

What Does Africa Stand to Gain from the African Continental Free Trade Area?

Caroline Karimi Ntara

Abstract:

There is a notion that Africa has been getting the “short end of the stick” when it comes to bilateral trade agreements with the rest of the world. With the newly formed African Continental Free Trade Area - AfCFTA - that aims to enhance Africa’s trade links with the rest of the world, the question remains whether this initiative will benefit the African countries. The paper uses theories of international trade, regional integration and economic growth to recommend how the AfCFTA can succeed for the benefit of the African continent. The paper analyses the current trade situation within Africa and compares it with the continents’ trade with the rest of the world using mixed methods research design. The study uses secondary data from Trade Map from 2017-2021 and compares the performance of selected trading blocs on the continent. Qualitative data were collected through Delphi techniques with experts from across the African continent. Data on individual trading blocs suggests that despite the continent’s trade deficit position, some regional blocs have a trade surplus. The study identifies challenges facing Africa’s trade, proposes solutions to improve intra-regional trade and gives policy directions to guide the successful implementation of the AfCFTA.



IJSB

Accepted 15 August 2022
Published 27 August 2022
DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.7026994

Keywords: *Free Trade, Regionalism, Trading bloc, Africa, Regional integration.*

About Author

Dr. Caroline Ntara, Ph. D. Monarch Business School, Switzerland.

1. Introduction

The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) is the first project of the African Union (AU)'s development vision and policy roadmap for Africa's inclusive growth, sustainable development, and continental integration, also known as Agenda 2063 (AfCFTA, 2022; Balino, 2021). It was approved on 1st January 2012 by the 18th ordinary session of the assembly of heads of state and government held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, culminating in the decision to constitute a Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA, 2022; United Nations, 2021). This trade pact has a coverage of nearly 1.3 billion people across 55 African countries and a potential total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of approximately US\$3.4 trillion (Kende-Robb, 2021; Thomas, 2022; World Bank, 2020). Therefore, the AfCFTA is the largest free trade area globally in terms of participating nations since the formation of the World Trade Organization (Wanyonyi, 2020). The AfCFTA was formed for various reasons. One is to enhance intra-African trade by offering a comprehensive and mutually beneficial pact to partner states and address trade in goods, services, investment, intellectual property rights and competition policy (AfCFTA, 2022). It is additionally intended to boost Africa's trading position worldwide by reinforcing the continent's say and presence in international trade negotiations (AfCFTA, 2022). It also aspires to reduce tariffs among members and covers policy areas, such as trade facilitation, services, technical barriers to trade, and regulatory measures like sanitary standards (Thomas, 2022; World Bank, 2020). The AfCFTA's full implementation is meant to increase output in Africa's services, natural resources and manufacturing sectors and help African countries diversify their exports, accelerate and sustain growth and attract foreign direct investment (FDI) (Grynspan, 2021). Overall, it is envisioned as a model of cross-border cooperation in an age of increasing isolationism (Kende-Robb, 2021). According to the AfCFTA (2022), the agreement's general objectives are to create one market for goods and services empowered by the movement of persons to entrench Africa's economic integration in line with the Pan-African Vision of "an integrated, prosperous, and peaceful Africa" stated in Agenda 2063. Further, establish a liberalized market for products and services through continuous negotiations, facilitate the transfer of capital and natural persons and investments building in the initiatives and projects of the state parties and Regional Economic Communities (RECs). The agreement also aims to pave the way for the future establishment of a Continental Economic Community and Customs Union as targeted by the 1991 Abuja Treaty two decades ago (Baliño, 2021). In addition, the AfCFTA targets to attain and foster the state parties' inclusive and lasting socioeconomic development, gender equality and structural transformation. Building the confidence and dedication of Africans towards owning and driving Agenda 2063 is of utmost importance. The AfCFTA intends to increase the competitiveness of the member states' economies within Africa and the global market and promote industrial advancement through diversification, regional value chain development, agricultural development, food security and address the challenges posed by multiple and overlapping memberships while expediting regional and continental integration. However, despite the promising potential of an African free trade area, the continent faces difficulties that most other regions do not encounter and needs revolutionary levels of commitment to succeed (Kassa et al., 2022). Furthermore, statistics indicate that the continent plays a marginal role in international trade (Gold, 2022; Kende-Robb, 2021; UNCTD, 2019). Many studies such as those done by Baliño (2021), Kassa et al (2022), Kende-Robb (2021) and Thomas (2022) have speculated on the current state of Africa's trade in line with the AfCFTA. These studies have all agreed that there are challenges facing the successful implementation of regional blocs in Africa. The challenges that seem to bedevil the trading arrangements of regional trading blocs on the continent appear to persist for years (Ejones et al., 2021; Kuteesa, 2012; Maruping, 2005; Ngari, 2016). The downside is that the implementation of the AfCFTA is likely to face similar challenges. Despite this realization, no study simultaneously investigates intra-Africa trade, imports to Africa and

exports from Africa while providing solutions and policy directions on how Africa can improve its trade situation. This paper fills this gap using mixed methods research through an interrogation of current trade data and qualitative findings from experts across the continent.

2. literature review

The review looks at the theories of regional integration, economic growth and international trade and draws insights that reflect on the AfCFTA. These theories guide the direction that the AfCFTA can take for success to be realised.

2.1.Regional Integration Theories

The theories of regional integration namely neo-functionalism, regionalism, new regionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism study how national interests influence the integration process (Ejones et al., 2021; Maruping, 2005; Wignaraja et al., 2019). These theories can help clarify the idea of regional integration, particularly, concerning the AfCFTA and the agendas of its partner states. The neo-functionalist theory proposes that independent states integrate their sectors by placing them under joint control. The sectors selected should be important but must not threaten the conferred interests of the partner states (Kinyua, 2015). Neo-functionalism admits that integration is fashioned by the national interests of individual states (Dion, 2004; Hamad, 2016; Lamessa & Gonzalo, 2021). In Africa, this union is essential for the success of the AfCFTA and is conceivable through the harmonization of economic and fiscal policies and legislation across member states. Secondly, according to Dion (2004), Ravenhill (2016) and Sakyi and Opoku (2014), the theory of regionalism recommends the collaboration between governments within a geographical area. Political regionalism symbolizes the role of institutions in helping states build a collective distinctiveness and have a voice in global affairs and multilateral establishments (Bischoff, 2021; Kasaija, 2010). It may improve the global contribution of individual states and, thereby, reinforce their sovereignty (Gibb & Michalak, 1996; Hurrell, 1995; Marinov, 2015; Ravenhill, 2016; Taylor, 2003; Whiteman & Nagar, 2009). Functional regionalism refers to interstate collaboration on specific matters, such as communication and transport infrastructure (Ravenhill, 2016). Economic regionalism involves the collective effort of states to eliminate barriers to the movement of goods, labour, services and capital. The free trade areas (FTAs) emanate from economic regionalism and constitute economic unions, customs unions and common markets. In the AfCFTA, free trade points to economic regionalism because it necessitates the eradication of impediments to the movement of capital, labour, goods and services. Nevertheless, the process also depends on the political will (political regionalism) and collaboration of AfCFTA members in the growth of their energy, transport and ICT infrastructural capabilities (functional regionalism). Third, the theory of new regionalism notes that regional integration initiatives can focus on more than security partnerships and the launch of free trade frameworks to identify the difficulties encountered by states trying to integrate into one international market (Mittelman, 1996; Muller, 2004; Yuzhu, 2021). New regionalism underscores the fact that regional trade necessitates more collaboration than competition in terms of heightened investment and trade (Ethier, 1998; Masinde & Omolo, 2017). It admits that actors such as business communities, civil society, and informal networks play a significant role in regional initiatives (Muller, 2004; Sakyi & Opoku, 2014). Consequently, the implication for the AfCFTA is that states need to cooperate and involve crucial actors to enhance the espousal of intra-Africa trade. Lastly, the liberal intergovernmentalism theory stipulates that the obligation of enhancing integration is in the hands of national governments (Moravcsik, 1995; Schimmelfennig, 2021). National governments present their choices and follow them in negotiating with other states. Liberal intergovernmentalists postulate that the bargaining influence of member states is important while working towards integration (Kleine & Pollack, 2018; Ngari, 2016). In addition, they

consider institutions as pathways for creating dependable obligations for governments to ensure they stick to their end of the bargain. Further, liberal intergovernmentalists consider supranational institutions to be of limited implication in the process of integration, in divergence with neofunctionalists (Coskun, 2015; Hooghe & Marks, 2019; Kleine & Pollack, 2018). Hence, concerning the AfCFTA, the obligation of enhancing integration is in the hands of national governments across the African Continent. In applying the theories of regional integration, it is important to understand the levels of regional integration (Figure 1.0). The free trade area is the first level. At this level, states enter a pact, which involves a partnership between two or more states to reduce or remove trade barriers and import tariffs and to raise the trade of goods and services with each other (Campa & Sorenson, 1996; Hayakawa & Kimura, 2015). The customs union is the second stage. A customs union is a free trade area that has a Common External Tariff (CET). A CET means that a trade bloc applies the same customs duties and import quotas or has some Non-Tariff Barriers (NTBs) made applicable to all products entering any state in a regional trading bloc.

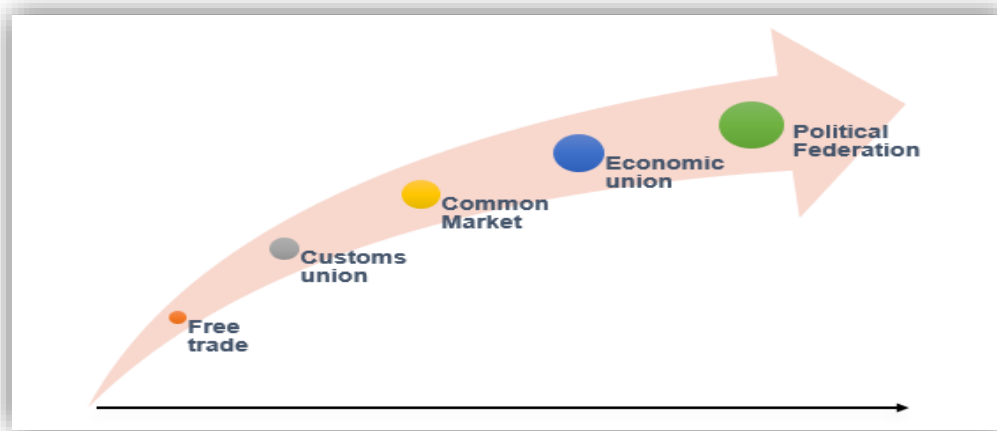


Figure 1.0: Levels/Stages of Regional Integration

The common market is the third stage. A common market is a trade bloc where many trade barriers have been removed and states have some shared policies on the rights of residence and establishment and the freedom of movement of services, goods, people, workers and capital. The next stage is the economic union, which is a trade bloc constituting a common market and a customs union. Member states have freedoms and rights of movement, a common external trade policy, as well as, mutual policies on product guidelines (Kahiya, 2021; Kuteesa, 2012). The political federation is the final stage of regional integration. It is a political system where states in a regional integration initiative share law-making powers and sovereign constitutional authority in their jurisdictions. As relates to the AfCFTA, it is considered a free trade area. However, there are aspects of the customs union and common market such as free movement of people, goods and capital and negotiation on tariffs, Rules of Origin (RoO) and NTBs among others that are critical for success.

