The new partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD): An analysis of the perceptions and challenges

Stephen Oluwarotimi Olowoye
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ABSTRACT

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DEVELOPMENT

OLOWOYE, STEPHEN O. B.S., UNIVERSITY OF NORTH LONDON, 1999 M.A., CITY UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, 2003

THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA’S DEVELOPMENT (NEPAD):
AN ANALYSIS OF THE PERCEPTIONS AND CHALLENGES

Advisor: Dr. Art Hansen

Dissertation dated May 2008

The study analyzed perceptions and challenges of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) as it attempted to achieve its set goals and objectives. A mixed methods approach was used to chronicle the perceptions of a sample of stakeholders towards NEPAD and also the challenges NEPAD faced. A survey and personal interviews were conducted using a sample of stakeholders in Nigeria and the Republic of South Africa. These stakeholders included African civil society, the public and private sectors, academia, government officials, and NEPAD officials.

Using the data collected, the researcher found that the participants initially perceived NEPAD with skepticism, which changed as they embraced the NEPAD concept. The researcher also learned that the challenges NEPAD faced included the lack of financial resources and skilled labor, as well as the limited awareness about NEPAD among Africans.

The conclusion drawn from the findings was that the sampled stakeholders
perceived NEPAD as an African-grown initiative for Africa’s socio-economic development and that NEPAD still had a lot of challenges to overcome. The data gathered during this research may be used to increase the awareness about NEPAD and assist NEPAD in resolving the challenges that it continues to face.
THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT (NEPAD):
AN ANALYSIS OF THE PERCEPTIONS AND CHALLENGES

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
STEPHEN OLUWAROTIMI OLOWOYE

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
AND DEVELOPMENT

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
MAY 2008
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In life, one expects to achieve certain milestones. If one does not set forth to accomplish the first step, such milestones remain dreams. The accomplishment of this degree could not have been possible without God Almighty. I express my gratitude for the blessings and wisdom given to me to accomplish such an academic milestone.

My profound gratitude rests with Dr. Art Hansen, chairperson of the Department of International Affairs and Development, for his constant support and genuine guidance. I also thank Dr. Kwaku Danso for his relentless words of encouragement and constructive criticism in guiding this dissertation. I also wish to thank Dr. Henry Elonge for his enthusiastic cooperation and continuous contributions and advice.

I am very grateful to my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Bernardino Ogunsina Doregos, for their support both financially and spiritually. I also wish to thank my brothers and sisters along with all my family members for their emotional and moral support. I am also grateful to my friends and colleagues for all their support and advice. Their words of encouragement meant the world to me.

To my dearest Tara Elizabeth Stubbs-Olowoye, your undying love and support through this time never seemed to miss a moment. I am grateful for your patience, inspiration, and encouragement along with all your help in making this possible. Finally, I dedicate this dissertation to all the citizens of Africa for their patience and endurance in achieving a better and more developed Africa.
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<tr>
<td>AAF-SAP</td>
<td>African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-Economic Recovery</td>
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<td>ADB</td>
<td>African Development Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AEC</td>
<td>African Economic Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>APRM</td>
<td>African Peer Review Mechanism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of South East Asian Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>CFAI</td>
<td>Canada Fund for African Initiatives</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIDA</td>
<td>Canada International Development Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECA</td>
<td>Economic Commission for Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGI</td>
<td>Economic Governance Initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>G8</td>
<td>Group of Eight</td>
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<tr>
<td>GESI</td>
<td>Global Environmental Sanitation Initiative</td>
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<td>GIS</td>
<td>Geographic Information Systems</td>
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<td>HIPC</td>
<td>Heavily Indebted Poor Countries</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>HSGIC</td>
<td>Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee</td>
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<td>ICT</td>
<td>Information Communication Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFI</td>
<td>International Financial Institutions</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>LPA</td>
<td>Lagos Plan of Action</td>
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<td>MAP</td>
<td>Millennium Partnership for African Recovery Programme</td>
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<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<td>MoU</td>
<td>Memorandum of Understanding</td>
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<td>NAFTA</td>
<td>North American Free Trade Agreement</td>
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<td>NEPAD</td>
<td>New Partnership for African Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organization of African Unity</td>
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<tr>
<td>ODA</td>
<td>Overseas Development Assistance</td>
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<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>Regional Economic Communities</td>
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<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
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<td>SAP</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programme</td>
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<td>SC</td>
<td>Steering Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>TNC</td>
<td>Transnational Corporation</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNECA</td>
<td>United Nations Economic Commission for Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNTCDA</td>
<td>United Nations Transport and Communications Decade for Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
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<td>WTO</td>
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Problem Definition

The lack of economic development on the African continent is a well-known problem that has desolated the continent for decades. The age of globalization has brought into light new development problems for the continent, especially the marginalization of Africa in the international community. In response to these problems, African leaders initiated the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), a socio-economic development plan that hoped to end the political, social and economic development malaise on the continent and place Africa in its rightful place within the international community.

NEPAD was designed to address the challenges facing the African continent. Issues such as escalating poverty levels, underdevelopment, and the continued marginalization of Africa needed a new radical intervention, spearheaded by African leaders, who intended to develop a new vision that would guarantee Africa’s renewal. But was NEPAD just another attempt by African leaders to solve Africa’s socio-economic development woes that would end in failure?

Globalization has spurred regions of the world to come together to form regional economic blocs, such as the European Union (EU) in Europe, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in North America and the Association of South East Asian
Nations (ASEAN) in South East Asia. The EU was formed in 1992, NAFTA in 1994 and ASEAN in 1967. The purpose of these economic groupings was to encourage increased trade through the breaking down of economic barriers within those regions and increasing the free flow of labor, goods and services.

African leaders acknowledged the need for Africa to move in the same direction in order for the region not to be left behind. In 1999, Africa transformed the Organization of African Unity (OAU) into the African Union (AU). The transformation was to move beyond the political to incorporate economic aspirations. The Libyan President Muammar al-Gaddafi initiated the creation of the African Union at the Fifth Extraordinary OAU Summit in Sirte, Libya, in 1999. Abdalla Bujra stated that this was an important milestone in the process of creating continental political unity and the African Economic Community (AEC). It was a major achievement made by African leaders and a triumph for Pan-Africanism, and it also moved towards the realization of the need for Africa and Africans to unify. The African Union became fully functional in 2001, and in October of the same year African leaders pledged to end the scourge of maldevelopment on the continent with the launching of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD). They considered that this socio-economic development plan was vital in order for the Africa continent to change the African pessimistic characteristics of continuous lack of political will, poverty, accountability, and viable economic growth.

NEPAD was a fusion of South Africa’s President Thabo Mbeki’s vision contained in his *Millennium Partnership for African Recovery Programme (MAP)* and Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade’s *OMEGA Plan*. Mbeki’s MAP espoused the eradication of poverty through social, economic and political development, and it called for a partnership between Africa and the rest of the world, specifically the developed world, to
assist in achieving African recovery.\textsuperscript{3} Wade’s \textit{OMEGA Plan} acknowledged the economic and social marginalization of the African continent over the past decades and proposed that Africa should come up with a new strategic development vision, with the goal of reaching an average annual economic growth rate of 7 percent.\textsuperscript{4}

African leaders realized that it would be more viable if the MAP and OMEGA Plan were to be merged into one socio-economic plan, which they named NEPAD. This final socio-economic plan was commended for being a homegrown initiative. However, scholars, African civil society and social activists had various perceptions of NEPAD because African leaders had initiated several regional economic integration initiatives in the past, such as the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the 1989 African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programs for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation (AAF-SAP). Both of these initiatives failed to get off the ground because of the lack of financial resources and political will.

In terms of economic development, NEPAD prioritized six areas for policy reform and increased investment: (1) infrastructure (information and communication development, energy, transport, water and sanitation); (2) human resource development (with a focus on health, education, science and technology, and skills development); (3) agriculture (diversification of production and exports, especially agro-industries and mining); (4) the environment; (5) accelerating intra-African trade; and (6) improving access to markets of developed countries.

Improved governance provided the background that was required for success, and NEPAD initiated the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) to address the problem of governance that had bedeviled Africa’s leaders for years. This mechanism would allow countries to review each other’s progress and leadership to promote good governance and
democracy on the African continent. According to the NEPAD secretariat, twenty-three countries signed the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) that complied with the APRM, and a few countries, including Ghana, had actually gone through the review process.

Africa consists of 53 countries; 52 of them (Morocco was the exception) were members of the African Union. These countries had various degrees of economic development, ranging from oil-rich Nigeria to agriculture-producing Sao Tome and Principe. These types of economic disparities, evidenced by the lack of capital by smaller states, had caused several problems in Africa when it came to economic integration. Furthermore, the political instability of many African countries, for example, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d’Ivoire and Zimbabwe, had disrupted political integration. This had caused quite a number of scholars and politicians to wonder whether NEPAD would be an exception to overcome such challenges or whether it would be another failed attempt by African leaders in trying to solve the development scourge on the continent.

To achieve economic development growth in Africa through the adoption of NEPAD, African leaders set certain goals and objectives, such as establishing the conditions for sustainable development by ensuring peace and security, democracy and good political, economic and corporate governance, regional co-operation and integration, and capacity building. To finance these reforms, NEPAD looked internally to increased domestic resource mobilization and improvements in public revenue collection and management. It also looked at increasing Africa’s share of global trade by attracting foreign direct investment (FDI), and increasing capital flows through further debt reduction and increased Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) flows. NEPAD also required US $64 billion in external resources, which amounted to 12 percent of
Acquiring these types of resources became a major challenge for NEPAD. Other challenges included the resolution of conflicts, poverty reduction, fighting corruption, and eliminating the burden of disease. Another major challenge of NEPAD was the negative perceptions that stakeholders — members of the private and public sectors, politicians, scholars and African civil society — had been expressing since the adoption of NEPAD. One negative perception concerned the dependence on the West for aid. NEPAD needed to overcome the challenges to achieve most, if not all, of its goals and objectives. One tended to wonder if these challenges were mainly responsible for the weakness of all Africa’s homegrown initiatives.

Statement of the Purpose

The purpose of this research was to analyze the perceptions and challenges of NEPAD as it attempted to achieve its set goals and objectives. The main objectives of the research were to examine the perceptions of NEPAD from a variety of African stakeholders — private and public sector actors, politicians, scholars and African civil society, and to identify the challenges confronted by NEPAD. Was NEPAD really a blueprint for African states and Africa as a whole, or was it merely a declaration that had been put together by ambitious African leaders? NEPAD has already been labeled by African civil society as an elitist idea, which indicates the lack of communication and involvement on the parts of all stakeholders and the African populace at large. This research will explore how, then, the limited numbers of African stakeholders who are aware of NEPAD perceive NEPAD and its challenges.

Significance of the Research

Both scholars and civil society thought of NEPAD in the light of past socio-
economic development plans, such as the Lagos Plan of Action. Their opinions did not
give a concrete analysis of the concept of NEPAD, and they mainly believed that African
leaders were beating the same drums of the development plans that their predecessors,
such as Kwame Nkrumah, had played in the 1960s. This study moved away from that
perspective as it identified the challenges faced by NEPAD and also examined some
stakeholders’ perceptions of NEPAD since its inception. It was on this basis that the
researcher evaluated the perceptions and challenges of NEPAD.

Many scholars and writers had viewed NEPAD using different ideological
perspectives. Two groups were identified: those who thought NEPAD was doomed to fail
because it tied Africa to the apron strings of the West and those who thought that NEPAD
was the right step forward and held the key to Africa’s economic development.

This research had no preconceptions of whether NEPAD would fail or succeed.
The researcher set out to understand the indigenous African perceptions of NEPAD since
its adoption and to study the challenges faced by NEPAD in achieving its set goals and
objectives.

Although individual stakeholders had their various perceptions about Africa’s
socio-economic development plans, they needed to be aware of the processes of NEPAD
and its challenges before making a well-informed judgment whether it would succeed or
fail.

The final analysis of this study provides an evaluation of whether NEPAD was on
course to achieving its set goals and objectives. So, this research is important for future
studies in that it demonstrates the importance of publicizing economic plans and policies
for development and of examining past economic plans, their successes, and their failures
before developing new economic plans.
Research Questions

1. What are the perceptions of indigenous African stakeholders towards NEPAD?

2. What are the challenges facing NEPAD?

3. Has NEPAD overcome any of its challenges?

4. What type of assistance(s) have the international partners (G8) given to NEPAD since the inception of NEPAD?

Limitations of this Study

There were limits to the study to the extent that the findings presented by this study may not represent all of the perceptions of NEPAD by all Africans, or all of the challenges confronted by NEPAD. A key limitation was that the study and sample population were limited to two countries, namely the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the Republic of South Africa. Limited resources made it impossible for the researcher to cover all of Africa. The study was limited in time: Data collection ended in April 2007, so the study does not reflect any events after that date.

The researcher had not anticipated the extent of the lack of awareness of NEPAD in the two African countries that were sampled. Fewer academics and public officials were interviewed than planned because so few were knowledgeable (or knew anything) about NEPAD. This was a finding, but it also limited the representativeness of knowledgeable academics and public (government) officials.

Although the researcher stressed that the information obtained in the interviews would remain private, and sources would be anonymous, another limitation became evident during the research. During the interviews, the researcher observed that some of the interviewees were cautious in choosing their words and some did not want the
researcher to use the voice recorder during the interview.

Organization of this Research

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter is the introduction, which consists of the problem definition, statement of purpose, and limitations of the study. The second chapter is the literature review, which gives a comprehensive review of documents and publications of scholars and researchers relevant to this research. It also includes a discussion of the theoretical framework of this study. The third chapter consists of the methodology, which discusses how this research was conducted. The fourth chapter gives a brief review of the path to the African unity concept along with an historical review of two previous attempts to plan socio-economic development in Africa. The fifth chapter gives an historical review of NEPAD and also discusses the objectives and goals of NEPAD. The sixth chapter discusses the data gleaned from the questionnaires by using the themes and trends found in interviewing various stakeholders, which included the perceptions of stakeholders towards NEPAD and the challenges it faced. Stakeholders included NEPAD representatives, government representatives to NEPAD, private and public sectors, and African civil society. The seventh and concluding chapter includes the researcher’s recommendations for NEPAD and its future as it continues to attempt to facilitate developmental programs in Africa.
END NOTES


4. Ibid.


6. Ibid.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Review of Relevant Literature

The literature review was conducted to gain an in-depth understanding of various studies relevant to this research and to become aware of related studies of other scholars and writers. The primary goal was to provide a review of books, articles and related resources that had dealt with issues relevant to this study.

The review focuses on literature that addresses three topics:

1. The concept of partnership from an international development perspective in regards to NEPAD.

2. The economic development of the African continent and the variety of theories of economic development that scholars and researchers have used to explain the concepts of Africa’s economic development and NEPAD.

3. The variety of dismissals that NEPAD had received from both indigenous and non-indigenous stakeholders; how African civil society had rejected the concept of NEPAD due to its lack of popular participation; and what scholars, researchers, public and private sector actors, and politicians have assumed about NEPAD.

International Partnerships

African leaders believed that Africa’s development lay in the hands of Africans.
Most of the new leaders of Africa had also introduced a new concept of ‘Partnership’ with the developed nations, mainly G8 countries (the eight richest countries of the world). Jennifer Brinkerhoff stated in her book, *Partnership for International Development: Rhetoric or Results?*, that most people agreed that ‘partnership’ conjured a positive reaction, implying a desirable, values-laden type of association. The word ‘Partnership’ as described within NEPAD documents meant ‘assistant.’ The African leaders believed that the West needed to partner with them in order to end the scourge of underdevelopment on the African continent. The type of partnership African leaders were expecting from the West was one in which its proponents would ideally seek to encompass a range of partnership, including mutual trust, respect, accountability, and influence, and mutual determination of ends and means.

Brinkerhoff believed that multiple potential actors, objectives, environments and preferences meant that no two partnerships would ever look alike. She further postulated that the challenges in the process of achieving partnership continentally or internationally were intensified by the need to embrace different cultural identities in the process and outcomes of international problem solving. The practice of partnership, according to Brinkerhoff, was that organizations formed partnerships not only to enhance outcomes, whether qualitatively or quantitatively, but also to produce synergistic rewards, where the outcomes of the partnership as a whole were greater than the sum of what individual partners contributed.

NEPAD consisted of two partnerships: one among the African nation-states and one between all of the African countries and the international community. The latter partnership that NEPAD postulated was criticized by African civil society. In July 2002, on the threshold of the launch of NEPAD, African civil society declared in Port
Shepstone, South Africa, that NEPAD ignored the way the state had been undermined as a social provider and vehicle for development, particularly under the World Bank. The declaration also argued that NEPAD’s promises of democracy and good governance were largely intended to satisfy foreign donors and give guarantees to foreign investments. The African leaders’ perspective differed from the argument of African civil society in that the leaders believed that Africa needed to partner with the West in order for Africa to develop successfully.

NEPAD was said to be the development blueprint for the continent, and the African Union adopted it as the socio-economic program for the continent. Also, external partners, notably the G8 and EU member states, embraced NEPAD in support of African efforts towards development and concerted arrangements to enhance peace and security.

Development Theories

Scholars of all persuasions have tried to explain development on the African continent, especially the absence of economic development success stories on the continent. These scholars have used a variety of theoretical frameworks, such as modernization, dependency, regional integration and economic integration theories, to describe Africa’s lack of economic development.

Modernization

In the early 1950s, the focus on economic development was mainly on the linear stages of growth model, and the one author that was most recognized was W.W. Rostow. In his book, *The Stages of Economic Growth*, Rostow believed that modernization occurred through five consecutive stages: (1) traditional society, (2) the preconditions for take-off, (3) the take-off, (4) the drive to maturity, and (5) the age of high mass-consumption. According to Rostow, because not all countries entered these linear stages
at the same time, it explained the disparities and the gaps between the rich and the poor countries and that over time the gaps would disappear as all the countries progressed. However, Rostow’s ‘stages of growth’ failed to consider the effects of international economic structures, that is, the international economic order such as trade barriers which limit economic growth and, in turn, limit socio-economic development, as in the case of African states. He also did not recognize the exploitation of resources in developing countries because of colonialism, which did not allow for a level playing field for all countries affected by the international economic order. In contrast, Lenin described the political essence of colonialism as the direct and overall subordination of one country to another on the basis of state power being in the hands of the dominating foreign power.

The search for economic development in Africa has caused significant concerns on the continent. The founding father of African Unity, Kwame Nkrumah, and later other African leaders, such as Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, promoted what Nkrumah advocated in order for Africa to seek economic development. Nyerere said the only way forward for Africa to achieve economic success was for Africa to unite. Nyerere pleaded that the new generation of African leaders and the African people should work towards unity; he had the firm conviction that without unity there would be no future for Africa. This is assuming, of course, that Africa still wanted to have a place under the sun. Moreover, Nkrumah believed that Africa had no choice but to modernize. Either Africa would do so with the interest and support of the West, or Africa would be compelled to turn elsewhere. He believed this to be a political reality. Such political reality and beliefs led to the birth of NEPAD, which brought a positive response from African leaders and showed that African leaders and Africans wanted to have a place ‘under the sun,’ especially within the international arena. Furthermore, Nkrumah argued forcefully that African
industrial and economic advancement is contingent on the destruction of the artificial boundaries created by the colonial powers.\textsuperscript{14}

Also, the prominent Guyanese political figure and historian Walter Rodney (1942–1980) wrote extensively on Africa development and noted in his book titled, \textit{How Europe Underdeveloped Africa}, that in order to understand present economic conditions in Africa, one needs to know why it is that Africa has realized so little of its natural potential and one also needs to know why so much of its present wealth goes to non-Africans who reside for the most part outside of the continent.\textsuperscript{15}

In \textit{Economic Development in the Third World}, Michael Todaro stated that modernization focused on the mechanism by which underdeveloped economies transformed their domestic economic structures from a heavy emphasis on traditional subsistence agriculture to a more modern, more urbanized, and more industrially diverse manufacturing and service economy.\textsuperscript{16} Furthermore, Ali Mazrui, an academic political writer on Africa and cultural studies, termed modernization as change that is compatible with the present stage of human knowledge, that seeks to comprehend the legacy of the past, that is sensitive to the needs of the future, and that is increasingly aware of its global context.\textsuperscript{17} He noted the importance of African culture was central to the process of reducing dependency in the dialectic of modernization.\textsuperscript{18}

One of the best-known theorists that focused on structural transformation was W. Arthur Lewis, who stated in his book, \textit{The Theory of Economic Growth}, that the speed at which economic growth occurred was determined by the rate of industrial investment and capital accumulation in the modern sector. He further stated that such investment was made possible by the excess of modern sector profits over wages on the assumption that capitalists reinvested all their profits.\textsuperscript{19}
Dependency

African leaders realized that they needed to have a diversity of products if they were to compete in the global market place. As stated in the NEPAD document (paragraph 153), African economies were vulnerable because of their dependence on primary production and resource-based sectors, and their narrow export bases. There was an urgent need to diversify production, and the logical starting point was to harness Africa’s natural resources.20

Africa has depended on the export of primary goods to highly industrialized countries for revenues, and Africa’s economic development was one that had been defined as dependent on foreign capital. In this situation, which Michael Todaro called the international dependence revolution, African countries were overwhelmed by institutional, political, and economic rigidities, both domestic and international, and were caught up in a dependence and dominance relationship to rich countries.21 This unequal relationship between the international capitalist system and developing countries, or the rich and poor countries, had created a situation where rich nations were seen as being intentionally exploitative or neglectful.

One of the well-known proponents of the dependency school was Theotonio Dos Santos, who argued that dependency was a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries were conditioned by the development and expansion of other countries.22 Furthermore, Reginald Green and Ann Seidman stated in their book, Unity or Poverty? The Economics of Pan-Africanism, that even though most African countries are politically independent today, they remain heavily dependent on the world economy.23 They further stated that the danger of expansion is that one state’s export earnings will be at the expense of another.24 This was the very same notion that Nkrumah
was afraid of, and he advocated that African leaders should be aware of neo-colonialism. He believed that the essence of neo-colonialism is that the state, which is subject to it, is in theory independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty, but in reality, its economic system and thus its political policy are directed from outside. He believed that neo-colonialism merely is a camouflage on the part of the colonizers that the whole policy of the colonizer is to keep the native (African states) in its primitive state and make her economically dependent.

In addition, Ali Mazrui noted in his book, *Africa's international relations: The diplomacy of dependency and change*, that the European hegemony since political independence was granted to Africa has persisted, especially in the fields of technology, economic arrangements, and cultural sway. The dialectic between African dependency and Africa’s new assertive ambitions is at its most intimate in Africa’s relations with Western Europe. He termed dependency to be either surplus need or deficit control. Country B is dependent on country A if country B needs country A more than the other way round (surplus need). On the other hand, country B is also dependent on country A if country B has less control over their relationship than country A has (deficit control).

Todaro also postulated that economic development was the neoclassical, free market counter-revolution. He stated that this approach took the form of supply side macroeconomics, the privatization of public corporations in developed nations and the call for the dismantling of public ownership, planning and the regulation of economic activities in developing countries. Writers of the counter-revolution school, such as Bela Balassa and others, argued that it was this very state intervention in economic activity that slowed the pace of economic growth. The realization calls on Africa to stop depending heavily on the West for intellectual and physical needs and, as Acheampong
noted, it was time for Africa to stop trying to be second rate Europeans. He stated, “Our historic mission is to become first rate Africans. This is a result that can and must be achieved by our revolution. For ours is a revolution that must lead to the discovery of our capacity for self-reliance, fruitful cooperation and purposeful self-development.”31

Regional Integration

Another theoretical framework used by scholars was regional integration. Paul-Henri Bischoff defined regional integration as a process by which a group of states voluntarily and in various degrees accessed each other’s markets and established mechanisms and techniques that minimized conflicts and maximized the internal and external economic, political, social, and cultural benefits of their interactions.32

The traditional explanation of the failure of integration schemes in Africa is that there was a lack of the political will necessary to see integration succeed, expressed in the chronic non-observance of commitments undertaken within the respective agreements and in the insufficient use of the instruments set up by those agreements.33

In regards to past regional integration attempts in Africa, paragraph 90 of the NEPAD document acknowledged that most African countries were small, both in terms of population and per capita incomes. Owing to limited markets, they did not offer attractive returns to potential investors, while progress in diversifying production and export was retarded. This limited the investment in essential infrastructures that depended on economies of scale for viability.34

Moreover, to seek the causes of the weakening of integration solely in the functioning of the regional or sub-regional institutions, or in the legal instruments governing them, would undoubtedly be to take an inadequate view of its complex and diverse nature.35
Africa is divided into five different if not distinct regions: North Africa or the Maghreb, West Africa, Central Africa, East Africa, and Southern Africa. As a result of the desire to move towards economic integration and political integration, regional economic and political groupings corresponding to these geographic regions have been launched, such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS). Also, for the purpose of cultural exchange, Africa is divided into linguistic regions that correspond roughly to the linguistic regions bequeathed to the continent by colonialism.

It is believed that regional cooperation can help promote a more complementary and sustained development of African countries through the reinforcement of the regional infrastructure, a more efficient system of payment, greater access to credit, a more interrelated institutional system, a greater mutual awareness among countries and, above all, through a growing technical complementary and a greater development and integration of the productive sectors of African countries. However, the economic nationalism that was strong at independence in most African countries has left its mark, and many countries seem to go into economic integration agreements without the intention of parting with some measure of national sovereignty.

