



COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS OF NIGERIA'S MEMBERSHIP OF THE AFRICAN PEER REVIEW MECHANISM (APRM)

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Abstract

This paper evaluates the implementation of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in Nigeria on governance and socio-economic development. It takes stock of the gains and pains of the APRM process in the country. The study employed wholly secondary sources of data collection and utilizes the documentary method of data presentation. Findings from the study revealed that even though Nigeria played a leading role in the process of making the APRM a reality, its leaders only paid lip service to the programme. The country has not witnessed any significant change in the character of governance since its membership of the Mechanism 18 years ago. Nigeria still grapples with the challenges of bad governance as manifest in corruption, insecurity and lack of accountability and justice. It is recommended that for the Country to reap the benefit of APRM, it must keep faith with the basic principles of APRM and implement the National Plan of Action (NPoA).

Keywords: Governance, Good Governance, African Peer Review Mechanism, Development

Abstrait

Ce document évalue la mise en œuvre du Mécanisme africain d'évaluation par les pairs (MAEP) au Nigeria sur la gouvernance et le développement socio-économique. Il fait le point sur les gains et les difficultés du processus du MAEP dans le pays. L'étude a utilisé des sources entièrement secondaires de collecte de données et utilise la méthode documentaire de présentation des données. Les résultats de l'étude ont révélé que même si le Nigéria a joué un rôle de premier plan dans le processus de réalisation du MAEP, ses dirigeants n'ont fait que du bout des lèvres au programme. Le pays n'a pas connu de changement significatif dans le caractère de la gouvernance depuis son adhésion au Mécanisme il y a 18 ans. Le Nigeria est toujours aux prises avec les défis de la mauvaise gouvernance qui se manifestent par la corruption, l'insécurité et le manque de responsabilité et de justice. Il est recommandé que pour que le pays récolte les bénéfices du MAEP, il doit rester fidèle aux principes de base du MAEP et mettre en œuvre le Plan d'action national (PAN).

Mots-clés : Gouvernance, Bonne Gouvernance, Mécanisme Africain d'Evaluation par les Pairs, Développement

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Introduction

The African Union (AU) Heads of State and Government Summit adopted the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in Lusaka, Zambia, in July 2001. NEPAD is a strategic policy framework for Africa's renewal and rebirth. It aims to eradicate poverty and to place countries, individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development, and at the same time to participate actively in the world economy and body politic. The five core principles of NEPAD are: good governance; peace; stability and security; sound economic policy making and management; effective partnerships; and domestic ownership and leadership (NEPAD, 2003).

The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) is the fulcrum of NEPAD good governance initiative. The mechanism is a self-monitoring tool voluntarily acceded to by member states of the African Union (AU). Its objective is to foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices that will lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development, and accelerated regional and economic integration (APRM, 2009; Mamuda, 2013).

Nigeria was at the forefront of the establishment of NEPAD and its agency APRM. In fact, former Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal and Abdelaziz Bouteflik of Algeria were the founding fathers of the NEPAD initiative and its baby the APRM (Kajee, 2004; Aderemi, 2002). The hint of an indigenous development plan by Africa received tremendous support from many Africa states and allies trusting that the APRM provides an African voice for African development challenges. The Mechanism is viewed by many as the most innovative aspect and pinnacle of the NEPAD agenda. The consensus was that if implemented religiously it has the potential of leapfrogging Africa's economic and development capacities.

The primary purpose of the APRM is to foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices that would lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development, and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration (APRM, 2009). The APRM intended to achieve this objective through the sharing of experiences and reinforcement of successful best practice, including identifying differences and assessing need for capacity building. An important aspect of the APRM is the recognition of governance problems as the key determinant of Africa's development challenge.

The APRM proposed to bring together likeminded states committed to the principles of good political, economic and corporate governance, and subjects them to periodic performance reviews by their peers. The final objective of the APRM is country comparison and peer learning amongst African countries to achieve improvement in all aspects of governance. The process involves a systematic review of the participating member states based on the country's self-assessment in the designated APRM thematic areas, namely, Democracy and Political Governance, Economic Governance and Management, Corporate Governance, and Socio-Economic Development (APRM, 2009).

The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the rewards and drawbacks of Nigeria's membership and participation in APRM twenty years on. What is the impact of APRM on governance in Nigeria? Has Nigeria's membership of the APRM changed the character and nature of governance? What are the positives and negatives of Nigeria's participation in the Mechanism? The paper attempts to answer these questions with a view to explaining the benefits and costs of the APRM in enthroning good governance in Nigeria. The study also suggests conditions



under which the identified constraints can be overcome for development. Accordingly, the paper employs Documentary method of analysis.