2.2 International trade theories

The international trade theories of interest to this research are national competitive advantage comparative advantage and absolute advantage theories. First, Michael Porter's National Competitive Advantage theory argues that states can position themselves for success in international business. A nation's competitive advantage is contingent on the collective competitive advantages of its businesses (Cavusgil et al., 2015; Ketels, 2006). This association becomes mutual over time and facilitates the expansion of new industries and companies with similar strengths. Porter submits that national success is not inherited but created (Sen, 2010;

Sigwele, 2002). According to Porter, the determinants of national competitive advantage include related and supporting industries, factor conditions, firm structure, strategy and rivalry and demand conditions, (Grant, 1991; Huggins & Izushi, 2015; O'Shaughnessy, 1996; Porter, 1980). As relates to the AfCFTA, the continent can take advantage of determinants of competitive advantage in intra-trade dealings, as well as, global trade engagements. Second, David Ricardo proposed the theory of comparative advantage to explain that even when a country enjoys the production of goods, trade and specialization are still achievable (Barker, 2000; Beaudreau, 2015; Lam, 2015; Maneschi, 1992; Mathieson, 2016; Sen, 2010). According to Ricardo, a country should focus on making products in which it will suffer low production costs. Thereafter, a country can export those products and utilize the returns to buy imports with higher production costs (Cavusgil et al., 2015; Ellsworth, 1940; Levchenko et al., 2012; Rauch, 1991; Redding, 1999). Therefore, AfCFTA members do not have to produce all the goods that they consume, but, rather, they need only produce the products over which they have an advantage and then trade with other countries continentally to acquire the rest. Lastly, Adam Smith proposes the absolute advantage theory which refers to a country's ability to produce goods more efficiently and effectively than other countries and trade them for equally produced goods by other countries (Barker, 2000; Marrewijk, 2009; Seretis & Tsaliki, 2016). Thus, a country benefits by producing and exporting only those products that it can make using fewer resources than another country (Cavusgil et al., 2015; Lam, 2015; Maneschi, 1992). In turn, a country imports those that it lacks an absolute advantage in making. AfCFTA countries, for example, can be said to have an absolute advantage in agricultural products and raw materials due to the wealth of natural resources available on the continent. Thus, their exports consist largely of agricultural items and natural resources, whereas their imports are predominantly non-agricultural goods. However, the persistence in the export of raw materials and buying back finished products by African states has been criticized with calls for a shift in exports from raw materials to manufactured goods for the benefit of the continent.

2.3 Theories of Economic Growth

Endogenous and neoclassical growth theories explain the aspect of economic growth. Under the neoclassical growth theory, economic integration, economic policy actions, and other institutional features do not have an impact on the steady-state economic growth rate (Sena, 2018). Economic growth is fully determined by the rate of technological progress. According to this theory, institutional changes or increases in efficiency and changes in investment ratios due to economic integration have temporary effects on the rate of growth. However, shifts in the overall productivity levels lead to short-term or temporary growth effects. Dion (2004) posits that the growth effects are attributed to the establishment, deepening or broadening of a regional integration agreement. The productivity shift in turn stimulates heightened physical capital creation that slowly reduces towards its long-term steady state (Eyster, 2014; Njoroge, 2010; Sena, 2018; Sharipov, 2015; Yu, 2017). Hence, economic integration is considered similar to any other main economic policy alteration that affects economic growth on the transition path towards the steady-state (Kamau, 2010; Schiff & Winters, 2003). This theory affirms the need for technology in advancing the implementation of the AfCFTA and propelling economic growth. Lastly, the endogenous growth theory suggests that the improvement of a country's human capital will lead to economic growth due to technological advancement and efficient means of production. Moreover, the theory assumes that the introduction of human capital causes knowledge to flow freely and if it keeps up with other investments, returns can be sustained. (Njuki, 2016; Pietak, 2014). This theory supports the free movement of people and workers and the advancement of technology on the African Continent to realize the objectives of the AfCFTA.

3. Methodology

The research uses import and export trade data from Trade Map from 2017 to 2021 and compares the performance of regional trading blocs in conducting Intra trade and global trade. The research looks at data related to SADC, EAC, ECOWAS, UDEAC, COMESA, SACU, and the Maghreb Union, as well as, Africa's internal and global trade. The researcher investigates the trade situation in each of these blocs with a particular focus on intra-regional trade and global trade data for each bloc. Further, the research compares these blocs to bring out the highest and lowest trading region based on intra-trade, global exports and global imports. The researcher analyses the data using pivot tables. Qualitative research was also applied using Delphi techniques to respondents across the continent. 15 respondents in different sectors across Africa participated. The research used judgmental sampling intending to reach only experts with knowledge of Africa's issues. The researcher asked respondents the same questions and verified their opinions to reach a consensus. Respondents in the present research were from Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda, Kenya, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire and Rwanda. All respondents had doctoral level education.

4. Findings

4.1 Regional Trade data

4.1.1 SADC

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) consists of 16 member states namely Namibia, Angola, South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Comoros, Mauritius, Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe, Eswatini, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Seychelles, Zambia and Tanzania.

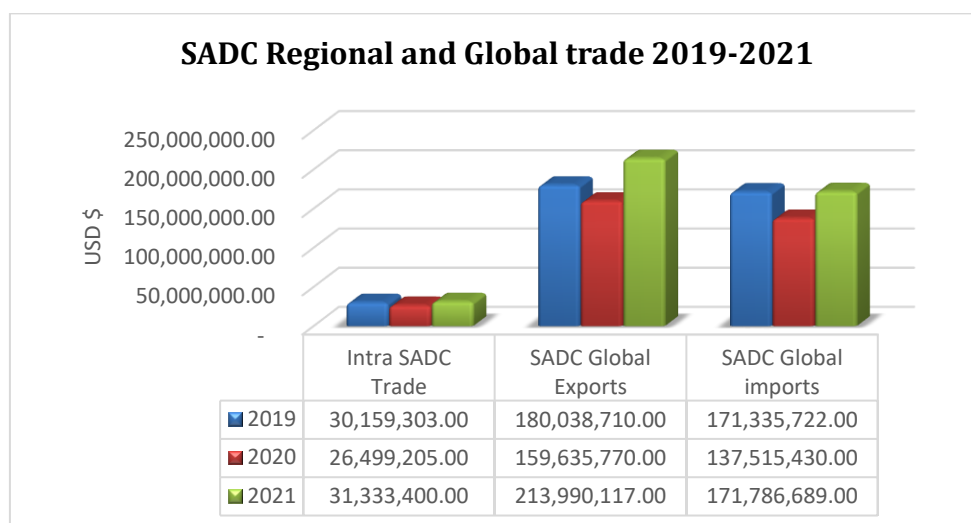


Figure 1.1 Comparison of Intra SADC trade, global imports and exports

Figure 1.1 summarizes intra-SADC trade, global exports and global imports. It appears that trade within SADC is the lowest compared to the region's global trade. Furthermore, it seems that SADC had more global exports compared to imports giving the region a positive trade balance. In total, SADC has a positive balance of trade totalling \$ 73,026,756. Comparing the global trade data and intra-SADC trade shows the preference of SADC member states to trade outside their bloc.

4.1.2 EAC Trade

The East African Community (EAC) consists of seven member states namely Kenya, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Tanzania, Burundi, Uganda, Rwanda and South

Sudan. The data excludes the DRC as the country joined the EAC in 2022. Figure 1.2 highlights intra-EAC trade, global exports and imports from the region. Intra EAC trade, just like SADC, is dismal compared to global imports and exports. However, the EAC seems to be experiencing a negative balance of trade with global imports exceeding global exports from the region. The total negative trade balance stands at \$105,025,045 for the period. The EAC trade data shows the preference of EAC member states to consume global products.

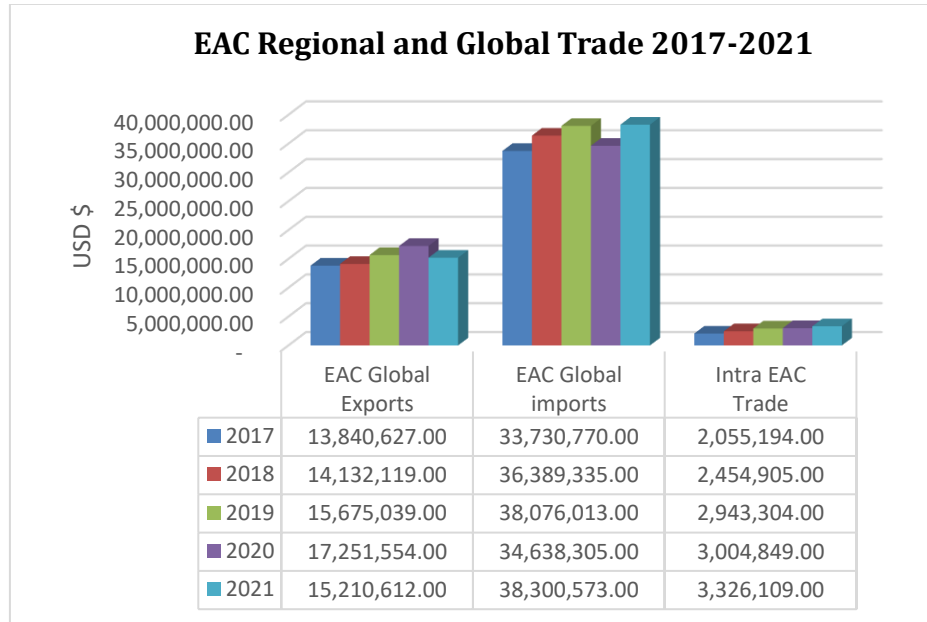


Figure 1.2: Comparison of intra-EAC trade, global imports and exports

4.1.3 ECOWAS trade

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) consists of 15 member states namely Mali, Benin, Cabo Verde, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Ghana, Liberia, Guinea, Niger, Senegal, Nigeria, and Togo. Figure 1.3 explores intra-ECOWAS trade, ECOWAS global exports and global imports. Just like the EAC and SADC, intra-ECOWAS trade is low when compared to global exports and imports from the region. Further, unlike SADC, ECOWAS just like EAC has a negative balance of trade. This has largely been contributed by the global imports in 2019, 2020 and 2021. The negative trade balance for the period stands at \$ 70,453,443. Figure 1.3 presents a graphical comparison of intra-ECOWAS trade, the region's global imports and exports. The comparison shows that ECOWAS member states are inclined towards more consumption of global than local products.

