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**Mini Thesis: A critical assessment of the role of women in the
implementation of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) exercise
in Western Cape 2007**

DECLARATION

I, Makalima Babalwa hereby declare that this study project is my own original work and that all sources have been accurately reported and acknowledged, and that this document has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university in order to obtain an academic qualification.



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KEY WORDS AND/OR PHRASES

1. Development
2. African Peer Review Mechanism
3. Women
4. New Partnership for Africa's Development
5. Civil Society
6. Monitoring and Evaluation
7. Good governance
8. Gini Coefficient for Western Cape
9. Social Justice
10. Socio economic development



ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-----------|---|
| APRM: | African Peer Review Mechanism |
| ANC: | African National Congress |
| AU: | African Union |
| CODESRIA: | Council for Development and Social Science in Africa |
| COSATU: | Congress of South African Trade Union |
| COPE: | Congress of the People |
| DA: | Democratic Alliance |
| FDI: | Foreign Direct Investment |
| HSRC: | Human Science Research Council |
| HSGIC: | Head of State and Government Implementation Committee |
| EISA: | Electoral Institute of Southern Africa |
| ID: | Independent Democracy |
| IDP: | Integrated Development Plan |
| IEC: | Independent Electoral Commission |
| IPEP: | Independent Panel of Eminent Persons |
| IPC: | International Peace Academy |
| IPRC: | International Peer Review Committee |
| IFI: | Internal Financial Institution |
| IMF: | International Monetary Funds |
| NEPAD: | African Peer Review Mechanisms |
| NGO: | Non Governmental Organization |
| MEC: | Member of Executive Committee |
| OEDC: | Organization for Economic Co-operation |
| PGC: | Provincial Governing Council |
| TWN: | Third World Network |
| SA: | South Africa |
| SANCO: | South African National Civic Organization |
| WC: | Western Cape |
| WB: | World Bank |

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

This study seeks to assess the level of women's participation and involvement in the promotion of effective governance during the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) implementation exercise in 2007, which was endorsed by the APRM Western Cape Province. The interest of the study arises from the concept of 'good governance' and how the implementation of such a concept is carried out in the rendering of public services, specifically the role of women in rendering public service in the Western Cape Province, South Africa. The APRM was endorsed by the 38th Ordinary Session of the African Union (AU), and its guidelines are articulated in the Base Document of the APRM. The APRM was initiated by some African leaders to create a platform for sustainable growth for African people and to reduce the levels of poverty and dependency (Hope Sr, 2005: 285). The APRM is seen as a catalyst for the acceleration of sustainable and substantive development under the 'birth' or commencement of the AU's New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) (Cilliers, 2002: 64). This is a catalyst tool for development because it has a potential to assess, monitor and thereafter, rectify any mismanagement or deficiency in policy implementation.

The APRM is open to fifty-three member states of the AU. The mechanism is a voluntary system for each member state participating in the NEPAD programme. Its mandate is to ensure that the agreed political, economic and corporate governance values, codes and standards contained in the APRM declaration of democracy are sufficiently implemented. The APRM has to be assessed within the framework of NEPAD. Its function is to assess the performance and the effectiveness of governance.

The NEPAD requires that African countries adhere to political, economic and corporate governance principles enshrined in the AU charter. It is believed that non-compliance with such principles contributes to bad governance, poverty, financial and

political dependence as well as global marginalization, discrimination and gender imbalances in the public sector.

The core mandate of the APRM is also to ensure the effective participation of civil society groups including women, the disabled, the religious groups and the youth alongside business and the state. South Africa (SA) has voluntarily agreed to subject itself to the APRM.

1.2 Background to the study

The purpose of the (APRM Declaration, 2001; Hope Sr, 2005: 291) is to “*foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development, and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration through sharing of experiences and reinforcement of successful and best practice*”. The APRM focuses on reviewing four key areas, namely, democracy and good political governance; economic growth; corporate governance; and socio-economic governance.

Taken from these themes, the study combines both the theme of ‘political governance and socio-economic governance’ as a reference to the theoretical perspectives that promote the participation of women in the advancement of good governance.

Hope Sr (2005:283-308) illustrates the above by indicating that NEPAD recognizes the salient importance of good governance for achieving sustainable development in Africa by setting out principles pertaining to the strengthening of democracy and political governance, as well as economic and corporate governance. This clearly symbolizes the relationship between development and democracy and how unfeasible it is to achieve sustainable development without the interaction of the two. Hope Sr (2005) quotes Tavares and Wacziarg arguing that, good governance is positively correlated with the achievement of better growth rates, particularly through the building of institutions in support of markets. This is substantiated by empirical evidence from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund on good governance which suggests that there is a positive relationship between democratic governance,

and the levels of income, investment, human capital, economic liberalization and distributive income growth in society. This clearly indicates the implications of good governance in the promotion of not only political stability but also in boosting the economic stance of the country.

The strategic objectives underlying South Africa's implementation of the APRM process are, first, to establish benchmarks that can be used in future review processes; second to contribute to strengthening national systems for assessing government's performance in delivering on its development objectives; third, to build and popularise a broader sense of ownership for the People's Contract and Government's national development priorities and finally, to support the building of African based knowledge and experience in utilising effectively the Peer Review Mechanism.

The secondary focus of this study is based on the function of the APRM in the Western Cape (WC) Province. The study primarily focuses on the WC Province, looking at women's role in political and social aspects within the province.

This study highlights the importance of the APRM system within the WC and how its implementation is or is not in line with the principles of AU, NEPAD and APRM. Abiding by the principles spelled out in the NEPAD, it means that WC was a participating province in the APRM body. The WC is important for this study because it is a heterogeneous province compared to other provinces in SA. The WC is a diverse province. Politically, the Democratic Alliance (DA) rules the city while other provinces are ruled by the government of the African National Congress (ANC). Also, the WC has a vibrant civil society that engages itself with the policy formulation processes in the province. The DA has invited other political parties such as the Congress of the People (COPE) and the Independent Democratic (ID) to form a coalition with the DA government to promote a transparent and efficient government. Representativity is one of the principles of good governance. Nevertheless, the coalition never went beyond a collaborative working relationship between the DA and the ID.

Principles of good governance will feature mostly in government policies and practices. Beckman (1992) and Adesina (2002) define good governance as the provision of a stable environment for private capital, ensuring the sanctity of contract and that expropriation would not happen. It also moulds a transparent relationship between the government and the people of the province. Further it illuminates ways in which the government can be made accountable and responsible. However, how civil society is part of the APRM task team needs to be clearly defined and explained. Important to note is that the sense of partnership must be apparent and inclusive to government, civil society and community members. However, the engagement of civil society in this case is questionable. It is not clear whether it started from the inception of the programme (APRM-WC) or if the engagement was done midway.

One of the elements of good governance is full participation and transparency. If government allowed civil society to take part in the conception phase of the APRM, and tried to engage the civil society, that transparent process would determine how the concept of good governance is valued and implemented in the province. This illustrates the conception of the genuine engagement in a broader light of civil society in the processes of APRM WC. However, in the WC region, there are political dynamics emerging between civil society groups and government which hinders the efficient development within the province. The dynamics merging between the civil society and government could be transpiring because of the political heterogeneity. The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) report on the 2009 elections indicates that the DA secured 51% of votes in the province, which indicates that the WC is the only province that is not ruled by the ANC.

This study explores the effectiveness of the APRM in the WC Province in as far as it promotes good governance by involving women and the value this adds to social development. At national level, the South African government has formulated strategic approaches which enable the smooth APRM process for all provinces. Former President Thabo Mbeki launched the APRM under the leadership of the former Minister of Public Administration, Geraldine Frasier Moleketi. At the national level, there is an ongoing debate about the actual involvement of the civil society,

including women, in the APRM process and how civil society has been engaged by government.

As observed by Sarup (2004), the relationship between government and civil society is understood to be transparent and based on a common goal and vision which normally strives to strengthen democracy within a country. Civil society and government can play complementary roles. Sarup (2004) argues, civil societies must demonstrate strong commitment and move beyond analysis and deeper understanding and actually undertake concrete actions in their respective sectors within their countries. This is a high degree of understanding and showing support because it can create a platform where experiences and information can be both shared and learned. These learned lessons can generate a sense of accomplishment for both entities. This will result in the decentralization of power; letting people to the actual govern.

Moleka (2007) speaks about how civil society was insufficiently included in the processes of APRM, saying that civil societies were not engaged in a genuine way, because the government wanted to centralise and lead the movement of the APRM and make all decisions on behalf of civil society. Therefore it becomes crucial that government must encourage civil society to play such diverse roles contributing to good governance and social development in all government sectors including the emancipation of women's movements.

A point to note, however, is that the actual engagement between the government and civil society determines the outcome of the APRM process. Therefore, the researcher is of the view that governments must allow openness and a greater sense of accountability to the people. In this way, conflicts can be mediated and people from grass root levels can be represented at the same time. These realisations should not occur in a vacuum space, they must be guided by primary objectives of the APRM.

Thus the above translates into how the WC structured itself. In order for the government of the Province to be responsible, it needed to strategise on how the resources would be distributed to the people and reach people at the grass root level. People from civil society groups were supposed to be represented, thus form part of

the Provincial Governing Council. The province elected fifteen members to be part of the council and ten of the members were from the civil society groups and the remaining from government. This selection was done in the form of open communication and consultation. This selection process sought to ensure representation and openness and access to participation.

1.3 Problem statement

The problem which has been articulated by the discourse of this study places emphasis on the role of women in promoting socio-political governance under the umbrella of the APRM –WC. There is a lack of innovative programmes for the youth and women. The problem being investigated in this study is how the African Peer Review Mechanism exercise in the Western Cape Province incorporated the participation of women by looking at how it was contextualized and carried out into practice in 2007. The research also questions the effectiveness of the APRM in relation to the ‘upliftment’ of social development, and assesses the value it adds to social development in the province.

This study is important because the poor participation, marginalization and socio-economic status of women have not been sufficiently addressed since the end of minority rule in South Africa. The face of poverty in SA has been predominantly that of women. Its root causes can be traced to apartheid. The apartheid government particularly oppressed non white populations i.e. Blacks, Coloureds and Indians but women and children in these populations took most of the brunt. The practice constituted bad governance and various forms of racism. Political leaders of the apartheid government were very authoritarian and made decisions with no consultation and participation of the people.

In 1994, SA became formally racially inclusive and had to make new laws that would be in favour of everyone, taking particular note of women and children. However, now the country faces new struggles. Women still live in a patriarchal environment characterised by a rise in corruption, lack of skills, crime, unemployment, and lack of capacity to drive new development, poverty and identity complexes. Hence the

initiative of NEPAD had to take place to deal with these challenges. The APRM then is necessary to be implemented provincially so that it can come up with effective mechanisms that will address these challenges. Therefore it was necessary also for the NEPAD to initiate a plan that would embrace the practice of good governance such as the APRM and also it was necessary for the WC to partake in the governance monitoring system.