Bischoff noted that several policy makers believed that regional integration, in one form or the other, could provide the continent with the wherewithal to confront its multifarious problems effectively and finally to engage in sustainable development. These conditions pointed to the need for African countries to pool their resources and enhance regional development and economic integration on the continent in order to improve international competitiveness. The idea of regional integration is reinforced by the relatively successful experiences of integration among the European countries, and
other schemes among countries in Latin America and in the Pacific and Asian regions.

Economic Integration

Another premise used by scholars to explain Africa’s economic development was the lack of economic integration among African countries. Bela Balassa defined economic integration as a process and as a state of affairs. As a process, it encompassed measures designed to abolish discrimination between economic units belonging to different national states. But as a state of affairs, it could be represented by the absence of various forms of discrimination between national economies.40

Kwaku Danso stated that conventional neoclassical theory described economic integration as a means of expanding economic opportunities through specialization based on comparative advantage and economies of scale. In addition, according to the perspective of the neoclassical theory, economic integration passed through the following successive stages: (1) trade integration or the freeing of barriers to trade; (2) factor integration or the liberalization of factor movements; (3) policy integration or the harmonization of national economic policies; and (4) total integration or the complete unification of the above.41 Such concepts of economic integration should be adopted among African countries in order to help overcome the challenges encountered in trying to achieve economic integration. If Africa was to have any sort of economic integration, it needed a framework to foster and support it. It was widely recognized that conflicts and divergences arising from the laws of different states in matters relating to international trade constitute an obstacle to the development of trade.42

Muna Ndulo noted that, the promotion of regional economic integration among developing countries was a well-accepted part of international development theory and many issues in international economic relations were subordinated to the quest for
regional economic associations among more or less geographically contiguous areas. However, he also noted that the economic infrastructure is inadequate in Africa to support economic integration. For example, one of the major constraints on the growth and development of intra-African trade has been the inadequacy of payment and financial systems. Ndulo stated that increased intra-African trade needs finance and financial instruments, such as banking networks’ providing letters of credit, export credits, and other financial services. Furthermore, he noted that diversified currency exchange regimes and payment restrictions prevail in Africa and that integration will require the adoption of collective policy measures to facilitate the liberalization of payment and exchange restrictions and to enhance the convertability of national currencies.

The former European Union Trade Commissioner, Pascal Lamy, stated that regional integration was the centerpiece of the NEPAD action plan, with emphasis being put on strengthening regional economic integration areas, improving the macroeconomic environment, stepping up integration, and developing regional trade.

Professor Wiseman Nkhuлу, former chairperson of the NEPAD Steering Committee, proposed that NEPAD structures act as the mechanism for coordinating the implementation of continental economic initiatives that cut across existing Regional Economic Communities (RECs), such as the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). For Nkhuлу, this would expedite the implementation of African Union policies and strategies, promote investment in Africa, and lead in the interface with multilateral institutions, donor countries, and foreign corporate investors on strategic socio-economic issues affecting Africa.

The former United Nations Economic Commission for Africa Executive Secretary
K. Y. Amoako (1995–2000) expressed concerns about RECs because African countries belonged to more than one regional economic community, and he believed that there was the need for efficient ways to regionalize. He further noted that the RECs were created when it became clear that carrying out the larger vision of regional integration was lagging. He stated that the RECs were created as stepping-stones to regional integration. There were thirteen RECs covering a range of functions and intentions. These pieces of the puzzle, in fact, did not fit together very well. According to Amoako, perhaps that was why almost all African countries belonged to more than one of these RECs. Twenty-seven countries belonged to two, eighteen belonged to three, and one country belonged to four.48

To clarify this, the NEPAD document indicated that the focus would be on rationalizing the institutional framework for regional and economic integration by identifying common projects compatible with integrated country and regional development programs and harmonizing of economic and investment policies and practices. There needed to be coordination of national sector policies and effective monitoring of regional decisions.49

It was noted that no matter how good the intentions to integrate may look, the political environment for their implementation and preservation must be right for the effort to succeed. Economic co-operation and integration flourish better in an environment that is politically peaceful and stable.50

**Neo-Liberal Principles**

Scholars and African civil society argued that NEPAD was based on neo-liberal principles. Steven Lamy indicated that “neo-liberal” in the academic world referred most often to neo-liberal institutionalism, whereas in the policy world neo-liberalism was
identified with the promotion of capitalism and Western democratic values and institutions.\textsuperscript{51} Lamy further stated that institutions were seen as persistent and as connected by a set of rules and practices that prescribed roles, constrained activity, and shaped the expectations of actors.\textsuperscript{52}

African civil society envisioned that NEPAD accepted the fundamentals of the neo-liberal paradigm that had been largely responsible for the deepening of African crises.\textsuperscript{53} This view differed from that of the African leaders because the leaders saw neo-liberal institutions as significant forces in international relations that would facilitate cooperation, and actors with common interests would try to maximize absolute gains.\textsuperscript{54} African leaders hoped that NEPAD’s success would allow Africa to have a voice within the international community; they believed that it was time for Africa to claim its rightful position within the international community.

**Stakeholders’ Perceptions and Challenges of NEPAD**

NEPAD required US $64 billion dollars a year from both internal and external countries and agencies in order for it to operate as planned. Scholars asked where the funds would come from. As if to underscore the fears of these scholars, a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) online article of May 2006 stated that the African Union Pan-African Parliament was underfunded and might not hold its sixth session scheduled for October 2006 because the AU Parliament did not have the US $24 million that was needed to run effectively. This was because, out of the five African countries (Libya, Nigeria, Egypt, South Africa and Algeria) that contributed 75 percent of the dues, only South Africa had paid its share.\textsuperscript{55} NEPAD’s goals and objectives would be in jeopardy if the leading countries that contribute the bulk of the organization’s dues did not live up to their obligations. This would be a major challenge for African leaders, and
if they believed it was time to overturn the economic crisis that had engulfed Africa and
the African people with economic misfortune for the past three decades, then such
shortcomings needed to be eliminated.

However, Professor Wiseman Nkulu noted some funds had been forthcoming
from the developed countries such as the European Union Commission, which had set
aside 500 million euros for water facility and with about 50 percent readily available for
African countries. He also stated that US $10 million had been set aside for the integrated
development of 10 priority river basins for Africa.\textsuperscript{56} Although funds for Africa had been
coming from different sources, such as the World Bank and European Union, one has to
distinguish whether it was NEPAD that initiated these projects or whether they were
projects that the countries themselves set out to establish.

Furthermore, scholars and stakeholders were anxious to find out if NEPAD was
not another attempt that would collapse in the face of optimistic African leaders, such as
South Africa's President Thabo Mbeki and Nigeria's former President Olusegun
Obasanjo. A great deal of skepticism greeted NEPAD, a result of the poor performance of
African economies. As Adebayo Adedeji asserted, "African governments did not have
any well-articulated policies for the exploitation, conversion, transformation, and
marketing of their resources with a view to obtaining maximum benefits from them."\textsuperscript{57} At
issue here was whether African leaders had acquired such skills and, if they had, whether
the implementation of NEPAD would produce such characteristics. Africa's failed
attempt at regional economic integration was what had led these scholars to take a wait-
and-see attitude. They remained unconvinced that NEPAD was the right framework to
sustain economic development in Africa.

Scholars and African civil society had blamed Africa's lack of economic
development on the global economic structure, because the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) along with the wealthy industrialized countries, such as the United States of America, had always used unfair trade practices and unreasonable conditions for borrowing to marginalize African nations. Ironically, these same institutions and countries that had exploited African countries for decades were where NEPAD looked for funding. This did not sit well with scholars and African civil society. David Black, among others, believed that the United States would almost certainly continue to march to its own beat and be, at best, a selective participant in any new consensus concerning the African continent.58

Scholars and stakeholders saw NEPAD as continuing Africa’s dependence on foreign aid to maintain any type of development or economic growth. This notion came from the dependency school, and, as noted by Daniel Offiong, within this school, crucial economic decisions are made by the foreigners whose interests are carefully safeguarded, not by the countries that were being developed.59

NEPAD needed a substantial amount of funds to run effectively, and part if not most of the money would come from the G8 countries and IFIs. The stakeholders were not enthusiastic about the success of NEPAD because of past experiences when external forces like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) were involved in Africa’s development (e.g., the case of Structural Adjustment Programme).

Nguyuru Lipumba believed that people underestimate the impact of external factors on the economic performance of African countries.60 If exogenous relationships were the only way forward for Africa, what was so different about the relationship of the new African leaders and the West that assured Africa and its people that there would be cooperation between them?
Africa’s debt to the international community was another problem that made scholars skeptical about NEPAD’s sustainability. Although there had been partial cancellation of African debts, Africa needed a clean slate; otherwise, debt would be sustained without growth. As Obiora Ike stated, the payments of these debts, that is, the interest and the redemption of the principal, would absorb a substantial proportion of the resources the African countries produced.\(^{61}\) If this were the case, how would NEPAD be sustained if Africa and the African people were not allowed to jump-start with a new and well-oiled engine?

Steven Lamy postulated that neo-liberals were too optimistic about the cooperation among states.\(^{62}\) NEPAD had trade liberalization as a cornerstone, a characteristic of neo-liberalism, and in past decades this characteristic had not brought prosperity to the African continent. Even the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) reported in 2003 that despite liberalization in Africa, which led African leaders to undertake a wide range of reforms and liberalization of trade, African countries were yet to reap substantial benefits from international trade.\(^{63}\)

As the history of Africa showed, transplanted systems did not work, especially when they came from countries with radically different political, social and economic systems. Trade liberalization would be good if countries had a level playing field. Africa, however, did not possess the same leverage as the West when it came to international trade.

With regards to the international community and trade, some writers stressed that the relationship between African countries and transnational corporations (TNCs) had been one that had left African countries with unfair trade agreements and policies. So what would NEPAD bring to the table with these corporations that would make it
different? Khadiagala and others believed that external actors, particularly the former colonial powers, retained considerable influence over the facets of African life. For example, in the francophone countries, Peter Schraeder noted that the French left behind an important foreign policy legacy that was not simply limited to the cultural realm, but also incorporated economic, political, and military dimensions. This concerned stakeholders because they wondered how NEPAD would incorporate such influences into the decision-making and its international policies.

Finally, one major setback that skeptics point to was that in, formulating NEPAD African civil society was not consulted. Ukiwa Ukiwo stated that, like previous top-down policies, NEPAD alienated the people from development, and by that very fact it was not a recipe for popular development. African leaders decided first of all to acquire the approval of the G8 as soon as the NEPAD document was completed, without even alerting the African people as to what the document entailed. Patrick Bond of the University of the Western Cape argued that, “like all top-down policy formulations, NEPAD reeked of technicism, a scent which could dissipate partially if exposed to the fires of popular debate, protest, and participation.” But African civil society believed that, even though NEPAD might have faced criticism if opened to the African people initially, it would have generated a larger movement and the bargaining power of the voices of Africans themselves would have been heard by the West. After all, as Henning Melber said, “if development without people is in fact possible, what and for whom would this development be?” Henning further stated that it should not be forgotten that even the European Renaissance, in terms of social transformation of medieval societies into emergent bourgeois societies, required people (even if only as cheap workforce) to produce surplus initially and only later as
citizens to make democracy and good governance work within the context of vibrant civil societies. Scholars believed that stakeholders, civil society and African leaders needed to work hand in hand in order for NEPAD to be successful. After all, social achievements since the renaissance in Europe did not fall from heaven but were the result of organized movements by people for the people.

Few scholars, such as David Black, had been optimistic about this new initiative by African leaders because NEPAD portrayed “ownership” and “mutual accountability” by African governments. Paragraph one of the NEPAD document stated that the program was anchored on the determination of Africans to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in a globalizing world. Also, the commitment shown by African leaders towards liberal democracy and market economics had allowed the economic powers of the world to show concrete interest in making NEPAD a success. This, according to Ian Taylor, was made possible because NEPAD fit the neo-liberal discourse, and it did not place blame on international policies or global trade structures on Africa’s marginalization, but rather blamed the mystical notion known as “globalization.” Yash Tandon stated that neo-liberalism added “integration into the globalized economy”—liberalization of markets and the free movement of capital—to the center of the development paradigm.

African leaders, such as Nigeria’s former President Olusegun Obasanjo and South Africa’s President Thabo Mbeki, had emphasized in several speeches that globalization had come to stay and suggested that Africans needed to embrace globalization instead of rejecting the concept. As stated in paragraph 28 of the NEPAD document, globalization had increased the cost of Africa’s ability to compete, and the advantages of an effectively managed integration presented the best prospects for future economic prosperity and
poverty reduction. Obasanjo assured the African people that NEPAD was a pledge by African leaders to Africans to consolidate democracy, provide sound economic management, and promote peace, security, and people-centered governance.

According to Washington Okumu, President Thabo Mbeki believed that the moment had come when skeptics should suspend their disbelief and that Africa was readying itself for growth and development, fueled by her own efforts and the profitable and safe injection of international private capital. President Mbeki continued by admonishing that Africans would have to do what they have to do together to achieve the sustained development of Africa. Also, Professor Wiseman Nkulu believed that NEPAD had generated increased interest and participation, which confirmed that the negative perception of Africa was changing.

In addition to the changing perception of Africa, the African Development Report of 2004 observed that the flow of funds into Africa was increasing, and that the overseas development assistance funds had increased from US $15.7 billion in 2001 to US $23.7 billion in 2003, and, at this rate, they believed by 2015 it should be US $144 billion, which would increase flows to Africa to US $44 billion by 2010.

In summary, African development has been a process that both African and non-African scholars have tried to explain, but the continent remains unable to achieve the economic prosperity it requires to be able to compete in the international arena.

Brinkerhoff stated the need for partnership in the international development arena, and scholars have shown that they were not so convinced that NEPAD was the way forward for Africa. The stakeholders believed that NEPAD was still a framework or document put together by African leaders and that it would not accomplish any of its goals and objectives. Even one of the facilitators of NEPAD, President Wade of Senegal, had
changed his tune and stated that “NEPAD had not built a single mile of road.” NEPAD also had been derogatively called “knee-pad,” that is, a refined way of collecting aid from the West.

African leaders were keen and ready to change the skewed relationship between Africa and the highly industrialized nations. They stated in the NEPAD document that the reversal of this abnormal situation would come about by changing the relationship and that Africans would not appeal for the further entrenchment of dependency through aid nor for marginal concessions. The document stated that it was time for Africans to keep themselves from being conditioned by circumstances: It was time for Africans to determine their own destiny and call on the rest of the world to complement their efforts. In *Africa Must Unite*, Nkrumah stated that, “we (Africans) are at a point of our history where Africa’s interest must be prime concern of Africa’s leaders. The safety and progress of every one of our states can be safeguarded only by the acceptance of this precept, which can best be promoted by our unalloyed unity.”

**Theoretical Framework for this Study**

Several theories, such as the ones above, have been used to look into Africa’s economic development. Although these various approaches had concrete grounds for analyzing the malaise of Africa’s economic development, in the researcher’s opinion, the political economy approach was much more appropriate for this research because it focuses on the importance and interconnectedness of both the political and economic realms within the African continent.

Robert Gilpin stated that the parallel existence and mutual interaction of the political and economic structures in the modern world created political economy, and that without both politics and economics there could be no political economy.
suggested that, in the absence of politics, the price mechanism and economic forces would determine the outcome of economic activities; this would be the ideal world of economists. Likewise, in the absence of economy, the politics would allocate economic resources, and this would be an ideal world of political players.\textsuperscript{84} The researcher noted that this implied that economic forces would dictate growth if politics do not interfere with the economy by using protectionist mechanisms, such as trade barriers, and also that if political structures, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), obstruct the economy through the use of international economic structures then politics interrupt economic forces, which would lead to an unfair playing field. The incorporation of the interdependence of politics and economics is needed to maintain balance.

Differing from Gilpin, Senyo Adjibolosoo postulated political economy in the context of economic development as being and remaining imprecise, that it connoted steady progress towards improvement in human condition; reduction and eventual elimination of poverty, ignorance, and disease; and expansion of well-being and opportunity for all. It entailed rapid change, but change alone is insufficient: It must be directed to specific ends.\textsuperscript{85} Senyo Adjibolosoo further stated that political economy involved societal transformation – political, social, and cultural, as well as economic. This implied modernization – secularization, industrialization, and urbanization – but not necessarily Westernization.\textsuperscript{86}

Furthermore, political economists have given due attention to economic conditions and have helped scholars to understand why the colonizing powers came to Africa, why they established the particular types of political systems that they did, and how the nationalist movements arose.\textsuperscript{87} The concept of political economy would also allow the researcher a systematic means of taking account of the interactions of the
different elements of social life, especially economic structure, social structure, political structure, and the belief systems.88

Claude Ake stated that the economic factor is the most decisive of all the elements of society and largely determined the character of the others because if knowledge of the economic structure was available, then the general character of the social system, the political system and the belief system of the relevant of society could be reasonably conjectured.89 Thus, the dynamics of the economic system would lead to the transformation of existing social structures, and the emergence of new social structures.90

Moreover, political economists helped to understand both the politics and economics in a society. The contradictions between the economic power and the political power became a source of further interesting development, as the new leaders tried to use the only tool they had, political power, to create an economic base in order to consolidate their economic power. At this point, one could see how the political structure influences and even transforms the economic structures and social structures.91

This process was important for the researcher to take into consideration when analyzing the challenges faced by NEPAD, because obstacles such as corruption are major challenges that have deterred Africa’s economic development. Amoako noted that, “as long as we have poor governments in our countries, as long as we have leaders who are motivated by personal greed, they can never have the political will, and, unfortunately, we have quite a few.”92 Corruption unbalances the political and economic relationship because corrupt leaders misuse their power to interfere in the economy. The African leaders who initiated NEPAD emphasized that the elimination of corruption is crucial to the economic development of Africa because this elimination would allow the political and economic structures to equally influence the other.
The connectedness of the economic structure, social structure, belief system, and political system demand an interdisciplinary approach to the study. Because society is so connected, it could not be studied in any depth without drawing on each of the specialized social science disciplines used to study various aspects of humans and society. The researcher believed that globalization, the interconnectedness of the world as intertwined economic growth, combines each of these structures. Therefore, it is important if Africa is to achieve economic growth to understand the interconnectedness of both the political and economic structures of a globalizing world.

Economic liberals believed that the benefits of an international division of labor based on the principle of comparative advantage caused markets to arise spontaneously and foster harmony among states. They further stated that expanding webs of economic interdependence created a basis for peace and cooperation between political and economic systems. This concept of interdependence is the basis of the NEPAD framework and, if Africa is to achieve any economic growth, it should be paramount. Furthermore, African leaders must believe that harmonious collaboration between states would help sustain development on the continent.

Adjibolosoo’s conception of political economy is the paradigm for this research, as NEPAD’s goals for Africa’s renewal and Africa’s economic development involve all aspects of society. The political economy approach would allow the researcher to pay particular attention to the economic structure of society and indeed use it as the point of departure for studying other aspects of society.

The political economy framework gave the researcher certain advantages in carrying out this study, because it gave insight into the dynamics of the socio-political world and the development perspective. By putting political phenomena in the context of
Africa’s development, the researcher was able to gain greater understanding not only on how NEPAD’s framework came to be what it is, but also as to what it might become.\textsuperscript{95} For example, African political leaders drafted NEPAD’s framework to resolve the socio-economic development status quo in Africa, through the use of political and economic unity, to achieve the goal of eliminating Africa’s underdevelopment.

Claude Ake stated that the treatment of the problem of underdevelopment by economists sheds some light on Africa’s lack of economic development. The general tendency among Western economists who concerned themselves with Africa’s problem of underdevelopment is to reduce the problem to an aggregation of factors, such as lack of capital, insufficient saving, lack of technical know-how, lack of entrepreneurial skills, and lack of diversification of the economy.\textsuperscript{96} The researcher noted that the lack of economic growth could not be justified by economic disparities among African nations alone; the political influence is also a major element when analyzing the lack of economic growth in Africa.

Thus, the political economy framework allowed for a comprehensive view of African society because this method emphasizes the relatedness of social phenomena, particularly, the economic structure, the social structure, the political structure, and the belief system. Each of these structures, theoretically, would have been important in the creation of NEPAD’s framework. For example, without involving various leaders of society, such as politicians, business leaders, and religious leaders, the creators of NEPAD would lack the support and resources needed to implement its programs and projects. This research demonstrates how NEPAD’s creators neglected the interdependence of socio-economic structures, and how this neglect has created significant perceptions and challenges on the part of some African stakeholders that may
undermine NEPAD's success.
END NOTES


2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 159.

4. Ibid., ix.

5. Ibid., 1.


7. Ibid.


10. Ibid.


18. Ibid., 202.


22. Mitchell Seligson and John Passe-Smith, 278.


24. Reginald H. Green and Ann Seidman, 47.


29. Michael Todaro, 82.


35. Muna Ndulo, 104.


37. Muna Ndulo, 103-104.

38. Ibid., 103.


42. Muna Ndulo, 107.


44. Ibid., 105.

45. Ibid.


50. Muna Ndulo, 105.

51. John Baylis and Steve Smith, 184.

52. John Baylis and Steve Smith, 189.


54. John Baylis and Steve Smith, 190.


62. John Baylis and Steve Smith, 182.


65. Ibid., 41.


68. Ibid., 33.

69. Ibid., 33.

70. Ibid., 34.


79. Ibid.


84. Ibid.


86. Ibid.


88. Ibid., 4.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid., 5.


93. Claude Ake, 5.
94. Robert Gilpin, 12.

95. Claude Ake, 6.

96. Ibid.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Procedure

As stated earlier, there were two foci of this research. The first was to analyze the manner in which stakeholders viewed NEPAD. Studying the perceptions of stakeholders entailed interviewing representatives of African civil society, academia, members of the private and public sectors, government officials and NEPAD officials. The second focus was to analyze the challenges faced by NEPAD and how NEPAD had dealt with those challenges. NEPAD’s challenges were determined in this research by interviewing and surveying participants.

To carry out this research, the researcher chose to adopt a mixed methodology involving both qualitative methods (observations and personal interviews) and a quantitative method (a survey questionnaire). The researcher chose these methods because the results from one method would help develop or inform findings from the other method\(^1\) and also because one method could be nested within the other to provide insight into different levels or units of analysis. Using mixed methods would give the research more in-depth analysis and allow for multiple forms of data collection on all possibilities.

The researcher also chose a concurrent strategy, which converged quantitative and qualitative data to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem. In this
design, the researcher collected both forms of data at the same time during the research and then integrated the information in the interpretation of the overall results.

The investigator carried out the research in the Federal Republic of Nigeria (in the Lagos and Abuja metropolitan areas) and the Republic of South Africa (in Johannesburg and Durban) during a 3-month period from February to April 2007. These two countries were chosen because of the following:

1. The roles their Presidents played in initiating NEPAD.
2. Their economic might in Africa.
3. The NEPAD secretariat, which coordinated all the activities of NEPAD, was based in Johannesburg, South Africa.
4. NEPAD Nigeria was a strong advocate for NEPAD activities both nationally and internationally.

Sources of Data

Information for this research was collected from secondary and primary sources. The secondary sources included document reviews, historical records (treaties, communiqués, and protocols) and books, while the primary sources included personal interviews and a survey questionnaire.

Secondary Sources

The secondary sources used in this study were mainly books, journals, articles and the archives of the NEPAD secretariat in Johannesburg. The archives consisted of books, journals, newspaper articles, electronic information (internet), treaties and reports that had shaped NEPAD since its birth in 2001. In the Federal Republic of Nigeria, data were acquired from institutions such as the Federal Ministry of Co-operation and Integration of Africa, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs and NEPAD Nigeria, which were all based in...
Abuja. This multifaceted approach provided insights into the nature of important events in NEPAD’s history. The historical information complemented the other data collected by providing an accurate account of economic and political events and the challenges that had affected or enhanced the progress of NEPAD.

Primary Sources

The primary data were collected in this research (1) by administering a survey questionnaire to stakeholders both in Nigeria and South Africa and (2) by interviewing key informants to account for their perceptions of NEPAD. Key informants included officials of the NEPAD Secretariat, AU experts, and members of the public and private sectors, including African civil society. The researcher started his research in Lagos (Nigeria), then continued fieldwork in Johannesburg and Durban (South Africa), went from there to Abuja (Nigeria) and finally completed fieldwork upon his return to Lagos.

Sampling Procedure

The researcher used a purposive sample of stakeholders. He used purposive sampling to select participants who would best help him understand and answer his research questions. In this form of sampling, the researcher relied on his expert judgment to select individuals who were “representative” or “typical” of different sectors of the population of stakeholders. To select the purposive sample, the investigator set criteria for selecting participants. One criterion was whether the individual worked within the field of African development. Another was whether the person represented one or more sectors of the stakeholders. A third criterion was whether the individual was knowledgeable about NEPAD because the researcher wanted to interview only those informants who were informed about NEPAD so he would have reliable data.

A simple set of questions was devised to screen all potential participants, with the
exception of NEPAD officials. NEPAD officials were assumed to be knowledgeable. The questions determined each person’s ability to answer questions carefully about NEPAD. Potential participants were asked the following three questions:

1. Have you heard about NEPAD?
2. What is your understanding of NEPAD?
3. Do you have an opinion on NEPAD?

The quality of the responses validated the measure with respect to the criterion. As Jum Nunnally noted, with this form of validation the criterion variable was the only necessary standard of comparison.\(^4\) That is, if the individual had the ability to answer the criteria questions successfully, his or her doing so would be a valid measure for his or her ability to provide well-detailed and reliable data.

The first set of participants in the sample were representatives of African civil society, academics, and members of the public (government) and private sectors whom the researcher used the criteria to select. The second set of participants in the sample were NEPAD representatives and officials, whom the researcher assumed were well informed about their own agency. The investigator chose to interview executives, directors, and other top officials of NEPAD. The researcher arranged appointments for interviews with these individuals before going into the field.

