

Prerequisites for integration on the African continent. A P2P perspective.

Seminar on African Union Vision 2063 as it relates to migration, regional integration and the Africa passport

14 November, 2017

Venue: E249, Second floor, New Wing, Parliament, Cape town

Dr Emmanuel Sekyere (AISA)

Human Sciences Research Council

Outline

- Aspirations of the Abuja Treaty of 1991, w.r.t. **movement of people** in the context of regional integration
- Interlinkages with Agenda 2063
- Status quo, an inter-REC comparison.
- Benefits of P2P integration and movement of people
- Pertaining challenges and pre-requisites for achieving P2P integration
- Conclusion and recommendations

Abuja Treaty 1991, established the African Economic Community

“To promote economic, social and cultural development and the integration of African economies, in order to increase economic **self reliance** and promote an **endogenous** and **self-sustained** development”

Abuja Treaty establishing the African Economic Community, Article 4. Objective 1. (a)

Abuja Treaty 1991, w.r.t movement of people

African states and their leaders committed to;

- promoting free movement of persons, rights of residence, right of establishment, single tourist visas and regional passports.
- urging one another to adopt employment policies that allow free movement of persons within the proposed African economic community (AEC)
- strengthening co-operation in education and training, coordinate and harmonise their policies for developing the capacity/skills required to enhance social progress and the development of the continent.

Intercessions with linkages with Agenda 2063...the Africa we want

An integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance

Free movement of people, rights of residence & establishment, visa relaxations, single tourist visas, continental passport

An Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children

An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, shared values and ethics

Strengthening cooperation in education and training...enhancing social progress and development

Employment policies that allow for free movement

Recent policy developments on free movement of people

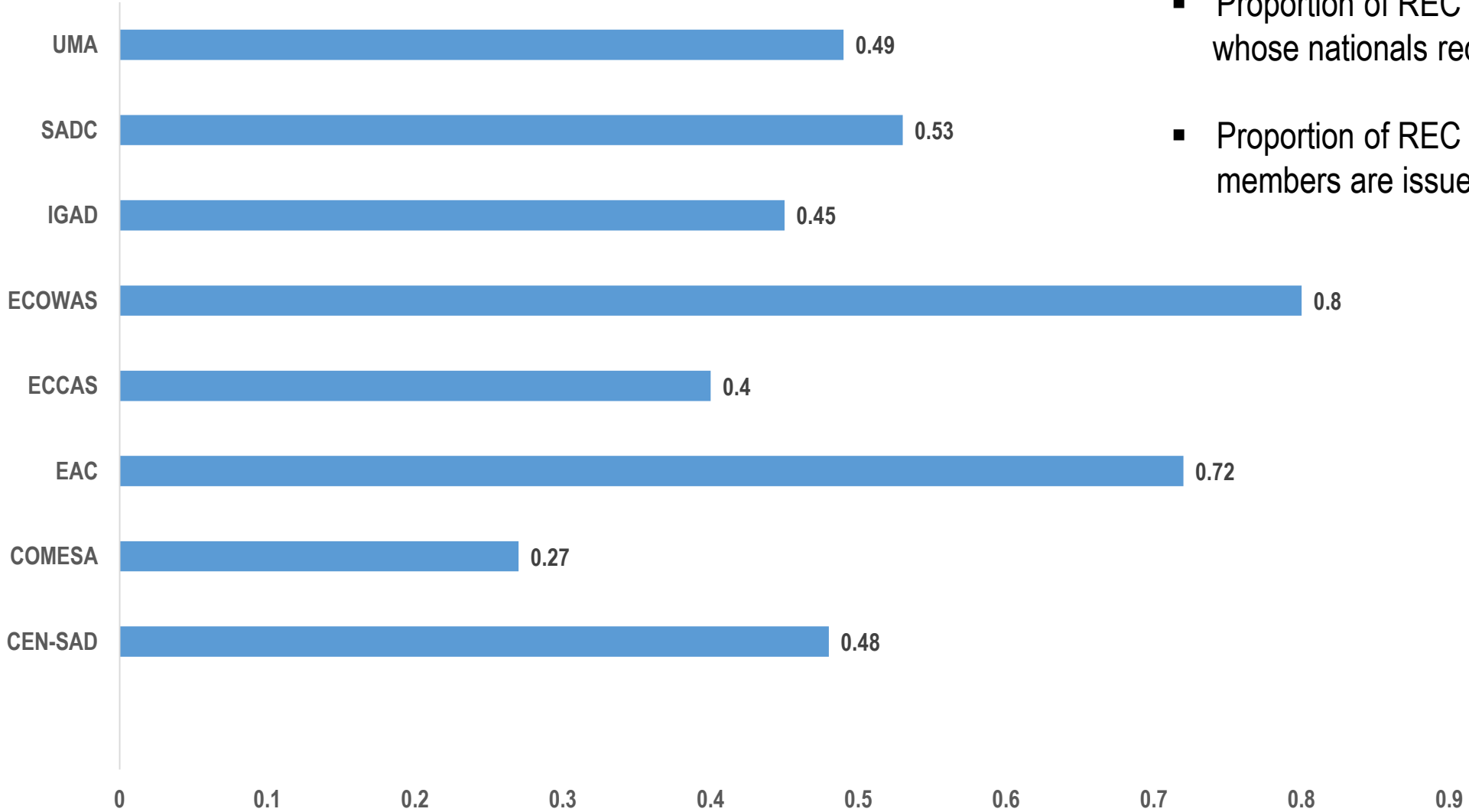
In addition to the long standing Abuja Treaty of 1991, the Agenda 2063 calls for visa free travel by all Africans within Africa by 2018

