



Development as Freedom:
An investigation into the effectiveness of the African Growth and
Opportunity Act (AGOA) and New Partnership for African Development
(NEPAD) on human development in sub-Saharan Africa

By

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DECLARATION

I, Nompumelelo Ndawonde declare that:

(i) The research reported in this dissertation, except where otherwise indicated is my original work.

(ii) This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

(iii) This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

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ABSTRACT

That sub-Saharan Africa has suffered from decades of socio-economic crisis is no longer the dominant discourse, the major concern that remains is the continent's inability to combat the depth of its underdevelopment and explore the prospects of its vast human and natural resources for economic development. As a means to rid the continent of impoverishment and economic stagnancy, African leaders were prompted to adopt a neo-liberal route to development, and thus the establishment of the African led, New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). Founded in the year 2000, NEPAD was introduced under the umbrella of the African Union (AU) as being a regional body aimed at resuscitating the continent's economic sector through an *African Renaissance*. In the same time period that NEPAD was established yet another major development initiative was introduced in the sub-Saharan region, this time being the USA led development strategy known as the African Growth Opportunity Act (AGOA) trade policy of 2000. Much like NEPAD, AGOA's neo-liberal development strategy was aimed at economic cooperation and growth in the region by creating greater opportunity for African business to penetrate US markets. Despite NEPAD and AGOA's efforts to bring about change and improve the everyday lives of Africans poverty remains a pervasive issue in the region with progress slow and the shortcomings mounting. Why is this the case? Using Amartya Sen's *capability approach as a framework for analysis*, the study considers the endogenous challenges to NEPAD and AGOA, namely a critical discussion of the development framework of these initiatives. As these initiatives were formed to improve the lives of Africans does the concept of development within these initiatives demonstrate a human approach to progress? The key analysis lies in highlighting whether the development framework of the AGOA and NEPAD create the opportunity for the expansion of freedoms and capabilities of sub-Saharan Africans which will allow them to "lead the lives they have reason to value" (Sen, 1999:10).

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Dedicated to my late mother, Mrs Sibongile Ndawonde. Everything I am and hope to be I owe to you, I hope you are proud.

PROLOGUE

“The world’s poor and dispossessed could have no more articulate or insightful a champion among economists than Amartya Sen. By showing that the quality of our lives should be measured not by our wealth but by our freedom, his writings have revolutionized the theory and practice of development”

-Kofi Annan, Former Secretary General of the United Nations

ACRONYMS

African Growth & Opportunity Act	AGOA
African Peer Review Mechanism	APRM
African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery	APPER
African Science and Technology Innovation Indicators	ASTII
Agriculture Technical Vocational Education and Training	ATVET
African Union	AU
Agriculture and Food Insecurity Risk Management	AFIRM
Bilateral investment treaties	BIT's
Biosciences eastern and central Africa Network	BecANET
Department of Commerce's Commercial Law Development Program	CLDP
Economic co-operation and development	OECD
Export trading zones	EPZ's
Foreign direct investment	FDI
Gross domestic product	GDP
Highly Indebted Poor Countries	HIPC
Human Development Index	HDI
Human immunodeficiency virus infection and acquired immune deficiency syndrome	HIV/AIDS
Infrastructure for Skills Development	IS4D
Information and Communications Technology	ICT
International development assistance	IDA
International Development Goals	IDGs
International Monetary Fund's	IMF
La Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest	CEAO
Lagos Plan of Action	LPA
New Partnership for African Development	NEPAD
NEPAD Waters Centres of Excellence and the Southern African Network of Biosciences	SANBio
Non-preferential trade agreements	NPTA
Overseas development assistance	ODA
Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers	PRSP
Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa	PIDA
Regional Economic Communities	REC's
Regional Trade Alliances	RTAs
Southern Africa Trade Hub	SATH
Structural Adjustment Programs	SAPs
Sub-Saharan African	SSA
Sub-Saharan Africa Advisory Committee	SAAC
Tertiary Agriculture Education	TAE
The African Biosafety Network of Expertise	ABNE
The African Development Bank	AfDB
The Alliance for Accelerating Excellence in Science and Africa	AESA
The African Institute for Mathematical Science	AIMS
The African Medicines Regulatory Harmonisation	AMRH

The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme	CAADP
The Continental Business Network	CBN
The Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa	COMESA
The Community of Sahel-Saharan States	CENSAD
The Eastern African Community	EAC
The East Africa Trade and Investment Hub	EASTIH
The Economic Community of Central African States	ECCAS
The Economic Community of West African States	ECOWAS
The Intergovernmental Authority on Development	IGAD
The Millennium Challenge Corporation	MCC
The Organisation of African Unity	OAU
The Presidential Infrastructure Champion Initiative	PICI
The Southern African Development Community	SADC
The Sustainable Energy for All	SE4ALL
The US Department of Labour	DOL
The United States of America	USA
The United States Agency for International Development	USAID
The United National Economic Commission for Africa	UNECA
The United States Generalized Systems of Preferences	GSP
The West Africa Trade and Investment Hub	WATIH
Trade capacity building	TCB
Trade and Investment Framework Agreements	TIFA's
US Department of Agriculture	USDA
USDA Foreign Agriculture Service	FAS
United Nations Development Programme	UNDP
West African Economic Monetary Union	WAEMU
World Bank	WB
World Health Organisation	WHO
World Trade Organisation	WTO

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

“Poverty is not just the lack of money, it is not having the capability to realize one’s full potential as a human being”

-Amartya Sen (1999)

1.1 Background and outline of research problem

That sub-Saharan Africa has suffered from decades of socio-economic crisis is no longer the dominant discourse, the major concern that remains is the continent's inability to combat the depth of its underdevelopment and explore the prospects of its vast human and natural resources for economic development. Despite a vast array of natural resources, how does sub-Saharan Africa (hereafter SSA) remain one of the most poverty, conflict and disease stricken regions in the world? Decades of imperial and colonial oppressive regimes deprived the continent of its resources and saw a recurring scramble and habitual cycle of false progression and emancipation, creating a 'false start' for these countries and impairing the ideals of nationhood and statehood within them (Rodney 1973).

As a means to combatting this on-going cycle, modernization strategies such as the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), were introduced in the 1960's by Western industrialised countries as a development prescription. The SAPs were intended to bail-out the African continent from its economic malaise, through a single worldview of development which embodied the notion of progressive upward steps. Andrew (2013) notes:

"From modernization theory in the early 1950's to the contemporary neoliberal (post)-Washington Consensus, and the on-going structural adjustment masqueraded as poverty reduction strategy discourses, Africa has been the recipient of many policy and ideological prescriptions, most of which ended up being "bitter pills" instead of actual antidotes to the many challenges the continent faces" (3)

Regional Pan-African development initiatives such as the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) of 1980 and the African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery (APPER) were introduced by African leaders as an alternative to the above mentioned Western neo-liberal projects. Founded upon the ideals of nationalism and protectionist policies, these home-grown efforts soon however crumbled under the powerful influence of the SAPs which offered the continent the capital it desperately needed to address its economic issues (Owusu, 2006). Despite the IMF inspired SAPs and the much publicized *Africanization* of economic solutions to the continent's challenges, economic prosperity continued to elude Africa.

Decades later due to the growing interdependence of states compounded by the weight of globalization, it became progressively evident to African states that they could not subsist effectively as well as retain significant economic growth through inward looking continental projects. This reality imposed responsibilities on states to alter their sovereignty by forming multilateral and supranational arrangements as a path to economic greatness and national security. This urgency to rid the continent of impoverishment and economic stagnancy prompted concerned African leaders to depart from their nationalistic developmental strategies and adopt a neo-liberal route to development, and thus the establishment of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD).

Formed in the year 2000, NEPAD was introduced under the umbrella of the African Union (AU) as being a regional body aimed at resuscitating the continent's economic sector through an *African Renaissance*. The objective of the body was focused on addressing the continent's most pressing issues, most notably poverty, by enunciating a united vision among African leaders and improving their global standing by encouraging global collaboration and trade (Smith 2006: 3). Like the SAPs, NEPAD saw that increased global integration was the key to Africa's development, but could a neo-liberal ideology completely redress the marginalization of Africa from the global order designed by Western neo-liberal technocrats? Since NEPAD hinges on the need for Africans to be the charters of their own course of action, it seems worrisome that the drafters of its charter weaves it on the pillars of economic liberalism. One might argue that solutions to Africa's plight continue to rotate along the axis of Western ideological scholarship, thus would NEPAD offer something new and truly African?