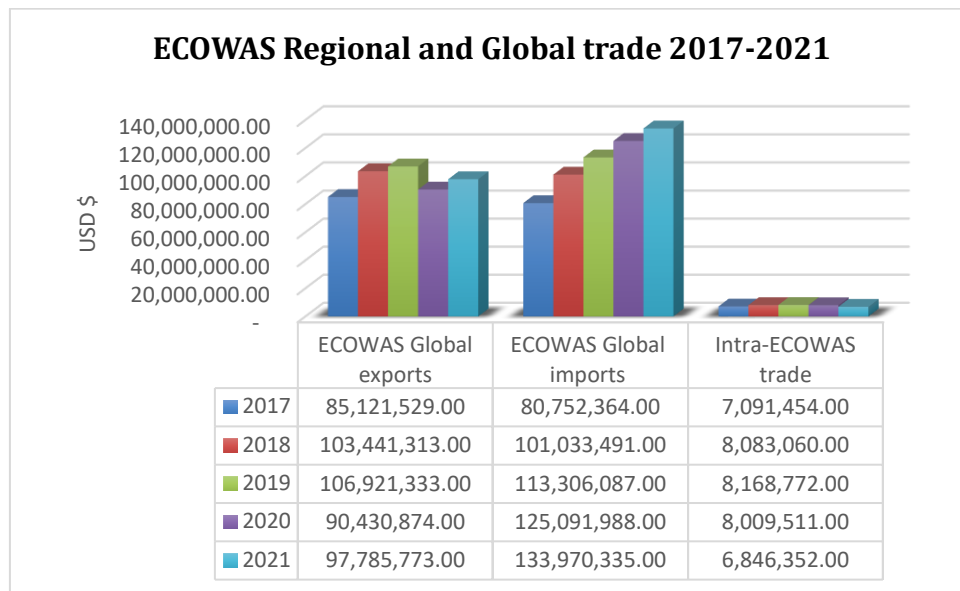


Figure 1.3: Comparison of Intra ECOWAS Trade, Global imports and Exports

4.1.4 COMESA Trade

The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) consists of 21 member states namely Comoros, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Egypt, Eswatini, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Kenya, Malawi, Libya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles, Rwanda, Somalia, Uganda, Sudan, Tunisia, Zimbabwe and Zambia. Figure 1.4 presents trade data on intra COMESA, global exports and imports associated with the region. Like EAC, SADC and ECOWAS, intra-COMESA trade is dismal. COMESA like ECOWAS and EAC has a negative trade balance with the region's global imports exceeding global exports. The trade imbalance amount stands at \$324,614,447. This amount is a higher trade deficit compared to what is seen for the EAC and ECOWAS.

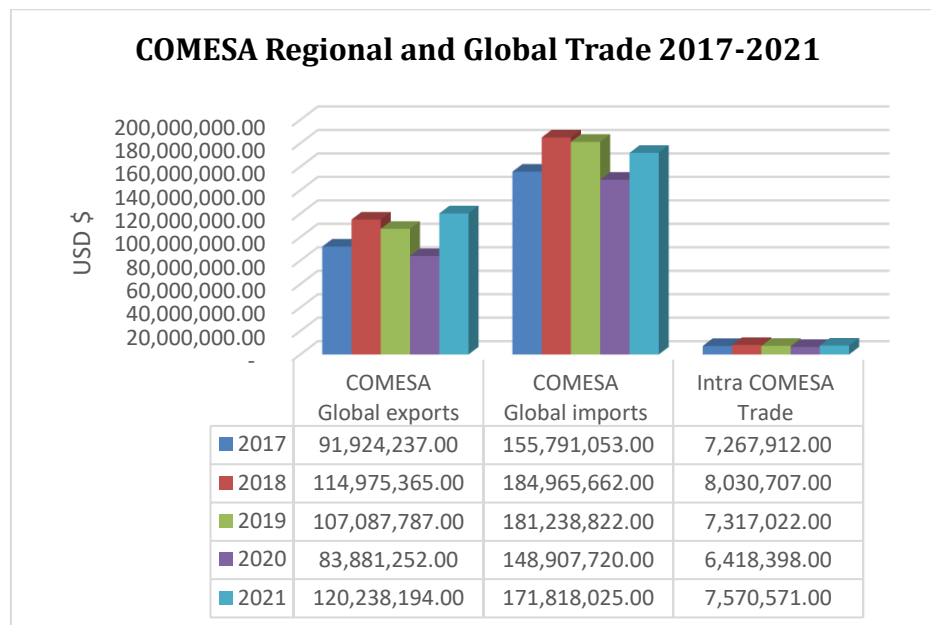


Figure 1.4: Comparison of Intra COMESA Trade, Global imports and Exports.

A comparison of intra-trade, import and export data for COMESA shows that member states in this region prefer products from outside the continent and trade the least within their bloc.

4.1.5 Maghreb Trade

The Arab Maghreb union consists of five member states from Northwest Africa namely Mauritania, Algeria, Morocco, Libya and Tunisia. Figure 1.5 gives a presentation of intra-trade, global exports and imports in the Arab Maghreb union for the period. Just like the EAC, SADC, ECOWAS and COMESA, Intra Maghreb trade is minimal. Further, there is a trade imbalance with Global imports exceeding global exports. The trade deficit amount stands at \$114,384,697 for the period 2017-2021. Figure 1.5 presents a comparison of intra-Maghreb trade, global imports and exports and denotes that member states in the region prefer global imports for their consumption. This case is similar to the global findings of the EAC, ECOWAS and COMESA.

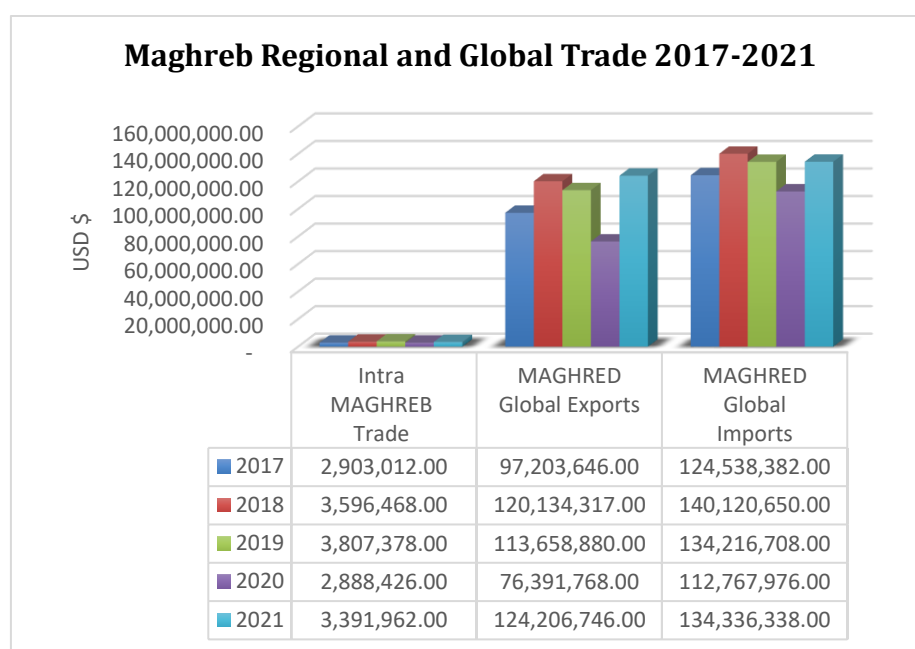


Figure 1.5: Comparison of Intra Maghreb Trade, Global imports and Exports.

4.1.6 UDEAC Trade

The Customs and Economic Union of Central African States (UDEAC) - The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) consists of 11 member states namely Angola,

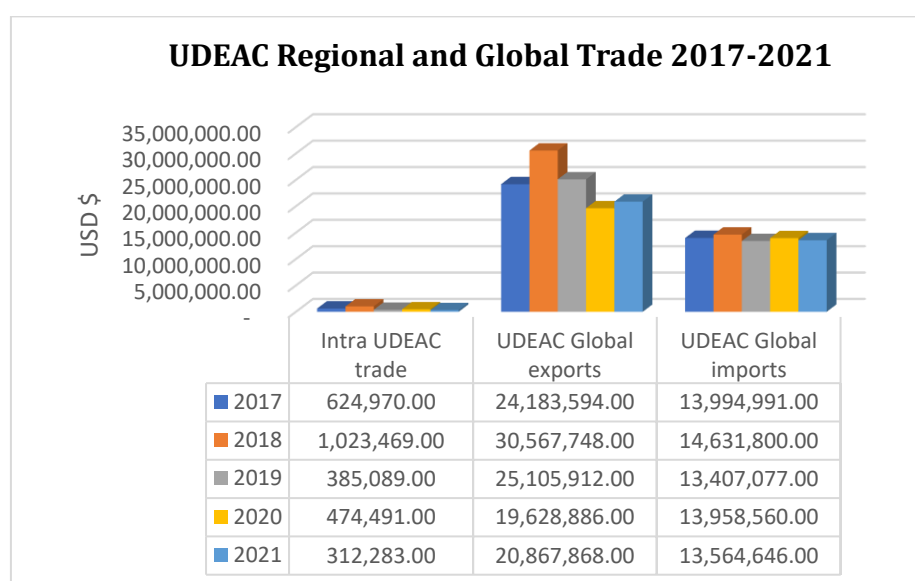


Figure 1.6: Comparison of Intra UDEAC Trade, Global imports and Exports.

Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda and Sao Tome and Principe. Figure 1.6 notes that UDEAC just like EAC, ECOWAS, COMESA and Maghreb union has low regional trade. However, like SADC, UDEAC has more global exports than imports. This means the region has experienced a balance of trade surplus for the period 2017-2021. The trade surplus amount stands at \$50,796,934.

4.1.7 SACU Trade

The Southern African Customs Union (SACU) consists of five member states namely Swaziland, Lesotho, South Africa, Namibia and Botswana. Figure 1.7 posits that intra-SACU trade is low just like in other blocs like SADC, EAC, ECOWAS, COMESA and Maghreb union. SACU like SADC and UDEAC export more leading to a trade surplus of \$41,977,977.

