wave: Democratisation in the Late Twentieth Century*. (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.
- Igbuzor, Otiye, *Perspectives on Democracy and Development*. Lagos and Abuja: Joe-Tolalu & Associates, 2005.
- Jega, Attahiru, *Democracy, Good Governance and Development in Nigeria: Critical Essays*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 2007.
- Jinadu, Adele, L., 'Comparative analysis of civil society engagement in the APRM: Democracy and Political Governance' in Grant Masterson, Kojo Busia and Adele Jinadu, eds., *Peering the Peers: Civil Society and the African Peer Review Mechanism*. Johannesburg: EISA, 2010, pp. 81-103.
- Joseph, Richard, 'Nigeria Inside the Dismal Tunnel', *Current History*, Volume 95, Number 60 (1996), pp. 193-200.
- Joseph, Richard, *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: the Rise and Fall of the Second Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Kanbur, Ravi, 'The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM): An assessment of concept and design', *Politikon*, Volume 31, Issue 2 (November 2004), pp.157-166.

Kebonang, Zien and Fombad, Charles Manga, 'The African Peer Review Mechanism: Challenges and Prospects' in 'AU, NEPAD and APRM: Democratisation Efforts Explored', *NAI Current African Issues*, Nordic Africa Institute (Uppsala, Sweden), Issue 32 (2006), pp. 36-54.

Khan, Mushtaq H., 'Governance and Development: The perspective of growth enhancing governance', in GRIPS Development Forum, *Diversity and Complementarity in Development Aid – East Asian Lessons for African Growth*. GRIPS Development Forum, February 2008, pp. 107-152.
<http://www.grips.ac.jp/forum-e/DCDA/Chapter05.pdf>. Accessed 13/09/12.

Landes, David, *The Wealth and Poverty of nations: Why Some are so Rich and Some so Poor*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999.

Lemarchand, Rene, 'Political Clientelism and Integration in Tropical Africa: Competing Solidarities in Nation-Building', *American Political Science Review*, Volume 66, Number 1 (March 1972), pp. 68-90.

Lewis, Peter, 'From Prebendalism to Predation: The Political Economy of Decline in Nigeria', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* Volume 34, Number 1 (March, 1996), pp. 79-103.

Lipschutz, R.D., 'Reconstructing World Politics: The Emergence of Global Civil Society', *Millennium*, 21 (1992), pp. 389-420.

Medard, Jean-Francis, 'The Underdeveloped State in Tropical Africa: Political Clientelism or Political Neo-Patrimonialism', in Christopher Clapham, eds., *Private Patronage and Public Power: Political Clientelism in the Modern State*. London: Frances Pinter, 1982, pp. 162-192.

Moyo, Damibsa, *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How there is Another Way for Africa*. London: Allen Lane, 2009.

Mustapha, Mala, 'Corruption in Nigeria: Conceptual and Empirical Notes', *Information, Society and Justice*, Volume 3, Number 2 (July 2010), pp. 165-175.

Ndue, Paul Ntungwe, 'Restoring Legitimacy to Public Authority in Twentieth-Century Africa', *Perspectives on Political Science*, Volume 28, Issue 2 (1999), pp. 75-81.

Nemeth, Thomas, *Gramsci's Philosophy: A Critical Study*. Sussex and New Jersey: The Harvesters Press and Humanities Press, 1980.

Olukoshi, Adebayo O. *The Elusive Prince of Denmark: Structural Adjustment and the Crisis of Governance in Africa*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Research Report No.104, 1998.

Pagani, Fabricio, 'Peer Review as a Tool for cooperation and change: An analysis of an OECD working method', *African Security Review*, Volume 11, Number 4 (2002), <http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/asr/11no4/Feature2.html>. Accessed 02/04/09.

Page, Shiela, 'Regionalism and/or Globalisation', *Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala*, Discussion Paper 11 (2001), pp. 5-26.

Petlane, Tsoeu, and Gruzd, Steven, eds., *African Solutions: Best Practices from the African Peer Review Mechanism*. Johannesburg: Fanele, 2011.

Roberts, Nyemutu F. O, 'Nigeria' in Grant Masterson, Kojo Busia and Adele Jinadu, eds., *Peering the Peers: Civil Society and the African Peer Review Mechanism*. Johannesburg: EISA, 2010, pp. 157-179.