The paper is divided into six (8) sections, the first section is the introduction, the second section deals with the clarification of concepts used in the study and the section third discusses the New Partnership for Africa's Development, while section four highlights the organization and structure of APRM. Section five examines the politics of APRM in Nigeria, section six assesses the benefits of Nigeria's Participation in APRM while section seven and eight looks at the cost of Nigeria's Participation in APRM and, conclusion and recommendations.

Conceptual Discourse

Governance

The concept of governance is as old as the study of political development. It has been around in both political and academic discourse for a long time. However, in the last decade issues relating to governance have been put on the front burner in development discourse (Mafeje, 2002). The debate on governance in Africa started off as a debate on good governance, a concept first introduced by the World Bank as a response to what was seen as gross mismanagement by African governments. The term governance like many concepts in political science appear not to have an explicit definition, it is often used as an —umbrella concept under which elusive and ill-defined political processes and concerns, as well as desirable goals and value preference can be subsumed (Jerome, 2004).

Adejumobi (2004) stated that the range of definitions that have surfaced on governance can be subsumed into two broad categories. The first category is those who view governance in the technical sense. In this case, the concept borrows directly from its usage in the corporate world. It implies the efficient management of state institutions. Issues of public accountability, transparency in government procedure, rule of law and public sector management are emphasized.

The World Bank for instance applied the technical perspective to its definition which views governance as a system that aims to discipline the state and its institutions for economic purpose. Stoker (1998) observed that in this perspective —governance is the acceptable face of spending cuts... Governance is the political construct of minimalist. The second conceptual perspective to governance is a holistic one that transcends the state and its institutions. "Governance is seen as the process of steering state and society towards the realization of collective goals" (Adejumobi, 2004:78). This definition points to the dynamic but problematic and often contradictory relationship between the state and society.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) (in Adejumobi, 2004:79) attempts to explain the relationship between the State and society in their definition of governance, which describes governance —as a process of social engagement between the rulers and the ruled in political community. Its component parts are rule making and standard setting, management of regime structures and outcome and results of the social pact.

The United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] report (1997) views governance as —the totality of the exercise of authority in the management of a country's affair, comprising the complex mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal right, and mediate their differences.

UNDP's definition encompasses the political, economic, legal, judicial, social and administrative authority and therefore, includes government, the private sector and civil society.



Adejumobi (2004) posits that while there are variations in the holistic conception of governance, there is consensus on the major actors or agency of the governance project. These are the state, civil society and the private sector. He maintained that the state though under enormous attack in the regime of market economy remains a major actor in the governance agenda.

The holistic conception of governance also has an economic undertone, in which the private sector is deliberately emphasized. The essence is to promote and reinforce a market economy. The rural population that constitute the bulk of Africa's population does not feature clearly in the conception of governance, whereas the civil society that is basically urban based, and the private sector that is small, and limited in Africa are prioritized. The predominant definitions postulated by most western scholars and liberal institutions in the present conjuncture is essentially a 'post strong state' market driven phenomenon (Adejumobi, 2004).

Good Governance

From the forgoing definitions of governance, inferences can be made as to what good governance is. Adejumobi (2004) notes that good governance flows logically from the concept of governance. He suggested that —governance becomes 'good' when it operated in accordance with legal and ethical principles as conceived by society. On the other hand, Jerome (2004) explains, four aspects of governance which have been identified from the various literatures on governance. These are authority, reciprocity, trust, and accountability. when these elements are jointly present, the greater is the likelihood of good governance and the opposite when they are weak. Governance has links with participatory development, human rights and democratization.

Good governance as an approach for attaining growth and development in the developing world has been vigorously criticized, it is suggested that the paradigm is ultimately ahistorical and acontextual, ignoring the role of power, politics and social relations in forging the particular institutional structures of any given country. Thus, it is accused of asserting technocratic solutions to political problems (Rodrick, 2008; Parthasarathy, 2005).

Rodrick (2008) notes that as with other such liberalist 'prerequisite' models of development, debates continue as to whether 'good governance' is as much a product of growth or as an input. The evidence of sustained growth following many institutional reforms is virtually non-existent, and that at the very least reforms should be prioritized and staggered. Rodrick (2008) observed that an insight that emerged out of the disappointments of the Washington Consensus is that successful policy reform is at its core governance reform. Reforms in the areas of trade or fiscal policy require much more than just cuts in tariffs and a balancing of the budget. To achieve lasting change with real impact on the behavior of those agents that determine the success of reform, it is imperative to change the —rules of the game— the manner in which trade policy is made or fiscal policy is conducted (Rodrick, 2008).

There is no doubt that there is a positive correlation between good governance and high income, it is now widely accepted that there is a casual link from the former to the latter. What is not clear is how this association provides a frame of reference to guide strategic plan towards bringing high growth. Rodrik (2008) argued that there is not any econometric evidence to suggest standard governance criteria leads to growth and development. In fact, there several countries of the world that are witnessing rapid growth despite poor governance record. Examples are China, Vietnam, Cambodia to mention a few.

