

# African Economic Integration

A Report of the Building Bridges Programme,  
Graduate School of Development Policy and Practice,  
University of Cape Town

2014–2016





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# Introduction

The mission of the **Graduate School of Development Policy and Practice** (GSDPP), based at the University of Cape Town (UCT), is to promote and inspire strategic public leadership in Africa. As a multi-disciplinary centre, the School and its offerings are designed to make public service at the highest levels of leadership an aspiration for the most talented of the community's rising generation.

The School aims to build an *esprit de corps* amongst leaders in South Africa and Africa more broadly, and to promote peer networks and linkages between leaders in government and in other fields such as academia, business, civil society and the arts.

There are four main components to the School's activities:

- A professional **Masters in Development Policy and Practice**
- **Executive short courses** designed for public leaders and officials, international and national non-profit organisations, think tanks and the private sector
- The **Building Bridges** programme which brings together established and emerging public leaders, policymakers and experts from across Africa on key policy issues
- A **research centre** on governance and development.

## Building Bridges

**Building Bridges** is a multi-year policy-focused research and outreach programme combining fellowships, meetings and workshops (both public and closed) and a leadership development component. By 'building bridges' between political actors and policy research experts, the programme aims to close the gap between analysis and action on the difficult issues facing Africa.

**Building Bridges** leverages the unique convening power of the university environment to bring together influential Africans in order to deepen understanding of and explore solutions to these difficult issues.

Each year stakeholders from across the public sphere in several sub-Saharan countries – including journalists, civil society leaders and parliamentarians – are invited to participate in broadening the conversation with policymakers and experts at regional events, supported by current research, data, case studies and other evidence.

**Building Bridges** aims to create new networks of expertise around seemingly intractable or complex problems that plague the continent. Through offering a constructive 'safe' space for frank conversation, **Building Bridges** aims to deepen relationships, build trust, and seek solutions from a diverse array of actors who influence policy decisions which impact Africa at international, regional and local level.

In order to achieve its objectives, **Building Bridges** convenes a series of events focusing on a central theme:

- A **symposium for African experts** conducted under Chatham House rules
- A **roundtable for policymakers and business leaders** conducted under Chatham House rules
- A **public leadership development programme** targeting mid-career young African leaders
- Regional **multi-stakeholder workshops**.

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#### Dr Marianne Camerer

Director, Building Bridges Programme

# Foreword



**The rationale of the Building Bridges programme is that there are several well-known challenges that Africans face as continental citizens but there has been slow progress in addressing them. These include, for example, continental climate change issues, gender equity issues, government accountability to African economic integration.**

In many of these instances the solutions to the problem are well known by experts and policymakers, and often even by a broader population. But those tasked with resolving these problems either do not have the incentives or the resources to do this effectively.

On this basis, the GSDPP felt it would be a good idea to bring together experts, policymakers, young leaders and other interested groupings, through the collaborative platform of **Building Bridges**, in a series of meetings to try to take forward our collective understanding of key issues and build new networks.

Indeed, we feel that to a significant extent, the process is an important part of the solution. The challenge we decided to engage with was: how do we build coalitions to support reform and to neutralise the forces standing in the way of reform?

African economic integration was the first of these problems that we tackled. While we should not underestimate the progress that has been made towards economic integration in Africa, we need to understand why we are not doing better. Economic integration is part of moving forward, not only to economic prosperity, but also to greater cultural understanding, and moving away from the xenophobia that we have experienced from time to time.

First, we brought the experts together. Then the young leaders, then we convened some of the more influential policymakers, and finally we held a series of meetings around the continent in an effort to build momentum for reform coalitions.

In East Africa we partnered with the UONGOZI Institute to bring together experts, policymakers, young leaders and the business community; in West Africa we met with the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and a range of young leaders, experts and policymakers around culture and integration; and in Southern Africa, working with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), we engaged on how we can use the measurement of integration as a means to enhance accountability.

In this report we bring together some of our findings that reflect on the theme. But the lasting legacy, we believe, is in bringing key members of the reform coalition together, and helping to build a network that will help drive integration forward.

The leadership of Thandika Mkandawire and Trevor Manuel was indispensable, and our partnerships with UONGOZI, CODESRIA and ECA were heartwarming and brilliantly effective. The participation of all of the experts, young leaders, policymakers, business people, artists and administrators made all of our preparatory work worthwhile.

We hope that discussion at these events can help us to take the project of regional integration forward – to revive it and identify its weak points and to engage with those we think should be accounting more effectively for its progress. We believe we have strengthened African networks for progressive reform. This report will give you a sense of our journey.

**Alan Hirsch**  
**GSDPP Director**



# Building Bridges Theme: African Economic Integration

**This report provides an overview of the events convened in the first Building Bridges programme cycle, focused on the theme of African economic integration, attended by 140 participants from over 20 African countries, and draws out some of the key threads from these conversations, informed by background think pieces, presentations, workshop reports and transcripts.**

Regional integration has long been a key economic and political ambition in Africa. The formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 provided a major cross-continental push towards the vision of a truly independent, integrated African continent, with more integrated and larger markets, and a shared experience of what it is to be African.

Fifty years later, the African Union (AU) launched *Agenda 2063, The Africa We Want* – a long-term development strategy and timeline for accelerating implementation of existing continental frameworks towards this goal, including the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action, the 1991 Abuja Treaty, the 2001 New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the 2003 Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), the 2008 Action Plan for Accelerated Industrial Development in Africa (AIDA), the 2007 Minimum Integration Programme and the 2010 Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA).

Despite the long history of high-level commitments to the overarching goal of integration, there is still slow progress and on-going debate around definitions, strategies, diagnostics, jurisdiction and desired outcomes. In the past, Africa was held together by the common need for liberation. Economic integration and transformation require a consistent impetus to drive change, and countries across the continent are at differing levels of development and governance.

From a public policy perspective, integration poses challenges, both at a national level and in regions comprised of diverse nation states.

The benefits of regional integration at a domestic level need to be understood and popularised. While its benefits to investors are understood, explaining its benefits to citizens needs more effort. Economic integration is part of the process forward, not only to sustainable development and inclusive growth, but also to building bridges between people and countries, and moving away from the xenophobia, conflict and violence that continue to plague significant parts of the continent.

Africa's growing population offers a powerful engine for advancing growth, employment and intra-African trade. ECA estimates that successful establishment of a Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA), for which a target date of 2017 was set in the Abuja Treaty, would result in intra-African trade rising to 22% of total African trade, and add about US\$1 trillion to the global economy, and African living standards will rise accordingly.

- If the economic benefits are so clear, why does African integration, particularly as manifested in thriving cross-border trade between sovereign nations, remain elusive?
- What are the most pressing obstacles to integration in Africa?
- What are the most important levers – and challenges – that we, and African leaders, need to engage with to promote and achieve economic integration?
- What are the priorities for a research agenda about economic integration on the African continent?
- How can scholarly research on regional integration have a real impact in the world of politics?

These were some of the critical questions underlying the adoption of African economic integration as the first overarching theme to launch the Building Bridges programme, using the framework of political economy to identify and discuss key challenges and opportunities, the forces favouring and opposing reform, and strategies to promote integration.

*“No independent African state today by itself has a chance to follow an independent course of economic development, and many of us who have tried to do this have been almost ruined or have had to return to the fold of the former colonial powers. This position will not change unless we have a unified policy working at a continental level.”*

**Kwame Nkrumah,  
1963**



Senior GSDPP Fellows, Prof Thandika Mkandawire and Honorary Prof Trevor Manuel

Trevor Manuel – an influential South African, African and global political figure – was appointed as the programme’s Senior Political Fellow for 2014–2015, and Professor Thandika Mkandawire – Chair in African Development at London School of Economics and a renowned African intellectual – was appointed as

the programme’s Senior Policy Research fellow. The stature of the Senior Fellows was a significant factor in attracting key regional political, institutional and research actors to share their insights and expertise on tackling the challenges to African economic integration at the following events:

Dates	Activities
20–22 November 2014	<b>The Political Economy of African Economic Integration: Strategic Reflections</b> Experts’ workshop, Cape Town, South Africa
8–20 March 2015	<b>Leading in Public Life</b> Young African Leaders Programme Cape Town, South Africa
15–16 May 2015	<b>Driving African Economic Integration: Penetrating the Political Economy Obstacles</b> Policymakers’ roundtable, Cape Town, South Africa
17–19 August 2015	<b>Developing National Business Communities and Regional Integration: In what ways can business help drive regional integration?</b> East African regional workshop, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in partnership with UONGOZI Institute of African Leadership for Sustainable Development
16–17 October 2015	<b>Culture, History and Ideas: Re-evaluating Pan-Africanism</b> West African regional workshop, Dakar, Senegal, in partnership with the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
23–24 November 2015	<b>Accounting for Progress in Regional Integration: Evidence and accountability</b> Southern African regional workshop, Lusaka, Zambia, in partnership with the United Nations Economic Commission on Africa, Southern Africa

*“Africa shall be a continent where the free movement of people, capital, goods and services will result in significant increases in trade and investments amongst African countries rising to unprecedented levels, and strengthen Africa’s place in global trade.”*

Agenda 2063 – The Africa We Want

*“The decolonisation process in many countries left Africa with little control over their natural resources. The struggle for the economic and political self-determination of the continent therefore remains as important as ever.”*

Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma,  
2013

1963

- 1963:** Organisation of African Unity (OAU)
- 1964:** African Development Bank (AfDB)
- 1969:** Southern African Customs Union (SACU)
- 1973:** Mano River Union (MRU) (later subsumed into ECOWAS, revised in 2004)
- 1975:** Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
- 1980:** Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa (OAU); Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC)
- 1981:** Preferential Trade Area
- 1983:** Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)
- 1984:** Indian Ocean Commission (IOC)
- 1986:** Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD)
- 1989:** Arab Maghreb Union (UMA)
- 1991:** Treaty to Establish the African Economic Community (AEC)/Abuja Treaty (OAU)
- 1992:** SADCC becomes Southern African Development Community (SADC)
- 1993:** Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)
- 1994:** West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU)
- 1996:** Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) replaces IGADD
- 1998:** Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD); Protocol on Relations between the AEC and the RECs (OAU)
- 1999:** East African Community (EAC); EAC Community Passport

# Progress Towards African Economic Integration

The 1980 Lagos Plan of Action adopted by African Heads of State and Government recognised the centrality of regional integration for socio-economic development, while the Abuja Treaty of 1991 developed a timetable for establishing an integrated African Economic Community (AEC) with Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as its institutional foundation.

The Abuja Treaty proposed the establishment of a CFTA by 2017, and integration into a single customs union with a common currency, central bank and parliament by 2028. Continental economic integration would be achieved through establishing a single trade and investment area, removing tariff, non-tariff and other barriers to the movement of goods, services, capital and people, and achieving competitive trade in goods and services in the global market.

In 2000, the OAU/AEC Summit adopted the Constitutive Act of the African Union (AU), which reaffirmed regional economic integration and the status of the RECs, while recognising the need for rationalisation. In 2007 the AU adopted a Protocol on Relations between the AU and the RECs aimed at harmonising policies and ensuring compliance with target timelines.

The very establishment of the RECs can be seen as a sign of commitment to – and progress towards – the integration agenda. Most RECs have regional trade agreements, some have already established free trade areas, and some are in the process of becoming fully-fledged customs unions (COMESA and EAC). Agreement on a tripartite FTA between COMESA, EAC and SADC concluded in 2008 plans to bring together 26 African countries, with a combined population of 530 million, and a total GDP of US\$630 billion, representing over 50% of Africa's economic output, but progress towards implementation remains slow.

There are also encouraging moves towards harmonising programmes of action between regional bodies – in

West Africa (ECOWAS and UEMOA), Central Africa (ECCAS and CEMAC), East Africa (EAC and COMESA) and Southern Africa (COMESA and SADC).

The linear model of regional integration is based upon a successive sacrifice of policy space as steps towards integration are taken. For example, progress from a free trade area to a customs union requires sacrifice of tariff policy space. A customs union is defined to have a common external tariff (CET) and a common customs territory. As regards the import tariff, member states decide together on a common position on the import tariff vis à vis third parties, while rules on the management of the CET and the distribution of tariff revenue have to be negotiated and agreed.

This may well involve challenging issues associated with the establishment of a supra-national institution ('rules of the game') to manage the CET, especially when integrating unequal partners, or it may mean that alternatives to the linear model should be explored. The linear model of regional integration has been superseded by so many variations that its relevance today may be less a pathway than a menu.

The OAU and the AU have proclaimed a common African currency as one of the goals for regional integration, although there is debate about the feasibility and desirability of a full African monetary union. Since the early 2000s, interest in sub-regional monetary integration and unions has risen in Africa, stimulated initially by the perceived success of the introduction of the Euro, and remains strong despite the global financial crisis.

In 2013, the leaders of the West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ) – Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone – announced plans to establish a common Central Bank and currency by 2015. Similarly, 15 members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), containing WAMZ, agreed to establish the "Eco" by 2020.





Febe Potgieter-Gqubule, Carl Manlan, Nkosana Donald Moyo, Faizel Ismail (in background) and Thandika Mkandawire at the Experts' Workshop, Cape Town, November 2014

While the members of the East African Community have moved their targeted date for the joint currency from 2012 to 2023, creation of monetary union remains firmly on the bloc's agenda. The movement in East Africa towards an integrated cross-border payment system for banks provides an important guide post for a practical approach towards integration.