Rodrik, Dani, eds., *In Search of Prosperity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Rosenau, James, 'Governance in the Twenty-First Century', *Global Governance*, Volume 1, Number 1 (Winter 1995), pp. 2-43.

Salih, Mohamed (eds.), *African Parliaments*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Scholte, Jan Aart, 'Civil Society and Democratically Accountable Global Governance', *Government and Opposition*, Volume 39, Issue 2 (2004), pp. 211-233.

Scholte, Jan Aart, 'Global Civil Society: Changing the World?' in *Centre for Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation (CSGR) Working Paper Number 31/99* (May 1999), pp. 1-35

<http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/csgr/research/workingpapers/1999/wp3199.pdf>. Accessed 13/09/12.

Shaw, M., 'Civil Society and Global Politics: Beyond a Social Movements Approach', *Millennium*, 23 (1994), pp. 647-667.

Simonis, Udo, 'Defining Good Governance - the Conceptual Competition is on', *Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin fur Sozialforschung*, Social Science Research Centre Berlin, June, 2004.

Stoker, Gerry, 'Governance as theory: Five Propositions', *International Social Science Journal*, Volume 50, Issue 155, pp. 17-28.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), 'African Peer Review Mechanism: Process and Procedures', *African Security Review*, Volume 11, Number 4 (2002)

<http://www.iss.org.za/Pubs/ASR/11No4/Feature1.html>. Accessed 02/04/09.

Uwazurike, Chudi, 'Ethnicity, Power and Prebendalism- the Persistent Triad as the Unsolvable Crisis of Nigerian Politics', *Dialectical Anthropology*, Volume 21, Number 1 (1996), pp. 1-20.

Weber, Max and Parsons, Talcott, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Weiss, Thomas, 'Governance, Good Governance and Global Governance: Conceptual and Actual Challenge', *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 21, Number 5 (October 2000), pp. 795-814.

Reports and Publications by Policy Institutes, International Organisations and Think-tanks

Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project (AfriMAP), Communique issued at Sub-regional APRM Conference, Accra, Ghana (20 October 2010), <http://www.afriMAP.org/newsarticle.php?id=2720>. Accessed 01/11/10.

African Democracy Forum, ADF Newsletter, Number 2 (November 2005), pp. 1-11
http://www.africandemocracyforum.org/attachments/031_ADFNewsletter2.pdf. Accessed 25/03/09.

African Democracy Forum, Report on ADF Meeting (17-18 July, 2005), pp. 1-30 <http://www.docstoc.com/docs/2914013/Report-on-ADF-Meeting-Lagos>. Accessed 25/03/09.

AfriMAP, The Open Society Institute and Oxfam, *Strengthening Popular Participation in the African Union: A Guide to AU Structures and Processes*. Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA) and Oxfam, 2009.

Aggad, Faten, 'Addressing the African Peer Review Mechanism's Programmes of Action', *SAIIA Occasional Paper* Number 5 (June 2008), pp. 1-13.

Amadi, Stella and Bamidele, Ololade, eds., *Civil Society Input into the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)*. Abuja, Lagos and London: Centre for Democracy and Development, 2006.

Amoako, K. Y, Executive Secretary, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), 'The UNECA and Good Governance in Africa', presentation at Harvard *International Development Conference 2003: Governance and Development in a Dynamic Global Environment*, Boston Massachusetts, 4-5 April 2003.

Assan, Kojo, 'The Implementation of African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in Ghana', Speech delivered in Addis Ababa, 11-15 October 2004.

Baliamoune-Lutz, Mina, 'Corruption and Growth: Exploring the Investment Channel', *Social Science Research Network* (August 3, 2009) <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1442975>. Accessed 13/06/09.

Binda, Stephen, 'Sawyer Now Heads AU Wing, Poised to Develop Policies, Standards for Over 25 Countries', *Liberian Observer* (4 February 2012) <http://www.liberianobserver.com/index.php/news/item/383-sawyer-now-heads-au-wing-poised-to-develop-policies-standards-for-over-25-countries>. Accessed 19/03/12.

Bing-Pappoe, Adotey, 'Ghana and the APRM: A Critical Assessment', *Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project (Afrimap)* (June 2007), pp. 1-31.