1.4 Research objectives

The primary objective of the study is to perform an assessment of the role of women's participation in the 2007 African Peer Review Mechanism exercise in the Western Cape Province and its effectiveness in relation to social development. The secondary and more specific objectives are as follows:

- 1.4.1 Gather literature review on the processes of the African Peer Review, and examine the authentic implementation of the APRM in the WC;
- 1.4.2 Outline and discuss the origins and rationale for the African Peer Review Mechanism in relation to the role of women in promoting social development in Western Cape, South Africa;
- 1.4.3 Review literature with the objective to extract a theoretical framework for good governance and social development and examine the relation between the two;
- 1.4.4 Discuss the objectives, key implementation performance indicators and outcomes for the Western Cape monitoring system; thus make a provision on how the performance indicators have been implemented in order to deal with socio-political disparities within the province; (indicators e.g. income of males vs. that of females, job, women involvement in government, lack of education.
- 1.4.5 Apply theoretical framework to the findings to identify the processes that promote and constrain the socio-economic and political governance in the improvement of women.
- 1.4.6 Lastly, draw up conclusions and provide recommendations based on those findings for future research on the study.

1.5 Significance of the study

The significance of the study is an additional commentary on the APRM mechanism and its usefulness as an instrument for assessment. The crucial point about the study is the value it adds by focusing on women. The implication of utilising an APRM system is of utmost importance because it plays a crucial role in the reduction of poverty which also forms the broader objective of NEPAD. At the provincial level, the WC is characterised by many dimensions of poverty and violation of citizen's rights. Children do not have access to education and health care facilities. All these contribute to the increased level of poverty in the province. The APRM in the WC serves as a wheel of development to eradicate such challenges. More profoundly the research is based on women and the role they play in developing the Western Cape under the umbrella of APRM in the region. The 2007 report of the Western Cape African Peer Review Mechanism would be reviewed and assessed to give insights on the strengths and failures of the APRM in the province.

Practically, the APRM contributes immensely to the plan of action on development and how these policies are rolled out to the satisfaction of the people of the Western Cape. Specifically, it contributes to the investigation of ways to address the imbalances ranging between genders. The APRM in the Western Cape also adds value to the socio-political conditions in the province. The APRM process assists by setting an example on government because it is embodied by principles of NEPAD and AU. Therefore, the provincial government ought to be effective in service delivery as it adopts the sound knowledge of good governance. Theoretically, if the APRM is implemented effectively, it also adds value to the literature on socio-political development and good governance.

1.6 Research methodology and design

The purpose of this section is to describe the research method and outline the plan or the strategy of how the research was carried out. The study undertakes a review of literature based on the subject under study. The literature on the APRM, civil society engagement, social development and good governance provides a positive perspective on developmental issues. Written reports and documents by different authors on the

APRM also provide necessary literature for this report. More importantly, the personal interviews were conducted to provide raw experiences about the monitoring system in the province.

This is a qualitative study focusing on the importance of involving women in socio-political development. Since the study involves themes that are subjective in nature; people were interviewed basing on their subjective opinions of the APRM in the Western Cape. The questions were open-ended to allow an explorative nature of answers that are not restricted. This style of interview also allows the interviewees or respondents to express themselves freely and openly. Basic themes used for the interviews included people's perception about the APRM, effectiveness of the programme, and its contribution to good governance in the WC. They also included the extent of civil society's participation at the inception of the programme, the issues around social development in the province and the role of APRM in the promotion of women's participation, women's access to education, to jobs and social welfare facilities. These themes are relevant to the study as they relate to the research questions.

The Western Cape Province is the central point of this study, the province was chosen because of its many forms of diversity. Among others, it is a tourism destination; it has different ethnic groups and, has a unique feature of the rainbow country compared to other provinces; it attracts foreign direct investment because of its reserved nature, which, among other things, boosts the economy of the province and therefore, relating to the objectives of the APRM which is accelerated economic growth.

Within the WC, Cape Town has the highest population density and is a wealthy metropolitan and well resourced city. Cape Town will therefore take the forefront as the area for the research. The research by the Integrated Developmental Plan (IDP) indicates that there are more women than men in the Western Cape Province. Therefore, it is crucial that this group of people be included in the decision making processes, and a programme like an APRM which constitute elements of good governance provides such an opportunity.

Since the Department of the Premier was granted the responsibility to see through the APRM implementation in the province, interviews were conducted at the institution. The department represents the province in the implementation of the APRM. Hence, it was important to consult it because the Western Cape Province forms the central part of the research. The Department of Local Government and Housing was included in this research. Local government is the level where people in the community get a chance to request for governmental services and this department represents people at grass roots. The local government structure facilitates the process of sharing knowledge about the APRM.

Dr. Leon Pretorius from the University of the Western's School of Government, who was a member of the desk top research team of the APRM- Western Cape, was interviewed as he had made presentations on the topic at various platforms. Therefore, his participation and insights in the interview were valuable. Four people who formed part of the task team of the APRM-WC on the theme of socio-political development and the role of women and how the APRM has contributed to that were also interviewed.

In addition, members of the Provincial Governing Council were randomly selected for interviews. This was necessary in order to gain their insights on how they went about producing the final report, what they learnt from the report and how they thought the report could make a difference in the Western Cape. The total number of interviews was six.

1.7 Delimitation and limitations of the study

The study is limited only to aspects that are mentioned in the next section. However it is important to mention what the study does not focus on. The study is not looking or focusing on the economic governance and corporate governance as its focus is social and political governance. Financial issues are not the focal point of the study. The gender element of the study falls on women and their socio-political participation in government.

The scope of the study is limited to the extent to which women were included in the APRM exercise in relation to social development in the WC Region. The greater portion of the study is the literature on APRM and its recommendations on the promotion of women's participation in the public service. The scope of the study is specifically on the role of women and the guidelines that were put in place for them to partake in the WC development. The study is also limited to the social sector which deals with public perspectives. On a geographical component, the study limits its task by focusing only on the Western Cape Region as the area of departure for the study.

However, the findings of the study cannot be generalised nationally, since the context and circumstance are different from other provinces. The other limitation is that the researcher relied on a few people with particular views to pass on the information due to the lack of access to the complete list of people involved in the APRM-WC. Therefore, the data may be biased. The researcher was also limited in terms of resources and time. The information received is subject to insufficiency due to lack of information about the APRM process to some interviewees. Also the funds to travel were insufficient to make all the visits for the interviews, yet the researcher needed to interview the respondents from places of their choices.

1.8 Outline of chapters

This section summarizes how the report is composed. This report is divided into five chapters. **Chapter one** presents the overview of the background and establishment of NEPAD and how NEPAD filtered down to the APRM. The Western Cape Province is the main place of assessment around the issue of social development. The chapter also highlights recent debates around the concept of the APRM such as 'civil society engagement' and how this ambiguity relates to the concept of good governance.

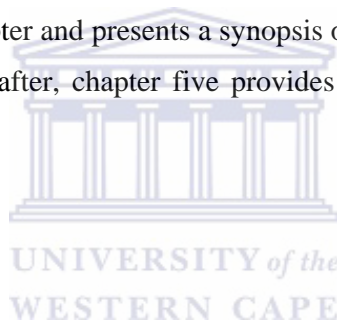
Chapter two discusses the research question in general and presents the recent literature on development studies taken from different scholars and authors on issues around African development and women's participation in government institutions and its implications on good governance. The most important and relevant definitions and concepts are discussed and a description of terms such as AU, NEPAD, APRM

and social development with specific reference to peer review exercise is made. Furthermore, the assessment of the theoretical perspective on APRM examines the practical implementation of the concept and its relationship to socio-economic development in the WC.

Chapter three looks at the case study of APRM in the WC. It looks at the APRM's objectives, structure, and task and work process in the province. The chapter also outlines the findings of the international and provincial reports.

Chapter four provides a discussion of the research findings and the analysis of such results. The findings highlight strengths and weaknesses or constraints of the project and its implementation focus on women development.

Chapter five is the last chapter and presents a synopsis of the report, concluding what the report represents. Thereafter, chapter five provides recommendations for policy implementation.



CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this section is to review the existing literature and to see how scholars have investigated on the research problem presented in this study. The review of literature helped the researcher in knowing how these scholars have theorised and conceptualised the issue at hand and what has worked and what has not.

The literature reviewed includes the African Peer Review Mechanism and its execution in the Western Cape. The review also includes further investigation of the principles of good governance, and how they partake in the process of socio-economic development in Western Cape. The study of relevant literature provided insights on the role of the APRM in promoting social development and ultimately how it has shaped the Western Cape Province. NEPAD and AU feature prominently in this study as they gave 'birth' to the concept of APRM. The APRM in the Western Cape is the focal point of this section as it provides answers to the main questions of the study. The literature on civil society engagement and its challenges, and women's role in decision making processes with regard to the APRM gives a significant outcome to whether or not the APRM was implemented effectively.

The literature review section covers the NEPAD and APRM, as well as their application to Africa, South Africa and the Western Cape Province.

2.2 What is the New Partnership for Africa's Development Initiative (NEPAD)?

NEPAD is an initiative that serves to accelerate political and economic growth in the African continent. After the colonization of African countries by Western European countries and the continual experiences of internal challenges in African states, some African leaders met in order to sufficiently deal with these challenges and to come up with a programme that would eradicate poverty, reduce the level of financial dependency from Western donors such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, and most importantly, to reduce the continuation of gender imbalance in Africa. Therefore, African leaders had to come up with a common vision to alleviate these challenges without the influence or the aid of Western countries. This movement had to reinforce social and economic integration within the African region.

Following the above, one of the continent's endeavours to deal with the existing challenges was the formation of NEPAD. However, it still remains questionable whether the inception of NEPAD is African driven or had aid from Western countries. Bond (2003) alludes to the point of the meeting of Third World Network-Africa that the most fundamental flaws of NEPAD include the fact that in spite of its proclaimed recognition of the central role of the African people to the plan; the African people have not played any part in the conception, design and formulation of NEPAD. This contradicts the point that NEPAD is meant to be a vehicle for the promotion of good governance since good governance replicates transparency, full participation, and openness. This then leaves a huge gap between NEPAD being African driven and NEPAD being a platform for further socio-economic dependency. It also brings out the issue of validity of the programme to the surface. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) analysed the NEPAD document and found out that there is a lack of participation of civil society and consultation and that the programme is Western orientated and shows less relevance to good governance practices.

Further notes on the release of NEPAD is that, African states had to commit themselves both individually and collectively to monitor and to ensure a constructive partnership that will lead to the success of the programme. The strategy will enable Africa to play as an equal partner in global financial affairs. A perspective from Prempeh (2006) states that the initiative such as NEPAD is inspired by the IMF-WB strategies of Structural Adjustment Programmes, and trade liberalization that continues to subject Africa to an unequal exchange. This illustrates the continuation of oppression and marginalization of African based trade in favour trade that is Western centric.