In the same time period that NEPAD was established yet another major development initiative was introduced in the sub-Saharan region, this time being the USA led development strategy known as the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) trade policy of 2000. Much like NEPAD, AGOA's neo-liberal development strategy was aimed at economic cooperation and growth in the region by creating greater opportunity for African business to penetrate US markets. Praised for its efforts in its non-reciprocal trade agreements, AGOA's effects on its host continent remains contested, furthermore its strategic significance in increasing USA presence in the resource rich albeit conflict prone region demands scrutiny. USA efforts in SSA are often criticized as furthering:

“the culture of imperialism...in order to maintain continued Western dominance over the myriad of nation-states which have emerged since the downfall of the former colonial-imperial order” (Shrestha, 2002: 104).

Thus it becomes important to question whether AGOA is Janus-faced in nature, essentially appearing on one perspective to be advantageous and aiding the African continent however on the other perspective being another example of unequal gains and conditionality for Africa.

Yet after years after the establishment of both the NEPAD and AGOA strategies, despite their great efforts to bring about change and improve the everyday lives of Africans poverty remains a pervasive issue in the region with progress slow and the shortcomings mounting, why is this the case? Scholars have attributed the deficiencies in development of NEPAD to its inconsistencies, such as the lack of consultation in the formation of NEPAD, its African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in lacking the capacity to promote good governance and lastly NEPAD's overt reliance on foreign aid from Western donors (Lesufi 2002, Akokpari 2004). Whereas AGOA is heavily criticized for the limits it places on African imports entering US markets for beneficiary SSA states despite its unilateral non-reciprocal trade agreement. Ngarsandjé, (2013) discusses the conditions between NEPAD and AGOA and attributes the difficulties experienced by NEPAD and AGOA to a lack of an African diaspora in the initiatives as well as "obstacles such as corruption, instability, bad governance, and lack of transparency". Ngarsandjé, (2013) asserts that these challenges could have been counteracted through dialogue and convergence efforts between NEPAD and AGOA. Perhaps these initiatives have the potential to yield positive growth in SSA by creating greater synergy and collaboration. However it is uncertain whether synergy could be possible between these efforts who although have similar mandates are governing from alternate sides of the world.

This study diverts from dominant theories of development, traditional macroeconomic policies as well as preceding literature. The study rather considers endogenous challenges to NEPAD and AGOA, namely a critical discussion of the development framework of these initiatives. As these initiatives were formed to improve the lives of Africans does the concept of development within these initiatives demonstrate a human approach to progress? Do these initiatives create the opportunity for Africans to expand their capabilities? To this end the study explores this question by principally assessing the development framework of NEPAD and AGOA *de jure* and *de facto* and its effect on expanding the freedoms of Africans.

1.2 Research problems and objectives: Key questions to be asked

1.2.1 Research Problems

- i. What are the past development initiatives implemented in SSA prior to the establishment of NEPAD and AGOA?
- ii. What is the development framework of NEPAD and AGOA texts?
- iii. What are the initiatives implemented by NEPAD and AGOA in practice?
- iv. What is the efficacy of NEPAD and AGOA's development framework on human progress in SSA?

1.2.2 Research Objectives

- i. To examine the past development initiatives implemented in SSA prior to the establishment of NEPAD and AGOA?
- ii. To explore the development framework of NEPAD and AGOA texts.
- iii. To survey the initiatives implemented by NEPAD and AGOA in practice.
- iv. To evaluate the efficacy of NEPAD and AGOA's development framework on human progress in SSA.

1.3 Research problems and objectives: Broader issues to be investigated

The quest to see SSA transition from its current *Age of Coercion* into an *Age of Consent* is at the premise of understanding the broader issue to be investigated in this study. SSA has experienced decades of economic demise and a development deficiency perpetuated by a global capitalist world's system that has characterized this region with the paradox of the plenty. SSA, although resource rich is lagging behind on the human development scale compared to other developing regions in Latin America and East Asia. Such a condition is often attributed to the culture of corruption, patrimonialism, nepotism and ethnic allegiance pervading the continent as the potent cause of its underdevelopment. However one cannot also dismiss the overriding matter of the ongoing unequal relations in the world system between the West and the South.

The *Age of Consent* speaks to an age that is pioneered by scholars advocating for a global justice movement. It is a movement that fiercely promotes a new-world order that seeks to change the political, fiscal and commercial nature of the globe in order to represent a more democratic system where power is not controlled by the few who represent the many, but equally shared amongst the many (Manbiot 2000:4). It is a utopian notion that will require great efforts in order to be achieved, an achievement that will see the global representation of even the smallest and poorest countries in the international system. In order for SSA states to become more represented and more equipped with greater bargaining power on a global scale with Western powers and emerging Southern powers; change is required internally within the region first.

The study discusses how strengthened regional and sub-regional cooperative efforts enunciating a progressive human development framework can be successful in emancipating the region from inequitable ties that have compelled the region through coercive means. Human progress is the necessary key in propelling the sub-Sahara into an era where its people are self-reliant, self-sufficient and no longer subject to the dynamics of the world system. Thus the study seeks to broadly question whether:

Can strengthened regional and sub-regional bodies in SSA aid the region in its quest for forming fairer cooperative relations and greater representation in the international system?

1.4 Research methodology and methods

There are two dominant research methods used in social sciences, namely, qualitative research methods and quantitative research methods, this study will employ the qualitative research method. Qualitative research is described by Shamdasani & Rook (2007) as “a contact sport, requiring some degree of immersion into individuals’ lives” (59). Whereas qualitative studies tend to focus more on how groups and people in society have alternate views of reality, quantitative research however “tends to focus on ways of describing and understanding reality by the discovery of general “laws” (Invo.org.uk, 2017)

In qualitative research, data can be “collected by observing participants or sites of research, gathering from a private or public source, or collecting audio-visual material such as artefacts” (Creswell 2007: 6). This is unlike the quantitative method which focuses primarily on quantifying large scale sampled data by ‘sorting, measuring and classifying’ it in order to acquire generalized results (MacDonald 2003: 8-11)

The qualitative research method is most appropriate for this in-depth study as it is “a systematic, strategic and effective way to go about researching what you most want to know and understand” (Minichiello 2010: 1). This approach provides researchers with the ability to uncover a deeper understanding and insight into the research problem. This research focuses on a qualitative approach which emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data. Its advantage is that it predominantly emphasise an inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research in which the emphasis is placed on the generation of theories. It emphasizes on the ways in which individuals interpret their social world and it embodies a view of social reality as a constantly shifting emergent property of individuals’ creation (Bryman 2008). Furthermore, this critical qualitative approach is suitable for the principle theoretical framework of the study namely, *the capabilities approach* as this theoretical perspective is constructivist in its approach.

For the purposes of this study, data will be gathered from secondary and primary resources namely books, documentaries, newspapers, unpublished dissertations and thesis, journals and internet sources. Furthermore, the study will require the analyses of official reports and documents, speeches, data bases and presented conferences relating to NEPAD and AGOA. This method is appropriate for this study as it will provide a necessary historical analysis and an explanation of causative factors regarding the topic at hand.

The data will be analysed in an unobtrusive manner through textual analysis which is described by De Beer (1999) as *interpretative undertakings* that involve the “understanding of a text or document or, in everyday language, knowing what it is about” (437-438). Textual analysis is closely related to Content Research “that analyses the content of texts or documents such as letters, speeches and annual reports” (Mouton 2005: 164). Furthermore, the study makes use of thematic data analysis method. The thematic data analysis method is used for “identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke 2001: 79). The analysed data will allow the researcher the ability to uncover generalizations and interpretations to test the aforementioned research problems in order to provide insight to and describe the nature, causal effects and factors contributing to the topic at hand.

All data will be presented in a descriptive manner, where the data will be explained and illustrated through words and in the form of graphs, tables and charts.