- AfDB's Africa Visa Openness Index Report, launched in 2016
- The move by several African countries to offer visas on arrival to citizens of AU member states;
- The launch of the Africa passport in July 2016, 27th Africa Union Summit in Kigali, Rwanda

Implementation status quo; inter Rec comparison

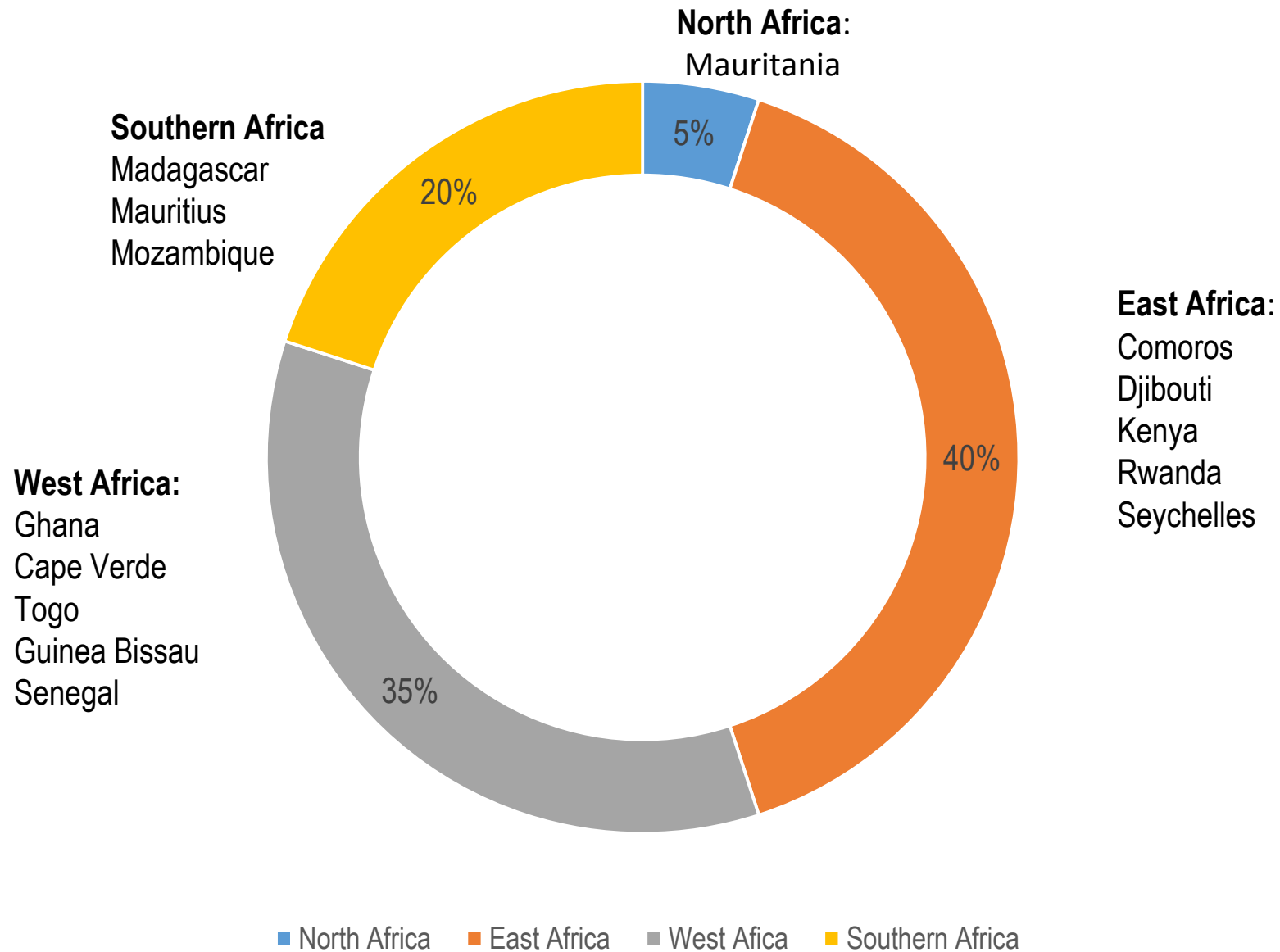
REC	Freedom of movement protocol implementation	Common passport	Universal tourist visa	Right of establishment for business
AMU	3 out of 5	No	No	No
CEN-SAD	unclear	Visa waved for diplomats and selected professions	No	Right of residence (not ratified)
COMESA	Only Burundi has ratified	No	No	No
EAC	3 out of 5	Yes	Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda.	Yes; Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda
ECCAS	4 out of 11	Travel books, cards, special airport arrival facilities	In progress	Yes, (4 out of 11 implemented)
ECOWAS	All 15	Yes, ECOWAS passport	Visa not required	Yes
SADC	7 out of 15	No	In progress	No
West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA)	All 6	Harmonised with ECOWAS	Visa not required	Yes