Busieka, Mataywa, 'The APRM Audit Contrasts and Synergies of the "Frontrunner" Country Assessment Experience', *African Institute of South Africa (AISA) Occasional Paper* Number 2 (2008), pp. 1-60.

Chabal, Patrick, 'The State of Governance in Africa', *South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) Occasional Paper*, Number 26 (February 2009), pp. 1-11.

CIVICUS, *Citizens Strengthening Global Civil Society*. Washington: CIVICUS World Alliance for Citizen Participation, 1994.

Civil Society Legislative Advocacy, *Issues in Public Procurement in Nigeria: The Legislative Challenge*. Abuja: Civil Society and Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC), 2007.

Civil Society Legislative Advocacy, *The Legislature and Budget Process in Nigeria*. Abuja: Civil Society and Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC), 2007.

Collier, Paul, 'Africa: Geography and Growth'. *Centre for the Study of African Economies*, Department of Economics, Oxford University, 2006 <http://www.kc.frb.org/publicat/sympos/2006/pdf/collier.paper.0901.pdf>. Accessed 14/04/09.

Commission for Africa, *Our Common Interest*. Commission for Africa, March 2005, pp. 1-461.

De-Heer, Nicolas and Otu, Towrac N., 'Sub-Regional Conference on the West African Centre for the Advancement of the APRM (WACCA): A Case for Promoting Good Governance', workshop report on the Conference held 1st February 2010, (Montreal: University of Quebec and Montreal), pp.1-93

<http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/45704/1/132186.pdf>. Accessed 13/06/12.

Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), 'Stakeholders to Develop a Mechanism to Accelerate Accession of ECOWAS Member States to the Peer Review Mechanism', Press Release 078/2009 (14 August 2009) <http://news.ecowas.int/presseshow.php?nb=078&lang=en&annee=2009>. Accessed on 04/01/11.

Erdmann, Gero and Engel, Ulf, 'Neopatrimonialism Revisited- Beyond a Catch All Concept', *German Institute of Global and Area Studies Working Paper*, Number 16 (February 2006), pp. 1-38.

Gladius, Marlies, 'Civil Society', *Fathom*, online publication (2002) <http://www.fathom.com/feature/122536/>. Accessed 19/07/10.

Gruzd, Steven, 'Adding Value to African Peer Review', *South African Institute of International Affairs*, 22 September, 2008 http://www.saiia.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=837:adding-value-to-african-peer-review&catid=78:diplomatic-pouch. Accessed 02/04/09.

Gruzd, Steven, 'Adding Value to African Peer Review', *South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA)* online article publication, (22 September, 2008) http://www.saiia.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=837:adding-value-to-african-peer-review&catid=78:diplomatic-pouch. Accessed on 02/04/09.

Gruzd, Steven, 'African Peer Review: A Progress Update - South African Institute of International Affairs', *Growth Magazine* (November 2009) www.growth.co.za. Accessed 02/04/09.

Herbert, Ross, and Gruzd, Steven, 'Taking Stock of the African Peer Review Mechanism', *South African Institute of International Affairs*, Volume 14, Issue 1 (Summer/Autumn 2007), pp. 5-28.

Ibeanu, Okechukwu and Egwu, Samuel, *Popular Perceptions of Democracy and Political Governance in Nigeria*. Abuja, London and Lagos: Centre for Democracy and Development, 2007.

International Monetary Fund (IMF), 'Nigeria: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper- Progress Report', *IMF Country Report* No. 07/270. Published online (August 2007) <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2007/cr07270.pdf>. Accessed 13/06/12.

Jinadu, Adele, *The African Peer Review Process in Nigeria*, Open Society Initiative for West Africa, Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project, 2008), pp. 28-34.

Joseph, Richard, 'Beyond Prebendalist Systems: State, Democracy and Development in Nigeria', *Centre on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law (CDDRL)*, Stanford University (25 April 2012); posted online on 30 April 2012 <http://africaplus.wordpress.com/2012/04/30/beyond-prebendalist-systems-state-democracy-and-development-in-africa/>. Accessed 18/06/12.

Katito, George 'Nigeria: Media, Civil Society Must Call Government to Account'; originally published here: <http://allafrica.com/stories/200912180048.html> (18 December 2009), also published by *South African Institute of International Affairs* <http://www.saiia.org.za/governance-and-aprm-opinion/nigeria-media-civil-society-must-call-govt-to-account.html>. Accessed 19/06/12.

