

A Democratic Audit of the African Union

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ABSTRACT

The inception of the African Union in 2002, emanated from the evolution of the 19th century Pan- African movement which aimed for a greater solidarity among the people of Africa. By the turn of the 20th century, the Pan-African movement became a formal organization called, Organization of African Unity (OAU). It was subsequently renamed the African Union to symbolize a new era of integration, modeled after the European Union, with similar institutional structure, norms and values.

In this light, the norms, values and principles of the African Union are supposed to be used as a yardstick to achieve a more democratic union. The question guiding this research is: how effective has the African Union (as a body) been in implementing the norms and democratic principles documented in the Constitutive Act, the founding document of the African Union?

This study aims to carry out a democratic audit of the African Union and to provide an appraisal of the Union's Norms/Principles as opposed to the Union's implementation in these areas. The research will adopt the measures developed for evaluating the democratic performance of the European Union and apply them to the African Union to provide a democratic audit of the organization. The research tests measure the awareness level of African Union member states to highlight lack of awareness as a major cause of non-attainment of the goals of the organization.

Keywords: African Union, democratic audit, democratic deficit.

ÖZ

2002 yılında oluşan Afrika Birliđi, 19. yüzyılda Afrika halkı arasında daha büyük bir dayanışmayı amaçlayan Pan-Afrika hareketinin evriminden doğmuştur. 20. yüzyılın başlarında, Pan-Afrikan hareketi, Afrika Birliđi Örgütü adlı resmi bir örgüt haline gelmiştir. Daha sonra Afrika Birliđi olarak isimlendirilen birlik, benzer kurumsal yapı, normlar ve değerler ile Avrupa Birliđi'nden sonra modellenen yeni bir bütünleşme çağını sembolize etmek için yaratılmıştır.

Bu açıdan, Afrika Birliđi'nin normları, değerleri ve ilkeleri, daha demokratik bir birliđin sağlanması için bir kıstas olarak kullanılmalıdır. Bu araştırmaya rehberlik eden soru şu şekildedir: Afrika Birliđi, Afrika Birliđi'nin kurucu dokümanı olan temel yasasında belgelenen normları ve demokratik ilkeyi uygulamada ne kadar etkilidir?

Bu çalışma, Afrika Birliđi'nin demokratik incelemesini yapmayı ve Birliđin normları ve ilkeleri haricindeki uygulamaları değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Araştırma, Avrupa Birliđi'nin demokratik performansını değerlendirmek için geliştirilen önlemleri esas alacak ve örgütün demokratik denetimini sağlamak için bunları Afrika Birliđine uygulayacaktır. Örgütün amaçlarına ulaşılmamasının önemli bir nedeni olarak farkındalık eksikliđini vurgulamak için u araştırma, Afrika Birliđi üye devletlerinin farkındalık düzeyini ölçmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afrika Birliđi, demokratik denetim, demokratik açığı.

DEDICATION

To Ambassador Martins Ihoeghian Uhomoibhi, Sr. Clara Imiere (SSH),
my family (Mom, dad, Paul, Martha, Omozele, Ebhotemhen, Omoele,
Francisca, Jennifer).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Act	Constitutive Act
AfCHPR	African Court for Human and People's Rights
AU	African Union
EU	European Union
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PAP	Pan-African Parliament
UN	United Nation

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Many scholars have tried to explain the African Union (AU), its predecessor body the OAU, its institutions, its norms and its effectiveness. However, a full assessment has not really been carried out regarding the organization in terms of its democratic principles. The structure, organs and norms of the African Union is modeled after the European Union. Therefore, the existing literature on democracy and the democratic deficit of the European Union provides a viable starting point for any assessment of the African Union.

There is a dearth of literature and scholarly focus on the issues of democratic audit on a par with the work of authors like David Beetham on defining and measuring democracy. Beetham's work generally examines ways in which democracy can be defined and measured. It includes questions of how democracy can be defined in relation to issues of cultural diversity (Beetham, 1994). Dirk Berg-Schlosser in an article titled, 'Determinants of democratic success and failures in Africa', firstly identified different political systems on the ground of using such basic indicators as democratic authoritarian and praetorian political systems. Additionally, he further carried out a significant test of the indices of democracy to assess the level of democracy among some African state members of the African Union (Schlosser,2008).

Bruce Baker writing on ‘the quality of African democracy’ asks: ‘Why and how it should be measured’. The article measures African democratic levels that is how democratic Africa actually is and then argues that the presence of established institutions does not determine the quality of democratic appraisal but rather, the performance or effectiveness those institutions (Baker 1999). Christopher Lord provides a comprehensive democratic appraisal of EU (Lord 2004). This will serve as a guideline to AU democratic audit.

The importance of this study resides in providing an appraisal of the Union’s Norms/Principles and its effort to implement these norms. This study aims to carry out a democratic audit of the African Union and provide an appraisal of the Union’s Norms/Principles as opposed to the Union’s implementation in these areas. The research will adopt the measures developed for evaluating the democratic performance of the European Union and apply them to the African Union to provide a democratic audit of the organization.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The inception of the African Union in 2002, emanated from the evolution of the Pan-African movement which aimed for a greater solidarity among the people of Africa. The origins of the movement can be tracked back to the late 18th century, 1787 precisely (Geiss, 1969). Although, Peter Kuryla argues that, the movement started to spread first in the United States in 19th century (Kuryla, 2016). During that period, it’s seemed that the nurtured idea of integration and solidarity was in a decrease, so, Pan African Congress was introduced, unplanned to rescue the birthed idea of the movement from the ashes of moribund (Contee, 1972).

There is a general misperception that the steps taken to achieve integration in Africa started with the Organization of African Unity, whereas this is not true. The push for integration and solidarity of the people of Africa can be traced back to the movement by indigenous, African intellectual like Ottobah Cugoano and Gustavus Vassa, whose ideas laid the foundations for a Pan Africanism movement in the contemporary world. Eze argued in his article that the term ‘Pan-Africanism’ was initially formulated in 1990 by Sylvester Williams (Eze, 2013).

By the 20th century, the Pan-African movement became a more formalized organization called, Organization of African Unity (OAU). This endorsed an underlying principle of Pan-Africanism, freeing the Africans from the influence of colonialism. In coming into being, the main aim of OAU was to rid all countries in Africa the influence of colonialism, and end the associated racial discrimination. Another aim was to give Africans the rights to have control over their political, social and economic affairs as well as to achieve the freedom to develop Africa through integration. Murithi points out that, the Organization of African Unity

Was not as effective in monitoring and policing the affairs of its member states when it came to the issues of violent conflict, political corruption, economic mismanagement, poor governance, infringement of basic human rights, lack of gender equality, and eradication of poverty (Murithi 2007: p2).

The renamed African Union was created to symbolize a new era of integration, modeled after the European Union, with similar institutional structure, norms and values.

This study aims to carry out a democratic audit of the African Union and provide an appraisal of the Union’s Norms/Principles as opposed to the Union’s implementation

in these areas. This study is very significant since the AU has increased its influence over the years in different aspect like democracy, humanitarian intervention, curbing corruption syndrome (Hanson, 2009). Therefore, there is the need to hold up to the principles of the formation.

The research will adopt the measures developed for evaluating the democratic performance of the European Union and apply them to the African Union to provide a democratic audit of the organization.

1.2 Research Question

The research question guiding this thesis is: How effective has the African Union (as a body) been in implementing the norms/ principle? The case study in this thesis will be focused on good governance, participation, respect for human rights/ freedom of movement, respect for rule of law, and accountability.

1.3 Purpose and Significance of Study

The purpose of this study is to access the democratic nature of the Union's norm/principles as opposed to the Union's implementation in these areas and even to test how aware citizens of Africa are of the AU principles.

Initially when the idea of African solidarity was conceived, the aim, missions and goals were clearly stated, primarily to enhance regional integration and to end colonialism. The idea and ideals were formalized with the establishment of OAU but somehow flawed in terms of the organization's approach to its principles and norms. The subsequent establishment of the AU (modeled after the EU), led many people to hope that the organization would better deliver on the principles/norms of the Union, but that seems not to be the case.

This study seeks to establish the extent to which the AU has gone in addressing human right issues of among member countries, how well the Africans understand the principles/norms of the Union and the citizens participation in the Union and how and the degree to which the citizens can and do participate in the union.

Another significant aspect of the study rests on the coherent appraisal of the Union's principles/norms, influenced by the work of Christopher Lord's book titled: 'A Democratic Audit of European Union' and this study seeks to give a clearer understanding of the AU and its norms and principles be helpful in understanding AU and its norms/principles to prospective scholars of the African Union and students of International Relations.

1.4 Hypothesis

This study tested the following hypothesis:

The African Union has not been successful in implementing the norms/ democratic principles documented in the Constitutive Act since Africans are not fully aware of how the Union functions.

In order to gauge the hypothesis of this research; the effectiveness of the AU in implementing the norms/ democratic principles will be evaluated in light of existing international studies. Most importantly the levels of awareness among the AU member state citizens will be assessed through primary data collection in the form of a survey.

1.5 Literature Review

An appraisal of the African Union starting from the Pan-Africanist movement has been carried out by Tim Murithi (Murithi, 2007). His study focused on the degree to

which the African Union incorporated and institutionalized Pan-Africa concepts and aspiration. He asserted that African lives across the continent were to be improved; the AU should transform their norms, principles and values into implementable practical policies. Murithi examined the evolution of the AU from the time the Pan-African movement first emerged through the creation of the OAU and to African Union.

Murithi aside, scholars like Kithure Kindiki also appraised the Union but with special emphasis on the norms and institutions formulated to deal with human rights issues, now one of the greatest challenges in the continent (Kindiki, 2003). The article further examined whether it was possible for the norms and the institution itself to collectively tackle violations of human rights, war crimes etc. It did note that, the norms and institutions developed under the auspices of the AU deal more effectively with human rights issues than was the case OAU (ibid).

Wafula Okumu argued that the idea behind the creation of the AU was to provide Africa with a platform and voice to survive and benefit from globalization (Okumu, 2009). The ideas that were coming to the fore included good governance, respecting human right, respecting the Rule of Law, promoting peace, security and stability in the continent. According to him, the AU has not been successful in delivering its agenda, due to institutional incapability, lack of resources, and absence of pan-Africanist ideology and leadership (Okumu, 2009). Nevertheless, Okumu is one of the very few authors to suggest that the African Union can be measured by how well its sets up its institutions, manages itself and establishes continental norms of good governance, transparency and accountability (Okumu, 2009). Despite this, he does not provide measurable variable or indicators and remain as constructs.

The literatures on European Union's democratic credentials provide an alternative to the lack of measures. Since the AU is built on the model of the EU, this study will examine the existing measures in the EU and attempt to apply them in its assessment of the African Union. In this regards, Bruce Baker, as one of the major scholars on this topic noted that the value of the democratic audit do not measure the presence of institutions in place, but the performance of those institutions (Baker, 1999).

Since this thesis was influenced by Christopher Lord (*A Democratic Audit of the European Union*), it takes its lead from Lord's method of assessment and will apply a similar yardstick to the AU. In Table 2.1 in Lord's book, the democratic values listed were; citizenship, authorization, representation, accountability and constitutionalism. Each of these democratic values came with specific questions, which made for a coherent appraisal of the institution in terms of the particular policy instrument that was employed (Lord, 2004).

Another book that elaborates on democratic auditing is Beetham's, which although not based solely on European countries, focuses on a number of countries of the world (Beetham, 2002). This was not based on the European Union only, but was centered on few countries of the world. The criteria's for democratic assessment were listed, coupled with their requirements and their institutional means of realization. Cited democratic values included citizenship, rule of law and rights, representative and government that is accountable, civil society and regular participation. Each of these criteria contains a number of assessment questions (ibid). Therefore, the study will provide an appraisal of the Union's norms/principles.

1.6 Methodology

This study relies on a qualitative data collection method to collect primary data (such as survey and Afrobarometer) on the awareness level of AU member state citizens, how much they understand and how knowledgeable they are about the Union's norms, policy and potential for a more democratic union. Google form is used to carry out the survey. Secondary sources such as books, publication, articles and other scholarly works are used for the purposes of triangulation. Data collected from both primary and secondary sources are assessed against the AU's norm stated in Article 4 of the constitutive act.

In light of the existing literature, this study seeks to close a gap by actually measuring an aspect of the success of the AU. Therefore, an empirical study is designed drawing on 'citizenship' and 'accountability' the principles proposed by Lord.

1.7 Scope and Limitation

This study aims to carry out a democratic audit of the African Union and provide an appraisal of the Union's norms/principles as opposed to the Union's implementation in these areas. This study also seeks to establish how far those norms have been implemented. The Norms/Principles will be used as a case study for the instrument of appraisal. Thus, this will analyze each of the Norms/Principles of the Union, simulating the model already used by Christopher Lord and Beetham. This will mean that the research is qualitative in nature and will not seek to generalize or claim that the findings are universally acceptable.

Under limitation, the democratic tools I am using could be problematic because of the debate about the nature of the Western style of democracy and whether Western democracy is or is not universally applicable. It can be argued that it is universal because International Organization- such as United Nations have incorporated it and that member states have therefore signed sign or acquiesce to the western model. In today's fast changing world, that might best be taken with a grain of salt.

1.8 Thesis Organization

Chapter one introduces the thesis topic and the research design and the pattern the research will follow. Chapter Two discusses the democratic assessment of International Organization using AU as a case study, coupled with the methodology used by different authors in addressing the EU democratic assessment. This focuses specifically on Lord's and Beetham's yardstick for assessment. Here it should be noted that some democratic values used as indicators were also listed along with questions. Chapter Three delves into understanding the principles and values of the African Union, with particular reference to the democratic values listed in chapter 2- i.e.: good governance, respect for human rights, respect for the rule of law and participation, in relation with the formed institutions to realize the objectives of the various democratic values. For chapter four, each of the questions applicable under the democratic indicators are used as survey questions while linked to other questions designed to determine how democratic the AU is seen from the perspective of Africans. Chapter five will analyze the results of the survey, summarizes all that has been written from different chapter and draw a conclusion.