1.5 Rationale and Significance of study

Trade and development discourse has been largely permeated by quantitative methodologies such as the gravity model, game theory and comparative advantage theory all of which have been used as a means to measure input and output statistics. This quantitative dominance has resulted in the qualitative dimension of such initiatives being disregarded or in some cases ignored. This qualitative study will therefore seek to be a significant endeavour in contributing to research pertaining to development initiatives and trade policies, not only in SSA but as well as in other developing and developed regions in the globe. The study is important to the researcher as it gives the understanding of the contribution of NEPAD and AGOA to human development. In addition to that, it provides insights on the change made through NEPAD and AGOA in relation to development which has attracted attention in Southern Africa and SSA. The study will be helpful to scholars in development studies, political science and economic welfare as well as research practitioners and policymakers alike in broadening the way development is thought about both in principle as well as implemented in practice. In addition to that, the study will help academics to understand and appreciate contributions made by NEPAD and AGOA on human progress. This study has largely been explorative, hence it paves way for further research on how NEPAD and AGOA have influenced regional bodies and governments on legislative laws on development in SSA. The study attempts to bring to the fore the principle issue of human development to the fields of trade policy such as AGOA that are often without such discussions. Further it seeks to reinforce this notion of human development to development initiatives that have a weak human approach. This discussion could be helpful to broadening the development discourse.

1.6 Limitations of Study

Although the study is carefully prepared and has reached its desired aims, there are unavoidable limitations in its scope and length. The major limitation on this research was that written material did not give much on the effectiveness of NEPAD and AGOA on human development in SSA. There has been a lot written on the development framework of NEPAD and AGOA without paying particular attention to the effectiveness of these development frameworks on human development in SSA. However, a creative reading of texts, the use of the development framework (NEPAD and AGOA), policies and strategies developed and implemented by these bodies helped the researcher to unearth very useful information.

The other limitations of the study are the time frame and word limit. The research project is limited to a 40 000 word limit for the total research project. As a result of these word limitations

the study will consequently be limited in its scope. The research will thus focus principally on the discussion of the NEPAD and AGOA. This will involve the discussion of the internal dimensions of these initiatives as well their effects on the SSA region. These limitations may be avoided in future research studies by extending the time frame of the research as well as the word limit of the study.

Regardless of these obstacles, a meaningful and successful research was possible because of the enthusiasm to maintain academic excellence. More so, the researcher developed a passion for understanding development and the effectiveness of NEPAD and AGOA hence this helped overcoming limitations.

1.7 Structure of dissertation

The research will be divided into six chapters:

Chapter 1, introduces the reader to the topic at hand. The chapter provides a brief background of the study; the key research problems and objectives, the methodology approach employed, the rationale and significance of the study as well as the limitations of the study.

Chapter 2, provides a preliminary literature study pertaining to the study. It focuses primarily on the discussion of past development efforts established in SSA prior to NEPAD and AGOA. This chapter will also discuss the theoretical framework that will guide the study.

Chapter 3, discusses the development framework of the NEPAD and AGOA texts

Chapter 4, examines the programmes implemented by NEPAD and AGOA in SSA.

Chapter 5, evaluates the impact of NEPAD and AGOA on human progress in SSA.

Chapter 6, will be the concluding chapter of the research. This chapter will be dedicated to highlighting all main points of interest, summarizing closing all major arguments and findings discussed in the research and offering of recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

“Freedoms are not only the primary ends of development, they are also among the principal means”

- Amartya Sen (1999)

2.1 Introduction

The contemporary state of the African continent is a clear illustration of the detrimental defects of ‘centuries of a past ill-fated history’ in the region, compounded by the effects of decades of challenged regional development prescriptions. The establishment of the USA led African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) in the year 2000 and subsequently there after the African led New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) in 2001 marked the beginning of what appeared to be a first in SSA where an African initiative and a Western initiative were both established in the time frame, generated for similar purposes and ideologically alike. Both strategies propose an overtly neo-liberal development agenda in seeking to transform the current condition of SSA by proffering recommendations for a road-map to sustainable progress in the region in addressing the mounting crisis of poverty.

As a prelude to the discussion of NEPAD and AGOA, the following chapter is dedicated to a literature appraisal and evaluation which addresses various scholarly arguments associated with NEPAD and AGOA.

Structurally, the chapter will be divided into Section A and B. Section A is separated into two sub-sections. At the onset sub-section 1 will provide an historical background of post-colonial USA led and African led development projects in SSA. Sub- Section 2 will focus on literature that introduces the establishment of NEPAD and AGOA, in particular their historical context and the different perspectives written on these bodies. Furthermore the section discusses literature that discusses both NEPAD and AGOA cohesively. Section B is dedicated to the discussion of the theoretical framework that will guide the study, namely the *capabilities approach*. This review of the theory will also involve the discussion of preceding theories which have been used in the analysis of NEPAD and AGOA. The discussions within Section A and B are intended to present a contextual setting for the introduced research problem and clearly identify the gap in existing literature that this study intends to address.

Section A: USA and African projects in sub-Saharan Africa: An historical background

2.2 USA led regional efforts in post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa: An historical background

The USA's presence within SSA has a long history. Despite the changes in the USA's leadership, the nation's key foreign policy objectives in the SSA region have remained consistent as being the advancement of democracy, neo-liberal prospects and conflict resolution (Taylor, 1982:24). Literature highlights that overtime these aforementioned objectives have been advanced by the USA's aggressive struggle for monetary and natural resources in the SSA region through mechanisms such as development assistance, trade and investment as well as counter-terrorism security measures. In a bid to safeguard and ensure the success of these varying foreign policy and development interests, the USA has developed policies, programmes and aid initiatives as:

“the economic success of developing countries enhances the well-being of the United States... the economic success or failure of developing countries determines the gains from trade and investment that the United States reaps in its economic relations with those countries”(Saches 2001: 187)

Several authors contend that USA led projects in SSA have lacked the characteristic of a partnership and greatly resemble patronage relations due to their exploitative nature (Saches 2001, Alence 2005, and Escobar 2004). Escobar (2004) supports this notion by discussing the major economic contribution of the USA to the international financial institutions such as the World Bank's (WB) and the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) structural adjustment programs. The SAPs although formally led by the IMF and the WB, are recognized as USA led initiatives due to the countries considerable financial contributions to the institutions. The SAPs were designed as a means to 'assist' debt ridden underdeveloped countries progress by imposing stringent economic reforms and democratic conditions that shocked the already fragile instable economies of SSA post-colonies. This conditionality thwarted the development of these countries by further entrenching the economic dependency between themselves and developed countries (Sussane & Haggis 2002: 95). The SAPs further hampered progress in SSA, in particular the development of stable government structures and institutions. Thus despite an abundance of vast natural resources the region was unable to settle on stable governance systems and devices for economic progression, therefore characterizing the region as having the “resource curse” (Alence 2005).

Thus the SAP debacle saw African economies falling to distressing levels and spurred a debt crisis in the region. The SAPs can be recognized as the beginnings of neo-liberal USA efforts in the region which paved the way for the development of greater trade and investment efforts in SSA. Despite the criticism of the IMF and WB strategies that left many SSA countries indebted, the Heavily or Highly

Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Debt initiative was developed as a means to: “provide a framework for international support to adjustment and reform efforts in the world’s poorest and most...indebted countries to ensure that their debt is reduced to sustainable levels” (World Bank; 1997: 41)

The African continent was strategically important for the USA during the Cold War in its quest to ensure tactical advantage in the region. The continent became like a chess board on which competing global powers flexed their muscles and strategized on how to upstage the each other’s grip on Africa. Washington and Moscow fragmented the continent into sectorial alliances, thus, proxy wars plunged Africa into civil wars (Gerhart & Clough, 1992). US aid flows measured at US \$2. 4 billion in 1985, the height of the Cold War. This strategic interest declined after the fall of the Soviet Union with aid flows measured at a significantly lower US \$ 1.2 billion in 1990 (Qian 2014:2). Despite this reduction in aid US presence in the region has always been felt, particularly through its aid programs, largely facilitated by the foreign assistance agency, the United States Agency for International Development (Usaid. gov, 2017). The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has been the principal US body in SSA in addressing issues of poverty, health, humanitarian crisis, democracy, human rights, governance and climate shocks (Usaid.gov, 2017). Foreign aid agencies such as USAID have however been heavily criticised by scholars who see the “big plans” of aid agency’s as doing more harm than good in beneficiary states (Easterly, 2006, 4).