The costs of monetary integration could be substantial, especially during the transition period, and countries will need

to agree on a system of fiscal transfers to reduce differences in net benefits from integration. The benefits would be further boosted with a credible regional central bank – ECA and the African Development Bank (AfDB) are working together to establish the African Central Bank, the African Monetary Fund, and the African Investment Bank. However, persistent crises and stagnation in much of Europe since the global financial crisis have highlighted the pitfalls of unifying vastly heterogeneous economies within a monetary union.

### REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES

**Arab Maghreb Union (UMA):** 5 member states – Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia

**Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA):** 19 member states – Burundi, Comoros, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Seychelles, Sudan, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe

**Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD):** 29 member states – Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia

**East African Community (EAC):** 5 member states – Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania

**Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS):** 10 members – Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, São Tomé and Príncipe

**Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS):** 15 members – Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo

**Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD):** 8 members – Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Uganda

**Southern African Development Community (SADC):** 15 members – Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe

- 2000:** ECOWAS Passport; International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR)
- 2001:** New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)
- 2002:** African Union (AU); Peace and Security Council Protocol/African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) (AU)
- 2003:** African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)
- 2004:** Pan-African Parliament (PAP); ECCAS Free Trade Area launched
- 2005:** COMESA-EAC-SADC Tripartite established
- 2009:** COMESA Customs Union; Chirundu One Stop Border Post (COMESA); Minimum Integration Programme (AU); African Charter of Statistics (AU)
- 2010:** EAC Common Market
- 2011:** Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA) (AU)
- 2013:** 50th Anniversary of the OAU/AU
- 2015:** COMESA-EAC-SADC Tripartite Free Trade Area
- Projected aims of the Abuja Treaty:**
- 2016:** COMESA-EAC-SADC Tripartite Free Trade Agreement; Africa Visa Openness Index (AfDB)
- 2017:** Continental Free Trade Area (AU); regional customs unions
- 2019:** African Customs Union (AU)
- 2023:** African Common Market (AU)
- 2028:** African Economic Monetary Union (AU); AEC completed
- 2034:** Latest date for AEC to be completed
- 2063:** The Africa We Want, Agenda 2063

2063

# The Political Economy of African Economic Integration: Strategic Reflections

In November 2014, leading thinkers and experts on African integration issues attended a two-day workshop in Cape Town aimed at unpacking the political economy of integration, deepening understanding of the forces favouring and opposing developmental integration, and developing clear strategies to drive the reform agenda forward. Participants shared their insights, experiences and reflections, informed by background think pieces, on the following key themes:

## The Big Picture – Where are we when it comes to African economic integration?

Was the vision of an integrated continent – with larger, integrated markets, a common currency and a shared identity – a pipe dream? What have we achieved? Has the key theme underpinning the movement, that failure to unite would lead to African economic and political growth failing to reach its full potential, proven true? Why does African integration, particularly manifested in thriving cross-border trade between sovereign nations, remain a seemingly elusive ideal? What reforms should we be focusing on now?

## The Big Question – What are the key obstacles to economic integration?

Some of the key challenges have been identified as structural – a lack of complementarity between many African countries, low levels of income and investment, failure to fully implement Regional Trade Agreements, high trade tariffs, an abundance of non-tariff barriers, inadequate infrastructure and undeveloped industrial production. Are these the real reasons impeding African growth? What are the deeper political and economic considerations? How have divergent, competing perspectives on integration impacted regional policy? What about the role of powerful individuals in shaping the integration process? What role can technocrats play? How do sovereign, national interests and domestic agendas interplay with public commitments to regional integration?

## The Rules of the Game – How have formalised institutions advanced and/or frustrated the pursuit of greater regional integration?

Various Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and formalised trade agreements exist as part of the

architecture to institutionalise economic integration – from the formation of ECOWAS in 1975 to today. Are these working? How have institutional arrangements contributed to or hindered greater economic integration across the continent? Is multi-group membership workable? What are the best forces of integration and how do we steer them? What is the best strategy for integration – regional step by step, or Africa-wide?

## Africa in the World – How are changing global power dynamics impacting economic integration in Africa?

As China, India, Turkey, Brazil and other emerging market economies gain traction in the international investment space, the role of traditional trade partners such as the United Kingdom and France appears to be diminishing. What impact will the continued role of existing powers, along with the rise of new economic powers, have on Africa's regional integration? Is America's renewed interest in Africa significant? Is the trend for trade and investment to overtake aid long-term? What potential do development banks such as the new BRICS bank and other new sources of finance have to invest in infrastructure needed for developmental integration?

## “Trade Follows the Flag”? – What is the role of the private sector in stimulating integration?

The private sector has an integral role to play in enhancing regional economic integration. Multi-national corporations are leading the way in Africa – how are they able to do business in the absence of harmonised policies, legislation, infrastructural and other constraints? How can private business interests be leveraged to promote deeper integration? What role do smaller, more informal, traders play? Who are the other private sector actors that play a role?

*“Issues of regional integration are going to be at the forefront of sustaining growth rates recorded in the region. As such, discussions such as this one on theoretical and practical issues are value adding.”*

## Broadening the conversation – How do civil society organisations and other stakeholders such as the media and parliamentarians engage with integration issues?

African regional integration was first brought into the public arena by prominent philosophers and social activists. With the formation of the OAU in 1963, the vision of a united Africa moved from a civil project to a state-centric project. How do we broaden the conversation around integration to raise awareness about its benefits and mobilise wider support among citizens and key stakeholders in business, civil society and parliaments?

Participants discussed the key political economy ‘ingredients’ to drive the integration agenda forward, and the role of culture in building bridges within and between regions. Key actors and champions were identified to mobilise and build support for regional integration – country by country and in pan-African networks – with particular focus on engaging with the private sector, civil society, national parliaments, youth groupings and the media.

The meeting was attended by: **Said Adejumobi**, ECA; **Anders Aeroe**, International Trade Centre; **Simal O. Amor**, Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA); **Talitha Bertelsmann-Scott**, South African Institute Of International Affairs; **Zuzana Brixiova**, African Development Bank;

The programme, participant biographies and workshop report are available at [www.gsdpp.uct.ac.za/africaneconomicintegration](http://www.gsdpp.uct.ac.za/africaneconomicintegration)

RECOMMENDATION	DESCRIPTION	KEY ACTORS
<b>1. Deepen a common vision and identity</b>	Promote responsible and strategic leadership across sectors and interests to actively champion and communicate a compelling African narrative around the agenda for and benefits of developmental and economic integration (for example, <i>Agenda 2063</i> ).	African Union (AU); Regional Economic Communities (RECs); National Governments; Media; Creative artists; Non-governmental organisations (NGOs); Parliaments; Youth organisations; Business; Research community.
<b>2. Strengthen and deploy monitoring tools</b>	Develop an agreed upon metrics framework on integration that serves as an evidence-base for policy planning and implementation, using empirical studies and indicators (for example, the Regional Integration Index of ECA/African Development Bank [AfDB], and the AfDB Trade Index).	AU; RECs; National Governments; Development Finance Institutions (DFIs); Continental agencies; Multi-lateral institutions; NGOs
<b>3. Expand knowledge and research capacities</b>	Establish and strengthen centres of excellence on the study of regional economic integration and find more effective ways to coordinate research initiatives in order to build an African community of thinkers, policy practitioners and experts.	AU; RECs; National Governments; Universities; Think Tanks; NGOs; Development partners; Research community; DFIs; Multi-lateral institutions
<b>4. Build trust</b>	Convene regular dialogues with multiple stakeholders to serve as credible platforms for knowledge exchange on where bottlenecks exist, how risks could be reduced, and where opportunities could expand, to promote regional integration.	AU; RECs; National Governments; Media; Parliaments (National and Regional); Think Tanks; Universities; NGOs, Business; Development partners; Labour; Research community.
<b>5. Align domestic and regional agendas</b>	Develop coherent national planning policies which support regional integration treaties and frameworks.	AU; RECs; National Governments; Parliaments (National and Regional); Regional Organisations.
<b>6. Invest in infrastructure for integration</b>	Strengthen human and physical capacity and infrastructure (roads, border posts, irrigation, broadband, ports) to stimulate intra-regional trade, higher productivity and the movement of people.	AU; RECs; National Governments; Business; Unions; DFIs.
<b>7. Anchor accountability</b>	Support and strengthen oversight mechanisms and processes (both state and non-state) to ensure greater accountability by decision-makers with respect to progress on national and regional policy commitments that promote integration (for example, the establishment of a parliamentary briefing desk on regional integration).	National Governments; RECs; Parliaments; Government; Media; Think Tanks; NGOs.

**Bruce Byiers**, European Centre for Policy Development Management (ECDPM); **Joao Caholo**, Former SADC Deputy Executive Secretary; **Marianne Camerer**, GSDPP; **Hanief Ebrahim**, Office of the Presidency, South Africa; **Catherine Grant-Makokera**, independent researcher; **Trudi Hartzenberg**, The Trade Law Centre; **Alan Hirsch**, GSDPP; Ambassador **Faizel Ismail**; **Garth Le Pere**, University of Pretoria; **Carl Manlan**, ECA; **Trevor Manuel**, GSDPP;

**Thandika Mkandawire**, London School of Economics/GSDPP; **Nkosana Donald Moyo**, Mandela Institute For Development Studies; **Sanusha Naidu**, Institute For Global Dialogue; **Simon Ng'ona**, CUTS International, Lusaka; **Mxolisi Notshulwana**, trade specialist; **Febe Potgieter-Gqubule**, AU; **Cleo Rose-Innes**, National Treasury, South Africa; **Tomaz Salomao**, Former Executive Secretary Of SADC; **Mills Soko**, Graduate School of Business, UCT; **Jan Vanheukelom**, ECDPM.

Discussion at the workshop realised a core **Building Bridges** objective of bringing together influential Africans to deepen understanding on a key continental challenge and make actionable recommendations to accelerate integration. The workshop recommendations informed the agenda for the May 2015 policymakers' roundtable, and shaped selection of topics and participants for the regional multi-stakeholder workshops held in late 2015.



# Driving African Economic Integration: Penetrating the Political Economy Obstacles

**In May 2015, Building Bridges hosted a two-day roundtable in Cape Town for 15 influential African policy- and decision-makers, chaired by GSDPP Senior Fellows, Visiting Professor Thandika Mkandawire and Honorary Professor Trevor Manuel. The roundtable focused on the key drivers and obstacles to African economic integration, within the changing geopolitical landscape, with discussion structured around four themes:**

- **Setting the context** for African economic integration by identifying obstacles and opportunities
- **Aligning national and regional agendas**, with a focus on agency, leadership and accountability – in particular, the role of political elites, state bureaucrats, civil society and the private sector – and the specific role of regional hegemons
- **Investing in infrastructure** development
- **Deepening a common vision**, identity and building trust across Africa.

Multiple actors and factors influence or shape regional cooperation and integration in cross-country and regional contexts – different stakeholders have different interests and desire different outcomes from regional integration. Understanding the incentive environment within which political and other elites make choices, and what types of reforms and support measures may be politically feasible, is critical for building effective coalitions of reform to drive change and deepen development both within countries and regions.

The programme, participant biographies and workshop report are available at [www.gsdpp.uct.ac.za/africaneconomicintegration](http://www.gsdpp.uct.ac.za/africaneconomicintegration)

Policymakers at the meeting discussed the wide diversity of processes in Africa, driven by a range of actors – including formal regional institutions, state actors and non-state stakeholders – that influence functional cooperation and integration, and identified key information and research gaps for strengthening the integration agenda.

A key theme emerging from the roundtable was the importance of re-examining the political underpinnings of the integration project and rekindling the idea of pan-African solidarity and identity.

Participants echoed the recommendations from the experts' meeting on the need to develop a shared vision across sectors and interests within and between countries and regions, to build trust between multiple stakeholders, and to identify champions who can communicate a compelling common narrative around the benefits of developmental and economic integration in Africa.

- What are the incentives for integration – at regional, national and sub-national level?
- What are the institutions that are helping drive integration, or holding it back?
- What are the interests hindering or driving the movement forward?
- How do we develop and strengthen coalitions to unlock the way forward?
- Where are the pressure points and levers for change?
- What types of reforms and measures are possible to drive the integration agenda?
- What are the key areas where an effective research agenda could contribute?



SITTING: Alan Hirsch, GSDPP; Trevor Manuel, GSDPP; Marianne Camerer, GSDPP; Carlos Lopes, ECA; Thandika Mkandawire, London School of Economics/GSDPP; STANDING: Moe Shaik, Development Bank of South Africa; Jonathan Leape, International Growth Centre; Faizel Ismail, Department of Trade and Industry, South Africa; Taffere Tesfachew, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development; Ibrahim Assane Mayaki, New Partnership for Africa's Development; Neil Cole, Collaborative Africa Budget Reform Initiative; Steve Kayizzi-Mugerwa, African Development Bank; Admassu Tadesse, PTA Bank, Ali A. Mufuruki, TradeMark East Africa & Infotech Investment Group, Tanzania; Said Adejumbi, ECA



*“We need to learn how to tell, and share, our own ‘stories’ in ways that capture public imagination, and weave a shared narrative about integration. To ‘reimagine’ Africa’s future, integration must be linked to the interests of everyday citizens – implementing projects that bring real benefits at grassroots level, such as roads, infrastructure, water, healthcare, travel arrangements.”*

Resolutions and policy decisions by political leaders at the regional level frequently do not find expression in national policies, while the ‘spaghetti bowl’ of overlapping and multiple membership of RECs can mean that member states lose policy direction and coherence as they respond to differing regional stimuli. While strong commitments are made to pursuing the dream of African integration, the commitment to collective rules-based integration solutions is questionable.