Lewis, Peter and Alemika, Etannibi, 'Seeking the Democratic Dividend: Public Attitudes and Attempted Reform in Nigeria.' *Afrobarometer Working Paper* Number 52 (October 2005), pp. i-49.

Mamby, Bronwen, 'AfriMAP: On not Using Indicators to Score Progress in Governance', *Open Society Institute and Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Programme (AfriMAP)*, Istanbul, Turkey, 27-30 June, 2007, pp. 1-10
http://www.afrimap.org/english/images/report/AfriMAP_OECD_paper_250507-Rev.pdf. Accessed 13/09/12.

Manasan, Rosario, Gonzalez, Eduardo and Gaffud, Romualdo, 'Indicators of Good Governance: Developing an Index of Governance Quality at the Local Governments Unit (LGU) Level', *Philippines Institute of Development Studies*, Discussion Paper Series Number 99-104 (March 1999), pp. 149-212
<http://www3.pids.gov.ph/ris/pjd/pidsjpd99-2governance.pdf>. Accessed 13/09/12.

Mohiddin, Ahmed, 'Unchecked Executive Powers: Lessons in Effective Government Design', *SAIIA Occasional Paper* Number 1 (May 2008), pp. 1-8.

Mustapha, Abdul Raufu, 'Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance in the Public Sector in Nigeria', *UNRISD Democracy, Governance and Human Rights Programme Paper*, Number 24 (November 2006).

National Bureau of Statistics, *2011 Annual Socio Economic Report: Access to ICT*, published on their website <http://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng/>. Accessed 20/06/12.

National Bureau of Statistics, *Gender Statistic Newsletter*, Volume 2, Issue 4 (July-December 2011), pp. 1-12.

National Bureau of Statistics: *2010 Review of the Nigerian Economy in 2011 and Economic Outlook for 2012 - 2015*, pp. 1-27.

Nyerere, Julius, 'Good Governance for Africa', first published in *Southern Africa Political and Economic Monthly* (April 1998) and published online by *Third World Network* <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/30/083.html>. Accessed 28/03/09.

Rakner, Lise and Wang, Vibeke, 'Governance Assessments and the Paris Declaration', *A Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI) Issues Paper*, prepared for the UNDP Bergen Seminar, September 2007
<http://www.cmi.no/publications/file/?2747=governance-assessments-and-the-paris-declaration>. Accessed 27/04/09.

Sarakinsky, Ivor, '*Linkages between Parliaments, NEPAD, The African Union and the Pan African Parliament*', presentation at World Bank Institute and AWEPA Conference, Dar Es Salam and Cape Town (May 2004), pp.1-8.

South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), *Implementing the APRM, Views from Civil Society: South Africa Report June 2011*. Johannesburg: SAIIA, June 2011.

South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), *Implementing the APRM, Views from Civil Society: Lesotho Report September 2011*. Johannesburg: SAIIA, September 2011.

State Partnership for Accountability, Responsiveness and Capability (SPARC) Nigeria, 'Nigeria's State Peer Review Mechanism', *SPARC Results*, pp. 1-2

<http://library.sparc-nigeria.com/Delivery.aspx?AttachmentID=fc6cb012-c25c-11e0-ab5c-00221964e37f>. Accessed 15/06/12.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, *African Governance Report 2005*. Addis Ababa: Economic Commission for Africa, 2005, pp. i-267

<http://www.uneca.org/agr2005/full.pdf>. Accessed 13/09/12.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Governance and public Administration Division, *Progress Report on the Implementation of the African Peer Review Mechanism*. Second Meeting of the Committee on Governance and Popular Participation (CGPP), 9-10 March 2011, Addis Ababa: United National Conference Centre (UNCC).

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Governance and Public Administration Division, *Progress Report on the Implementation of the African Peer Review Mechanism*. Second Meeting of the Committee on Governance and Popular Participation, Addis Ababa (9-10 March 2011), E/ECA/CGPP/2/3 (December 2010)

http://new.uneca.org/Portals/cgpp/2011/documents/parliamentary/CGPP.2.Parliamentary%20document%202_Report%20on%20APRM_EN.pdf.

Accessed 12/05/12.