In recent times the USA has a renewed interest in SSA with the rise of energy resources in the region. The US-Africa trade relations were and remain today the principle means of mobilizing the economic foreign policy strategy of the US in the region through free trade agreements under the US Generalised Systems of Preferences (GSP) as well as within the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The rich African natural resources, more specifically oil reserves, are the principle attraction of the current USA economic foreign policy in SSA. The region is currently one of the world’s resource-rich however conflict-prone areas with great opportunity, Cooke and Goldwyn (2015) assert that:

“world class natural gas finds off the coast of East Africa, deep-water oil discoveries off of West Africa, and promising geology along the East African rift from Somalia to Madagascar- all make Africa one of the promising continents for energy development in the world”(v)

Natural resources are the direction of global trade and SSA is a central path. Oil reserves in areas such as Nigeria’s Niger-Delta region have created what scholars have labelled the “new scramble” for Africa, with international actors strategically battling for resources in the region as they did in the 18th century. It is within this context that the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) of 2000 emerged, a trade policy aimed at accelerating trade relations between the USA and SSA.

2.3 African led economic regional efforts in post-colonial Africa: An historical background

“Perhaps in the future, there will be some African history to teach. But at present there is none, there is only the history of Europeans in Africa”

-Hugh Trevor Roper, cited in Hale 2005:7

The wake of independence in SSA is said to have neither changed the subservient status of these states nor eroded the stronghold of imperialism and neo-colonialism in the region. Kwame Nkrumah argues that the colonizers: “may have physically left their old colonies in Africa and Asia, but they retained them not only as markets but also as locales on the ideological map over which they continued to rule morally and intellectually” (Shrestha 2002: 104)

Thus SSA, despite its new found sense of freedom post-independence remained heavily dependent upon and subjected to the powers, influence and authority of its European colonizers. Through collaborative discussions, the continent decided that the path to development would be regionalism through cooperation and integration, a strategy to allow African countries to break away from colonial dependency and begin the path towards true independence (Adebayo 2002:2). Nkrumah strongly advocated the ideals of “African unity” as the passage to progress in the continent that would propel economic and political growth as well as be the starting-point of emancipation in the region:

“we all want a united Africa, united not only in our concept of what unity connotes, but united in our common desire to move forward together in dealing with all the problems that can best be solved only on a continental basis” Kwame Nkrumah 1963:12 (New African Magazine, 2017)

Although there was discord as to the path of this African Unity between different regions in the continent such as the Casablanca Group (largely made up of North African countries) and the Monrovia Group (largely made up of Francophone African countries), unity was later fostered. The first significant cohesive continental effort was the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), formed in 1963. The OAU marked the beginning of unity in Africa and from it emerged a number of cooperative efforts based on the collective aspirations of Africans seeking to address the deficiencies of their continent on a regional and sub-regional scale. Under the authority of the OAU moderate economic efforts were developed. The two major efforts to confront Africa’s economic malaise were the “Lagos Plan of Action” (LPA) of 1980 and the “African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery” (APPER) of 1986-1990 both founded on a dependency orientation, an orientation advocated by many African scholars (Amin 1972, Rodney 1972, Kay 1975).

According to Owusu (2006) the LPA exonerated African leaders and contended that Africa’s issues originate from historical injustices suffered through colonialism and the continued dependence on global actors (4). The prescribed solution in the LPA to address the issue called for a strengthening of African leader’s self-reliance and nationalism efforts. The strategy proposed by APPER however

recognised the destructive nature of colonialism and imperialism but highlights internal problems (corruption, inept leadership, weak institutions) as potent causes of Africa's underdevelopment. The ideology behind the development of the APPER lay in the thinking that:

"Africa's development could not be merely a passive result of the world system to which the continent had been bound by the historical legacies of slave trade, colonialism and the various neo-colonial associations and agreements such as the Lome and Yaounde Conventions with the European Economic Community." (Amin 1990:1)

Both efforts proposed a de-linking strategy to see the continent being free to make its own decisions that will aid in its own prosperity. Despite the ideal for these projects to bring about change, they failed, a demise that is predicated upon the overt *nationalist* ideal that many African states embodied at the time. Thus Asante (1972) advises that "national consolidation came to be perceived as the most urgent and most important concern, and to that extent, cooperation with other African countries became relegated to a subsidiary position" (20). However Eno (2008) disagrees arguing that these bodies failed due to "the timing (under the Cold War paradigm), the lack of capacity for implementation, and the lack of genuine political will" (214).

Notwithstanding previous failed efforts at African unity, African countries continued in the spirit of regionalism by focusing on developing region specific bodies such as La Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEAO) in Francophone West Africa and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Anglophone West Africa (Pickett & Singer (1990). Scoones (2013) purports that these sub-regional efforts much like the preceding LPA and APPER were developed on an ideology of anti-imperialism, thus engineered at developing: "an alternative framework of technical assistance based on non-intervention, respect for national sovereignty and national interests" (28).

According to Metzger (2008) these Regional Trade Alliances (RTAs) experienced great set-backs due to the high cost of regional imports, administrative (customs procedures) and physical obstacles (road blocks) as well as the issues of rampant civil unrest in the region, rousing many scholars to argue for the benefit of multilateral trade agreements as a superior alternative (10). Taking a contrary view Ikome (2008) argues that these cooperative efforts in the SSA were derailed as a result of the contribution or lack thereof of individual member states within the regional and sub-regional bodies. The regional bodies have lacked the capacity to foster development in the region due to internal contradictions inherent within the mandate and institutional mechanisms of these bodies (1-8). Whereas Maruping (2005) agrees that deficiencies stem from member state reluctance in implementing agreed plans due to the sacrifices and losses expected and necessary for development.

Tull (2006) disagrees with both Metzger (2008) and Ikome (2008) and rather argues that the nature of south-south cooperative efforts between developing countries fortifies existent neo-liberal structures instead of fostering growth:

“South–South development cooperation merely reinforces the drive to capital accumulation unleashed by global economic liberalisation, reflecting strategies by emergent powers to acquire new markets for agricultural technology, inputs, services and new sources of raw materials” (Amanor 2013: 20)

Other scholars predicate the shortcomings of regional bodies in SSA not on internal factors like the scholars above but on broader external issues. Evbuomwan (2007) contends that globalizations condition towards the international integration of economies, cultures and governance impedes the development of growing regional structures in SSA as it diverts growth from the region and places it on a global scale where states and organisations with “the largest share of global trade and investment” benefit the most (Evbuomwan, 2007: 40). Predicated upon the struggles of past initiatives, African led initiatives took what appeared to be an ideological turn towards neo-liberalism; this ideological turn saw the establishment of NEPAD

Section B: AGOA and NEPAD initiatives

2.4 AGOA: Historical context and Perspectives

The African Growth and Development Act (AGOA) of 2000 was formed as a means to provide SSA countries with economic cooperation, political reform as well as trade and investment preferences into the United States market through the omission of duties and tariffs in order to encourage economic growth. This unilateral non-reciprocal trade agreement was granted on the basis of political and economic reform conditions placed on recipient countries (Agoa.info, 2017)

Despite these intentions, AGOA has been heavily criticized as a continuation of USA global economic expansion. According to Zappile (2011) AGOA is reminiscent of the previous International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) generated SAPs as the act places unreasonable conditions for aid on recipient countries. Due to a lack of eligibility the countries of Sudan, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Niger, Madagascar and Guinea have overtime been excluded from the AGOA (50). Despite the goal of the act in providing liberal USA market access for beneficiary countries, its progress has been heavily criticized. Mills (2004) argues that non-preferential trade agreements (NPTA) between North and South countries are by nature unequal. These NPTA’s have a “lack of reciprocity in trade agreements...restrictions in market access for least developed members” and further create obstacles for free trade flows (Mills, 2004: 157).