Chapter 2

DEMOCRATIC ASSESSMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

2.1 Introduction

The African Union (AU) is a political system that comprises of different African countries modeled after the European Union (EU). It has been said to have a democratic deficit (Fomunyoh, 2005) ; this has brought about the need to audit the democratic nature of the Union. The appraisal will employ the method that was used to assess the EU by Christopher Lord (Lord, 2004). The appraisal of the AU will entail some of the democratic values of the AU Constitutive Act (article 4) i.e.-; good governance, respect for human rights, respect for the rule of law and participation. All of these with the democratic indicators along with some institutions for the realization of the democratic values will be discussed in detail in the next chapters. Importantly, the appraisal is norm-driven.

This chapter begins with the understanding of core principles of democracy of international organizations, what democratic assessment means, the importance of assessing the democracy of the AU, the democratic assessment of the EU as well as the democratic assessment of the AU.

2.2 Understanding the Core Principles of Democracy in an International Organization

There are key indicators used in the Democratic Assessment of international organizations. The indicators revealed how democracy can be audited, most especially for international organizations (The International Democracy macro indicators. Accessed 26 Mar) . The first thing noted was the process of appointment, stating if the officials are being appointed or elected. If they are being elected, is the election free and fair? The second aspect that was written emphasizes about the democracy at the state level, questioning how democratic the member states of the organizations are. The other thing to be considered is if civil society exists (community of citizens linked by common interests and collective activity), and how much citizens participates in the decision making, and the ability to hold their representatives accountable. Are these citizens being consulted either through referendum or public opinion? (ibid). How well are human rights respected? These are some of the many questions and indicators used to audit international organizations.

There have been debates on whether democratic indicators are universal or relative (Sen, 1999). Democratic indicators are Universal because, democratic principles is applicable in all regions that are signatory to any International Organization, UN. Such democratic principles are respect for human rights, free and fair elections, a free press, the right to form political parties – and values – transparency, accountability, participation, balance of power (check UN democracy). There is no single style of democracy or unique institutions for all countries around the globe. The different types of democracy are subjected to the socio-economic conditions,

political culture and cultural diversity; all produce similarly varied set of effect (Karl, 1991). Andrew Roberts argued in his article (the quality of democracy), that the most important and core concern of democratic quality, lies in the connection and relationship between the citizens and the representatives (who were elected by the citizens to represent them) (Roberts, 2005 p358). This connection can be achieved through free and fair election towards one direction. Furthermore, the core processes such as mandates, responsiveness and accountability plays huge role in achieving a quality democracy (ibid). The quality of democracy requires a wide relationship between public opinions and the decision making on different matters that intends to benefit the citizens (Jacobs, 1994).

In assessing democracy, David Beetham, Stuart Weir and others generated assessment methods to audit democracy in the UK. They took the UK model and made it a comprehensive yardstick for auditing democracy in a universal level and such was carried out on eight countries, namely; Bangladesh, El Salvador, Italy, Kenya, Malawi, New Zealand, Peru and South Korea (Beetham, 2002). They formed the core democratic indicators and used it to outline a brief review of the different conditions of each country. This method compliments the assessment method (ibid).

2.3 What is Democratic Assessment?

The idea of assessing how democratic a country, organization can be through the development of the indices of assessment within political science, and it has its origin from the book written by Robert Dahl 'Polyarchy' in 1971 (Beetham, 1994).

The framework of assessing democracy could be universal, but the degree of democracy differs, which implies that, the indicators enumerated in the hand books

such as, appointment (the leaders are either being appointed or elected), participation, respects for human right, check and balances (limitation of power) and so on, are applicable to all forms of democracy (check International democracy micro indicator, as well check Beetham, 2002). Also, Beetham et al admonishes that democracy ought to be defined in terms of its core principles and values, and these principles and values are what makes an institutional arrangement democratic. In light of that, they identified the two core principles which are “popular control over public decision-making and decision-makers; and equality between citizens in the exercise of that control” (Beetham, 2002). They further noted that these principles are precisely required in the setting of representative governments which have been assigned or elected by the people to represent them and make decisions on their behalf. In that regards, they saw the need to establish or indicate what they referred to as ‘mediating values’ and these values will enable the aforementioned principles to be realized in practical terms. The mediating values are: “participation, authorization, representativeness, accountability, transparency, responsiveness and solidarity” (page 12: Table 1.1). Lastly, the assessment entails the processes that allows the distinct mediating values to be realized in practice by specifying the test for democratic governance, and there were about 85 detail tests which are listed as follows: nationhood and citizenship, rule of law, civil and political rights, economic and social rights, free and fair elections, political participation, government responsiveness, civilian control of the military and police, minimizing corruption etc. (See Beetham 2002 for the comprehensive test list).

How democratic an organization is depends on these values and these values are interrelated, meaning they are directly and indirectly connected to each other. The

democratic nature of the different institutions that enables the leaders to represent their people can be obtained through the mediating values (ibid).

Beetham et al analyzed the manner in which democracy can be audited using eight countries as case study (Bangladesh, El Salvador, Italy, Kenya, Malawi, New Zealand, Peru and South Korea) by looking at the various mediating values, then they drafted out the requirements that would make the assessment effective. Consequently, they listed out the distinctive institutions that will facilitate the requirements from the leaders representing the interests of their people. This gives room to what to assess and the technique with which the assessment will be made. Furthermore, they noted that it is the relationship between the mediating values and the typical institutions that made the assessment more credible and valid.

In light of the indicators of democracy, Christopher Lord noted that Robert Dahl, from the book he published in 1971, was the first to define and mention the indices for democracy. Page 9 of his book (A Democratic Audit of the EU), and those logical and consistent gauge of democracy are; free and fair elections, universal suffrage, electing the leader (key office holders), popular control (of the agenda of the government), freedom of speech, of association and lastly, the opportunity or means to have access to information (you can as well check these out: Bollen 1980, Coppedge and Reinicke, 1990).

In respect to democracy, Lipset in his article published in 1959, pointed out that what strengthens democratic institutions are attitudes. In addition, what provides the general agreement to the core values of democracy is the state of the political systems and the economic conditions (Lipset, 1959). Meanwhile, these claims by

Lipset; the economic nature and social arrangement essentiality for democracy have been questioned by some authors through the indicators they developed (Moore 1995, Hadenius 1992, and Diamond 1992).

This thesis seeks to apply a specific pattern of assessment to the African Union known as the 'democratic assessment'. The assessment intends to analyze the core democratic values of the AU. It is very crucial to know that the soundness of democratic auditing is based on how the indicators of democratic performance follow different steps, define democracy and then emphasize on each of the democratic values, for a better appraisal.

What is democracy? Karl Schmitter sees democracy to be 'dependent on the presence of rulers, persons who occupy specialized authority roles and can give legitimate commands to others (Schmitter, 1991, p. 5). He further added that, the differences between a democratic rule and non-democratic rule are guiding principles and norms that demonstrate how leaders should come to power and the institutions that hold them accountable for their actions (ibid).

Christopher Lord noted that, the core meaning of democracy, where the appraisal begins from is the 'public control and political equality' (Lord, 2004, p.10). This shows that lack public control is lack of democracy. The term public control; means that the general public has a contribution in the policy and agenda of the Union, since appointed representative supports policy on behalf of the citizens. Political equality is also a determinant for the presence of democracy. In line with that argument, David Beetham said, the non-existence of public control and political equality shows that democracy is missing (Beetham, 1994). He added that the two principles which

are the public opinion and political equality form the basis for democratic appraisal. Note that, democracy does not permit the citizens to govern and rule themselves, but rather it allows for control over their representatives who make and take decisions on their behalf. Also public opinion prevents the representatives from acting and making decisions without the consent of the general public. Political equality on the other hand, signifies equality among the citizens.

In a nutshell, democratic assessment stimulates a cogent appraisal via forming and making of benchmark/guidelines for the explicit performance of democracy and by formulating these guidelines and using them as a checklist that will comprehensively show the link between the test, the democratic principles underlying each, and the manner in which the different institutions has been performing. Besides, the best people to assess the democratic nature of a country or an institution are the citizens and anyone who lives in such a country and has knowledge of the system.

2.4 Importance of a Democratic Assessment

The importance of conducting democratic assessment of any organization (either regional or international) is to check the success rate and failure of the organization. Another important reason for assessing the democratic level of any organization is, it helps in differentiating among different aspects of an organization from a democratic perspective (Beetham, 1999). Democratic audit focuses in asking questions relating to the democratic nature of a system in practice.

Beetham acknowledged the importance of democratic assessment; to enlighten the general public what democracy entails to create awareness and expectation from the representatives. Secondly, to provide coherent confirmation of issues of their concern

(the public), that is the manner in which they are being governed by their leaders (either elected or appointed), and to point out the strengths and weakness of the government. Thirdly, to create public debates of reform programs or the ways the system can be reformed. Fourthly, democratic appraisal will provide a platform instrumental in checking the effectiveness of the reforms in practice (Beetham, 2002). The assessment also helps in creating awareness to the general public of the examples of good practices (ibid).

Beetham (2002) argued that since the gradual expansion of democracy, there have been various attempts in measuring the progress. In regards to the importance of assessing democracy, Christopher Lord noted (using EU as a case study) that auditing the democracy of the EU is very crucial in obtaining an authentic method with which to assess the democracy of the EU (Lord, 2004). Another motive to understand democracy and European Union according to him was the choice of the institutional design that the Union is presently facing including those that have been affected by the rules of the institutions.

There are some difficulties in assessing democracy enumerated by Lord. Firstly to check if the assessment comprises of all parts of the Union or some part and if the Union's institutions as well as procedures are connected. Secondly, is to identify if there is integration between EU democratic deficiencies (on one hand) and probe of the Union qualities of democracy etc. He added that "any method of assessment should ideally be able to distinguish 'pure cost' or 'pure deficits' to the extent that they are incurred in the course of delivering other qualities of government". Holmberg et al in their articles, carried out an empirical analysis to bridge the gap that exists among the strong supporters of democratic principles and with those who

are dissatisfied with how democracy works, this is seen as a 'democratic deficit' (check this out also (Mayne, 2012). They argued that what causes democratic dissatisfaction are found on the input-side (in terms of representatives- who have been chosen by the citizens) and on the other perspectives. They argued that the legitimacy and support for political systems are found on the output side (governance with impartiality and without corruption plays the crucial role in political system). The result of the empirical studies shows that, both the inputs and outputs on the democratic deficit are shaped by the extent of the institutional consolidation (Holmberg, 2014).

2.5 The Democratic Assessment of the EU explained

Christopher Lord's book on auditing the democracy in EU Page 7 and 8, listed out four methods of assessing the democracy in the EU. Firstly, there should be a means that would concurrently audit the various institutions of the European Union as well as the general institutional order. Secondly, there is a need to differentiate the performance of the European Union against the distinct attributes of democracy (namely: accountability, representation, participation and so on). Thirdly, there is a need to have to some extent a method that can be used to distinguish the democratic deficits which in a limited way is being compensated through good governance. Fourthly, there is a need to relate empirical tests to the views or the reasons why the EU should be democratic (Lord, 2004).

For a coherent democratic audit of the European Union, Lord suggests that there should be a link between democratic values and the institutions set to achieve those values. In light of that, there have been lots of debates concerning the best model of democracy that can fully be applied to the European Union (for the different models

of democracies, see page 23-27). After much debates and views by different authors, Lord concluded that the ‘Modified Consociationalism’ and ‘Concurrent Consent’ will be the best to be applied to the EU. And modified consociationalism entails the following: firstly, the representatives of different nation’s democracies should be controlled by the general public or the national parliaments in their decision-making in the supranational level, the EU. Secondly, each country’s democratic practices should be respected by the Union’s institutions. Thirdly, the various representatives should be allowed to maintain their veto rights over any issues that seem crucial to their national interest. And lastly, there should be same amount of representatives from national democracies to the supranational level, office-holders. He added that until all of the above features are in place, the EU will not be considered as democratic. Therefore, Lord uses the indicators derived from these two forms of democracy ‘modified consociationalism’ and the ‘concurrent consent’ as a yardstick for democratic tests, which corresponds with the democratic values such as Citizenships, Authorizations, Representation, Accountability and Constitutionalism. Each of the values he used in measuring democracy has proposed questions, which were further analyzed and justified as the various democratic values were explicitly explained (for further information’s on the democratic values and the various questions asked, see Table 2.1 page 28-29). He further added that in order to know what to assess, firstly, the unit of appraisal must be defined in terms of the EU (ibid). The assessment also delves into the following: the pillar (the three pillars), institutions (different Union’s institutions), the main policy instrument (and their distinct approach).

2.6 The Democratic Assessment of the AU explained

The democratic audit of the African Union will adopt the measure and approach developed and used for evaluating the democratic performance of the European Union. This is because the structure, organs and norms of African Union is similar with the European Union.