The most crucial element of NEPAD is the implementation process, which NEPAD clearly states as of utmost importance is the need to engage or implement this project on the basis of good governance. Mangu (2007:354) is of the view that “democracy and good political governance feature prominently and are entrenched in the objectives and principles of the NEPAD”. He describes NEPAD as the initiative of the AU devised to accelerate the development of the continent and to pave a way for the African renaissance project championed by many leaders and intellectuals. The African leaders who were involved in the initiative of NEPAD were former Presidents Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, and the Presidents of Algeria Abdelaziz Bouteflika, and Wade of Senegal.

The primary objectives of NEPAD cited in Ngoatje (2006) include poverty eradication; placing African countries both individually and collectively on a path of sustainable growth and development; halting the marginalization of Africa in the globalization process and enhance its full and beneficial integration into the global economy; and accelerating the empowerment of women.

This is a wide definition, a package that describes the meaning of sustainable growth in the form of integration and partnership amongst African countries. This sustainable development can be seen in many forms such as economic, political and social. As has been explained, it is questionable whether the New Partnership for Africa’s Development is an initiative by Western countries or African countries for African countries. It is also questionable whether the program is Western centric or Afro-

centric. Any form of influence and aid by the Western countries can lead to issues of under- representation and mis-representation of African people, continuous financial dependency, subsequently undermining African development. This will also impact negatively on how the goals and objectives of NEPAD can be implemented in an effective way as some of them strive for transparency and full participation.

The African region is characterised by high levels of poverty, ranging from malnutrition to lack of infrastructure. These characteristics have made Africa an underdeveloped continent in the world. On a positive note, most African countries are rich in resources such as minerals, and oil etc. These resources are managed ineffectively due to internal constraints such as bad governance, corruption, dependency on International Financial Institutions (IFI), poverty, lack of political will and exclusion of women from public sectors. All these internal issues have deprived Africa the status of becoming an equal partner in the global world and this has left its people underdeveloped and poor, hence the NEPAD initiative.

According to Gentle and Pape (2003) in order to deal with these challenges, goals and objectives which pave a positive direction for sustainable growth need to be established. These include promoting accelerated growth and sustainable development; eradicating widespread poverty; and halting the marginalisation of Africa in the globalisation process.

NEPAD (2001) argues that for accelerated debt reduction for grossly indebted African countries, African countries need to develop the capacity to sustain growth at levels required to achieve poverty reduction, and sustainable development. Adesina (2002) takes an economic approach on how sustainable development can be achieved by stating that it should encompass restoring and maintaining macroeconomic stability. He states that this can be achieved by developing suitable measurements and targets for fiscal and monetary policies as well as introducing necessary institutional frameworks for achieving these. This approach puts its emphasis on the provision of greater market access. Africa can unlock capital flows through encouraging a culture of saving what can be obtained from sales in open markets. However, it may be unimaginable to think of how people can save when they are struggling with their

immediate needs such as having food, accessing health, education and welfare services.

Another perspective on the formation of NEPAD is that the programme exists within the framework of G8 'partnership' which means that it is not fully owned by Africa. Akokpari (2003:4) says that "NEPAD is a partnership programme established between Africa and G8 countries, representing a form of moral contract between African countries and G8". In my view this means that this is a programme designed to address issues such as colonization, debt relief, breaking away from Western financial dependency. I however, argue that this partnership between Africa and G8 disputes those goals. On the contrary, it creates an ongoing cycle of debt and dependency. The economic and political stance of Africa has rendered more receptive to international aid. To some extent, this translates to 'neo-colonialism', where colonialism is introduced in a new form.

Pretorius and Patel (2002:22) are critical of the NEPAD process, claiming that it will not lead to growth. They further state that NEPAD is based on three pronged strategies which are; 'creating preconditions for development, focusing on priority issues and mobilising resources'. The preconditions for development are the promotion of peace, democracy and human rights. These conditions will create a stable environment that will encourage domestic investment and attract foreign direct investment (FDI). Democracy is a vital principle of good governance; therefore it will be of utmost importance for social 'upliftment'. The second strategy deals with the 'focus on priorities'. These include improving infrastructure, the extension of information and communications technology, enhancing human development, health, education, culture. It also entails restructuring agriculture and manufacturing as well as negotiating greater market access to ensure the diversification of production and export (Ibid). The development of infrastructure will not only come up with socio-economic development but will also create jobs for the people and better access to basic human rights such as health and education. The last strategy deals with the mobilisation of resources, through 'creating conditions that promote private sector investment, reduce capital flight and bring foreign investment. Pretorius and Patel (2002) believe that these three strategies will not bring about positive change in

Africa and will subsequently strengthen the relations between African and Western countries.

NEPAD had to formulate its own strategic plan and objectives which will pave a way for sustainable development. Kempe (2005:284) noted that NEPAD's initiative document recognizes the salient importance of good governance for achieving sustainable development in Africa and sets out principles pertaining to the strengthening of democracy and political governance as well as economic and corporate governance. This illustrates the importance of embracing the practice of good governance especially in service delivery as this will indicate positive trust between government and the society and also promote sustainable development. Mr. Mbeki cited in Kempe (2005:19) has argued that Africa wishes to realize the goal of good governance, in all its elements *"not because we seek to improve our relations with the rest of the world as a first objective, critically important as this is but to end political and economic mismanagement on our continent, and the consequential violent conflicts, instability, denial of democracy and human rights, deepening poverty and global marginalization"*. The latter shows the internal constraints that were mentioned early in this report, which Mr. Mbeki, former president of South Africa also acknowledged.

In addition to the above Akokpari's paper says that NEPAD is a programme through which African countries meeting the criteria of good governance and market reforms are rewarded with aid. This can be viewed as 'not genuine' aid because it comes with conditions and the need for Africa to make some reforms which will be conducive for the West's economic position. This negative dominance by Western countries can be viewed as a hindrance rather than movement towards positive assistance. The situation also symbolizes neo-colonialism where financial marginalization is not only exerted by former colonialists (in the South African case, the Apartheid government) but also the International Financial Institutions that have taken the centre stage of being oppressors. Therefore one would question the legitimacy of these aids and whether NEPAD is for the African people or is for the capitalist states. The debate that the researcher brings across is how NEPAD can be said to be African driven whilst it has been clearly shown that people who are driving the programme are

people from the West. Transparency, which forms a part of good governance, is clearly a vague component in the inception of the programme. This clearly indicates a misleading approach to the African people and a negative impact on African development.

As NEPAD is viewed by its critics as a strategy for external countries to exploit Africa in the form of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), others see the exploiter as South Africa's business class, as it is driven by South African businesses. Other critics noted by Gentle and Pape (2003: 31) argue that "*the strongest economic power in Africa is South Africa, whose Growth Domestic Product (GDP) is greater than the whole of the rest of Africa combined, with the largest TNC.*" The major transnational companies in SA include BHP Billiton, SAB Miller, Old Mutual, Vodacom, MTN, Sappi, and Mondi. All these companies have their major shares in South Africa. This encompasses South Africa as a dominating country in investment, as SA is said to be investing outside its borders because they can get more profit by doing so. One would argue that if South Africa is sincere about being part of NEPAD, it would invest within the African region so that other African countries can also benefit from the investment. Therefore, these critics question South Africa's ability to be loyal in the framework of NEPAD which is African driven.

In order for all the positive aspects of sustainable development to come into realization, and to end the internal and external constraints posed on the African landscape, the NEPAD structure has formulated objectives which cater for both individual African countries and also look at Africa holistically. The purpose of the mechanism is to ensure that the objectives are carried out in a manner that is people-centred and fosters the principle of good governance and good management. The objectives needed to be in operation and the APRM would monitor the implementation of these objectives. The sub-section below describes the APRM, its general objectives and what it entails.

2.3 What is the Peer Review Mechanism?

Hope Sr (2005) quotes both the OECD and Takatosi as positing that the effectiveness of peer review relies on the influence of peer pressure that is the persuasion exercised by peers. The peer review process can give rise to other peer countries/provinces critical monitoring and analysis of government programmes. In peer reviewing, public scrutiny, comparison and performance ranking amongst peer countries take place. This is done for the purpose of improving service delivery, and enhancing the implementation of good governance (Hope Sr, 2005:291). The word “peer” has been used as another word for State. It is actually other African States that can review, assess and monitor the performance and progress of the country. Hope Sr (2005) says that peer review is designed to monitor and assess the progress made by other peer countries in meeting their commitment towards achieving good governance, social stability and sustainable development. It seeks to build governance systems in Africa and to promote continental economic integration (Department of Local Government and Housing Newsletter: 2006). The consensus reached around the ‘upliftment’ or the building of governance was a pressing need that Heads of African States agreed upon. This was agreed upon because of the internal and external constraints that continued to persist in the African region and impacted negatively in the socio-economic development within the region. The context of NEPAD was invented on the international level and had to come up with a way to filter down its plans and strategies to the people. The APRM was a way of enabling the execution of AU and NEPAD policies to interact with regional challenges on a national, provincial and local level. Such challenges among others include the marginalisation of women in socio-economic and political programs.

On the policy side, the ultimate goal is to assist the reviewed state to improve its policy making, adopt best practice, and comply with established standards, principles, codes, and other agreed commitments. Peer review examinations and assessments are conducted in a non-adversarial manner, and thereby rely heavily on the mutual trust and understanding between the state being reviewed and reviewers, as well as shared confidence in the process (OECD: UNECA 2002). Countries can be reviewed basing on themes such as economics, governance, democracy and so forth. The design of the

review can be viewed in three different phases. OECD came up with the preparatory which is the first stage, the second stage is consultation and the third stage is the actual assessment.

In the preparatory stage, the reviewers collect the information depending on the theme reviewed; deal with the consultation phase with the government and the broader civil society as this will provide a broader perspective on the issue under examination. The critical part of this phase is to conduct site visits as this will give fresh insights into the challenges and successes.

After the preparatory phase, the consultation phase. This second phase captures the validity of elements of good governance such as transparency, accountability, participation, and openness.

The third phase is the assessment. Pagani (2002) says the draft report is discussed and this is the phase where comparisons, notable deficiencies, and recommendations are done. Non-governmental organizations can take part in this meeting through the submission of documents and papers. The recommendations will then be taken to be reviewed by the state with the expectation that they can be implemented sufficiently and accordingly.

On the same note on the stages of peer review, Hope Sr (2005) shares his perspectives on the stages of peer review going into detail, mentioning five stages in the peer review process.

The first stage is of analysis which entails the analysis of governance and the development environment in the country being reviewed. This stage aims to provide background information with respect to political representation and economic management, governance and rights. As in the OECD, this is also the preparatory stage that looks at the background of the country depending on the themes investigated.

The second stage constitutes the country visits by peer review technical assessment experts. The task of the team is to engage all entities within those countries, ranging from civil society groups, parliamentarians, non-governmental organizations, and government officials. This stage compared with the OECD, opens the lines of good governance such as consultation, participation, and value for people's view points.

The third stage involves the preparation of the reports based on the outcome of stage two. This stage is quite crucial because if stage two is not conducted appropriately then the report would be misleading and not representative of the will of the people. The fourth stage entails lengthy discussions and adoption of the report by the APR Panel. This will lead to the final stage which is the presentation of the report in regional structures.