In both countries, the researcher visited government offices, businesses in the private sectors, and universities, such as the University of Lagos in Nigeria, in search of knowledgeable informants. Once the researcher identified an individual who was well informed on the subject matter, the researcher asked that informant for referrals. This method is called snowballing (a process of chain referral). Snowballing means that, when members of the target population are located, they are asked to provide names and
information about other knowledgeable members of the target population, who are then contacted and asked to name other knowledgeable informants.\textsuperscript{5}

Aside from NEPAD officials, who were thought to be knowledgeable, the other potential participants were initially surveyed using the three criteria questions. If the individual did not possess any knowledge about NEPAD, the researcher thanked that person for his or her time and moved on to the next potential participant. If the individual was found to be well informed about NEPAD, the researcher attempted to interview the individual and then have him or her complete a survey about his or her perceptions of NEPAD.

All participants signed a form consenting to participate in the research (see Appendix 4). The consent form notified them that their information would remain confidential. Furthermore, the researcher made this clear to each individual before conducting the interview or administering the survey questionnaire.

The researcher initially intended that the total sample of 100 would consist of 50 participants each from Nigeria and South Africa. However, the general lack of awareness greatly affected the sample size. The researcher found that many potential participants in South Africa and Nigeria who were approached were not well informed about NEPAD or its goals and objectives. Therefore, these individuals were neither interviewed nor surveyed. The lack of awareness and knowledge of NEPAD was greater than the researcher had predicted and resulted in a smaller sample than was originally planned.

The total sample consisted of 42 sampled individuals from Nigeria and South Africa. Twenty-two participants completed both the interview and the survey. Four people were interviewed but did not complete the survey. Sixteen sampled stakeholders completed the survey but did not consent to be interviewed.
The twenty-two individuals who were both interviewed and surveyed consisted of four people from African civil society, three who were government officials (from the public sector), four from the private sector, and eleven NEPAD officials.

Four individuals in the total sample were interviewed but were not surveyed because they had busy schedules that prevented them from having the time to answer the survey questions after completing the interviews. The researcher only interviewed (no survey) one government official from Nigeria, one person from the private sector, and two NEPAD officials.

Sixteen knowledgeable individuals agreed to complete the survey but were not comfortable with being interviewed. In these cases, the researcher had the individual complete the survey only. These people included two academicians from Nigeria, ten people from Nigerian and South African civil society, and four people from the private sector.

Validity and Reliability

Using his original research questions, the researcher designed two sets of interview protocols. The first set consisted of fifteen interview questions (see Appendix 1) tailored to the stakeholders who were not NEPAD officials. The second protocol consisted of seventeen interview questions (see Appendix 2) tailored to NEPAD officials. The researcher adopted this technique because he thought that the NEPAD officials would have a more intimate knowledge of NEPAD.

The questions were designed to reflect the objectives of the study, which were to analyze the perceptions of stakeholders and the challenges faced by NEPAD. The researcher used these questions as a foundation for the interviews, which were more expansive than the listed questions. The researcher also asked other questions that were
specific to the interviewee’s position. For example, the researcher questioned a NEPAD official about how NEPAD worked, that is, the day-to-day running of the NEPAD secretariat.

The researcher also designed a fifteen item survey questionnaire (see Appendix 3) that was completed by the stakeholders as a basis for quantitative analysis. The researcher decided to use the questionnaire to examine the overall perceptions of stakeholders, regardless of status and/or rank within NEPAD.

As previously stated, the participants signed consent forms (see Appendix 4) to participate in the research. Protecting the confidentiality of participants was an important aspect of the research, that is, without a promise of confidentiality, the participants would have been less likely to answer questions about NEPAD accurately.

To validate the research instruments, the survey questionnaire and both sets of interview protocols were pretested in two ways. The researcher conducted five interviews in November 2006 in Lagos, Nigeria, prior to going to the field in February 2007. The researcher conducted these pretests to ensure high quality, reliable, and non-biased responses. From the five pretest interviews, four respondents observed that the survey questionnaire and the interview protocols were sound and reflected the objectives of the study. The critical comments given by the fifth respondent were taken into consideration before the researcher embarked to the field in February 2007. In addition, the instruments were given to three faculty members at Clark Atlanta University. Finally, the three faculty members approved the survey questionnaire and the two interview protocols.
END NOTES


2. Ibid., 185.


4. Ibid., 99.

5. Ibid., 138.
CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF TWO PREVIOUS SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANS IN AFRICA

Introduction

Since independence from the era of colonialism, African leaders and scholars have tried to establish different strategies to reduce the marginalization Africa faces from other continents. Disappointment and frustration, which characterized the decade of the eighties, spawned a variety of initiatives, such as the Lagos Plan of Action in 1980. A resounding consensus emerged among the Third World nations, where the existing international economic framework, in its very structure, posed a serious obstacle to the Third World’s development. In light of this, African leaders and scholars developed several socio-economic plans in order for the continent to eradicate some, if not most, of the economic impediments the continent faced, such as poverty and international trading practices. While the research of this dissertation focuses on Africa’s new plan for socio-economic development, the researcher believed that the events that shaped the path to these initiatives were of importance and should be briefly outlined.

The Path to African Unity

The injustices created by the colonial powers placed Africa in an imperialist world economic system where she did not have the political or economic clout to voice her concerns and opinions. The late Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972), Ghana’s first
President (1957–1960) after independence, advocated the concept of togetherness on the African continent through the concept of Pan-Africanism. Nkrumah, along with the late George Padmore (1902–1959), who served as Nkrumah’s advisor, were both staunch believers of the Pan-African concept, in which they believed that Africans both on the continent and in the diaspora were to unite for the good of Africa. Padmore believed Pan-Africanism to be a dynamic political philosophy and guide to action for Africans in Africa who were laying the foundations of national liberation organization. He stated that it was intended as a stimulant to anti-colonialism.²

Padmore and Nkrumah gave credit to W.E.B. Dubois (1868–1963) as the father of the concept of Pan-Africanism along with Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832–1912). Pan-Africanism is expressed as

The sense that all Africans have a spiritual affinity with each other and that, having suffered together in the past, they must march together into a new and brighter future. In its fullest realization this would involve the creation of an African leviathan in the form of a political organization or association of state...It might involve an almost infinite variety of regional groupings and collaborative arrangements, all partial embodiments of the counter-embracing unity which is the dream of the true Pan-Africanist.³

Padmore noted that national self-determination, individual liberty, and democratic socialism constituted the essential elements of Pan-Africanism as expounded by DuBois.⁴ Nkrumah believed Pan-Africanism to be the uprising movement of Africans wherever they are. He stated that all peoples of African descent, whether they live in North or South America, the Carribean, or in any other part of the world, are Africans and belong to the African nation.⁵

Nkrumah noted that the Africa continent has the second largest land stretch in the world, and the natural wealth of Africa was estimated to be greater than that of almost any other continent in the world. He stated that Africans needed to draw the most from Africa’s existing and potential means for the achievement of abundance and that Africa
needs to unify its effort, its resources, its skills, and intentions. Furthermore, he noted that an overall economic plan, covering an Africa united on a continental basis, would increase Africa’s total industrial and economic power.

The spirit of Pan-Africanism has led to several initiatives and plans to bring about faster economic growth and development to catch up with the industrialized countries, so that Africa could be strong within the international system. Nkrumah believed that the colonial masters of Africa needed to be released of their powers and that all African countries needed to be autonomous. It was this belief that Nkrumah used to accomplish his first vision at the 1958 All African Peoples’ Conference in Accra, Ghana, where he advocated for an establishment of a Pan-African organization to promote political, cultural, and economic integration at the continental level. Furthermore, Nkrumah also envisioned the establishment of a united Africa under one government. In the 1960s, African leaders, especially Nkrumah, believed it was time for a change and a common vision of African Unity. Nkrumah was one of the pioneers who set up the 1963 Addis Abba, Ethiopia, conference, where he first discussed the African Unity concept. This was a venture for Nkrumah because he believed that a political continental government would be “the savior of Africa.”

Furthermore, Nkrumah stated that a major political union of Africa would extend the independence of the continent; the development towards that bright future on which Africa’s hopes and endeavors were pinned depended upon political unity. He also advocated that Africa’s resources could be fully exploited and used in the interest of Africa and the African people only if Africa developed them within a union government of African states. He noted that such a government would need to maintain a common currency, a monetary zone, and a central bank of issue. As Green and Seidman noted,
economic dependence does not imply autarchy, that the requirements for modern industrial growth, or "going it alone," are impractical even for the African continent as a whole, let alone for any individual country. Nkrumah’s first attempt at political union was in 1958, between himself and Sekou Toure of Guinea, to form a nucleus for a Union of African States. Mali later joined in 1960. However, owing to the end of Nkrumah’s presidential term in office, which ended in a coup d'etat, and Mali’s brewing relationship with the United States of America, the Union of African States did not have an extensive lifespan, and Sekou Toure of Guinea declared the organization no longer existed in 1963.

Nkrumah and Haille Selassie I declared that a union of African states was a necessity, which should be pursued energetically in the interests of African solidarity and security. Nkrumah’s vision finally came to reality during the 1963 conference in Addis Ababa, which was attended by 30 African heads of state. However, most of the African leaders believed Nkrumah’s concept to be overly ambitious. Even so, the African leaders adopted six resolutions and established a charter during the conference, which established the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now known as the African Union (AU).

The first resolution was concerned with decolonization and injustice, which was seen as a flagrant violation of the inalienable rights of the legitimate inhabitants of dependent territories. The second resolution condemned the racial policy of South Africa and supported the anti-apartheid forces within South Africa. The third resolution affirmed the dedication of member states to the principles of the United Nations (UN), and that Africa should receive more equitable representation within the branches of the United Nations. Disarmament was the concern of the fourth resolution, and the fifth resolution focused on economic problems. The last resolution allowed for the creation of a coordinating committee for technical assistance.
The charter that created the OAU was (1) to promote the unity and solidarity of the African states; (2) to intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the African peoples; (3) to defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence; (4) to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and (5) to promote international cooperation. To achieve the goals of this charter, the heads of state affirmed that member states would coordinate and harmonize their general policies, particularly in terms of politics, diplomacy, economics, science and technology, education and culture, defense and security, and health, sanitation, and nutrition. The heads of state were also interested in cooperating in the areas of transportation and communication.

In addition, African leaders adopted another charter that provided for the creation of the African Development Bank (ADB). The ADB was first discussed in 1961 at the Monrovia, Liberia, conference, where African leaders were determined to ensure that member states individually and collectively restructured their economic and social strategies and programs, so as to achieve rapid socio-economic change and establish a solid domestic and intra-African base for a self-sustaining, self-reliant development and economic growth. The ADB was not created until 1964, but it was created to promote economic and social development in Africa. Its functions were (1) to make loans and equity investments for the economic and social advancement of the regional member countries (RMCs); (2) to provide technical assistance for the preparation and execution of development projects and programs; (3) to promote investment of public and private capital for development purposes; and (4) to assist in coordinating development policies and plans of the RMCs. The ADB was required to give special attention to national and multinational projects and programs which promoted regional integration.
The ADB ended up being created under the sponsorship of the United Nations. Also, because of the enormous problems of African states and the bank’s relative lack of capital, the ADB obtained cooperation from non-African governments and institutions. The ADB had been established for almost 40 years when, in November 2001, the Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC) of NEPAD mandated the ADB group to be the lead agency for infrastructure development. They also requested the ADB to collaborate with the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) on Economic and Corporate Governance, while taking the lead role in corporate governance and in fostering implementation of banking and financial standards. As the process evolved, the ADB was also designated as a strategic partner to the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). The struggle by African leaders to improve socio-economic development on the continent had been championed by these concepts of Pan-Africanism to African unity and their predecessors who had laid out different plans and strategies. Most of the new initiatives in the subsequent decades, such as LPA and AAF-SAP, and even the New Partnership for African Development, had adopted this ideology of African Unity initially coined by Kwame Nkrumah as vision of oneness – One Africa.

This chapter gives a historical overview of two socio-economic plans that were established before NEPAD: Lagos Plan of Action in 1980, and African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation in 1989.

The researcher chose these two previous socio-economic plans because the LPA was the first response by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now known as the African Union (AU), to the crisis of the economic slump and domestic problems on the
African continent, such as coups, political instability and underproduction of goods and services. The OAU blamed external forces for the economic impediments of Africa and exonerated the African leaders. The OAU stated that, despite all efforts made by its leaders, Africa remained the least developed continent and Africa was directly exploited during the colonial period and throughout the past decades.\textsuperscript{20} Seidman stated that Africa remained in poverty despite the fact of attaining independence because of the political economic institutions that Africa inherited from almost a century of outright colonial rule.\textsuperscript{21} Furthermore, Kwame Nkrumah stated in \textit{Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism} that most African nations were "nominally independent" — that is, independent only in name, not in fact — because even after "independence" their economic systems and, therefore, social and political policies were directed by and dictated from non-African or foreign forces.\textsuperscript{22} Nkrumah warned African leaders that neo-colonialism was a greater danger to independent countries than was colonialism.\textsuperscript{23} He also cautioned African leaders that to allow a foreign country, especially one which is loaded with economic interests in the continent, to tell Africa what political decisions to undertake and what political courses to follow is indeed for Africa to hand back its independence to the oppressor on a silver platter.\textsuperscript{24}

The OAU also noted that this exploitation had been carried out through neo-colonialist external forces, which sought to influence the economic policies and directions of the African states.\textsuperscript{25} The LPA was thus the start of attempts at socio-economic developments by African states. However, the LPA fell short of materializing into a successful program because of the lack of support by the international financial institutions such as World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the international community.
The OAU attempted a second effort known as the African Priority Program for Economic Recovery 1986–1990 (APPER) after the LPA. The OAU changed its rationale with the APPER by sharing the blame between the African states and external forces. The United Nations adopted the APPER, and it became the United Nations Program of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986–1990 (UN-PAAERD). The U.N. also pledged international support for the APPER, but it lacked the ability to enforce recommendations, such as appealing to developed countries to change their relationships with Africa and endorse a favorable global environment for African development through elimination of protectionist policies against African trade.

The APPER ended up following the fate of the LPA and failed because it was difficult to implement this initiative in the short term and among indigenous problems but primarily because of the extent of long-term and exogenous causes, such as inherited external dependence, insufficient resources, elusive regionalism and structural problems. Many African states ended up being absorbed in the 1980s by the structural adjustment programs, and by the end of the decade they showed that the policies of the international financial institutions and their structural adjustment programs (SAPs) did not change the status quo of African economies.

The LPA and APPER were both absorbed by the SAPs initialized by the IFIs. These two plans, the Lagos Plan of Action in 1980 and the Economic Commission for Africa’s (ECA) initiation of African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programs for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation (AAF-SAP) in 1989, would be suitable discussion in this study because the LPA was constructed to help bring the vision of African unity into reality and the Economic Commission for Africa’s initiation of AAF-SAP was constructed to adopt a new strategy to replace the IFI’s SAPs. A
historical review of these two plans sheds light on the different articulated visions that African leaders and society had previously attempted to achieve socio-economic development in order to bring Africa out of its development crises.

**Lagos Plan of Action (LPA)**

The LPA was a socio-economic development plan whose goal was to undertake measures for the basic restructuring of the economic base of the continent using a self-reliance approach, which was defined as a process or a deliberate strategy for obtaining a set of objectives, rather than a condition or an end state. The major objectives of a strategy of national self-reliance were to avoid dependence and to promote development. These same principles were encompassed in the NEPAD framework, in that African leaders believed that the dependence on foreign aid had reduced the economic growth of Africa, and though assistance was needed from the international community, it should be in the form of partnership.

The Economic Commission for Africa and the Organization for African Unity, now known as the African Union, included African development experts, technicians, and ministers from planning and other ministries. Their goal was to nurture the concept of the LPA for Africa.

**Goals and Objectives**

The initiators of the plan declared that there was an urgent need to take action to provide the political support necessary for the success of the measures and to achieve the goals of rapid self-reliance, self-sustaining development, and economic growth.

The plan’s goals were

1. To promote the economic and social development and integration of the African economies with a view to achieving an increasing measure of self-
2. To promote the economic integration of the African region in order to facilitate and reinforce social and economic intercourse; and

3. To establish national, regional and sub-regional institutions which will facilitate the attainment of objectives of self-reliance and self-sustainment.\textsuperscript{30}

Furthermore, the plan particularly emphasized objectives whose purpose were

1. To give an important place to the field of human resource development by starting to eliminate literacy;

2. To put science and technology in the service of development by reinforcing the autonomous capacity of the African continent;

3. To achieve self-sufficiency in food production and supply;

4. To completely implement the programs for the United Nations Transport and Communications Decade for Africa (UNTCDA);

5. To realize the regional and sub-regional internally located industrial development;

6. To cooperate in the field of natural resource control, exploration, extraction, and use for the development of the African economies for the benefit of its peoples and to set up the appropriate institutions to achieve these purposes;

7. To develop indigenous entrepreneurship, technical humanpower and technological abilities to enable the African peoples to assume greater responsibility for the achievement of their individual and collective development goals;

8. To cooperate in the preservation, protection and improvement of the natural environment;
9. To ensure that the African development policies reflect adequately the African socio-cultural values in order to reinforce the African cultural identity; and
10. To take into account the future in the elaboration of the African development plans including studies and measures aimed at achieving a rapid socio-economic transformation of the African states.31

Although the NEPAD framework also adopted these principles and objectives, it sought to reflect on the lessons learned through painful experiences so as to establish a partnership that was both credible and capable of implementation, unlike the LPA.

NEPAD advocated that the challenge was for the peoples and governments of Africa to understand that development is a process of empowerment and that self-reliance is of vital importance, which the LPA failed to emphasize.32

Proposed Development Plan for African Development

The Lagos Plan of Action incorporated all aspects of development within Africa. The plan consisted of thirteen chapters, seven of which focused on sectors such as food and agriculture, industry, natural resources, human resource development and utilization, science and technology, transport and communications, trade and finance, and energy. The other chapters were focused on the measures to build up and strengthen economic and technical cooperation, including the creation of new institutions and strengthening of existing ones, environment and development, least developed African countries, energy, women and development, development planning, and statistics and population.

NEPAD emphasized the need to improve all areas of socio-economic development in order to improve the living standard of all Africans. NEPAD recognized the need to develop all public and private sectors and it identified its six areas of priority that encompassed all sectors within LPA. The LPA sectors identified development strategies
for the following:

*Food and Agriculture*

With regards to food and agriculture, the LPA envisaged that the high levels of post-harvest losses and periodic and severe shortages had led to rapidly increasing dependence on food imports, resulting in a drain on foreign exchange resources and the creation of serious major constraints in financing the development of African economies. The LPA further stated that the root of the food problem in Africa was the fact that member states had not usually accorded the necessary priority to agriculture, both in the allocation of resources and in giving sufficient attention to policies for the promotion of productivity and improvement. It was strongly recommended that member states formulate and apply effective and coherent policies to insure that the prices of farm inputs and farm produce provide an adequate incentive for increasing food production, particularly by small farmers.

It was also noted that having food reserves, as well as the improvement of stock and management of crops, would be an essential task to curb famine on the continent. The LPA specifically stated that the main and immediate objective in food production should be to bring about quantitative and qualitative improvements in food-crop production, with a view to replacing a sizeable proportion of the presently imported products. The need for science and technology was also meant to play a pivotal role in the development of agriculture, especially in connection with agronomic research, training and extension. Member states reaffirmed that expanding their economic and technical co-operation in food and agriculture through increased trade, exchange of horsepower technology, and joint development programs at the sub-regional and regional levels would in time minimize food shortages and insecurities.
Industry

In the context of industry, the LPA noted that Africa was entering a new decade (1980–1989) in a state of underdevelopment, which made the continent the least developed region in the world. The LPA also postulated that underdevelopment had resulted from several centuries of colonial domination. The authors of the LPA stated that the continent was owed a massive and appropriate contribution by the developed countries (colonial powers) for the development of Africa. The authors of the LPA believed that the structure of the international economic order needed change and noted that a new international economic order was essential in order for Africa to have a chance in an unbiased, level playing field.

The LPA further stated that member states were convinced that the fundamental role of intra-African industrial cooperation, in all its various forms, was to be an instrument for self-reliance and acceleration of industrial development. The LPA did not state how the colonial powers would disburse the appropriate contributions to the continent, if at all the colonial powers were willing to give such retributions. Moreover, the initiators did not state in the plan how they expected the international community to change the international economic order and did not mention that the initial international economic order was designed without the African continent in mind.

Natural Resources

With regards to natural resources, the authors noted that two major problems confronting Africa in the field of natural resource development were the lack of adequate capacity for the development of these resources and the considerable dependence on foreign transnational corporations to supply the new material needs of the developed countries. These problems had led to the inadequate share in the revenues generated by
the exploitation of natural resources of member states because of imperfect pricing and marketing practices, which was why African leaders believed the structure of the international economic order needed to be changed in order to be included as a partner in a level playing field.

The authors of the LPA believed that member states should aim at having sovereignty over their natural resources. They should take all necessary measures through the development of relevant human and institutional infrastructure to establish indigenous technological capabilities in the exploration, processing, and exploitation of their natural resources to resolve the dependency on foreign transnational corporations.

**Human Development**

Human resource development was Africa’s greatest asset according to the LPA, and it stated that full mobilization and effective utilization of the labor force for national development and social progress should be a major instrument of development. The LPA noted the importance of ensuring that multinational, regional, and sub-regional project activities concerned with human resource development and utilization should be incorporated and reflected in national policy guidelines as well as in related legislative acts and development plans. The LPA stated that adoption of such policies would ensure the reduction of dependence on the use of foreign experts and skills while promoting training of nationals in technical cooperation projects and fostering employment of African expertise within the region.

The LPA noted that special attention should be given to programs that improve the quality of life and the performance of workers through improved nutrition, better housing, medical and health care, and healthy environments. Requisite humanpower, at all levels, for the execution of programs and activities contributing to the improvement of
quality of life, should therefore be developed and efficiently used. The LPA acknowledged that although member states must first help themselves individually and collectively in striving for survival and progress, international support to aid human resource development would be welcomed as a supplement to the African self-reliance effort.

Although emphasis was made on the need for human development by the LPA, it was not until 1988 at the Khartoum, Sudan, summit where African leaders first adopted the Khartoum Declaration: Towards a Human Focused Approach to Socio-Economic Recovery and Development in Africa. In Article 5 of the Preamble of the 1988 declaration, the authors wrote,

Since the human being is the center of all development, the human condition is the only final measure of development. Improving that condition is essential for the poor and vulnerable human beings who comprise the majority of our peoples in Africa. Africa's men and women are the main factors and the ends for whom and by whom any program and implementation of development must be justified. 

Moreover, at the 1995 World Social Summit, which took place in Copenhagen, Denmark, three main themes were emphasized on which any development strategy for Africa has to focus. These themes were (1) the alleviation of poverty, (2) the elimination of unemployment, and (3) the enhancement of social integration. It was also noted that policies aimed at promoting the informal sector must also pay direct attention to these three themes. 

Furthermore, the Khartoum Declaration, as well as the three themes of development, suggest that "development," above all, is about people. Development programs must therefore be human-oriented and must strive to improve the conditions of life for the majority of the population. Hence, policies intending to promote the informal sector must aim at improving the social and economic conditions of life for the majority of people.
Science and Technology

In the context of science and technology, the LPA noted that the continent continues to be technologically backward and dependent on industrialized countries principally because many member states had failed to take most of the actions required for achieving self-reliance. Consequently, the LPA urged member states to adopt measures that would ensure the development of an adequate science and technology base and the appropriate application of science and technology in spearheading development in agriculture, transport and communications, industry, including agro-allied industries, health and sanitation, energy, education and humanpower development, housing, urban development, and environment.

Member states were also encouraged to take measures to promote research and development in science and technology, particularly by providing the necessary financial resources to these sectors. The LPA further stated that traditional technologies should be used where worthwhile, but developing new ones and adapting imported technology would also encourage a balanced development of rural industry and agriculture, so as to ensure that there would be demand for rural goods and services as well as for the technologies to produce them.

Transport and Communications

The authors of the LPA stated that member states had always recognized that transport and communications constitute a very important sector, whose development depends not only on the growth in other sectors but also on the socio-economic integration of Africa as well as on the promotion of intra- and extra-African trade. The authors urged member states to promote the integration of transport and communications infrastructures with a view to increasing intra-African trade by opening up the land-locked countries and
isolated regions.

*Trade and Finance*

The LPA authors stated that particular attention should be given to domestic trade and to improve the conditions under which it was taking place, so as to optimize its contributions to the socio-economic development of member states. The LPA envisioned the promotion of internal trade at the national level, with particular attention to the potentials offered by the rural markets. The authors of the LPA further observed that the reduction and elimination of trade barriers should place particular emphasis on the exchange of essential goods while ensuring that no undue advantage is taken of the liberalization process. The LPA moreover indicated that there should be a complete restructuring and reorientation of the policies and programs of monetary and financial institutions imported in Africa so as to integrate them better in the development objectives of each country and that national banks and other appropriate financial institutions should be encouraged to extend credit, including short-term credit, to exporters of intra-African trade commodities.