Scholars like Parthasarathy (2005) contended that good governance has been commodified and made tools for profit making by international capitalism. The imposition of



liberalist model of development is at the heart of international institutions that are clamoring for governance reforms in developing countries. And their model rejects the considerations of non-market economic models and an unquestioning attitude towards economic liberalization. This model condemns certain forms of government as unethical and undemocratic and demands for economic sovereignty are outrightly rejected, while it celebrates ethical and legal ideas tied to institutional and economic liberalism which these institutions impose on developing countries in a hegemonic manner. Parthasarathy (2005) claims that ethics and laws are commodified, branded, packaged and sold to countries —affected by governance crisis by Bretton Wood institutions.

Parthasarathy (2005) also postulates that the good governance debates of the 1990s and beyond echoes both the modernization debate of the 1960s, as well as the civilizational mission of colonizers encapsulated in the rhetoric about the ‘white man’s burden’. Just as the basis for superiority earlier was the gap in science and technology between Europe and the newly-discovered areas, and an apparent inability of colonized peoples to govern themselves, in recent times efforts to explain the lack of progress of non-European societies has led to the identification of lack of good governance, and the taking up of good governance as a *civilizing mission*. Most good governance projects are couched in terms of charity and are not rooted in rights claims.

New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD)

The NEPAD is a development framework of the African Union (AU), it is a policy framework designed to assist African States to engage constructively with advanced capitalist countries of the world. It calls on African States to adopt policies and paradigms that tie the continent’s economy closer to economic and political liberalization of capital. This stratagem is referred to as making globalization work for the poor countries.

NEPAD is like the Marshall Plan for Africa. Its origin is linked to the O.A.U (Organization of Africa Unity) extraordinary summit held in Sirte, Libya in September 1999 (Adesina 2002). The summit mandated President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa and President Abdelaziz Boutefliq of Algeria to engage Africa’s creditors on the total cancellation of Africa’s external debts. Thereafter, the work on NEPAD which at its earlier stage was christened the Millennium partnership for Africa Recovery Programme (MAP) went through series of bilateral and multilateral engagements which led to the integration of various initiatives and in July 2001 it was renamed New Africa Initiative (NAI) and presented to the OAU summit of Heads of State and government in Lusaka, Zambia (NEPAD 2002).

The basic document of NEPAD is driven from the earlier document, NAI, which itself was a merger of two parent documents namely, MAP and Omega Plan of former president of Senegal Abdoulaye Wade (Adesina 2002). In essence NEPAD is structured into three components as shown in table 1.



Table 1: The Structure and Content of NEPAD

Component 1: Pre-condition for sustainable development	Component II: Sectorial Priorities	Component III: Mobilization of Resources
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • *Peace initiative • *Security Initiative • *Democracy Initiative • *Political government Initiative • *Sub-regional and regional approach to development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • *Bridging infrastructural gap • *Human development Initiative • *Agriculture Initiative • *Environment Initiative • *Culture Initiative • *Science and Technology Platform 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • *Capital Flows Initiative • *Market Access Initiative

Source: Author's Design

The governing structure of NEPAD is made up of an implementation committee of Heads of State and government, a steering committee and a secretariat in Pretoria South Africa. The implementation committee meets three times in a year. The steering committee is charged with the task of developing a strategic plan for marketing NEPAD at national, subregional, regional and international levels to mobilize domestic support and facilitating private-public sector partnership. The various organs of AU were given responsibility of specific implementable project. These were: -

- i). Capacity Building on Peace and Security – Organization of African Unity (OAU);
- ii). Economic and Corporate Governance — United Nations Economic Commission for Africa UNECA;
- iii). Infrastructure – African Development Bank (ADB);
- iv). Central bank and Financial Standard – ADB;
- v). Agriculture and Market Access - OAU

The central approach of NEPAD is to focus on a new partnership with the industrialized countries based on enhanced trade and economic partnership that promote Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). NEPAD framework apparently offer a two-pronged strategy for economic development of Africa. The first is to work in partnership with the donor nations of the developed world and other partners in development, and the second is to address some of Africa's governance and economic problem—in house through adoption of best practices that promotes good governance. It is the second objectives that gave birth to the APRM.

Organization and Structure of APRM

The recognition by African leaders that poor governance is the cause of Africa's development crisis prompted them to establish the APRM, which require African states to share experiences and reinforce successful best practices, including identifying differences and assessing need for capacity building. The main objective of the APRM is to foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices that will lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development, and accelerated regional and economic integration (APRM, 2009:13). These standards are measured through a process of peer review. The APRM is open to all member



states of the AU. Thus, so far, 29 African countries have voluntarily acceded. As of December 2020, 29 countries had formally joined the APRM by signing the MoU on the APRM. These countries are shown in Table 2.