World Bank, *1998 Annual Review of Development Effectiveness*.

Washington, D.C: The World Bank, 1999.

World Bank, *Changes in the World Bank Group over the Last Four Years*.

<http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/spring99/fouryears.htm>. Accessed 13/06/2009.

World Bank, *Sub-Saharan Africa: from Crisis to Sustainable Growth – a Long-term Perspective Study*. Washington, D.C: The World Bank, 1989, pp. xiv-300.

World Bank, *The State in a Changing World*. Washington, D.C: The World Bank, 1997.

World Bank, *Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI)*. Measured by the World Bank as part of a *Governance Matters* resource <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.asp>. Accessed 23/03/09.

Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

<http://www.nigeria-law.org/ConstitutionOfTheFederalRepublicOfNigeria.htm>.

Economic Community of West African States website

<http://www.comm.ecowas.int/sec/index.php?id=ap011184&lang=en>.

Electoral Institute for Sustainable Development in Africa (EISA),

<http://www.eisa.org.za/index.html>

Ethnologue: Languages of the World, *Languages of Nigeria*

http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=NG.

Institute for Security Studies, 'Nigeria: History and Politics'

<http://www.iss.co.za/af/profiles/nigeria/politics.html>.

International Conference on *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: Critical Reinterpretations*, official website:

<http://www.prebendalconference.com/index.html>.

International Crisis Group, *Crisis Watch Database* (on Nigeria)

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/publication-type/crisiswatch/crisiswatch-database.aspx?CountryIDs={3103A533-A2BE-4809-A42C-DED2660987E0}&page=1>.

International Energy Agency (IEA), statistics for Nigeria and Ghana

<http://www.iea.org/stats/index.asp>.

National Bureau of Statistics (Nigeria) website

<http://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng/>.

New World Encyclopaedia, Ethno-linguistic statistics on Nigeria

<http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/nigeria>.

Nigeria Immigration Service website

<http://www.immigration.gov.ng/index.php?id=19>.

Nigeria Votes 2011, information on Nigeria's political timeline and history

<http://www.nigeriavotes2011.com/election/page/history>.

Websites

SERVICOM (Nigeria) website, <http://www.servenigeria.com/>.

South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA),
<http://www.saiia.org.za/#>.

The Encyclopaedia of Informal Education, profile on Antonio Gramsci
<http://www.infed.org/thinkers/et-gram.htm>.

Trading Economics, data on Nigeria
<http://www.tradingeconomics.com/nigeria/gdp-growth>.

United National Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
<http://www.unescap.org/pdd/prs/ProjectActivities/Ongoing/gg/governance.asp>.

United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report (HDR)*. The official United Nations website
<http://hdr.undp.org/en/humandev/>.

United States Department of State, profile information pages on Nigeria
<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2836.htm>.

Wikipedia, Map of Nigeria showing Nigerian State Governors
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Nigerian_state_governors.

Wikipedia, of Nigeria showing Nigerian states by population
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Nigerian_states_by_population.

Newspaper Articles and Web-based Commentaries

'Obituary: President Yar'Adua', *BBC News* article, published online Thursday, 6 May 2010 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/6187249.stm>. Accessed 20/06/12.

'Air Nigeria Owe N4.86 billion in Unpaid Tax' *Business Day* online article, published 20 June 2012
<http://www.businessdayonline.com/NG/index.php/news/76-hot-topic/39901-air-nigeria-owe-n486bn-in-unpaid-tax>. Accessed on 20/06/12.

Clement, Udemé, 'Jonathan's Transformation Agenda is Realisable if?'
Vanguard Newspaper, 26 February 2012
<http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/02/jonathans-transformation-agenda-is-realizable-if/>. Accessed 12/06/12.

Political commentary by @eggheader. Timeline accessed 2011-2012.

The Speaker, House of Representatives, Rt. Hon. Aminu Waziri Tambuwal, 'Bamanga Tukur Appeals for Speedy Passage of NEPAD Commission Bill', *Federal Ministry of Information, Nigeria (FMI)*, press release, 7 June 2012
<http://fmi.gov.ng/bamanga-tukur-appeals-for-speedy-passage-of-nepad-commission-bill/>. Accessed on 13/06/12.