*Institutionalizing Lagos Plan of Action*

The LPA proposed that there should be measures to build up and strengthen economic and technical cooperation, including the creation of new institutions and the strengthening of existing ones such as the African Development Bank. The LPA also envisaged that the various institutions that had previously been established at the request of African governments in fields such as natural resources, science and technology, industry, training and human resources, and transport and communications had all suffered from the ill effects of the lack of follow-up in the implementation of political decisions.
This lack of effective follow-up was expressed in various ways. According to the LPA, the most common one was that after pressing for the establishment of an institution, many African governments, even after having approved the legal document setting up the institution concerned, either failed to become members of the institution or, if they did become members, failed to give it adequate financial and material support. In regards to this problem, the LPA stated that existing multinational institutions should be strengthened by the prompt provision to them of political and material support of all member states, which supported their establishment.

Environment and Development

In regards to environment and development, the LPA distinguished the following as priority areas of environmental concern that needed immediate attention: environmental sanitation and health, safe drinking water supply, desertification and drought, reforestation and soil degradation, marine pollution and conservation of marine resources, human settlements, mining, air pollution control, and environmental education and training, legislation, and information. The LPA envisioned that the government should define realistic policy options, strategies and programming for the incorporation of environmental problem action, develop environmental education and training programs, and advise on environmental legislation. All of these actions should be developed in each African country. Also, the regional and sub-regional cooperation should be strengthened by the establishment of an intergovernmental committee on environmental matters, supported by its technical group of experts, as a sectoral subsidiary of the regional commission. The LPA also called on member states to cooperate with international organizations dealing with environmental matters and the industrialized countries for technical assistance in tackling priority environmental problems.
Reform of Least Developed Countries

The LPA affirmed that the social and economic reforms of the least developed African countries should be undertaken by these countries themselves to ensure that the benefits of all productive efforts are shared equitably by the total population and also to ensure full participation of the people in the development process. The LPA also envisaged that the least developed African countries should "establish a self-reliant and self-sustaining economy as rapidly as possible." The LPA demonstrated a naïve view with regards to the current state of these countries, such as the lack of a democratic government and the level of corruption by the leaders of these countries, which was never made a decisive factor in order for the successful achievement of such an undertaking.

Energy

The LPA expressed concern for the energy situation in Africa. It suggested that energy consumption was rising faster and faster to the point of arousing serious anxieties about the continent's future energy supplies. The LPA noted that the continuous rising of petroleum prices had serious impact on the economies of African countries. The LPA also observed the urgency of the energy issue in Africa and the necessity to find adequate short-, medium-, and long-term solutions. The LPA stated that the availability of energy resources in Africa should be increased rapidly, and it urged increase quantities of resources to ensure a self-sustained development.

Women and Development

Women and development was another issue discussed within the LPA. The authors of the LPA noted the importance of giving special attention to women because the authors recognized that a development plan which chooses to ignore women and not adopt a full integration of women would fail and that the strategies related to women
should be adopted at national, sub-regional and regional levels. Steps should be taken to include women in higher administrative and policy-making levels. Also, steps should be taken to lessen the domestic burden of rural women and also to provide supporting services for female workers.

Furthermore, education and training for women was an issue to be tackled. It was suggested that national educational policies and programs must take due cognizance of the national economy and employment objectives in order to provide education and training geared to equipping women for effective participation in the economic life of Africa. Furthermore, women should be encouraged through adult education programs to take part in activities of trade unions and to be informed of their civic responsibilities, thus implying that women had the right to gain skills needed to participate more fully in economic and political life. 

*Implementing Lagos Plan of Action*

The absence of the implementation component of the LPA was appalling in regards to development planning, statistics, and population, which usually consists of humanpower, technological requirements, more clearly defined financial implications, a time frame, a monitoring system, and harmonization with economic development plans of neighboring countries as well as at the sub-regional and regional levels. Such an absence of an implementation plan rendered economic development plans in most African countries susceptible to political and world economic changes and rendered successful development unattainable.

The LPA authors argued that member states should elaborate on the basis of well identified objectives and priorities and create national short-, medium-, and long-term integrated development plans, which should be integrated at the sub-regional, regional
and continental levels. Member states were encouraged to develop well-detailed projects and programs for implementation that would be attainable.

Moreover, the LPA stated that the elaboration of development plans should be based on integrated sectoral plans. It also declared that emphasis should be placed on national and collective self-reliance and self-sustaining development as well as on humanpower, technology, and financial planning. Each of these components should be well defined within a specified time schedule.45

The LPA suggested that the institutional arrangements for implementation, including continuous evaluation and monitoring of the plan both at the macro and sectoral levels, should be clearly specified, developed, and existing ones strengthened. This would ensure proper coordination and avoid undue duplication of efforts and resources. In this regard, there was need to accord special emphasis to comprehensive statistical data and information on population and natural resources as a basis for effective policy-making and planning.46

The African leaders were convinced of the need to coordinate progressively the existing and future economic activities of the continent and to promote the integration of the various economic sectors. They confirmed their full adherence to the plan of action and affirmed their commitment to set up, by the year 2000, the African Economic Community (AEC), an organization designed to establish regional economic development among African Union states and to ensure the economic, social and cultural integration of the continent. The aim of the community was to promote collective accelerated, self-reliant and self-sustaining development of member states, cooperation among these states, and their integration in the economic, social and cultural fields.47 This treaty was known as the “Abuja Treaty” and was established in 1991 in Abuja, Nigeria,
but major constraints were faced with the implementation of the treaty because of the fragmentation of the continent. Green and Seidman noted that, "Independent Africa states inherited fragmented, retarded, virtually underdeveloped economies, and that balkanization impedes industrial growth and cannot achieve economic independence."

Also, another difficulty in implementing this treaty was the impact of colonialism, which had left Africa disjointed. Walter Rodney termed Africa as "economic satellites" during the period of colonialism, by which he meant that the colonizers had transformed Africa into little economies that would depend on the economies of the colonizers, that is, being in orbit of the colonizers economies.

**Support of the International Community**

With all African countries agreeing to the LPA, it was thought that the international community would be supportive. To the authors' dismay, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which should have been in the forefront with allocated financial resources, ignored the LPA by implementing their own structural adjustment programs. The World Bank and IMF totally ignored the LPA by neither building on its framework nor explicitly adopting it. The World Bank and IMF viewed the LPA as too unrealistic and impractical to be worthy of attention, and they condemned it as in conflict with the World Bank’s vision of how the global economy should evolve.

The World Bank and IMF also felt that the LPA really had very little genuine support in African ruling circles and could, therefore, be ignored with impunity. It was believed that Africa would face enormous problems in attempting to implement the ambitious program contained in the LPA. It was noted by the Berg Report of the World Bank that there was a serious inadequacy of the funds available to the secretariat, that is, the then OAU, for carrying out their charge, as the funds from both African and non-
African sources had fallen far short of expectations and many planned activities necessarily had been curtailed.

The Berg report also noted that the OAU suffered from an inability to recruit adequate numbers of properly trained and experienced staff, both because of budgetary shortages and also because of quota systems, which were in effect in order to ensure fair geographic distribution of staff. It further stated that the representatives of the member states at the on-going technical meetings were often inadequately prepared for their responsibilities and they were replaced so frequently that continuity and meaningful progress were difficult to achieve. The Berg report also stated that the member states had sometimes failed to provide necessary hosting facilities for meetings organized by the OAU, and they had failed to reflect in their national development plans the decisions they had taken collectively in other multi-national platforms.\textsuperscript{53}

Hence, the World Bank believed that its vision of structural adjustment programs, which included credit policy, interest rates, exchange rate policy, trade liberalization, privatization policy, price mechanism and across-the-board reductions in budget deficit would be a better plan for the socio-economic development in Africa. However, it soon became clear both on theoretical and empirical grounds that the conventional structural adjustment programs, which the World Bank and IMF suggested and implemented in African countries, were inadequate for addressing the real causes of economic, financial and social problems facing African countries.

On this ground, the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) proposed a new approach in 1989, known as the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programs for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation. They believed this program would move away from the IFIs’ orthodox approach and would address the socio-
economic development problems of African states. The authors of the AAF-SAP established ways in which African countries could transform their political, social, and economic structures as an alternative framework to the conventional structural adjustment programs of the World Bank and IMF.

African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programs for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation

The main thrust of the AAF-SAP was its holistic nature in which the macro-economic framework, the policy directions and the measures, and the implementation strategies took into account the dynamic relationships existing among all major elements related to adjustment with transformation. Thus, the dichotomy between structural adjustment and long-term development was eliminated.54 Therefore, this proposed framework would strengthen and diversify Africa's productive capacity and investment. It would also equalize and enhance the efficiency of factor income allocation and adjust patterns of expenditure to ensure that basic human needs are met.55 The alternative framework also placed great emphasis on the full mobilization and efficient use of domestic resources, the need to establish an enabling environment for sustainable development, and adoption of a pragmatic alternative framework for the human dimension, which indicated the recognition that only through the motivation and the empowerment of people could development take place on a sustainable basis and equitable distribution of income be assured.56

Moreover, the AAF-SAP stressed three major characteristics: First, the alternative framework was not a standard program designed to fit every country. The principles of AAF-SAP were meant to be adopted in accordance with the particular characteristics of each country, such that the country would select appropriate policy instruments and
measures and adopt the relevant implementation strategies that would best serve the
country and its people. Second, as a human-centered framework, AAF-SAP implied that
there should be full democratization of all aspects of economic and social activities in all
stages from decision-making to implementation. Third, the alternative framework called
for intensified inter-country cooperation in the designing, implementation and monitoring
of national programs for adjustment with transformation. Furthermore, the AAF-SAP was
intended to be a basis for constructive dialogue between African countries and their
development partners in the implementation and financing of country programs.

AAF-SAP Proposed Development Plan for African Development

The proposed plan was based on three sets of macro-entities, namely the operative
forces, the available resources (on the African continent), and the needs (of the African
peoples). The operative forces (which could be positive or negative, internal or external,
temporary or permanent) are political, economic, scientific and technological, environ-
mental, cultural, and sociological. These macro-entities together act on the general
pattern and rate of development.

Furthermore, AAF-SAP was expressed in three modules. The first specified that
the interaction of certain specified forces with the level and pattern of allocation of
resources would determine the type and quantity of the different categories of output. It
was in this module that different sets of relationships (specific to each country) in the
process of producing goods and services and generating factor incomes, including aspects
such as the efficiency and productivity of resources, would be defined. The second
module stipulated that forces were also at play in characterizing the distribution of output
and in determining the level and pattern of allocation of factor income. As in the first
module, it was in this module that the different sets of relationships (again specific to
each country) dealing with income distribution would be specified. The third module specified that there was a set of operative forces which interact with the level of income and pattern of income distribution to determine the degree of domestic satisfaction needs and the external transactions with the rest of the world including exports, imports, debt, aid, and resource flows. As in the first two modules, the sets of relationships dealing with the elements of domestic demand and transactions with the rest of the world would have to be specified for each country.

It was believed that all forces, resources, and needs in the AAF-SAP would also change over time in the sense that the nature of their interactions would become different depending on whether one looks at them from the point of view of one national economy or from the perspective of country and sub-regional groupings. It was believed that the AAF-SAP would enable African countries to identify the major components of the forces at play, the needs of society, the resources required, and the principal interactions and relationships among these. Moreover, the AAF-SAP was not a standard model that would generate standard policy prescriptions irrespective of the circumstances in the countries, but it was broad and flexible enough to be used along with selected policy directions, for the specification of appropriate models and the subsequent design of programs for individual African countries, taking into account the specificity of social and economic structures.

*Orthodox Adjustment Programs*

The AAF-SAP stated that the orthodox adjustment programs left the important aspects of the critical needs and services, including productive employment, on the periphery of the process of adjustment, which was believed to have serious negative impacts on certain socio-economic groups. Moreover, the orthodox adjustment programs,
such as the World Bank and IMF structural adjustment programs, were created from crisis situations, in which structural weaknesses, bottlenecks and hostile economic international environment tend to compound the problems of economic decline, rising external dependence, collapse of rural economy, capital flight and brain drain, and mass poverty, to a situation of temporary relief from problems of financial disequilibria, but without improving the structural weaknesses of the economy. However, taking into account the structural weaknesses that led to the perpetual emergence of crisis situations in African countries, the path of adjustment with transformation, that is the proposed alternative framework, was aimed at simultaneously strengthening the processes of the generation, distribution, and expenditure of the national income.

The AAF-SAP noted that this alternative framework would lead to socio-economic transformation to increase capacity to adjust growth leading to sustained development. It was in this sense that the framework sought, additionally, to incorporate the dynamics of adjustment with transformation, thereby enabling a more appropriate conceptualization of the efficacy of policy directions and instruments to be applied. The variables at play included sectoral output with distinction between exportable and non-exportable commodities, the indices of forces that were relevant to the production process, such as weather, technology, institutions, world commodity, and financial market variables related to resources, especially land (arable and cultivated), exploitable natural resources, domestic savings, external resources, labor, and intermediate inputs (domestic and imported).

These variables were interrelated and were to be operationalized through such policy instruments as exchange rate, domestic credit, and interest rate policies, producer prices, and production subsidies, amongst others. The AAF-SAP stressed the mix and
relative importance of the different variables relating to the resources and needs that would undoubtedly vary from country to country.

Guidelines of the AAF-SAP

The AAF-SAP stated that the African countries should adapt to their own peculiar and unique circumstances under its policy directions, instruments and measures. It recommended first improving financial management and efficiency of public enterprises and establishing tighter financial accountability. Second, it recommended improving agricultural incentives and then diversifying exports, mainly in processed agricultural products. Improvements in external debt management were also encouraged. It was noted that countries – developed or developing – find it necessary to adjust from time to time to changing economic parameters and circumstances, and Africa needed to adjust. It was imperative that it transform the structures that fundamentally served to aggravate the socio-economic situation of the continent. Adjustment and transformation must be conceived and implemented as inextricably linked and intertwined processes so that progress would be made simultaneously on these fronts.

The AAF-SAP described the major policy directions to be followed within the context of strengthening and diversifying Africa’s production capacity and the productivity of investment, which were at the center of the productions. These are enhanced production and efficient resource use, greater and more efficient domestic resource mobilization, which improve human resources capacity, strengthening the scientific and technological base, and vertical and horizontal diversification. The AAF-SAP advocated that African states diversify their products and maximize their profits in order to sustain economic growth.

The AAF-SAP noted that the pattern and level of factor income allocation was
very important in the process of adjustment with transformation as it greatly influenced the dynamics and patterns of production, the effective size of domestic markets, and the alleviation of mass poverty. Because of these factors, the AAF-SAP affirmed that policy directions should be followed that established a pragmatic balance between the public and private sectors, created an enabling environment for sustainable development, shifted resources, and made improvements in the pattern of income distribution among different socio-economic categories of households.

Moreover, the policy directions incorporated the pattern of expenditure of income for the satisfaction of required needs as an essential component in the adjustment with transformation process. This stage pursued the following policy directions: food self-sufficiency, lessening import dependence, re-alignment of consumption patterns with production patterns, and managing debt and debt-servicing. The final stage of the policy direction was the institutional support for adjustment with transformation.

The AAF-SAP stated that in order for these policy directions to succeed, there should be some modification to the status quo. The international economic order as it were was inappropriate for the process of adjustment in African countries given the structural rigidities. There should be modifications to the international economic order, such as change of practices that lead to excessive dependence on the market mechanism, total price and import liberalization, doctrinaire privatization, inflation-adjusted interest rates, across-the-board credit squeeze, total elimination of subsidies, generalized devaluation, indiscriminate promotion of traditional exports, and deflationary budgetary measures, especially drastic reductions of public spending. The AAF-SAP emphasized the need to change the international trade status quo in order to benefit all nations, and not use such economic forces as mentioned to deter the economic growth of African
nations.

However, regardless of whatever policy instruments and measures were chosen by a country, it would be necessary to ensure that these were policy instruments and measures that strengthen and diversify production capacity, improve the level of income and the pattern of its distribution, improve the pattern of expenditure for the satisfaction of needs, and institute support for adjustment with transformation. Thus, the economy, through appropriate changes in policy directions and through the adoption of appropriate policy packages deriving from the proposed framework, would achieve adjustment and transformation simultaneously.

The AAF-SAP noted that to achieve individual or national satisfaction, it was necessary to embark on selective trade policies, involving elements of import controls and import management, particularly the prohibition of non-essential imports, tariff protection and quota restrictions to support changes in consumption patterns, encouragement of the production and use of local inputs, and promotion of viable infant industries. Thus, industrialization had to be fostered vigorously if the internalization of the forces of production and the creation of greater internal dynamics were to be achieved, and it would have to proceed under an umbrella of some import protection if it were to succeed.

The AAF-SAP also proposed that the issue of export promotion and revitalization of the traditional export sector had to be approached in a selective manner and not only through generalized devaluation. There was need for African countries to take steps to diversify away from the existing monoculture of exports both in order to increase their range of options and reduce reliance on commodities which had very limited growth potential. In spite of the immediate gains from maximizing returns from a static
comparative advantage, the requirements of adjustment with transformation were such that governments should build into their programs incentives to create a long-term, dynamic comparative advantage based on new production structures and processing.

The AAF-SAP stated that the efficient utilization of available resources in Africa needed to be enhanced to the extent that countries in the region effectively integrate their production structures and markets. This meant the African governments would have to begin planning, through regional and sub-regional rationalization, to remove some costly duplication of industrial production capacities, which had risen in the post-independence period and to establish new industries designed to raise the level of trade within Africa and between Africa and the rest of the world.

The AAF-SAP noted that the policy packages that individual countries should adopt under the AAF-SAP in respect to the on-going crisis on the continent would vary from country to country. It was left to each country, taking into account the peculiar circumstances of its development process, to design its own policy package within this overall thrust and framework and to articulate the appropriate mix of complementary policy measures and instruments for achieving the goal of adjustment with transformation. It would, however, always be necessary to ensure the consistency of the political framework with the macro-framework and the policy directions, instruments and measures.

*Implementing the AAF-SAP*

To administer the proposals of the AAF-SAP, it required the reorientation and strengthening of the institutional framework at all levels and the strengthening of existing administrative structures, especially with respect to enhancing government ability to administer programs efficiently. The AAF-SAP also called for greater accountability as
well as dedicated and devoted management on the part of the public sector. At the institutional level, there was need for excessively centralized bureaucracies to yield to local decentralization, grass-roots initiatives and community self-management. The potential capacity of the individual and the private sector in general to participate in development must also be fully exploited. The increased role of the people in adjustment with transformation had to facilitate the functioning of a system of checks and balances and safeguard against bureaucratic excesses.

Moreover, the proposed policy directions and instruments in AAF-SAP also required the coordination of the design of national programs of adjustment so as to avoid policy conflicts and costly duplication among countries. African countries were to specifically ensure that such integration must enter into bilateral and multilateral agreements. Such agreements must cover the areas of regional food security and food self-sufficiency, environmental protection, and rationalization of industrial production. They must take into account the requirements of dynamic comparative advantages, encouragement of the production of intermediate and capital goods on a sub-regional and regional basis, increasing the level of intra-African trade by adopting financial arrangements that would reduce dependence on foreign exchange and facilitate intra-African trade, and the explicit encouragement of commodity barter trade.

However, the AAF-SAP noted that in the circumstances of a transition from a conventional SAP to adjustment with transformation, the multilateral development and financial institutions needed to show increased flexibility in their policy perceptions and resource flows to support the new generation of adjustment programs in Africa. The prospects for implementing the alternative framework approach would be greatly compromised if African countries failed on their part to rise to the challenge of increased
domestic resource mobilization that would be required, and if Africa’s development partners persisted in predicated their assistance and support upon the strict conditionalities of adherence to orthodox structural adjustment programs rather than the proposed framework contained in AAF-SAP.

Furthermore, the authors of the AAF-SAP noted that it was essential that country programs for the alternative adjustment with transformation process in Africa should be and remain the primary responsibility of African governments and people within the context of a new partnership. It was also the responsibility of the international community to support such programs. This, according to the authors of the AAF-SAP, would be a fundamental departure from the current practice in which external development agencies play a principal role in the formulation, design, implementation, and monitoring of adjustment programs in member states.

The process of formulation of these programs should avoid the mistake of excluding the people from full participation in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of adjustment programs. The implementation of policy packages and instruments should be based on a genuine and active partnership between the government and the people through their various political, social, and economic organizations at national, local and grassroots levels. This, according to the AAF-SAP, required a reorganization of the decision-making process for the design and implementation of adjustment with transformation programs, to ensure maximum co-operation between public and private sector agencies, between the government and the governed, as well as to mobilize popular support.

The key role of the government was to embrace the creation of an enabling environment and institution that adopts effective implementation and vigorous support
for grassroots initiatives. Also, democratization and popular participation would encourage Africans to increase their development effort and to accept whatever sacrifices imposed by the government programs, thereby consolidating and deepening the process for national self-reliance. The AAF-SAP stated that there were few elements of this implementation strategy that must be taken into consideration, such as the design of national programs for adjustment with transformation and popularization of the programs.

Moreover, as the alternative framework covered the short-, medium- and long-term processes, it was important to ensure that policy instruments and measures adopted by individual African countries were well coordinated among them so that they could achieve the desired effects. The need to mobilize the internal and external resources required for AAF-SAP implementation of programs designed under this alternative framework was crucial, and the precise estimates of the quantity of resources needed to finance these programs had to be worked out at the individual country level.

Therefore, it was necessary to first design national programs on the basis of AAF-SAP prescriptions, which would then be followed by the determination of resource needs. The following policies and measures were identified for the mobilization of domestic and external resources that would enable African countries to finance their programs for adjustment with transformation: improved international commodity trade environment; appropriate policies and measures for mobilization of domestic resources; more efficient utilization of the limited domestic resources, especially the direction of resources to economic and social sectors which were accorded high priority, such as agriculture and education; reduction of outlays on external debt servicing; additional resources being generated from the growth of African economies; increased external resource flows from
bilateral, multilateral and private sector sources; promotion of transfers by nationals living abroad; and the prevention of financial leakages through capital flight, over-invoicing of imports and under-declaration of export earnings.

Moreover, it was also noted in the AAF-SAP that monitoring processes for adjustment with transformation programs were essential, the assessment of the extent to which objectives and targets were being achieved was crucial. Each African state was meant to establish monitoring systems that were appropriate to its own programs. It would be essential to organize national, sub-regional, and regional data systems, which would facilitate the assessment and monitoring of the impact of adjustment with transformation programs, so as to provide early warning against any deviations for objectives and set goals.

*Role of the International Community*

The international community, particularly multilateral development and financial institutions and bilateral donor agencies, played a crucial role in the implementation of the alternative adjustment with transformation process in African countries, and they were to encourage and support programs designed by African governments under AAF-SAP to ensure that the assistance they extended to Africa led to a sustainable process of development. It was therefore necessary for multilateral, bilateral and non-governmental organizations, in collaboration with national governments, to formulate their assistance programs taking in full cognizance of national programs.

The implementation process constituted one of the vital elements in the transformation process and therefore it had to accord equal importance to the organization, design, and formulation of programs and policies themselves. According to the authors of AAF-SAP, no adjustment or transformation program, however sound and innovative in
the blueprints, could achieve its objectives of development if it were not properly implemented.

However, the AAF-SAP was strongly opposed, and it was often condemned by the officials of the World Bank and IMF as well as those of the donor community in general because of the lack of political will and stability on the continent and especially the lack of financial resources and technical competence. The World Bank and IMF also believed that the AAF-SAP was state-centered. Because it also criticized their SAPs, they felt the African economies did not have a conducive environment to implement such a framework.

However, Seidman noted that the conditionalities of funds given to Africa by the IMF and World Bank had reproduced the region’s poverty and vulnerability. She stated that to overcome such a crisis required an alternative strategy built on theoretical foundations fundamentally different from the neo-classical models that underpin the “restructuring” programs of the IMF and World Bank and that the state must play an interventionist role.57

The IFIs were also still confident with the effectiveness of the SAPs and would not adopt any new or proposed development plans for Africa, such as AAF-SAP. Therefore, the AAF-SAP ended up with the same fate as previous African initiatives, such as the LPA.

Lessons Learned

The two historical initiatives were developed with the best of intentions. The Lagos Plan of Action failed because of a lack of financial resources, the lack of the political will by the African states that signed onto it, the lack of capacity building, and the lack of support from both the international support and IFIs.
The African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-economic Recovery and Transformation failed because of the lack of ability and political will by the African governments. Its technical concept of adopting various macro-economic entities was at that time not in line with the development structures of most of the African countries.

Both Africans and the international community have proposed development strategies for Africa, and these plans and strategic frameworks had all failed because of several setbacks, such as the lack of support from international community, the lack of political will from within the continent, and, most important, the lack of financial resources and human resources in regards to technical skills.

African countries were not coordinated with regard to preparation of plans and programs, and in many cases these programs were never harmonized or implemented in sub-regional, regional, or intergovernmental organizations. In light of these problems and setbacks, Africa came up with several plans, based mostly on the inspiration of the LPA, before the initiation of the New Partnership for African development (NEPAD). Five African leaders came together to formulate NEPAD and hoped that it would put Africa back on the path to socio-economic development in the new millennium.
END NOTES


4. George Padmore, 84.


7. Ibid., 218.

8. Ibid., 221.

9. Ibid., 219.


13. Ibid.


15. Ibid.


24. Ibid.


30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., 4-5.


34. Ibid.


38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Organization of African Unity, 76.

41. Ibid., 80.

42. Ibid., 81.


44. Ibid., 181.

45. Organization of African Unity, 94.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., 99.


51. Ibid., 25.

52. Robert S. Browne and Robert J. Cummings, 32.

53. Ibid., 59.


INTRODUCTION

African leaders have realized that in order to participate in the international economy, they have to take their development into their own hands. African leaders have created and pledged to a new common vision that would enable them to reaffirm to the African people and the world that it was time for them to take on their duty to eradicate poverty and place their respective countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development and to enable them to participate actively in the world economy and body politic. In 2001, African leaders initiated a socio-economic development program called the New Partnership for African Development to anchor the determination of Africans to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and marginalization in a globalizing world. NEPAD was a socio-economic framework owned by Africans and initiated on the African continent.