Of the 29 member countries, twelve (12) countries have been peer reviewed and are currently implementing their National Programmes of Action (NPoAs). In fact, some countries are set for the second circle of review, the Nigerian presidency just announced on August 8, 2021 its readiness to commence the second peer review process.

The overall responsibility for the APRM is vested in the committee of member states of participating Heads of State and government (APR Forum). The 7-member Panel of Eminent Persons (APR Panel) appointed by the Heads of State oversees the conduct of the APRM processes and ensures the integrity of the APRM. And the Mechanism has a secretariat that provides secretarial services, general services and technical support for all the organs of the APRM. The continental structures of the APRM are as shown in Figure 1 about here).

Table 2: Countries that have signed MoU on APRM

S/N	Name of countries	S/N	Name of countries
1	Algeria	16	Uganda
2	Burkina Faso	17	Egypt
3	Republic of Congo	18	Benin
4	Ethiopia	19	Malawi
5	Ghana	20	Lesotho
6	Kenya	21	Tanzania
7	Cameroun	22	Angola
8	Gabo	23	Sierra Leone
9	Mali	24	Sudan
10	Mauritius	25	Zambia
11	Mozambique	26	Sao Tome and Principe
12	Nigeria	27	Djibouti
13	Rwanda	28	Mauritania
14	Senegal	29	Togo
15	South Africa		

Source: APRM Secretariat, 2020.

The national structures in Nigeria are shown in Fig 2 (bout here). The Civil Society Panel shown is not a critical requirement but optional, member states may decide not to adopt it. However, some countries may incorporate the Civil Society Panel into the National Coordinating Mechanism or as structure of the Co-ordinating Mechanism. —The danger is that, in less democratic societies, the composition of this panel will be tightly controlled by government, effectively providing a barrier between civil on the ground and the APR process of instead of facilitating greater civil society involvement (Kajee 2004).

At the national level the Focal point is the link between the national structures and the continent ones, e.g. the APR Panel and Secretariat. It a ministerial level position, most members of the APRM appointed ministers as Focal Point, however, Nigeria appointed the Secretary of



the Federal Government. The process and procedures of Peer review are spelt out in the base document of the APRM. Member states that are ready for the review are hand down an 88-page Self-Assessment questionnaire. Details on the standards and codes as well as the objectives are contained in the questionnaire which focuses on the Mechanism's four thematic area, namely, democratic and political governance, economic governance and management, corporate governance, and socio-economic development. Then a Country Review Mission comprising eminent personalities will visit the State and meet with the national APRM coordinating structures and thereafter, submit its report to the APR Forum and grounded on the result of the assessment the country the under review will develop a National Programme of Action (NPOA) to address identified defects in governance.

An APRM Trust fund was established by UNDP at the request of the APR Forum. Several African member states have contributed to the fund. Details of the contributions in US Dollars are shown in table 3 (about here). African Contribution was 73% of the total.