COMPOSITE FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE SCORE. AVERAGE OF 8 RECS, 0.517



- Ratification of REC f.m.p protocol
- Proportion of REC member countries whose nationals require no visas for entry
- Proportion of REC member countries whose members are issued with visa on arrival

Distribution of the 20 most visa open countries in Africa



Cooperation in education and training for social progress and development

REC	Same University entry exam	Educational/training programmes	Cultural exchanges
AMU	No, national exam	Yes; inter-university cooperation (IUC)	Partially, Music & Arts
CEN-SAD	No, national exam	Unclear	Partially, Music & Arts
COMESA	No, national exam	Yes; inter-university cooperation (IUCEA, SARUA)	Partially, Music & Arts
EAC	No, national exam	Yes; inter-university cooperation (IUCEA)	Partially, Music & Arts
ECCAS	No, national exam	Unclear	Partially, Music & Arts
ECOWAS	Yes, Anglophone	Yes; inter-university cooperation	Partially, Music & Arts
SADC	No, national exams	Yes; inter-university cooperation (SARUA)	Partially, Music & Arts
UEMOA	Yes, Francophone	Yes; inter-university associations (CAMES)	Partially, Music & Arts

Benefits of free movement of people



Benefits of free movement of people

When viewed *not in isolation* but within the *broad context of economic integration*, immense benefits emerge

- Mitigates uneven distribution of skills on the continent; help to address Africa's labour needs in education, health and industrial sectors. AfDB estimates that 4 million more teachers, 2 million health workers are needed in Africa, potential exist within the continent to meet our skill shortages through f.m.p.
- Increased level of cross border economic activity, potential for job creation and growth. Highly informal in nature currently, since movement not legal and data uncaptured
- Potential for growth and job creation: Rwanda visa on arrival since 2013; 22% increase in African tourism and business travellers
- All other dimensions of African integration, trade, production, infrastructure, macroeconomic and financial integration cannot be realised WITHOUT flexibility in the movement of people within the continent.