2.4. What is the African Peer Review Mechanism?

This section explains the concept of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). In this section the general aim of the APRM will be explored. The researcher will also mention its broader objective and define ways on how the objectives can be achieved. It is important to mention that even though the APRM fits under the umbrella of NEPAD, it operates under its own designs and functions. It also has its own assessment framework on countries and provinces that choose to be part of it and abide by its own principles.

The APRM is a self-monitoring tool agreed upon by the member States of the African Union at the sixth summit of the Heads of States .This was done and through the African Programme of Action (NEPAD) in 2003.The broader objective of the APRM is to reduce poverty through the promotion and establishment of good government practice. This broader objective can be managed or can be achieved through the effective management or use of these sub-objectives under the section of “Socio-Economic Development”, Annexure B, Summary of APRM Questionnaires which are; to ensure accountable, efficient and effective public office holders and civil servants; accelerate socio-economic development to achieve sustainable development and poverty eradication; promote self-reliance in development and build capacity for

self sustainable development; progress towards gender equality in all critical areas of concern, including equal access to education for girls at all levels; and encourage broad based participation in development by all stake holders at all levels.

The above objectives address the question that this study is battling with, which is the issue of the effective implementation of the APRM so as to achieve socio-economic development and enable citizens to be self-reliant through equal practices.

Essential to note is that the programme works on a voluntary basis. No country is forced to participate in review processes and no penalties would be imposed if a country chooses not to partake in the APRM. However, it is encouraged that African countries partake in the APRM processes. It must also be noted that if a country agree to be assessed by another country, this can be beneficial because this means that the agreeing country can be aware of its strengths and weaknesses. Therefore, it can learn new ways of dealing with its challenges. The African Peer Review Mechanism format is universal from participating country to another; no country will be given special treatment, they will all be held to the same peer review rules.

The APRM is a unit that embraces elements such as full participation in the form of consultation and openness. It is a platform for countries to share their experiences with a view to foster good governance and democratic processes. The sharing of experiences and ideas helps in capacity building. The APRM is an instrument of value because its ultimate goal is to protect the will of the people, ensuring that the African governments are accountable to the people rather than to themselves. The APRM seeks to ensure that effective measures are taken forward and that government is to abide by what was agreed upon in the Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance. This helps in identifying deficiencies that can be rectified. However, but if this monitoring device is not utilised effectively, then the process of democracy and good governance can be jeopardised.

Another opinion from the NEPAD Secretariat (2003) is that the primary purpose of the APRM is to foster the adoption of policies, standards, and practices that lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated

integration through the sharing of experiences and reinforcement of successful and best practices.

Akokpari (2003: 12) states that “the agreement on the APR provides for the establishment of an Independent Panel of Eminent Persons (IPEP) to be responsible for the review and assessment process, for representation and balance, the IPEP is to consist of between five and seven members with at least one member from the AU’s major sub-region”.

There is an ongoing debate about the involvement of civil society groups in the APRM processes. Although the government should allow these groups to manage and chair APRM meetings it has been found out that the government usually takes the leading role and inhibits transparency to occur. According to Govender (2006:2) *“while APRM authorities have advised that civil society should be in the majority of national governing structures created to manage APRM and that civil society should chair these bodies, some countries have put the process and council under the direct control of ministers, this double standard needs to be addressed urgently”*. Ordinarily, the nature of the relationship between civil society and government depends on the form of government and its openness to civil society. The openness and transparency will lead to a more progressive and mutual understanding between the two entities. People from the grass roots will be represented and be heard without the authoritative nature of the government. The leadership from civil society is very critical as it represents accountability. Openness, accountability and participation are elements of good governance which are the virtual components of the APRM, therefore decision making processes must be decentralised to the people. The full participation of civil society in such bodies can also promote democracy in a country. Koyi (2003) states that Africa, both in government and civil society, must work towards building political systems that promote respect for basic human rights and give citizens a voice in determining who governs them.

2.5 African perspective about APRM

The review framework has different types of reviews, which were approved by the African Union Summit of 2002. The first review is the 'base review' which is undertaken within 18 months of a country's becoming the member of the APRM. The second type is the 'periodic review' which takes place every two years. The third type is the 'requested review'. This review is done only if the member country asks to be reviewed. The fourth type is the 'imposed review' which is done when there are concerns concerning the political and economical stance of the country.

According to Hope Sr (2005: 294) "The NEPAD's Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC) has approved a number of indicators, based on key objectives that will be used to assess and measure performance in the four peer review areas of (1) democracy and political governance, (2) economic governance and management, (3) corporate governance and political governance and (4) socio economic development (NEPAD Secretariat 2003)". The researcher will focus on the key objectives for indicator number four 'socio-economic development', for the purpose of this report and the focus is mainly on the social economic development and gender inequalities in the Western Cape Province.

Hope Sr (2005: 294) indicates that the key objectives for socio-economic development are to "(1) promote self-reliant in development and build capacity for self-sustaining development, (2) accelerate socio-economic development and poverty eradication (3) strengthen policies, delivery mechanism, and outputs in key social development areas such as education for all and combating of HIV/AIDS and other communicable diseases (4) ensure affordable access to water, energy, finance, markets and information and communication technologies to all citizens, (5) make progress towards gender equality, particularly for girls at all levels and (6) encourage broad based participation in development by all stakeholders at all levels". These indicators will help in the measurement of socio-economic development. If these objectives are effectively met and achieved then it can be concluded that the socio-economic state of the country is stable and the country has managed to apply the NEPAD/ AU tools for the eradication of poverty to the 'upliftment' of development.

However if a country has negative/inequalities on socio-economic development, this can be translated as poor implementation of the NEPAD/AU strategic objectives.

There are major benefits for a country that is a participating member in the ARPM structure. Basically, the level of good governance becomes stronger. To be precise, Ronald (2002) mentions gains of good governance as greater transparency; improved public accountability; enhanced policy coherence; smarter partnership; deeper private capital flows; and strengthened capacity.

2.6 Application of APRM to South Africa

South Africa is one of the participating countries in the APRM and is also subject to the rules and regulations of this programme. The South African Strategic Approach established objectives that guide the country in achieving the overall objectives of the APRM (Western Cape Province African Peer Review Mechanism: Final Report, 2006). The strategic objectives underlying South Africa's implementation of the African Peer Review process according to the report are; to establish benchmarks that can be used in future review processes; to contribute to strengthening national systems for assessing government's performance in delivering on its development objectives; to build and popularise a broader sense of ownership for the People's Contract and government's national development; and to support the building of African based knowledge and experience in utilising the Peer Review Mechanism.

The above objectives serve as a purpose to provide support to the notion of protecting the people's contract. The South African Government seeks to ensure that the APRM is an inclusive project that is also endorsed by non-state actors. South Africa's APRM is overseen by the National Governing Council and consist of ten members from civil society and five members from the government.

In the National APRM structure, the former President Thabo Mbeki assigned the former Minister of Public Service and Administration Ms. Fraser Moleketi to be the focal point. As the national focal person, Ms Moleketi had the overall coordination mandate of all the nine provinces in South Africa. The APR Secretariat has the

responsibility to provide technical, and administrative support service to the countries subjected to the APRM, of which South Africa also receive such assistance.

The roadmap for the implementation of South Africa's APRM process assumed a participatory approach. There was ongoing communication about inviting people to the forums. Communication was also reached through provincial meetings, the consultations of various civil society members and also research reports to provide insights and lessons learned from other countries.

The government needed a buy-in of these actors, the buy in was encouraged in the form of participation and inviting non-governmental sectors in public meetings and forums. This is to ensure a broader sense of partnership to all South Africans about the APRM programme instead of only being owned by government. The process of consultation in South Africa took ten months (November 2005-August 2006). This involved country reviewed visits, submission of different reports to the office of the Minister. It was noted from the inception and operation of the APRM, that this programme is independent from government. However, there were concerns raised by different civil society groups about the 'independence of APRM from political influence from government. Govender (2006), states that a minister chaired the governing council. She located the support to her office, where council members were politically allied to government and selected through a non-transparent process'.

There were several other limitations and weakness noted in the final report of South Africa that hindered the successful application of report. These will be discussed further in the next chapter.

The country was scheduled to present its final report as the country's 'plan of action programme' before the heads of the states in January 2007. There were administrative errors that prohibited the presentation of the report. These errors were also reflected in the country's official report. These were some of the conflicting views between government and civil society in South Africa which led to delays in the production of the report to be subsequently rolled out in all nine provinces.

2.7 Application of the APRM to the Western Cape Province

This section provides a brief summary of the process of the APRM in the Western Cape, looking at the main points with reference to the 2006 APRM Western Cape Report. This occurred after an invitation by the former Minister of Public Administration and Services Ms. Fraser Moleketi. She mandated all the nine provinces including the Western Cape to partake in this process through a tele-conference. The APRM in the Western Cape started its provincial process at the end of September 2006.

The Western Cape Provincial APRM was headed by the former Premier Mr. Ebrahim Rasool, who assigned two departments within the province, the Department of the Premier and the Department of the Local Government and Housing, to drive the process. Two officials from these departments attended the national APRM conference held in Gauteng, where they were informed about the process of the APRM and how it could be carried out to the provinces (Western Cape APRM Report, 2007).

The province needed to establish its own Provincial Governing Council (PGC). Therefore, it called out meetings in a consultative manner where, people from different sectors were invited to participate and decide on who could form part of the Provincial Governing Council. The PGC which was formed consisted of people from different sectors ranging from the youth, women, academic institutions, disability, business, civil society, and religious groups. The steering committee was mandated to provide strategic leadership and also to follow up on implementation. This consultative move had to be representative of people from the grassroots community as former President Mr. Mbeki requested. Consultative meetings with the formed PCG were ongoing in the province and aimed to submit the final report to the government which would then hand it to the APRM National Governing Council. The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) was tasked to coordinate the report and to produce the final report which would be handed over to the National Governing Council and thereafter, to the International APRM Secretariat.

The PGC-Western Cape was mandated to draft a Preliminary Programme of Action based on self-assessment. Questionnaires to help in this task were provided. The questionnaire was based on four areas assessing the implementation of these themes in the province. These areas are democracy and good political governance; economic governance and good management; socio economic governance; and corporate governance.

The above mentioned were to be assessed under the framework of indicators recognized as measurements of performance in a particular country or province. Standards and codes were recognized as guidance to sustainable development. Therefore, the Western Cape Province had to make a self-assessment in all the four themes in partnership with the Provincial Governing Council. The Western Cape provided a final report to the office of Ms Fraser Moleketi where it was presented at the APRM National Council.

The implementation of the APRM in the Western Cape Province was directed and coordinated by the government that convened meetings. The work though, was done by the task team where they held meetings in different communities explaining the concept of the APRM and how it can assist government in reaching the Millennium Goals of 2010. Important to note is that there were both positive and negative outcomes regarding the inception of the APRM in Western Cape. This will be discussed further in the next chapter.

2.8 Framework

This section provides an overview of the main points of the literature review. It deals with the key issues with effect to assessment framework and implementation framework for best practice by the APRM task team in general and for the purpose of this report in the Western Cape Province. These issues reflect the best practice that has been adopted by the task team. It concerns the policies and standards they have engaged with to establish an accelerated and sustainable growth. The framework further draws attention to the instruments and tools that have been put in place for the effective review of the APRM to take place.