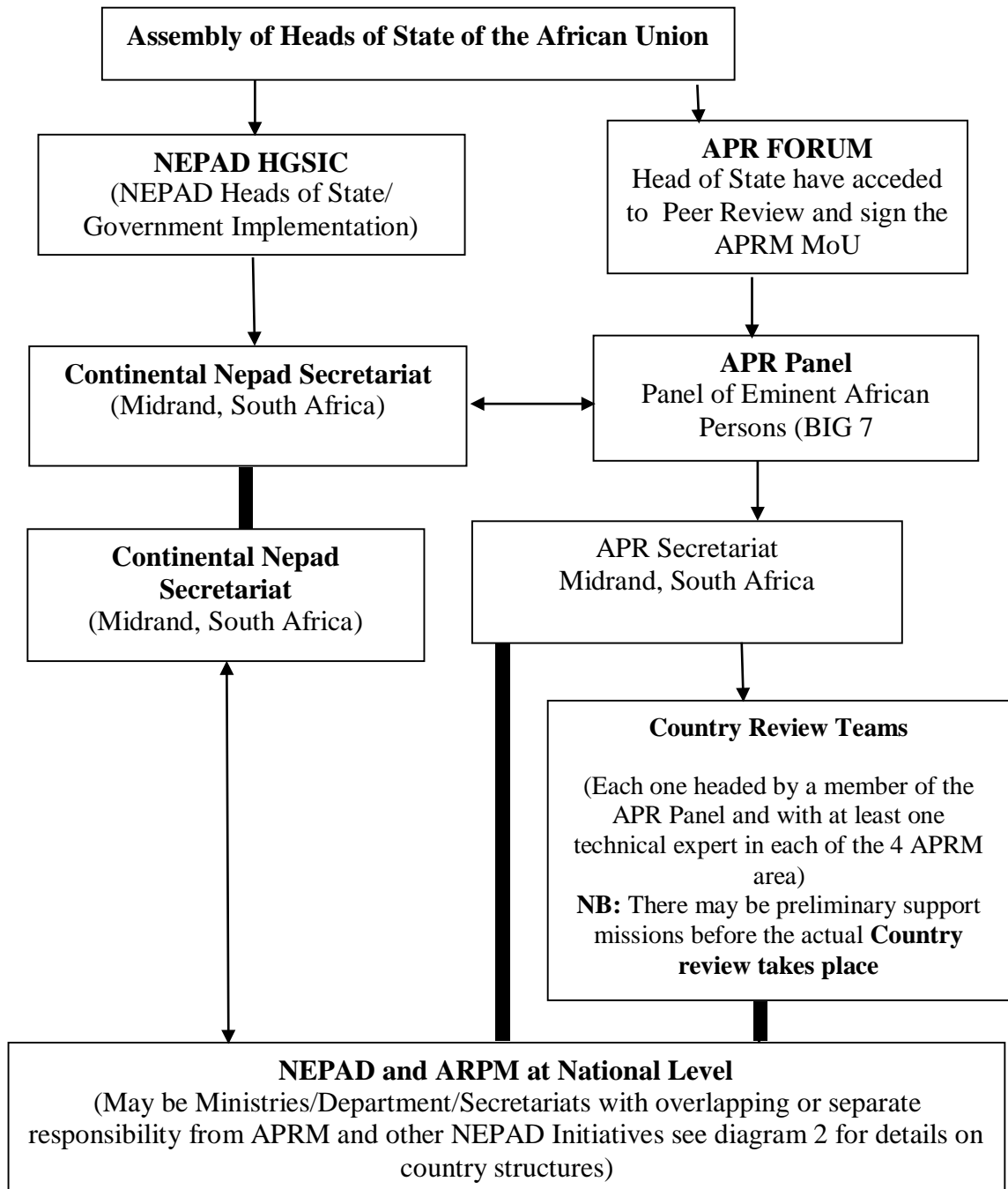


Fig 1: The Continental NEPAD and APRM Structures. Source: Kajee (2004, p.5)