The initial stages of NEPAD consisted of two plans. The first was one that the South African President Thabo Mbeki envisioned for Africa, contained in his Millennium Partnership for African Recovery Program, and supported by the former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo and Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika. The second plan was one that Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade envisioned for Africa, called the OMEGA Plan.
President Mbeki first proposed his plan at the World Economic Forum Meeting in Davos, Switzerland, January 2001. The President stated that MAP was to constitute the creation of peace, security, and stability in Africa, in part through further efforts to expand and consolidate democratic forms of rule in Africa, promote the end to coup d’états and the imposition of military governments on the peoples of Africa, the end to destructive violent conflicts and the defeats of elites who corruptly enriched themselves at the expense of the people. President Mbeki proposed the plan to be a declaration of a firm commitment by African leaders to take ownership and responsibility for the sustainable economic development of the continent.

Mbeki’s vision entailed investing in Africans through a comprehensive strategy for the development of human resources, including improved health, education, and training. This vision moved away from that of the SAP imposed by the World Bank and IMF with the rigor of the structural adjustment policies implemented throughout much of 1980s and 1990s, which brought cuts to social spending and development crises on the continent. The MAP program of action was well documented and it covered the following priority areas:

1. Creating peace, security and stability, and democratic governance without which it would be impossible to engage in meaningful economic activity;
2. Investing in Africa’s people through a comprehensive human resource strategy;
3. Harnessing and developing Africa’s strategic and comparative advantages in the resource based sectors to lead the development of an industrial strategy;
4. Increasing investments in the information and communication technology sector without which African would not be able to bridge the digital divide;
5. Developing of infrastructure including transport and energy; and
6. Developing financing mechanisms.\(^5\)

Furthermore, MAP promoted industrialization on the basis of Africa’s plentiful agricultural and mineral resources, thereby broadening the continent’s economic diversity and developing its comparative advantages in the world economy. It also encouraged the acceleration of efforts to eradicate poverty on the continent and to increase significantly new investments by mobilizing both domestic and especially foreign savings.\(^6\)

The initiators of MAP believed in increasing investments in advanced communications and information technology to bridge the “digital divide” that separated Africa from the developed countries. Also, the development of basic physical infrastructure, such as roads, railways, and electricity systems, would be crucial for the development process.

The program also drew attention to establish funding mechanisms to support all these efforts. These mechanisms should finance projects at the national level and above all should support regional and continent-wide projects and programs. It was noted by the initiators that the financing of MAP should be mobilized as much as possible by African countries and their dependence on foreign donors should be reduced. President Mbeki stated, “We [Africans] must and can move away from measures that further entrench the dependence of Africa on aid.”\(^7\) He further said, “It is necessary that the peoples of Africa gain the conviction that they are not, and must not be wards of benevolent guardians, but instruments of their own sustained upliftment.”\(^8\)

President Mbeki believed that to reduce aid dependence, greater efforts were
required to involve the private sector in Africa and that “we [Africans] must take all necessary measures to encourage our own domestic African investors to invest in Africa, rather than contribute to the flight of capital out of Africa.”

Mbeki proposed new programs for regional and continent wide initiatives. He stated that conflict prevention and eradication of infectious diseases would be some of the programs that would be continent wide.

President Mbeki clearly stated that “we [Africans] cannot continue to sustain an image of the African continent, an image of conflict, wars, refugees, military governments, dictatorship, absence of human rights, general regression, further entrenchment of poverty.”

He believed it was time Africa gave significant attention to counter “the erroneous legacy of Afro-pessimism.”

It was time to change the status quo and renew Africa’s position in the international arena.

The OMEGA Plan

The MAP program came at a time when President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal also had a vision called “The OMEGA Plan,” named in the sense of a continent wide approach. This plan was first formulated by the President at the France-Africa summit held in Yaounde, Cameroon, January 2001, and then finalized and proposed to the African Heads of State at the Fifth OAU extraordinary summit held in Libya, 2001.

The plan was based on the premise that economic growth and development in Africa would be strong and sustainable only if African countries invest more heavily in four priority areas, namely infrastructure, education and training, health, and agriculture. President Wade noted that such a focus was essential for Africa to boost its productivity and face stiff competition of an increasingly globalized world.

He described the OMEGA plan as being “Keynesian” in inspiration, which implied a central role for
government in promoting investments in all key sectors, such as education. He further stated that “if we [Africans] can move towards more equality in education and infrastructure then Africa could be part of world trade.”

The OMEGA plan outlined a process for development that drew upon wide participation across and beyond Africa. The process entailed (a) using a bottom-up approach that is based on sequenced national, sub-regional, regional assessments of investment needs; (b) planning that is independently evaluated and that includes an analysis made of the “spill-over effects” of national plans on various social and economic aspects, such as wages and inflation; (c) the total investment and funding required by the OMEGA plan to be submitted to a meeting of funding agencies and donors; (d) mobilizing domestic sources of financing in support; and (e) having implementation managed by an international authority (United Nations) with a board of directors comprised of debtor and creditor representatives.

President Wade’s plan also proposed very clear procedural stages for drafting and putting together an overall investment plan through a bottom-up approach, and his plan presented a number of concrete ideas to further its key priorities. For example, President Wade proposed to establish five main private universities, sponsored by world-renowned universities of the developed countries, to boost the quality of tertiary education on the African continent. The President also believed that better transportation connections among African countries were also vital to help promote regional trade and integration.

The President’s plan further stated the importance of domestic and foreign private investment in helping to finance infrastructure projects. Furthermore, the President believed that bridging the gaps between Africa and the developed countries through the means of massive and heavy investment was essential, and once this was achieved,
Africa would have reached the position where she could concentrate on direct production through enormous natural and human resources and associating them with modern technologies.\(^\text{17}\) She would also enter the phase where her production capacity in the field of international trade would increase, and she could play her part in international trade activities through goods exportation and importation and thus contribute to the growth of world economy.\(^\text{18}\)

**Differences between MAP and the OMEGA Plan**

Although the MAP and OMEGA plans put forth that Africa needed to forge a common commitment to address its needs through internal solutions rather than allowing external actors to prescribe solutions, they still differed. For example, while the OMEGA plan focused mainly on economic development, issues of democracy and governance were not included, but they could have been the premises for its implementation. MAP, on the other hand, had a broader and holistic development vision encompassing economic, social, and political aspects. Another difference between the two plans was the relative weights given to traditional sources of financing. President Wade was more critical of external development assistance than the other presidents. He referred to Africa's past dependence on aid and loans as "a complete failure" which had brought few lasting benefits but increased the continent's debt burden.\(^\text{19}\)

**Merging the MAP and the OMEGA Plan**

These two plans were put forward to African Heads of State at the Fifth Extraordinary Summit of the OAU, held in Sirte, Libya, March 2001. The work done by the four Presidents, that is, Presidents Mbeki, Obasanjo, Bouteflika, and Wade, was endorsed, and it was decided that every effort should be made to integrate all the initiatives being pursued for the recovery and development of Africa. In reaching this
decision, the Summit recognized the synergy and complementarity that existed between
the various initiatives. According to the African leaders, Africa had to present a single,
coordinated plan to its international cooperating partners. To have more than one
initiative would be confusing to Africa’s partners and would undermine credibility,
inevitably leading to a splitting of scarce resources, focus, and capacity.\textsuperscript{20}

In Lusaka, Zambia, on 9 July 2001, the members of the Steering Committee,
which included South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt, Senegal and Algeria, unanimously
approved a consolidated document, \textit{A New African Initiative: Merger of the Millennium
Partnership for the African Recovery Programme and the OMEGA plan (NAI)}. On 11
July 2001, the NAI was presented to the OAU Summit of Heads of State and Government
in Lusaka, Zambia. It was enthusiastically received and was unanimously adopted by the
Summit in the form of Declaration 1 (XXXVII) of the Summit.

The first meeting of the Heads of State and Government Implementation
Committee (HSGIC), as mandated at the OAU Summit in Lusaka to drive the process
forward, met in Abuja, Nigeria on 23 October 2001. The Committee, comprising Nigeria,
South Africa, Algeria, Senegal, Egypt, Mozambique, Botswana, Tunisia, Mali, Ethiopia,
Mauritius, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Gabon and Cameroon, finalized a name for
the initiative, namely the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), into a
definitive text.

NEPAD replaced NAI, which was merely intended to be a working title for the
purposes of the OAU Summit. Furthermore, the committee finalized the management
structures for NEPAD, consisting of the Implementation Committee, which would meet
three times a year and would report annually to the AU Summit; a Steering Committee,
comprising personal representatives of the five initiating Presidents; and a Secretariat, to
be based in South Africa.  

**New Partnership for Africa’s Development**

NEPAD captured the attention of scholars and civil societies all over the world. The final document compiled by the Heads of States envisioned a democratic political system in all of Africa, achievable sustainable economic development, and situating Africa in its rightful place in the international community. The blame of Africa’s problem on the developed countries and colonizers had no place in this document: An ideology of the past was left in the past. It was time for Africa to reinvent herself to shake off the chains of poverty and underdevelopment that had affected the majority of her population for decades.

NEPAD was based on a desire to ensure that African problems were resolved in a manner consistent with the reality of socio-economic and socio-political conditions on the continent. It sought to ensure that Africa no longer relied on the generosity of the developed countries but anchored its redevelopment on the resources and resourcefulness of the African people. Across the continent, Africans had declared that they no longer wanted to allow themselves to be conditioned by circumstances and that they would determine their own destiny and call on the rest of the world to complement their efforts. NEPAD was about consolidating and accelerating gains, such as democratic regimes, protection of human rights, people-centered development, and market-oriented economies. NEPAD was a call for a new relationship between Africa and the international community, especially the highly industrialized countries, to overcome the development chasm that had widened over centuries of inequality.

According to its own framework, NEPAD was a socio-economic developmental plan that sought to build on and celebrate the achievements of the past as well as reflect
on the lessons learned through painful experiences so as to establish a partnership that was both credible and capable of implementation. In doing so, the challenge was for the peoples and the governments to understand that development was a process of empowerment and self-reliance and that Africans must not be wards of benevolent guardians; rather, they must be the architects of their own sustained upliftment.

The Organizational Structure of NEPAD

The New Partnership for Africa’s Development is a program of the African Union and is run by several different layers of organs, which are namely

1. The Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC),
2. The Steering Committee (SC), and
3. The Secretariat, which includes five special task teams.

Figure 1: The NEPAD Structure.

The HSGIC were tasked with the execution of top decisions and the implementation of NEPAD policies. This committee consists of fifteen states, five of which are the initiating states (Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa). These initiating states were to be permanent members of the committee, while the other ten have to be
selected according to the five African Union regional groupings of the continent, with each region having a total of three countries including the initiating states. The 2007 members were:

1. Cameroon, Gabon, and Sao Tome and Principe from the Central Region,
2. Ethiopia, Mauritius, and Rwanda from East Africa,
3. Algeria, Egypt, and Tunisia from North Africa,
4. Botswana, Mozambique, and South Africa from Southern Africa, and
5. Mali, Nigeria, and Senegal from West Africa.

The Steering Committee (SC) consists of personal representatives of the five initiating presidents. This committee is responsible for the development of terms of reference for identified programs and projects, and it oversees the Secretariat.

The Secretariat is made up of a small team of professionals based at the Development Bank of Southern Africa in Midrand, South Africa. The Secretariat carries out the functions of liaison and coordination along with administration and logistics. It also outsources work on technical detail to lead agencies and continental experts.

Representatives of the five founding member states lead the special task teams, which are divided into the following:

1. Peace and security, democracy, and political governance initiative (South Africa);
2. Economic and corporate governance, including banking and finance standards along with capital flows initiatives (Nigeria);
3. Market access and agriculture initiatives (Egypt);
4. Human resources development initiatives (Algeria); and
5. Infrastructure (Senegal).\(^{24}\)
NEPAD Proposed Framework for Africa Development

The NEPAD document noted that a commitment on the part of governments, the private sector and the other institutions of civil society is of importance, as is the genuine integration of all nations into the global economic and body politic. The architects of the document believed that this required the recognition of global interdependence with regards to production and demand, the environmental base that sustains the planet, cross-border migration, a global financial structure that rewards good socio-economic management, and the global governance that recognizes partnership among all peoples.

The NEPAD document further stated that it was within the capacity of the international community to create fair and just conditions in which Africa could participate effectively in the global economy and body politic. In addition, the African governments were much more resolute about regional and continental goals of economic cooperation and integration.

The NEPAD program focused on African ownership and development. Through the program, the African leaders had an agenda based on national and regional priorities and developmental plans that must be prepared through participatory processes involving the people. Therefore, the political leaders of the continent appealed to all the peoples of Africa, in all their diversity, to recognize the seriousness of the situation and the need to mobilize themselves to put an end to further marginalization of the continent and to ensure its development by bridging the gap between Africa and the developed countries.

NEPAD was envisaged as a long-term African-owned and African-led development program. Although the program covered what needed to be done in the short-term, long-term funding was also envisaged under this initiative. The projects could
be expedited to help eradicate poverty in Africa and place African countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development, and thus halt the marginalization of Africa in the globalization process.\textsuperscript{27}

Moreover, while growth was important, it was not sufficient to enable African countries to achieve the goal of poverty reduction. The challenge for Africa, therefore, was to develop the capacity to sustain growth at levels required to achieve poverty reduction and sustainable development. This, in turn, depended on other factors such as infrastructure, capital accumulation, human capital, institutions, structural diversification, competitiveness, health, and good stewardship of the environment.\textsuperscript{28}

NEPAD acknowledged that development was impossible in the absence of true democracy, respect for human rights, peace, and good governance. With NEPAD, Africa needed to respect the global standards of democracy, the core components of which included political pluralism, allowing for the existence of several political parties and workers' unions, and fair, open and democratic elections periodically organized to enable people to choose their leaders freely.\textsuperscript{29} These would in turn help with the development process of Africa if it were well implemented and sustained across the continent. Heo and Tan wrote:

\begin{quote}
In the view of Burkhart and Lewis-Beck, the argument that economic development intensifies demands for the political benefits of democracy has become accepted almost beyond challenge, and one can logically infer not only that economic development has a positive impact on democracy, but, more important, that economic development leads to democracy and that democracy is more conducive to economic growth than even benevolent autocracies.\textsuperscript{30}
\end{quote}

NEPAD emphasized the need for African leaders to adopt a strong democratic and good governance practices because this would benefit the continent economically. It would also be the premise for peace and security on the continent. Furthermore, NEPAD focused on the provision of essential regional public goods, such as transport, energy,
water, information communication technology (ICT), disease eradication, environmental preservation, and provision of regional research capacity as well as the promotion of intra-African trade and investments. The focus should be on rationalizing the institutional framework for economic integration by identifying common projects compatible with integrated country and regional development programs.

NEPAD gave priority to capacity building in order to enhance the effectiveness of existing regional structures and the rationalization of existing regional organizations. The sectors covered by NEPAD included the following sectoral priority areas: (1) infrastructure, especially ICT and energy; (2) human resource development, including education, skills development, and reversing the brain drain, and health; (3) agriculture; (4) environment; (5) culture; and (6) science and technology. NEPAD acknowledged that the African Development Bank must play a leading role in financing regional studies, programs and projects, and the international community should provide access to its markets for African development and exports. The NEPAD document noted that for each sector, the objective was to bridge existing gaps between Africa and the developed countries so as to improve the continent’s international competitiveness and enable it to participate in the globalization process. (For a partial list of NEPAD’s programs and projects see Appendix 6).

*Infrastructure*

In regards to infrastructure, NEPAD focused only on sub-regional and continental infrastructures, such as roads, highways, airports, seaports, railways, waterways, and telecommunications facilities. The creators of NEPAD stressed that if Africa had the same basic infrastructure as developed countries, then it would be in a more favorable position to focus on production and on improving productivity for international
competition. It was stated in the document that a structural gap in infrastructure constituted a very serious handicap to economic growth and poverty reduction.

It was believed that if the infrastructure in Africa was to improve, private foreign finance was essential to complement the two other methods of funding, namely credit and aid. The objectives set out by NEPAD were:

1. To improve access to, and affordability and reliability of, infrastructure services for both firms and households;
2. To enhance regional cooperation and trade through expanded cross-border development of infrastructure;
3. To increase financial investments in infrastructure by lowering risks facing private investors, especially in the area of policy and regulatory frameworks; and
4. To build adequate knowledge and skills in technology and engineering with a view to installing, operating, and maintaining “hard” infrastructure networks in Africa.

The NEPAD program encouraged an increase in the investment in infrastructure, especially refurbishment, and improvement in system maintenance practices that would sustain infrastructure. Also, NEPAD required the initiation of development training institutions and networks that could develop and produce highly skilled technicians and engineers in all infrastructure sectors. NEPAD strongly stressed the need for the ADB and other development finance institutions on the continent to mobilize sustainable financing, especially through multilateral processes, institutions and donor governments, with a view to securing grants and concessional finance to mitigate medium-term risks.

NEPAD also encouraged the use of information communication technologies (ICT), which Africa could use as an instrument to identify and exploit opportunities for
trade, investment, and finance. It stressed the usefulness of adopting strong ICT for use in establishing regional distance learning and health education programs to improve the situation in the health and education sectors. The objectives of ICT set out by NEPAD were to lower the cost, to improve the reliability of service, and to develop and produce a pool of ICT-proficient youth and students from which Africa could draw trainee ICT engineers, programs, and software developers. NEPAD noted this would establish a network of training and research institutions to build high-level humanpower.

Energy plays a critical role in the development process, and NEPAD stressed not only the domestic necessity of energy but also the cost of energy that directly affects prices of goods and services because of the factor of production. It recommended that the search for abundant and cheap energy should focus on rationalizing the territorial distribution of existing but unevenly allocated energy resources. It believed Africa needed to exploit and develop the hydropower potential of the river basins of Africa and to improve the reliability and lower the cost of energy supply to productive activities in order to enable economic growth of six percent per annum.

NEPAD also encouraged the development of transportation to reduce delays in cross-border movement of people, goods and services and to promote economic activity and cross-border trade through improved land transport linkages. Moreover, the NEPAD document stressed the attention needed towards water and sanitation to ensure sustainable access to safe and adequate clean water supply and sanitation, especially for the poor, and also to ensure enhance irrigation and rainfed agriculture to improve agricultural production and food security. NEPAD believed that Africa needed to collaborate with the Global Environmental Sanitation Initiative (GESI) in promoting sanitary waste disposal methods and projects.
Human Resource Development

NEPAD posited that human resource development was essential for development, and that Africa should support the existing poverty reduction initiatives at the multilateral level, such as the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) of the World Bank and the Poverty Reduction Strategy approach linked to debt relief initiative for Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC). NEPAD stressed the need for Africa to work with the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the African Development Bank, and the United Nations agencies to accelerate the implementation and adoption of the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF), the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) and related approaches.

Human development strategies, such as the need to educate Africans in order to bridge the education gap, were encouraged by NEPAD, which also stressed the need for improvement in curriculum development, quality improvements and access to ICT, and expanded access to secondary education, which should be made relevant to Africa’s development. It noted that the key problems in education in Africa were the poor facilities and inadequate systems under which the vast majority of Africans receive their training. The NEPAD program supported the immediate strengthening of the university system across Africa, including the creation of specialized universities where needed, building on available African teaching staff. The need to establish and strengthen institutes of technology was especially emphasized. NEPAD stated that this would in turn reverse the brain drain into a brain gain for Africa and build and retain within the continent critical human capacities for Africa’s development.

NEPAD also envisaged that it was also necessary to create political, social, and economic conditions in Africa that would serve as incentives to curb the brain drain
syndrome and attract much-needed investment. It encouraged the creation of a reliable
data base on the current brain drain, both to determine the magnitude of the problem, and
to promote networking and collaboration between experts in the country of origin and
those in the diaspora.

Furthermore, NEPAD stressed the need for an improved health system in Africa
and the need to strengthen programs for containing communicable diseases and reducing
the burden of disease among Africans. It encouraged the creation of a secure health
system that meets needs and supports disease control effectively as a major requirement.
Also, Africans should be empowered to improve their own health and to achieve health
literacy. NEPAD stressed the need to strengthen Africa’s participation aimed at procuring
affordable drugs, including those involving the international pharmaceutical companies
and the international civil society, and encouraged exploration of alternative delivery
systems for essential drugs and supplies.

NEPAD encouraged collaboration with the World Health Organization (WHO)
and other international agencies and donors to ensure that support for the continent was
increased by at least US $10 billion per annum. Health plays a major role in development
because health, as defined by WHO, is “a state of complete physical and mental well
being, which contributes to an increase in productivity and, consequently, to economic
growth.” Moreover, an economy or state without people of good health would lead to
stagnant growth and development, which would in turn lead to poverty and the reduction
in the productivity of agricultural goods to sustain the economy.

Agriculture

In agriculture, NEPAD noted that the majority of the African people lived in rural
areas and that the agrarian systems were generally weak and unproductive. This also
incorporated the external setbacks such as climatic uncertainty, biases in economic policy and instability in world commodity prices. NEPAD believed these systems had held back agricultural supply and incomes in the rural areas. NEPAD stressed the urgent need to achieve food security in African countries and required that the problem of inadequate agricultural systems be addressed, so that food production could be increased and nutritional standards raised.33

NEPAD noted that bilateral donors and multilateral institutions had paid too little attention to the agricultural sector and rural development, where more than 70 percent of the poor people in Africa reside. It stated, for example, that in the World Bank lending portfolio, credits to agriculture amounted to 39 percent in 1978, but dropped to 12 percent in 1996, and even further to 7 percent in 2000. It stressed the need for the entire donor community to reverse such negative trends.

Environment

NEPAD recognized that a healthy and productive environment was a prerequisite for development and the ranges of issues necessary to nurture this environmental base were vast and complex. Therefore, a systematic combination of initiatives was necessary to develop a coherent environmental program. NEPAD stressed that the environmental initiative should target eight subthemes for priority interventions: (1) combating desertification, (2) wetland conservation, (3) invasive alien species, (4) coastal management, (5) global warming, (6) cross-border conservation areas, (7) environmental governance, and (8) financing.

Culture

NEPAD acknowledged the importance of culture on the African continent as an integral part of development efforts on the continent. It stressed the need to protect and
effectively use indigenous knowledge that represented a major dimension of the
continent’s culture.

Science and Technology

NEPAD envisaged that another important sector was science and technology,
which plays a critical role in the development process. NEPAD encouraged the need to
promote cross-border cooperation and connectivity by using the knowledge currently
available in existing centers of excellence on the continent. It believed the adaptation of
technologies to diversify manufacturing was essential to the development process and
establishing regional cooperation on product standards development and dissemination,
as well as on geographic information systems (GIS), was a must. NEPAD stressed the
need to expand geoscience research to enhance the exploitation of the mineral wealth of
the African continent and to establish and develop skills-based product engineering and
quality control to support diversification in manufacturing.

Implementation of NEPAD

Although NEPAD encouraged the need for development in all sectors, it also
noted the need to mobilize resources and the need for a capital flow initiative. It stressed
the need to achieve an estimated 7 percent annual growth rate in Africa. The NEPAD
document noted the need for Africa to fulfill an annual resource gap of 12 percent of its
GDP, or US $64 billion. NEPAD envisaged the need to increase domestic savings as well
as improvements in the public revenue collection systems, but it noted that the bulk of the
needed resources would have to be obtained from outside the continent.

However, NEPAD focused on debt reduction and overseas development
assistance (ODA) as complementary external resources required in the short to medium
term and addressed private capital flows as a long-term concern. It stressed that the basic
principle of the capital flow initiative was that improved governance was a necessary requirement for increased capital flows. NEPAD also noted that a significant proportion of Africa’s domestic savings had been lost as a result of capital flight and that this situation could only be reversed if African economies became attractive locations for residents to hold their wealth. Therefore, Africa needed to create conditions conducive to private sector investments by both domestic and foreign investors. NEPAD noted the need for private capital flows and stressed the urgent need to address investors’ perception of Africa as a “high-risk” continent, especially with regard to security of property rights, regulatory framework, and markets.

In regards to debt relief, NEPAD encouraged a debt relief initiative, which would require poverty reduction strategies, debt strategies, and participation in the Economic Governance Initiative (EGI) to ensure that countries were able to absorb the extra resources. Also, the initiators of NEPAD believed that securing an agreement, negotiated with the international community, would provide further debt relief for countries participating in NEPAD.

NEPAD encouraged the need for increased market access through the diversification of products by improving the productivity of agriculture, with particular attention to small-scale and women farmers, to ensure food security for all people and increase the access of the poor to adequate food and nutrition. NEPAD also noted the need for Africa to enhance agricultural credit and financing schemes and to improve access to credit by small-scale and women farmers. NEPAD believed the developed countries should assist Africa in carrying out and developing its research and development capabilities in agriculture and that promotion of access to international markets would improve the quality of African produce and agricultural products,
particularly processed products, to meet the standards required by those markets.

NEPAD stressed the need to improve the mining sector to enhance the quality of mineral resources, to encourage the manufacturing sector to increase production and improve the competitiveness and diversification of the domestic private sector, especially in the agro-industrial, mining and manufacturing subsectors with potential for exports and employment creation. NEPAD encouraged the manufacturing sector to develop new industries or upgrade existing ones, where African countries had comparative advantages, including agro-based industries, energy and mineral resource-based industries. It stressed the need for the international community to facilitate partnership through the development of mechanisms, such as joint business councils, for information-sharing between non-African and African firms and for working towards the establishment of joint ventures and subcontracting arrangements, and also to promote the transfer of new and appropriate technologies to African countries.