Golu Timothy, 'Nigeria: FG to Spend N523.3 billion on APRM Leadership', an article published by *Africa Link Online*, 1 February, 2009, published online 15/02/09.

Idoko, Clement, 'NEPAD-APRM Lacks Enabling Law in Nigeria - FG', published online by *Nigerian Tribune* (Abuja) 14 December 2010
<http://www.tribune.com.ng/index.php/component/content/article/14718-nepad-aprm-lacks-enabling-law-in-nigeria-fg>. Accessed 13/06/12.

Kwateng, Mark, 'Why the ECOWAS Passport is Indispensable', *Business Times Africa*, August 2009
<http://www.businesstimesafrica.net/btm/details.cfm?prodcatlD=6&tblNewsCattlD=4&tblNewsID=188>. Accessed 21/06/12.

Musari, Abosede, 'Nigeria Spends N756 Billion on NEPAD/APRM's Project', *Nigerian Best Forum*, Abuja, 2nd February 2009

<http://www.nigerianbestforum.com/index.php?PHPSESSID=5efbcc28bd863d37987350ecaafe9acf&topic=19977.msg127997#msg127997>.

Accessed 13/06/12.

'Nigeria to Spent \$20bn on APRM', *Nigeria Communications Weekly*, online article, published 11 August 2008

<http://www.nigeriacommsweek.icelark.com/other-business/nigeria-to-spend-20bn-on-aprm-0>. Accessed 26/03/12.

Nwachukwu, Sunny, 'Between Transformation Agenda and Vision 2020', *Business Day Online*, published online 14 June 2011

<http://www.businessdayonline.com/NG/index.php/analysis/commentary/22998-between-transformation-agenda-and-vision-2020>. Accessed 12/06/12.

Oladesu, Emmanuel, 'Is Jonathan's Transformation Agenda On Course?', *The Nation Newspaper*, 24 January 2012

<http://www.thenationonlineng.net/2011/index.php/politics/34230-is-jonathan%E2%80%99s-transformation-agenda-on-course%3F.html>.

Accessed 12/06/12.

Somorin, Kunle, 'Nigeria: Before the APRM Verdict', online publication by *AllAfrica.com*, 12 February, 2008

<http://allafrica.com/stories/200802120153.html>. Accessed 14/04/09.

'APRM: Nigeria Scrambles for Good Governance', newspaper article from *The Nation Newspaper*, published 16 April 2008

<http://www.thenationonlineng.com/dynamicpage.asp?id=48986>. Accessed 12/11/09.

NEPAD Nigeria, 'APRM Country Self-Assessment Report (CSAR), Executive Summary', *THISDAY NEWSPAPER*, published 18 November 2007, pp. 100, 109-112.

YNaija! Online Magazine, Nigeria. Twitter handle @YNaija. Accessed 2011-2012.

APPENDIX ONE

Country Profile Information

Historical and Projected Growth Rates for Real GDP, Inflation and value of Total Trade (%)

Year	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012f	2013f	2014f	2015f
GDP	6.45	5.98	6.96	7.98	7.36	6.5	8.04	7.43	7.25
Trade	5.08	16.88	-3.00	57.49	47.87	-11.03	11.25	20.6	16.44
Inflation	5.57	11.98	11.97	13.59	10.91	13.57	12.21	12.04	11.91