Most to note about the APRM review process is that it enhances transparency through consultation and participation. It is a platform for countries to share experiences with a broader view to foster practice of good governance. This mechanism also strives to improve and examine the standards for policy making in the reviewed country. There are some themes which have been identified as key areas for assessment. These are economic governance, corporate governance, sustainable development and political governance. This is an international monitoring device adapted from a participating country to other countries. It is also a form of identifying deficiencies in government practice that enables or gives a path for an improved service delivery.

2.9 Assessment framework for best practice

On a continental level, the review process is carried out from the analysis phase to the presentation phase. It is important to follow through the stages of the review as that will lead to the successful completion of the review. Hope Sr (2005) quotes OECD as stating that one of the stages of assessment is the preparatory stage. With regards to the preparatory stage, consultation is used as a tool to engage civil society. The broader perspective of the theme under examination is also received from conducting site visits which requires the full participation of other stakeholders. How these phases are carried out leads to transparency and openness.

Taking from Hope Sr (2005) the OECD also mentions the stage of visits by the technical assessment team reviews where meetings are called, as the opening up lines of communication and redressing people's point of views through the provision of information.

The assessment framework has captured some elements of good governance that are an integral part of APRM. This will secure best practice for the implementation stage. A critical element of the APRM assessment is that, the APRM promotes African ownership as this tool is done on a "self-assessment" basis to ensure that it is owned by African states. Therefore, this is an effective mechanism designed by Africans.

2.10 Implementation framework for best practice.

Implementation is a critical stage that always links or relates to the initial objectives of the project/programme. The APRM's broader objective is to reduce poverty through the promotion of good government practice. The implementation of 'good government practice' is the focus of this study. The study seeks to examine how it was carried out in the continent, in South Africa and in the Western Cape. The implementation framework looks at the tools that have been used to implement the APRM. Such tools will be explained and discussed.

African leaders formed the conceptualisation of the APRM at an international as a means of monitoring government practice. The APRM was adopted by Heads of the States Implementation Committee. The APR Committee provided technical expertise as a support structure to review the progress of each participating country. The support structure or the technical expertise is used as a monitoring instrument to safeguard the principles of human rights. The progress of service delivery is captured in a report form. The report is used as an analysis tool to identify any deficiencies so as to make amendments for policy implications. International community participation is another instrument employed to engage civil society and other stakeholders to share their views on how to improve the implementation of the APRM. To ensure full participation, international stakeholders were consulted to engage with the continent to share but not to impose ideas. This is done to ensure transparency and openness. The strategy was filtered down to national states by Members of States for by-in.

On the South African level, the APRM concept was conveyed to all nine provinces. The APRM National Office invited government officials and people from different stakeholders to inform them about the APRM process and how to execute the objectives of APRM. Conference meetings to engage those invited were held in government departments. Also, posters were used to communicate to the South African community about such a project. The e-system was also used as another form

of communicating the important aspects of the concept. The APRM National Governing Council has an overall mandate to compile the report which is to be submitted to the International Secretariat of APRM.

Having reached government departments, the APRM had to be marketed down to the people at the grass roots level. In this regard, provinces were proactive and represented people of the community. Due to the emancipating nature of the APRM, the Western Cape Province is participating in the advancement of social growth. The process of the APRM in the Western Cape was carried out by a task team, named as the Provincial Governing Council (PGC). The formation of the PGC occurred after the Department of the Premier called several meetings which gave a platform for the people of the province to engage and participate in the formation of APRM in the province. People at the grass roots were represented through the presence of civil society representing sectors such as the youths, women, the disabled society, religious groups, academic institutions and government departments who made of these conferences. The APRM in the provinces was also marketed through radios, posters and community meetings. This was all done as a means to fully engage the public and to disseminate information. The information was collected by way of questionnaires. After the information was collected, the desk top study group had to compile a report and submit it to the Department of the Premier. These were the tools that were used for the implementation of the APRM in the Western Cape.

2.11 Summary

This chapter looked at the definition of NEPAD, APRM, and PRM as well as their application to the African continent, South Africa and the Western Cape Province. In summary, NEPAD is an initiative that serves to accelerate political and economic growth in the African continent. APRM aims to reduce poverty through the promotion of good government practices. The APRM consultation process in South Africa took ten months (November 2005-August 2006). This involved country review visits and submission of different reports to the office of the Minister. At the provincial level, the Western Cape PGC was mandated to draft a Preliminary Programme of Action based on self-assessment. Questionnaires which helped in this task were provided.

The questionnaires were based on four themes which were to assess the implementation of these themes in the province. Literature review has been used as a source of information to provide theoretical perspectives about NEPAD and APRM in general.



CHAPTER THREE

CASE STUDY OF WESTERN CAPE AND PRACTICE

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of the report is to determine how the APRM has been carried out in the Western Cape and what type of developmental plan it entails for the province, specifically for women's development and economic growth.

This section is to describe the framework, outlining how the research is carried out. The chapter focuses on a case study of how the exercise was done in the Western Cape, and programmes carried out in the actual process. Furthermore, the study will highlight the structure and functions of the APRM Task Team; this will be supplemented by interviews which will share insights and dynamics on how the task team played a role in the process.

The research area is the Western Cape Province and the focus is on the application of the APRM standards and how the process has been conceptualised and subsequently carried out in relation to the inclusion of women in governance. The data about this study was obtained from the task team members who were part of the Provincial Governing Council acting as the steering committee. There were five interviews conducted. The interviewees were asked open ended questions concerning their experience on participating in the implementation of APRM in the WC.

When the participants were asked about their understanding about principles of good governance and how they thought these principles could be incorporated into this project, they all had similar responses. They felt that good governance reflects anti-corruption practices and reflect the government's ability to transform the lives of people, being accountable to people and rendering services equally to everyone. Some of them indicated that good governance is a clear understanding of what democracy is. They added that it is full participation of people in government matters

and as well as government transparency. For example, one participant highlighted that good governance is central to monitoring and reviewing whether the goals of the country are being met or not.

The APRM 2006 final report of the Western Cape was reviewed and assessed. It provided insights on the strengths and weaknesses of the APRM in the province. Written reports and documents by different authors on the APRM also provided useful insight on what lessons can be learned from the processes of the APRM.

When the participants were asked to share their understanding on the underlying principle of the APRM, three out of five noted that this is an assessment mechanism that assesses the country's performance on policy implementation level to develop healthy standards amongst citizens. They shared that this mechanism will enable Africa to rectify things on how government governs. Two of the participants mentioned that this concept emanated from SADC as an evaluation tool, it is seen as another form of European tool to control Africans.

3.2 Objectives of the APRM

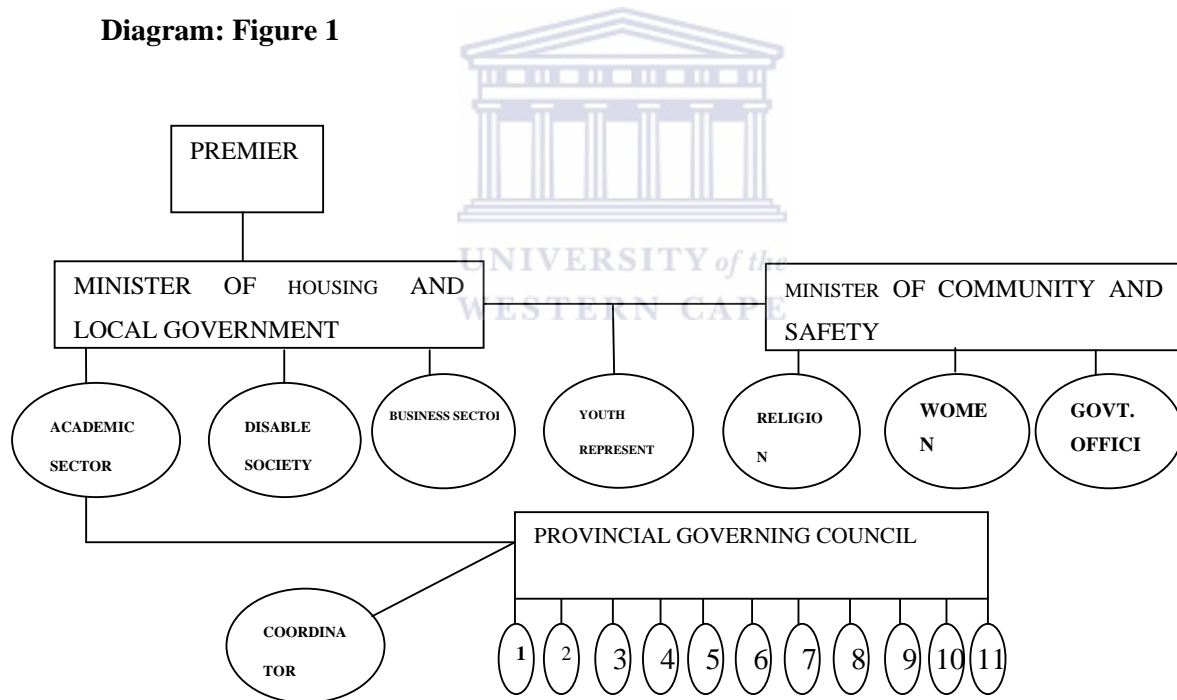
Mathekga (2006: 37) cited the objective of the APRM as to “*foster the adoption of policies, standards and practice that lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration through sharing of experiences*”. The APRM is a monitoring tool that promotes best practice and therefore, strengthening and assessing mechanisms for government's performance with regard to the use of the public service. The notion behind the objective of the APRM links its critique to the assessment of governance norms in the public sector and best practices. This assessment also includes identifying areas that need further innovation. An established ‘review body’ does the monitoring process through periodic reviews.

The national objectives on the APRM are related to those of the province because the implementation thereof requires the use of good governance principles and the objectives are used under the umbrella of the South African Constitution.

When the participants were asked on the question of the objectives of the APRM in the Western Cape, they all agreed that its objectives include creating self-awareness for Africans so that they harmonise challenges faced up from the continental level down to the provinces. These objectives are there to address the unity of Africa under a common understanding of developing infrastructure and human capital. They reinstated that the objectives of the APRM WC promoted quality systems and delivery towards greater sustainability and extend the delivery of services and social infrastructure to women in the Western Cape. Therefore, their understanding about the objectives was the same as the one suggested in the literature.

3.3 Structure and functions of the APRM task in the WC Province

Diagram: Figure 1



Source: own source.

The PGC nominees were composed of ten members from civil society and five members from the government. Ms. Fraser Moleketsi, the former Minister of Public Administration was given the overall mandate and authority by the National Government to ensure the success and transition of the programme in the Western Cape Province. The APRM structure in the Western Cape was located at the

Premier's office under the administration of former Premier Mr. Ebrahim Rasool. The office of the Premier had the function of delegating the work pertaining to the APRM programme. The Western Cape Provincial Office assigned two departments, the office of the Premier and the department of Housing and local government, to provide a governmental perspective in the work process and execution of the APRM. Once the work is carried out, task team will submit the final report to the National APRM Secretariat in the national office of the Public Service and Administration.