Benefits of free movement of people

When viewed *not in isolation* but within the *broad context of economic integration*, immense benefits emerge

- SADC produces 60% of the world's rough gem diamonds. This generates 800 000 jobs in the cutting and polishing industry globally, Sadly only 8000 are in the SADC region, approximately 1% of the global workforce
- A lost opportunity for Africa's 200 million youth, comprising 60% of Africa's labour force.
- Question is: what skills, labour policies, training facilities are required for SADC to bring 60% of the 800 000 jobs back to Africa, commensurate with our 60% production of the world's diamonds?
- How can other African countries help? Other regions in Africa also have diamonds. What are the opportunities for the creation of regional value chains in this respect?
- Can free movement of skill/labour on the continent be beneficial? Yes I believe so!! For inclusive regional growth, job creation, poverty reduction and improved well being

Africa's demographic dividend



The 10 youngest populations are all in Africa

Median age, 2015

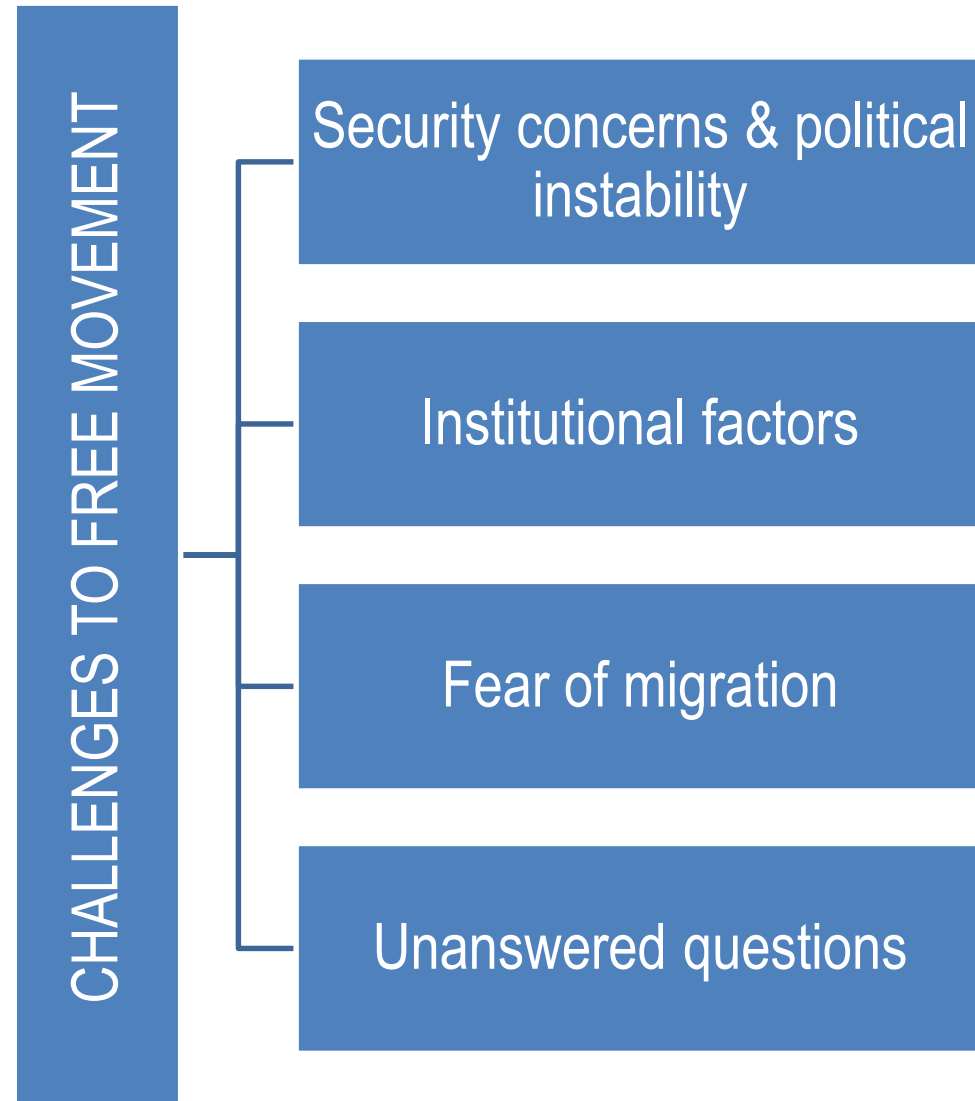


Source: United Nations

From now to 2035, 450 million people will join the labour force in Africa, Where are the jobs?