Thus instead of widening opportunities for SSA countries the act’s conditions have hampered market access for these countries. The latter statement is supported by Fuhr and Klughaupt (2004) who point out that the duty-free export of apparel and textile to the USA is hindered by the rule of origin condition which requires these goods be solely produced from USA raw materials (139). This condition one can assume hampers African raw material markets from growing which is ironic as the growth of African

markets is the key objective of AGOA. Fuhr & Klughaupt (2004) further criticise AGOA conditions, in particular the eligibility requirement that orders that all potential beneficiary countries should have a respect of human rights within their states and are furthermore banned against the use of involvement in terrorist activity as beneficiaries. These eligibility requirements have been enforced unfairly on different SSA based on the USA's selective strategic financial objectives in different beneficiary countries. One could argue that these conditions have been enforced unfairly, particularly in relation to the governments of Burkina Faso and Cameroon which have both been accused of human rights abuses and political instability by the USA:

Burkina Faso, because of its alleged involvement in the rebel insurgency in neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire and arms shipments to Liberia declined its eligibility for AGOA in 2003" (142)... "Cameroon continues to face internal political challenges. The government rules an undemocratic, de facto one-party state and frequently obstructs political meetings and harasses journalists...Despite this condemning indictment of Cameroon's political and human rights policies, the country is eligible for AGOA, including textiles and apparel benefits. To explain this outcome, one must look to economics. In 2002, Cameroon exported duty-free products worth \$116 million to the United States—overwhelmingly oil (143)... The U.S. government is effectively displaying schizophrenic and distasteful behaviour: it enforces only those conditions that are in its immediate self-interest and the process tolerates and rewards governance standards which AGOA sets out to discourage.(147)

-(Fuhr and Klughaupt 2004)

It is morally respectable that the USA advocates for human rights and a terror free world, however could it be that these conditions are applied tactically in line with USA strategic foreign policy objectives? Furthermore, such USA involvement in African domestic politics could be misguided as these domestic matters are often heavy with complexities, dynamics and undercurrents that the USA could fail to understand and consider. Lallah (2003) further discusses the effect of AGOA in Mauritius, arguing that the act is a colonial device utilized by the USA to expand their imperialist rule through the support of African elites. This imperial rule is said to be achieved through AGOA's covert and overt conditions, conditions that have had a direct impact on the domestic authority of African states (3).

Contrary to these sentiments, Paez (2010) argues that AGOA has had a quantifiable impact in SSA, the Southern African country of Lesotho is documented as experiencing a 36% employment increase post AGOA and a total of 30, 000 jobs in Kenya, East Africa (24). This growth is not only limited to Africa, the USA is reported as having developed 10, 000 jobs as a result of SSA imports (U.S. Dep't of Commerce, Int'l Trade Admin. 2011). The possible effects of the AGOA on the progress of regional free trade zones (FTZ's) and export trading zones (EPZ's) in SSA requires scrutiny. According to Frazer & Biesebroeck (2010), AGOA has had a significant impact on apparel goods as well as agriculture and manufacturing sectors in SSA, as a result of AGOA it is reported that "import responses grew over time and were the largest in product categories where the tariffs removed were large. AGOA did not result

in a decrease in exports to Europe in these product categories, suggesting that the AGOA exports were not merely diverted from other destinations” (128)

Despite what appears to be positive effects of AGOA in SSA, Mattoo et. al (2013) discusses that AGOA non-oil exports are still relatively low despite its textile and apparel provision, European countries being the largest non-oil export market for SSA at 55% whilst the US lags at 23% (830-831).

2.5 NEPAD: Historical context and Perspectives

The emergence of NEPAD in 2001 at the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) 37th summit in Lusaka, Zambia marked what is conceived as the advent of a novel development strategy crafted by Africans for Africa aimed at resuscitating Pan Africanism. According to its drafters the key objective of the body was aimed at addressing the continent’s most pressing issues such as poverty, disease and stagnant economic growth. According to former South African president and leading pioneer of NEPAD Thabo Mbeki asserts that the road to sustainable development in the African continent must be led by the adoption of a neo-liberal approach to development. Gumede (2005) extends this argument by arguing that “in order for [African] governments to influence globalisation, they would have to go beyond the atomistic nation-state and zero-sum sovereignty and recognise their interdependence” (198).

The establishment of the NEPAD body was informed by a collaboration of African Presidents Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Thabo Mbeki, and Olusegun Obasanjo of Algeria, South Africa and Nigeria respectively. These leaders were granted a mandate at the OAU Extraordinary Summit in Sirte 1999 as well as at the OAU Summit in Lome 2000 to represent the continent in addressing the issues of debt cancellation, continental development and regeneration in SSA (Nkuhlu, 2002). In his thesis, Eno (2008) argues that the mandate to develop the body NEPAD remains unclear, what is clear is that “the troika” (referring to Bouteflika, Mbeki and Obasanjo) “amended the ‘debt mandate’ given to them at Sirte and Lomé, and instead of insisting on debt cancellation, they tamely called for debt remission in exchange for a buy-in from the West for the NEPAD initiative” (192)

Thus could it be said that NEPAD is not a development of the OAU as is believed but rather a development of Bouteflika, Mbeki and Obasanjo? This diversion from debt cancellation to debt remission was heavily criticised by other African leaders. Colonel Muammar Gaddafi was quoted describing the body as “a racist tool of neo-colonialists” (Aderemi 2002, 25). Former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo at the 2002 G8 summit in Canada explains that NEPAD is in fact an African initiative that originated from the concerted and united effort of African leaders, despite the statement criticisms remained rampant.

According to Lesufi (2002) most African citizens were unaware of or had minimal knowledge of NEPAD as efforts towards the creation of workshops and debate forums were very slim to none. As a

united effort within the continent one would assume that NEPAD's formation would also demonstrate cohesion, this lack of consultation is contradictory to the mandate of this body which seeks to unify the continent. Furthermore it is ironic that the very same people who were excluded from the founding process of this body will be the very same people who will be most affected by the policies implemented within in. Such a conjecture by Lesufi (2002) is alternate to the speech made by Thabo Mbeki at the World Economic Forum in 2001:

“we intend to brief all African Heads of State over the next few months. Our aim is to be inclusive as possible. Thereafter, substantive consultations with the leaders of the developed countries and multilateral institutions would take place. ... The implementation of the plan will commence as soon as briefings have been completed and commitments made by a critical number of African countries. ... Countries that are not ready will be welcome to join later”-(Mbeki, 2001 briefing by President Thabo Mbeki at the world economy forum meeting, Davos, 28 January 2001, 2001)

Despite these statements by Mbeki (2001), scholars such as Bond (2002) remain highly critical of the voices behind this development project and advises African leaders to be mindful of what he believes are industrialised countries machinations. One of the prominent criticisms of NEPAD are its institutional structures, its funding and its process of establishment which are argued to have had a direct impact on the progress of the body. A key issue of contestation according to Akokpari (2004) are the structures within NEPAD, which are made up of the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) for agricultural development, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) for poverty reduction and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) dedicated to addressing the issues of democratisation and good governance in the continent, the latter being the body with the greatest dispute.

The APRM creates a mechanism of checks and balances among African states to monitor their progresses toward improved governance structures, which aligns with the principles of democracy, peace and security as well as ethical leadership practices. The APRM has been widely criticised as lacking the capacity to promote good governance as it is:

“A voluntary scheme, completely dependent on the good will of African states. States can either sign up or stay out. Even those who initially joined the project can withdraw if it proves irksome...the APRM lacks any definite elements of compulsion; the process has no clearly defined ways of obligating deviant states to reform”-(Akokpari, 2004: 253-254)

This observation makes one interrogate the credibility of the role of the APRM as a monitoring body within NEPAD and further the credibility for NEPAD to create internal transformation within African member states. If African countries choose not to engage with the APRM there is no means to guarantee how the benefactor countries will use the foreign aid they may receive, therefore the possible misuse of funds could be in question, particularly considering the face of corruption ravaging the continent. One might question the mandate of the APRM in encouraging democratic and good governance ideals with

the reward being foreign aid from the G8 countries. Should African states not endeavor to embrace administrative ideals that are moral and beneficial to its progress without the promise of monetary rewards? Foreign aid is criticized by Akokpari (2004) who calls it “a partnership of unequal partners...is neither guaranteed nor automatic. Rather, this is contingent on the latter meeting states conditions, reminiscent of the panoply of conditionality’s under SAP’s” (246).

This foreign aid grants the Western G8 countries a prominent authoritative voice in the body. This observation is directly contradictory to the mandate of the NEPAD which clearly states that the project "is based on the agenda set by African peoples through their own initiatives and of their own volition, to shape their own destiny" (NEPAD) Former Gambian President Yahya Jammeh’s expressed his deep disdain for NEPAD’s foreign aid, describing the bodies’ reliance on overseas funding as “dependent on begging” (Bafalikike, 2002).

According to Omotola and Saliu (2009) in describing foreign aid in the African continent “the only language understood by capitalism, the driving philosophy behind foreign aid is exploitation of surplus value” (89). It was feared that this heavy reliance on foreign aid on what is labeled as an “African Initiative” would create a relationship of dependency and foster attitudes of complacency in African states in developing their own domestic efforts towards sustainable economic development- has this been the case?