The emerging discussion on ‘developmental regional integration’ has

not yet resulted in a practical integration agenda. An interesting question is – can developmental regional integration be achieved without rules-based governance?

Powerful interests in African countries are concerned about loss of policy space and protective of sovereignty, focusing much more on inward-looking development options. Regional integration is not seen as an integral part of a national development strategy by most African states. Ultimately, the most important deficit is the weak and fragmented support at the national level

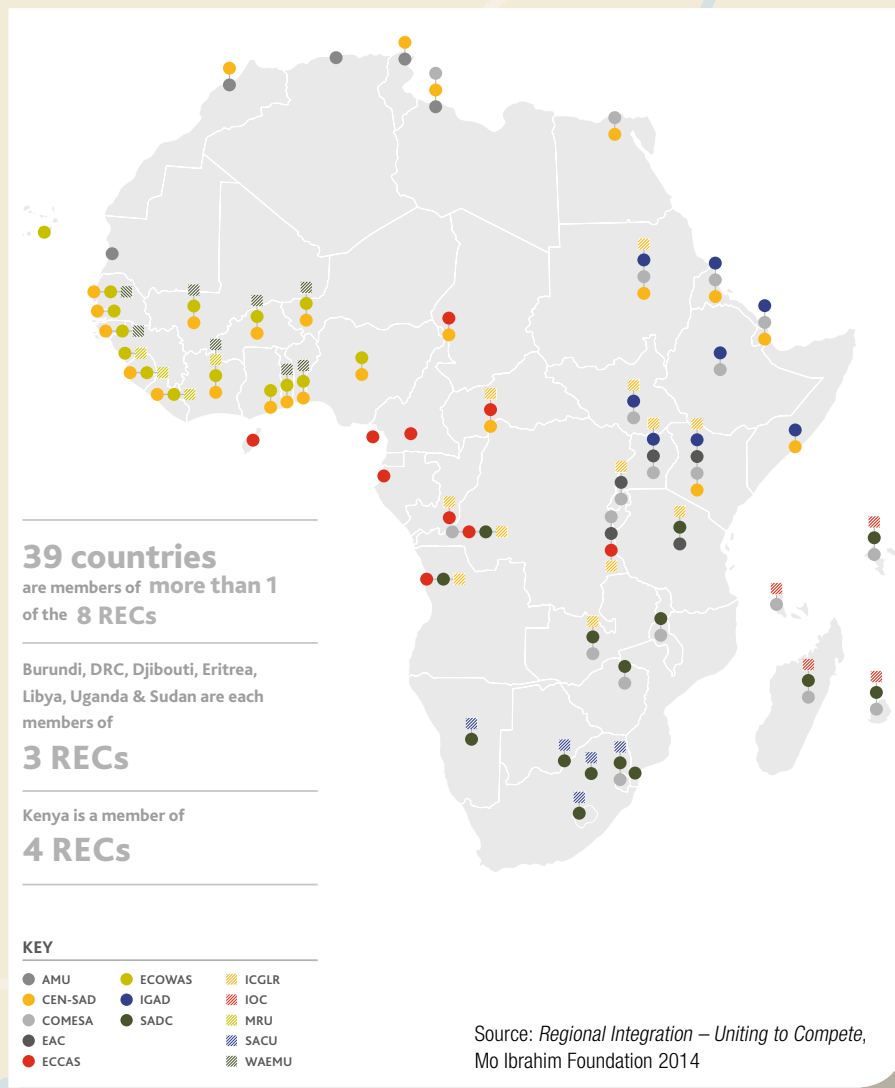
for African economic integration, while those interests which prefer to slow down integration are well-funded and articulate, and can exploit fears of change.

If the nation state is the basic unit of regional integration, we need to give proper attention to issues of sovereignty and explain how regional integration will benefit nation states. The existence of the nation state is an issue in terms of the architecture of the problems that we are trying to resolve as a globalised community – climate change, inclusion, inequality.

The fact that the world is not unified in terms of governance and response to issues creates opportunities for Africa, as a continent, to negotiate for better value against a multiplicity of players that have come to the fore. Other concrete strategies to ‘capitalise’ on changing global dynamics include:

- Building political consensus and trust – to balance national priorities with regional normative objectives, agreements and goals
- Recognition of structural, historical and institutional factors that preclude regional cooperation and integration
- Development of a realistic regional integration agenda with targets that are achievable and implementable
- Alignment of donor support with existing and domestic incentives and development mechanisms within African think tanks and DFIs for regional integration.

*“Regional integration is not seen as an integral part of a national development strategy by most African states.”*



## Assessing Regional Integration in Africa: Innovation, Competitiveness and Regional Integration, 2016

The 7th annual report on Assessing Regional Integration in Africa by ECA, the AU and the AfDB highlights significant progress made towards the dimensions of integration as identified by the Abuja Treaty, albeit uneven across RECs and countries.

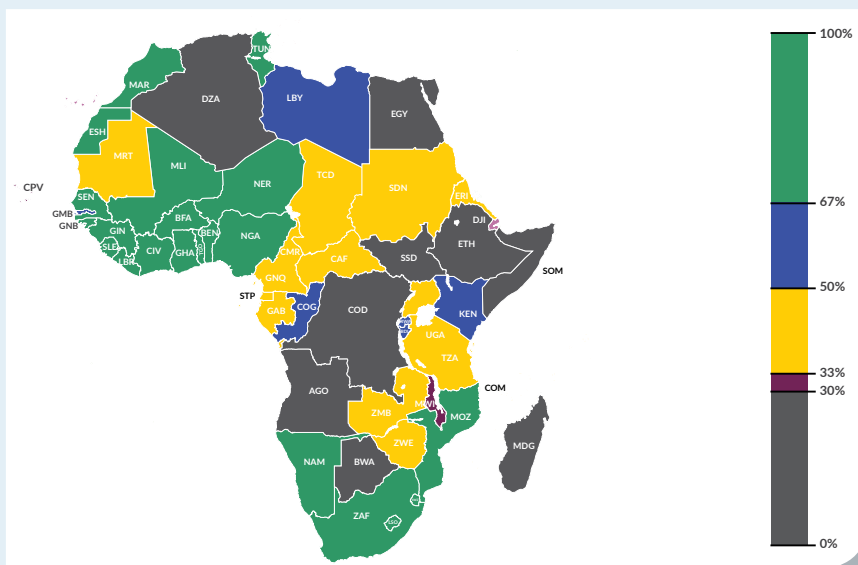
- » Two key shifts in Africa's trade integration occurred in June 2015 – the signing of the Tripartite Free Trade Area Agreement between COMESA, EAC and SADC; and the formal launch of the Continental Free Trade Area negotiations, covering trade in goods and services, investment, intellectual property rights and competition policy.
- » Africa is making progress in establishing legal frameworks to deepen trade integration among RECs; in January 2015, ECOWAS launched its customs union, which eight of the bloc's 15 member states began to implement through a common external tariff by April 2015 and the Arab Maghreb Union is moving closer to launching its own free trade area.
- » Intra-African imports as a share of the continent's GDP rose from around 2.7% in 1995 to around 4.5% in 2013. Although this is low compared with regions such as the Americas (6.7%), Asia (17.9%) and Europe (21%), only SADC (from 3.6% of GDP in 1995 to 5.7% in 2014) and COMESA (from 0.8% in 1995 to 1.8% in 2014) have seen substantial increases in the share of intra-regional trade in GDP.
- » Several RECs have reduced tariffs on intra-regional imports to a relatively low level: out of Africa's RECs with free trade areas, EAC has a zero average applied tariff on imports within the bloc, while ECCAS and COMESA both apply tariffs of about 1.9%. SADC and ECOWAS intra-regional tariffs are higher (3.8 and 5.7%). COMESA, EAC, ECOWAS and SADC have all adopted measures to facilitate transport and reduce non-tariff barriers. Economic partnership agreements with the European Union and mega-regional trade agreements make it crucial for Africa to conclude, quickly, the Continental Free Trade Area.
- » Africa's intra-regional trade in intermediate and capital goods grew over 11% annually between 1999 and 2013, outstripping the continent's real economic growth of 4.4%, suggesting the development of regional value chains.

- » Intra-African trade remains relatively low, however, because of weaknesses in manufacturing. African countries are estimated to import around \$98 billion in services from outside the continent. Lower barriers to services trade between African countries could potentially allow African firms to capture much of this business. But African countries have high barriers: 19 of 26 African countries studied fall in the bottom half of the global rankings for ease of trade in services.
- » Africa's macroeconomic performance remains largely solid, but China's slowdown could be challenging for fiscal policy in some African countries. In particular, reductions in global commodity prices could pose problems for debt repayment in African countries with sovereign bonds.
- » Though data are limited on intra-African foreign direct investment, it appears that such flows represent only a fraction of Africa's GDP. However, some African banks are opening branches across the continent, suggesting a potential for greater financial integration if barriers to cross-border lending are lowered further.
- » ECA and the AfDB are working together to establish the African Central Bank, the African Monetary Fund, and the African Investment Bank. Some of Africa's RECs, including the EAC (particularly Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda) and ECOWAS have facilitated their nationals' movements among member countries.

However, progress in other RECs is less advanced, and the average ratification rate for protocols on free movement of persons remains at 60%.

- » Africa is employing innovative methods to raise infrastructure finance and to drive forward strategic infrastructure projects, including cross-border transport, communications and pipeline projects. The continent is also working on energy projects. Multiple African countries have made large strides in improving road density and quality, as well as internet bandwidth. ECCAS, SADC and some East African countries have created single-area mobile phone networks across several countries, reducing roaming costs.
- » While EAC, ECOWAS and SADC have taken steps towards harmonising mining policies and standards, more need to follow the Africa Mining Vision, which provides a blueprint for mining standards across the continent.
- » African countries are demonstrating a strong commitment to peace and security cooperation – over 45 000 African personnel were committed to UN and AU peacekeeping missions in Africa. African leaders negotiated swift returns to civilian rule after coups d'état in Burkina Faso and Mali, and African forces from multiple countries have made substantial progress in combating the terrorism of Boko Haram in West Africa as well as Al-Shabab in Somalia.

Proportion of REC-level free movement of persons protocols ratified, by country



Source: Assessing Regional Integration in Africa (ARIA VII): Innovation, Competitiveness and Regional Integration, 2016. Addis Ababa: ECA, AU & AfDB

The diversification in development models, wrought by China's varied bilateral trade and investment interactions with Africa, is increasing demand for creative development solutions that combine and blend development grants and tied aid with concession loans and multilateral trade. The potential opportunities (and challenges) for DFIs, – such as the AfDB, DBSA, BRICS Bank and the private sector – are immense in steering continental and regional infrastructure frameworks towards inclusive, coordinated and harmonised regional infrastructure frameworks with master plans, effective resource mobilisation, regional balance, and equity in infrastructure delivery, effective monitoring and evaluation, and implementation of cross-border or trans-boundary infrastructural programmes and projects.

It is unrealistic to assume that we have consensus on one development path that promotes inclusion and regional integration as there are divergent and sometimes conflicting interests in outcomes. Countries should be encouraged to reflect on the rapid changes in global dynamics and impact on strategies for engagement.

Multilateral and bilateral agreements are necessary but these need to be firmly anchored in domestic objectives if the institutional context is to evolve to support them. Countries able to do so should interrogate their public expenditure planning and decision-making for both inputs and outputs, for both sustainability and demonstrable effect on the evolution of the domestic economy and inclusion, including through better linkages and networks with neighbours and external actors.

Many of the benefits of regional integration are achieved through trade, but for these benefits to be realised, it must be physically practicable (requiring adequate communications and transport infrastructure) as well as institutionally supported (through appropriate policies and regulatory frameworks). While intra-African trade remains relatively low, there has been a surge in regional trade agreements. With regard to trade policy

designed to promote investment and exports and scale economies that result from regional integration: exporters require easy and reliable access to inputs at world prices; investment must be facilitated; and domestic producers need protection against damaging competition.

*“Regional integration is discussed at presidential summits, but beyond the talks, there is no platform for engaging with the decisions and progress.”*

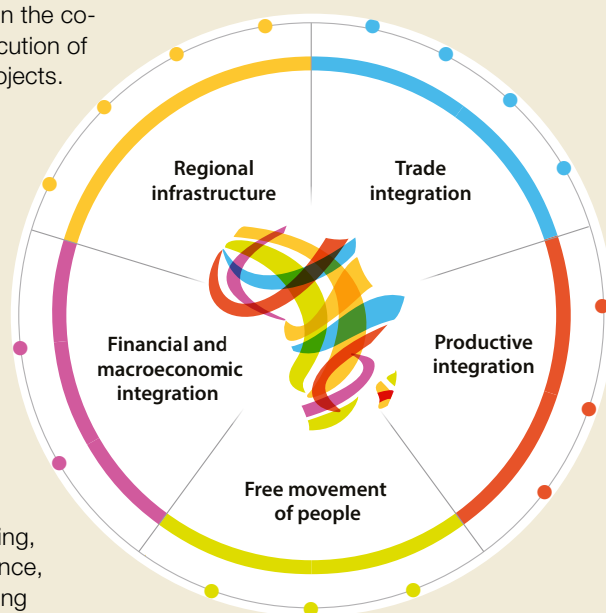
Regional institutions have played a major role in reducing conflict and promoting security in Africa – the question is how to use RECs effectively as vehicles for economic transformation? The relationship between RECs and multilateral treaties – and ambiguity over their requirements – poses legal and institutional challenges. Efforts by the AU to streamline and encourage rationalisation by the RECs is a major step forward, although at the level of the AU itself, there is somewhat of an institutional gap, particularly with regard to driving key areas of integration on agricultural, industrial, energy, environmental, transport, human capital, and competition policy. The reality is that various continental institutions have been established, and operate, at the pan-African level to support in the co-ordination, planning and execution of high impact infrastructure projects.