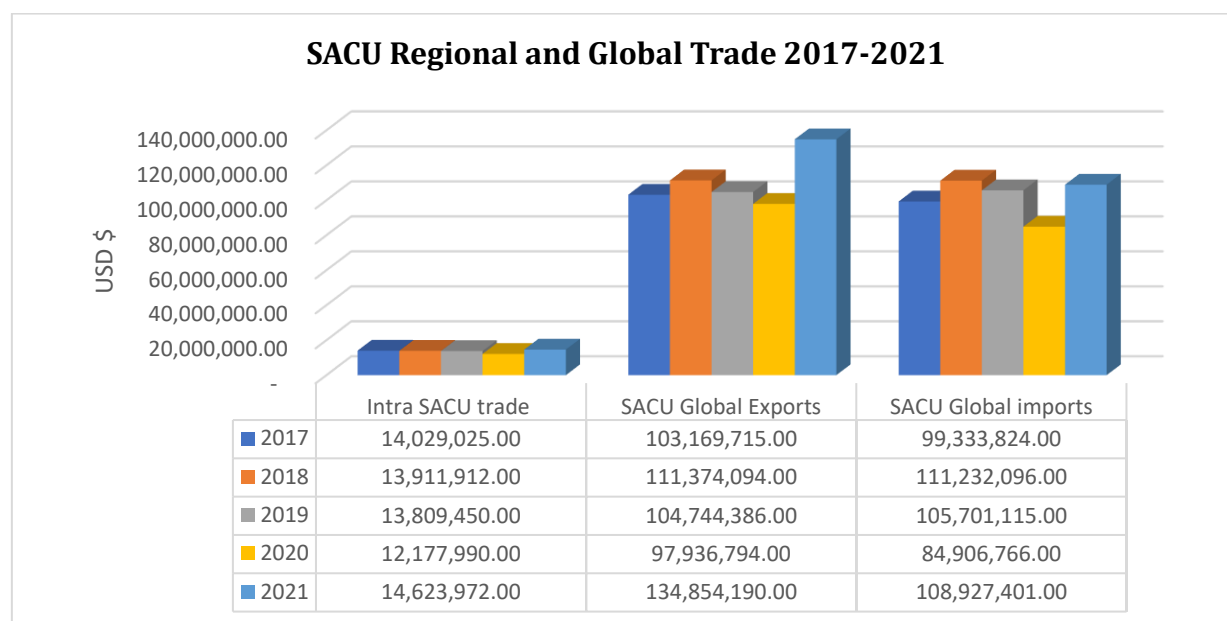


Figure 1.7: Comparison of Intra SACU Trade, Global imports and Exports.

4.2 Comparison of Africa's Regional trade data

4.2.1 Intra Africa Trade

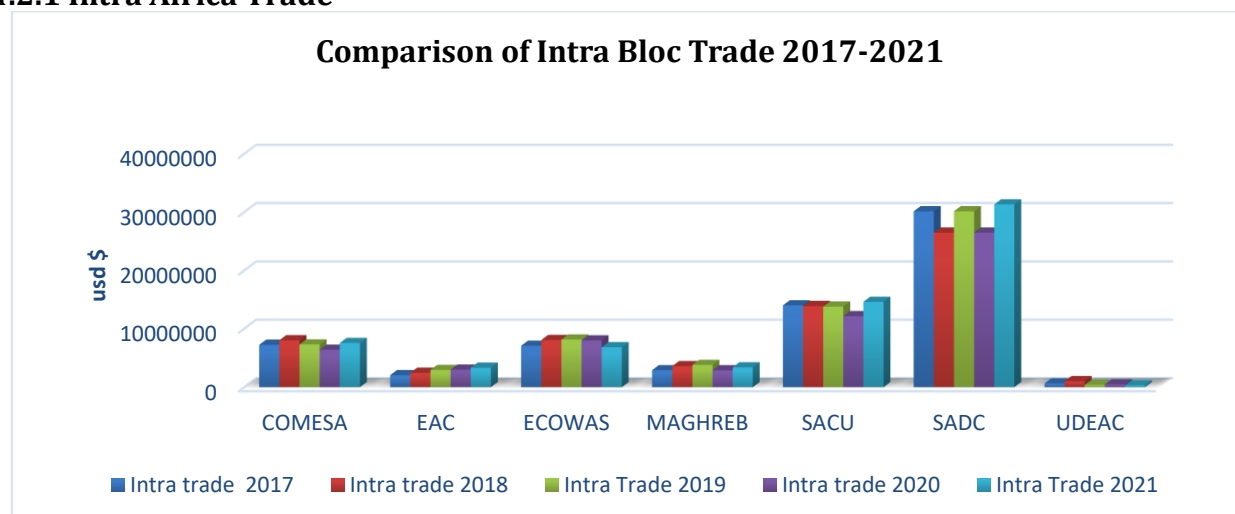


Figure 2.1: Comparison of Intra-bloc trade in Africa.

Figure 2.1 compares the trade within the regional blocs and finds that SADC member states have the highest level of intra-trade. SACU, COMESA and ECOWAS show a significant level of regional trade. The EAC and UDEAC have the lowest intra-trade according to the findings.

4.2.2 Global imports to Africa

Figure 2.2 notes that COMESA is the largest importer of global products followed by SADC, Maghreb union, ECOWAS and SACU. The least importing blocs are EAC and UDEAC.

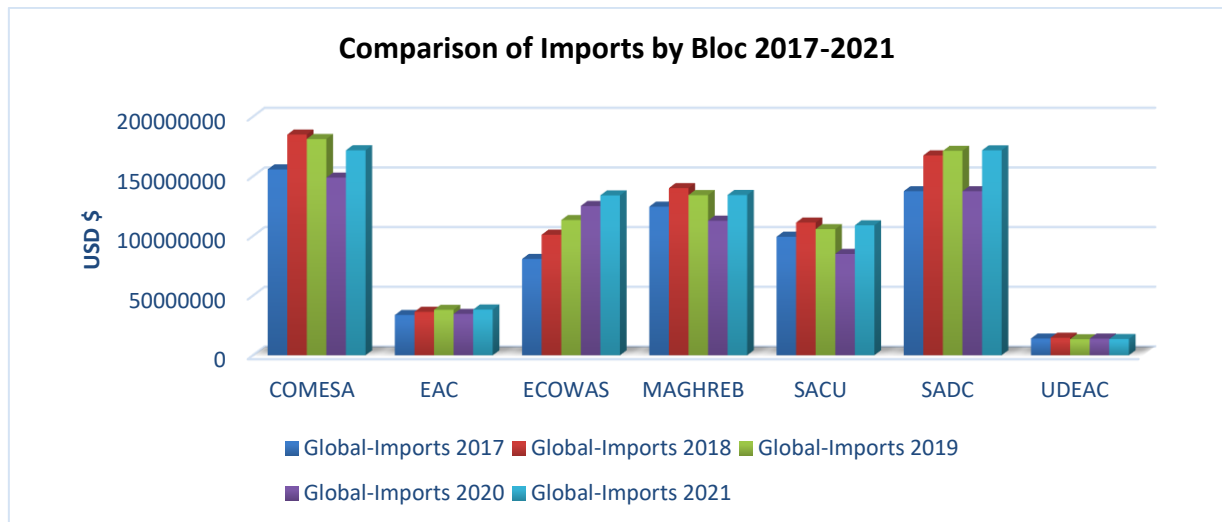


Figure 2.2: Comparison of Global imports by blocs in Africa.

4.2.3 Global exports from Africa

Figure 2.3 notes that SADC is the highest exporting bloc while the least exporting bloc is the EAC.

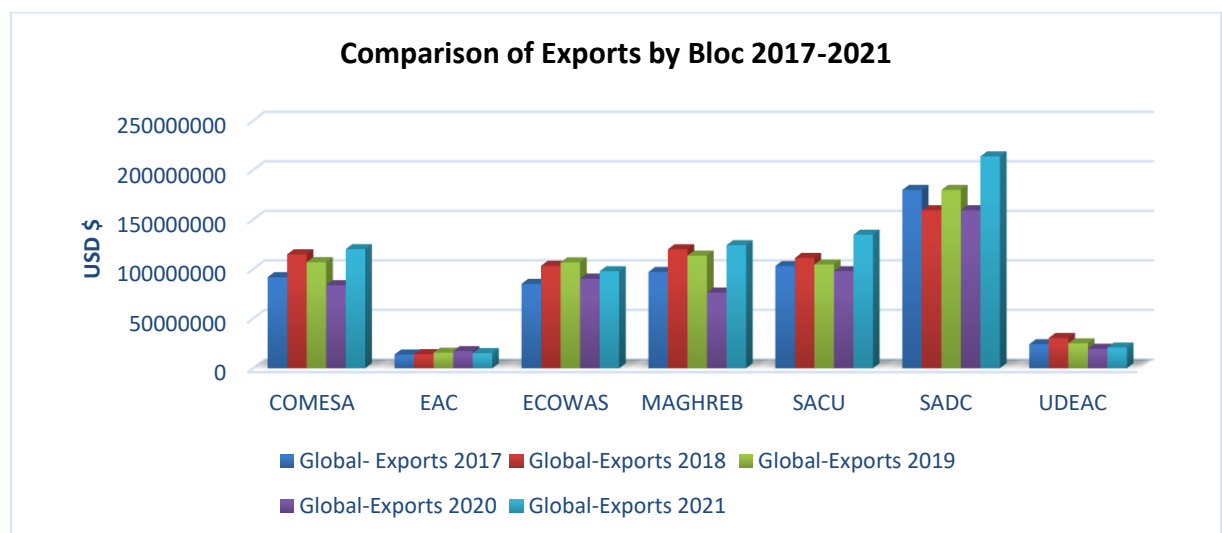


Figure 2.3: Comparison of Global exports by blocs in Africa.

4.2.4 Leading exports from Africa 2017-2021

According to the findings (Figure 2.4), the top exports from Africa include minerals, mineral fuels, mineral oils, iron, steel, precious stones, copper, ores, slag, ash and edible fruit among others.