2.6 NEPAD and AGOA relations

Literature that has addresses AGOA and NEPAD together is minimal as most scholars have tackled the discussion of these entities separately. In her theses Guelmbaye (2010) discusses the similarities and differences of NEPAD and AGOA through a comparative approach including the challenges and success of both bodies. The scholar concludes that the greatest error lies not in the shortcomings of these bodies as singular entities however in the lack of discussion and collaboration between these bodies. Guelmbaye (2010) asserts that this challenge could have been averted. Through dialogue the NEPAD and AGOA could have converged their efforts in a bid to form a united effort. This effort would have proved more effective in the region, instead of having two separate bodies (119). Convergence between these two bodies could have proven difficult and could also call into question the “Africaness” of NEPAD. Considering the preceding criticism of the source of NEPAD being foreign funding such a convergence between NEPAD and AGOA would heighten such scrutiny.

According to AGOA, the establishment of NEPAD “may stimulate increased AGOA participation” as the two initiatives share a number of principles. The Deputy Chief of the US Embassy economic section, Alan Tousignant asserts that NEPAD and AGOA support each-other as they share common views on: “economic and corporate governance – which promote transparency in financial management –

promoting market efficiency, controlling wasteful spending, as well as encouraging private financial flows”. This common view of NEPAD and AGOA will support AGOA’s objective towards increasing the trade and investment volume between sub-Saharan African states and the US. (Agoa.info, 2017). Although these initiatives may be “speaking” in a similar voice are they “acting” in the same voice? NEPAD and AGOA can articulate the same development ideals in principle however in practice may seek to pursue these development ideals using different approaches- this may cause clashes between them.

2.7 Conclusion

The above literature has provided important insight into preceding development projects in the SSA region headed by the USA and African leaders respectively. The USA projects have systematically developed economic efforts in the region through a neo-liberal ideology. These efforts have been heavily criticized by African scholars as an ongoing imperial strategy by the USA in their attempt to further expand their market at the detriment of African states; some scholars however have praised USA efforts. AGOA is a greatly contested project by scholars who are divided on their views of the body as to whether or not AGOA is a representation that U.S. interests outweigh “African interests”. Literature has demonstrated that the AGOA act has geared quantifiable results in the SSA region however also highlights that these positive results have been met with deep challenges and detrimental effects for the benefactor African countries. Furthermore, published statistics measuring AGOA trade flows between the USA and SSA appear to be misleading, in particular the differences between the benefits of AGOA on benefactor African countries and the USA.

African development initiatives in SSA have on the other hand seem to have changed overtime from nationally oriented Pan-African projects to neo-liberal market-oriented projects. These efforts for development post-independence have been met with challenges and in many cases have failed to produce expected outcomes. Despite these shortcomings development projects have continued to be born in the region, hence NEPAD. Like AGOA, literature on NEPAD represents the divided opinion of scholars with some highlighting its shortcomings and others praising its successes. There is a clear relation between US led and African led projects, this being the past SAPs and the LPA as well as the present NEPAD and AGOA. Both groupings were geared towards achieving similar objectives the SAP-LPA sought to assist debt-ridden post-colonial African countries develop and the now present NEPAD-AGOAs have sought to assist the growth of African economies by opening them up to larger markets for international capital.

The literature on both NEPAD and AGOA efforts focus on the structural challenges, implementation faults or internal deficiencies within the bodies such as AGOA’s conditionality clauses as well as NEPAD’s APRM body and foreign aid dependency. There is little focus on the development framework

of these bodies and the impact of this discourse on the progress of Africans, those which these projects are directed towards. The point of entrance in the study is thus to address in detail the development framework of these bodies textually and practically, in seeking to uncover whether the NEPAD and AGOA display a human approach to development in addressing the needs of the everyday sub-Saharan Africans. Are their unfreedoms being addressed? Do they have substantive freedoms? But most importantly have these bodies improved the capabilities of these everyday citizens giving them the ability, the utility and the freedom to live the lives they have reason to value.

Section C: Theoretical Frameworks

2.8 NEPAD and AGOA past theoretical discourses: Liberal democracy framework and Neo-classical economic development theory

2.8.1 Liberal democracy

The demise of colonial rule in the African continent saw the ‘liberation’ of many African states and thus a dramatic change and transition in rule and governance. This period of change saw the rise of dictatorships and authoritarian regimes in the continent accredited to the colonial and imperial legacy. These regimes were thought to have been oppressive and hindered growth in the continent:

“instead of inducing unity and harmony they generated ethnic favouritism and divisions; instead of ushering in social equality they led to corruption and injustices; instead of promoting economic development they fostered material stagnation and decline; and instead of establishing viable political orders they engendered divisive tendencies, military coups, and civil wars” (Fatton 1990: 455)

These defects resulted in the demise of authoritarian regimes in some SSA countries and a movement towards liberal democracy and with it the promise of the right of choice, human rights, rule of law, social justice and capitalism [reference]. Despite this promise for progress, democratization in the African continent has been problematic, notably “governance is lacking...the quality of electoral democracy is thin... [And] neopatrimonialism undermines electoral democracy in Africa” (Cilliers 2016: 1). Scholars have attributed these shortcomings to; the failings of a western model of liberal democracy in the African context, un-consolidated views on the best forms of democracy i.e. popular, majoritarian, constitutional, as well as criticisms relating to an overt focus on the power of the elites as well as market and economic policy (Tesson 1999:29)

Despite the pitfalls of liberal democracies in the region, SSA countries and the international community alike continued to push for it as an alternative to authoritarian regimes led by military heads or

oppressive apartheid regimes. The idea of democracy began to solidify in the region and permeate state institutions, policy and organisations,

Considering the preceding criticisms of liberal democracy in Africa, could this regime assist in the development landscape of the continent or serve to further constrain the development potential in the region? Furthermore is such an overt focus on liberal democracy as a means to development the best solution for the region?

2.8.2 Neo-classical economic development theory

Neo-classical economic theory is rooted in traditional economic theories proposed by precursors such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo and more recent proponents such as John Stuart Mill and Alfred Marshall (Heimann, 1945). Neo-classical economic theory is predicated on the idea that:

“human beings possess within their own given natures the inherent rational and productive abilities to produce the maximum wealth possible in a society. What is required is a set of societal institutions that will permit this inner human essence to work itself out to the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Capitalism is thought to be the one type of society which provides these institutions” (Wolff and Resnick, 1987:39)

Neo-classical theory rejects Marx theory and argues that market exchanges in a capitalist system can be fair and not exploitative. It argues that wealth production is based fully on human decisions and utility. Furthermore the theory asserts that markets should operate autonomously propelled by the supply and demand of goods and service and not manipulated by governments- thus there is an underlying push for transnationalism and globalisation within the theory itself. The theory proposes that labour, capital and technology are three devices which are necessary for economic growth (D.umn.edu, 2017). The theory emphasise the importance of the freedom of the market as well as the international connection and exchange of economies as a necessary tool for economic development.

How then does this neo-classical economic development model influence the African development landscape? Considering the fluxes of international markets, would African markets be strong enough to withstand these fluctuations? Furthermore would African states be able to compete with stronger more established economies in the international market and thus benefit equally.

2.9 The Capabilities Approach

Welfare economist Amartya Sen who is celebrated for his contributions to the international development debate. In his manifesto *Development as Freedom* (1999) a multidimensional approach to traditional welfare economics is proffered. Traditional welfare economics looks at individual and social welfare that is measured solely by income and expenditure. Sen problematizes this approach and extends the discourse by considering “the omission of the impact of non-market goods and services on the individual's welfare”, (external factors such as the political and social) the “disregard of interpersonal heterogeneity in converting income into welfare particularly in poverty and inequality analysis”; (namely the capability for one to use income to better their lives) and lastly “the neglect of the intrinsic value of choice” (Kukyls, 2005:14).

Sen (1999) highlights a number of “unfreedoms” that inhibit one’s capabilities these are wide and varied, namely:

“famines...under nutrition...little access to health care, to sanitary arrangements or to clean water...basic opportunities of healthcare, or functional education, or gainful employments, or economic and social security...denied political liberty and basic civil rights” (15)

These unfreedoms restrict and deprive people from having the opportunity to lead a life of their own choosing. Sen (1999) directs focus on the way of achieving development which is through ‘freedom’. Freedom is understood in an “evaluative” and “effective” sense, the former meaning the existence of valued options for one to choose (opportunity) and the latter meaning the ability for one to make a choice themselves (agency) (4).