Important to note also is that civil society groups, government officials, the business sector, presentations from women and youth were also invited for the nomination of the Steering Committee. The Steering Committee was elected on the first consultative meetings to pursue with the work until further establishment of the Provincial Governing Council. Those nominated formed part of a diverse task team committee, also responsible for compiling the final report of the province.

The Minister of Community and Safety was responsible for chairing the meeting. He was also responsible for providing strategic leadership to the task team, whereas the task of the programme team was responsible for the implementation based on the recommendation by the Steering Committee. The actual approach of the programme with regard to consultation was more inclined to the government officials with small involvement of civil society groups and non-governmental organizations. The influence and intervention of the strategic leadership committee permitted the leadership committee to be the main enforcers in decision making processes of this programme and therefore, not adequately engaging the participation of civil society groups.

The initiation process of the Western Cape APRM was done after an invitation by the Minister of Public Service and Administration. As it has been mentioned, the head of the programme was former Premier Mr Rasool. He nominated two government representatives, one from his office and the other from the Department of Housing and Local Government. These two representatives had to attend the APRM National Consultative Conference in Gauteng on the 26th of September 2006. These

governmental officials had to come back and provide feedback on how they think APRM would best suit the developmental plan of the Western Cape.

The APRM is a forum that endorses full participation at all levels. At the provincial level, it was expected to occur in that same manner. When the participants were asked about the levels of participation in the implementation of the project in the Western Cape, specifically women's role, one participant informed the interviewer that women's participation was not broad and that this is the issue that the government still needs to look at. The participant suggested that the government should work on better ways of engaging women more profoundly. Participant A highlighted that some women are still vulnerable when it comes to governance participation issues. He mentioned that women's participation was not that visible as they are still finding their way to empowerment.

However, other participants felt that women were well represented; they projected active participation as they had a chance to share their own concerns, and the project itself helped because it tackled the empowerment of women from the early stages of childhood development by focusing on young girls.

The first provincial meeting was held at the City of Cape Town where different people from different organizations were invited so that a steering committee could be elected. This was made to ensure the representation of different groups of people at the grass roots level. In accordance with the roll out of the APRM plan, several meetings were arranged prior to this one. The APRM Task Group saw the need for a coordinator, who was then appointed from a provincial level. She was mandated to ensure the implementation of the process and to ensure that the activities in the APRM plan are executed as planned.

When the participants were asked regarding the constituency they were representing, it showed that they were coming from different groups. Participant A was representing the Muslim Judicial Council, Participant B was representing organized labour, Participant C was representing South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) at the Provincial level, Participant D was representing people with

disabilities and Participant E was representing Women. It shows that the sample of this study was meant to be spread out and representative of all the sectors as stipulated in the final report of the APRM.

Community Development Workers assisted to hold workshops at community level. They informed people about the APRM. Some questionnaires which the APRM Western Cape Report 2006 stated were simplified and made available into three official Provincial languages were handed to the people. The task was carried out by the Task Team, they had to reach and educate people of the Western Cape about the APRM. The task also formed part of the assessment where the team had to assess how informed the people of the Western Cape were about the APRM. The assignment was carried out during meetings. A number of meetings were called in different communities such as Delft, Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Brackenfell and Paarl. Residents were asked to engage in dialogue on their perceptions on the APRM. They were also asked to suggest the developmental approach can be utilised. The concept was explained, people were given the platform to engage with government and to share their grievances and dissatisfaction, including issues around service delivery.

Another form of involving people was the convening of six consultative workshops at District level, a provincial conference was launched. At the provincial conference, nominations for the Provincial Governing Council were requested by the former Premier.

3.4 Other forms of participation

Other forms of communicating with the people were done through radios and posters. People from across societies were invited. In these meetings there was a fair representation of previously disadvantaged groups such as black women, and people with disabilities. People were engaged, and they were provided with APRM questionnaires to provide information. In order to gain useful insights, the questionnaire was arranged in themes. Participants were asked questions relating to their knowledge on the specified themes.

The questionnaire was divided into four themes which are; democracy and good political governance; economic governance and management; corporate governance; and socio-economic development.

The participants were asked with regard to their personal experiences and knowledge on what government has done in relation to each theme or objective. The International Peer Review Committee together with the National Task team went to a meeting in Khayelitsha where women who attended the meeting raised their frustrations relating to service delivery such as lack of proper sanitation, lack of access to education, and health services provided by government. Subsequent to that, both committees went to the National APRM Secretariat office in Pretoria to oversee the process of compiling the report.

On the issue of the relationship characterising the task team, the community and the international community, participants were unanimous. They felt that the community was ill informed about the APRM and showed little understanding. As a result the task team was grappling with implementing the project at the grassroots level. Some of them mentioned that there was lack of support from the media and therefore there was no advertisement of the APRM concept. The community did not really know what the APRM was and there was a sense of surprise. Evidently, they did not follow the APRM vision and some even thought the task team was there to install toilets for them. The participants felt that the process was rushed, and there was too much pressure from the government as they had to meet the deadline.

During the interview, when the participants were questioned about the APRM process and their participation, Participants A and E felt that it was a positive experience that symbolizes a platform for civil society engagement with the government and access how government is doing. Participants B, C and D felt that the APRM process should be an awareness project that involves community members, participant D felt that her role in the process and participation was to educate the people about disability. She felt she was mandated to guide people in issues of accessibility. They all felt that this process should be viewed as a change agent in people's participation in a democratic society. Their experiences in terms of participation was not really in an equal

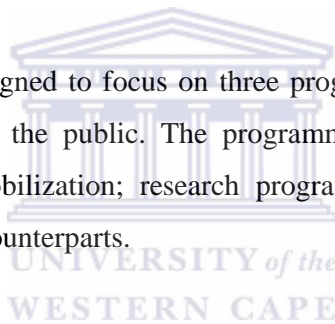
dimension as the project was there to reach a government target and people were just following instructions.

The final work or report from the findings was compiled by the Desk top study group and submitted to the office of the Premier. The writing of the WC report was conducted by the HSRC.

3.5 Programming of the process

This section is divided into two parts. The first one looks at the process on how the task team was established, looking at all the phases that took place before the task was finalised. The second one looks at the actual implementation done by the task team of the APRM.

The task team was also assigned to focus on three programmes on how they would mobilize participation from the public. The programmes were arranged into four sections namely; social mobilization; research programme; and engagement with National and International counterparts.



3.5.1 Social mobilization

The aim of this programme (social mobilization) was to popularize the APRM to the public by engaging the community through radio networks, mass meetings in schools, conducting workshops to educate the masses and inviting the community leaders. This was done to mobilise the social constituency so that the community can be able to partake in the APRM meetings fully informed. The task team invited women's non-governmental organization. Women participation and involvement was one of their focuses in the mobilization. However, the focus of social mobilization was not merely on women. It captured other issues such as socio-economic conditions, and lack of proficient service delivery.

3.5.2 Research Programme

The task team performed the Research Programme to gain knowledge; the knowledge was gained through the process of interviews, and writing of the document. Data was gathered to obtain information and later to submit information in the form of a report. The survey was done in meetings with key representatives of stakeholders at the provincial level. The task team also had a focus group as part of the survey, and also got information from the desk top research team.

3.5.3 Engagement with national and international counterparts

The third programme was the engagement with national and international dignitaries. This was done in order to discuss the dynamics, challenges, strengths of the programme and indeed results of workshops and meetings. The international team was the independent monitoring team, which had to evaluate and review the peer process in the Province. This team has highlighted many challenges in terms of the socio economic status of the people.

Based on the participants' responses, their understanding about the process in the Western Cape varied. Participants had unanimous views where they felt they were following guidelines provided by government. Participant A mentioned that the process in the WC was ad-hoc in nature than prominent and it was not properly organised. Participant C felt that the set up of the project was not a conducive environment for change as civil society was not given enough time to engage with the process. The participant felt that the government took centre stage. The other two participants B and E felt that the process was not thoroughly planned as there was no budget for this process and people had to use their own personal networks and connections.

However, two out of the five participants added that they went to communities where they consulted and did brief information sessions with team leaders. They mentioned that they did need analysis assessments and the community was given pamphlets.

They felt that during this process of engaging with the community, the project was implemented in a comprehensive manner.

The significance of these interviews shows the similarities characterising the participants in terms of their level of understanding of the APRM, their experiences and how it has shaped the lives of the people of Western Cape. Thereafter, the participants remained unanimous about the challenges that confronted this project and how government and all involved can use it to change them into positives.

3.6 Summary

This chapter discussed the research that was carried out in relation to the inclusion of women in governance in the WC. The focus was on the application of the APRM exercise. The researcher looked at the design and processes followed by the task team. Most interviewees had similar responses, in relation to the inclusion of women in the project. They indicated that women are still vulnerable and lack an understanding of how they fit within the APRM. These respondents indicated that the project did not fully apply the framework of good governance practice in a manner that includes women.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The researcher does not feel that the APRM –WC provided sufficient guidelines to promote the participation of women in policy making decisions. It is unclear how the APRM addressed gender inequalities. Therefore the researcher urges the APRM to give guidelines on how it will address these issues.

This chapter critically analyses the findings of the research basing on the literature reviewed and the responses from the case study. The APRM is a program initiated at a continental level, used as an instrument to monitor the standards of executed policies and to assess if they are in line with the principles of good governance. This study analyses the extent to which women are included in the ARPM process at provincial level using the Western Cape as a case study. It assesses the inclusion of women in the program, their level of participation, if they were consulted properly and so forth. It is important to note that APRM is an instrument that also addresses the socio-economic spatial situation in which women find themselves in.

4.2 APRM, principles of good governance and the inclusion of women

Principles of good governance are also an aspect that needs to be moulded in the application of the APRM. Principles such as democracy, participation, transparency and accountability have a role in enhancing women's role in the application of the program. Therefore, its application in the program will be assessed and analysed.

The WC was allocated a Task Team responsible for the application of the APRM project. The project was structured into specific programs with specific themes to focus on. These themes focused on social community mobilization, research program and engagement with national and international counterparts. In the implementation of these programs, the interviewees share their unanimous response regarding the role

of women in relation to principles of good governance. They indicate that the approach used in the implementation phase of the program is one of the top to down approach where power was centred on government officials who formed part of the program. The State had a controlling role in managing the process. One respondent had this view to illustrate the authoritarian stance by government in the project “Such project should not be housed under government i.e. to be lead by government or MEC, as this produces less voice of the people”

The interviewees indicated that there were also constraints such as lack of resources, and insufficient budget to implement the programme. Indeed, the steering committee experienced challenges. They were unable to set up meetings as there was no budget allocated for that. They had to wait for a call from government for meetings. These were the challenges that affected the progress of the program in the province.

These programs had their main functions and objectives. However, based on the final report submitted to the HSRC, in the Western Cape there was no clear budget for these programs, and the process to sustain the programme was ad-hoc. The task team had to use its own personal connections and networking in order to achieve the objectives of these programs.