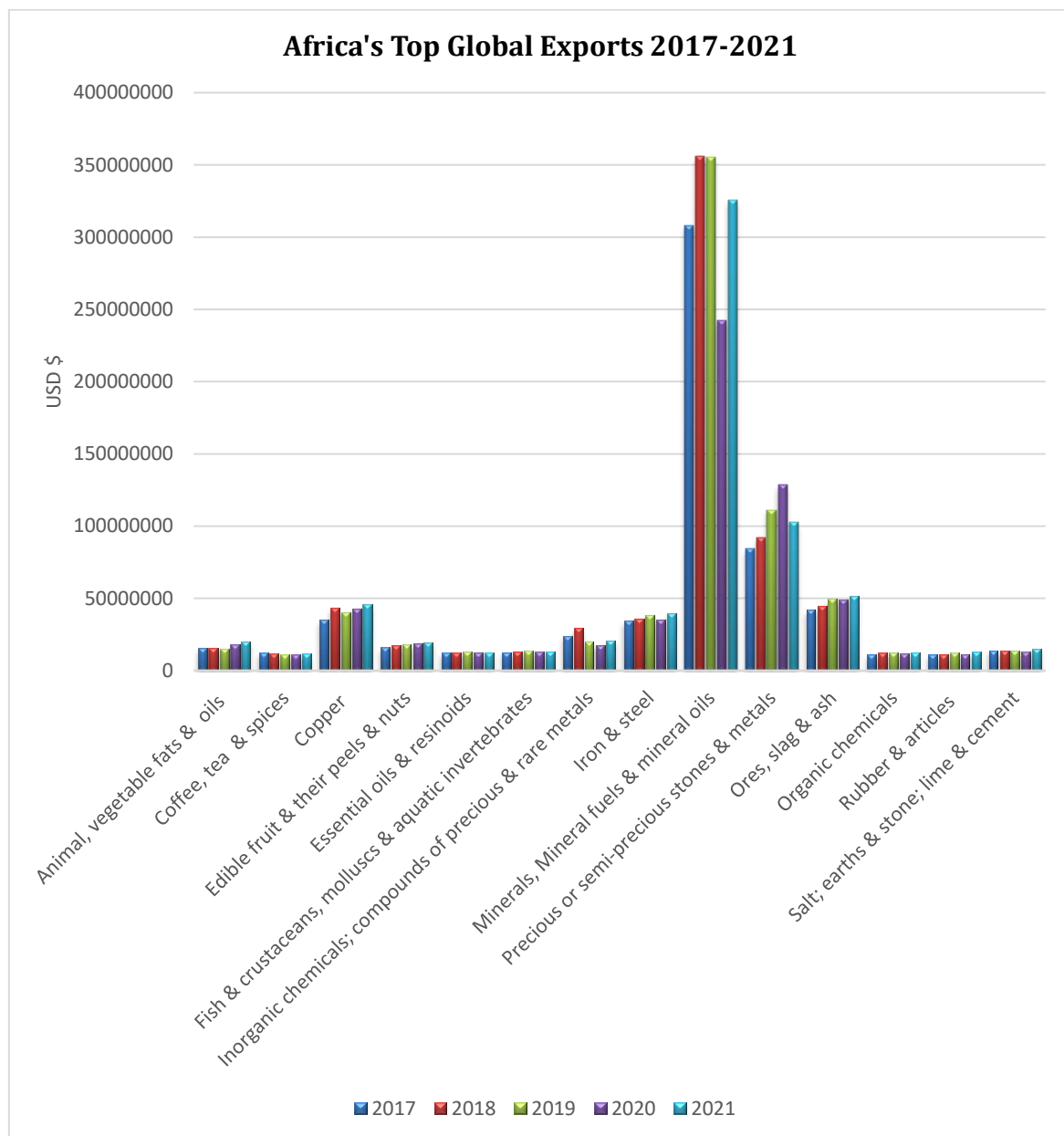


Figure 2.4: Leading exports from Africa

4.2.5 Leading imports into Africa 2019-2021

The findings indicate that Africa's major imports from the rest of the world include mineral fuels, oils and distillation products, plastics, vehicles, machinery, electrical machinery and equipment, fertilizers and aircraft among others (Figure 2.5). A comparison of Africa's global trade (Figures 2.4 and 2.5) indicates that the continent's exports constitute of raw materials whereas the imports constitute of finished products some of which are as a result of raw materials sent out in export. This finding shows that Africa continues to export raw materials and buys back finished products leading to an overall trade imbalance. It would seem from this finding that other parts of the world are benefiting more from the trading relationship.

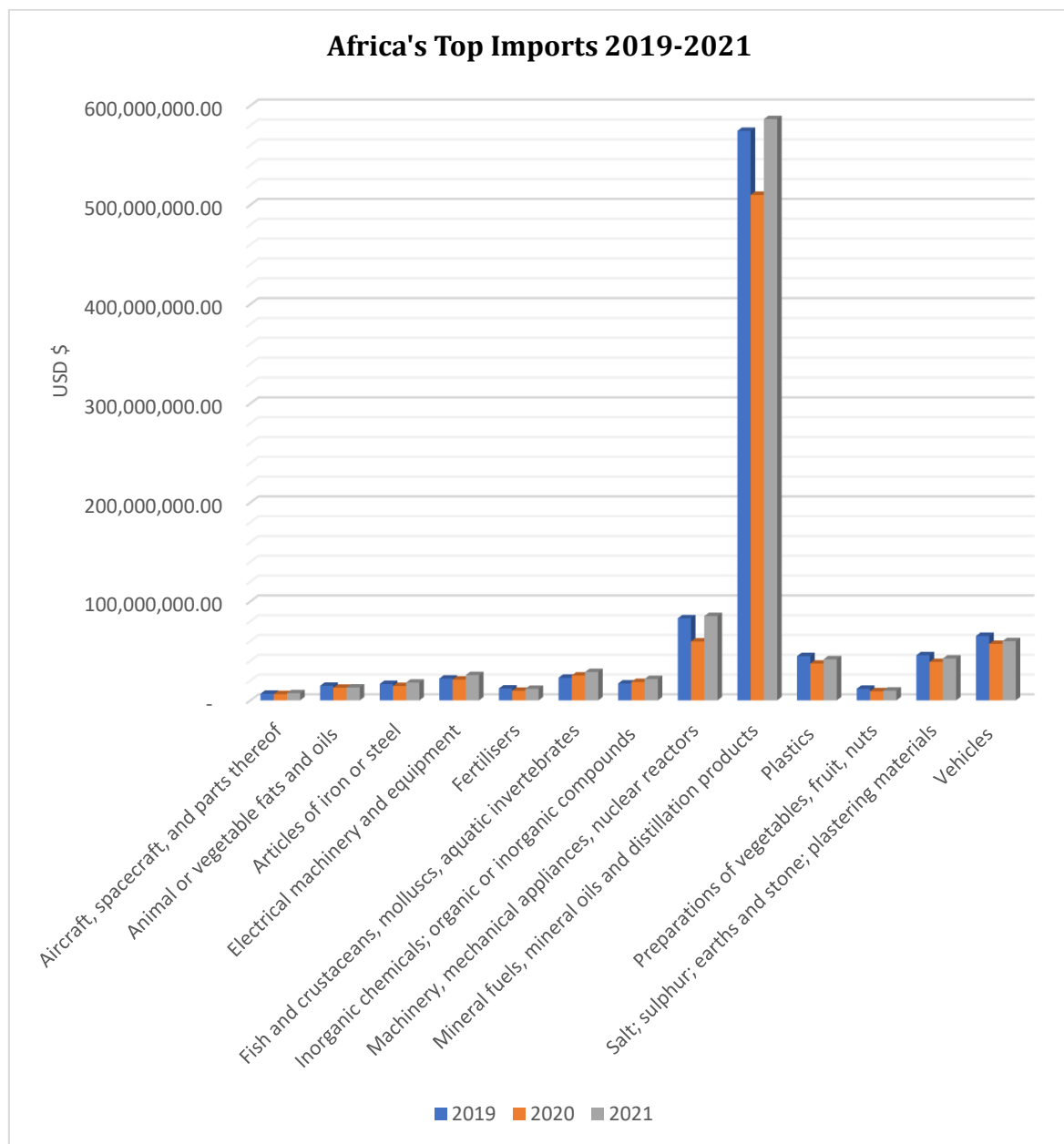


Figure 2.5: Leading Imports into Africa

4.2.5 Balance of Trade

A comparison of selected trading blocs indicates that blocs such as SADC, SACU, and UDEAC have a trade surplus while Maghreb union, COMESA and EAC have a trade deficit. ECOWAS recorded a trade surplus in 2017 and 2018 and a trade deficit in 2019, 2020 and 2021. In 2019, SACU experienced a trade deficit (Figure 2.6). Overall, the trade deficit outweighs the surplus leading to a continental trade imbalance for the period 2017-2021.

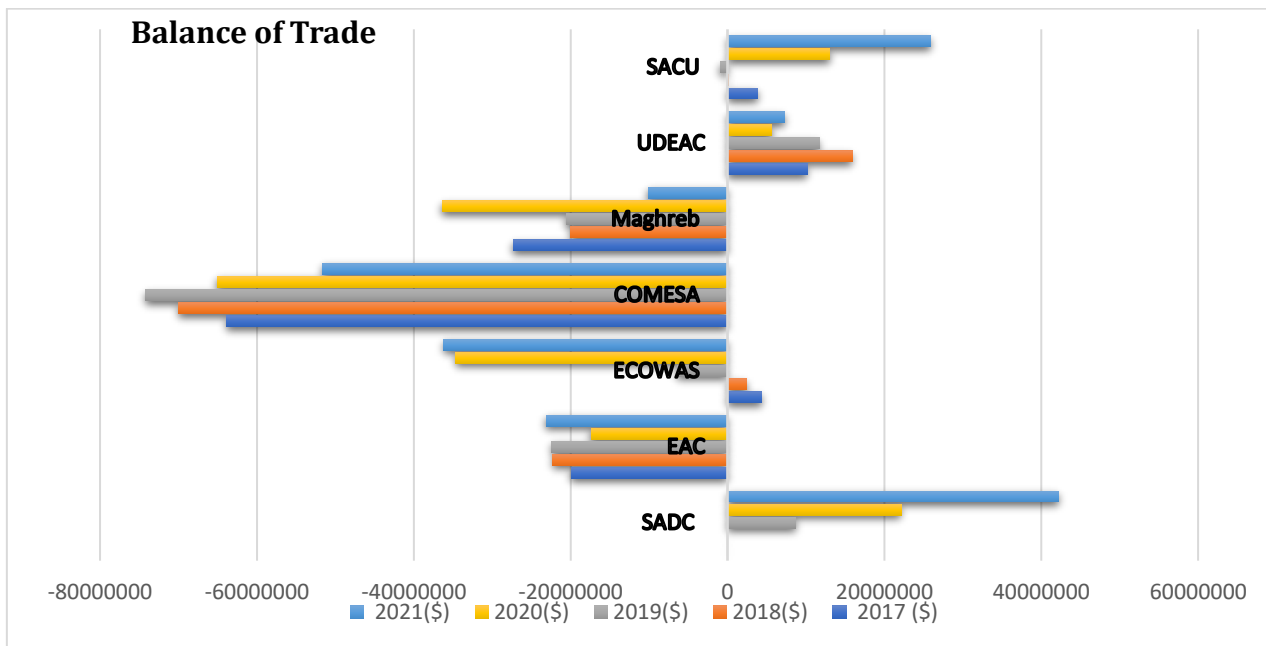


Figure 2.6: Balance of trade 2017-2021

4.3 Qualitative Findings

To understand the reasons for the quantitative findings and recommend ways for Africa to gain from regional and global trade, the researcher sought the opinions of respondents on the following questions.