2.9.1 Instrumental Freedoms

Sen defines development as the expansion of instrumental freedoms for every individual, so that they can “lead the kind of lives they have reason to value” (Sen, 1999:10). Sen introduces 5 instrumental freedoms that are essential to the freedom of people and the expansion of their capabilities, these are: political freedoms; economic facilities; social opportunities; transparency guarantees and protective security. These “freedoms enhance the ability of people to help themselves and also to influence the world” (Sen 1999: 18).

Political freedoms refer to the civil rights of people and value principles such as freedom of speech, voting rights, uncensored press and political participation, which are ideals that are essential to liberal democracy (Sen 1999:38). Liberal democracy is recognised as an essential means to development which enhances the capabilities of a person to participate in the political sphere, however it is not an end in itself. Economic facilities refer to opportunities that individuals have to spend, produce and exchange money. This ability is dependent upon the resources that are available to them, the exchange rates of

the market as well as the distribution of wealth of people (Sen 1999: 38-39). Social opportunities refer to things that are essential to one living a healthy life, most notably education and health. The lack of these can increase the premature mortality rate, particularly in areas of infant and child mortality (Sen 1999: 39) Transparency guarantees refer to every individual's life to be openness, disclosure and lucidity in particular relation to peoples of governance. This openness creates room for accountability and thus prevents and reduces room for "corruption, financial irresponsibility and under hand dealings" (Sen 1999: 40). Lastly, protective security relates to the securities in place to protect society against any adverse changes or risks that may cause harm to them, such as death, starvation. These safety nets can be military personnel, unemployment benefits and disaster relief programmes (Sen 1999: 40)

These freedoms are distinct as well as interrelated to each other, thus need to be jointly strengthened. Sen makes the example of the relations between political freedoms and economic freedoms, the former in the form of 'free speech' and 'freedom of expression' help to promote the latter, economic security. Furthermore if one were to be deprived of the social opportunity of health and education it would prove difficult for them to exercise their political freedoms and be active participants in civil society.

2.9.2 Capabilities and Functionings

The capabilities approach is individualistic in its focus as it most interested in the *capabilities* and *functionings* of individual people. The idea of capabilities is understood as the free agency of people and utility of people to be active participants in changing their lives and not passive receivers of aid (Sen 1999: 5-11). Whereas functionings are understood as the things that make life valuable such as having shelter, being in good health and being literate (Oosterlaken 2009: 92). What is ultimately important is that people have the freedoms or valuable opportunities (capabilities) to lead the kind of lives they want to lead, to do what they want to do and be the person they want to be. Once they effectively have these substantive opportunities, they can choose those options that they value most" (Robeyns 2005: 95). The ability for one to expand their capabilities is pursuant to personal, social and environmental factors, these are articulated as conversion factors. According to Robeyns (2005) a conversion factor can be understood as the ability for someone to transform a resource or good into a functioning, this will differ between individuals based on "personal conversion factors", "social conversion factors" and "environmental conversion factors". Personal conversion factors are discussed as those attributes that a personal to the individual such as "metabolism, physical condition, sex, reading skills and intelligence". Social conversion factors are discussed as "public policies, social norms, discriminating practices, social norms, discriminating practices, gender roles, societal hierarchy, and power relations". Lastly environmental conversion factors are discussed as climate and geographical locations. Conversion factors consider human diversity and the different circumstances of individuals and how these ultimately affect their ability their functioning's and capabilities.

This focus on capabilities and functionings diverts from neo-classical economic development theory that focuses largely on global or international statistics surrounding economic growth, such as GDP. GDP rankings have been the principle measurement tool for policy makers. This method of measurement is problematized by scholars with the rationale that ‘individuals may under present their income [and] current income might not reflect appropriately the long-run level of individual welfare’ (Kukyls 2005: 4). Sen (2000) makes an illustration in his *Development as Freedom* on the importance of the capabilities and functionings of people in relation to their overall welfare. He uses the case study of African Americans in the United States in comparison to Chinese people in China and Indian people in Kerala. Research has shown that African Americans have a higher per capita income than that of Chinese and Indians, yet despite this Chinese and Indians have a higher life expectancy rate and outlive African Americans- the causal factors of this being matters of violence, school education and public health care in the United States (22-24). Such an illustration provides insight into the importance of Sen’s notion of capability, if one does not have the agency to exercise their income (like, African Americans in the USA) to better their lives, this income is null and void.

2.9.3 Capabilities Approach as a measurement tool

As seen above, Sen has adopted a multi-dimensional approach to welfare instead of focusing on a single aspect like neo-classical economic development theory or liberal democracy theory. How then does Sen propose we measure welfare (freedom)? How does one measure inequalities and un-freedoms in society, or the lack of capabilities? How would a model to measure ones agency and utility look like? Furthermore, what indices does one use to measure freedom and how does one aggregate measuring one over another? Sen (1999) further discusses the ‘counterfactual choice’ principle of measuring capabilities and functioning’s, the following passage is an example used by Sen (1999) to illustrate this approach:

“given the choice of having malaria or not having malaria, everyone would chose to be free of malaria, so freedom from malaria is a “freedom” even if no direct choice is made. This sort of reasoning, which underlies the United Nations Development Index, works only for basic capabilities such as life and health where one can safely assume that everyone would indeed make the same choices” (249)

Robeyns (2006) in “The Capability Approach in Practice” discusses the use of the capabilities approach in practice through the use of measuring techniques such as: “single indicators, scaling, fuzzy sets theory, factor analysis, principle component analysis, and structural equation modelling” (358-359)

Sen’s capabilities approach has been adopted in the discussion of issues such as marginalized groups in society, labour practices, gender inequality, health care and education. The capabilities approach has also been extensively utilised in the study of theories of sustainability as well as sustainable competitive

advantage (Christen 2011, Wetzel 2014). Literature on a capabilities approach to trade policy evaluation and design such as AGOA is minimal. Cosby (2004) in “A Capabilities Approach to Trade and Sustainable Development” expands on Sen’s view of development by discussing the key concept of sustainable development and further attempts to apply Sen’s approach to trade and investment policies for sustainable development. In speaking to trade and development in relation to a capabilities approach, Cosby (2004) highlights the main freedoms that could be affected by trade and investment policy. These freedoms are education, health, governance, legal protections, market opportunities, public capital, social capital and ecological capital. Cosby discusses how trade liberalization can contribute to environmental degradation. Furthermore the role of trade liberalization in creating greater income within beneficiary countries is discussed, however the issue of whether this income addresses income inequality is debated (4). Issues such as “macroeconomic stability, honest bureaucracy, rule of law, widespread health and education” are all highlighted as contributing factors to the success of trade liberalization. (Cosby, 2004: 3). These ideals are closely related to Sen’s aforementioned instrumental freedoms.

2.9.4 Criticisms of the capability approach

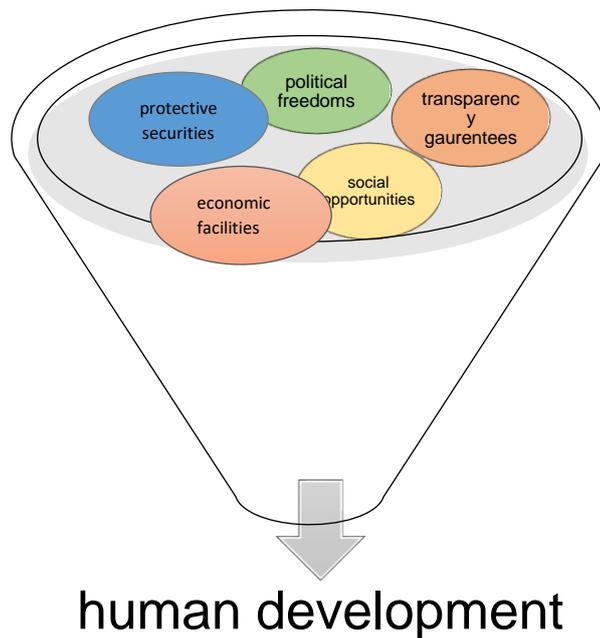
Sen’s capabilities approach is often criticised for having a strong theoretical perspective but a weak empirical perspective, the latter being seen as normative, utopian and impractical to the former- these criticisms saw the expansion of the approach by other scholars. The capabilities approach has been extended by scholars such as Nussbaum’s (2000) “Capability theory of justice” and Gewirth’s “Capability moral theory”, both scholars providing alternative views on what capabilities are. Whereas Sen discusses capabilities in general, Nussbaum (drawing on John Rawls theory of Justice) provides a concrete list of capabilities that include: life, health, bodily integrity, senses, imagination, thought, emotions, affiliation, practical reason, political control over one’s environment; material control over ones environment, play and other species (Shinn 2015: 244-247).