Before a union like that of the African Union's democracy is being audited, it will be very important to know whether AU is democratic in principles and values. Because one cannot audit or evaluate democracy where firstly, never existed, or where it does exist but only in theoretical aspect. Just like Philippe Schmitter has rightly asked, 'why bother to make the EU democratic?' when the demand of the general public is not clear (Schmitter, 2000). Equating Philippe Schmitter argument into AU, it is a fundamental thing to assume any Union needs to be democratic, and in this case, AU needs to be democratic according to its stated objectives. This can be seen in the AU Constitutive Act article 3 and 4, where the objectives and democratic principles are stated. The AU confirmed to promote/ respect democratic principles, institutions, participation, good governance, protect/respect human rights, rule of law and so on (AU constitutive act). Furthermore, it is very essential for the AU to keep in mind the purpose and to maintain the principle which inspired the creation of the Union, only then will the AU attain some level of democracy as the AU cannot be democratic if the member states are not democratic. What this statement means is that, when the foundation is not firmly laid, it will affect the building. Since the African Union is a collection of member countries from across the African continent. AU in its utmost capacity should preach democracy and possibly persuade the member states to dance to the beats of democracy and this can be achieved through a reform of the African

Union, where intervention will be made possible in the member states especially in cases of actions that stand against the democratic principles and values of the AU as it has rightly specified in the Constitutive Act, Article 4.

In spite of the optimistic believe and much enthusiasm as another new phase of institution was being created that will cater for the needs of Africans, yet a number of African countries are still living in the shackles of poor governance and bad regimes, and lots of Africans are unaware of the existence of the AU. No wonder Wafula Okumu said, since the AU originates from Pan African movement, the people should have known and embraced the AU by now. It should be close to the people and respond to the people's needs, most especially in aspect of democratic values and principles (Okumu, 2009 p 93-94).

Like it has earlier been discussed, this democratic assessment will adopt the same measures of democratic assessment of the EU. Therefore the democratic principles and its indicators will be operationalized. The democratic principles will be derived from article 4 of the AU Constitutive Act: Good governance, respect for human rights, respect for the rule of law, and participation (see the AU Constitutive Act, article 4).

Beetham (2002) argued that the best person to assess the democratic nature of a country/ Union is the citizen. Therefore, opinion polls and survey will be conducted among Africans with the following appraisal questions, so as to test the success rate of the AU in pursuant of democratic values and also to test the awareness of the citizens regarding the functionality of the Union.

Table 2.1: Democratic values and its indicators

DEMOCRATIC VALUES	INDICATORS
Good governance	<p>To what extent has the AU promoted Good governance?</p> <p>Has the AU been successful in promoting good governance since the inception in 2002?</p> <p>To what extent has the AU fought corruption that has dwindled most of its member states?</p>
Respect for human rights	<p>To what extent has the Union promoted the human rights?</p> <p>Has the Union condemned the violation of the human rights among the member states?</p> <p>What punishment awaits those that committed crimes against humanity?</p>
Respect for the rule of law	<p>How has the AU promoted the rule of law as well as constitutionalism?</p>
Participation	<p>To what extent does the AU involve the Africans in the Union activities?</p> <p>How close are the people to the Union?</p>

The above democratic values will be assessed alongside the indices and institutions in achieving them.

2.7 Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, the democratic assessment of the international organization was discussed, the democratic assessment of the EU, its democratic values, indices for evaluation were mentioned. Then employing the method used in the democratic assessment of the EU to the democratic assessment of the AU. The meaning of democratic assessment and the importance, as well as the democratic values and indicators to appraise the AU were also emphasized on. This appraisal will enable us rate how democratic the AU is in terms of the norms, principles and values.

Chapter 3

PRINCIPLES AND VALUES OF THE AFRICAN UNION

3.1 Introduction

The African Union started in 2002 through the Durban summit. The processes that paved way for the creation of the AU started after a decision was made during the extraordinary meeting held in Sirte in 1999 to formally put a replacement of the OAU to AU. The AU vision is ‘an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in global arena’ and some of the objectives of the Union, is “to promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance, which were all included in the Constitutive Act that was adopted in Lome summit in 2002. Article 3 and 4 (part of the article) will be discussed in detail as the chapter progresses (check the Handbook of African Union). Such principles and values are: Good governance, Respect for human rights, Respect for the rule of law, Participation and Accountability.

This chapter will be focusing on the extent the AU has gone in realizing its objectives as it has been outlined in the Constitutive Act of the Union and the Pan-African Parliament Article (3, number d (4)) which of course has been listed out (some not all) in Chapter Two as democratic values, and also review the effectiveness of the various institutions designated for each democratic values.

3.2 Good Governance

Good governance has been said to be the most crucial factor and perhaps the only factor that can eradicate poverty, as well as promote development (Annan, 2004-2006). Good governance as an important element can also be found in the third aspiration of the AU Agenda for 2063; and the aspiration is that; “An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law”. This aspiration further emphasized that Africa will hope to be a continent that will have a universal culture of democratic values, good governance, respect for human rights, rule of law and so on. Good governance can be seen as a system of administration which is democratic, efficient and development based (Jeffries, 1993). The concept ‘governance’ can be understood in two different ways; political and economic. The political aspects have to do with the way nations are being governed, which includes the functionality and involvement of the citizens, institutions, businesses. It also deals with the exercise of power and the transparency of the political system. The second aspect which is the economy, deal directly with the societal resources and how they are being managed (Adesida, 2001).

Tim Murithi in his argument concerning the promotion of good governance, he said that in order for the AU to guide the member states behavior, the AU has to initiate norms, set up on a firm or permanent basis that would check the behavior of Africans (Murithi, 2012).

One of the AU’s institutions; the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) encourages good governance in member states (The question is, what effort has the institution put to make sure the member states adopts good governance not just in theory, but in

practical aspect?). PAP was established in 1991 as one of the nine organs from Abuja Treaty (Kuryla, 2016).

A large number of the African states are victim of poor governance where the rights of people to participate and make good choice of leaders seem abstract (Nyerere, 1998). In spite of the regular elections, yet the people have fewer choices of leaders to vote. This means that regular elections are not enough to consider a country as democratic. Nevertheless there is a gradual change concerning democratization of African countries (Alence, 2009). Nowadays, a good number of the African governments strive for legitimacy, via universal suffrage. Herbst and Chabal in their respective article argued that legitimacy is not based on democratic processes but rather, by patron-client relations (Herbst, 1990 and Chabal, 2002). In addition, corruption has been prevalent in the continent (Mbaku, 2000).

Therefore, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) launched APRM (African Peer Review Mechanism) to monitor and assesses the norms and principles of the member states governance as well as human rights (see the document of APRM). All the member states of the Union voluntarily accepted the mechanism as a self-monitoring system. This mechanism attempts to elevate the governance and economic management standards in the continent. The mechanism as well aims to improve the lives of African citizens by providing an environment that to foster development and investment. NEPAD is not a separate initiative; it is under AU (Mbeki, 2003). This brings this thesis to focus on the democratic indicators and questions generated in figure 1, Chapter Two. To what extent has the AU promoted good governance? Has the AU being successful in promoting good governance since

the inception in 2002? To what extent has the AU fought corruption that has dwindled most of its member state?

In focusing on the first indicator, ‘to what extent has the AU promoted good governance?’ John K. Akopari argued that there has been difficulty to achieve good governance in Africa. According to him is the reason why the AU was established in order to fulfill that the OAU failed at. In addition, the NEPAD was established for developmental projects in Africa which incorporated an inventive peer review process that enables the member states to be assessed regarding the progress of good governance (Akopari, 2003). In contribution to good governance, the World Bank sees the absence of development in Sub-Saharan as due to the dearth of good governance. The World Bank observation encouraged the IFIs (International Financial Institutions) and Africans to provide solutions to Africa's governance crisis; the universal Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), meanwhile the flop-governance and violation of human rights became unabated (Jeffries, 1993). Subsequently, one of the noted successes the AU has actualized since its inception in 2002, was the case of the coup d’état in Mauritania. The incident led to the suspense of the activities of Mauritania within the Union. This action could serve as a lesson and warning to other African country to avoid the unconstitutional change of government (Murithi, 2007).

3.3 Respect for Human Rights

One of the objectives of the AU is to “promote and protect human and peoples’ rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights and other relevant human rights instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Right that was adopted by the UNGA (check the AU Constitutive Act, article 3 (h),

article 4 (m)). This is found also in article 3(c) (of the objectives of the Pan-African Parliament). One of the organs of the AU, AFCHPR is responsible for guaranteeing the protection of the rights of human and people in Africa (in other word, the Court). The Court obligates all the AU member state to commits to the rights, principles of human and peoples and the freedom that is contained in the declaration, conventions and other instrument adopted by the African Union and United Nations and their duty to promote and protect human and peoples' rights and all freedoms and taking into account the importance that is traditionally attached to these rights and freedom in Africa (handle of human right strategy in Africa). The question is, has the court committed in ensuring the various human right adopted by the AU has been respected?

Another important aspect that can be considered under this section is the freedom of movement. This right was established by the 'Abuja Treaty' and came into force in 1994. The treaty enables the member states, whether individual, bilateral or regional groups to take the necessary measure to make sure there is free movement of people, and residency within the various states in Africa (African Union migration and regional integration Framework). This includes visa-free to any African country for all Africans. For this new development to be actualized, the AU has to have a general traveling document, such as 'African Passport' that will be used by all African countries. This show of African identity could be a partial solution to a deeper integration of Africa and the realization of Pan-African ideology (Hammed, 2014). On this note, during the 27th AU summit held in Rwanda, the AU e-passport was launched and the category of people to receive the e-passport first were the following; heads of states and government, minister and AU permanent representatives of the member states (AU 27th summit, 2016). The subject of

freedom of movement for all Africans within the continent has been one of the most recent topics to be deliberated upon in the continent.

The Court also complements and reinforces the functions of the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR) (AU Handbook 2018, page 118). The reason for the creation of the court is to arbitrate violations of human rights that have affected the people of Africa. The court is established in Arusha, Tanzania. The Commission under the charter has three main tasks; Promotion of human and peoples' rights (article 45(1)), Protection of human and peoples' rights (article 45(2)) and Interpretation of the Charter (article 45(3)) (ibid).

It was noted in the handbook of the human right strategy for Africa, (page 7) that 'the AU member states have displayed some level of commitment that will secure the promotion and protection of human rights in Africa as a whole, both in continental and regional levels since 1981, when the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights was adopted. The handbook further expressed that the evidence of the commitment was obvious in the content of the instruments that is adopted and the efforts that is directed to create and enhance the institutions that aim to implement them. It added that the continent has faced some challenges that prevent the organs of the AU, the institutions and the member states to quickly respond to situations of serious human right violations in Africa. Such challenges are:

- Delay in ratification process,
- Implementing and domestication of the instruments, as well as the decisions of the human rights bodies,
- Lack of coordination and consistency among the organs of the AU, the institutions and the RECs (for policy initiation).
- Also, the resources necessary for the implementation and capacity do not match.

In order to ensure the effective promotion and protection of human rights in Africa, the following challenges must be addressed by the framework of African human right strategy that is comprise of the collective action of the AU and RECs as well as member states:

- Lack of coordination and collaboration among AU and RECs organs and institutions;
- Limited capacity of human rights institutions;
- Insufficient implementation and enforcement of human rights norms and decisions; and
- lack of awareness and access to the African human rights mechanisms. (Handbook of human right strategy in Africa, page 4).

3.4 Respect for the Rule of Law

Article 4 (m) of the Constitutive Act identified respect for the rule of law. And one of the functions of the court is to promote the norm of the rule of law and protect human rights in Africa (Murithi 2007, page 7).

Thomas Carothers defined the rule of law ‘as a system in which the laws are public knowledge, are clear in meaning and apply equally to everyone (Carothers 1998 page 96). Respect for the rule of law means the degree in which the agents have confidence and abide by the society’s rule (Trebilcock, 2009). This phenomenon includes both the citizens and their leaders. In addition, the rule of law as a concept would mean when the state and government can exercise their power legitimately according to the laid down rules and procedures (Shivute, 2009). This means all the organs, institutions of AU must be guided by the constitutive act that formed them

and its legitimacy must have their roots in the law. Which means the exercise of the power of both the organs and the AU leaders must trace to the already laid down laws and procedures. The rule of law makes the public officials accountable for every action taken that the law forbids and as well brings limitations to the exercise power of the organs, institutions and the leaders (Ibid).

Carothers argued that, respect to the rule of law proved to be the only way out of the trouble of the world. This means the respect for the rule of law is very important for the progress and deeper integration of the AU. For the rule of law to take preeminent in the Union, the corruption and cynicism has to be limited. To this effect, the AU theme for this year, 2018 is “Winning the Fight Against Corruption: A Sustainable Path to Africa’s Transformation”, This was launched officially by the president of the Republic of Nigeria, Mr. Muhammad Buhari on 28th January, 2018 at Addis Ababa Ethiopia (check the AU anti-corruption year, Jan. 29, 2018).

Human rights are made possible through respect for the rule of law, which is at the center of democracy. And another argument made by Carothers is that, the respect for the rights of people depends on the acceptance of the rule of law. Respect for the rule of law has some features, which includes; separation of powers (executive, the legislative and the judiciary). The judiciary system should be independent couple with brave and high-spirited legal profession in order to avoid the pressures and manipulation of the procedure of the constitution by the executives. Constitutionalism is a mechanism through which the maintenance of the respect for the rule of law is ensured. And this can only be attained where there is the existence of an independent and unbiased judiciary system (Shivute, 2009 page 215).

3.5 Participation

The AU commitment to reach out to and engage the civil society, to build some sort of partnership between government and the various sphere of the society, to promote and encourage participation of the people of Africa into the Union's activities, was incorporated since the Union's inception through the Constitutive Act (the funding document of the AU). Tim Murithi in his assessment of the AU after ten years of establishment noted that the AU has not been committed in executing the objectives and purpose of the establishment. The reason according to him is due to the enormous difficulties that are faced by Africans in their various countries (Murithi, 2012 page 667-668).