- ✓ In your opinion, why is intra-Africa trade low?
- ✓ In your opinion, to what extent do you think continental trade can improve Africa?
- ✓ What would you propose as solutions to improve intra-Africa trade?
- ✓ What policy directions do you suggest for Africa to improve the trade imbalance situation?

4.3.1 Code 001: Reasons for low Intra Africa Trade.

According to the findings, the reasons for low intra-Africa trade fall under several groupings. Respondents mentioned policy challenges 12 times, political challenges 11 times, transport and logistics challenges 10 times, production challenges eight times and other challenges nine times (Figure 3.1). Some of the comments from respondents were;

"The question of language, culture and politics cannot be dismissed. Across Africa, there are many communities that would not allow "foreigners" into their large business channels...Rich market yet staggering with poverty!!" (Respondent 2, Kenya).

"Intra Africa Trade is undermined by two factors: 1. Linkage challenges. The logistics arrangements between African countries are very poor or nonexistent. 2. Arrangements for payment and settlement. Though improvements have been made since the launch of the PAPSS - Pan-African Payment and Settlement System-, roll-out, implementation, and awareness remain poor" (Respondent 6, Nigeria).

"As a continent, I don't think we have appreciated our natural endowments. Individual countries find it fashionable to trade with the West and the East and not to trade with each other. I also believe that we don't have that brotherliness as a continent to support each other. Each country fends for itself. Even the so-called trading blocs are there for formality. I don't think the leaders and the citizens even believe in them. Then we have these protectionist tendencies that we supposedly try to impose to protect our small businesses. Not knowing that opening up competition

makes our local businesses resilient because they must wake up and match with the competition” (Respondent 15, South Africa).



Figure 3.1: Causes of low African Continental trade

4.3.2 Code 002: Can Continental trade Improve?

88.89% of the respondents were optimistic that the African Continental Free trade area has the potential of improving the continent's internal trade. However, they noted that Continental trade can only improve when challenges facing trade are taken into consideration. Some of the sentiments from these respondents were as follows;

“It would improve the trade significantly. Western countries have very weird requirements to limit export to their countries. Africa is a big market. We wouldn't need to try so hard to enter Western market. For example, to export cucumbers to the EU, they must be of a given size, not too small, not too big and straight! Who really cares.? Avocado exported to China must be frozen?” (Respondent 1, Rwanda).

“Given time, political will & massive infrastructural funding, Africa's continental trade can improve to rival European & Asian trading blocs” (Respondent 10, Kenya).

“I strongly believe that continental trade in Africa can improve tremendously, should the hurdles be solved. This is so given the fact that the continent is endowed with various resources and abundance of affordable labour” (Respondent 5, Uganda).

“Continental trade will boost the consumption of local production and the production will in turn increase bringing more income to producers and traders. Such a situation will reduce imports from overseas and the cash for international imports will be reinjected into local economies” (Respondent 11, Burkina Faso).

“Considering the varied reports on the quality of life and livelihoods between African countries and the infancy of the Free African Trade Area, I would assume there is a huge opportunity and a lot of work to be done” (Respondent 7, South Africa).

"I believe continental trade in Africa will have less conditions to be met for product quality and types because African expectations and needs will tend to be similar. This will enable exports to meet export requirements more easily" (Respondent 3, Kenya).

"Continental trade will improve AFRICA on the following fronts: Value addition, increase in productivity, Net exporter, Africa industrialization, Jobs, Wealth creation, Improved quality of life and Increase security due to booming economies" (Respondent 12, Côte d'Ivoire).

"Trade improves welfare. Precisely trade openness improves welfare of the marginalized. E.g., increased trade makes consumer goods affordable to women. Due to low tech use in production, we may not gain much. Remember trade improves productivity through R&D and trade in tech." (Respondent 14, Kenya)

However, 11.11% of the respondents were of the opinion that the AfCFTA will not improve Africa's continental trade. One of the respondents noted that;

"I don't think so. I think that these are political movements aimed at winning political capital. I don't think our leaders appreciate what it means to have a free trade area. I also think that big business is intertwined with politics. You cannot win a big tender or contract if you are not politically connected. Hence political and short-term interests tend to crowd out genuine and long-term developmental interests. Secondly, the institutions supposed to promote and facilitate trade are not independent. Sometimes they act at the whims of politicians. Hence, achieving free trade in Africa will take a long time to take root. Until and when we have accountable political leaders who have long-term interests and genuine political will and institutions that are allowed to do their work, we all develop that "Africanicity" that binds us together as Africans; we will never get there. I also think that our borders are precluding our Africanness" (Respondent 15, South Africa).

4.3.3 Code 003: Solutions to improve Intra-Africa trade

According to the findings, respondents mentioned government-centred solutions 12 times, policy-centred solutions 10 times, business-centred solutions nine times and people-centred solutions eight times (Figure 3.2). Some respondents noted the following;

"Sustained political will to infrastructural development (despite regime changes), Trade policy uniformity aiming at cost reductions, Integration of cross-country taxation & logistical systems, Integration of cross-border banking and finance industry" (Respondent 10, Kenya).

"Mainstream trade policies, enhance role of private sector in this agenda, political goodwill operationalization of one stop border posts, implementation of agreed trade protocols on the continent, infrastructure and good governance" (Respondent 12, Côte d'Ivoire).

"The Development, adoption, and enforcement of adequate trade regulations will help improve intra-African trade. Usually, good laws and regulations are in place but the enforcement at the grassroots level is the key challenge" (Respondent 11, Burkina Faso).

"I think we first need to come together and define who we are as Africans. What are the things that make us African? What are the things that we share in common as Africans? Once we agree on the things that unite us and the things that we share, I think that's when we can begin to think together as a collective. For us, our thing is still based on nationalistic tendencies. After agreeing on what we have in common, the next step is to agree on what we do together to support our common causes and improve our people's living conditions. Through this honest dialogue, we begin to appreciate the endowments that we have in the different countries and how we can exploit them for the benefit of our continent. That's where we locate trade within this collective endeavours. At that point, we define critical enablers to our collective efforts. These include political, governance, regulatory, financial, and administrative institutions. Once the political leadership pronounces the

need to put our collective efforts together and work towards a common cause, the institutions should then be allowed to work out the mechanisms to achieve this. We also need to mobilise the citizenry to be part and parcel of collective efforts to solve problems that affect us as a continent” (Respondent 15, South Africa).

A logistics policy for Africa that aims to promote the seamless movement of commodities between African countries could help to remove impediments (other than tariffs) to the flow of goods and encourage collaborative initiatives that improve logistics between African nations (Respondent 6, Nigeria).

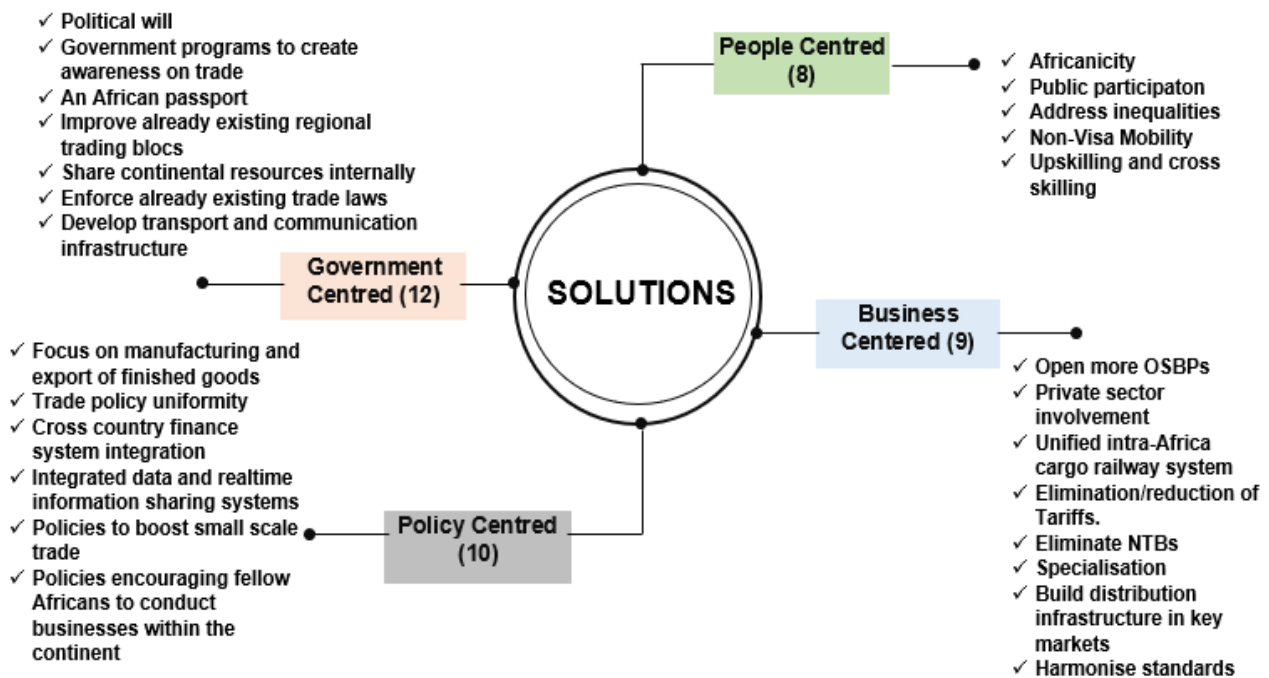


Figure 3.2: Solutions to enhance intra-Africa trade

4.3.4 Code 004: Policy directions for trade balance

Respondents gave opinions on policy directions which include a focus on local production, a continental entrepreneurship policy, Africanity, good governance, skills transfer, union of continental producers, continental laws on reciprocity and mobility of factors of production among others. Some of the comments from respondents were;

“Africa is quick to do trade agreements with the west. The same should be done intra Africa. We see on TV many handshakes between African countries heads of state on trade but many undercurrents prevail.” (Respondent 14, Kenya)

We should have policies that promote and mobilise the active citizenry towards “Africanity”. African free trade cannot be achieved in the boardrooms but through collective efforts of all stakeholders, particularly the local populations. Policies should define, strengthen and support critical enablers that facilitate trade between countries. Institutions should be allowed to work out mechanisms that facilitate trade and deal with inhibitors to the free flow of goods, services, people and capital. Policies should define how we share the benefits of free trade to benefit all nations in the continent – without appearing to allow others to use their leverage to take advantage of others that are not as endowed. Policies should allow each country to define how they can support and contribute to the free flow of goods, services, people and capital within their context and capacity. There should be a clear definition of how we balance the sovereignty of the individual states and free trade issues (Respondent 15, South Africa).

Immediate emphasis should be placed on measures to encourage trade. As trade conditions improve, trade imbalances can be resolved bilaterally (Respondent 6, Nigeria).