Furthermore, NEPAD proposed that the development of micro-, small and medium enterprises, including the informal sector, needed to be established. Also, sound and conducive environments should be created for private sector activities, with particular emphasis on domestic entrepreneurs. It noted the need to strengthen chambers of commerce, trade, and professional associations, and their regional networks, and it declared that the international community should provide technical assistance for developing an appropriate regulatory environment, promoting small, medium, and micro-enterprises and establishing micro-financing schemes for the African private sector.

The promotion of African exports was also encouraged by NEPAD. It noted that an increase in intra-regional trade through the promotion of cross-border interaction among African firms was essential, and the need to tackle trade barriers in international
trade through the improvement of standards was a requirement. NEPAD emphasized the need for the African heads of state to ensure active participation in the world trading system, which has been managed under the auspices of the World Trade Organization (WTO) since 1995. It encouraged African heads of state to negotiate during the multilateral round for the recognition, special concerns, needs, and interests of African countries in the future of WTO rules.

*International Partnerships*

NEPAD envisaged the promotion of global partnerships between Africa and the developed countries. It acknowledged the combined efforts needed to improve the quality of life of the African people as rapidly as possible and that a shared responsibility and mutual benefit was essential for Africa and its partners. NEPAD envisaged that the expansion of democratic frontiers and the deepening of the culture of human rights, along with a democratic Africa would allow Africa to become one of the pillars of world democracy, human rights, and tolerance.

NEPAD was a critical dimension of Africa taking responsibility for the continent’s destiny. It provided the need to negotiate a new relationship with development partners. Therefore, the need to negotiate with, and account separately to donors supporting the same sector or program was both cumbersome and inefficient. The tying of development assistance to conditionalities such as where and how the funds were spent generated further inefficiencies. NEPAD envisaged a time for change, where Africa and the developed countries become partners, and no strings were attached to any assistance or aid from the developed countries.

NEPAD proposed to consolidate democracy and sound economic management on the continent. African leaders have made a commitment to the African people and to the
world to work together in rebuilding the continent. It was a pledge to promote peace and stability, democracy, sound economic management, and people-centered development and to hold each other accountable in terms of the agreements outlined in the program. The program recognized that Africa held the key to its own development.

**Conclusion**

The NEPAD program was a well-documented socio-economic framework in which socio-economic development could theoretically flourish. It proposed several sectoral adjustments that the African continent needed to establish as a prerequisite for development. It was a document that borrowed some of its ideology and plans from the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Although NEPAD was homegrown, as it constituted the merger of MAP and the OMEGA plan, NEPAD had been received with a lot of skepticism, especially from African civil society and academia. However, NEPAD emphasized six priority areas, noting that it would face a lot of obstacles and challenges along the way, such as the lack of financial resources and inadequate capacity building efforts. Africans’ perception of NEPAD, according to the scholars and civil society, was debated to be non-existent; if their perception did exist, it was one of skepticism. The implementation of the program was a major challenge to overcome and certain intellectuals, such as Ian Taylor, had called NEPAD “another false start” for Africa’s development.
END NOTES


2. Ibid.


6. Ibid.


8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.


13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.


16. Ibid.


18. Ibid.


21. Ibid.


27. Ibid., 15.

28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., 19.


CHAPTER 6
DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the data collected from the 38 survey questionnaires and the 26 semi-structured interviews that were completed in Nigeria and South Africa. The interviews were semi-structured because each interview was based on a pre-existing list of questions, but the interview evolved depending on the informant’s knowledge and expertise. The researcher’s questions on the survey questionnaires and interviews were designed to analyze the perceptions of the participants towards NEPAD, and what they perceived as the challenges faced by NEPAD. Twenty-two of the participants who were interviewed also completed the survey questionnaire.

Survey questionnaires were administered and interviews were conducted in Nigeria and South Africa. The respondents were all African, although they were not necessarily citizens of those two countries. The sample was not randomly selected from the populations of Nigeria and South Africa. Instead, it was a stratified purposeful sample (in that the purposive population was subdivided into strata) of a range of African stakeholders who were knowledgeable about NEPAD.

The researcher began by identifying important categories, or strata, of African stakeholders. The strata were NEPAD officials, representatives of African civil society, academics, and members of the public (government) and private sectors. The researcher
selected people in Nigeria and South Africa who represented these strata and screened them to identify those who were knowledgeable about NEPAD. As previously stated, thirty-eight people who were knowledgeable and agreed to participate were surveyed, and twenty-six were also interviewed.

Validity, Reliability, and Representativeness

The validity, reliability, and representativeness of the sample are important to this research. Although the respondents in the sample were not randomly selected, the researcher had confidence that each respondent was a valid representative of his or her strata because each respondent was a NEPAD official, a representative of African civil society, an academian, or a member of the public (government) or private sector.

However, with regards to reliability, the researcher acknowledged that due to the small sample size, respondents from any given stratum were not necessarily representative of the entire population of knowledgeable stakeholders for that stratum. For example, three respondents from African civil society may have given different responses to the same survey questions, thereby making the responses less reliable. Furthermore, the researcher recognized that the forty-two sampled participants who were either surveyed or interviewed were not necessarily statistically representative of the entire population of knowledgeable stakeholders. Therefore, the researcher recognized that there was minimal statistical confidence that the frequencies of the participants’ responses represented the precise frequencies of how the entire population of knowledgeable stakeholders would have responded.

Nonetheless, the researcher felt that the respondents were at least somewhat representative of their strata and that the direction and magnitude (or intensity) of their responses provided insights into the opinions members of their various strata would hold.
For instance, if the sample were in unanimous agreement or if a great majority of the sample agreed with a statement, the researcher hypothesized that a majority of the population also would have agreed. The same logic applied if the sample had a unanimous or strongly held disagreement. If the sample were more or less evenly divided in their responses (half agreeing and half disagreeing), the researcher hypothesized that the population would be divided. If a large percentage of the sample were indecisive, neither agreeing nor disagreeing or saying they did not know, the researcher hypothesized that many in that population also would be unsure or indecisive on that particular issue.

In addition to noting the exact frequency distribution of the sample’s questionnaire responses, the researcher states the general direction and magnitude of the responses as an indication of how the population of knowledgeable stakeholders would have responded. In stating the general direction, the researcher collapsed “strongly agree” and “agree” into a simple agreement. Similarly, “strongly disagree” and “disagree” were collapsed into a simple disagreement, and “neither agree nor disagree” and “don’t know” were collapsed into uncertainty.

The researcher also collapsed the non-NEPAD (African civil society, academia, and members of the public or private sectors) into a group and NEPAD officials into another group. This would allow the reader to differentiate between the non-NEPAD officials and NEPAD officials and recognize to what degree these two groups were in agreement or disagreement to the survey questions. However, the researcher noted that because the NEPAD officials had a vested interest in NEPAD, they might be more interested in advocating NEPAD’s success, while the non-NEPAD officials might be more impartial.
Survey Questionnaire Protocols

In terms of the quantitative data, the researcher presents the frequency distribution of the participants’ responses to the survey questions. The survey questionnaire contained fifteen closed-end questions. Thirteen of these questions used the Likert Scale, a common way of measuring attitudes and perceptions. In the Likert Scale questions, the respondent were presented with a statement and asked to indicate the extent of his or her agreement. The researcher believed that the five-step series of responses ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree would most meaningfully measure the respondents’ perceptions and the intensity or magnitude of their opinions. Therefore, the researcher adopted this method to analyze the perceptions of NEPAD by African stakeholders in Nigeria and South Africa. These perceptions included perceptions of challenges faced by NEPAD.

Interview Protocols

As for the qualitative portion of the study, the researcher also employed two sets of interview protocols. One set of 15 questions (see Appendix 1) was the foundation for interviewing a sample of 13 participants who were representatives of African civil society or members of the private and public sectors. Another set of 17 questions (see Appendix 2) was the foundation for the interviews of 13 NEPAD officials. Six of the questions were the same in both protocols, while the other questions differed. The researcher adopted this technique of different protocols because he thought the NEPAD officials might have more insight and knowledge of NEPAD and its activities than the other participants in the sample. The two interview protocols reflected this potential difference in knowledge, and therefore would provide potentially more reliable and valid data.

To simplify the presentation of data in this chapter, one group of the sampled population was labeled the Non-NEPAD group (African civil society, academia, and
members of the public or private sectors), and the other was labeled the NEPAD group (NEPAD officials). The specific questions were labeled A if they were on the protocol for the Non-NEPAD group (Appendix 1) or B if they were on the protocol for the NEPAD group (Appendix 2). The questions were numbered in accordance with the two lists of questions attached as Appendix 1 and Appendix 2.

Three of the 32 questions (A1-3) asked the Non-NEPAD group about their knowledge and general perceptions of NEPAD. Four questions asked both groups (A4, B4-5, B14) about their perceptions of African society’s knowledge, reception, and perceptions of NEPAD. Two questions addressed the potential skepticism on the part of the sampled population about NEPAD’s success and asked both samples (A9, B6) what NEPAD and African leaders could do to change that perception.

Four questions asked both groups (A5-6, B2-3) about the challenges they perceived NEPAD faced and how they perceive NEPAD could overcome those challenges. Three questions asked both groups (A7-8, B1) the extent to which they perceived NEPAD had achieved its goals and objectives, and what NEPAD needed to do in order to achieve them. Five questions asked both groups (A13-15, B7, B15) whether they perceived NEPAD would succeed, how it differed from and whether it would be more successful than previous development plans, and whether it would continue its momentum after key Presidents had left office.

Four questions asked both groups (A10-12, B17) about participants’ participation in implementing NEPAD and whether African leaders always used top-down approaches to implement socio-economic plans. Three questions (B8-B10, B16) asked the NEPAD group about the involvement and support of the international community and whether China’s investment and trade would undermine NEPAD and its values because China’s
sudden increased investment in Africa had received much attention at this time. One question (B11) asked the NEPAD group whether the regional economic communities should be more supportive towards NEPAD and its projects. Finally, the NEPAD group (B12-B13) was asked how NEPAD worked and how NEPAD prioritized its projects.

Data Processing

The completed survey questionnaires were coded and entered manually into Excel. Then the data were imported into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 14.0 for Windows to carry out the analysis. The researcher chose to use SPSS because it is one of the most commonly used research tools in the social sciences to analyze data, and it efficiently provides descriptive statistics.

The researcher then analyzed the interviews by transcribing them and finding trends in the perceptions of NEPAD and its challenges that were expressed by both the non-NEPAD and NEPAD participants. The investigator adopted this technique of finding trends in the data because it was one of the most commonly used methods in social sciences when analyzing interview data.

Key Demographics

Survey Questionnaires

The demographic variables in this study included gender and the educational background of respondents. The data showed that, out of 38 respondents who completed the questionnaire, 22 (58%) were male and 16 (42%) were female.
The data (see Figure 2) showed that six of the 38 (16%) had a doctorate degree; 14 (37%) had a master's degree; 10 (26%) had a bachelor's degree; six (16%) had either a high school or university diploma; and two (5%) did not indicate their level of education. These data indicated that the sample chosen for this study was very highly educated, as almost four-fifths (79%) had a college degree.

Table 1. Categories of the Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Nigeria</th>
<th>South Africa</th>
<th>Total Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Academia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Civil Society</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Official/Public Sector</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEPAD Official</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Sector</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 1 depicts, of the participants who completed the survey questionnaire, two respondents (5%) were academics in Nigeria, 12 (32%) were from African civil society in South Africa, three (8%) were government officials or in the public sectors in Nigeria and South Africa, 11 (29%) were NEPAD officials in Nigeria and South Africa,
and 10 (26%) were from the private sectors in Nigeria and South Africa. This meant that the respondents were heavily weighted toward civil society (one-third), NEPAD officials (almost one-third), and the private sector (one-quarter).

Each respondent met the criteria as described in Chapter 3: They were knowledgeable about NEPAD and willing to participate in this study. Although the sample was not randomly selected, it was a purposive sample and the researcher felt that these participants gave representative insights into the perceptions some African stakeholders had about NEPAD and the challenges it faced.

**Interviews**

The researcher analyzed the findings that were based on the results obtained from conducting interviews with 26 stakeholders in Nigeria and South Africa. The interviewed stakeholders were evenly divided into two groups of 13 participants each. As Table 2 depicts, the non-NEPAD group included four representatives of African civil society, four government officials or people in the public sectors, and five people from the private sector. The NEPAD group consisted of 13 NEPAD officials.

**Table 2. Composition of Interviewed Samples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Nigeria</th>
<th>South Africa</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-NEPAD Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Civil Society</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Official/Public Sector</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Sector</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (Non-NEPAD Group)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEPAD Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (NEPAD Group)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (both)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Descriptive Results: Perceptions and Challenges

The objectives of the researcher were to determine (1) the perceptions of the participants about NEPAD and (2) the challenges the participants thought NEPAD faced. Perceptions of NEPAD and the challenges it faced were intertwined in most of the dialogue. Only in rare cases did the researcher find a separation of the two concepts of perceptions and challenges.

In conducting these interviews and administering the survey questionnaires about perceptions and challenges, the researcher found that the factors and themes mentioned below were most commonly mentioned by the participants (non-NEPAD and NEPAD) as affecting NEPAD:

1. Financial resources;
2. Human power or capacity building;
3. Involvement of stakeholders;
4. Communication and awareness of NEPAD;
5. Sustainability of NEPAD;
6. Achievements and processes of NEPAD;
7. International community partners;
8. Issues with African governance;
9. Differences between NEPAD and two previous development plans;
10. South African imperialism in Africa.

This chapter addresses each of these factors or themes in the order they are listed above.

Financial Resources

Many interviewees believed that the lack of ability to generate financial resources was a major challenge that affected NEPAD and impeded NEPAD from performing
certain tasks. For example, a NEPAD official stated that the lack of funds was a major issue. He also stated that there was not much commitment to funding from African countries. Only the initiating countries, such as South Africa and Nigeria, had been forthcoming with funds, and even those funds were used for the operation of the NEPAD secretariat instead of actual projects.

Interviewees also noted that the financial assistance they had expected had not been forthcoming from the international partners, which held back projects NEPAD could have implemented. Some other participants thought that African governments had not done enough on their part to raise funds for NEPAD's programs and projects, and they believed that this was due to the fact that Africa could not internally generate funds to support NEPAD by itself. One NEPAD official said, “The contribution of African states has not been as expected.”

NEPAD officials in the sample said that financial resources had hampered their capabilities and they could have done more if funds had been available. When interviewees were asked what they believed could be done to generate revenues, one participant working for a non-government organization (NGO) stated, “Africa cannot internally generate its own revenues. NEPAD needs to drive for revenues to get the funds needed and make sure they are used for the right projects.” A businessman noted that the “inability to raise funds is a huge problem, and that countries should help themselves by forming syndications and find out how they can help each other in order to be useful to NEPAD.” Moreover, one participant noted that there was a major challenge for “other African countries to contribute more funds to NEPAD and not leave it to the initiators.”

Furthermore, another NEPAD official stated that the international community had not been forthcoming with pledges that had been made, and promised assistance had not
materialized. Some respondents mentioned that a few international partner countries had been forthcoming with funds, but they financed only the pet projects that would benefit themselves.

The survey participants were also asked whether they perceived Africa could internally generate the revenues to help implement NEPAD. As Table 3 depicts, a significant percentage (more than two-thirds) of the survey participants within these two countries perceived that Africa could internally generate the revenues to implement NEPAD’s projects, but still quite a few (one-fifth) respondents were skeptical that the funds could be generated.

As shown in Table 3, the data supported the idea that the sampled NEPAD officials were more optimistic (72%) that NEPAD could internally generate revenues. Non-NEPAD officials who were sampled were more skeptical, but still two-thirds (67%) believed that the funds could be generated. Perhaps this skepticism was symptomatic of the fact that previous development plans had failed because of the lack of financial resources internally generated in Africa as well as the lack of those donated from the international community.

Furthermore, while in the survey NEPAD officials were more optimistic than non-NEPAD participants that funds could be generated internally, NEPAD officials admitted during the interviews that financial resources were a major deterrent for implementing programs and projects. The NEPAD officials believed that the lack of financial resources affected the quality of work that NEPAD could achieve, and if African governments and international partners could support NEPAD financially, much more would be accomplished.
Table 3. Respondents’ Perceptions of Whether Africa Could Internally Generate Revenue to Help Implement NEPAD Programs and Projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likert Scale</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>NEPAD Percentage</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree nor Disagree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N)</strong></td>
<td><strong>38</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Humanpower/Capacity Building**

Building capacity in Africa for NEPAD projects and programs had been a major challenge, according to interviewees. One interviewee said, “NEPAD does not have the in-depth administrative capabilities.” It was believed that the NEPAD secretariat was run on a skeleton staff basis, which had impeded NEPAD’s ability to have a continent-wide impact. One NEPAD official stated that they needed more skilled labor. One participant stated that poor education in Africa was one of the main causes that had hampered capacity building in Africa. She believed that African leaders needed to invest more in the education of the African people. A participant working for an NGO believed that, although “skilled labor is a major problem in Africa, we can solve this through education, and education will be the drive to develop capacity on the continent.” Another major challenge to capacity building, as mentioned by some respondents, was the brain drain syndrome. One participant stated that Africa had a lot of skilled Africans in the diaspora...
and that NEPAD needed to establish a way of involving those Africans with NEPAD projects.

Interviewees also believed that the involvement of universities would be a good way of building capacity in that universities should adopt research and development strategies, such as agriculture advancements, and technological advancements that would advance Africa’s economic growth. Also, some interviewees stated that those universities should adopt study abroad programs to train Africans in developed countries in order to acquire the necessary skills needed, and then bring the students back to Africa to train others who work in African countries. This according to some participants would be a good way to build capacity in Africa.

Some NEPAD officials in the sample voiced their concerns that when the international partners were approached to help with projects that needed specialized skills, they did not transfer the skills to Africans. Instead, they sent their skilled workers from their own countries to implement the projects. This was considered to be a major problem by respondents. One interviewee working for an NGO stated,

We have a low skill capacity in Africa, and we are importing skills from Europe, China, United States of America, Canada, but we need them to transfer those skills to Africans. Countries like China are willing to assist Africa but they will not transfer those skills to Africa; they will rather use them to implement projects for Africa.

Survey participants were asked whether they perceived that the lack of skilled labor in Africa was a major limitation to the implementation process of NEPAD (see Table 4). While a majority of the respondents (55%) perceived that a major limitation to implementing NEPAD’s projects was the lack of capacity and know-how in Africa to develop economically and technologically, almost one-quarter disagreed. The majority of respondents believed that this was a problem that could be solved with assistance from developed countries and by reaching out to Africans in the diaspora. The difference in
opinion on the part of NEPAD and non-NEPAD participants on this matter was minimal.

After examining interview and survey responses, respondents believed that the lack of capacity building was due to the fact that NEPAD had not involved the participation of stakeholders and that NEPAD need to engage Africans to let them know what type of skills they needed from all fields. One businessman in the sample stated that NEPAD needed to carry out workshops all over Africa to identify Africans who had the needed skills.

Table 4. Did Respondents Perceive that the Lack of Skilled Labor in Africa was a Major Limit to the Implementation Process of NEPAD?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likert Scale</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>NEPAD Percentage</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree nor Disagree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do Not Know</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some participants believed that, although the transfer of skills was an issue, Africa still had skilled people who were capable of using those skills to help NEPAD and African governments. One NEPAD official in the sample stated that they needed more skills in the field of evaluation and monitoring as well as science and technology, but this participant also voiced concerns that NEPAD did not have the
Involvement of Stakeholders

The interviewees believed that African governments needed to encourage the involvement of stakeholders in all aspects of development. Participants voiced their concerns about the lack of involvement on the part of stakeholders in the creation of NEPAD. The interviewees believed that African governments and the NEPAD secretariat still needed to do more to involve stakeholders. One participant stated that NEPAD was not a program that could be achieved by only African leaders, and that those leaders, along with the NEPAD secretariat and all stakeholders, needed to have all available parties participate. Then, there would be a united front to actualize the goals and objectives of NEPAD.

The issue of leadership in creating development plans came up in the research. Participants were asked if they perceived whether African leaders always used top-down policies to address socio-economic development (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Respondents' perceptions on whether the African leaders always used top-down policies to address socio-economic development.

The data showed a lot of uncertainty about this question as one-third of respondents were uncertain. Only a bare majority (53%) of the sample perceived that
African leaders always using top-down policies to address socio-economic development, and that African leaders needed to adopt a policy of inclusion for the participation of the people of Africa. The data did not show any significant difference between NEPAD officials and non-NEPAD respondents.

To follow up on the question about the use of top-down policies by African leaders, the researcher asked the respondents whether African leaders should involve African civil society, academia, and members of the public and private sectors in the implementation process of NEPAD. Thirty respondents (79%), both non-NEPAD and NEPAD officials, strongly agreed, and eight respondents (21%) agreed that African leaders should involve African civil society, academia, and members of the public and private sectors in the implementation process of NEPAD (see Table 5).

Table 5. Respondents' Perceptions of Whether the African Leaders Needed to Involve African Civil Society, Academia, and Members of the Public and Private Sectors in the Implementation Process of NEPAD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likert Scale</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEPAD</td>
<td>NEPAD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This unanimity strongly supported the idea that the participants perceived African leaders should adopt new approaches to implementing programs, such as NEPAD, by involving African stakeholders. In other words, all participants clearly believed that Africans from various sectors should be involved in the development activities of their areas. NEPAD officials and non-NEPAD respondents shared this consensus that it was very important that a bottom-up approach be adopted by African leaders for the
successful implementation of NEPAD.

A NEPAD official in the sample said that action had to be taken to get people involved: “We will now have to establish educational institutions and develop the capacity in the societies. We need people. We need implementers, more project managers both at the NEPAD secretariat and at the regional economic community offices.” Another sampled NEPAD official stated, “Africans must know that we are in this together. There is no ‘Us and Them.’ We should work as one and have a common goal.” Furthermore, an official of NEPAD Nigeria stated, “Our mandate is to domesticate NEPAD as much as possible. We have to stream programs into our national programs and activities, and also our objectives.”

One businessman in the sample stated that the NEPAD secretariat needed to engage African people and that NEPAD was not involving stakeholders as much as they should. He stated that there had been more focus on the international partners and the G8, but that NEPAD would not succeed if the NEPAD secretariat did not engage Africans themselves. Even a NEPAD official confirmed this: “Communication of NEPAD on the global level is fine, but on a continent and country level it is a major challenge we have to deal with.”

Some participants working within the non-governmental organizations stated that initially NEPAD was not understood, but now things were changing and more people within African civil society were now collaborating with NEPAD. One participant noted that “NEPAD has now just realized that it cannot remain in the hands of the government.” Furthermore, a businessman declared that NEPAD “needs to get all stakeholders involved and that the private sectors along with African civil society need to be the key driving force of NEPAD because businesses stay but governments come and go.”
Furthermore, a NEPAD official said, “Even though the initiation is by African leaders, projects and implementation need to be driven by the African people.” The researcher observed that stakeholders in the sample were really appreciative of this new development strategy brought forward by African leaders, and participants acknowledged that they want to get involved. They want to be a part of African development, because, after all, the success of such plans benefits all Africans. Another NEPAD official stated, “Communication, ownership, let people understand and ask -- What is NEPAD for me, an empowerment, a new Africa, African renewal, how can I be a key partner as an individual?”

Communication and Awareness of NEPAD

Respondents voiced their concerns about the lack of communication between the NEPAD secretariat and African stakeholders, they believe the lack of communication had impeded the acceptability of NEPAD. An interviewee working for an NGO noted, “There has not been enough time for constructive dialogue for NEPAD to be appreciated.” A NEPAD official stated, “it was time for the African leaders to go to their various countries and communicate with their citizens the importance of NEPAD, create opportunities where they can teach the African people what NEPAD is about, and what they can benefit from NEPAD.”

Some participants did not have a clear understanding of NEPAD, which was due to the fact that the principles of NEPAD were not communicated to them. This had also resulted in a lack of clarity as to what NEPAD envisions. As participants noted, NEPAD needed a strong awareness campaign because NEPAD was known more outside the shores of Africa than within. NEPAD needed channels to pass information to stakeholders, to inform stakeholders on the performance and progress of NEPAD, and to
inform stakeholders on how they could be involved.

Some interviewees believed that only a few people in Africa had heard of NEPAD and how it worked. One NEPAD official stated that NEPAD’s advocacy campaign was not strong because of the lack of financial resources. Even a NEPAD Nigeria official affirmed that the lack of understanding of NEPAD was a major challenge on the continent. African leaders and NEPAD needed to advocate for NEPAD and use NGOs to advocate for it as well. The NEPAD Nigeria official noted, “Africans need to know NEPAD as a philosophy, a concept, a mission.”

One NEPAD official stated that there were three views of NEPAD among African people. One was that NEPAD was a good initiative, and African leaders wanted to catapult Africa’s socio-economic development to a new high. The second was that NEPAD had a lot of money to disburse. This was a wrong perception, as NEPAD did not have any money. NEPAD helped countries to generate money from within and also helped to mobilize money from international partners. Third, others believed NEPAD was just a “talk shop.” All NEPAD did was talk so long that nothing came of it, and NEPAD had started to derail.