Infrastructure that supports the process of economic development needs to lower production costs and increase links between people and to markets. An emphasis on both national and regional infrastructure is required to scale up production and increase intra-African trade. While regional infrastructure projects pose special challenges in terms of financing, implementation and governance, African countries are increasing investments in infrastructure, driven by improved access to finance and a

common infrastructure programme, the PIDA, a continental initiative spearheaded by the AU, ECA, AfDB and NEPAD.

Some argue that structural defects hampering production need to be addressed first to facilitate industrialisation, raise the ante in the value chain and promote a 'supply side' led integration process. However, regional trade liberalisation and industrial development could be two sides of the same coin provided appropriate policy incentives are put in place to boost industrial capacity and productivity in the region. The recent priority given to industrialisation by some RECs is a welcome development, though a commitment by member states is also required.

Structures and systems to support implementation and ensure accountability by member states are needed, along with harmonisation of policy/legal frameworks to leverage mainstreaming of the regional integration and trade agenda within national government development plans. The launch of the Africa Regional Integration Index, a joint project by the AU, AfDB, ECA and the African Centre for Statistics, is a major milestone in this regard. It is a valuable tool for tracking and monitoring progress by countries and RECs in implementation of 16 indicators across 5 dimensions:



Source: Africa Regional Integration Index Report 2016. [www.integrate-africa.org](http://www.integrate-africa.org)

# Engaging with the Political Economy of Regional Integration

The events organised under the overarching theme of African economic integration in the Building Bridges programme for 2014 – 2016 used the framework of political economy to identify and discuss key challenges and opportunities, the forces favouring and opposing reform, and strategies to promote integration. Discussion was informed by current research, including studies conducted by the World Bank, African Development Bank and the European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM), the key findings of which are summarised below.

## Political Economy of Regional Integration in Sub-Saharan Africa

*Political Economy of Regional Integration in Sub-Saharan Africa* presents key findings from a set of political economy of regional integration studies commissioned by the World Bank that highlight three critical factors affecting the success of economic integration:

- **a lead government**
- **strong private sector support**
- **encouraging simplicity over complexity.**

The report argues that, in contrast to conventional wisdom, regional integration in Africa offers many economic opportunities and governments and the private sector are beginning to realise these gains, and that regional cooperation – on economic policies, infrastructure development and security – is becoming more common. It makes the following recommendations to facilitate and deepen integration efforts:

- **Prioritise flexibility over rigidity**  
Working through formal RECs therefore can often be more of an impediment to integration than

a benefit. In many instances, it makes sense to allow a subset of countries to move forward in one area and use these gains to work on a broader set of issues and/or countries.

- **Encourage simplicity over complexity**

Many integration efforts stall because they pursue complex negotiations across a range of government agencies. This approach gives groups opposed to integration leverage to block progress towards it and strains the capacity of many governments. One way to minimise these impediments is to encourage mutual recognition of standards rather than policy harmonisation.

- **Reach out to the private sector**

Reaching out to private sector actors that have an interest in integration can help shift momentum. In addition, firms already operating regionally may have useful and innovative insights for designing policies to encourage greater integration.

- **Focus on joint infrastructure**

Africa's infrastructure deficit is large and the costs of developing it are daunting. In many instances, it is sensible to consider infrastructure development from a regional point of view rather than a national one. Not only can this help leverage economies of scale in financing infrastructure development, it can also help create the foundations for greater integration efforts by reducing costs of trade. The returns on these investments are enhanced when they are accompanied by policy reforms that remove barriers to the movement of goods, investment, services and people. For example, it might be useful to combine investments in connective transport infrastructure with measures that lead to faster border procedures, the removal of road blocks, fewer weighbridges and greater competition among transport providers.

Source: Paul Brenton & Barak D. Hoffman (2016) *Political Economy of Regional Integration in Sub-Saharan Africa*. World Bank Group.

*“We need to find ways of producing the people to ‘man’ regional institutions, and to bring our bureaucrats and African agencies together ... to train them, not to talk about their particular sector, but about the whole project.”*



## Regional Integration for Inclusive Development

The 2014 African Development Report concludes that regional integration is still a relevant pillar for Africa's development, despite changes in the global context since the continental goal was first introduced. The challenge going forward is not so much the formulation of new policies but rather the implementation of those formulated in the recent past. This will require political resolve and heightened institutional capacities. The policy arguments and main messages of the Report are:

- Africa's overlapping memberships in regional economic communities is not a critical constraint to advancing the integration agenda. What is most crucial is the presence of functioning formal structures that ensure that the regional relationships have real meaning. For RECs to undertake inclusive regional integration policies requires greater commitment from member states in implementing them at the national level.
- African countries must be better linked through roads, railways, ICT, power infrastructure networks, and ports and harbours. But regional infrastructure development facilitates inclusive growth only when it supports productive employment, poverty alleviation and the reduction of inequality.
- A 'coalition of the willing' approach should be encouraged in advancing the management of regional migration, instead of merely relying on immigration control. RECs should recognise regional qualifications, encourage regional pooling of skills and coordinate annual immigration quotas according to skills gaps in national labour markets. Additionally, regional policies should include equitable access to quality public health care and education for migrants as a key provision. Reducing the costs of remittances would also improve the prospects for recipient economies and the people left behind.
- The development of cross-border banking, capital markets as well as other regional financial infrastructure in Africa could lead to the economies of scale required for economic takeoff. This will require a stable economic environment and the use of rigorous standards that should not undermine institutions' capacity to innovate and meet the needs of the underserved.
- Firms are now seeking their comparative advantages in niches that supply only portions of the global demand for goods and services. In light of Africa's recent high growth, a number of opportunities for local firms to increase their supply of inputs into regional retail supply chains and commercial food activities have arisen. The growth of trade generates in turn domestic employment. Regional value chains can be a key avenue for inclusive growth in Africa.

Source: African Development Bank Group (2014) *African Development Report: Regional Integration for Inclusive Growth*

## Political Economy of Regional Integration – What Drives and Constrains Regional Organisations

This synthesis report by the ECDCM uses five lenses to analyse regional integration – foundational factors, formal and informal institutions, actors, sectoral factors and external factors – and makes the following key findings:

- Structural and foundational factors continue to shape the environment in which African regional organisations set and implement their agendas;
- While regional organisations adopt the institutional forms to foster regional cooperation or integration, these do not always serve the stated functions;
- Member states may signal their support for regional organisations even when implementation is not a political priority;
- Implementation of regional cooperation and integration takes place when in line with key 'national interests' as defined by ruling elites;
- Regional hegemony are in a strong position to influence regional agendas and their implementation;
- Individual personalities and quality of leadership within regional organisations tend to shape – and can be decisive for – the functioning of the organisation;
- The diversity of private sector and civil society interests affects how business civil society organisations engage with national governments and regional organisations on regional integration processes;
- The interests and incentives associated with regional cooperation on different sector or policy areas (security, infrastructure, health etc) differ markedly according to the nature and characteristics of the sector, affecting implementation in these areas;
- The quality and quantity of donor support to regional organisations present opportunities but also challenges in terms of reducing the implementation gap; and
- Critical junctures such as natural disasters and major political events/crises can trigger progress but also block regional organisations and dynamics.

Source: Jan Vanheukelom, Bruce Byiers, San Bilal & Sean Woolfrey (2016) *Political Economy of Regional Integration – What Drives and Constrains Regional Organisations*. ECDCM.

# Broadening the Conversation

**While the idea of Pan-African unity was first introduced by philosophers and social activists, for decades regional integration in Africa has been the domain chiefly of technocrats and officials involved in negotiating highly technical trade agreements, far removed from topical issues that attract public interest. Integration will only be achieved if and when it is embraced more broadly by the people and is not only a top-down, politically driven economic initiative.**

With 200 million people currently aged between 15–24 years, and the figure projected to double by 2045, Africa has the youngest population in the world. Given this burgeoning ‘youth bulge’, it is particularly important to sow the seeds of African identity and integration early – and to elicit the voices and views of young Africans.

**Building Bridges** has launched an annual public leadership development programme, *Leading in Public Life*, which aims to develop a strong cohort of innovative, courageous young Africans committed to public service and leadership, with the vision, ethics and skills needed to catalyse and accelerate change within each of their spheres of influence.

African integration offers an obvious cause to link civil societies across Africa, but we need to understand and embrace diversity, and acknowledge and address tensions within and between national and regional agendas,

if we are to transform perceived obstacles into cultural, intellectual and trade opportunities.

In order to contribute to re-imagining Africa’s future and build momentum for regional integration, **Building Bridges** embarked on a series of dialogues, building on the evidence presented and debated at the experts’ workshop and policymakers’ roundtable convened under Chatham House rules in Cape Town in early 2014.

Regional workshops co-hosted with key partner organisations in East, West and Southern Africa brought together policy influencers and policymakers – activists, academics, public officials, journalists, researchers, entrepreneurs, bankers – for in-depth discussion focused on three key areas of the integration agenda: the role of the private sector in driving integration; ideas, culture, identity and Pan-Africanism; and institutional accountability and governance.

*“So much energy in Africa is wasted because we keep ‘reinventing the wheel’ ... we need to find a forum and platform where everybody can come together – government, public sector, private sector – at a regional level, and move forward at the same pace.”*

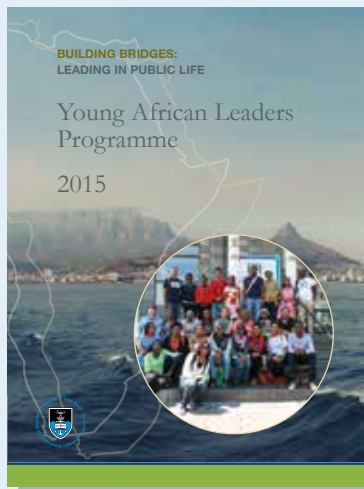


## DEVELOPING A NEW GENERATION OF AFRICAN LEADERS

In March 2015, 23 young African leaders from civil society, business and government in Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia gathered in Cape Town for the inaugural *Leading in Public Life* Young African Leaders programme.

The two-week residential programme combined substantive inputs from African policy and thought leaders on the theme of African economic integration, with the development of core leadership skills, concepts and tools and practical application in real-life situations. All participants were invited to continue their association with UCT through an 'alumni' network of participants at all GSDPP activities. The network is rapidly expanding its footprint across Africa, with alumni participating in the regional multi-stakeholder workshops in East, West and Southern Africa, hosted with key partners in late 2015.

The workshops provided an invaluable opportunity to cement ties between alumni and the GSDPP, and to share feedback that will inform the future activities of **Building Bridges** and the School.



*“Africa’s young people are a better and more sustainable way to the ideals of Pan Africanism and the buzzy African Renaissance than many integration intelligentsia acknowledge. And the theory of modernisation holds true – when a society becomes economically advanced, it tends towards becoming more politically and culturally advanced.”*

Lee Mwiti

*“I will apply the skills and knowledge in my daily work and continue to be a bridge between the poor and the powerful.”*

Nosiku Kalonga

*“I knew I wanted to solve things ... now I know how.”*

Asha Mweru

*“Leadership is probably Africa’s greatest challenge.”*

Gwamaka Kifukwe

*“I myself need to change before I can change others.”*

Simon Oyewole Oginni





# Developing National Business Communities and Regional Integration: In What Ways Can Business Help Drive Regional Integration?



The first **Building Bridges** regional workshop took place in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, from 17–18 August 2015, co-hosted with the UONGOZI Institute of African Leadership for Sustainable Development. The event brought together participants from academia, business, youth, GSDPP alumni, media and regional organisations to explore ways in which business can help drive regional integration efforts, drawing on the experiences and achievements of the East African Community.

The EAC began its journey towards integration in 2000, underpinned by three protocols: the Customs Union (2005), the Common Market (2010), and the Monetary Union (2013). Integration is aimed at facilitating free movement of goods, services and capital, linked to promoting sustainable, inclusive growth in the region. The EAC has made significant progress towards these goals, including freer movement of goods and people across the region, and a 16% increase in intra-regional trade between 2005 and 2010, largely due to manufactured products benefiting Kenya.

For many years, regional integration has been almost exclusively an inter-state affair. With the liberalisation of the economy, the role of the private sector has been brought to the forefront in both policy and within the economy. There is also growing recognition of the potential for the private sector to enhance regional integration efforts and promote growth in terms of resources, knowledge and institutional capacity, and through its potential contribution to scaling up regional trade and investment scheme projects.

With much of the industrialisation process controlled by the state or through joint ventures with transnational corporations (TNCs), there has been little logical or economic imperative for businesses to lobby for regional

integration. Moreover, there were no strong organised national business interests in individual member states to push for regional integration.