Diagram 2: The APRM Structures at national level

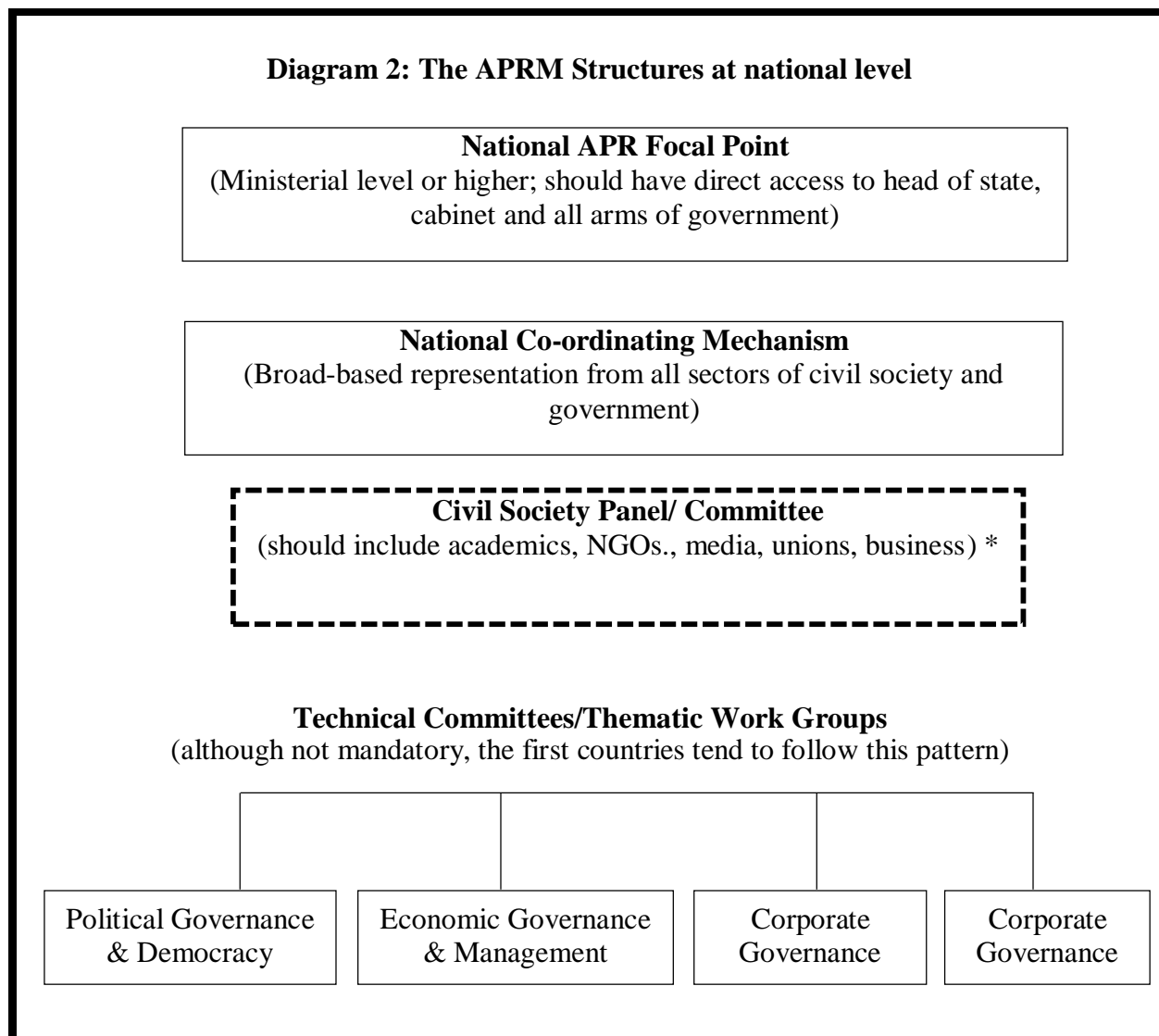


Fig. 2: APRM Structures at the National Level. **Source:** Kajee (2004)

Table 3: APRM Trust fund and African Contribution

S/N	Countries	Amount (US\$)
1	South Africa	6.800.000
2	Algeria	1.500,000
3	Egypt	1,100,000
4	Nigeria	1,500,000
5	Other African Countries	3,650,000
6	Canada	5,700,000
7	UNDP	2,700,000
8	DFID (UK Government	2,000,000

The Politics of APRM in Nigeria



As earlier mentioned Nigeria was at forefront of the establishment of APRM and it signed the Memorandum of understanding and the founding agreement that establishes the mechanism, after acceding to APRM at the sixth summit of NEPAD Heads of State and Government implementation Committee (HSGIC) meeting held in Abuja on 9th March 2003.

Former President Obasanjo was elected as the first chairman of the APR Forum, at the meeting of Heads of state and government that acceded to the APR process. Jinadu (2008) argued that this commitment to the APRM should be viewed as an expression of a new political will to come to terms with the country's post-independence constitutional and political history, characterized by yawning deficits in ethics, accountability and transparency in public life and politics, and, until civilian rule was re-established in May 1999. Jinadu (2008) also contends that the progress of the APR process in Nigeria must also be located within the context of national elections in April 2003 and April 2007 and the politics of presidential succession. Nigeria signed the APRM MoU just before the 2003 elections that gave former President Obasanjo a second and final term in office. Thereafter, the process was briefly stalled and later reinvigorated following the installation of late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua in May 2007.

The general elections of April 2003 and April 2007 were marred by rigging and controversies, several results were challenged in court and many results were overturned by the courts. Nonetheless, the April 2007 presidential elections represented a milestone in the country's constitutional and political history, marking the first transfer of power from one elected civilian president to another (Jinadu, 2008). Furthermore, the 2015 general elections which usher in a new government form by an opposition also cemented the country's democratic credentials thereby positioning it for the second round of the review process.

Earlier, former President Obasanjo's Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) had put forward proposals that the constitution's two-term limit for the presidency be set aside, to enable a tenure extension. During the lead up to the April 2007 elections and the politicking over the succession to President Obasanjo, from mid-2006 to April 2007, the APR process appeared to stall. This was indicative of the lack of sincerity of President Obasanjo to keep faith with the basic tenants of APRM good governance initiative. Civil society groups and concerned Nigerians involved in the APRM process believed that the administration was unwilling to proceed aggressively with a report that might expose a manipulated political process of selfsuccession that violated the core principles of the APRM (Jinadu, 2008).

However, the swearing in of President Yar'adua in May 2007 changed the dynamics of the game and immediately action was taken to revive the APRM in Nigeria, as part of a wider confidence-building process, which included setting in motion the machinery for electoral reform in the country. President Goodluck Jonathan who succeeded the late President Yar'adua maintained the structures and machinery put in place by his predecessor. The implementation of APRM in Nigeria was in line with its base documents. Nigeria established the requisite national structures to facilitate the APR Panel's Country Survey Mission (CSM) visit to Nigeria between 21 and 24 March 2005. However, the Nigerian APRM process encountered some challenges, particularly those relating to managing and financing the diverse and complex research institutions selected but were resolved later.