The social community mobilization program was implemented by task team members to community members. The interviewees felt that this program was not implemented sufficiently. There was lack of substantive participation from civil society as well. This was not implemented sufficiently because it was not properly organised. The set up of the project was not conducive for the civil society groups as they were not provided enough time to engage with the community. This reflects lack of proper consultation by the government to allow civil society to fully engage and be an equal partner in the process. Moreover, some members of the task team had to use their personal networks and connections to get work done. This shows that there was no transparency in terms of budget allocation from the beginning of the program.

4.2.1 Transparency and openness

Transparency and openness is a crucial element of good governance. It promotes the effectiveness of the APRM project, and becomes central to the success and sustainability of the program. As there was lack of transparency in this program, its overall success was limited and non-sustainable. Consultations in a developmental project should be done via the involvement of non-governmental organizations, civil society groups including women, community based organisations and people on the grass roots. This allows a sense of ownership and partnership of the program. Knowledge can also be gained from ordinary people from the grass roots level where they will give raw information on how they think the program can be sustained at an optimum level. The principle of consultation is parallel to that of participation. If people are consulted on a continuous basis it allows them to participate fully and have a sense of partnership. The issue of ownership should be clarified to tackle any issues, confusion or unequal partnership.

In terms of the implementation of the APRM in the WC, respondents had some of these views to say about consultation and partnership: *“the task team was not thoroughly consulted, the language used in the pamphlet was complex for ordinary people to understand, and government’s role was overwhelming as government took charge of this project, government should give people more space especially the previously disadvantaged such as women. This should not be a rush process”*.

One participant had this view about consultation, *“I don’t think I was committed to the project, there was no proper capacity to engage the community, and there was no sufficient time allocated for consultation either”*.

4.2.2 Participation

Participation in the APRM process or implementation is twofold. There was participation amongst the task team members during meetings and discussions and

also, participation was encouraged at the community level so as to engage and educate people about this concept.

However, participation amongst task team members was limited and narrow for women. As such, most women are still struggling to have their voices heard as they are overshadowed by their male counterparts with regard to governance issues. One of the responses illustrates the limited participation of women. The respondent argued, *“Women development and women participation is one of the key objectives of the APRM, however our task team was dominated by males and I am not sure if this objective was fully taken into account on the establishment of our task team”*.

Also, during community meetings women were invisible and silent. This can be due to the fact that they are still vulnerable if they partake in government issues or they lacked sufficient knowledge regarding the concept of the APRM. Their lack of participation can be because they were not well represented in these meetings.

Citizens of the Western Cape need to be part of the change; they need to participate in directing the course of change in their lives as they are the ones who know their challenges. If they can be partners in the course of change, they can also learn how to sustain the program without having to refer to government for solutions. Through programs like the APRM, citizens can be encouraged to be self sufficient, and to raise more sustainable capital for themselves. Women can be encouraged to get involved in Agriculture or income generating activities and be involved in training sessions which will ensure sustainable resources.

In general, the government of the WC ought to be responsive towards its citizens. The principle of accountability has been applied in a heist manner in this APRM project because little was allocated to the formulation of the programme while consultation and resources were very limited.

4.2.3 Accountability

The APRM project under the WC government should be accountable to the people including women in the same way that it is to political leaders or government officials. It is critical to note that this project was not implemented in a collective manner where civil society groups and community members engaged fully and participate in the process. Some civil society groups felt that this program was driven by government and it bypassed ordinary people and community representatives. This raises concerns as to how the principle of accountability has been dealt with. One would ask whether the government is accountable to itself or to the masses. Based on the information gained from the interviews, it is clear that the programme did not serve the interest of the people as it did not achieve its objectives which include 'the acceleration of economic growth, sustainable development'. The program in the Western Cape region was not stable and sustainable as it experienced limited success. The program was therefore not responsive to women's needs and did not reach its maturity.

It is also fundamental to assess if the APRM project was successful to promote democracy in the WC province and promote equal partnership amongst men and women and for women to strengthen their level of participation in governance issues. Democracy promotion is one of the APRM's objectives. Through its policies therefore, the APRM project should be able to show how this principle has been applied or used to serve the interests of the people especially women. If women who participated in the task team program feel they were not liberated enough to participate in the program, then one would ask how the program ensures women's participation. EISA (2003: 7) states that "For Africa APRM presents fresh opportunities for empowering and strengthening institutions of democracy that ensure that the basis of governance transcends the narrow concerns of personal rule".

Therefore, the APRM is a platform for all to exercise their rights to freedom and empower those who are previously disadvantaged such as women. If that opportunity

was not granted or used properly, then it means the APRM was not implemented fully and therefore failed to realise its intentions.

4.2.4 Respect for human rights

Respect for human rights and its promotion are essential ingredients that need to be taken into careful consideration when such a program like APRM is in motion. Respect for human rights is linked to satisfaction and service delivery. Excellent service delivery is a result of how the concept of good governance is utilised. Human rights services are central to the APRM and NEPAD's objectives. Therefore, if they are less prominent in the implementation process, it will jeopardise the course of change and effective political governance for all. More specifically, it will fail to address the inequalities between the poor and the rich as well as men and women. Also, human rights are values that are enshrined not only in the NEPAD's policy framework but also stands as a constitutional right for all. These rights include the right to access water, education, health care system and so forth. Within the agenda of the APRM in the WC, these rights were part of the objectives that needed to be looked at and be sustained. The project had the potential to address such rights but it did not manage to sustain the effectiveness and visibility of such rights on women of the WC.

However, the project no longer exists in the province because it faced many challenges. Some of them included lack of political will from government to ensure that it was applied with the input of good governance principles, too much clinging on the project by the government and hence disallowing useful and full engagement with other sectors and groups.

4.2.5 Administrative Capacity

The success of the APRM in the WC was also dependent on the application of administrative capacity and the level of skills applied by the people tasked for it. The task team was made up of various sectors, namely women, the youths, the disabled, religious groups, the business sector, the academic sector and government officials.

This was the leadership team that was assigned to drive the process. It is important for these people to be self-confident as this will attract support from the local and international community. Leadership requires a team which is capable of giving proper guidance and accurate information, and knowledgeable on how to effectively manage the project. Effective leadership should also be able to leverage resources that will enhance a non-discriminative development of the people. The rule of law must be upheld in the implementation of such projects so as to eliminate corruption. Interdisciplinary skills must be present to provide a wide range of necessary skills so that the project can be successful.

During the conception time of the project, the leadership was diverse in terms of gender and everyone was given enough time and a platform to air their views in an equitable manner. However, based on the interviewees' responses, government officials were dominating, giving little chance for some nongovernmental officials to interact and be able to accurately send the information to the community. Also, women were provided little capacity as one interviewee mentioned that she had to stretch herself in terms of managing and coordinating the program due to shortage of staff. The task team was dominated by male counterparts and as has been mentioned before. Also, there was inadequate full time staff and due to this, some task team members felt overworked and had to use their own connections to make ends meet. This was due to inadequate budgeting for the program. This was a limitation, as capacity was not grounded. Therefore, this program did not have the capacity to address women's development and promote their potential.

4.2.6 Freedom

Freedom also features in how people view their social circumstances and their relationship with others. Therefore, the government has a duty to protect the spirit of freedom and to ensure that it stays with people at all times. In understanding how 'freedom' can be sketched into the plan of human and social development, Hegel (1995: 235) says the freedom "*consists in being with oneself in an other*". Hegel (ibid) further says "*I cannot become free by avoiding otherness, by refusing to commit myself to any activity or relationship with others*". Being free must be an expression

of self determination”. If one is oppressed, subjected to any type of abuse, living in a socially ill environment and without access to basic needs, or is being denied the privilege to partake in social dialogue one’s development gets negated. In that way one could say that the individual is not free with himself, and his own self does not reflect or represent a self determined person. The attempt of excluding or undermining women in development can result to those excluded women feeling bound and therefore, unable to recognize their principle of self determination. This means that if women do not participate in any activity with men, they will be left with no sense of self determination and a sense of freedom within themselves and in the community at large. When interviewed on women’s level of development in the WC, one of the task team members had this to report:

“Women development and women participation is one of the key objectives of the APRM however our task team was dominated by male counterpart and I’m not sure if this objective was fully taken into account on the establishment of our task team”.

The above shows that there are still challenges in developing self-worth and self determination when it comes to women; their sense of freedom is pulled down at a low level.

4.2.7 Women Empowerment

Women empowerment was one of the key elements that the study is tried to address and on what level the project achieved this. A shared view from the respondents came out stating, “Women are still vulnerable to men and on political issues, government needs to do more to empower women”.

4.2.8 Justice and fairness

Justice and fairness in distribution of resources must be the main principle driving the process especially in a project case.

According to Rawl (1999:507) on his theory of justice and fairness, “justice as fairness”, is understood to have 3 main features. The first one is associated with certain rights, liberties, and opportunities to be singled out and specified and maintained. Secondly includes a certain priority is to be given to these rights etc over against the claims of the general goods and perfectionist values. The third one talks about the measures to help citizens make effective use of their rights etc by having an adequate base of income and wealth are to be set in place”.

The third feature will be mainly analysed, integrated into practice and assessed on how it folded in the implementation of the APRM. This deals with ‘measures taken to help citizens make use of rights by means of income’. This implies that if one does not have a basic income and share in the wealth of the country, then difficulties might arise in accessing those rights. One of the methods that have been used in the WC for citizens to access their rights is through the APRM project. This project was intended for the citizens to be socially and economically independent, so that they can live a more satisfying lifestyle, without hindrances to access their human rights. The question is whether the APRM managed to execute this principle in its practice, and what projects under the umbrella of the APRM came forth to unlock the financial barriers and financial dependency on the provincial government. One would ask how this project empowers the previously disadvantaged groups such as women so that they can make effective use of their rights.

It is noted that the APRM project had good intentions. However, people of the WC are still living under difficult situations; they cannot fully access their basic rights such as rights to education and health care without hindrance. Judging from the response from the task team members, the APRM had the potential but most communities were reported to be ill-informed about the concept and it was too far-fetched for them. For them to be fully committed and engage in a project they know

little about and have too little faith in was improbable and consequently, they were denied access to their rights. Therefore it can be said that the principle of justice and fairness in the implementation of such a project was not prominent for women.

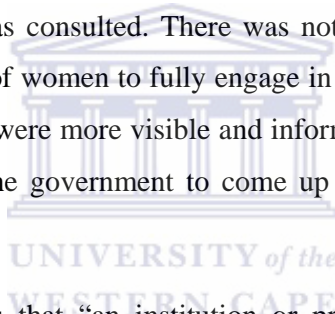
4.2.9 Theory on subjection of women

This theory helps in understanding how the subjection of women came to being and how these can be rectified so that all men and women can be treated equally. Mill (1999: 349) says “*the legal subordination of one sex to the other, is wrong in itself, and now one of the hindrances to human improvement*”. If women and men are seen with different lens, this can lead to the subordination of women. During the implementation of the APRM in the WC, there were no apparent signs of women being treated differently from men. All people were given the same platform to air concerns, give suggestions and views, and there was an increased insight from women on how they can empower themselves. IESA (2007) states that part of the formulation of the APRM has to do with the negative impact poor governance practices have had on most vulnerable groups, including women within the society. The APRM project had a theme on women empowerment which focused on the early stages of childhood development for girls. However, as this project no longer exist in the province, the sustainability of this knowledge and practice is now limited.