In order to ensure the comprehensive participation of the people of Africa in regards to development and integration of the Africans economically, one of the nine organs of the AU was proposed in 1991; the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) under the Abuja treaty that established the African Economic Community. This organ was established in March 2004 with the purpose already spelt out in article 17 of the Constitutive Act. The organ has a vision to give the common people of Africa some sort of a platform to get involve more in both the decision-making and the discussions concerning the challenges and problems that are faced in the continent. In a nutshell, the PAP acts on behalf of the Africans and the paramount aim of this organ is to develop, expand and progress into being an institution that has a full legislative powers, elected by a universal adult suffrage and it's based in South Africa (Midrand). PAP will enable the people of Africa to be able to give their opinion and decide how they should be governed (this seems not to be the case in reality).

Another Organ created in 2004 is the AU (advisory organ), The Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) (AU handbook). It aims to facilitate the African participation by organizing themselves in Civil Society Organization (CSOs) in order to work in partnership with the AU. The AU also has created Civil Society and Diaspora unit (CIDO), aims to monitor the efforts from the civil society initiatives within the office of the commission's chairperson.

With this entire framework already in place to ensure the involvement of the citizens and the grassroots organization in the decision-making and the discussion of the way forward towards the integration and the development of the continent, the success of the AU government project will be dependent on the support of the Africa people. This is because citizens' participation is very in the Union's activities.

3.6 Conclusion

Since Baker has already highlighted in one of his articles, that the value of a democratic audit do not measure the presence of institutions in place, but the performance of those institutions in terms of their outcomes (Baker 1999). Therefore, there is the need to place the people at the center of the Union's activities so as to fortify the democratic principles, such as the good governance, the rule of law which goes cross the continent of Africa. This is because good number of Africans lacks awareness of the Union's functions. For this reason, there is virtually a need to create more awareness so as to encourage Africans of participation, and to stop making the Union to represent some selected few, but rather for all Africans. What effort has the AU made as a powerhouse of all these institutions, organs and framework to make sure that the organs act in line with the aim behind the creation

and possibly puts in place the strategy in accomplishing that faster (a question to ponder on)?

Chapter 4

METHODOLOGY

There are different approaches for answering a research question, depending on the methodology one chooses to use. It could be empirical or interpretive approach. Empirical approach uses methods of natural science to explain the world around us and it also emphasizes that, knowledge can be gotten only via experience and observation. Meanwhile, interpretive approach is of the view that natural science methods cannot help in explaining the world around us. But, it rather focuses on the social meanings that are embedded in social science through norms, beliefs, interrogative ideas and values.

For data collection, different methods are applicable depending on the research question or the type of research one intend conducting. It could be a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodology for data evaluation (Lamont, 2015). Qualitative methods according to Lamont: “refers broadly to data collection and analysis strategies that rely upon the collection of, and analysis of, non-numeric data” (Lamout, 2015). However, quantitative methods refer to the collection and analysis of data strategies that depend on the collecting and the coding data that are in numeric form so as to ascertain if relationship exists or does not exist between variables. In this regards, statistical analysis or formal models will be used (ibid). This thesis research will be adopting qualitative method of research. Qualitative method will be used both in data collection and data analysis. The research will

make use of both primary sources (treaties of AU, convention and online survey responses) and secondly sources (journal articles, book and other related published works).

4.1 Aims and Justification of Data Collection Method

This research will be based on empirical analysis on appraising the African Union's Norms/Principles as opposed to the Union's implementation. Because empirical approach seems to be the best for the research question, research topic since the perceptions of the Africans will be the basis of the research validity.

It will be adopting qualitative method of research design. Because qualitative traditionally does not include numbers and statistical figures or count data. Secondly, much of what will be done concerning this topic will be grounded in social and behavioral aspect that is, qualitative methods are highly appropriate for this kind of research since the perception of the participant will be highly needed. In order to get the perception of the participants, survey will be conducted to gather information regarding the people's view of the Union's norms/principles. The qualitative method will be used both in data collection and data analysis. The research will make use of both primary and secondary sources (Watkins, 2012). The respondents were randomly selected and the survey questions were distributed through different means such as through email, Facebook, WhatsApp. The sample size of this research is 52. Hence, this research intends to find out how the objective of the democratic principles/norms has been implemented since the inception of the union. The following questions are set as guidelines to fulfill this aim:

- To what extent the AU and the appropriate institutions of the various democratic principles have strived in ensuring the implementation of their objectives for the betterment of all Africans?
- To what extent does the AU involve the Africans in the Union activities?
- To what extent has the Union promoted the human right?
- What effect has the Union made to actualize one of the objectives that could foster integration such as freedom of movement by all Africans within the continent?

The aforementioned assessment questions, the aim of the research of data collection will test the level of awareness of the Africans concerning the democratic principles and the appropriate institutions. Just like Beetham (2002, p 10.) earlier pinpointed that the importance of democratic assessment, is to enlighten the general public what democracy entails and as such to be aware of the level of performance they should be expecting from the leaders, quote and unquote government. Secondly, to provide coherent proof/confirmation of issues of their concerns (the public), that is the manner in which they are being governed by their leaders (either elected or appointed), and helping us in pointing out the strengths and weakness of the government. Thirdly, to create public debates of reform programed or the ways the system can be reformed. Fourthly, democratic appraisal will provide some sort of instrument that can be used in checking the effectiveness of the reform in practice. The assessment also helps in creating awareness to the general public of the examples of good practices (Beetham, 2002).

4.2 Survey Analysis

4.2.1 Background of Survey Analysis

Survey is one of the research methods used for the collection of data from the designated participant in order to gain information concerning various issues/topics one which to work on (Lamont, 2015).

It is very important to know that there are different purposes to conducting a survey and it can as well be carried out in different ways, but depends on the choice of methodology one chooses and the one set to achieve at the end of it all.

Standardized procedures are usually use to obtain data to ensure the each of the participant or you can call it the respondent will be able to give an answer to the questions that will be asked at a level playing field in order to eschew some sort of biased opinions that could render the outcome of the finding unreliable. A survey comprises of questioning people in order to get information, which can be done either through a questionnaire which can be distributed on a paper. The advent of technology has made the distribution of survey questions so easy now, stress free it can reach a wide range of individual with the use of social network, either yahoo/Gmail, URLs, what' Sapp, Facebook etc.

There are different types of survey; through interview which can be face to face interview, through telephone, distributing printed questionnaire lastly, and online survey, an internet based survey. Hence, this research will be adopting this type of survey; 'Online survey' because is easier to reach larger number of people, less expensive, less time consuming, it does not require human interference which makes

more accurate when compare to others, quick to analyze, it gives the sense of honesty and flexibility to the respondent.

4.3 Limitation

One of the major limitations to this study is the inability to measure and test other democratic principles in the AU Constitutive Act so as to enhance its generalizability. The second limitation is the inability to combine both quantitative and qualitative measures in order to have a useful and valid data. The democratic tools used in this research could be problematic because of the debate of universality or relativity of democratic values. The sample size (52) is small for this type of study. There is sample bias, because the educational level of the respondents does not represent the general public, therefore, the general public are not well represented. For future directions, the sample size will be expanded and triangulation by conducting interviews either through face to face or over the phone.

Chapter 5

RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

Scholars like Murithi (2007), Kindiki (2003), Hanson (2009), and Okumu (2009) have concentrated on measuring both the success and the level of democracy of the African Union. There are different scholars tracking the democratic nature of the EU, Lord (2004), served as a guideline to AU democratic audit. Beetham (1994), Baker (1999) also inspired this research. African Union modeled after the European Union, emerged in 2002 to replace OAU as a result of perceived failures in handling some issues of violent conflict, bad governance, violation of human rights, poverty eradication, fairness and gender inequality, corruptions in all aspect.

This thesis focused on the assessment of the democratic principles (good governance, respects for human rights, and respects for the rule of law, participation, and accountability) of the AU found under the article 3 and 4 of the AU Constitutive Act, the founding document. The aforementioned principles were used as a democratic yardstick to measure the democratic success of the AU. Since AU has increased its influence over the years, there is the need to hold on to the principles of the formation.

The results from the surveys indicated that significant number of the respondents do not have sufficient knowledge and lack awareness about AU and its functionality.

This is one of Lord's principle 'citizenship' (the other principles are Authorization, Representation, Accountability, and Constitutionalism).

The results of the survey analysis provided an evidence of the inability of the AU to implement fully the democratic principles according to the founding document. The results showed that the hypothesis is correct.

The survey measures the awareness level of Africans regarding the Union and its functionality which is in line with one of the principles Lord used 'Citizenship' in auditing democracy in EU. The perception of the AU democratic principles such as good governance, respects for human right, and respects for rule of law, participation, and accountability. Since the best people to assess the democratic nature of any Union is the citizens; therefore, the survey is conducted among Africans from different nationality.

An online survey contained 22 questions with sample size of 52 respondents with university degree from 17 African countries: Nigeria, Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Senegal, Ghana, Tanzanian, Somali, South Africa, Gambia, Mali, Morocco, Rwanda, Zambia, Ethiopia, Gabon and Chad (see Figure 1). The age range of the respondents is between 15-30, 30-45, 45-60, 60 and above. In regards to the gender of the respondents, 61.5% male, 34.6% female and the remaining percentage falls under the category of 'prefer not to say' (Check figure 2).

a. The nationality of the respondent

52 responses

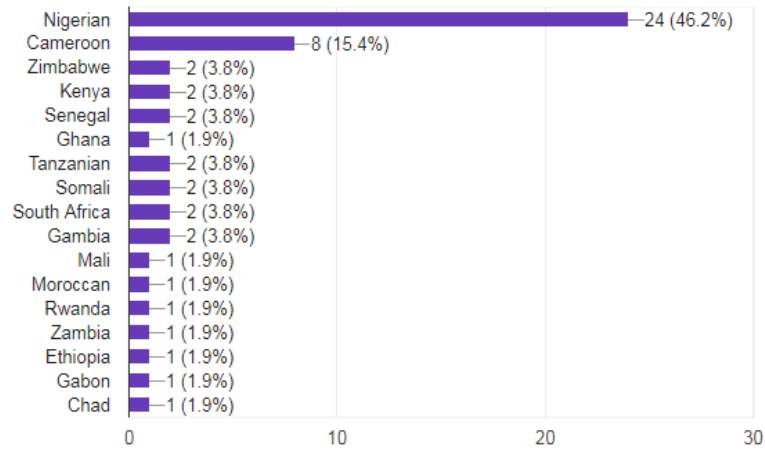


Figure 1: Nationality of the respondent

b. Gender of the respondent

52 responses

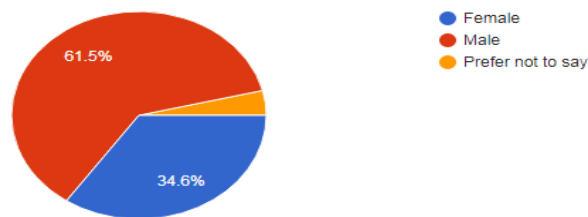


Figure 2: Gender of the respondent

c. Age

52 responses

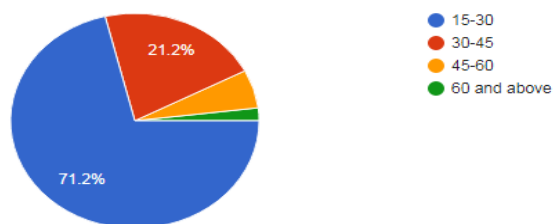


Figure 3: Age of the respondent

In respect to the age of the respondents, 71.2% were from 15-30 years of age, 21.2% were 30-45 years of age. The remaining percentage falls under the category of 45-60 of age and also from 60 and above (figure 3). More so, the survey revealed that 100% of the respondents have attained university degree, which shows that the respondents might have been well-versed with the survey in general. (See figure 4).

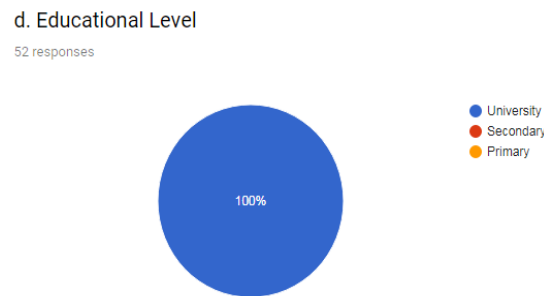


Figure 4: Educational level of the respondent

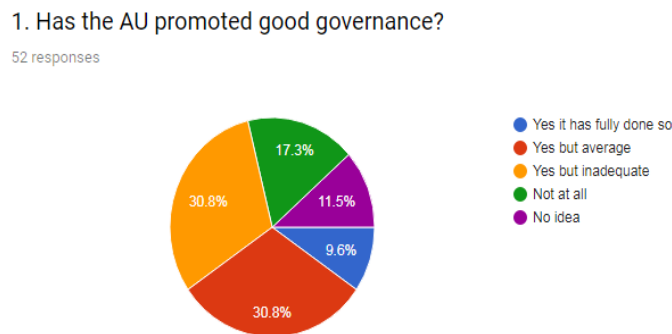


Figure 5: Promoting good governance

Based on the first survey question from figure 5, regarding the promotion of good governance, 30.8% agreed that the AU has worked for the promotion of good governance in Africa, but inadequately. 30.8% also agreed, but averagely, 17.3%

agreed AU has not made any effort to promote good governance with 11.5% no idea. Meanwhile, 9.6% agreed that AU has in utmost capacity done so. This shows that, substantial amount of those surveyed agreed that AU has promoted good governance. To further ensure that Africans have full knowledge of the AU, a question regarding the institutions that ensure the AU promotes good governance was asked, although all the enumerated institutions ensures the AU promote good governance. Surprisingly, the survey shows that 13.5% do not have any idea, and 9.6% believe none of the listed institutions promote good governance. This result clearly shows that the respondents do not have good knowledge of the AU institution (see figure 6). For the success rate of promoting good governance since its inception, high number of Africans 44.2% said it has not been successful. Majority of the respondent is of the opinion, that AU has not promoted good governance since its inception meanwhile, 17.3% do not have any idea about the success of AU. (Check figure 7).