Organised business structures have long existed as a way to maximise networking opportunities for the private sector and facilitate engagement with governments – providing an efficient, structured way for a diverse range of firms to participate in public-private dialogue, share information and coordinate positions. The existence of an umbrella private sector organisation in a developing country is considered a key variable in assessing the effectiveness of interactions between government and business.

At the national level, Africa has seen a proliferation of organised business structures with varying degrees of effectiveness. There have also been attempts to set up regional structures that can support integration initiatives. A number of RECs have designated or created private sector structures as an integrated part of their activities; for example, the East Africa Business Council (EABC) provides a platform through which the business community is represented at the East African Community (EAC), with the objective of creating a more conducive business environment through targeted policy reforms and promoting regional and global competitiveness.

*“When you develop a sense of ownership and participation from the private sector, their mindset changes. But the politicians are the ones making decisions about regional integration at national and regional level ... the gap between businesses and politicians, it is still huge.”*

John Kalisa

*“The biggest challenge is the implementation of the national development agenda, and making it consistent with the regional agenda – we can see it happening in business communities too. Businesses must be allowed to participate in bridging these national and regional levels.”*

Samuel Wangwe

The programme and participant biographies are available at [www.gsdpp.uct.ac.za/africaneconomicintegration](http://www.gsdpp.uct.ac.za/africaneconomicintegration)



## Framing the issues

African intellectuals deeply familiar with the integration agenda and public policy – Professor **Thandika Mkandawire**, Chair in African Development at the London School of Economics and Senior Research Fellow, Building Bridges, and Professor **Samuel Wangwe**, Principal Research Associate, Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRC) and chair of the Independent Monitoring Group for Aid in Tanzania – shared their insights on the interests of the domestic private sector in the regional integration process to help ‘frame the issues’. Key points raised were the need to ‘embed’ the project of regional integration through broadening participation of key sectors, including the private sector and civil society actors, and to align national and regional agendas within a process of developmental regionalism.

Senator **Peter Anyang Nyong'o**, Senator of Kisumu County, Kenya, gave concrete examples of disparities between national and regional agendas, agreements and implementation, drawn from his experience as the Minister for Planning and National Development (2003–2005) and Minister for Medical Services (2008–2013):

“The domestication of the regional integration project in the national developmental state is, in reality, far less than their ideological commitment to the project ... we’re still putting in place institutions that advance the nation-building project – in this context, it’s unlikely that the nation state will give priority to regional projects.”

The Senator made interesting observations about conflict as a potential driver of integration, linked to the role of regional hegemony, and

stressed the need to acknowledge and address damaging cultural stereotypes that ‘slow’ capital movement in regions.

## The role of domestic capital and organised business in regional integration

For regional integration on a continent as diverse as Africa, the way forward is to expand market size through market integration, collaborate in building productive and industrial capacity and develop affordable, effective infrastructure and services to lower the cost of doing business. This requires broadening policy perspectives on what success means in a regional integration context, and focusing on factors to enhance competitiveness – innovation, skills and labour market policies.

**Prudence Sebahizi**, Lead Technical Advisor on the Africa Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA), facilitated a panel discussion on the organisation, role and interests of domestic capital, the informal sector/economy and multinational corporations (MNCs) in the regional integration process.

**John Kalisa**, senior regional trade policy analyst and World Bank Consultant, shared insights drawn from his experience as a high-level member of teams negotiating trade policy and investment, including for the establishment of the East African Common Market and the East African Monetary Union. Among the key issues he flagged were the high costs of doing business, currency convertibility, the need to develop regional value chains and attracting ‘local’ investment for infrastructure and regional projects:

“You can’t talk about having strong regional business until you have strong national business communities. Ideally, we are starting

from local, and then building to regional. We need to understand first, from the local perspective, the interests of the business community at the national level, and the interests of regional business communities. Some people would like to feed into domestic interests from a regional starting point. I would support coming from the domestic level, from the national level. We bring the challenges that the business communities are facing, and then we go to the regional level.”

Dr **Hazel Gray**, a Fellow at the Department of International Development at the London School of Economics and Political Science and lead author on the first Tanzanian Human Development Report on the theme of economic transformation, focused on the rise of African MNCs and the implications for regional integration as a political and economic project:

“Multinational firms from African countries grew by 30% from 2006 to 2009, so African multinationals were growing faster than any other multinationals in the world. Understanding this process is particularly important for the process of regional integration, because essentially what we are talking about is regionalisation.

African firms tend to internationalise across the region, they don’t tend to internationalise outside Africa. A consequence of that is that there tends to be a focus around two hubs across Africa – there is a West African hub and an East African hub. It’s around these hubs that the internationalisation of African firms has occurred.”

### A new generation of business leaders – the role of technology and opportunities offered by regional integration

Poor infrastructure, transport networks and technological connectivity make the movement of goods and services costly, and doing business across borders highly expensive and non-competitive, discouraging investments and intra-African trade. An emphasis on both national and regional infrastructure is required to scale up production and increase intra-African trade. Dr **Gwamaka Kifukwe**, Researcher at the Dar es Salaam-based UONGOZI Institute and 2015 alumnus of the Leading in Public Life programme, facilitated a lively session focused on the role of technology and a new generation of business leaders in addressing these barriers and promoting regional integration.

**Kaliza Karuretwa**, Burundi Programme Manager for the World Bank Trade and Competitiveness Global Practice, outlined the impact of technology on regional integration in the EAC:

“While there is great variation in the implementation of initiatives across East Africa, if a hypothetical EAC economy was to adopt the region’s best regulatory practices, leveraging technology in each area, the region would be a force to reckon with and quite competitive in global rankings on the ease of doing business.”

**Dennis Onyango**, Technology Officer for BOMA, a Kenyan micro-finance non-profit organisation, shared his experience of the use of technology and mobile management and the implications for regional development:

“While the state is talking about political federation, people in business will be talking about a regionally integrated enterprise in which businesses are taking a new form – there are increasing variations in the market, in trade and investment and development, due to the introduction of new technology.”

**Asha Mweru**, Regional Expansion Manager for Sinapis Group, a business

accelerator programme, spoke about the need to expand understanding about innovation and investment to develop entrepreneurship:

“How do we use technology and how do we use our new generation of business leaders to grow regional business? I think it’s not just a role for government or people in the technology space. If you try, as a singular entity, you will only sort your own problem out. The biggest problem that needs to be solved is connecting the dots. Private sector is very good at some things, but they are not good at everything. Governments and public sector are really good at some other things, but they are not good at everything. But they don’t work together as often as we need. I haven’t seen too many PPP initiatives in Kenya. I think the key is connecting the dots.”

While all participants agreed on the importance of industrialisation and infrastructure projects for development, a ‘generation gap’ was clear in the discussion that followed around the roles of the productive and service sectors, in particular, the role of technology in communication, information sharing and accelerating development. What emerged strongly from the session was that Government needs to create an enabling environment for ICT, while the private sector has a critical role to play in delivering services.

### Key lessons from the EAC

Dr **Tausi Mbaga Kida**, Executive Director of the Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRF) and member of the Regional Steering Committee for developing East Africa Vision 2050, facilitated a frank discussion on lessons from the East African example, with particular focus on the links between national and regional strategies, and the role of institutions in promoting or frustrating regional integration.

**Prudence Sebahizi**, Lead Technical Advisor on the Africa Continental Free Trade Area, outlined key achievements and challenges in implementing regional

*“My understanding of new business leaders is that it is people who are coming up with new ways of doing business.”*

**Dennis Onyango**

*“Kenya has moved ahead of much of Africa, including South Africa, on ICT innovation because it’s been more nimble in the regulatory environment ... I think we should see ICT not so much as a sector, but as an enabling technology in the same way that electricity was an enabling technology in the late nineteenth century.”*

**Alan Hirsch**

*“We should not be a commodity exporting continent. How do we build the value chains to increase intermediates on our continent? We need to look to technology adoption and innovation to be able to industrialise.”*

**Isaac Shinyekwa**

integration agreements in the EAC, but highlighted the need to look at integration continentally and within a global context:

“Negotiations on the CFTA were officially launched by heads of state in June 2015. Does it mean that the discussions that we are having at regional level are going to cease, as we look at a more global and continental picture? Probably yes, but the RECs are still the building blocks of any continental initiative. Whatever we are doing at regional level, it has to fit into a continental process.”

**Dr Josaphat Kweka**, Country Director for Trade Mark East Africa (TMEA) in Tanzania, shared experiences and lessons from their work, aimed at promoting economic development in East Africa:

“TradeMark supports regional integration through a multiple approach, combining different instruments to support this agenda, working from the infrastructure side, supporting the ports, the border port infrastructure, the transit regime. We are also working at the regulatory and policy level, trying to dismantle all the non-tariff barriers and other barriers to trade, and trying to build the single window system through ICT for trade intervention, trying to streamline all trade agencies, and influence some of the trade policy measures. We also work with private sector and civil society organisations to inform advocacy for regional integration, business competitiveness and a more positive trading environment.”

**Dr Isaac Shinyekwa**, Research Fellow at the Ugandan Economic Policy Research Center (EPRC), raised concerns about low levels of industrialisation on the continent:

“The 2015 ECA economic report on Africa shows that African inter-regional exports only account for 2-3% of trade, intra-regional trade is only at 13%, and intermediate trade with the whole world is 88%. These are variable figures but they



## UONGOZI Institute

Institute of African Leadership for Sustainable Development

‘Uongozi’ means leadership in Kiswahili – inspiring and strengthening leadership to ensure sustainable development is the core purpose of the UONGOZI Institute. Based in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, the Institute is creating a leadership hub offering knowledge, training and networking opportunities for emerging and existing African leaders to:

- » Develop national and/or organisational agendas and oversee the implementation of strategies
- » Analyse local, global and regional developments, and interpret their implications within national and organisational contexts
- » Pursue their country’s and/or organisation’s interests in bi-lateral or multi-lateral negotiations
- » Make informed decisions, which they adhere to and are accountable for
- » Manage and stimulate staff to achieve their best
- » Be accountable to, and communicate effectively with all stakeholders.

[www.uongozi.or.tz](http://www.uongozi.or.tz)

show that we are not industrialising ... We have been busy trying to liberalise trade, but we have not been deliberately, cautiously trying to put together a policy and direction to make sure that we industrialised. Industrialisation cannot just happen. Look at any other country in the world, whether the UK, America or China. Industrialisation is deliberate. If you are going to industrialise, you need a very coherent, well calculated policy and strategy.”

Participants at the Dar es Salaam workshop strongly endorsed the value of case studies in sharing lessons, and highlighted the need to generate compelling evidence about both the obstacles and opportunities of regional integration efforts. The long history of the EAC and the entrepreneurial environment in the region, as well as geographic and environmental factors, have contributed to its forward movement. We learned at the Dar es Salaam meeting that entrepreneurial business and political leaders can move regional integration forward.

*“We may be serious about pushing integration, but are we sure that we are pushing the right buttons? I see that there is integration which is happening, but it is not actually benefitting from all of this policy framework. You have informal cross border trade, you also have informal exchanges happening in these countries that are not supported by the policy frameworks. The businesses are actually quantum leaps ahead of the governments in terms of thinking about initiatives that will support innovation.”*

**Josaphat Kweka**

# Re-evaluating Pan-Africanism: Culture, History and Ideas

**The success of Africa's regional integration depends on it being understood from a historical and cultural perspective. Presently Africa's integration agenda is defined as realising the continent's developmental objectives.**

In understanding how we arrived at this juncture, there are two waves that characterise the regional building experience: the 'first wave' emerged during the post-independence phase, where embracing the values and ideas of Pan-Africanism was considered as the continental vision of political unity and solidarity. The 'second wave' emerged in 1991, after the demise of the Cold War and the signing of the Abuja Treaty, and underlined that political considerations were as important as economic ones.

On 16 and 17 October 2015, **Building Bridges** held a two-day workshop in Dakar, co-hosted with the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). The event brought together academics, researchers, GSDPP alumni, youth leaders, media and representatives of regional organisations to explore how historical underpinnings inform contemporary integration efforts, and the intersection – and contestation – of ideas about:

- 'African Renaissance' and Pan-Africanism
- Ethnicity, nationalism and Pan-Africanism
- Regional versus national histories
- Popular culture, identity and nationalism
- African literature and identity
- Culture, continuity and change.

## 'African Renaissance' and Pan-Africanism

Professor **Mamadou Diouf**, Director of Columbia University's Institute of African Studies, traced the roots of the 'African Renaissance' and Pan-Africanism and posed the question:

"How are we contributing or not to a larger debate in which

Africa is an object, and how do we situate ourselves in relation to the production of theories and epistemologies dealing with the global, and in dealing with the global, locating Africa in a kind of scientific territory in which, in many cases we are absent?"

Dr **Rania Khafaga**, lecturer in African Politics at Cairo University, explored how African youth living in Cairo perceive 'African Renaissance', and the need for forging a collective African identity:

"Literature on 'African Renaissance' focuses on the term as a pillar in South Africa's foreign policy. But how do African people perceive 'African Renaissance'? How could it be realised and achieved? Without forging a collective sense of African identity, we cannot talk about 'African Renaissance'."

Professor **Jimi O. Adesina**, Chair in Social Policy at the University of South Africa, spoke on the implications for social policy of the stated aim of Agenda 2063 to eradicate poverty and build shared prosperity:

"We need a return to a more holistic, transformative take on social policy to address the crisis of poverty, inclusive development (rather than 'inclusive growth'), and raising aspirations from 'basic' to 'adequate' standards of living."