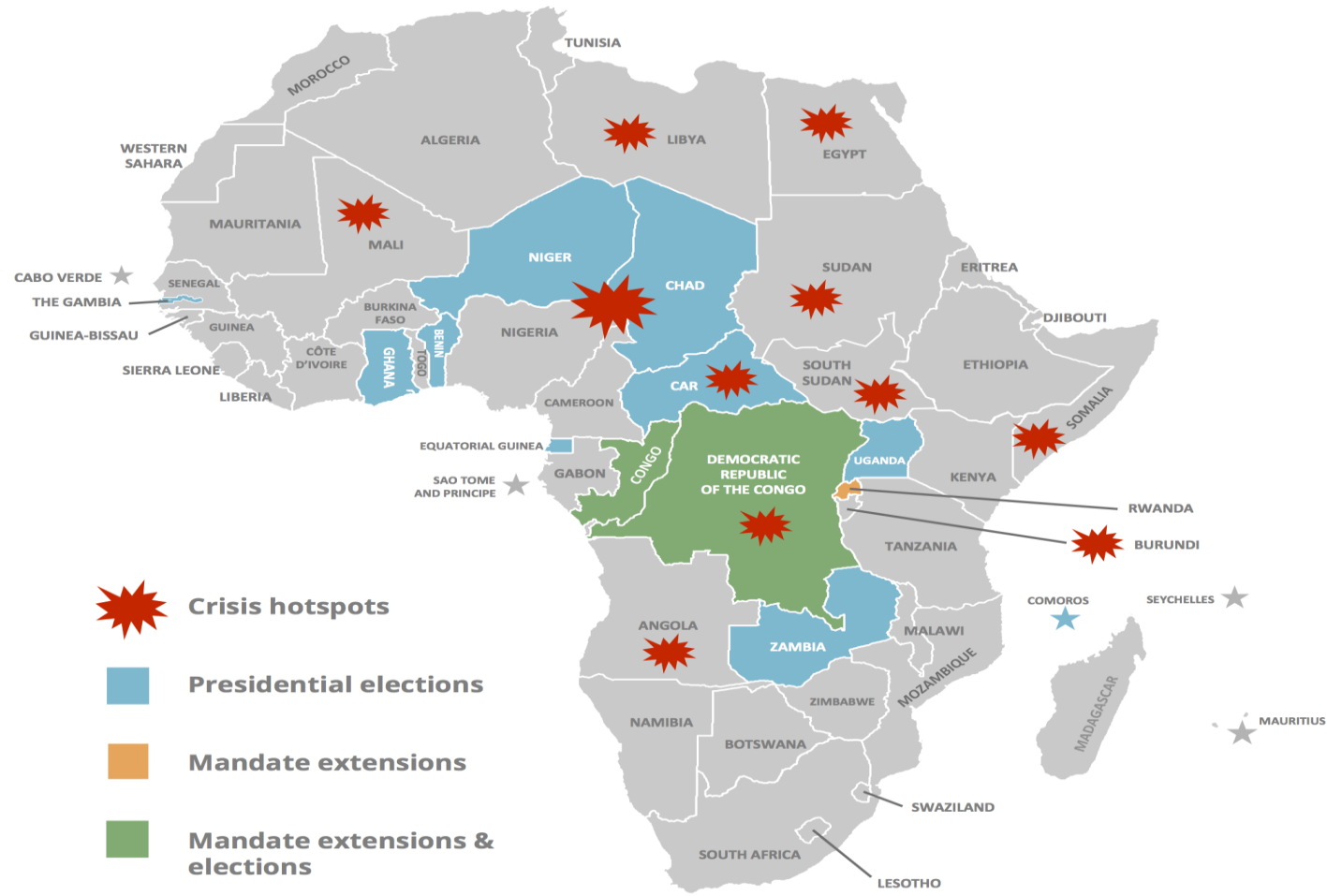
Challenges to free movement of people

Along 6 key dimensions spread over the following...