2. Which of the AU institutions ensures that the member states uphold to good governance?

52 responses

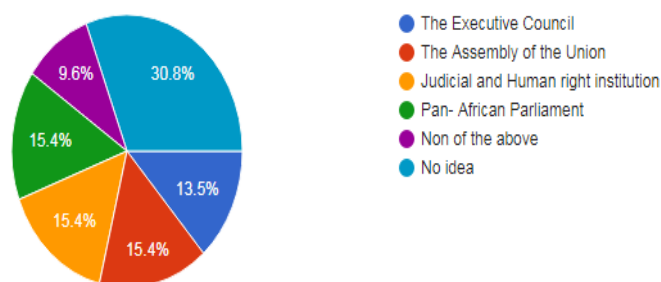


Figure 6: Institutions of AU that promote good governance

3. What is the success rate of AU in promoting good governance since its inception, 2002?

52 responses

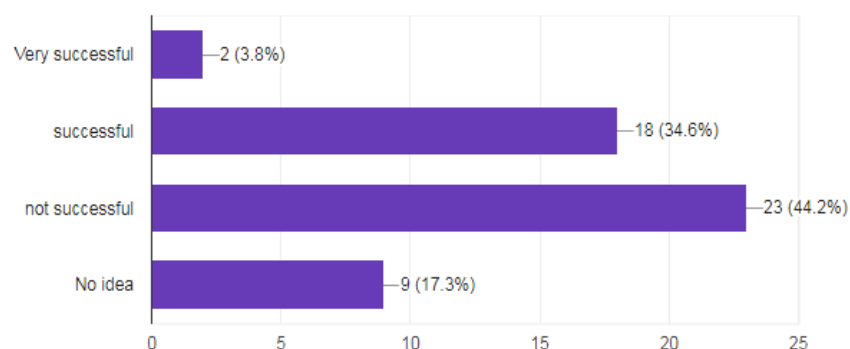


Figure 7: The success rate of AU promoting good governance

Concerning the AU institution that ensures there is respect for rule of law and human rights. This tests the awareness of the respondents concerning the AU institution and it can be seen again that more than half of the respondent does not have the required knowledge, although 33.3% got the answer correctly while 27.5% of the correspondents have no idea. The institution that ensures there is protection of human and people's right in Africa is 'African Court on Human and People's Rights' (see figure 8). Based on the chart of question 5, it shows that AU has worked towards the protection of human rights and freedom, while 15.4% do not have sufficient information (see figure 9). Very small percentage 3.9% of the respondents is of the opinion that the level of freedom of expression in Africa is excellent. Meanwhile, a good number of the respondents 29.4% is of the opinion the level of freedom of expression in Africa is poor (see figure 10). In respect to the freedom of association larger percentage 56% of the respondents' shows that the level of freedom of

association in Africa is average. While, the smallest percentage 8% says excellent and 24% shows poor (see figure 11).

4. Which institution ensures that the member states respect the rule of law and Human right?

51 responses

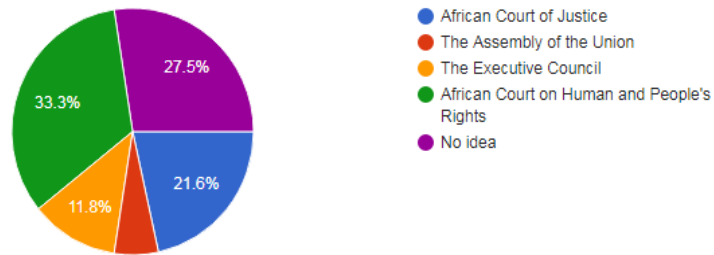


Figure 8: The AU institutions that ensures respects for rule of law

5. Has the AU done enough to protect human rights and freedoms in the continent?

52 responses

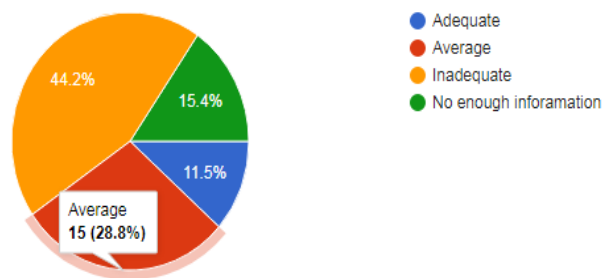


Figure 9: AU protection of human and people's right

6. How will you rate the level of freedom of expression in Africa?

51 responses

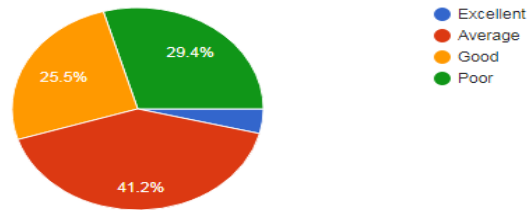


Figure 10 : Level of freedom of expression

7. How would you rate the level of freedom of association in Africa?

50 responses

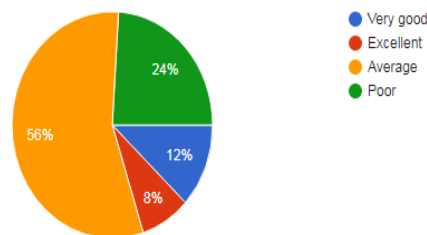


Figure 11: Freedom of association

The survey question regarding how the AU officials come into power was to test the level of acquaintance with the Union in general. This clearly showed that majority of the respondent have no idea or is not well-informed about AU. Meanwhile, 34.6% of the respondent answered correctly; AU officials are not elected. 40.4% do not have any knowledge about how the AU officials come to power, while the remaining percentage got the answer wrong (see figure 12). A similar question was further asked for those that would think AU officials come to power through election, if the

election is free and fair? The majority of the respondents do not have sufficient information (Figure 13).

8. Are the AU officials appointed or elected?

52 responses

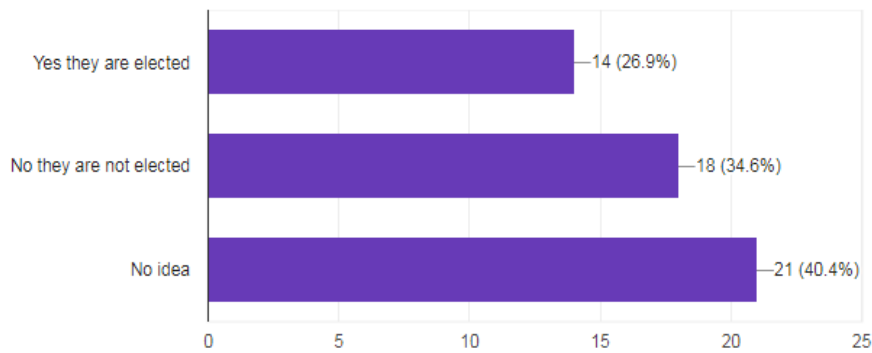


Figure 12: How the AU officials come to power

9. If they are elected, in your opinion is the election process free and fair?

50 responses

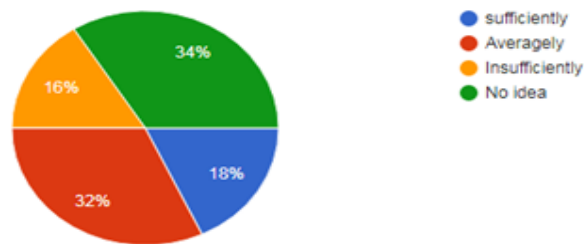


Figure 13: Free and Fair election

Since the study is about AU in general, it is fair enough to assess the level of democracy in member state through opinion poll. More than half of the respondents considered AU to be democratic. Those that think AU is not democratic and those that do not have any idea is 46.2% (Figure 14). This question is measuring the belief of capability of the Union. Meanwhile, 32% have no idea of the question. 36% of the

respondents believe that the AU can only uphold to the democratic nature of the Union, if the member states are democratic. 32% said AU can only uphold to the democratic nature of the Union if there is some level of institutional commitment to democracy (Figure 15). About 52.9% of the respondents are not satisfied with the AU, both in terms of its policy and implementation. Just small percent are very satisfied, and 21.6% neutral, this clearly shows lack of interest in the AU (see figure 16).

10. Do you believe AU member states are democratic?

52 responses

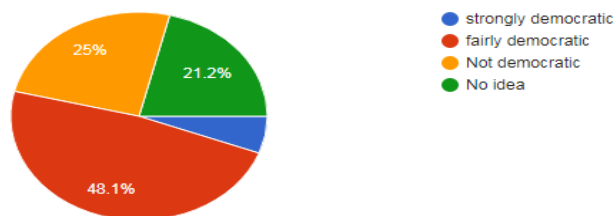


Figure 14: Member states democracy

11. Do you think the AU can only uphold to the democratic nature of the Union if the member states are democratic?

50 responses



Figure 15: AU upholds to democracy

12. How satisfied are you with the African Union in general?

51 responses

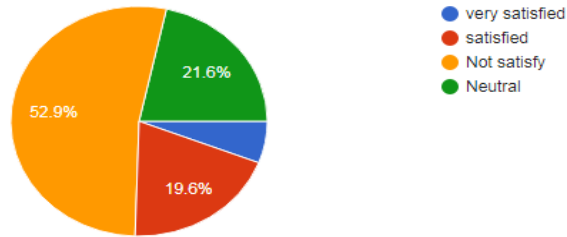


Figure 16: Satisfaction in AU

Concerning the public opinion on the constitutional limit of the AU president, 44.2% agree that there should be constitutional limit on the length of stay in the office, but it should be flexible to allow to referendum. 42.3% said yes but should be full respected, while, 13.5% do not have any idea about the question (see figure 17).

13. Do you think there should be constitutional limit on how long the president can serve?

52 responses

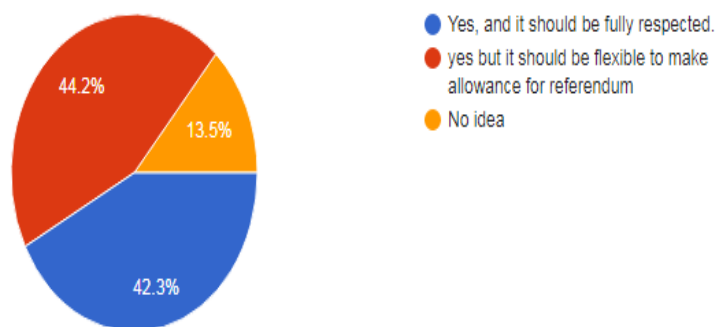


Figure 17: Constitutional limit in office

Concerning the AU action when there is any case of violation of human rights, majority of the respondents is of the opinion that AU condemns the violations of

human rights. Meanwhile, fewer percentage 7.7% said AU never condemns the violations of human rights (figure 18).

14. Does the Union condemn the violations of human rights by member states?

52 responses

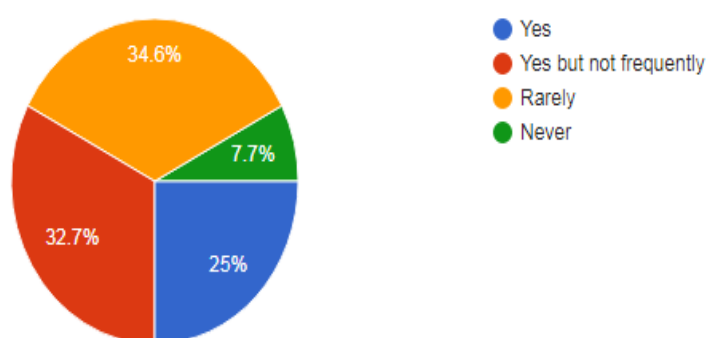


Figure 18: Condemnation of the violation of human right

The following questions; 15, 16 and 17 show the level of awareness of the participation in AU. The result shows that, a good number of the respondents lack awareness of the participation in AU. In respect to the public opinion about the mechanism that ensures the active participation of the citizen, 42.3% said there are no adequate mechanisms, 30.8% have no idea at all. Just few percentages admit that there is a mechanism to do so, while 19.2% said no (figure 19). 36.5% are not knowledgeable about if the citizens' participation through referendum or public opinion counts, 28.8% said yes but not frequently, 28.8% said no, while very small percentages said yes (see figure 20). In regards to creating platform for Africans to propose a solution to the to the problem in the continent, 35.3% said there is no platform such platform, 27.5%nsaid yes but not adequate while 11.8% said yes and

25.5% do not have any idea (see figure 21). Apart from creating platform that encourages participation, another thing in mind is civic engagement by Africa. The result reveals that larger percentage of the respondents is neutral; this shows lack of interest in the functioning of AU (figure 22).

15. Does the AU have a mechanism to ensure the participation of African citizens in its decision making?

52 responses

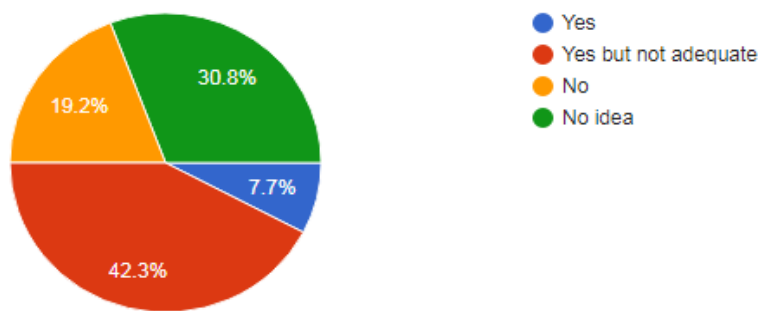


Figure 19: Mechanism for citizens' participation

16. Are the citizens being consulted either through referendum or public opinion before decisions are being taken by the AU?