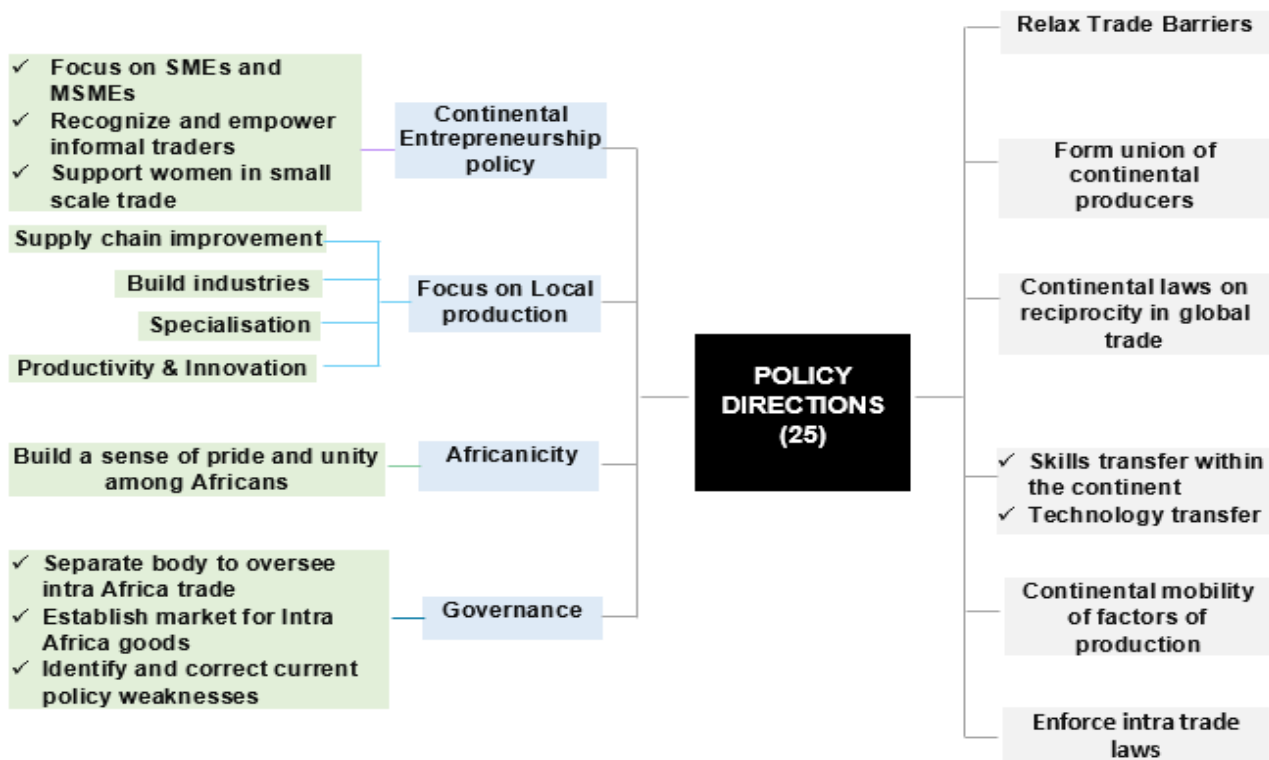


Figure 3.3: Policy directions for Intra-Africa trade improvement

5. Conclusions, Recommendations and Further Research

The study concludes that intra-Africa trade remains low. The study notes that some of the reasons for low intra-Africa trade include challenges related to political leadership, transport and logistics, production and policy among others. Secondly, the study concludes that there are solutions to these challenges. Some of these solutions could be government-centred, people-centred, business-centred and policy-centred. Major policy directions include governance, continental entrepreneurship policy, Africanicity, local production, enforcement of intra-trade laws and laws on reciprocity with other parts of the world among others. Further, the findings indicate that African exports predominantly comprise raw materials or primary commodities (Benton, 2020; UNCTAD, 2021). Top products imported by Africa include finished goods such as vehicles (Wandimi, 2019). This can improve by applying the international trade theories which emphasize on production based on advantages that accrue due to the availability of resources. In addition, it seems that Africa has been experiencing a trade imbalance as only a small percentage of African exports are intra-continental, whereas the majority go to the rest of the globe, showing a high export dependence on non-African countries (Mureithi, 2022). Further, it appears from the data that political will is needed to propel the AfCFTA forward. On political will, Odusote and Aduak (2022) note that the resolutions of the AfCFTA may not be accomplished if Africa refuses to fight corruption among member states. The findings could signify that African member states are not proud of their identity. Perhaps, this is the reason for the perpetual trend and growth in global imports. There might be an issue of poor perception across the continent that other continents produce better goods and services. This may not be the reality and a sense of pride on the continent might need to be instilled to start a movement of people who want to see their own success. However, it might be that Africa is to blame for the current state of events as the neo-functionalism theory states that national interests fashion the direction of integration. The inability to trade with neighbouring countries

in a regional bloc while choosing far-off nations is an indicator of the psychic distance paradox. However, it is possible that informal trade, which remains undocumented has taken centre stage in Africa's regional trade. The application of the new regionalism theory in allowing free trade is critical. Probably, there is a need to recognize informal trade and empower small-scale traders across the continent. It can then be suggested that for the AfCFTA to be a success, intra-Africa trade should be the focus. At present, the dismal state of trade is an indication that AfCFTA can replicate the same issues facing the smaller regional groupings and cause a higher trade imbalance. This in turn could cause poverty to rise and harm the economic growth of countries across the continent. It is vital to apply the neoclassical theory of economic growth which suggests the need for labour, capital and technology. Thus, policymakers and leaders across the continent need to answer the question concerning the trade relationships that Africa has with itself and the rest of the world and what Africa stands to gain from the AfCFTA. If these aspects are not clarified, the data seems to suggest that Africa will remain the continent that ferries raw materials and buys back finished products. Further, the psychic distance between members in regional blocs across the continent will continue to rise causing the continual dismal trade in the regional blocs. Perhaps, with the right policies and frameworks in place, it is possible to unlock Africa's tremendous potential and deliver prosperity to all Africans. However, if Africa does not fix its internal challenges as highlighted in this research, the anticipated gains could remain a distant mirage.

5.1 Recommendations and Further Research

Based on the findings, further research can be made to establish how to actualize the solutions and policies highlighted in this research. The following top recommendations are made based on the findings;

- ✓ Strengthen the supply side of Africa's economies. Africa is rich in resources and can scale up manufacturing and sale of finished products globally and within the continent.
- ✓ Concentrate on policies to raise productivity and encourage innovation in Africa.
- ✓ Invest in education and impart skills that look beyond white-collar jobs while supporting efforts in technology and investment in modern critical infrastructure.
- ✓ Launch a continental entrepreneurship policy and policies to encourage enterprise growth.
- ✓ Establish a framework that guides the rules of engagement for bilateral trade agreements with clarity on the benefits that accrue from any trade relationship by ensuring that reciprocity is adhered to at all times. Further, prevent dumping, counterfeit and substandard goods.
- ✓ Instil a sense of "Africanness". A sense of pride in the continent, its resources and what can be achieved. Build a united Africa whose aim is to move in one direction to improve the lives of her people. The effects will spill over to Africa's bilateral and multilateral trade agreements.

References

- AfCFTA (2022). *About the African Continental Free Trade Area*. Retrieved May 10, 2022 from <https://afcfta.au.int/en>.
- Amin, J. (2010). Indian Political Science Association Perceptive Modes Of Regional Integration : An appraisal of the theoretical models. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 71(4), 1069–1088.
- Baliño, S. (2021, February 1). *African Continental Free Trade Area completes first month of trading*. International Institute for Sustainable Development. Retrieved May 1, 2022 from <https://sdg.iisd.org/commentary/policy-briefs/african-continental-free-trade-area-completes-first-month-of-trading/>.
- Barker, J. (2000). International trade : Weighing the advantages. In *Credit management*. United Kingdom. Pearson Limited.
- Beaudreau, B. (2015). Competitive and Comparative Advantage: Towards a Unified Theory of International Trade. *International Economic Journal*, 30(1), 1–18.

- Benton, D. (2020, May 19). *Top 10 exporting countries in Africa*. Business Chief. Retrieved on April 5, 2022 from <https://businesschief.eu/leadership-and-strategy/top-10-exporting-countries-africa>.
- Bischoff, P.-H. (2021). The Politics of Regional Integration in Africa. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. United Kingdom, Oxford University Press.
- Campa, J. M., & Sorenson, T. L. (1996). Are Trade Blocs Conducive to Free Trade ? *The Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, 98(2), 263–273.
- Cavusgil, S., Knight, A., Riesenberger, J. R., Rammal, G., & Rose, L. (2015). *International business : The New Realities* (2nd edition). Australia, Pearson.
- Coskun, M. (2015). A Discussion on the Theories of European Integration: Does Liberal Intergovernmentalism Offer a Satisfactory Answer? *The Journal of Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences*, 20(2), 387–395.
- Dion, D. (2004). Regional integration and economic development: A theoretical approach. *Governance and Efficiency of Economic Systems*, 49(20), 1–36.
- Ejones, F., Agbola, F., & Mahmood, A. (2021). Regional Integration and Economic Growth: New Empirical Evidence from the EAC. *The International Trade Journal*, 35(4), 311–335.
- Ellsworth, P. (1940). American Economic Association A Comparison of International Trade Theories. *American Economic Review*, 30(2), 285–289.
- Ethier, W. J. (1998). The New Regionalism. *The Economic Journal*, 108(449), 1149–1161.
- Eyster, G. (2014). *Economic Development and Regional Integration in the EAC*. Retrieved on May 10, 2022 from https://spea.indiana.edu/doc/undergraduate/ugrd_thesis2014_pol_eyster.pdf.
- Gibb, R., & Michalak, W. (1996). Regionalism in the World Economy. *Area*, 28(4), 446–458.
- Gold, S. (2022,). *World Bank: Sub-Saharan Africa must boost 3% global trade share*. Retrieved on June 12, 2022 from <https://www.devex.com/news/world-bank-sub-saharan-africa-must-boost-3-global-trade-share>.
- Grant, R. M. (1991). Porter's 'Competitive Advantage of Nations': An Assessment. *Strategic Management Journal*, 12(7), 535–548.
- Grynspan, R. (2021, December 14). *New opportunities for accelerating pan-African trade*. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Retrieved on July 15, 2022 from <https://unctad.org/news/blog-new-opportunities-accelerating-pan-african-trade>.
- Hamad, H. B. (2016). "Neo-Functionalism": Relevancy for East African Community Political Integration ? 9(7), 69–81.
- Hayakawa, K., & Kimura, F. (2015). How Much Do Free Trade Agreements Reduce Impediments to Trade? *Open Economies Review*, 26(4), 711–729.
- Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2019). Is liberal intergovernmentalism regressive? A comment on Moravcsik (2018). *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2018, 1–8.
- Huggins, R., & Izushi, H. (2015). The Competitive Advantage of Nations: origins and journey. *Competitiveness Review*, 25(5), 458–470.
- Hurrell, A. (1995). Explaining the resurgence of regionalism in world politics. *Review of International Studies*, 21(4), 331–358.
- Kagochi, J., & Durmaz, N. (2018). Assessing RTAs inter-regional trade enhancement in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Cogent Economics and Finance*, 6(1), 1–14.
- Kahiya, A. (2021). *Assessing The Impact Of Common Market Protocol On Free Movement Of Citizens* [Moi University-Dissertation]. Retrieved on August 1, 2022 from <http://ir.mu.ac.ke:8080/jspui/handle/123456789/4810>.
- Kasaija, P. (2010). Regional Integration: A Political Federation of the East African Countries? *African Journal of International Affairs*, 7(1–2), 21–34.
- Kassa, W., Edjigu, H. T., & Zeufack, A. G. (2022). The Promise and Challenge of the African Continental Free Trade Area. In *Africa In The New Trade Environment: Market Access In Troubled Times*. Retrieved on August 2, 2022 from https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1596/978-1-4648-1756-4_ch6.
- Kende-Robb, C. (2021, February 9). *6 reasons why Africa's new free trade area is a global game changer*. World Economic Forum. Retrieved on March 10, 2022 from <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2021/02/afcfta-africa-free-trade-global-game-changer/>.
- Ketels, C. H. M. (2006). Michael Porter's competitiveness framework - Recent learnings and new research priorities. *Journal of Industry, Competition and Trade*, 6(2), 115–136.
- Kleine, M., & Pollack, M. (2018). Liberal Intergovernmentalism and Its Critics. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(7), 1493–1509.
- Kuteesa, A. (2012). East African Regional Integration: Challenges in Meeting the Convergence Criteria for Monetary Union: *International Journal of Economics and Finance*, 4(10), 1–32.
- Lam, T. (2015). A Review of Modern International Trade Theories. *American Journal of Economics, Finance and Management*, 1(6), 604–614.
- Lamessa, K., & Gonzalo, M. (2021). Regional integration in the Horn of Africa: A Critical Reassessment of Neo Functionalism and Intergovernmentalism. In *Stockholm University*. Retrieved on May 20, 2022 from <http://>