Nigeria submitted its final Country Self-Assessment Report (CSAR) and draft NPoA to the APR Panel in January 2008. This paved the way for the Country Review Meeting (CRM), which was conducted between February 3 and March 2, 2008. Another important milestone in the politics of ARM in Nigeria was the 2015 general elections, which ushered in a new



government by the opposition party. There were fears that the outcome of the election might cause crisis taking cognizance of the attitude of African leaders sit-tight syndrome. The NPoA implementation in Nigeria was to commence in 2009 to 2012. The costed NPoA and the updated Country Self-Assessment Report (CSAR) were endorsed by the National Working Group (NWG) and the Federal Executive Council (FEC) (the highest decisionmaking body of the executive arm of the federal government) on 28 December 2007 and 9 January 2008 respectively.

Benefits of Nigeria's Participation in APRM

One of the benefits of Nigeria's participation in the APRM process has been the success in enduring democratic rule since 1999 to date. The country has made appreciable stride in the right direction since 1999 (Ibeanu & Egwu, 2007). The success stories includes the successful return of the country to constitutional rule in 1999, conduct of the first post-transitional election in 2003 without a major national crisis, and the conduct of the first ever election in 2015 that saw a transition from the government in power to an opposition party without any rancor. This was indeed a great feat that should be celebrated.

Establishment of public accountability institutions such as the Bureau for Public Procurement and some anti-corruption agencies such as the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and the Code Conduct Bureau. The establishment of these institutions has brought the issue of transparency and accountability to the front burner of public discourse in Nigeria. Again, some corruption cases charged to court by these public accountability institutions have led to the convictions of some prominent figures, example of which are the former governor of Plateau State Mr. Joshua Dariye and the former Governor of Taraba State Mr. Jolly Nyame for corruption offences.

Another merit of Nigeria's membership of the APRM is that the Country ratified several international treaties that have been outstanding for many years. For example, international convention civil liability for oil pollution damage (Ratification and enforcement) Act, 2006-signed February 22, 2006, International convention on establishment of an international fund for compensation for oil pollution damage (Ratification and enforcement) Act, 2006-signed December 22, 2006, United Nations convention on carriage of good by sea (Ratification and enforcement) Act, 2005-signed January 25, 2005, to mention a few.

The Nigeria State also embarked on the reform of its bureaucracy to make it more efficient in provision of services, the reforms of the public service in 2005, popularly known as monetization, led to far reaching changing in the service. The over bloated service was right sized to reduce overhead cost on national income. Banking sector reforms, the most prominent among which is the 2005 bank consolidation reforms which were aimed at raising the capital of commercial banks to make them stronger and more efficient was also one of the best practice mentioned by APRM review report on Nigeria.

Cost of Nigeria's Participation in APRM

The coordinating structure put in place to drive the APRM process in Nigeria, suffers from excessive executive dominance which poses serious challenge to maintaining the independence of the process. The national institutions established for the APRM are highly dependent on the federal executive, e.g., for finance and staff (Jinadu, 2008; APRM, 2010). Again, the reforms of the public service and banking sector did not yield the desired results. Successive governments in Nigeria have introduced reforms aimed at improving the efficiency of the civil service. Eleven major reforms have been initiated since the colonial era with minimal results.



Table 4: Civil Service Reforms in Nigeria

Year	Commission
1934	Hunt Commission
1945	Harragin Commission
1948	Foot Commission
1954	Philipson-Adebo Commission
1954	Gorsuch Commissiobn
1959	Mbanefo Commission
1963	Morgan Commission
1966	Eldwood Commission
1971	Adebo Commission
1972	Udoji Commission
1985	Dotun Philips Commission
1988	Decree No. 43
1994	Ayilda Review Panel
2005	Public Service Reform

Source: Adapted and updated from Jerome (2004:216)

A plausible explanation offered by Jerome (2009) relates to the endemic nature of corruption and rent-seeking opportunities in all sectors of the economy. Corruption is the major problem in Nigeria, despite its membership of the APRM. Transparency International CPI still places the country as a highly corruption endemic country with the rating of 149/180 in 2020 (Transparency International, 2020). It is the bane of the country's development. Some celebrated cases of corruption since the inception of the APRM are listed below in table 5 (about here).

Corruption is endemic at every level throughout the system of government. These had led to social frustration, marginalization and alienation of the people, a situation that creates social conflict and political instability which in turn triggers economic stagnation. As a result of endemic corruption there is increased multifaceted deadly conflicts in Nigeria which manifest in form of terrorism, insurgency and banditry which has claimed many lives and turn over 3 million innocent citizens into refugees and IDPs (Internally Displaced people) in the country. These conflicts are threatening the corporate existence of Nigeria. Example of these conflicts is the raging Boko Haram terrorist's insurgence in north eastern Nigeria, IPOB rebellion in eastern Nigerian, banditry in north western of the country among others.