52 responses

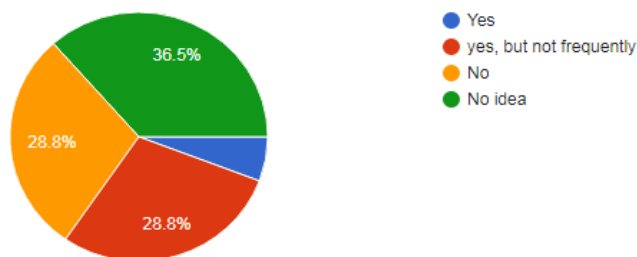


Figure 20: Citizens referendum and public opinion

17. Are African citizens given a platform to propose a solution to the problems that are faced by all Africans?

51 responses

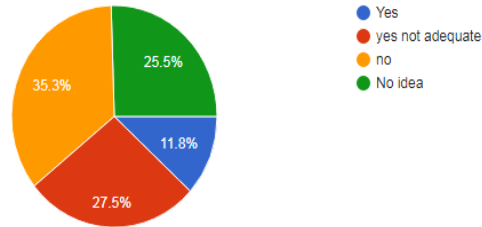


Figure 21: Platform to propose a solution to the problems of Africans

18. Is there civic engagement among the youths of Africa?

52 responses

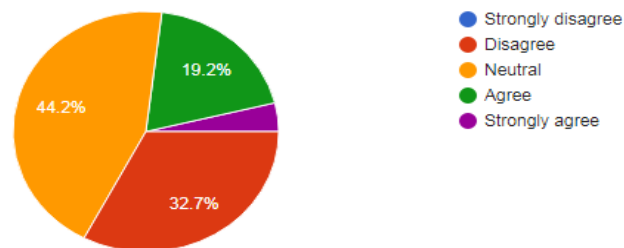


Figure 22: Civic engagement

Question 19, 20 and 21: shows level of accountability, which is one of Lord's assessment criteria. The result shows that, there is some level of accountability in AU. 39.2% agree that there is accountability, but not adequately. 17.6% said yes, there is accountability in AU, 17.6% said no while, 25.5% said there is rarely such (see figure 23). In respect to responding to the complaints of the citizens, 32.7% of the respondents agree that AU responds to the complaints but adequate enough, 36.5% said rarely, 21.2% do not have any idea about that while 9.6% said yes (see

figure 24). There is public opinion regarding how quickly the AU responds to the complaint of its citizens. 52.9% of the respondent is of the opinion that the AU responds less frequently, 31.4% said the AU hardly respond and 11.8% said the AU respond promptly (see figure 25). In regards to transparency of AU, minimum percent of the respondents perceive AU to be very transparent, which is just 7.7%. Meanwhile, a good number of the respondents are not well informed (see figure 26).

19. Do Africans hold their representative accountable?

51 responses

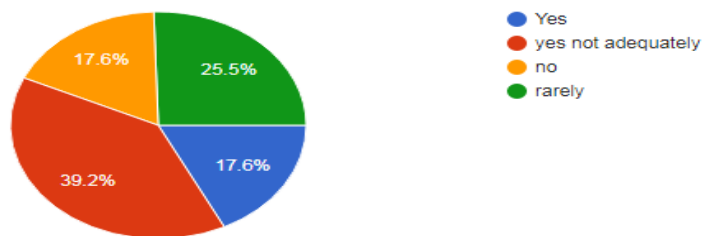


Figure 23: AU Accountability

20. Do AU respond to the complaints of the citizens?

52 responses

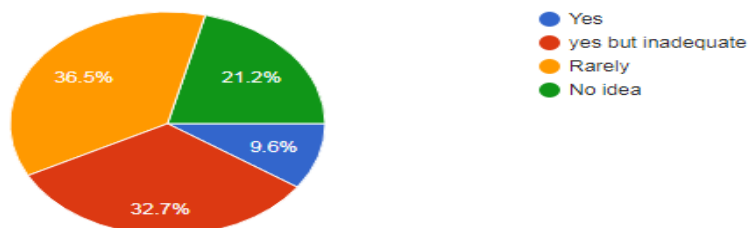


Figure 24: AU responsiveness

21. How quickly does the AU respond to the complaint of the Africans?

51 responses

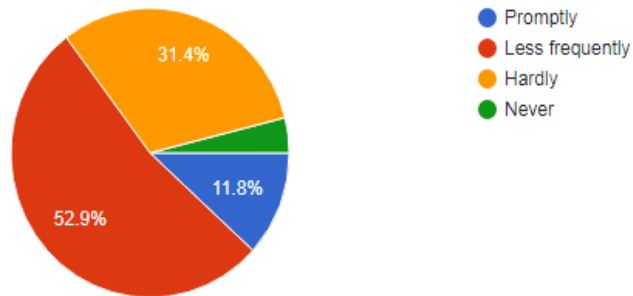


Figure 25: Quick response of the AU

22. How transparent is the AU?

52 responses

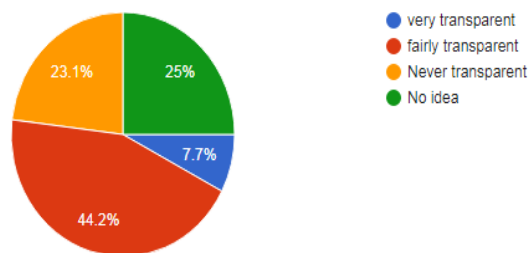


Figure 26: AU transparency

5.1 Afrobarometer about the perception of Africans regarding the democratic principles of AU

Afrobarometer is a research network that conducts survey about the perception and attitude of Africans concerning economic conditions, democracy and good governance. It gives voices to the Africans citizens.

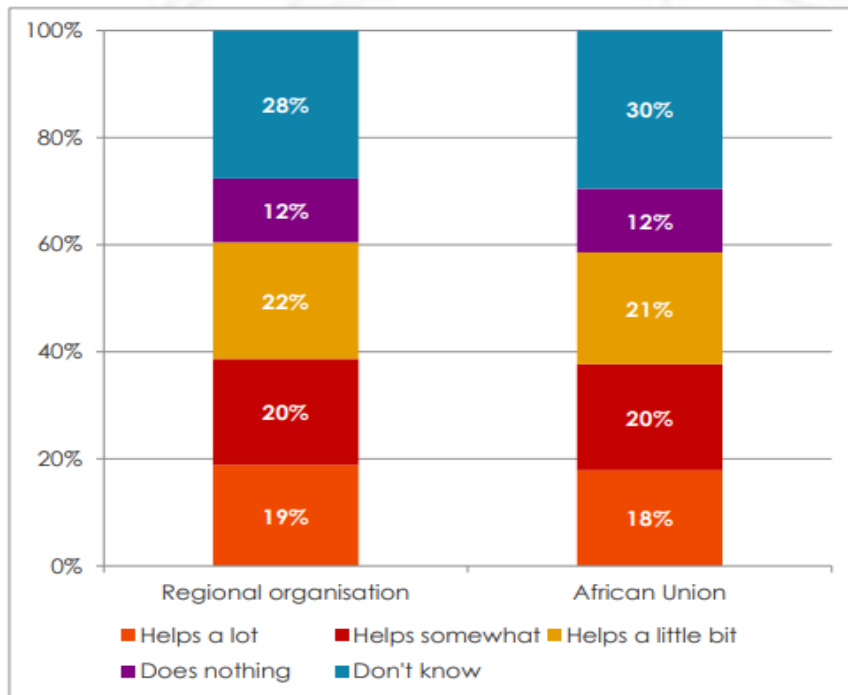
Afrobarometer aims to achieve the following:

- To produce data about public opinion that is reliable for scientific purposes.

- For the strengthening of the capacity of the African institution’s survey.
- It also enables the government institutions and policies maker to view the opinion of the general public.

The first Afrobarometer was about the perception of the Africans regarding their view about the helpfulness of the AU and regional organization in their various countries. The survey results show that 36 countries participated in the survey.

On average across 36 countries, a majority (58%) of Africans say the AU helps at least "a little bit," including 18% who say it helps "a lot" and 20% who say it is "somewhat" helpful. Only 12% of respondents say the AU does nothing to help their country. Similarly, six of 10 respondents (61%) say that a regional economic community to which their country belongs is at least "a little bit" helpful, with 19% saying it helps "a lot." Significantly, on both questions, about three of 10 respondents say they don't know enough about the AU (30%) or the regional organisation (28%) to be able to say whether they are helpful to their countries.



Respondents were asked:

- In your opinion, how much does [the regional organisation for your region] do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say?
- In your opinion, how much does the African Union do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say?

Figure 27: Perceived helpfulness of African Union and regional organizations | 36 countries| 2014/2015
Source: Afrobarometer

Another important survey is the freedom of association (check figure 28).

Key findings

- Eight in 10 Africans feel at least “somewhat free” to join any political organisation they want, including a majority (58%) who feel “completely free” to do so. One in six (17%) say they feel “not very” or “not at all” free to associate as they wish. “Complete” freedom of association is a minority perception in 15 of 36 countries.
- Across 20 countries tracked since 2008/2009, the perception of “complete” freedom of association has been stable. In six of these countries, however, this perception declined significantly between 2008 and 2015, led by drops of 23 percentage points in Benin and 21 points in Burkina Faso.
- Women are somewhat less likely to feel “completely free” than men, 55% vs. 60%. The perception of being free increases modestly with age.
- In general, perceived freedom of association is correlated with higher levels of actual engagement in civic and political activities.
- Freedom of association also goes hand in hand with democracy: Citizens who feel free to associate also tend to feel free to speak and vote their minds, and are more likely to see their countries as well-functioning democracies.
- Despite high perceptions of freedom of association and its linkages with democracy, one-third (32%) of Africans agree that governments “should be able to ban any organisation that goes against its policies.”

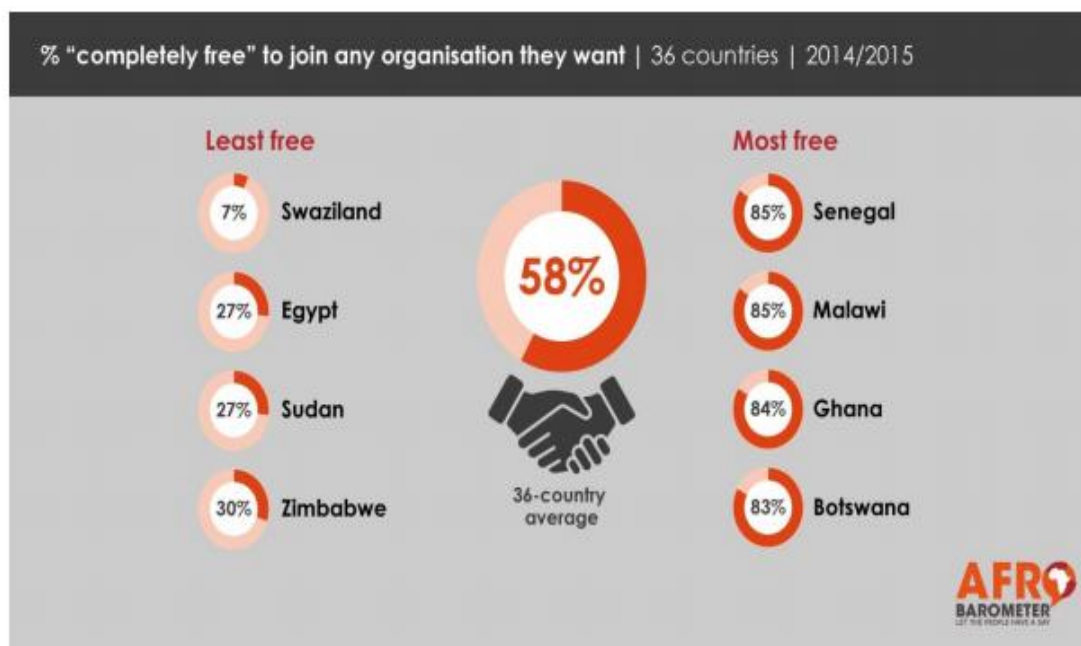
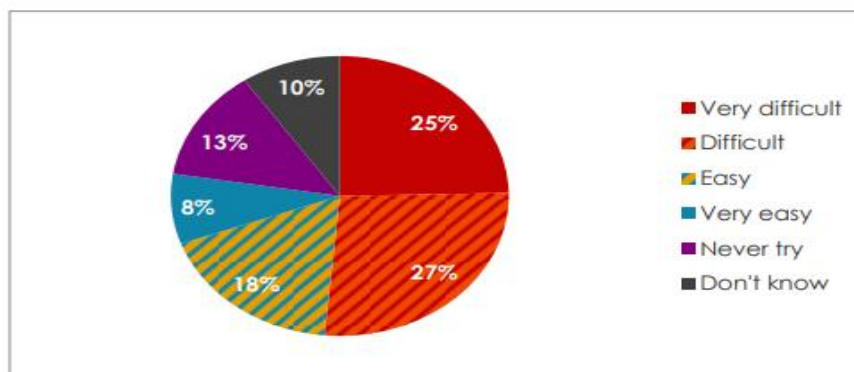


Figure 28: How well does African government protect freedoms of association and assembly

Source: Afrobarometer 2014/2015.

The perception of the Africans concerning the freedom of movement within the continent is also very crucial to look into. From the results of the findings, 25%

indicated that, it is very difficult to cross border of another African country, just 8% shows that it is very easy, and 10% have no idea (see figure 29).