**Lee Mwiti**, Deputy Editor, *Mail & Guardian Africa*, reflected on the 'Africa Rising' narrative, and the importance of forging new narratives around Pan-Africanism to reach young people:

"Reigniting Pan-Africanism requires making it economically "sexy" again to Africa's young people. This is critical when to go with an already disinterested Generation Y, we have their successors – Generation Z – which does not know of a non-digital life."

## Ethnicity, nationalism and Pan-Africanism

CODESRIA's Executive Director, Dr **Ebrima Sall**, stressed the importance of the humanities to the integration project. Professor **Joseph Gahama**, Professor



*"The struggle for continental unity needs to learn how to be young again, or it will surely die of old age."*

**Lee Mwiti**

of History at the University of Rwanda, spoke about the challenges that nationalism and ethnicity continue to pose for development in East Africa, despite progress economically. Emeritus Professor **Bahru Zewde**, Addis Ababa University, explored the trajectories of ethnic, national and pan-African expressions of identity in Ethiopia:

"Ethiopia is a nation with a long recorded history, the inspiration for the growth of Pan-Africanism and the custodian of its organisational representation. Yet, the hegemonic role of the nation-state has been challenged fundamentally in recent decades through a discourse that privileges the rights of the many 'nationalities' that constitute it. Thus there are two challenges that need to be addressed – how to reconcile the recognition of ethnic identity with national integrity, and how to bend the overarching claims of the nation-state to accommodate the requirements of Pan-Africanism."

**Oyewole Simon Oginni**, Research Fellow for the Organisation for World Peace and alumnus of the 2015 Leading in Public Life programme, discussed the extent to which there is a shared Pan-African identity among African people and their leaders, and the importance of common values in driving 'African Renaissance'.

The programme and participant biographies are available at [www.gsdpp.uct.ac.za/africaneconomicintegration](http://www.gsdpp.uct.ac.za/africaneconomicintegration)



### Regional versus National Histories

Senegalese academic **Rokhaya Fall**, emphasised the importance of country and regional histories in transcending inherited colonial borders and promoting pan-Africanism. Professor Emeritus **Thierno Bah** of the Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar and founding member of the Association of African historians, spoke of the role of history in post-independent Africa:

“The political, economic and social development of African cannot be understood without the context of regional integration supported by a new paradigm for research and teaching history.”

### Popular culture, identity and nationalism

Professor **Penina Mlana**, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Chair in Pan African Studies at University of Dar es Salaam, presented on popular culture and Pan-Africanism, highlighting the need for further research and interrogation into the historical role and potential of contemporary artistic popular culture to strengthen Pan-Africanism:

“How do you go back to telling the story of our societies in ways that not only inform the present, but help us move forward? In ways that are free from the baggage of colonial experiences that we have inherited. That will be forever an unfinished project.”

Dr **Steve Sharra**, visiting scholar at the Faculty of Education, University of Botswana, argued that the integration agenda, including *Agenda 2063*, needs to be advanced alongside the language agenda as a way of bridging the gap between the Pan-Africanism of the intellectuals and that of ordinary people:

“Overcoming the strong resistance against the promotion of African languages lies at the heart of the African Renaissance ... This does not mean doing away with European languages on the continent, but it does mean dealing with the root of the problem of African identity and self-determination.”



The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) was established in 1973 as an independent pan-African research organisation, headquartered in Dakar, Senegal, to:

- » Promote and facilitate research and knowledge production in Africa using a holistic, multi-disciplinary approach;
- » Promote and defend the principle of independent thought and academic freedom;
- » Encourage and support the development of African comparative research with a sensitivity to the specificity of the development process in Africa;
- » Promote publication and dissemination of research results by African scholars;
- » Strengthen the institutional basis of knowledge production in Africa by proactively engaging and supporting other research institutions and their networks of scholars;
- » Encourage inter-generational and gender-sensitive dialogues in the African academy;
- » Promote contacts and dialogue between African researchers and researchers on Africa elsewhere in the world, as well as interaction between the Council and similar international organisations.

[www.codesria.org](http://www.codesria.org)

### African literature and identity

**Marema Toure Thiam**, Chief of the Social and Human Sciences Sector, UNESCO Dakar, facilitated a session focused on the role of African literature in developing African identity. Dr **Djeneba Traore**, Managing Director at the West Africa Institute in Cape Verde and formerly Senior Communication Advisor at the Ministry of Education in Mali, highlighted the key role of the diaspora in the evolution of ‘African literature’, and its close links with Pan-Africanism. Professor **Gbemisola Adeoti**, Professor of Literature at Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Nigeria, discussed the centrality of language to culture and history:

“The ideals of continental solidarity and Pan-Africanism will remain elusive in the absence of a language or languages through which African people can speak across historical context and geo-cultural spaces.”

*“We need to pull together the literature which exists, which is produced by Africans, but not exclusively by Africans, in order to create ‘presence’ in the intellectual world.”*

Mamadou Diouf

### Culture, continuity and change

Dr **Issiaka Latoundji Laleye** of the University of Freiburg, Switzerland, explored the nature, meaning and function of culture. Dr **Mshai Mwangola**, performing arts academic and Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Uraia Trust, Kenya’s national civic education programme, raised questions about divergent views on cultural preservation and diversity in Africa, with profound implications for a Pan-African project:

“The disconnect in culture and Pan-Africanism is that people don’t see how this relates to their present realities.”

The need for intergenerational dialogue and introducing and incorporating ideas around Pan-Africanism within education curricula – both at school and higher education levels – was a key thread woven throughout discussion with critical issues around language and dominance highlighted as obstacles to deepening trust and creating a shared ‘African’ identity. Participants at the workshop welcomed the opportunity to engage in frank discussion around the complex issues of ideas, culture, language, nationalism and Pan-Africanism – and share ideas about how to collate and disseminate existing knowledge and research.

# Accounting for Progress in Regional Integration: Evidence and Accountability

**The viability and effectiveness of regional integration is ultimately determined by the internal strengths and weaknesses of member countries and their level of commitment to meeting legal obligations. Regional integration requires effective states that fulfil their core functions.**

Accountability connects the national and the regional, but there is often conflict between accountability, autonomy and the structures of national and regional institutions. Accountability requires defining clear, feasible, measurable goals, and is strongly linked with economic transformation and inclusive growth. This is underlined in *Agenda 2063*, which identifies democratic deficit and weak governance as two key impediments to sustainable growth.

Slow progress in regional integration is often blamed on national governments and civil servants. National parliaments of member states have a critical role to play in this process and yet they are conspicuous by their absence on the regional integration discussion. There is seldom a push factor from parliaments to advance regional integration and they rather react to regional developments. Parliaments in member states should have a regional integration desk in order to facilitate the dissemination of information in their constituencies, and we need to better understand the role and potential of regional institutions such as the Pan African Parliament and ECOWAS Parliament.

The third **Building Bridges** regional workshop took place in Lusaka on 23 and 24 November 2015, co-hosted with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa for Southern Africa, which has signed a memorandum of understanding with the University of Cape Town to collaborate in several areas.

The workshop brought together over prominent academics, media representatives and leaders from civil society, government, business and regional organisations to explore

key issues, roles and responsibilities relating to institutional and regional accountability, and how to measure progress towards African integration. Several Southern African alumni from the inaugural Leading in Public Life course participated in the workshop and a follow-up meeting, at which strong interest was expressed in consolidating and growing the GSDPP alumni network across Africa.

## Framing the issues – facts and figures

Professor **Said Adejumobi**, Director of the ECA Southern Africa, **Caesar Cheelo**, Senior Research Fellow at the Zambia Institute for Policy Analysis and Research (ZIPAR), and **Sean Woolfrey**, Policy Officer at European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECPDM), emphasised the importance of measuring progress towards integration, with each presenting different and complementary ways of measuring progress towards integration.

“Informal cross-border trade contributes 43% to Africa’s GDP, which means that most of the trade we do on the continent is not recorded or documented .... The challenge is how to capture informal cross-border trade in our measurements. We need to do that, because if we factor that in, the volume of trade will be much higher than what we are capturing currently. Because of measurement challenges, trade in services is not included in our documentation on intra-regional services. We only include trade in goods. What about professionals who cross the border to go and work – legally and illegally? The financial services that are rendered – this is not captured.”  
**Said Adejumobi**

“Some RECs have tried to harmonise trade and customs statistics – I think it is important for us to move in the direction of measuring and comparing the same things. Perhaps one of our biggest problems in Africa is that we have not taken enough time to understand



*“One of the things that this programme has done is to try to unpack what we mean by political will.”*

**Thandika Mkandawire**

*“One of our biggest problems in Africa is that we have not taken enough time to understand ourselves by learning to harness knowledge and data. This is one of the new divides we need to close by building a data bridge.”*

**Caesar Cheelo**

The programme and participant biographies are available at [www.gsdpp.uct.ac.za/africaneconomicintegration](http://www.gsdpp.uct.ac.za/africaneconomicintegration)

ourselves by learning to harness knowledge and data. I propose that this is one of the new divides we need to close – building a data bridge.” **Caesar Cheelo**

“There is a growing interest in the idea of monitoring regional integration, not just to find out what’s going on – although of course that is valuable in and of itself – but to use monitoring and better information to promote promoting enhanced, better implementation by member states, almost as a peer pressure tool ... If interests and incentives at the national level are not aligned with regional integration processes, then simply knowing more about how much trade is happening, what the status of implementation is, is not ultimately going to change that much.”

**Sean Woolfrey**

### **Institutional complexity and regional accountability**

**Joao Caholo**, Former Deputy Executive Secretary, Southern African Development Community (SADC) and Senior Advisor to the President of the PTA Bank, facilitated the session. **Maude Dikobi**, Chairperson of Gender Policy and Programme Committee at the University of Botswana, used a case study of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development to illustrate issues around capacity, accountability and lack of implementation. The speaker stressed the importance of civil society engagement and who is ‘not in the room’, and the need to deepen understanding about the relationship between gender and economics:

“The overall object of SADC, in terms of regional economic integration, is to promote economic growth and sustainable development. But the wording remains problematic – growth and sustainable development – so that people in the region have better living standards and employment opportunities. Who are these

*“We need to expand our knowledge about the relationship between gender and economics, and account for the persistence of gender inequality, especially when it comes to trade.”*

**Maude Dikobi**

*“What is the objective of integration? It has to be about development. The way forward then is to see how we can work at a national level to build the necessary capacity for countries to negotiate their way into win-win developmental integration processes.”*

**Faizel Ismail**

people? We don’t have variables. Is it women, is it people with disability, is it the informal traders and so on and so forth? And a lot of that rhetoric is repeated in the SADC protocol on finance and investment.”

Dr **Faizel Ismail**, Adjunct Professor of Economics at the University of Cape Town and formerly South Africa’s Ambassador to the World Trade Organisation (2010-2014), stressed the importance of developmental integration processes, and shared his insights on the key variables in promoting integration – industrial capacity and regional value chains, infrastructure and economic cooperation, and opening markets and facilitating cross-border trade:

“There is a natural tension between trade integration and industrial capacity development ... I think the challenge is how to find a balance between these two things... and the way forward is to see how we can work at a national level to build the necessary capacity for countries to negotiate their way into win-win developmental integration processes.”

### The responsibility of regional hegemony – the case of South Africa

Professor **Mills Soko**, Associate Professor of International Political Economy at the University of Cape Town's Graduate School of Business, facilitated a lively discussion on the role and responsibility of regional hegemony – in relation to the criteria of willingness, legitimacy and capacity, with particular focus on the role of South Africa in the region, historically and currently.

Dr **Mzukisi Qobo**, Associate Professor at the Pan African Institute, University of Johannesburg, and a political risk analyst and public speaker, raised questions about the role of hegemony:

“Perhaps we are framing the issue incorrectly – increasingly we talk about a non-hegemonic global order and yet we are reinforcing a view that a particular country in the African continent can and should play a hegemonic role ... We take as a given the identity of a hegemon as a country based on the size of its economy, the diversity of its institutions perhaps, and the role that it plays in global economic relations.”

**Simon Ng'ona**, Regional Integration Specialist in the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry in Zambia, suggested a new narrative was needed to explore the roles of Nigeria and South Africa:

“Perhaps what the narrative should really focus on is not whether Nigeria is a threat to South Africa, but how the emergence of Nigeria

and the existing of South Africa could actually complement towards economic prosperity within the African region.”

### The role of civil society in promoting accountability

Timely and accurate reporting of business and financial matters play a critical role in supporting economic and social growth. In the final session focusing on civil activism and accountability, chair **Makhosazana Zwane-Siguga**, editor and head of content for WeChat Africa (and a Leading in Public Life alumnus), spoke about The Africa Leadership Initiative / Bloomberg Media Initiative Africa Fellowship Program.

Launched in 2014, the programme aims to improve access to information, use of credible data and advance transparency and accountability in governance in Africa through developing a cadre of media leaders. Initially focused on Nigeria, South Africa and Kenya, the project envisions development of a Pan-African network and collaborative projects.

**Phumeza Mlungwana**, General Secretary of the Social Justice Coalition and another Leading in Public Life 2015 alumnus, shared experiences from the work of the organisation in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, to illustrate the power of mobilising communities to demand their rights and hold government accountable.