The researcher then asked the interviewees what could be done to change such views. As stated earlier, a businessman suggested a strong awareness campaign. Others suggested that Africans would change their tunes when they saw physical projects being accomplished. One interviewee said, “Seeing is believing.” Another participant stated that Africans were used to seeing NGOs on the ground and, therefore, were confident of the work of NGOs. NEPAD needed to involve stakeholders more and show that it could complete projects, which would help advocate for NEPAD at the grassroots level. One NEPAD official in the sample noted that:
Although people are not aware of NEPAD or are sufficiently aware, we need to market NEPAD more, let African people know of success stories. We need a transparency approach to let the African people know about the ongoing projects, for example, the e-Schools project, the Inga dam projects, the agriculture cassava project in West Africa. We need to let people know about all this and we need to increase awareness. NEPAD will not succeed or sustain without the involvement of all stakeholders.

Finally, the researcher found that the lack of awareness and information about NEPAD and its goals and objectives among the sampled academia had contributed to this widespread lack of knowledge about the program. The researcher found that NEPAD had never been taught or debated in most of the classrooms at the universities visited. NEPAD was not discussed in what could be considered two very important university departments: political science and international relations. The researcher learned that most of the students he encountered had not heard of NEPAD and the few who knew or heard about NEPAD only did so because a colleague of theirs gave a presentation on NEPAD as part of their various assignments on socio-economic development.

Sustainability of NEPAD

The researcher noted that Africa had initiated programs and development plans in the past, but Africa’s socio-economic development had always lacked sustainability. Some interviewees voiced their concerns about whether NEPAD would be sustainable. One participant working at a non-governmental organization noted that NEPAD could function only if countries were strongly allied to each other and the network among them was strong. He feared that the lack of collaboration at the continental level would undermine the sustainability of NEPAD. A NEPAD official stated, “NEPAD will remain as long as there are funds.” Some participants believed that NEPAD needed continuity and, to achieve that, needed good governance. They also thought African people also needed to have ownership of NEPAD for it to be sustained.

The researcher inquired whether the surveyed respondents perceived that NEPAD
would sustain its momentum after the creators of NEPAD had completed their terms in office. For example, the former president of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo, recently completed his two terms in office. While he was one of the original initiators of NEPAD, it was questionable as to whether NEPAD’s activities would continue in Nigeria with the new president in office.

As Table 6 depicts, there was a clear majority (71%, or almost three-fourths) of the sample whose perception was that NEPAD’s vision for Africa’s development did not rely only on its creators to sustain its momentum. Instead, they thought development would remain a strong vision of Africans and not simply a vision of a few of their leaders.

Table 6. Did Respondents Perceive that NEPAD Would Sustain its Momentum After the Creators had Completed Their Terms?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likert Scale</th>
<th>NEPAD Frequency (N)</th>
<th>NEPAD Percentage (%)</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD Frequency (N)</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree nor Disagree</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do Not Know</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In an interview one businessman noted, “Although the African leaders initiated NEPAD, they need to be advocates of NEPAD even after they have left office to sustain
the momentum of NEPAD.” He said that, for example, former President of South Africa Nelson Mandela continued to advocate for democracy in South Africa after he left office. Some respondents believed the five initiators of NEPAD needed to do the same thing so that NEPAD could continue to grow and sustain its projects, as well as generate new revenues for other projects. A businesswoman said, “NEPAD will sustain its momentum only if steps and plans are put in place, and that it will only succeed with sufficient planning and process platforms.”

One NEPAD official believed that NEPAD had been inculcated well enough. She did not think it would disappear because NEPAD was now in the hands of the technicians who understood the projects and the implementation process. She believed that they would sustain it.

The investigator also asked surveyed participants whether they perceived that NEPAD would succeed with its vision for Africa’s socio-economic development. As Table 7 depicts, most (82%) respondents were optimistic in their perception that NEPAD would succeed with its vision for Africa’s socio-economic development.

The participants’ optimism seemed based on their perception that NEPAD was a new program developed by Africans and was a different concept from previous socio-economic development plans, in that the participants thought NEPAD incorporated the ideas of accountability and the necessity of political will on the part of all African governments.
Table 7. Did Respondents Perceive that NEPAD Would Succeed with its Vision for Africa Socio-Economic Development?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likert Scale</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>NEPAD Percentage</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree nor Disagree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do Not Know</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Achievements and Processes of NEPAD

The researcher observed in the interviews that the tone of voice of the NEPAD officials seemed to be defensive of NEPAD’s achievements. They believed that NEPAD had achieved a lot within a short period of time. The researcher also observed that most of the interviewees within the non-NEPAD group were not aware of NEPAD’s achievements and could not comment on them.

Some participants in the non-NEPAD group believed that NEPAD had achieved a lot within the space of six years, and one interviewee noted, “NEPAD has achieved a lot. It has reshaped and made it necessary for people to dispel the stereotypical issues of Africa. It has made development partners think positively in regards to Africa and made Africans be more articulate.” However, a founder of an NGO stated, “NEPAD will not achieve all its goals and objectives in the lifetime of the creators. It will take many
generations for it to realize; the best the creators have done is for them to initialize it.”

A NEPAD official said, “NEPAD has done quite a bit in the different sectors. I can name the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) process. I can name the science and technology; they have done a lot and can name agriculture in particular.” She also noted that achievement was a long-term goal, and NEPAD had only recently completed its planning and budgeting stages. Another NEPAD official stated, “NEPAD is a long-term project so civil society needs to understand that they cannot expect NEPAD to achieve a lot within three to four years.” Another NEPAD official noted that “NEPAD still had a long way to go to achieve its set goals and objectives. It was about changing mindsets. NEPAD was not a magic wand; it would not cure Africa’s development woes in four years.” He further said:

NEPAD was conceived after African pessimism was getting out of control. How to give a strong message that things are changing in Africa. It is a development process and we have succeeded to an extent. In regards to governance it has succeeded and changed views of governments. They all appreciate governance; it is the key.

The researcher observed that the process of NEPAD was one that had not been publicized and clarified and that non-NEPAD participants did not know exactly how NEPAD worked. Non-NEPAD participants believed that NEPAD was conceived to fund and implement socio-economic programs and projects. As one of the NEPAD officials said earlier, most Africans misconceived how NEPAD operated. NEPAD officials made known to the researcher that NEPAD played a facilitator role to program planning to support development activities in all African countries. The implementing bodies of these programs were the regional economic communities, such as ECOWAS and SADC. Non-NEPAD believed the RECs needed to be more supportive of NEPAD and its projects. Non-NEPAD did not know that the RECs were the implementers of NEPAD projects. One NEPAD official noted, “NEPAD is supposed to facilitate. Mind you, NEPAD is not
the ultimate implementer. The implementers are the RECs and the countries."

Another NEPAD official stated, "RECs are the real pillar of NEPAD implementation." She explained that the RECs prioritized what projects needed to be implemented at different levels and countries, and that the RECs examined all projects that countries submitted, and the projects were prioritized according to their importance and available funding. Furthermore, a NEPAD official clarified that "the key priorities of the RECs are to reduce hunger and focus on agriculture. Food security is another major priority; HIV/AIDS as another task, as is education and infrastructure. The RECs themselves narrow down the priorities, and look at the regions that need the most assistance."

The surveyed participants were asked whether the regional economic communities, such as ECOWAS and SADC, should play major roles in supporting NEPAD in achieving its set goals and objectives. The data showed that there was unanimity, as Table 8 depicts. This unanimous agreement strongly indicated that respondents thought the regional economic communities should be major supporters and promoters of NEPAD, should be of assistance to NEPAD in achieving its set goals and objectives, and should support NEPAD’s goals and objectives.

Table 8. Did Respondents Perceive that the Regional Economic Communities Should Play a Major Role in Supporting NEPAD?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likert Scale</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>NEPAD Percentage</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The researcher observed that a majority of the participants, even those who knew about NEPAD, were confused as to what capabilities NEPAD had or what roles NEPAD played because as stated earlier, non-NEPAD participants perceived that NEPAD was conceived to fund and implement socio-economic programs and projects. The researcher asked the NEPAD officials to clarify this and how they intended to make sure that every stakeholder understood the role of NEPAD. Some of the NEPAD officials stated that this came back to the challenge of awareness, and their belief that NEPAD needed to convey to Africans that NEPAD only facilitated projects, assisted African countries and RECs to raise and mobilize needed funds to develop projects and programs, and provided the technical assistance needed to implement those projects and programs.

![Diagram of NEPAD's operations]

Figure 4. How NEPAD Worked.
Source: Design by Writer after interviewing a NEPAD official within the financial department (Summer 2007)
A NEPAD official who worked within the financial department clarified the processes of NEPAD to the researcher. Figure 4 above shows how NEPAD worked. The NEPAD official stated that the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) managed the funds for the daily running of NEPAD, and even the executive director of NEPAD did not sign for or receive any funds directly.

The NEPAD official explained that the international community and donor agencies funded projects. The funds were sent directly to the DBSA, and the funds were released only for those particular projects. The five African countries that initiated NEPAD (South Africa, Nigeria, Senegal, Algeria, Egypt) were the only countries so far in Africa funding the operation of NEPAD; DBSA also managed these funds. DBSA released funds to NEPAD for projects that had been funded and also released funds for salaries to NEPAD.

In addition, DBSA monitored how funds were spent within NEPAD because DBSA had to report back to the international community and donor agencies. Finally, NEPAD reported on the progress of projects to the international community, donor agencies, Heads of State, the Government Implementation Committee of NEPAD and the Steering Committee of NEPAD. NEPAD also developed and facilitated projects by advocating for African countries’ projects and by raising funds.

NEPAD had asked individual African countries to have satellite offices in their countries. NEPAD Nigeria is an example of a country establishing such an office. These country offices were to help facilitate developmental programs within each country and report back to the NEPAD secretariat in South Africa. The satellite offices worked with the NEPAD secretariat. These offices were to use their ministries to implement NEPAD programs and projects at all state and local levels.
International Community Partnerships

Survey participants were asked whether they perceived that the international partners (G8) acknowledged or saw NEPAD as having the solution to Africa's socio-economic development problems. As Table 9 depicts, the great majority (82%) of the respondents perceived that the international partners (G8) acknowledged or saw NEPAD as having the solution to Africa's socio-economic development problems. Perhaps this was because of the way in which various African leaders had publicized NEPAD to the international community, particularly to the G8. Of the NEPAD representatives or officials surveyed, most (82%) strongly agreed or agreed that the international community identified NEPAD as a possible solution to Africa's socio-economic problems. Eighty-one percent of those not associated with NEPAD also strongly agreed or agreed with this assessment.

Table 9. Respondents' Perceptions of Whether the International Partners (G8) Acknowledged NEPAD as the Solution to Africa's Socio-Economic Development Problems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likert</th>
<th>Acknowledge NEPAD</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEPAD Frequency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree nor Disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not Know</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sampled participants believed the international community supported the NEPAD concept. The G8 was an especially strong supporter of NEPAD because of the fact that the G8 summit was the first international arena where the African leaders
presented their new socio-economic development plan. The G8 supported this initiative not only because they believed that NEPAD would aid the socio-economic development of Africa but also because of the guiding principles, such as good governance, accountability on the part of the African leaders, and the advocacy for democracy that NEPAD had put in place.

Interviewees, however, showed concerns that the international community had supported the NEPAD concept due to its guiding principles, but was not being forthcoming with their financial and technical promises. One NEPAD official stated, “The international community is not helping and Africa is not benefiting from their resources.” Quite a few other interviewed NEPAD officials, however, noted that the international community had helped a bit, especially Canada, which had given training to staff on implementation strategies and had committed about 500 million Canadian dollars to NEPAD projects.

In addition, China also had funded midwife-training programs. Interviewees, however, were wary of China’s newfound love for African development. In fact, one participant noted:

China has not channeled all its African projects through NEPAD because China has businesses in Sudan, knowing very well about the war in Darfur, Sudan. Sudan does not have any of the principles of NEPAD, for example, good governance and human rights. It is dangerous for Africa that all China wants is Africa’s resources and not Africa’s well being.

Interviewees believed that China needed to embed its projects under NEPAD, so as not to undermine NEPAD’s principles and objectives.

The researcher wanted to know if surveyed participants perceived that the increased drive by China for investment and trade would undermine the values and principles of NEPAD (see Table 10). A small majority (55%) of participants disagreed
with the idea that China’s Africa involvement would undermine NEPAD.

Table 10. Did Respondents Perceive that the Current Increased Drive by China for Investment and Trade Would Undermine the Values and Principles of NEPAD?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likert Scale</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree nor Disagree</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do Not Know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data showed that NEPAD officials in the sample strongly perceived (91%) that China’s drive to invest and trade in Africa would not undermine the values and principles of NEPAD. Non-NEPAD respondents were divided; only 41% agreed with the NEPAD officials. Thirty percent of the non-NEPAD respondents believed that African leaders needed to be cautious of China’s newfound interest in Africa because China would interfere with homegrown socio-economic development in Africa. Few participants (21%) in the sample were uncertain whether China’s activities in Africa would undermine the values and principles of NEPAD. Perhaps this difference of opinion on China between NEPAD and non-NEPAD participants was indicative of NEPAD officials’ belief in the strength of their work and skepticism on the part of non-NEPAD stakeholders that NEPAD could truly be successful.
Interviewees also noted that the international community had committed themselves to making NEPAD the main initiative for African development, but they were not fulfilling all their commitments. A NEPAD official stated, “International governance is key for African development, but the international trade decisions made impact Africa severely, for example, the agricultural subsidies of the United States of America and Europe.”

The investigator wanted to know whether the surveyed participants thought that the international community had been cooperative and forthcoming with funding for NEPAD’s projects. There was a lot of disagreement and uncertainty among participants, as shown in Table 11. A significant percentage (44%) of respondents from these two countries were not sure about their perceptions as to whether the international partners (G8) had been cooperative and forthcoming in funding NEPAD and its projects.

Furthermore, the data showed that about one-quarter of sampled NEPAD officials and non-NEPAD respondents believed that the international partners had not been forthcoming with funding for NEPAD and its projects. Moreover, some respondents thought that the international partners’ various promises to assist NEPAD with funding its programs and projects had been disappointing.

Some respondents mentioned that some international partners had been transparent concerning funding. For example, one participant stated Canada had established a fund specifically designed for NEPAD and had created a Canada Fund for Africa Initiatives (CFAI) for large-scale programs. These programs were regional in scope, complementing ongoing Canada International Development Agency (CIDA) programming in Africa.
Table 11. Respondents’ perceptions on whether the international partners (G8) had been cooperative in funding NEPAD and its projects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likert Scale</th>
<th>Funding NEPAD</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEPAD Non-NEPAD</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree nor Disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not Know</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The NEPAD officials who were interviewed believed the international community was willing to fund the pet projects that would benefit them, for example, in areas such as information communication technologies (ICT). However, even with that in mind they gave little support in terms of the preparation for such projects. A NEPAD Nigeria official in the sample also confirmed that there was a break in communication between the donor agencies and NEPAD, and the donor agencies only funded projects within their areas of interest.

Surveyed participants were asked what types of assistance they perceived Africa as needing from the international community. The respondents could select more than one option as their answer (see Table 12). The data supported the idea that a significant percentage of respondents within these two countries perceived that Africa needed assistance, particularly in terms of finances, labor, and technology, from the international community to aid in the implementation of development programs. Ten respondents (26%) specified other forms of assistance needed, such as market access to international community products and political will from the international community to alleviate poverty.
Table 12. Respondents’ Perceptions on What Types of Assistance They Perceived Africa Needed from the International Community?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assistance Needed</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>NEPAD (%)</th>
<th>NEPAD Percentage (%)</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial Resources</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Labor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All of the Above</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The respondents could select more than one option as their answer; therefore the percentage is a representation of how many respondents out of the 38 chose that particular assistance and for the NEPAD and Non-NEPAD the percentage is a representation of how many respondents out of 11 and 27 respectively chose that particular assistance. Thus, the total percentage will not equal 100 percent.

Interestingly, those in the sample who were associated with NEPAD were more focused on financial assistance from the international community, while non-NEPAD respondents were more likely to state that all types of assistance were needed. Perhaps the non-NEPAD respondents were more realistic than NEPAD officials in their ideas of how to implement development programs because the non-NEPAD respondents saw that they needed aid in more areas than only finances. However, it was possible that the NEPAD officials focused on financial assistance from the international community because they believed that, once they had the necessary funding, they could find the skilled labor and technologies they needed to implement the programs.

Participants who worked for non-governmental organizations were concerned about the effect of skill transfers from the international community, which were currently insufficient. The international community and donor agencies tended to send in their experts to take control of projects rather than assist Africans in developing and imple-
menting the projects themselves. One participant said, "They need to transfer those skills to Africa rather than build it for Africa."

**Issues with African Governance**

Respondents believed that the African governments had not captured the confidence of the African people, and most of the surveyed participants were still very skeptical about their leaders. An interviewee working for an NGO noted that he was concerned about the stability of African governments and that governmental instability might undermine NEPAD. He did not understand why African governments could not internally fund NEPAD projects, but they could raise the revenues and resources to finance wars.

Interviewees also voiced their concerns about the conflicts on the continent and stated that African governments across the continent needed to find ways to prevent conflict from occurring. An NGO employee in the sample noted, "NEPAD has developed a conflict management and policy development framework to guide countries coming out of conflict on how to reconstruct and learn from past conflicts around the continent, to make better decisions and not go to war."

A sampled NEPAD official stated, "Social structure and corruption need to be dealt with on the continent." The surveyed participants were asked whether they perceived that the high level of corruption on the African continent would undermine NEPAD (see Table 13). These data showed that a significant percentage (almost three-fourths) of respondents perceived that the high level of corruption in African governments, which had besieged Africa for decades, was a major challenge for NEPAD. Clearly, these respondents were still not fully convinced that their various African leaders had moved away from their corrupt habits of the past. Moreover, the data showed that
NEPAD officials (63%) and non-NEPAD (74%) informants in the sample were in agreement that the high level of corruption in Africa would indeed undermine NEPAD.

Table 13. Respondents’ Perceptions on Whether the High Level of Corruption in Africa Would Undermine NEPAD.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likert Scale</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage NEPAD (%)</th>
<th>NEPAD Percentage (%)</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree nor Disagree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do Not Know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The researcher also observed that the participants perceived a large amount of bureaucracy on the African continent, which did not impress them. A businessman noted that decision-making was a huge problem in Africa, and that Africa should focus on delivery as well as the need to get investment and productivity on the way. A NEPAD official in the sample also stated that it was time to cut down meetings and apply our time and efforts to the implementation processes. She further said, “African leaders need to stop lip service, conferences, and summits. We have seen enough. It is time to proceed and help our African leaders to deliver.” Furthermore, one government official in the sample noted, “It is time our African leaders engage and communicate with their citizens and reform the bureaucracy in Africa.”

The researcher asked the interviewees if the African governments would continue
to be NEPAD supporters after their officials left office. One NEPAD official noted, "the founding fathers of NEPAD may be leaving office, but they have not personalized NEPAD; they have officialized NEPAD." She believed that the next governments would embrace NEPAD and continue its work. She also believed NEPAD would serve as a catalyst for African development.

An interviewed businessman stated that he feared the transitioning of different governments might undermine NEPAD because not all African governments have embraced it. Although some governments might be pro-NEPAD, the subsequent ones might not be pro-NEPAD. He also feared that NEPAD did not have the political clout to sustain itself.

Some interviewees also noted that not all African leaders had bought into NEPAD. An interviewed businessman stated that these leaders believed NEPAD to be "an elitist idea" because the economic giants of Africa initiated NEPAD. Participants seemed to believe that if African leaders all over the continent did not adopt the political will to see NEPAD succeed, it would fail the same way as previous developmental plans.

The investigator asked the surveyed respondents what challenges they perceived NEPAD faced as it tried to achieve its set goals and objectives (see Table 14). The respondents could select more than one option as their answer. Their responses supported the idea that a significant percentage of the sampled participants selected within these two countries perceived that NEPAD faced important challenges such as finances, political issues, and issues of accountability.
Table 14. Respondents’ Perceptions on What Challenges They Believed NEPAD Faced as it Tried to Achieve its Set Goals and Objectives?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenges</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>NEPAD Percentage (%)</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial Resources</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Will</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Governance</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All of the Above</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The respondents could select more than one option as their answer; therefore the percentage is a representation of how many respondents out of the 38 chose that particular challenge and for the NEPAD and Non-NEPAD the percentage is a representation of how many respondents out of 11 and 27 respectively chose that particular challenge. Thus, the total percentage will not equal 100 percent.

Ten respondents (26%) specified other challenges with issues of governance, such as the lack of awareness and appropriate involvement of all stakeholders, sustainability, genuine partnership from developed countries, and a misunderstanding of NEPAD’s goals and position on the part of the African Union and other Regional Economic Communities. These respondents believed that African stakeholders were not aware of NEPAD or its objectives and that Africans needed to know how NEPAD could be embraced as a development program that could alleviate poverty in Africa. The respondents believed that NEPAD needed to iterate its position so that Africans did not misunderstand how NEPAD fit into the socio-economic developmental plan for African states and people. Interestingly, there were no real differences in the sample between people associated with NEPAD and those not associated with NEPAD in terms of what challenges they believed that NEPAD faced.
Differences between NEPAD and previous development plans

Some interviewees believed that NEPAD was a different concept than previous plans because NEPAD was homegrown and not imposed by the developed countries and because the African leaders had a common vision, which was not so in the past. The researcher asked participants in the questionnaire whether they perceived NEPAD to be a homegrown initiative that addressed socio-economic development. As Table 15 depicts, almost all (94%) sampled participants within these two countries who were knowledgeable about NEPAD perceived NEPAD to be an initiative that was begun in Africa, despite the fact that the study revealed a widespread lack of awareness and knowledge about NEPAD by Africans.

Some participants believed that NEPAD had transparency, which had helped it along. They thought that African leaders had also accepted that, without good governance, Africa would not develop socially, economically, or politically. One founder of an NGO in the sample noted that NEPAD’s principles, including creating the right environment, good governance, no corruption, and respect for human rights, were endorsed by NEPAD itself and not imposed by the World Bank or the IMF. This was a key component that differentiated NEPAD from the previous plans.

In addition, a businessman stated in an interview that NEPAD was different because the previous plans were constructed when Africa was an unstable continent and under the control of military and tyrant dictators. This participant thought that with democracy and strong civil society in African countries the environment was conducive for initiatives such as NEPAD.
Table 15. Respondents’ Perceptions on Whether NEPAD was a Homegrown Initiative that Addressed Socio-Economic Development.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likert Scale</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
<th>NEPAD (%)</th>
<th>NEPAD Percentage (%)</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD (%)</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree nor Disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, one NEPAD official noted that NEPAD had brought a new ideology and thinking to the continent. In fact, he stated NEPAD was a mechanism for change, which he thought was changing the mentality of African leaders and African people. The NEPAD official also noted that, if development were to be addressed on the continent, certain values would have to be put in place, such as good governance, political will, and collaboration with all stakeholders.

The researcher asked the surveyed participants if they agreed with the view that African civil society, including members of the private and public sectors, were very skeptical about NEPAD achieving any of its set goals and objectives because of the lack of effectiveness of previous attempts at socio-economic development plans, such as the Lagos Plan of Action.

As Table 16 depicts, results produced an almost-even split (42%) agreeing, and (37%) disagreeing, supporting the idea that participants had very mixed perceptions concerning the possibility of NEPAD’s success or failure because previous attempts by African leaders to implement socio-development programs had not been successful.
than one-third of the sample believed that it was different this time around because NEPAD was homegrown and was not imposed on Africa by developed countries.

Furthermore, the data showed that non-NEPAD officials were more skeptical (48%, or almost half of them) than the NEPAD officials surveyed (27%, or one-quarter of them). The skeptics in the sample believed that the vision and new ideology by African leaders would not succeed without good governance, the involvement of Africans, and the assistance of the international community.

Table 16. Were Respondents Very Skeptical about NEPAD Achieving any of its Set Goals and Objectives Because of Previously Failed Socio-Economic Development Plans?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likert Scale</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
<th>NEPAD</th>
<th>NEPAD Percentage (%)</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD</th>
<th>Non-NEPAD Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree nor Disagree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do Not Know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In its documents, NEPAD did not blame developed countries for Africa’s misfortunes; rather, it preferred to partner with the international community to find ways of alleviating Africa from poverty and sustaining socio-economic development. In his new book, *Implementing the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD): Challenges and the Path to Progress*, S.K.B. Asante noted that,
NEPAD shares many features with the earlier African initiatives that were aimed at developing Africa and lifting it out of its depressing poverty, what arguably makes NEPAD different is its recognition of past failures, current state failings, the need for ownership by Africans themselves and, critically, its timing. It has emerged in a different environment, primarily within the continent but also reflecting changed international circumstances.  

South African Imperialism in Africa

The researcher observed that a few interviewees perceived that NEPAD was dominated by South Africa. These participants believed that NEPAD was a way for South Africa to have economic-hegemony in Africa, or for South Africa to have first access to Africa’s products before the international community. An NGO employee in the sample stated that South Africa was biased when it came to NEPAD due to the fact that the South African President, Thabo Mbeki, was one of the main initiators of NEPAD. However, he believed other countries on the continent were suspicious of South African quasi-imperialism; in other words, some of the participants in the sample viewed NEPAD as a way for South Africa to conquer the continent.

Summary

The data in this chapter provided insight into the perceptions of NEPAD and the perceptions of challenges faced by NEPAD as seen by respondents, some of whom were associated with NEPAD. The respondents of this survey perceived NEPAD as a homegrown initiative. Some of the respondents also perceived that Africa could internally generate some of the revenues needed to implement NEPAD, but that NEPAD would also need assistance from the international community.

The interviews conducted by the researcher showed that all stakeholders in the sample perceived NEPAD to have some challenges to overcome, such as the lack of financial resources needed for its operation, inconsistent political will from African leaders, sustainability of good governance both nationally and regionally, lack of
awareness, and low involvement of all stakeholders.