4.2.10 Social contract

In understanding the term social contract and how the APRM project in the WC has injected this notion in the process, it is important to make note of this definition. Locke (1988: 185) “*establishes political society the state of nature is already social) and a second stage establishes the government. If government falls, political or civil society remains and by consent a new government can be instituted*”. In simple terms, this means there is an existing contract between government and society. Locke’ s idea of sustaining or validating such agreements relies on ‘the prospects of benefits represented as the motivation that individuals might perceive for agreeing to submit themselves to government and to give up powers that they would otherwise have’. The benefits ranging from this contract are a key substance that needs to be presented

to society to create an awareness of fairness and justice. This contract is a fundamental principle that encourages trust between society and the government on its entire project for development. This contract is not viewed on the basis of sexes. Therefore, men and women are viewed on an equal basis with no one superior than the other. Therefore, any developmental plan that forms part of the social contract should be based on equality and justice. The government conveys its plans by means of developmental projects, protecting human rights, offering services and ensuring that service delivery is made public to all, thereby promoting the practice of good governance. The APRM project is also one way the government can show its responsibility towards people of the WC, as well as a way of staying true to the agreed social contract. Therefore, this project should give enough and equal room to both men and women and not to be implemented in an unlawful manner. The level of participation between women and men was not consistent as there was only one NGO representing women that was consulted. There was not enough social dialogue that could enhance the capacity of women to fully engage in this project and subsequently empower themselves. Men were more visible and informed during the discussions. It is therefore important for the government to come up with ways that can improve women's social conditions.



Locke (1988: 185) believes that “an institution or practice that is detrimental to individual men and women is illegitimate”. Therefore, a government that favours men at the expense of women is considered to be dishonest and unlawful, and hence is not keeping true to the socially bound contract. Other sceptical states share the opinion that this mechanism is not a standardized peer review mechanism for every country and that it is European idealism impractical for the Africans and to African states.

Looking at the foregoing, one can argue that the matter of principle in the APRM practice clearly has a significant effect on service rendered. It should be noted that the success and sustainability of the program is dependent on how it is applied, and what themes are given high priority for execution. There is a lot to be reviewed and be learned within the process itself. To be able to see how the objectives of the project have been met requires an observation of people's lives. This will make a big difference from the project only being good on paper.

Notably, the APRM approach took a top-down consultative manner where decisions were made at a high level by government officials who were the driving force of the programme. This is one of the challenges that the program faced, hence limiting its chances for being a success.

4.3 Summary

The findings of this study reveal poor application of the ARPM in the WC. This indicates that women's needs were not clearly addressed in the application of the program. Subsequently, the principles of governance did not fit well with service delivery. The absence of these principles suggests that the APRM exercise was not implemented effectively. Implementation was authorised by a single entity. In this, case by the government. The civil society merely followed. Limited resources were also a major challenge which hindered the success of the program. The findings suggest that women were not granted the opportunity to fully understand and engage in the exercise. The most dominating groups were men and this created a backlog in women being progressive in all parts of development. However, the interviews suggest that there has been a slight improvement as compared to previous years.

The review exercise could have been better managed if certain things were done differently, especially the inclusion of women and the creation of a platform for them to exercise their human rights and add value to the WC province. In this way, development can be a sustainable factor. Social equality is an important character in development and therefore, it must be noted in programs such as the APRM.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

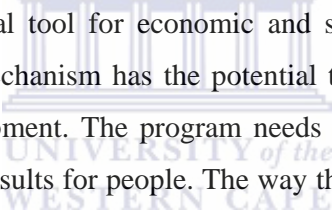
The main focus of this chapter is to draw a conclusion for this study basing on the research findings. The research findings are the source, as they give answers to the research question. The findings also play a big role as they stand in comparison to what the existing literature say about the role of women in the APRM process.

The focal point for this research is about the role of women in the implementation of the APRM in the Western Cape Province. Various discussions came forth and highlighted positive and negative achievements in the implementation of the program in relation to the women's role. The discussions also addressed the relative nature of the study on how effective the exercise/project was and how it added value to the social development of the province. All these discussions came from the people who were interviewed to give insight on their experience and thoughts about the project.

On the overall, the findings gathered here report that there is a limited inclusion of women in the APRM project, be it at the community level or during the task team gatherings. However, it is noted that women's involvement in government (including in the APRM project) matters has slightly improved as compared to the years of the undemocratic state/government. These results point out the gap that needs to be filled by government to ensure that in social development, there are no gender imbalances.

The African Peer Review Mechanism is another form of addressing the socio-economic factors affecting women. This project has the potential to rectify imbalances provided it is done in a constructive manner, especially by injecting principles of good governance practice. The level of this practice here in this project is found to be relatively low also, for instance, when it comes to transparency, processes projected by this exercise were somehow put out of sight. The committee had no budget allocated for this project, leading to some conclusion that the role of the state was

overwhelming women participation. It is concluded that the state was controlling the process, this was done in a non-democratic way and women participation was limited. To sum up, good governance principles were inadequately incorporated in the program, hence the program was unsuccessful, was unsustainable and ultimately died a 'slow death'. It is reported that the project was difficult to maintain and to keep "alive", due to the potential risks that it posed. Summarily, these strains include low levels of people's awareness of the program and its meaning and purpose, how people would involve themselves in a program they know little about was a big issue. The committee and government had a duty to ensure that people (community) were well aware and knowledgeable about the project. On the level of ensuring participation, this could have been done through numerous workshops, educational sessions, awareness rising, pamphlets interpreted in simple languages, perhaps in indigenous languages which people can understand so that they get to know the contents and objectives of the program.



The APRM is a fundamental tool for economic and social transformation, if it is applied accordingly. The mechanism has the potential to end poverty, social/gender inequities, and underdevelopment. The program needs to be nurtured so that it can work and produce positive results for people. The way this can be done is through the establishment of infrastructure, building human capacity, having respect for people and for the APRM itself and also mobilizing resources in a non-corrupt way.

It should be noted that the success of the APRM is dependent on a sound administrative capacity. Members of the task team reported a shortage of staff and people who were employed to delegate. There were insufficient finances to pay the staff due to lack of budget allocation. This could only spell misinterpretation of the process, as there was a general presence of low morale amongst staff. If one has a negative attitude and feels demoralized, his/her views are not taken seriously and one becomes incompetent in delivering services. This was the case in some of the task team members, as they felt that the state did not do enough to encourage and promote self-determination amongst NGO members, civil society, and women in particular. This brings out the point of the effectiveness of the project and to assess its relation to

uplift the socio economic development of the WC citizens and women of the provinces, which is the research question.

Based on the challenges faced by the project, it is clear that it was not effective. The project was more or less done to meet government targets, it was a 'rush-rush' process, and certain things were not taken into consideration. The planning, which ought to be a thorough and detailed process was cut short, creating a situation whereby the implementation and the ending phase of this process were drastically reduced. This damaged the face of the APRM in people's eyes, no one now talks about it, people feel it did not bring any value to their lives and certainly did not improve the level of women inclusion. These are challenges that were to be easily avoided, so that this project could bring change in people's conditions. The level of trust between the government and the people has also been affected, people have little trust in the government and the existing social contract between the two has been breached. It seems the government did not meet its side of the bargain to ensure that people live in harmony and bridge gaps between men and women in terms of empowerment and allocation of resources, be it creating platforms for women to engage or empowering them financially.

The participation of the community in governance issues remains imperative. This includes the engagement of civil society, NGOs and specific women's groups. This will enhance the success of the program. People can feel that they own the program rather than feeling that the APRM is state owned. This requires continuous consultation between the local community, the international community, the government, civil society groups and relevant stakeholders. This consultation will ensure that this program is transparent and meets the requirements of effective leadership. It is only then that human rights can be protected and the provincial and local government can render services in a more productive and conducive way. This also in a way creates a sense of equal partnership among all involved. This partnership is based on respect, trust, anti corrupt practice and cohesion. It is also important for the province to allow other provinces, countries to be part of the monitoring in their province as this will give objective results. If there are any challenges observed, the process of monitoring can be used to rectify these. Reports

and feedback must be reported accurately and not on a peripheral level so that government can know where to rectify its mistake honestly as this will impact service delivery.

There can be a true reflection of how the government is doing in terms of service delivery and its relationship with the people. There is a need for cooperation and for government to pave a way for growth and empowerment for its people. There is need for the protection of human rights and for the rule of law to be upheld. The only way these rights can be protected is through ensuring that good governance prevails in government practice. People must be given enough platforms to engage and debate since this contributes to their empowerment. This can be done on a policy implementation level. As the APRM is a monitoring tool, this policy should be coordinated in interdisciplinary teams using interdisciplinary skills. This requires multiple contributors who have the capacity to engage in such a program and not a single individual. This can show that the government is not accountable to itself but to the people. Women can feel that they have a place in the government and that their needs and concerns can be addressed in a fair and non discriminatory way.

A transformed society is one that is innovative and knowledgeable. Information about the APRM and its processes in the WC is important so that it can transform people's minds and their situations. One of the objectives of the project was to transform the lives of the people and eliminate the dependency syndrome so that people can learn to do things for themselves. This will create a complaint-free culture and a self-sufficiency nation. All plans for the project must be consolidated in a collective manner including both men and women so that it becomes effective. Ideas, resources, skills and differences can be integrated for the benefit of the province and to cater for the interest of women in particular. This will not only integrate the province but will also promote developmental plans for economic and political development as well as women's empowerment.

5.2. Recommendations

5.2.1 Implementing Authority

Based on the findings that are inconsistent with the requirements of NEPAD and the AU's policy objective, one of the recommendations can be that the APRM program should not be spear headed by the government or government officials, nor fall under government ministries. This is to avoid too much government control which translates into authoritarian leadership that will negate effective service delivery. One way of alleviating the compulsive leadership in government is through sharing of ideas, consulting the relevant stakeholders and constant engagement.

5.2.2 Women's Participation

Women can be integrated by creating platforms specifically for them, where they will feel enough confidence to participate fully without any feelings of intimidation. This will allow openness and transparency in structures of development. This will strengthen the social contract binding government and people, especially women.

5.2.3 Periodic Reviews

Periodic reviews will be essential in any program that is meant to safeguard the principles of good governance. This is critical in order to ensure that there is no deviation in the implementation of the program. It also ensures that sufficient resources are always allocated to the program.

5.2.4 Consultation

The consultation process in the APRM was limited and hastily. A program such as this requires extensive consultation with all stakeholders in society. Critical among these stakeholders are women, the youth, business and civil society. In a country like South Africa, previously disadvantaged communities should also be adequately consulted.

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