*“One of the major contributions South Africa has made as a hegemon around ideas is in articulating a vision of integration that departs from the linear market – exclusively market-based integration – to place strong emphasis on development integration, on the need to develop the productive base, to develop the regional value chains, to coordinate industrial policies across the different countries that are integrating.”*

**Mzukisi Qobo**

*“Countries like South Africa, Nigeria and Kenya need to show – if you say you are serious about value chains, about regional institutions, about integration – you need to open your markets to other countries, you need to open your borders to other countries, you need to be seen to be treating other African nationals well.”*

**Simon Ng'ona**



Professor **Vusi Gumede**, Head of the Thabo Mbeki Africa Leadership Institute at the University of South Africa (UNISA), highlighted the need to interrogate what is meant by – and measured – as regional integration:

“We need to be alive to the reality of external role players. I think it’s very critical, because it seems to me for the various socio-economic communities to gain any traction on integration, or from a Pan-African unity perspective on the continent as a whole, the influence of external role players becomes an issue that we need to deal with. For instance, we are concluding today without talking about economic partnership agreements, something that many people argue is a major challenge for the African continent, that it may slow down development or regional integration.”

Dr **Fola Adeleke**, Head of Research at the Mandela Institute at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) and a 2015 Leading in Public Life alumnus, spoke about global governance issues, the role of civil society and the implications in the current African context:

“The only way we can achieve regional integration from the ground up is to start asking ourselves, how do we begin to package information and regional integration issues in such a way that they are relevant to people, to different audiences, to people in different contexts, to states in different contexts, and how...what role can they play in engaging in that process?”

*“What are the limitations of civil society formations as legitimising or democratising forces in global governance?”*

Fola Adeleke



Established by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the United Nations (UN) in 1958, ECA’s mandate is to promote the economic and social development of its 54 member states, foster intra-regional integration, and promote international cooperation for Africa’s development.

ECA’s policy work aims to shape Africa’s transformation by supporting a growth path which addresses the vulnerabilities that impact on people’s lives.

ECA’s strength derives from its role as the only UN agency mandated to operate at the regional and subregional levels to harness resources and bring them to bear on Africa’s priorities. ECA also provides technical advisory services and capacity development support to African governments, intergovernmental organisations and institutions, and acts as the executing agency for relevant operational projects.

To enhance its impact, ECA places a special focus on collecting up to date and original regional statistics in order to ground its policy research and advocacy on clear objective evidence; promoting policy consensus; providing meaningful capacity development; and providing advisory services in the following focus areas: Macroeconomic Policy; Regional Integration and Trade; Social Development; Natural Resources; Innovation and Technology; Gender; and Governance.

- Who are regional institutions accountable to?
- What are the accountability channels, processes, structures and mechanisms, either within or outside of regional institutions?
- What is the role of citizens in bringing regional institutions to account?

These were some of the key questions addressed by panellists in the closing session of the workshop, which heard animated discussion around the diversity of what constitutes civil society and the range of interests represented, how civil society organisations have utilised space in different regional and national contexts, political issues around funding, including the role of ‘foreign’ donors, and whether the state should fund civil society as development partners.

*“Trade and financial flows may not be ideal mechanisms or instruments to measure or quantify regional integration. We need to theorise more about regional integration – it may be happening from below through cross-border trade, marriages across different nationalities within the continent, and ‘informal’ or resilient economic activities.”*

Vusi Gumede

# Continuing the Conversation

**The broad nature of the Building Bridges theme for 2014/2016 – African Economic Integration – stimulated a multitude of different conversations, and identified ways to drive a common agenda, underpinned by research and country case studies.**

The need for generating knowledge and evidence, sharing case studies and lessons, improving communication and mobilising sectors and civil society in dialogue to build trust and sharpen and deepen our understanding of African economic integration within the context of a re-imagined Pan-Africanism were strong threads echoing through all of the **Building Bridges** programme events.

A key theme in discussion and feedback from participants was the need to establish and strengthen centres of excellence for the study of regional economic integration, and to find more effective ways to coordinate research initiatives that contributes to building an African community of thinkers, policy practitioners and experts equipped to tackle political economy challenges.

The education system has a vital role to play in developing curricula that educate the youth about Africa, its history and its future. African learning institutions should be a central pillar of discussion and debates on regional integration, and have a critical role to play in educating and inspiring future generations of leaders to champion Pan-Africanism. In its first thematic programme cycle, the **Building Bridges** programme made a significant contribution towards this goal by:

- Providing the space and opportunity for key policymakers, experts and other leaders to sharpen and deepen discussion on key (and thorny) political economy

and policy issues

- Contributing to developing the next generation of leaders through the Young African Leaders' Programme
- Expanding the footprint in Africa of the GSDPP through a growing alumni network and strengthening relationships with other African and Pan-African institutions and civil society organisations
- Expanding the pool of thinkers and practitioners (including the Fellows) linked to the GSDPP, who will enrich future programmes across the School (the MPhil and short course programmes) and contribute to collaborative research programmes.

The six meetings on the theme of African Economic Integration hosted by **Building Bridges** with regional partners in four countries – South Africa, Tanzania, Senegal and Zambia – attracted over 140 influential policy makers, decision makers and future leaders from targeted countries.

All of the participants contributed in some way, through carefully designed and facilitated programmes, chairing a session, providing an input in the form of a thinkpiece or presentation, acting as a discussant or engaging actively in discussions. Positive feedback was received from participants at all events, with many indicating their interest in continuing the dialogue and joining the GSDPP's growing network.

*“The deliberations created platforms to build bridges and close some methodology gaps.”*

*“From here, where do we go next – how do we actualise some of the very important and brilliant solutions that have been offered on regional integration?”*

Holding these meetings in the regions consolidated relationships with three regional partners – UONGOZI Institute in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; CODESRIA in Dakar, Senegal; and ECA in Lusaka, Zambia – and enabled **Building Bridges** to draw in a wider group of participants, expanding the GSDPP network in these countries.

Another thread emerging strongly from the dialogue on regional integration was the need to learn how to tell our own African ‘stories’ in ways that capture the public’s imagination and how to use existing media platforms more effectively and strategically.

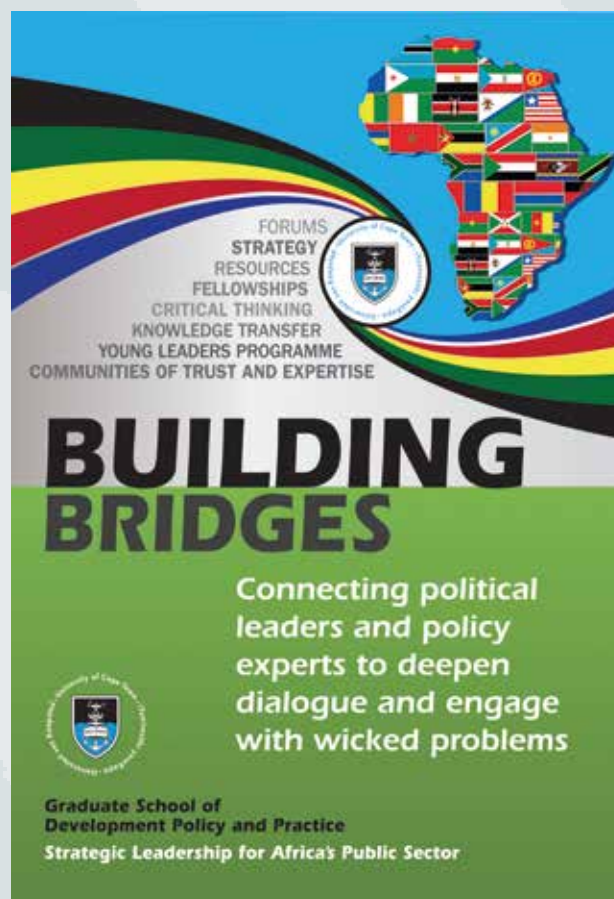
User-friendly, reliable and up-to-date online resources and data are needed to link debates that take place at a high level or in technical terms to the interests of everyday citizens in Africa. This is a challenge facing governments, regional and continental institutions, civil society and the private sector – how to communicate in a way that makes information relevant, accessible and appealing is a skill that needs to be fostered among media practitioners, public officials and representatives of regional and Pan-African institutions.

The media – both social and ‘traditional’ media – have a critical role to play in advancing knowledge about and enthusiasm for regional integration through disseminating information, stimulating debate, and fostering a sense of shared identity. Social media platforms offer an innovative, interactive opportunity to start debates, share information and lobby decision makers at all levels, especially in countries with high penetration rates – and are key in efforts to engage with and reach youth.

Feedback confirmed that there is significant interest and appetite for ‘informal’ (in the sense of ‘non-protocol’) events, such as workshops and seminars which universities, as spaces that encourage discussion and debate, can offer. Positions and titles are left at the door as highly accomplished individuals connect in new and interesting ways on important continental topics.

The workshops underlined the importance of structured, inter-generational dialogue and debate, as was illustrated vividly in a lively exchange at the Dar es Salaam event between alumni of our young leadership programme and senior policymakers around the role of technology versus the need for infrastructure.

*“How are we going to ‘push’ Pan-Africanism if even our own universities are not engaged in teaching from a Pan-African perspective, or preparing our young people to have a Pan-African perspective to Africa. Do we have enough champions for Pan-Africanism?”*





# Activism for Development



Young leaders on Robben Island during the Leading in Public Life programme, March 2016: (Back row) Nkosikhona Swaartbooi, Edwin Rwigi, Mikang Longjan, Kudzai Makomva, Samson Itodo, Rosewita Katsande, Chris Nkwatsibwe, (Front row) Stacey-Ann Pillay, Yusuf Shamsudeen Adio, Telana Halley-Starkey, Suntosh Pillay, Ann Wawira Njiru

Building on the solid foundations established in the first programme cycle on African economic integration, the **Building Bridges** theme for 2016/2017 is Governance Activism for Inclusive Democratic Development, or in brief, Activism for Development.

Governance activism for inclusive democratic development is an approach and framing that reflects – and reflects on – the collective participatory action of citizens and/or non-governmental activist forces pushing for governance reforms aimed at accountability, including openness, transparency and delivery of key public services. It is a problem-driven approach which identifies entry points for focused engagement, ‘islands of effectiveness’ of civic action and incremental reforms and results, rather than promoting an ideal ‘good governance’ process, checklist or

set of ideal parameters for change to occur.

The theme involves multi-stakeholder engagement for collective action, focusing on the interaction, engagement and relationships between civil society actors, social movements and the state and how these can be influenced to work towards more constructive engagement that effects change.

The agency of individual actors to promote a ‘virtuous circle’ of inclusive development is also of interest, and hence case studies will serve as important tools to showcase the ‘who’ and ‘how’ of effective (and ineffective) interventions.

The **Building Bridges** programme at GSDPP will convene the following to contextualise, frame and sharpen

our understanding of Activism for Development:

- The 2016 **Leading in Public Life Young African Leaders** programme
- **Research involving both country and case studies** of civic activism that capture key lessons for effective intervention that enable inclusive development in a context of growing inequality
- **Multi-stakeholder workshops** with social activists, researchers, experts, policymakers, public officials, business, NGO leaders, parliamentarians and the media to showcase examples of ‘activism for development’ using concrete case studies and reflective think pieces
- **Regional meetings** with GSDPP and **Building Bridges** alumni to further contextualise the theme.





GSDPP Academic Director, Professor Brian Levy

*“What democracy offers – and authoritarian alternatives do not – is an invitation to citizens to work to shape their own lives and participate peacefully in the shaping of their societies, according to their distinctive visions of freedom and justice. This journey is a challenging one –with much democratic ‘messiness’, and corresponding disappointment along the way. But no matter how challenging the journey, once the invitation to engage has been embraced, the personal dignity it offers cannot be taken away.”*

Brian Levy (2014) *Working with the Grain: Integrating Governance and Growth in Development Strategies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://workingwiththegrain.com/tag/incrementalism/>

# Participants

The **Building Bridges** events on the theme of African economic integration attracted over 140 participants from the following African countries – Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe – and from Belgium, Denmark, New Zealand, Norway, Scotland, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States.