The aim of APRM is to get members states to adopt good governance polices which in turn will propel development and reduce the incidence of poverty. After eighteen (18) years of Nigeria's membership of the APRM, addressing the incidences of poverty and inequality remains the major challenge of the Nigeria state. The World Bank has predicted that by the year 2022 the poverty incidences in Nigeria will be at 45.2%, implying that 100.9 million people in Nigeria will be living in poverty (World Bank, 2020).

Another failure of the APRM initiative in the country is the lack buy in by other tiers of government. APRM Nigeria is essentially anchored by the Federal Government. State and Local Governments in the country are yet to buy in to APRM initiative (Jinadu 2008). Again, very few Nigerians know about the APRM, and a cardinal principle of the APRM is the



mobilization of people to take ownership of the Mechanism and driving the process. Unfortunately, the is not the case in Nigeria.

Finally, the National Programme of Action (NPoA) designed to address the issues raised by the Country Review Report (CRR) has largely gone unheeded to. This apparent lack of interest has been attributed to the agency's lack of teeth to enforce compliance.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Findings from the study revealed that the implementation of APRM has an inconsequential effect on the landscape of governance in Nigeria. The Nigeria government and its political leadership have not kept faith with the core principles of the APRM. The programme of action which is the roadmap to achieving the goals of the APRM has remained largely untouched since its production. Bad governance is manifest everywhere in the Nigerian state, elections rigging, and corruption remains endemic in Nigeria despite the APRM process; it is the main reason for poverty in the country. Conflicts in form of terrorism associated with Boko Haram, armed Banditry, kidnapping and insurgency have made the country very unstable and are threatening to make it a failed State.

Based on the findings of the study, it therefore recommended that any initiative that will enthrone good governance in Nigeria is a welcome idea, because the importance of good governance in promoting sustainable development cannot be exaggerated. Good governance has a direct correlation with peace, security, democracy, and socio-economic development. Documented evidence has established a link between democratic and accountable government and the ability to achieve growth economic and development. Therefore, Nigerian government must push and rededicate itself to the core principles of APRM and political elites must show in clear terms the willingness to adopt and commit to the APRM process.

Table 5: Some Top Corruption Cases in Nigeria

S/NO	Description	Amount	Year
1	Julius Mankanjuola a former permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Defence and Messers R.O Igbasan, Iro matazu, Rowland Okeke and Razaq Ayodele Ope	N421 million	2002
2	SAGEM-National I.D Card affairs		2003
	involving former internal affairs of Minister, the late Chief Sunday Afolabi, former Internal Affairs Minister Mohammed Shatta and Alhaji Hussemi Akwanga, the permanent internal Affairs, Ms Turie Akerele (all of whom were accused of pocketing between \$30,000 and \$500,000)	\$214 million	



3	Improper payment to principal officers of the Nigerian Federal inland Revenue service in years 2001 – 2002 by Halliburton, a United States oil Company to obtain favorable tax treatment in Nigeria.	\$2.4 million	2003
4	Bribe by four company consortium of Halliburton's leel log Brown and root, Technip of France, Snamprogetti SPA of Italy and Japan Gasoline corporation, to win a lucrative contract to build a large liquefied natural gas plant in Bonny.	\$180 million	2003
5	COJA (8 th Africa games) of October 4 – 18, 2003. Coja Chieftain and their romance with German auto industry, BMW, in preference to the local assembly plant, PAN, as well as the company JVC through Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) winning and later having it re-awarded to Ace Computer/ Thompson Broadcast international system for \$51 million without invalidating the first contract, with allegation that one of such contracts was said to have been awarded to a company owned by Mrs. Stella Obasanjo, The said was contract awarded for ₦6 billion for the furniture for game village. This cost Ben- Murrey- Bruce his NTA Directorship job. It was preceded by mass seizure by SSS of TELL's June 30,2003 edition	₦38 billion	
	with the headline scandal in Aso Rocks Anti – Corruption Campaign. A fraud		
6	Governor Joshua Dariye and his million dollars in Britian.	\$2 million	2003
7	Governor Alamieyeseigha money laundering scandal in Britain.	₦3 billion	2003



8	I.G Tafa Balagun financial corruption of over ₦13 billion	Over ₦13 billion	2004
9	The education ministry's bribe-for-Budget involving professor Osuji Minister, Senate president Nwabara and others		2005
10	The Ikoyi Housing Scandal involving minister Mobolaji Osomo and others.		2006
11	The Maina Pension Scam: Probe into pension funds that affected about 141,790 pensioners. Abdulrashid Maina, Chairman of Pension reform Task team, was accused of looting	₦195Billion	2018
12	Stella Oduah scandal: former minister of aviation was embroiled in a scandal involving purchased of armored cars.	₦225Billion	2015
13	Malabu Oil scandal :	\$1.1Million	

Source: Adapted and updated from Aluko (2005)

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