Respondents were asked: In your opinion, how easy or difficult is it for people in [region] to cross international borders in order to work or trade in other countries, or haven't you heard enough to say?

Figure 29: Perceived difficulty of crossing international borders (36 countries) 2014/2015

Source: Afrobarometer

Another interesting survey is about political and civic engagement (see figure 30).

Key findings

- Political engagement is generally lower among African youth than among their elders, particularly in terms of voting. Two-thirds (65%) of 18- to 35-year-old respondents who were old enough to vote in the last national election say they did so, compared to 79% of citizens above age 35.
- Young women are less interested in public affairs than young men (48% vs. 60%) and less likely to discuss politics at least "occasionally" (61% vs. 74%).
- African youth are less likely than their elders to participate in civic activities: Less than half (47%) say they attended community meetings, while 40% joined others to raise an issue (vs. 57% and 47% for older citizens). Young women's participation lags behind that of their male peers (by 9 percentage points, on average).
- Not quite half (48%) of youth say they contacted political or community leaders during the previous year to discuss an important issue, with lower reported engagement levels among young women than men (43% vs. 53%).
- 11% of young survey respondents say they attended at least one protest in the previous year (vs. 8% older citizens). Again, women report lower participation levels than their male peers (8% vs. 13%).
- In 16 countries tracked since 2002/2003, youth engagement has declined, particularly interest in public affairs and measures of civic activism.

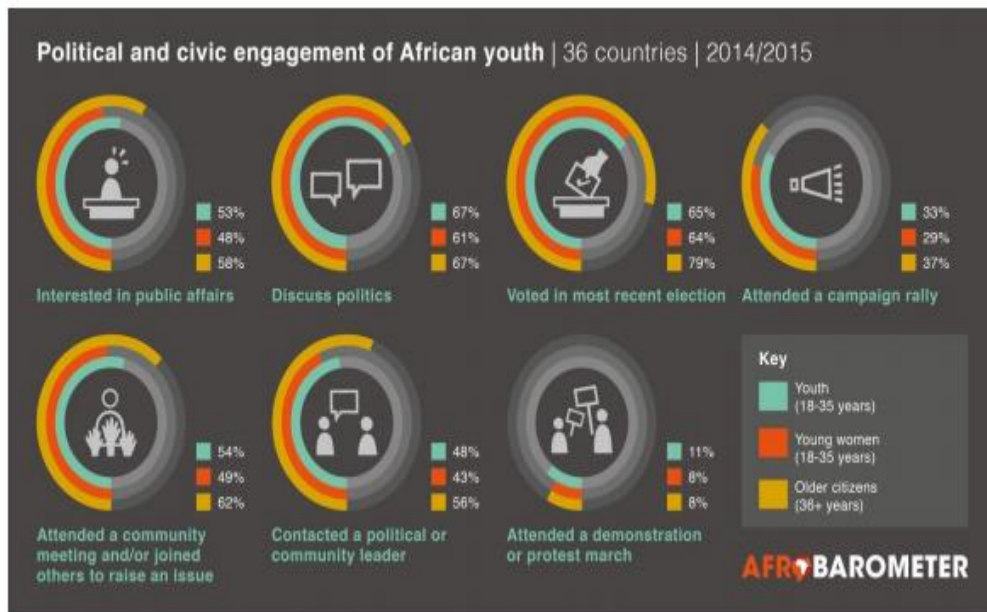


Figure 30: Political and civic engagement
Source: Afrobarometer 2014/2015

5.2 Conclusion

Various scholars have written much about AU, democratic principles, its institutions and its functionality in their different capacity. The AU is intergovernmental institution emerged in 2002, which was modeled after EU, with resemblance in institutional set up, norms, principles and core values. The idea behind the creation of the AU was to replace the formal institution, OAU as a result of perceived failures in handling some issues of violent conflict, bad governance, violation of human rights, poverty eradication, fairness and gender inequality, corruptions in all angles (both economic and political).

Since the aforementioned reasons led to the creation of the AU, therefore, this thesis focused in the assessment of the democratic principles of the AU found under the article 3 and 4 of the AU Constitutive Act: Good governance, respect for human rights, respects for the rule of law and citizens participation. The study provided an

appraisal of the union's norms/principles as opposed to the union's implementation. The following paragraph highlights briefly on the different democratic principles assessed.

Good governance encompasses the processes of decision making on issues of public concern and implementation, transparency, accountability, participation, quick responds to the demand of the people, solving the problems of the citizens, a functional institutions, makes policies for the benefits of every single individual within the country/ continent. Good governance plays the role that determines the well-being of the society, fairness (Graham, 2003). The second democratic principles this thesis focused on, was respects for human rights. The third aspect of the study was respect for the rule of law, allow all AU citizens to be live by the same rules and regulation guiding the Union. Respect for human rights and respects for the rule of law, works hand in hand, just as Carothers has argued, the respect for the rights of people depends on the acceptance of the rule of law. Effective participation of the citizens plays a huge role in the well- being and proper functioning of AU.

An online survey regarding the awareness and perception of the Union's norms, principles and values, as well as the assessment of the effectiveness of the Union' principles were analyzed. Another online survey was extracted through Afrobarometer where data concerning the perception of the citizen regarding the AU was analyzed. The results from both survey indicated that significant number of the respondents do not have sufficient knowledge about AU and its functionality. More so, the result of the survey (through Google form) analysis provided an evidence of the inability of the AU to implement the democratic principles.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Internet based Survey questionnaire about the perception and awareness of African Union and its democratic principles.

The nationality of the respondent

Nigeria

Cameroon

Zimbabwe

Kenya

Senegal

Ghana

Tanzanian

Somali

South Africa

Other

a. Gender of the respondent

Male

Female

Prefer not to say

b. Age of the respondent

15 – 30

30-45

45 – 60

60 and above

c. Educational Level

University

Secondary

Primary

Other

1. Has the AU promoted good governance?

Yes it has fully done so

Yes but average

Yes but inadequate

Not at all

No idea

2. Which of the AU institutions ensures that the member states uphold to good governance?

The Executive Council

The Assembly of the Union

Judicial and Human right institution

Pan- African Parliament

None of the above

No idea

3. What is the success rate of AU in promoting good governance since its inception, 2002?

Very successful

Successful

not successful

No idea

4. Which institution ensures that the member states respect the rule of law and Human right?

African Court of Justice

The Assembly of the Union

The Executive Council

African Court on Human and People's Rights

No idea

5. Has the AU done enough to protect human rights and freedoms in the continent?

Adequate

Average

Inadequate

No enough information

6. How will you rate the level of freedom of expression in Africa?

Excellent

Average

Good

Poor

7. How would you rate the level of freedom of association in Africa?

Very good

Excellent

Average

Poor

8. Are the AU officials appointed or elected?

Yes they are elected

No they are not elected

No idea

9. If they are elected, in your opinion is the election process free and fair?

Sufficiently

Averagely

Insufficiently

No idea

10. Do you believe AU member states are democratic?

Strongly democratic

Fairly democratic

Not democratic

No idea

11. Do you think the AU can only uphold to the democratic nature of the Union if the member states are democratic?

Yes, that is the only measure

No, it can be assessed from the level of institutional commitment to democracy

No idea

12. How satisfied are you with the African Union in general?

Very satisfied

Satisfied

Not satisfy

Neutral

13. Do you think there should be constitutional limit on how long the president can serve?

Yes, and it should be fully respected.

Yes but it should be flexible to make allowance for referendum

No idea

14. Does the Union condemn the violations of human rights by member states?

Yes

Yes but not frequently

Rarely

Never

15. Does the AU have a mechanism to ensure the participation of African citizens in its decision making?

Yes

Yes but not adequate

No

No idea

16. Are the citizens being consulted either through referendum or public opinion before decisions are being taken by the AU?

Yes

Yes, but not frequently

No

No idea

17. Are African citizens given a platform to propose a solution to the problems that are faced by all Africans?

Yes

Yes not adequate

No

No idea

18. Is there civic engagement among the youths of Africa?

Strongly disagree

Disagree

Neutral

Agree

Strongly agree

19. Do Africans hold their representative accountable?

Yes

Yes not adequately

No

Rarely

20. Do AU respond to the complaints of the citizens?

Yes

Yes but inadequate

Rarely

No idea

21. How quickly does the AU respond to the complaint of the Africans?

Promptly

Less frequently

Hardly

Never

22. How transparent is the AU?

Very transparent

Fairly transparent

Never transparent

No idea

Appendix B: Internet Based Survey Results of the Perception of Africans

Timestamp	a. The nationality of the respondent	b. Gender of the respondent	c. Age	d. Educational Level	1. Has the AU promoted gender equality
16/08/2018 13:37:08	Nigerian	Male	15-30	University	Yes but average
16/08/2018 13:43:35	Cameroon	Male	30-45	University	Yes but inadequate
16/08/2018 13:58:15	Tanzanian	Female	15-30	University	Yes it has fully done so
16/08/2018 14:04:17	South Africa	Prefer not to say	15-30	University	Not at all
16/08/2018 14:26:08	Nigerian	Female	15-30	University	Yes but inadequate
16/08/2018 16:52:46	Nigerian	Male	15-30	University	Yes but average
16/08/2018 18:24:16	Mali	Male	15-30	University	Yes but inadequate
16/08/2018 22:14:33	Ghana	Male	15-30	University	No idea
17/08/2018 00:37:27	Nigerian	Female	15-30	University	Yes but average
17/08/2018 01:00:16	Nigerian	Male	30-45	University	Yes but inadequate
17/08/2018 08:54:52	Nigerian	Female	30-45	University	No idea
17/08/2018 09:19:43	Cameroon	Male	30-45	University	Yes but inadequate
17/08/2018 09:29:47	Cameroon	Male	15-30	University	Yes but inadequate
17/08/2018 11:04:57	Cameroon	Female	15-30	University	Not at all
17/08/2018 12:12:17	Cameroon	Male	15-30	University	Not at all
17/08/2018 12:38:03	Moroccan	Male	15-30	University	Yes but average
17/08/2018 13:06:54	Nigerian	Male	15-30	University	Not at all
17/08/2018 13:38:12	Nigerian	Female	30-45	University	Yes but average
17/08/2018 13:58:45	Nigerian	Male	15-30	University	Not at all
17/08/2018 14:23:08	Nigerian	Male	15-30	University	Yes but average
17/08/2018 15:47:25	Cameroon	Male	15-30	University	Yes but inadequate
17/08/2018 16:11:31	Cameroon	Female	15-30	University	Yes but average
18/08/2018 01:50:08	Nigerian	Male	60 and above	University	Yes but average
18/08/2018 22:03:56	Nigerian	Female	45-60	University	Yes it has fully done so
19/08/2018 01:42:57	Nigerian	Male	30-45	University	No idea
19/08/2018 10:22:01	Zimbabwe	Male	15-30	University	No idea
19/08/2018 10:25:38	Senegal	Female	30-45	University	Yes but average
19/08/2018 10:29:55	Somali	Prefer not to say	15-30	University	Not at all
19/08/2018 10:35:23	Somali	Male	15-30	University	Yes but inadequate
19/08/2018 10:42:02	Rwanda	Male	15-30	University	Not at all
19/08/2018 10:52:02	Kenya	Female	15-30	University	Yes it has fully done so
19/08/2018 10:54:57	Kenya	Female	15-30	University	Yes but average
19/08/2018 10:59:42	Zambia	Female	30-45	University	Yes but average
19/08/2018 11:02:10	Gambia	Male	45-60	University	Yes but average
19/08/2018 11:06:27	Zimbabwe, Senegal	Female	15-30	University	Yes but inadequate
19/08/2018 11:11:57	Tanzanian, South Africa	Female	45-60	University	Yes it has fully done so
19/08/2018 11:17:34	Ethiopia	Female	15-30	University	Yes it has fully done so
19/08/2018 11:20:01	Gabon	Female	30-45	University	Yes but average
19/08/2018 11:26:47	Cameroon	Male	15-30	University	Not at all
19/08/2018 11:53:46	Nigerian	Male	30-45	University	Not at all
19/08/2018 12:05:56	Nigerian	Male	15-30	University	Yes but inadequate
19/08/2018 12:29:02	Chad	Male	15-30	University	Yes but inadequate
19/08/2018 21:16:02	Nigerian	Female	15-30	University	No idea
20/08/2018 08:42:49	Nigerian	Male	30-45	University	Yes but inadequate
20/08/2018 10:00:25	Nigerian	Male	15-30	University	Yes but inadequate
20/08/2018 15:31:03	Nigerian	Male	15-30	University	Yes but average
20/08/2018 16:11:24	Nigerian	Female	15-30	University	Yes but average
20/08/2018 18:25:01	Nigerian	Male	15-30	University	Yes but inadequate
21/08/2018 08:43:03	Nigerian	Male	15-30	University	Yes but average
21/08/2018 08:49:05	Nigerian	Male	15-30	University	Yes but inadequate
21/08/2018 09:50:57	Nigerian	Male	15-30	University	No idea
22/08/2018 01:36:27	Gambia	Male	15-30	University	Yes but inadequate