- su.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A1562779&dswid=9376.
- Levchenko, A., Zhang, J., & Fumagalli, C. (2012). Comparative advantage and the welfare impact of European integration. *Economic Policy*, 27(72), 567–602.
- Lipsey, R. G. (2006). The Theory of Customs Unions: A General Equilibrium Analysis. *Economica*, 39(155), 328.
- Maneschi, A. (1992). Ricardo's international trade theory: beyond the comparative cost example. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 16(4), 421–437.
- Marinov, E. (2015). Economic Integration Theories and the Developing Countries. *Proceedings of the 9th Annual South-East European Doctoral Student Conference*, 63310, 164–177.
- Marrewijk, C. Van. (2009). Absolute Advantage. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of the World Economy*, 1(3), 1–4.
- Maruping, M. (2005). Challenges for Regional Integration in Sub-Saharan Africa: Macroeconomic Convergence and Monetary Coordination. *Africa in the World Economy - The National, Regional and International Challenges Fondad, The Hague*, 129–155.
- Masinde, W., & Omolo, C. O. (2017). The Road to East African Integration. In *East African Community Law: Institutional, Substantive and Comparative EU Aspects*, 1–21.
- Mathieson, C. (2016). The Political Economy of Regional Integration in Africa. The East African Community Report. European Centre for Development Policy Management, Mestreech. Retrieved on March 10, 2022 from <http://ecdpm.org/peria/eac>.
- Mclaren, J. (2002). A Theory of Insidious Regionalism. *October*, 117(2), 571–608.
- Mittelman, J. H. (1996). Rethinking the “new regionalism” in the context of globalization. *Global Governance*, 2(2), 189–213.
- Moravcsik, A. (1995). Liberal intergovernmentalism and integration: A rejoinder. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 33(4), 611.
- Muller, A. R. (2004). The Rise of Regionalism: Core company strategies under the second wave of Integration. Erasmus Research Institute of Management (ERIM). Niagara Falls, New York.
- Mureithi, C. (2022). Trade between Africa and China reached an all-time high in 2021. Quartz Africa. Retrieved on August 2, 2022 from <https://qz.com/africa/2123474/china-africa-trade-reached-an-all-time-high-in-2021/>.
- Mutai, H. K. (2011). *Regional trade integration strategies under SADC and the EAC : A comparative analysis The EAC : A customs union and beyond*. January, 81–97.
- Ngari, D. N. (2016). *Challenges and Prospects of Regional Integration in Africa: a Case Study of East African Community*. October. (University of Nairobi -Dissertation).
- Njoroge, K. L. (2010). The impact of regional integration on economic growth : empirical evidence from COMESA , EAC and SADC trade blocs. *American Journal of Social Sciences and Management Sciences*, 1(2), 150–163.
- Njuki, E. (2016). *Assessment of the contribution of East African Community common market protocol to the economic growth of Kenya* [Strathmore Business School-Dissertation].
- O'Shaughnessy, N. J. (1996). Michael Porter's Competitive Advantage revisited. *Management Decision*, 34(6), 12–20.
- Odusote, G., & Aduak, Y. (2022). Implementing the African Continental Free Trade Area Agreement (AfCFTA) and the Challenges of Corruption in Africa. *Open Journal of Political Science*, 12(03), 321–336.
- Pietak, L. (2014). Review Of Theories And Models Of Economic Growth. *Comparative Economic Research*, 17(1), 45–60.
- Porter, M. (1980). *Competitive Strategy: Techniques for Analyzing Industries and Competitors*. Free Press. Retrieved on June 19, 2022 from https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1496175.
- Rauch, J. (1991). Comparative Advantage, Geographic Advantage and Volume of trade. *The Economic Journal*, 101(406), 1230–1244.
- Ravenhill, J. (2016). Region-building in Africa: Political and economic challenges. In *Region-Building in Africa: Political and Economic Challenges*. 1–348.
- Redding, S. (1999). Dynamic comparative advantage and the welfare effects of trade. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 51(1), 15–39.
- Riezman, R. (1985). Customs unions. *Journal of International Economics*, 19(3–4), 355–365.
- Roozendaa, G. van. (2006). Regional Policy in the Americas: The EU Experience as a Guide for North-South Integration? *Intereconomics*, 41(3), 159–168.
- Sakyi, D., & Opoku, E. (2014). Regionalism and Economic integration in Africa: A conceptual and Theoretical perspective. *The African Capacity Building Foundation*, 1–47.
- Schiff, M., & Winters, L. A. (2003). *Regional Integration and Development*. World bank and Oxford University Press.
- Schimmelfennig, F. (2021). Liberal Intergovernmentalism. In *The Palgrave Handbook Of European Crises*. 61–78. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-51791-5_3
- Sen, S. (2010). International Trade Theory and Policy: A Review of the Literature. In *SSRN Electronic Journal* (Issue November 2010). <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1713843>.
- Sena, K. G. (2018). Multilateral Trade Liberalization and Economic Growth. *Journal of Economic Integration*, 33(2), 1263–1303.

- Seretis, S., & Tsaliki, P. (2016). Absolute Advantage and International Trade. *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 48(3), 438–451.
- Sergio, C. S. (2009). Regional Integration Theories : The Suitability of a Constructivist Approach (at least , in the case of South America). *Globalization and Governance*, July, 1–29.
- Sharipov, I. (2015). Contemporary Economic Growth Models and Theories : *CES Working Papers*, (3), 759–773.
- Sigwele, H. (2002). *The Theory Of International Trade And Customs Unions*. South Africa, University of Pretoria.
- Sven, A. (2014). Customs Union and The Theory of Tariffs. *The American Economic Review*, 59(1), 59–69.
- Taylor, I. (2003). Globalization and Regionalization in Africa : Reactions to Attempts at Neo-Liberal Regionalism. *Review of International Political Economy*, 10(2), 310–330.
- Thomas, D. (2022, February 10). *What you need to know about the African Continental Free Trade Area*. African Business. Retrieved on August 12, 2022 from <https://african.business/2022/02/trade-investment/what-you-need-to-know-about-the-african-continental-free-trade-area/>.
- UNCTAD (2019). *Key statistics and trends in regional trade in Africa*. Retrieved on July 5, 2022 from https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/ditctab2019d3_en.pdf.
- UNCTAD (2021). *Economic development in Africa report 2021*. Retrieved on July 5, 2022 from https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/aldcafrica2021_en.pdf.
- Wandimi, J. (2019, October 16). *Africa's top imports in 2018*. Africon GmbH. Retrieved on July 12, 2022 from <https://www.africon.de/africas-top-imports-in-2018/>.
- Wanyonyi, R. (2020). *Estimating the economic effect of the African Continental Free Trade Area on COMESA region*. COMESA. Retrieved on April 10, 2022 from <https://www.comesa.int/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Implications-of-African-Continental-Free-Trade-Area-on-Intra-COMESA-Trade.pdf>
- Watwana, P. (2014). *Regionalism And The Movement Of Labour In The East African Community* (Issue September). World Bank (2018). *World development indicators*. <https://databank.worldbank.org/source/world-development-indicators>.
- World Bank (2020, July 27). *The African Continental Free Trade Area*. Retrieved on July 5, 2022 from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/trade/publication/the-african-continental-free-trade-area>.
- World Bank (2022, February 10). *Greater and more diverse participation in global trade is key to achieving Africa's economic transformation*. World Bank book. Accra, Ghana.
- Whiteman, K., & Nagar, D. (2009). *Global Africa and the New Regionalism*. In *Africa and Europe in a New Century*. Cape Town , South Africa. Center for Conflict Resolution. 32-34.
- Wignaraja, G., Collins, A., & Kannangara, P. (2019). Opportunities and Challenges for Regional Economic Integration in Indian Ocean. *Journal of Asian Economic Integration*, 1(1), 129–151.
- Yu, H. (2017). Infrastructure connectivity and regional economic integration in East Asia: Progress and challenges. *Journal of Infrastructure, Policy and Development*, 1(1), 44.
- Yuzhu, W. (2021). New regionalism reshaping the future of globalization. *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, 6(2), 1–17.

Cite this article:

Caroline Karimi Ntara (2022). What Does Africa Stand to Gain from the African Continental Free Trade Area? *International Journal of Science and Business*, 16(1), 69-90. doi: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7026994>

Retrieved from <http://ijsab.com/wp-content/uploads/975.pdf>

Published by