Participants also emphasized that the lack of capacity building and skilled labor had impeded NEPAD from performing its tasks and had not allowed for the impact NEPAD officials believed should have occurred within the first six years. The participants believed NEPAD, African governments, African stakeholders, and the international community must collaborate in order to achieve better standards for NEPAD’s objectives.

Several participants noted that the involvement of African stakeholders with NEPAD was minimal. They also believed that their African leaders had always used top-down policies to address socio-economic development and, therefore, perceived that it was in the interest of the African economies if African leaders involved stakeholders, such as African civil society and members of the public and private sectors, in the implementation of NEPAD. They thought NEPAD officials along with African governments should provide a forum to dialogue with all stakeholders to involve them in the process of implementation at all levels.

Some participants believed that if stakeholders were involved, the lack of awareness of NEPAD on the continent would reduce, and the stakeholders’ involvement would allow for better communication of NEPAD’s objectives and make it more successful on the continent. Some participants also believed that, a good awareness campaign that featured stakeholders would help reduce the negative perceptions of NEPAD, and African people would then take ownership of the initiative.

Some participants showed concerns about the sustainability of NEPAD due to the fact that previous African development plans had failed, but quite a few were optimistic about NEPAD, as long as sufficient plans and strategies to encompass the processes of
NEPAD were in place. A few participants believed that as long as stakeholders had ownership of NEPAD it would be sustained. Some participants noted that the lack of publicity and clarity of the processes of NEPAD was another major challenge that the NEPAD secretariat had to clarify for African stakeholders, so that every individual would know what tasks NEPAD was capable of performing and how each stakeholder could get involved in making NEPAD a successful initiative on the continent.

Some participants thought that African governments still had certain issues that they needed to eliminate within their various governments, such as corruption, conflicts on the continent, and bad governance. Several of the respondents voiced their concern that the high level of corruption in Africa due to past practices by African leaders would undermine NEPAD. Although, some participants noted that African leaders and Africans believed that with good governance came successful socio-economic development.

A significant number of NEPAD representatives in the sample were not skeptical that the failure of past attempts at socio-economic development would affect the progress of NEPAD. Quite a few non-NEPAD participants were skeptical that NEPAD would achieve its objectives due to Africa’s notorious past attempts at socio-economic development.

Almost all the participants perceived that NEPAD would sustain its momentum after the creators completed their terms in office and new governments took over. The researcher observed that some participants believed that NEPAD was different than previous development plans. They believed NEPAD was initiated on the African continent for Africans by Africans and that NEPAD was a start for a new Africa, one that every African stakeholder needed to embrace and take ownership. The transparency of NEPAD was imperative to its success, according to these respondents.
A few of the participants perceived that the regional economic communities, such as ECOWAS and SADC, should play major roles in supporting NEPAD in achieving its set goals and objectives. Some respondents believed that NEPAD would succeed with its vision for Africa socio-economic development.

Several participants believed that the international community, especially the G8, should adhere to their pledged promises. They believed that the international community partners had voiced their commitment to NEPAD. However, these same participants thought the international partners had not supported NEPAD projects and programs in the way they had promised. According to some participants, they had made empty promises but some countries, such as Canada, had kept their promises. A few participants perceived that international partners only funded projects that benefit them.

Several respondents perceived that Africa needed assistance, including financial resources, skilled labor, and technology from the international community. They also believed that market access to the products of the developed countries would be useful to the economy of the African countries.

Finally, the researcher was intrigued by some of the participants’ belief that NEPAD was South African imperialism in disguise in Africa. The researcher believed that this was due to the sheer fact that there is still a large amount of skepticism among participants in regards to NEPAD, and also because not all African governments have integrated NEPAD into their national policies. Clearly, dealing with the perceptions of interviewees would be useful in eliminating the major challenges NEPAD faces.
END NOTES


CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The intention of this research was to analyze the perceptions and challenges of NEPAD as it attempted to achieve its set goals and objectives. NEPAD had been established for six years, since 2001, at the time of this research. The researcher believed six years would have been long enough for NEPAD to be operational.

Therefore, the researcher chose to examine African stakeholders’ perceptions about NEPAD and what challenges they perceived NEPAD faced in attempting to achieve its vision for Africa’s renewal. The main objectives of the research were to examine the perceptions of NEPAD from a sample of African stakeholders, including private and public sector actors, politicians, scholars, and African civil society, and to identify the challenges confronted by NEPAD. The researcher also used secondary data sources to examine the perceptions and perceived challenges of NEPAD.

The researcher undertook this research using a mixed method approach including the use of secondary data such as books, journals, newspaper articles, electronic information (internet), treaties, and reports. The quantitative analysis involved the use of questionnaires, while the qualitative analysis involved conducting personal interviews with participants. The participants consisted of a sample of African civil society, academia, members of the private and public sectors, government officials, and NEPAD
officials. The sample was small (42 people) and purposive rather than random, and the findings and conclusions must be regarded as tentative rather than definitive.

The researcher carried out the research in the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the South Africa Republic. These two African countries were chosen due to the initial involvement of their leaders in the initiation of NEPAD, and also because of their economic strength on the African continent.

The researcher reviewed two past attempts at Africa’s economic development, the LPA and the AAF-SAP, as a foundation for examining NEPAD. Past attempts at Africa’s development, such as the Lagos Plan of Action, were not executed the way African leaders had planned. They failed due to the lack of financial resources, good governance, political will, and other problems. African leaders, however, believed NEPAD was the right path for Africa to follow to achieve any type of development.

African leaders hoped that the establishment of NEPAD would change African pessimism towards development. The initiators of NEPAD further hoped to show the international community that Africa was ready to govern itself through the use of democracy and good governance, and that Africa would be capable of sustaining good governance and establishing economic programs and projects that would alleviate her way out of poverty with international support.

Furthermore, a review of the literature suggested that it was time for Africa to be acknowledged as an equal within the international community. Many scholars felt Africa needed to claim its rightful position as a partner rather than as a follower or mere provider of natural resources for the developed countries. Scholars wrote that African leaders needed to show commitment on their part that NEPAD was not simply another false start, and that NEPAD would be a pathway for the development of the continent.
Different development theories, such as dependency, modernization, and economic integration, were the main concepts that scholars had previously used to explain the lack of good governance, accountability, and political will on the parts of both the international community and African leaders. The researcher, however, used the political economy framework to inform this study because this theory emphasizes the interdependence of social phenomena, particularly the economic, social, and political structures, as well as belief systems.

Findings

In theory, these structures should have been taken into consideration in the creation of NEPAD’s framework. However, as the researcher found, the initiators of NEPAD, who were African political leaders, did little to include the ideas or opinions of Africans from other aspects of African society. Due to this fact, the researcher believes that NEPAD may not have had the proper publicity or support to advance Africa’s economic development. NEPAD’s creators neglected the participation of the African people, which has in turn created negative perceptions and challenges on the part of these respondents.

The researcher examined the respondents’ perceptions of NEPAD and found that most of their skepticism was due to the past failed attempts by African leaders and the lack of support from the international partners, and these setbacks were partly to blame for Africa’s lack of development. These setbacks left some stakeholders skeptical about the possibility of NEPAD achieving any of its set goals and objectives.

Although the research showed that some participants perceived NEPAD as a homegrown initiative, other participants still felt disconnected from the holistic ideals of NEPAD. They believed that NEPAD still had challenges to overcome, such as the lack of
awareness, the lack of financial resources, corruption, and the need for African leaders to sustain political will to carry out NEPAD’s goals and objectives.

Furthermore, many participants believed that the African governments and the NEPAD secretariat needed to involve stakeholders in the processes of NEPAD. The participants thought that, although the international community had acknowledged that NEPAD was the right way forward for Africa’s development, the international community should do more in assisting NEPAD in its programs and projects. Also, respondents perceived that the international community needed to assist NEPAD with technology, skilled labor, and financial resources.

Some participants were more optimistic about NEPAD, although some still believed that the above mentioned challenges might undermine and affect the progress of NEPAD. The respondents also perceived that NEPAD would sustain its momentum even after its creators had left office.

Many respondents voiced their concerns about the lack of capacity and skilled labor on the continent, and they believed that African leaders needed to get stakeholders involved to identify potential candidates on the continent. Some participants also believed that the international community should assist with training and transfer skills to Africans rather than performing the tasks for Africans.

The lack of communication between NEPAD and stakeholders was another concern of some respondents, and they believed that NEPAD should encourage a continent-wide awareness campaign to establish and clarify its goals and objectives to the African population.

All of the participants noted that NEPAD faced various challenges, including the lack of financial resources, lack of skilled labor and technical know-how, lack of
awareness of its goals and objectives by stakeholders, and the lack of “full” support from the international community. The sampled stakeholders thought NEPAD still needed to show a sense of commitment on the part of the African leaders. The need to involve stakeholders was a major challenge that NEPAD continued to consider.

Conclusion

From this study and reviewed literature, the researcher concluded that a majority of stakeholders believed that good governance, political will, and the need to involve every African in the process were some of the important factors needed for the socio-economic growth of the African continent.

As the literature on socio-economic development plans in Africa demonstrated, the skepticism of previous attempts at socio-economic development on the continent by stakeholders was well justified due to the lack of political will, sustainability, inadequate financial resources and especially an unfavorable environment of instability on the continent. However, it was clear that African stakeholders needed to see that their leaders wanted to change the current socio-economic conditions in Africa, and that Africa could build on this new sense of good governance. It was iterated by scholars that Africa needed a different environment, including democracy, accountability, and an active civil society, in which socio-economic development could thrive.

The researcher noted that, even though scholars had been very critical of NEPAD achieving any of its goals and objectives, NEPAD had achieved its preliminary goals of setting up a functional secretariat and establishing projects and programs that would help Africa’s socio-economic development. Also, the researcher noted that the establishment of NEPAD had reduced the pessimism of Africans and given Africans a new sense of significance within the international community.
The researcher recognized the extent of challenges that lay ahead of NEPAD, and some stakeholders were still rather skeptical of NEPAD. Scholars also noted in the literature that the dependence of Africa on the financial resources from the West remained a major problem. This problem continuously surfaced during the research. NEPAD officials believed that because the international community had pledged to help NEPAD financially, therefore, the international community needed to adhere to such promises. NEPAD officials also noted that even though some countries were forthcoming with funds, they financially funded only the projects that would benefit them.

Furthermore, African civil society voiced their concern in the literature that the African leaders did not involve the African people in the processes of implementing NEPAD. This research showed how the exclusion and lack of involvement of African stakeholders from the NEPAD process had produced misconceived perceptions on the part of African stakeholders. The research illustrated stakeholders were not aware of the processes of NEPAD. Furthermore, they thought NEPAD financed projects and programs with funds generated within Africa and internationally, when in actuality NEPAD was merely the conduit between the funding and the projects. The researcher believed that this misconception was due to the lack of communication between NEPAD and stakeholders. NEPAD officials needed to explain to stakeholders that NEPAD was a facilitator for the regional economic communities, such as SADC, to implement programs and projects.

A lack of capacity building had also been a deterrent to the achievement of NEPAD’s goals and objectives. NEPAD officials recognized that African leaders, along with the NEPAD secretariat, needed to promote education and training programs on the continent. The researcher noted that stakeholders believed that NEPAD needed to establish how skills could be transferred from the developed countries to Africans, so as
to reduce the amount of foreign personnel used to establish projects on the continent.

As mentioned earlier, African leaders believed that good governance, democracy, political will, and transparency were major factors needed to sustain development in Africa. However, a major challenge that the research noted was the instability of African economies and the rampant corruption of African leaders. Although Africa has since seen an increased number of democratic government on the African continent, the fear of unstable governments was believed to threaten sustainability of economic development on the continent. Also, the extensive corruption of some African leaders had left a bad impression on the African people. Although African leaders have claimed the notion of transparency, stakeholders were still very skeptical of African leaders and their vested interest in acquiring wealth while in office.

Although the researcher noted from the research and literature that NEPAD still had major challenges to overcome, the researcher hypothesized that the skepticism towards NEPAD would gradually reduce as stakeholders understood the processes of NEPAD. Ultimately, it might be possible for stakeholders to see positive results being generated through NEPAD programs and projects.

Recommendations

The study provided evidence that the sampled stakeholders perceived that NEPAD still faced challenges. The sampled participants thought NEPAD was a program of the African Union established by African leaders for African people. Some participants believed NEPAD was a program that could really impact Africa’s socio-economic development and that every stakeholder needed to embrace and believe they had a stake in seeing NEPAD succeed.

During the course of the study, many private sector participants expressed an
interest in finding out how they could be of assistance to NEPAD. They were willing to get involved, but did not know how.

Therefore, the researcher’s first recommendation is that NEPAD should provide sessions and workshops to all African stakeholders. In these workshops, NEPAD officials could inform the stakeholders of various projects and programs, and how they can be involved. Encouraging the participation of stakeholders in the processes of NEPAD through a forum of workshops and capacity building would increase the involvement of skilled Africans on the continent. It would also be good for African governments to give incentives, such as tax exemptions to private sector individuals who take on any project sponsored by NEPAD.

Universities should also be asked to participate, because they could assist NEPAD in creating awareness within their establishments. University students could also be involved if NEPAD created internships and established an environment where students could volunteer to help within their various communities. Furthermore, NEPAD should involve stakeholders from the grassroots by training more farmers, creating more schools, and establishing water sanitation. Encouraging women development programs, such as health programs and adult education, would involve people of all cultures across the continent and encourage equality.

Participants believed that the Africans abroad have the skills and knowledge that NEPAD needed and Africans in the diaspora need to be involved in NEPAD projects and programs.

Therefore, the second recommendation is that NEPAD create a centralized database consisting of Africans willing to volunteer or assist NEPAD with implementing its projects and programs, in order to have a pool of skilled African stakeholders both on
the continent and in the diaspora. This will involve more Africans in the processes of NEPAD, and will also allow NEPAD to become more interdependent with other aspects of African society. NEPAD could potentially be more successful in achieving its set goals and objectives if it instituted such a database.

The third recommendation is that NEPAD should use the media as a forum on the continent to make NEPAD known. For example, the production of documentaries that inform viewers of NEPAD’s projects and programs would give Africans a sense of ownership to see what was actually happening on the continent through NEPAD. This should be an ongoing partnership between NEPAD and the media, so that information about the progress of NEPAD’s projects is continually disseminated across the continent.

A fourth recommendation is that further research should be conducted that would accomplish several goals. First, the study of perceptions and perceptions of challenges would be extended so that larger segments of African society have the opportunity to voice their opinions about NEPAD. Second, more research would be conducted that would aid NEPAD in eliminating its challenges to become a successful socio-economic development plan. Third, evaluations of the processes of NEPAD would be completed so as to make those processes more efficient and successful.

The participants in this research seemed enthusiastic and showed interest in NEPAD; they also emphasized that NEPAD was a program all Africans needed to embrace. The researcher hopes that NEPAD will drive those interests into actual reality and establish itself as an organization for the people, working with the people. If this happens, NEPAD will result in a strong organization that will accomplish its visions for a more socio-economically developed Africa.
APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR STAKEHOLDERS (NON-NEPAD GROUP: AFRICAN CIVIL SOCIETY AND MEMBERS OF THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SECTORS)


A1. What is your understanding of NEPAD?
A2. What are your perceptions/opinions on NEPAD?
A3. In your opinion is NEPAD a viable socio-economic development plan?
A4. How have the various segments of African society received NEPAD?
   - Private sector
   - Public sector
   - Civil society
   - Academia
A5. What are the challenges currently facing NEPAD?
   - Financial resources
   - Administration
   - Public Support
A6. How do you think NEPAD can overcome these challenges?
A7. In your opinion, to what extent has NEPAD achieved its set goals and objectives?
A8. What do you think NEPAD needs to achieve its set goals and objectives?
A9. African civil society including private and public sector are very skeptical about NEPAD achieving any of its set goals and objectives, what do you think NEPAD and African leaders need to do in order to change such a view?
A10. In your opinion, has African civil society been actively involved in the implementation process of NEPAD?
A11. If no how can African leaders more effectively engage citizens in the implementation process of NEPAD?

A12. African civil society and scholars have criticized African leaders use of top-down policies to address socio-economic development, what is your opinion on this?

A13. In your opinion, what are the prospects of NEPAD succeeding?

A14. Do you think that NEPAD will be more successful than past attempts to implement socio-economic development plans in Africa?

A15. Do you think NEPAD will sustain its momentum after their initiators (i.e. President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa and others) have completed their terms as presidents?
APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR STAKEHOLDERS
(NEPAD GROUP: NEPAD OFFICIALS)

Questions for (B1 – B17): (NEPAD Representatives/Officials)

B1. In your opinion, to what extent has NEPAD achieved its set goals and objectives?

B2. What are the challenges currently facing NEPAD?
   - Financial resources
   - Administration
   - Public Support

B3. How do you think NEPAD can overcome these challenges?

B4. How have the various segments of African society received NEPAD?
   - Private sector
   - Public sector
   - Civil society
   - Academia

B5. Do you think the general African populace is abreast with NEPAD and its objectives?

B6. African civil society including private and public sector have been very skeptical about NEPAD achieving any of its set goals and objectives, what do you think NEPAD and African leaders need to do in order to change such a view?

B7. What is different this time around with regards to NEPAD and previous development plans like the Lagos Plan of Action and the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Program (AAF-SAP)?

B8. What type of assistance have the international partners (G8) given to NEPAD since the adoption of the socio-economic development plan?
B9. Has the international community been forthcoming with funding NEPAD and its projects?

B10. Are all countries very committed to seeing NEPAD succeed?

B11. What roles have the regional economic communities like ECOWAS and SADC played to support NEPAD, in achieving its set goals and objectives?

B12. How does NEPAD prioritize which projects need funding and which countries need the most immediate attention?

B13. Since the inception of NEPAD in 2001, what projects has NEPAD funded and completed?

B14. What in your opinion are the perceptions of segments of African society about NEPAD?

B15. There are perceptions that NEPAD will not sustain its momentum after their initiators (i.e. President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa and others) have completed their terms as presidents. What is your opinion about this?

B16. Will China’s new engagement with Africa through trade and investment undermine the values and principles of NEPAD?

B17. There is a criticism that NEPAD is basically a top-down approach to development. What is your view?
APPENDIX 3

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STAKEHOLDERS

Please answer all questions

Date _______________________

Place _______________________

Name _______________________

Occupation _______________________

Gender

- Female
- Male

Education.

- Doctorate
- Masters
- Bachelors
- Other, Please Specify _______________________

Please select one from each question

1. NEPAD is a homegrown initiative that addresses socio-economic development.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree
- Do not know

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2. Africa can generate internally the revenues to help implement NEPAD.
   - Strongly Agree
   - Agree
   - Neither Agree nor Disagree
   - Disagree
   - Strongly Disagree
   - Do not know

3. What challenges do you think NEPAD is facing as it tries to achieve its set goals and objectives.
   - Financial Resources
   - Political Will
   - Good Governance
   - All of the above
   - Other, Please specify __________________________

4. The international partners (G8) acknowledge or see NEPAD has the solution to Africa’s socio-economic development problems.
   - Strongly Agree
   - Agree
   - Neither Agree nor Disagree
   - Disagree
   - Strongly Disagree
   - Do not know

5. The International partners (G8) have been forthcoming with funding NEPAD and its projects.
   - Strongly Agree
   - Agree
   - Neither Agree nor Disagree
   - Disagree
   - Strongly Disagree
   - Do not know

6. What type of assistance do you think Africa needs from the International community.
   - Financial Resources
   - Skilled Labor
   - Technology
   - All of the above
   - Other, Please specify __________________________
7. The high level of corruption in Africa will undermine NEPAD.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree
- Do not know

8. The African leaders always use top-down policies to address socio-economic development.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree
- Do not know

9. The African leaders need to involve African civil society, public and private sectors in the implementation process of NEPAD.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree
- Do not know

10. African civil society including private and public sector are very skeptical about NEPAD achieving any of its set goals and objectives because of previously failed socio-economic development plans like the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) do you agree with such a view.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree
- Do not know
11. NEPAD would sustain its momentum after the creators like President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa and others have completed their terms.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree
- Do not know

12. The current increase drive by China for investment and trade will undermine the values and principles of NEPAD.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree
- Do not know

13. The lack of skilled labor in Africa is a major limit to the implementation process of NEPAD.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree
- Do not know

14. The regional economic communities like ECOWAS and SADC should play a major role in supporting NEPAD, in achieving its set goals and objectives.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree
- Do not know
15. NEPAD will succeed with its vision for Africa socio-economic development.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree
- Do not know
APPENDIX 4

CONSENT FORM

THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA’S DEVELOPMENT (NEPAD): AN ANALYSIS OF THE PERCEPTIONS AND CHALLENGES

Principal Investigator: Stephen Olowo
Phone: (770) 572 3614

Principle Advisor: Dr. Art Hansen
Phone: (404) 880 6666

Meeting Date: ______________________

You are invited to participate in this Ph.D. dissertation research, which seeks to analyze the perceptions and challenges of NEPAD as it attempts to achieve its set goals and objectives.

The research will have as its main objectives examining what the perceptions of NEPAD are, from an endogenous perspective, that is, what do Africans perceive of NEPAD, and identifying the challenges confronted by NEPAD.

NEPAD is a force that Africans have to embrace and, as it is homegrown, it will be interesting to discuss the perceptions and challenges of NEPAD with someone who has the knowledge by communicating with and encouraging the participation of Africans. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because your profile is compatible with the study requirements.

This research study is looking for participants in Nigeria and South Africa to give their opinion regarding the above mentioned subject.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and to discontinue participation at any time without any consequences to you. Your signature indicates that you have read and understood the above information, that you have discussed this study with the person obtaining the consent, and that you have decided to participate based on the information provided.

Signature of participant ______________________ Date ______________________

Signature of Authorized Representative ______________________ Date ______________________
APPENDIX 5

AN INTENT STRUCTURE MAP OF NEPAD
APPENDIX 6

PARTIAL LIST OF NEPAD PROJECTS

1. NEPAD e-Schools – The implementation of the NEPAD e-Schools Initiatives is intended to lead to a steady and sustainable process in which young Africans graduate from primary and secondary schools equipped with skills which will enable them to function well in the emerging knowledge economy and information society of the 21st century.

2. TerrAfrica – Project to save the continent’s land, it is believed that land degradation cuts across issues of poverty, health, economic growth – and the environment.

3. French Financial aid for NEPAD broadband Information Communication Technology (ICT) network across Africa – The Development Agency of France has signed a grant agreement with the NEPAD e-Africa Commission through the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) to support NEPAD ICT Broadband Infrastructure Program (850 000 euro). The status of the East Africa Submarine System (EASSY) Project - the cable is being developed in the context of NEPAD, and 23 countries are involved. There are 3 components to the project: (1) the development of the cable, (2) the development of a broadband network first in East Africa then in West Africa, and (3) Network to be viewed as a public good and operate on a cost-recovery basis. Benefits of Project - High capacity network to move traffic across the region and significant reduction in communication costs. Challenge encountered: Achieving consensus on the policy framework.

4. NEPAD Agricultural Unit - Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP) – Program for the restoration of agriculture growth, food security, and rural development in Africa. Programs established in the Quarterly Report (July to September 2007) are as follows:
   - NEPAD water and irrigation program – objective is to focus on agricultural water.
   - CAADP Agriculture Market Development Program.
   - NEPAD Food Security and Nutrition Program.
   - The Africa Ten Year Strategy (ATYS) for the reduction of Vitamin and Mineral Deficiencies.
   - National Food Fortification Program.
- Global Horticulture Initiative (GlobalHort) for food security, nutrition and health.
- Home Grown School Feeding Program (HGSF).
- CAADP Research and dissemination Program.
- CAADP Fertilizer Program – to mobilize technical and financial resources and provide coordination support to facilitate the implementation of country and regional fertilizer strategies.
- NEPAD Fish Program – to improve the management of natural fish stocks, to develop aquaculture production, and to enhance fish trade in domestic, regional and global markets.
- Mobilization of resources for investment support to country CAADP Programs
APPENDIX 7

PARTIAL LIST OF THE POSITIONS OF STAKEHOLDERS INTERVIEWED AND/OR SURVEYED

1. Deputy Chief Executive – NEPAD Secretariat
2. General Manager of Communications and Marketing – NEPAD Secretariat
3. Market Access and Agriculture Coordinator – NEPAD Secretariat
4. Human Development Coordinator – NEPAD Secretariat
5. Education Advisor – NEPAD Secretariat
6. Trade and Industry Advisor – NEPAD Secretariat
7. eAfrica Commission Advisor – NEPAD Secretariat
8. Gender and Civil Society Org (CSO) Advisor – NEPAD Secretariat
10. Finance Manager – NEPAD Secretariat
11. Founder and Executive Director – Non-governmental Organization
12. Conflict Prevention, Mitigation & Response Advisor – Non-governmental Organization
13. Non-governmental Organization Consultants
14. Senior Special Assistant to the President on NEPAD and Chief Executive Director of NEPAD Nigeria
15. Director of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation – NEPAD Nigeria
16. Director of Administration and Finances – NEPAD Nigeria
17. Director of Programs and Implementation – NEPAD Nigeria
18. First Secretary (Economics) South African Embassy
19. University of Lagos Lecturers
20. University of Lagos Students
21. University of Johannesburg Students
22. Investment Finance Analyst
23. Energy (Oil and Gas) Consultants
24. Investment Bankers
25. Civil Servants
26. Special Assistant to the President on Program Monitoring
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


**Agency Documents**


**Journals**