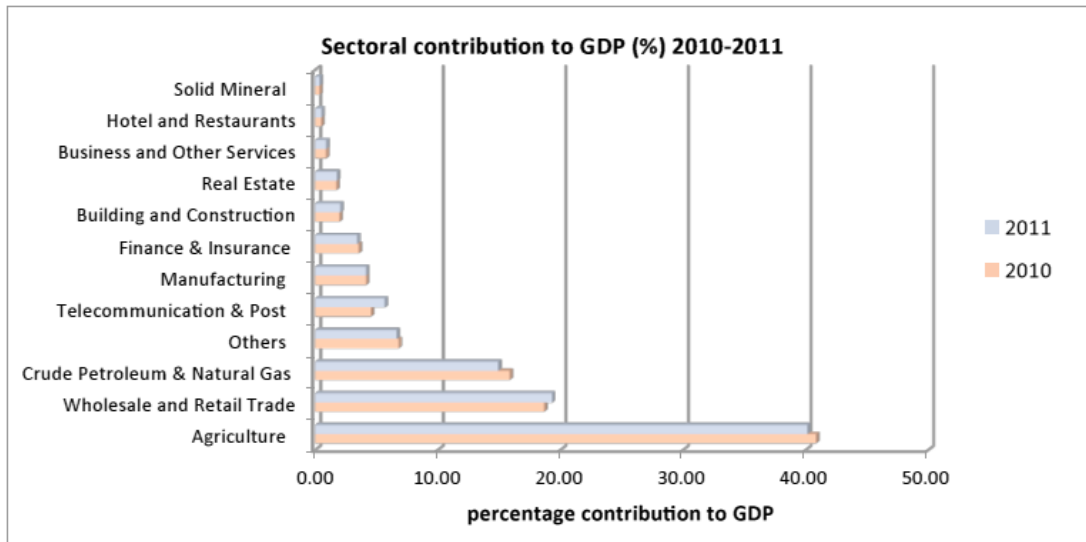
Source: National Bureau of Statistics: *Review of the Nigerian Economy in 2011 & Economic Outlook for 2012-2015*

Table showing Macro Economic Indicators (2006-2010)

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Nigeria's Total External Reserves(US\$ Million)	42,298.11	51,333.15	53,000.36	42,470.00	32,339.25
Non Oil Production level at constant Prices	465,628.04	509,965.98	555,607.99	601,855.97	652,567.83*
Oil Production level at constant Prices	130,193.57	124,285.12	116,594.57	117,121.37	122,957.88*
Inflation rate (Year-on-change %)	8.50	6.60	15.10	13.90	12.70
GDP level at 1990 Constant Prices	595,821.61	634,251.10	672,202.55	718,977.33	775,525.71*
GDP Growth at 1990 Constant Prices)	6.03	6.45	5.98	6.96	7.87*
Oil Sector Growth %	-4.51	-4.54	-6.19	0.45	4.98*
Non Oil Sector Growth %	9.41	9.52	8.95	8.32	8.43*
Private Final Consumption(% of GDP)	60.34	74.89	63.88	74.36	59.46*
Government Final Consumption(% of GDP)	6.86	12.46	12.71	12.74	14.46*
Projected Population Figure(Million)	140.43	144.50	148.69	153.42	159.29
Gross Fixed Capital Formation(% of GDP)	8.27	9.24	8.31	12.49	13.59*
Change in Stock(% of GDP)	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01*
Exports of Goods and Services % of GDP)	45.96	33.73	39.88	30.79	45.57*
Imports of Goods and Services(% of GDP)	21.44	30.32	24.79	30.38	33.08*

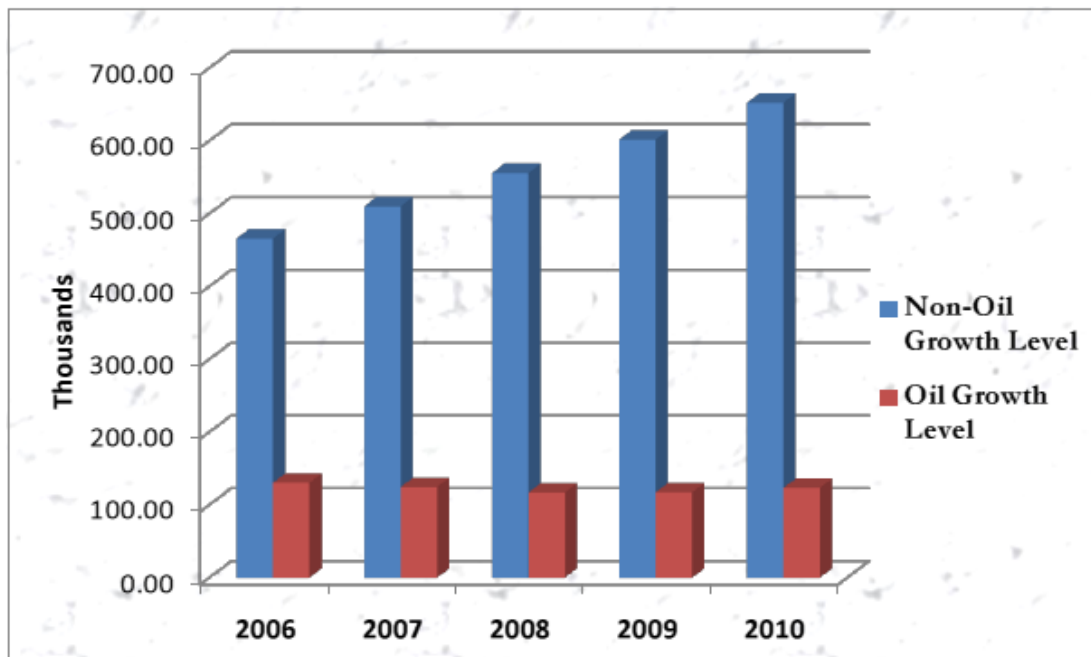
Source: National Bureau of Statistics
* Provisional Estimates