Security concerns & political instability

Africa in 2016



Crisis hotspots

Angola	Growing political instability
Burundi	Instability due to political violence
Cameroon, Chad, Nigeria & Niger	Islamist insurgency
CAR	First elections after civil war & transition period
DRC	Potential term-limit extension & contentious election
Egypt	Developing insurgency
Libya	Civil war
Mali	Islamist insurgency
Niger	Attempted coup
Somalia	Ongoing civil war
South Sudan	Civil war
Sudan	War in Darfur

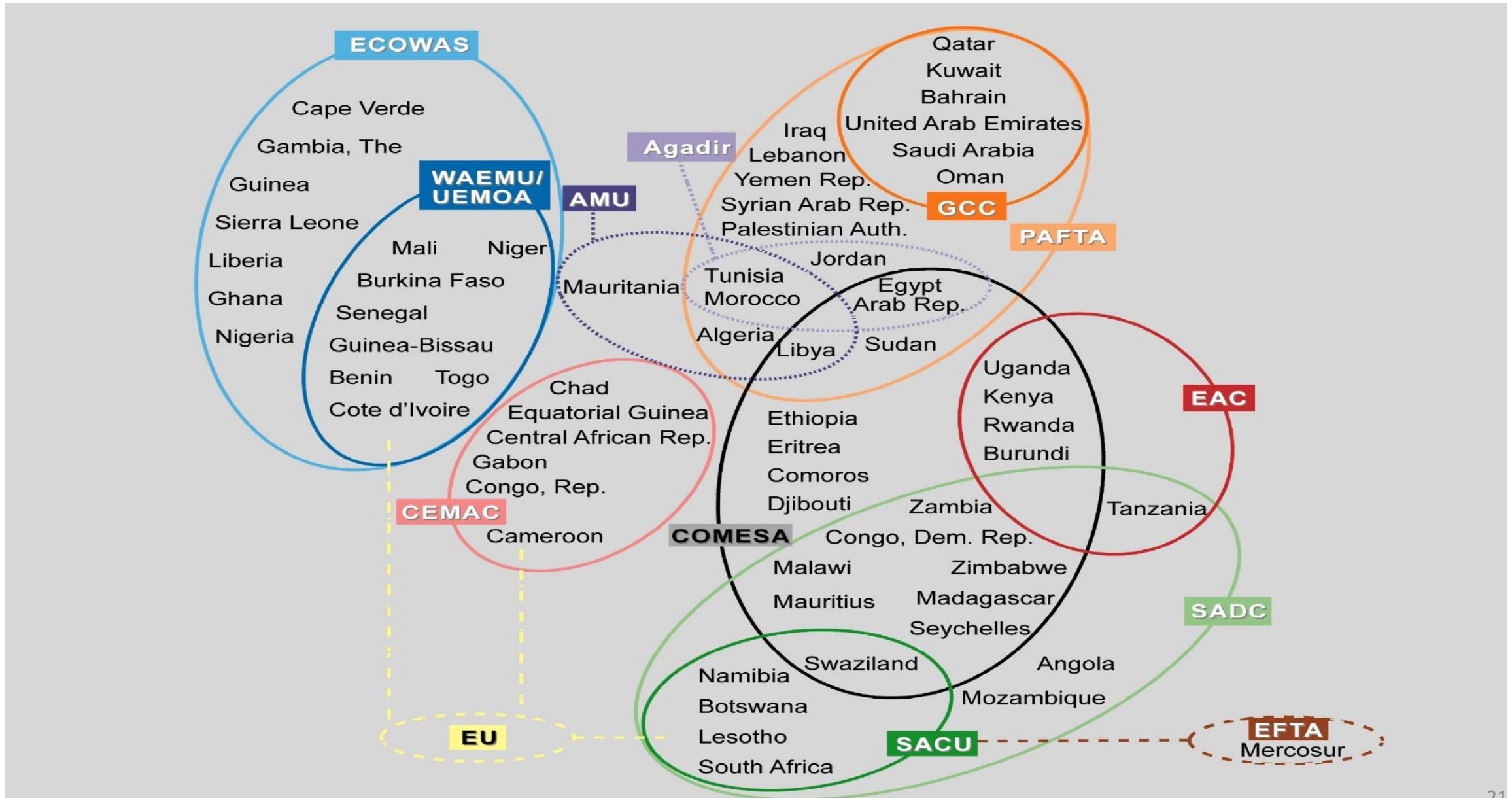
Institutional factors

Constraint	Description
1. Weak policy implementation capacity	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Historically weak capacity to breakdown strategic vision into implementable programmes- Leads to poor implementation
2. Policy uncertainty	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Differing political priorities at country level- Conflict between national interests and regional interests- Progress made so far makes the 2018 timeline of Agenda 2063 ambitious
3. Poor Institutions and red tape	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Corruption,- Extreme bureaucracy

Institutional factors

Constraint	Description
4. Fear of migration and related challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Criminal trans-border networks might flourish- Conflicts and negative effects on social cohesion driven by competition for services, jobs and local resources- More tolerant of foreigners from the global north than from own our neighbourhoods and backyards- Differing levels of immigration management
5. Shifting loyalties	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Multiple REC memberships, complicates policy coordination
6. Unanswered questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Is an African passport and free movement really the answers to Africa's problems?- How does that address issues like political instability, wars and conflicts, lack of good leadership and governance etc?- Is visa on arrival not adequate?

Multiple REC memberships and complexity of linkages



What should African governments do?

What should African government do?

- Re-visit and review some of our integration aspirations wholistically, e.g. fmp within the entire integration agenda, agreed timelines unrealistic.
- In the process, weigh the anticipated benefits of our integration aspirations against the realities of our continent and the costs of integration that could emerge.