2. Which of the AU institut	3. What is the success rate	4. Which institution ensure	5. Has the AU done enoug	6. How will you rate the le	7. How would you rate the
Pan- African Parliament	successful	African Court on Human	Average	Average	Average
Judicial and Human right	successful	African Court on Human	Inadequate	Good	Excellent
No idea	successful	African Court on Human	Adequate	Good	Excellent
No idea	not successful	No idea	Inadequate	Poor	Poor
Pan- African Parliament	not successful	African Court on Human	Inadequate	Average	Average
Judicial and Human right	successful	The Executive Council	Average	Good	Average
No idea	No idea	No idea	No enough information	Poor	Average
No idea	No idea	No idea	No enough information	Excellent	Very good
Judicial and Human right	successful	The Executive Council	Average	Average	Excellent
No idea	not successful	No idea	Inadequate	Poor	Average
No idea	No idea	No idea	No enough information	Poor	Poor
No idea	not successful	African Court on Human	Inadequate	Good	Average
The Assembly of the Unio	not successful	The Assembly of the Unio	Inadequate	Poor	Average
No idea	not successful	African Court of Justice	No enough information	Poor	Poor
Non of the above	not successful	African Court on Human	Inadequate	Poor	Poor
Judicial and Human right	successful	The Executive Council	Average	Good	Average
Non of the above	not successful		Inadequate	Average	Average
The Executive Council	successful	The Executive Council	Average	Poor	
The Assembly of the Unio	not successful	African Court of Justice	Inadequate	Average	Poor
Judicial and Human right	successful	No idea	Inadequate	Good	Average
The Assembly of the Unio	not successful	African Court on Human	Inadequate	Poor	Poor
The Assembly of the Unio	not successful	The Executive Council	Average	Good	Average
The Assembly of the Unio	successful	African Court on Human	Average	Average	Average
The Executive Council	successful	African Court of Justice	Average	Good	Average
No idea	No idea	No idea	No enough information	Poor	Average
No idea	No idea	No idea	No enough information	Average	Average
Pan- African Parliament	successful	African Court on Human	No enough information	Average	Average
No idea	not successful	No idea	Inadequate	Poor	Poor
Non of the above	not successful	African Court of Justice	Average	Average	Average
Non of the above	not successful	African Court of Justice	Inadequate	Poor	Poor
Pan- African Parliament	Very successful	African Court on Human	Adequate	Excellent	Very good
Pan- African Parliament	successful	African Court on Human	Adequate	Average	Very good
The Executive Council	successful	African Court on Human	Average	Average	
The Executive Council	successful	African Court of Justice	Adequate	Good	Average
No idea	not successful	African Court of Justice	Average	Average	Average
The Executive Council	Very successful	African Court of Justice	Adequate		Very good
Pan- African Parliament	successful	African Court of Justice	Adequate	Good	Very good
No idea	successful	African Court of Justice	Average	Average	Average
The Assembly of the Unio	not successful	African Court on Human	Inadequate	Poor	Poor
Non of the above	not successful	No idea	Inadequate	Good	Excellent
No idea	No idea	No idea	Inadequate	Average	Average
The Assembly of the Unio	not successful	The Assembly of the Unio	Inadequate	Poor	Poor
No idea	No idea	No idea	No enough information	Average	Poor
Judicial and Human right	not successful	The Executive Council	Inadequate	Average	Average
Judicial and Human right	successful	No idea	Inadequate	Average	Average
The Assembly of the Unio	successful	The Assembly of the Unio	Average	Average	Average
Judicial and Human right	not successful	African Court on Human	Inadequate	Average	Average
The Executive Council	not successful	African Court on Human	Inadequate	Average	Very good
The Executive Council	not successful	African Court of Justice	Average	Good	Average
Pan- African Parliament	not successful	African Court on Human	Inadequate	Good	Average
No idea	No idea	African Court on Human	Inadequate	Poor	Poor
Pan- African Parliament	No idea	No idea	Average	Average	Average

8.Are the AU officials app	9.If they are elected, in yo	10. Do you believe AU me	11.Do you think the AU ci	12.How satisfied are you	13.Do you think there sho
No they are not elected	Average	fairly democratic	No, it can be assessed fr	Not satisfy	Yes, and it should be fully
No they are not elected		fairly democratic	No, it can be assessed fr	Not satisfy	Yes, and it should be fully
No they are not elected	sufficiently	fairly democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	satisfied	Yes, and it should be fully
No idea	No idea	Not democratic	No idea	Not satisfy	Yes, and it should be fully
No idea	Insufficiently	Not democratic	No, it can be assessed fr	Not satisfy	Yes, and it should be fully
No idea	Average	Not democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	Not satisfy	yes but it should be flexibl
No idea	Insufficiently	fairly democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	Not satisfy	Yes, and it should be fully
No idea	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	No idea
No idea	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	Yes, and it should be fully
No idea	No idea	No idea	Yes, that is the only meas	Not satisfy	yes but it should be flexibl
No idea	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	No idea
No idea	No idea	Not democratic	No idea	Not satisfy	yes but it should be flexibl
No idea	No idea	Not democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	Not satisfy	Yes, and it should be fully
Yes they are elected	Average	Not democratic	No, it can be assessed fr	Neutral	Yes, and it should be fully
Yes they are elected	Insufficiently	Not democratic	No, it can be assessed fr	Not satisfy	Yes, and it should be fully
No they are not elected	Average	Not democratic	No idea	Not satisfy	yes but it should be flexibl
No they are not elected		fairly democratic		Not satisfy	Yes, and it should be fully
No idea	Average	fairly democratic	No idea		yes but it should be flexibl
Yes they are elected, No	Insufficiently	Not democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	Not satisfy	yes but it should be flexibl
No idea	Insufficiently	fairly democratic	No idea	Not satisfy	yes but it should be flexibl
Yes they are elected	Average	Not democratic	No, it can be assessed fr	Not satisfy	Yes, and it should be fully
No they are not elected	No idea	fairly democratic	No idea	Not satisfy	yes but it should be flexibl
Yes they are elected	sufficiently	fairly democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	satisfied	Yes, and it should be fully
Yes they are elected	sufficiently	strongly democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	satisfied	Yes, and it should be fully
No idea	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	Yes, and it should be fully
No idea	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	No idea
No idea	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	No idea
No idea	Insufficiently	Not democratic	No, it can be assessed fr	Not satisfy	No idea
No they are not elected	No idea	fairly democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	Not satisfy	yes but it should be flexibl
No they are not elected	Average	fairly democratic	No, it can be assessed fr	Not satisfy	Yes, and it should be fully
No they are not elected	sufficiently	strongly democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	very satisfied	Yes, and it should be fully
No they are not elected	sufficiently	fairly democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	satisfied	yes but it should be flexibl
No they are not elected	Average	fairly democratic	No, it can be assessed fr	satisfied	yes but it should be flexibl
No they are not elected	Average	fairly democratic	No, it can be assessed fr	Not satisfy	yes but it should be flexibl
No they are not elected	sufficiently	strongly democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	very satisfied	Yes, and it should be fully
No they are not elected	sufficiently	fairly democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	satisfied	yes but it should be flexibl
No they are not elected	Average	fairly democratic	No, it can be assessed fr	satisfied	yes but it should be flexibl
Yes they are elected	Insufficiently	Not democratic	No, it can be assessed fr	Not satisfy	Yes, and it should be fully
No idea	Insufficiently	fairly democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	Neutral	Yes, and it should be fully
Yes they are elected	Average	fairly democratic	No, it can be assessed fr	Not satisfy	yes but it should be flexibl
No they are not elected	No idea	Not democratic	No, it can be assessed fr	Not satisfy	yes but it should be flexibl
No idea	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	No idea
Yes they are elected	Average	fairly democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	Not satisfy	No idea
Yes they are elected	Average	fairly democratic	No idea	Not satisfy	yes but it should be flexibl
Yes they are elected	Average	fairly democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	very satisfied	yes but it should be flexibl
Yes they are elected	sufficiently	fairly democratic	No, it can be assessed fr	Not satisfy	yes but it should be flexibl
Yes they are elected	sufficiently	fairly democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	satisfied	yes but it should be flexibl
Yes they are elected	Average	fairly democratic	Yes, that is the only meas	satisfied	Yes, and it should be fully
No idea	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	yes but it should be flexibl
No idea	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	yes but it should be flexibl
No idea	No idea	No idea	No idea	Not satisfy	Yes, and it should be fully

14. Does the Union cond	15. Does the AU have a m	16. Are the citizens being	17. Are African citizens gh	18. Is there civic engage	19. Do Africans hold their
Rarely	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	rarely
Rarely	No	No	no	Agree	yes not adequately
Yes	No idea	No idea	No idea	Agree	yes not adequately
Rarely	Yes but not adequate	No	no	Disagree	rarely
Yes but not frequently	No idea	No	no	Neutral	yes not adequately
Rarely	No	yes, but not frequently	yes not adequate	Disagree	yes not adequately
Yes but not frequently	No	No	no	Disagree	no
Yes	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	rarely
Yes but not frequently	Yes but not adequate	No idea	no	Disagree	yes not adequately
Yes	Yes but not adequate	No idea	no	Neutral	Yes
Never	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	rarely
Rarely	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	yes not adequately
Yes but not frequently	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	rarely
Yes but not frequently	Yes but not adequate	No idea	yes not adequate	Disagree	yes not adequately
Rarely	Yes but not adequate	yes, but not frequently	no	Disagree	no
Rarely	No	No	no	Disagree	no
Rarely	No	No	no	Neutral	
Yes but not frequently	Yes but not adequate	yes, but not frequently	yes not adequate	Disagree	yes not adequately
Yes but not frequently	No	No	no	Neutral	no
Yes	Yes but not adequate	yes, but not frequently	yes not adequate	Disagree	yes not adequately
Rarely	Yes but not adequate	No	no	Disagree	rarely
Rarely	No	yes, but not frequently	no	Neutral	yes not adequately
Yes	Yes but not adequate	No	yes not adequate	Disagree	yes not adequately
Yes	Yes but not adequate	yes, but not frequently	no	Neutral	yes not adequately
Rarely	No idea	No idea	no	Neutral	Yes
Yes but not frequently	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	yes not adequately
Yes but not frequently	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	Yes
Rarely	No idea	No idea	No idea	Disagree	no
Rarely	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	rarely
Rarely	No idea	No idea	yes not adequate	Agree	rarely
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Strongly agree	Yes
Yes but not frequently	Yes but not adequate	yes, but not frequently	yes not adequate	Agree	yes not adequately
Yes but not frequently	Yes but not adequate	yes, but not frequently	yes not adequate	Agree	yes not adequately
Yes but not frequently	Yes but not adequate	yes, but not frequently	yes not adequate	Agree	yes not adequately
Rarely	Yes but not adequate	yes, but not frequently	no	Disagree	yes not adequately
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Strongly agree	Yes
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Agree	Yes
Rarely	Yes but not adequate	yes, but not frequently	yes not adequate	Agree	yes not adequately
Never	No	No	no	Disagree	rarely
Yes but not frequently	No	No	Yes	Agree	yes not adequately
Yes	Yes but not adequate	No	no	Disagree	no
Yes but not frequently	Yes but not adequate	yes, but not frequently	Yes	Neutral	rarely
Never	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	rarely
Yes but not frequently	Yes but not adequate	No	no	Disagree	no
Rarely	No idea	No	no	Neutral	Yes
Yes but not frequently	Yes but not adequate	yes, but not frequently	yes not adequate	Neutral	yes not adequately
Yes	Yes but not adequate	No idea	yes not adequate	Agree	no
Yes	Yes	yes, but not frequently	yes not adequate	Neutral	Yes
Yes but not frequently	Yes but not adequate	yes, but not frequently	yes not adequate	Neutral	rarely
Rarely	Yes but not adequate	No idea	No idea	Neutral	rarely
Never	No	No	Yes	Disagree	Yes
Yes	No idea	No idea	No idea	Neutral	no

20.Do AU respond to the	21.How quickly does the	22.How transparent is the AU?
yes but inadequate	Less frequently	fairly transparent
Rarely	Hardly	fairly transparent
yes but inadequate	Promptly	fairly transparent
Rarely	Hardly	fairly transparent
yes but inadequate	Less frequently	Never transparent
yes but inadequate	Never	Never transparent
No idea	Hardly	No idea
No idea	Less frequently	No idea
yes but inadequate	Less frequently	Never transparent
Rarely	Hardly	Never transparent
No idea	Never	No idea
yes but inadequate	Hardly	No idea
Rarely	Less frequently	Never transparent
Rarely	Hardly	No idea
Rarely	Hardly	Never transparent
Rarely	Less frequently	fairly transparent
Rarely	Less frequently	fairly transparent
yes but inadequate	Promptly	fairly transparent
yes but inadequate	Less frequently	Never transparent
yes but inadequate	Less frequently	fairly transparent
Rarely	Hardly	fairly transparent
Rarely	Less frequently	No idea
yes but inadequate	Less frequently	fairly transparent
yes but inadequate	Less frequently	fairly transparent
No idea	Less frequently	No idea
No idea	Less frequently	No idea
No idea	Less frequently	No idea
Rarely	Hardly	Never transparent
No idea	Less frequently	fairly transparent
Rarely	Hardly	fairly transparent
Yes	Promptly	very transparent
Yes	Less frequently	fairly transparent
yes but inadequate	Less frequently	fairly transparent
yes but inadequate	Less frequently	fairly transparent
yes but inadequate	Less frequently	fairly transparent
Yes	Promptly	very transparent
Yes	Promptly	very transparent
yes but inadequate	Less frequently	fairly transparent
Rarely	Hardly	Never transparent
Rarely	Hardly	Never transparent
Rarely	Hardly	Never transparent
yes but inadequate	Less frequently	fairly transparent
No idea	Hardly	No idea
yes but inadequate	Less frequently	Never transparent
No idea	Less frequently	fairly transparent
Yes	Promptly	very transparent
Rarely	Hardly	fairly transparent
Rarely	Less frequently	fairly transparent
Rarely	Less frequently	fairly transparent
No idea	Hardly	No idea
No idea		No idea
Rarely	Less frequently	No idea