Sectoral Contributions to GDP (%) for 2010-2011



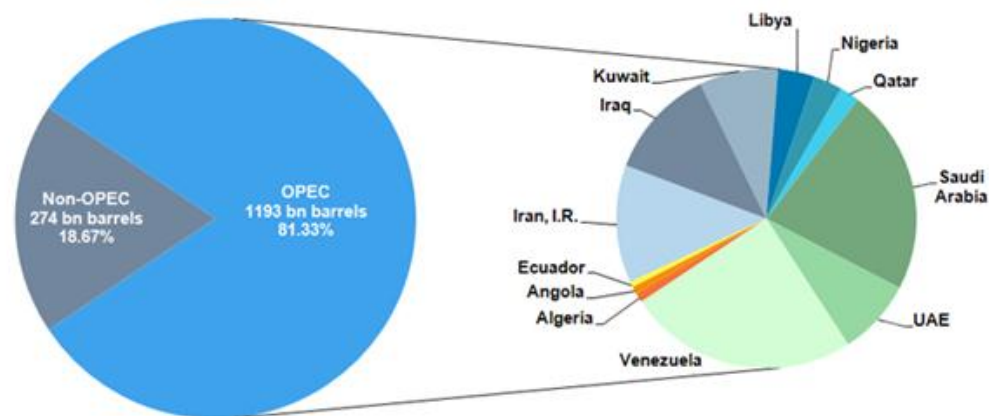
Source: National Bureau of Statistics: *Review of the Nigerian Economy in 2011 & Economic Outlook for 2012-2015*

Chart showing Oil and Non-oil Growth (2006-2010)



Source: National Bureau of Statistics: *2010 Review of the Nigerian Economy*

OPEC Share of World Crude Oil Reserves and Nigeria's Oil Reserve Compared to other OPEC countries (2010)



OPEC proven crude oil reserves , end 2010
(billion barrels)

Venezuela	296.50	24.8%	Iraq	143.10	12.0%	Libya	47.10	3.9%	Algeria	12.20	1.0%
Saudi Arabia	264.52	22.2%	Kuwait	101.50	8.5%	Nigeria	37.20	3.1%	Angola	9.50	0.8%
Iran, I.R.	151.17	12.7%	United Arab Emirates	97.80	8.2%	Qatar	25.38	2.1%	Ecuador	7.21	0.6%

Source: OPEC Annual Statistical Bulletin 2010/2011 edition

Table showing Entrants into the Active Labour Market from 2006 – 2011

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Nigeria Population	140,431,790	144,925,607	149,563,227	154,349,250	159,288,426	164,385,656
Economically Active	78,922,666	81,448,191	84,054,533	86,744,278	89,520,095	92,384,738
Labour Force	57,455,701	59,294,283	61,191,700	63,149,835	65,170,629	67,256,090
Employed	50,388,650	51,763,909	52,074,137	50,709,317	51,224,115	51,181,884
Unemployed	7,067,051	7,530,374	9,117,563	12,440,517	13,946,515	16,074,205
Newly Unemployed		463,323	1,587,189	3,322,954	1,505,997	2,127,691

Source: National Bureau of Statistics; Socio Economic Survey on Unemployment 2011

Table showing Unemployment rate by Place of Residence in 2011

Table 1: Unemployment Rate by Place of Residence (2011)	
SECTOR	Rate
Urban	17.1
Rural	25.6
National	23.9

National Bureau of Statistic, General Household Survey, 2011

Source: National Bureau of Statistics; *Socio Economic Survey on Unemployment 2011*