- Stagger implementation: Do we have to go as far as a single African passport to facilitate free movement or we can make do with visa on arrival facilities and visa waivers for countries with whom we have high levels of beneficial bilateral trade relations, *for starters and see how it goes*

What should Africa governments do?

SERIOUS HOUSE CLEANING: Should we not be addressing our current challenges simultaneously?

- i.e. our level of acceptance of foreigners and cultures from our own backyards,
- the ability of our security agencies to effectively work together to address cross border crime,
- political instability, wars and conflicts,
- poor leadership on the continent,
- poor institutional quality,
- weak implementation capacity

Conclusion

- There are clear benefits to free movement of people on the continent, potential for inclusive growth, job creation, poverty reduction and improved standard of living.
- However clear and strong challenges to integration exist; security concerns, conflicts and wars, leadership deficit, institutional quality, cross border crime, poor social cohesion and poor acceptance levels of each other, weak implementation capacity etc.
- These challenges have been with us since time immemorial. Should we forge ahead in spite of our challenges?
- Other frameworks exist to address some of these challenges and have to be expedited simultaneously alongside our integration aspirations, e.g. APRM, Agenda 2063.. *A peaceful and secure Africa, find solutions to long standing conflicts on the continent etc.*

Africa clearly still has a lot of work to do. Lets discuss



Thank you

Dr. Emmanuel Sekyere
Chief Research Specialist
Africa Institute of South Africa
Human Sciences Research Council
Email: esekyere@hsrc.ac.za
URL: www.hsrc.ac.za

References

- Adeyeye, A. (2016) Beyond the AU passport: Prospects or Africa's integration and prosperity. Available www.howwemadeitinAfrica.com [Assessed 02 November 2017]
- AfDB & AUC (2016, 2017) Africa visa Openness Report. Available www.afdb.org. [Assessed 11 November 2017].
- African Union Commission (1991) Abuja Treaty.
- African Union Commission (2012) Agenda 2063, the Africa we want
- Brookings Institute. (2012) Accelerating Growth through improved intra-African trade. Washington D.C: Brookings Institute.
- Mupotola, M. (2016) Single African passport. A turning point for an integrated and prosperous Africa. Available www.afdb.org [Assessed 02 November 2017]