Adejumobi, S	Edwards, L	Lalèyê, I
Adeleke, O	Elago, P	Leape, J
Ademuyiwa, A	Fall, R	Le Pere, G
Adeoti, G	Gahama, J	Levy, B
Adesini, J	Gray, H	Liebenthal, R
Aeroe, A	Gumede, V	Lopes, C
Amor, S	Gyumi, R	Madeje, L
Bah, T	Hartzenberg, T	Maimela, D
Bertelsmann-Scott, T	Hirsch, A	Makalima-Ngewana, B
Boulle, J	Hoffman, B	Makokera, C
Brixiova, Z	Holtzman, D	Mangu, A
Byiers, B	Issa, O	Manlan, C
Caholo, J	Ismail, F	Manuel, T
Calland, R	Kabwe-Grollnek, A	Maringwa, J
Camerer, M	Kalisa, J	Maruping, A
Cheelo, C	Kalonga, N	Massacky, F
Chibuye, B	Kamau, N	Matale, C
Chiwele, D	Karuretwa, K	Mbuyisa, S
Cole, N	Kayizzi-Mugerwa, S	Meinert, L
Cornell, J	Khafaga, R	Meyer, L
Davis, L	Kida, T	Mkandawire, T
Dikobe, M	Kifukwe, G	Mlama, P
Dimba, M	Kreiter, Z	Mlungwana, P
Diouf, M	Kweka, J	Moono, H
Ebrahim, H	Lamont, T	Moyo, N

*“The workshops provided a welcome opportunity for frank and critical introspection of the challenges and measures needed to realise the objectives of regional integration.”*

Msemembo, Y

Mtetwa, B

Mufuruki, A

Muigei, N

Mukelabai, I

Munene, D

Musuva, C

Muzungu, N

Mwangi, C

Mwangola, M

Mweru, A

Mwiti, L

Mwombela, S

Naidu, S

Ndabagenga, M

Ndumela, N

Ndunguru, N

Neghesti, L

Ng'ona, S

Niang, A

Nkiwane, T

Notshulwana, M

Notywala, A

Nyoike, W

Nyong'o, P

Oanda, I

Obianwu, O

Oginni, S

Olotu, M

Onyango, D

Osido, K

Otieno, G

Oyewole, S

Phalime, M

Potgieter-Gqubule, F

Qobo, M

Raftopoulos, B

Rickards, M

Rose-Innes, C

Rweyemamu, D

Sall, E

Salomao, T

Schmidt, D

Sebahizi, P

Semboja, J

Shaik, M

Shandu, M

Shapiro, J

Sharre, S

Shinyekwa, I

Shooter, R

Sikuza, J

Simbanegavi, W

Simumba, J

Sladoje, M

Soko, M

Solomon, M

Sumari, N

Tadesse, A

Taylor, A

Tesfachew, T

Traoré, D

Vanheukelom, J

Wangwe, S

Woolfrey, S

Zewde, B

Zulu, T

Zwane-Siguqa, M

*“The selection of participants produced excellent debate that was able to move beyond simple iteration of existing knowledge.”*

# Resources

The following websites and online resources provide a wealth of information on key issues relating to African economic integration:

**African Regional Integration Index:** [www.integrate-africa.org/](http://www.integrate-africa.org/)

**African Union:** <http://www.au.int/>

*African Integration Fund*, African Union, 2013: [http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/newsevents/workingdocuments/12571-wd-african integration fund aif - draft report.pdf](http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/newsevents/workingdocuments/12571-wd-african%20integration%20fund%20aif%20draft%20report.pdf)

*Africa Regional Integration Index*, African Union, 2014: [http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/newsevents/workingdocuments/12582-wd-african regional index english.pdf](http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/newsevents/workingdocuments/12582-wd-african%20regional%20index%20english.pdf)

**Agenda 2063:** <http://agenda2063.au.int/>

*African Union Agenda 2063 Background Note* (August 2013): <http://agenda2063.au.int/en/documents/agenda-2063-background-note>

*Newsletter Issue 2: Consulting on Agenda 2063 (January – June 2014)*: <http://agenda2063.au.int/en/sites/default/files/AGENDA%202063%20newsletter%2014%20Jan%202015%20FINAL.pdf>

*The Africa We Want (3rd edition: January 2015)*: [http://agenda2063.au.int/en/sites/default/files/01\\_Agenda2063\\_popular\\_version\\_ENGs.pdf](http://agenda2063.au.int/en/sites/default/files/01_Agenda2063_popular_version_ENGs.pdf)

## Regional Economic Communities:

Economic Community of West African States: <http://www.ecowas.int/>

Arab Maghreb Union website: <http://www.maghrebarabe.org/en/>

Southern African Development Community: <http://www.sadc.int/>

Intergovernmental Authority on Development: <http://igad.int/>

Economic Community of Central African States: <http://www.ceeac-eccas.org/index.php/fr/>

East African Community: <http://www.eac.int/>

Community of Sahel–Saharan States: <http://www.censad.org/>

Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa: <http://www.comesa.int/>

**African Development Bank:** [www.afdb.org/en/](http://www.afdb.org/en/)

*African Development Bank Report 2014: Regional Integration for Inclusive Growth*: [http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/ADR14\\_ENGLISH\\_web.pdf](http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/ADR14_ENGLISH_web.pdf)

*Regional Integration*, African Development Bank: <http://www.afdb.org/en/topics-and-sectors/topics/regional-integration/africa-trade-fund/>,

*Integrating Africa*, African Development Bank: <http://www.afdb.org/en/blogs/integrating-africa/>

*Impediments to Regional Trade Integration in Africa* (Vinaye Ancharaz, Kennedy Mbekeani and Zuzana Brixiova: September 2011, Vol 2 Issue 11): [http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/AEB%20VOL%202%20Issue%2011\\_AEB%20VOL%202%20Issue%2011.pdf](http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/AEB%20VOL%202%20Issue%2011_AEB%20VOL%202%20Issue%2011.pdf)

**African Capacity Building Organization:** [www.acbf-pact.org/](http://www.acbf-pact.org/)

Annual African Capacity reports at: <http://www.acbf-pact.org/knowledge-learning/africa-capacity-report>

*Africa Capacity Report 2014: Capacity Imperatives for Regional Integration in Africa*, The African Capacity Building Foundation: <http://www.acbf-pact.org/sites/default/files/Africa-Capacity-Report-2014.pdf>

*Africa Capacity Report 2015: Capacity Imperatives for Domestic Resource Mobilization in Africa*, The Africa Capacity Building Foundation: <http://www.acbf-pact.org/resources>



### **United Nations Economic Commission on Africa (ECA):**

'Assessing Regional Integration in Africa': editions 1 – 6: <http://www.uneca.org/publications/serie/assessing-regional-integration-in-africa>

Annual Economic Reports on Africa: <http://www.uneca.org/publications/serie/economic-report-on-africa>

ECA publications catalogue for 2015 at: <http://www.uneca.org/publications/publications-catalogue-2015>

Observatory on Regional Integration in Africa (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa) is a central source of information on Africa's regional integration process, including progress achieved and challenges across the various Regional Economic Communities (RECs): <http://www.uneca.org/oria>

### **United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD):**

[www.unctad.org/en/](http://www.unctad.org/en/)

Annual *Economic Development in Africa Reports* at: <http://unctad.org/en/Pages/Publications/EconomicDevelopmentinAfricaseries.aspx>

*Economic Development in Africa: Intra-African Trade: Unlocking Private Sector Dynamism* (UNCTAD: February 2013): [http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/aldcafrica2013\\_en.pdf](http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/aldcafrica2013_en.pdf)

*Strengthening The Private Sector To Boost Continental Trade And Integration In Africa* (UNCTAD Policy Brief 33: May 2015): [http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/presspb2015d5\\_en.pdf](http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/presspb2015d5_en.pdf)

*Trade Liberalization, Investment And Economic Integration In African Regional Economic Communities Towards The African Common Market*, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2012: [http://unctad.org/en/Docs/ditctncd2011d2\\_en.pdf](http://unctad.org/en/Docs/ditctncd2011d2_en.pdf)

### **European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM):**

Various publications on African regional integration at: <http://ecdpm.org/>

*Political Economy of Regional Integration in Africa: South Africa as a Catalyst for Regional Integration* (SAIIA and ECDPM: February 2014): <http://ecdpm.org/perisa-political-economy-regional-integration-southern-africa/>

### **TRALAC Trade Law Centre:**

A collection of regional and national trade-related resources including regional and bilateral trade agreements, protocols, memoranda of understanding and tariff offers and copies of national legislation and policy documents at: <http://www.tralac.org/resources.html>

*Regional Integration in Africa*, Trade Law Centre for Southern Africa, 2011: [https://www.wto.org/english/res\\_e/reser\\_e/ersd201114\\_e.pdf](https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/reser_e/ersd201114_e.pdf)

*Governance, Trade and Statehood in Africa* (Gerhard Erasmus: Tralac Annual Conference: April 2013): <http://www.tralac.org/files/2013/04/S13WP042013-Erasmus-Governance-trade-and-statehood-in-Africa-20130410final.pdf>

Tralac Annual Conference 2014 (Conference Report, select videos and concept document): <http://www.tralac.org/events/article/5574-tralac-annual-conference-2014.html#downloads>

### **Mo Ibrahim Foundation**

*Regional Economic Integration: Facts and Figures 2010* (Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2010): <http://www.moibrahimfoundation.org/downloads/publications/2010/2010-facts-&-figures-regional-economic-integration.pdf>

*Facts and Figures: Regional Integration: Uniting to compete* (Mo Ibrahim Foundation: 2014): <http://www.moibrahimfoundation.org/downloads/publications/2014/2014-facts-&-figures-regional-integration-uniting-to-compete.pdf>

## Publications/Research reports/Policy briefs

*Regional Building and Regional Integration in Africa* (Centre for Conflict Resolution: October 2014):

[http://www.ccr.org.za/images/pdfs/vol49\\_region\\_building\\_29sep2014.pdf](http://www.ccr.org.za/images/pdfs/vol49_region_building_29sep2014.pdf)

*The Political Economy of Regional Integration in Southern Africa: What role for EU and other Partners?* (SAIIA & ECDPM Workshop Report: February 2011):

[http://www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/research/dttp/20110201\\_workshop/edip\\_workshop\\_report\\_political\\_economy\\_ri\\_sa\\_201102.pdf](http://www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/research/dttp/20110201_workshop/edip_workshop_report_political_economy_ri_sa_201102.pdf)

*The Tripartite Free Trade Area: Towards a New Paradigm for African Integration?* (Gerhard Erasmus and Trudi Hartzenburg: October 2013):

[http://www.ictsdsymposium.org/wp-content/uploads/bsk-pdf-manager/10\\_The-TFTA-towards-a-new-African-integration-paradigm\\_20131017.pdf](http://www.ictsdsymposium.org/wp-content/uploads/bsk-pdf-manager/10_The-TFTA-towards-a-new-African-integration-paradigm_20131017.pdf)

*Governing regionalism in Africa: Themes and Debates* (Gilbert M. Khadiagala: Centre for Policy Studies: November 2008):

<http://www.cps.org.za/cps%20pdf/polbrief51.pdf>

*The challenges of regional integration in Africa: In the context of globalisation and the prospects for a United States of Africa* (Mzukisi Qobo: ISS Paper 145: June 2007):

<http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Paper145h.pdf>

*Rethinking the (European) Foundations of Sub-Saharan African Regional Economic Integration: A Political Economy Essay* (Peter Draper: OECD: September 2010):

<http://www.oecd.org/dev/46013902.pdf>

*High Ambitions and High Risks: Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa* (Mzukisi Qobo: Heinrich Boll Stiftung: April 2014):

[http://us.boell.org/sites/default/files/hbs\\_qobo\\_high-ambitions-high-risks.pdf](http://us.boell.org/sites/default/files/hbs_qobo_high-ambitions-high-risks.pdf)

*Africa Growth Initiative:* <http://www.brookings.edu/about/projects/africa-growth>

*Regional Integration Arrangements In Africa: Is Large Membership The Way Forward?* (Jaime de Melo):

<http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/africa-in-focus/posts/2015/08/26-regional-integration-arrangements-africa-de-melo>

*Overview of EPA Negotiations: Updated March 2015:*

[http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2009/september/tradoc\\_144912.pdf](http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2009/september/tradoc_144912.pdf)

*Is it possible to have better governance in Africa's Regional Economic Communities (RECs)?* (Gerhard Erasmus: The E15 Initiative: February 2015):

<http://e15initiative.org/blogs/is-it-possible-to-have-better-governance-in-african-regional-economic-communities-recs/>

US House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations: *Hearing on 'Will there be an African Economic community?'* (January 2014). Statement by Amadou Sy (Senior Fellow, Africa Growth Initiative, Brookings Institute):

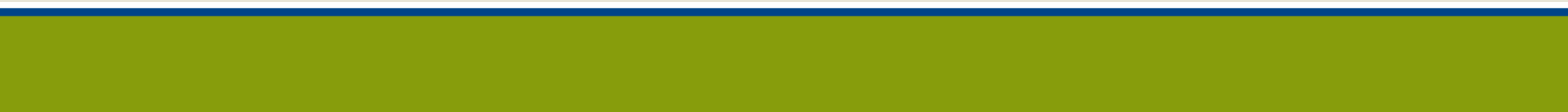
<http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA16/20140109/101628/HHRG-113-FA16-Wstate-SyA-20140109.pdf>

*Apart at the seams, Africa in Fact*, 2014:

<http://gga.org/publications/africa-in-fact-may-2014-regional-integration-apart-at-the-seams>

*Doing Business*, Regional Reports, World Bank Group:

<http://www.doingbusiness.org/reports/regional-reports>





**Building Bridges** is a multi-year policy-focused research and outreach programme of the Graduate School of Development Policy and Practice at the University of Cape Town. The programme combines fellowships, meetings and workshops (both public and closed) and a leadership development component to 'build bridges' and help close the gap in analysis and thinking on Africa between political actors – within and amongst African countries – and policy research experts, both African and international. Through leveraging the unique convening power of the university environment, the programme brings together influential Africans to deepen understanding of key challenges affecting the continent and to explore research- and policy-based solutions.

African economic integration was selected as the first overarching theme to launch the **Building Bridges** programme, using the framework of political economy to identify and discuss key challenges and opportunities, the forces favouring and opposing reform, and strategies to promote integration. Six meetings were convened on the theme with regional partners in four countries – South Africa, Tanzania, Senegal and Zambia – attended by 140 influential policymakers, decision-makers and future leaders from over 20 African countries.

**Building Bridges** is jointly funded by grants from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), UK Department for International Development (DFID) and the Ford Foundation, each supporting different components of the programme.