Mills (2013) further discusses some limitations of the capabilities approach. The main criticisms that Mills (2013) addresses are Sen’s emphasis on democratic consensus and public reasoning as a means to creating one’s capabilities. Mills highlights that there are many existing democratic countries that lack the capacity for freedom of expression, the respect for rule of law, free political participation because of unfair and unequal power structures in political systems- thus despite a democratic system some people’s capabilities remain undermined. Mills (2013) further highlights the difficulty in reaching a ‘consensus’ in democracies due to a conflict of interest on what freedom and capabilities should be advanced in society, thus despite these structures and whether or not they work effectively, some people’s preferences will be devalued. The idea of “structures of living together, (the values, norms and culture structures) in society and their influence on individual capabilities is criticised, therefore “if the

capabilities approach is to be a guiding theory for development practice, we should not merely ask how individual capabilities can be enhanced, but also how ‘valuable’ structures of living together can be enhanced” (Mills 2013:1043-1054).

2.9.5 Human Development

One of the central premises of the theoretical framework to be employed (capability approach) is the focus on human development as an appropriate measure of the progress of a country. The capabilities approach purports that the true testament of development is measured by the freedom of its people. According to Measure of America (2016), human development is defined as “the process of enlarging people’s freedoms and opportunities and improving their well-being... [It] is about the real freedom ordinary people have to decide who to be, what to do, and how to live”. These freedoms are; political freedoms, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, protective security and economic facilities (Sen). It is necessary to evaluate the state of above key 5 instrumental freedoms in SSA post AGOA and NEPAD intervention as these will provide insight onto the state of overall human development in SSA. These 5 instrumental freedoms are co-dependent and equally important, in order for there to be true, successful and sustainable human development all key 5 instrumental freedoms need to addressed appropriately.



[Figure 2: Diagram showing the 5 instrumental freedoms that are essential for human development- created by author N. Ndawonde]

2.10 Conclusion

Based on the above discussion of the capabilities approach it is clear that the key tenets of the approach are agreed upon by scholars however the measuring techniques and data sources for applying a capabilities approach within research is heavily problematized and contested by scholars. The study agrees with positions on the overtly normative nature of the capabilities approach, however does not agree that this should impede the ability to apply the theory in practice. For the purposes of this research, the study adopts the capability approach through a critical analysis of existing data findings. Thus instead of adopting a model or formula for an empirical approach to NEPAD and AGOA; this study will rather discuss a variety of existing empirical data as well as discursive data on the NEPAD and AGOA.

This data will be used in the discussion of:

- The development framework of NEPAD and AGOA's textually and practically
- The effectiveness of NEPAD and AGOA's development framework on human progress in SSA

The objective of this discussion is to scrutinize the concept of development of both NEPAD and AGOA and uncover whether these bodies create the opportunity for the expansion of capabilities of sub-Saharan Africans. Drawing directly from Sen (1999) this discussion will assess the development frameworks of NEPAD and AGOA by assessing the extent to which the 5 instrumental freedoms are considered which are: political freedoms; economic facilities; social opportunities; transparency guarantees and protective security freedoms of SSA citizens. These measures were chosen as they are essential to human development and capability expansion. These measures are appropriate for the discussion of NEPAD and AGOA as both initiatives may have an impact on matters like education, health, governance and market opportunities which are key aspects of the 5 instrumental freedoms.

The key analysis lies in highlighting whether the development framework of the AGOA and NEPAD create the opportunity for the expansion of capabilities of sub-Saharan Africans.

CHAPTER 3

NEPAD & AGOA development framework:

A textual analysis

“Economic growth without investment in human development is unsustainable- and unethical”

-Amartya Sen (2005)

3.1 Introduction

The New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) initiative emerged from the collaborative visionary effort between African leaders as a device for growth in promoting sustainable development in SSA. Recognised on a global scale as an engine for African development by the United Nations General Assembly through resolutions 57/2 and 57/7 of 16 September and 4 November 2002, NEPAD has gained international legitimate standing. On the other side of the spectrum is the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), a trade policy developed within the framework of the US Trade and Development Act of 2000 as a means to create greater opportunity and access for African states to trade within the USA market. Both initiatives have been criticised on whether they are genuinely providing African countries a growth mechanism and greater opportunity.

This chapter is dedicated towards reviewing the development framework of NEPAD and AGOA's texts. For both initiatives this discussion will broadly summaries both texts and highlights key points of interest related to their development frameworks for the SSA region. Using Capability approach, this chapter focuses on discussing the development frameworks outlined within NEPAD and AGOA's texts alongside the capability approach. How do the texts define the concept of development? Do the texts demonstrate capability-based policy principles? Do they promote a set of opportunities, choice and freedom? Do the frameworks address the five key instrumental freedoms¹ necessary to improve functioning's (things that make life valuable such as having shelter, being in good health and being literate) as well as facilitate the expansion of capabilities (the free agency and utility of people to be active participants of changing their lives) of sub-Saharan Africans. It will be interesting to uncover whether NEPAD and AGOA texts articulate a holistic human approach in their development frameworks that will enable individuals to be agents of their own prosperity, change and growth in order for them to, as Sen would argue "live the lives they have reason to value"(Sen 2001:10)

¹ The 5 instrumental freedoms and discussed by Sen (1999) are the: political freedoms; economic facilities; social opportunities; transparency guarantees and protective security

SECTION A: NEPAD Textual Analysis

3.2 NEPAD development framework: Freedoms and capabilities?

NEPAD development project was established as an African solution to African problems that seeks to replace what Gibb et al. (2002: xi) refers to as “the old African stereotype, of the outstretched hand and the begging bowl”. Although NEPAD is called the “New Partnership for African Development”, development initiatives, as highlighted in the preceding chapter, are not new in the SSA region. These preceding bodies are a far cry from NEPAD, a project which has diverted from past nationalism centred sub-Saharan initiatives, it “abandoned the dependency approach and signalled the continents endorsement of neoliberalism” (Owusu 2006: 26). Some may disagree with this sentiment; however it will become clear in discussion that a dominant liberal typology is present within the body. Discussion will focus on assessing the nature of NEPAD’s development framework by questioning “who” or “what” is being developed and “how” this development will come about.

3.2.1 NEPAD: Key Objectives, Goals and Bodies

“This *New Partnership for Africa’s Development* is a pledge by African leaders, based on a common vision and a firm and shared conviction, that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development, and at the same time to participate actively in the world economy and body politic. The Programme is anchored on the determination of Africans to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in a globalising world.” - (NEPAD 2001:1)

NEPAD’s document is defined as an *African-owned* and *African-led* development programme. The initiative sets out clear goals and objectives in addressing the aforementioned issues facing SSA. Human skills, capital, technology, strong leadership and international partnerships are attributed as the necessary tools to launch SSA from underdevelopment, aid dependency and global marginalisation that has plagued the region for decades (NEPAD 2001: 1-2). Furthermore, the protection of resources, the increased contribution to science and technology, strengthened governing capacity, the implementation of long-term policies and the effective harnessing of globalization opportunities (trade) are recognised as necessary for the development of SSA (NEPAD 2001: 4-5).

NEPAD defines development as “a process of empowerment and self-reliance...Africans must not be wards of benevolent guardians; rather they must be the architects of their own sustained upliftment” (NEPAD 2001: 6). The key words that are apparent within this definition of development are “empowerment” and “self-reliance” both words pointing to the idea of independence, ownership and management. The initiative further recognises development as the positive growth and improvement of sectors in society. Let’s observe NEPAD’s goals and objectives.

NEPAD’s document states that its key long-term objective is:

- “To eradicate poverty in Africa and to place African countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development and thus halt the marginalisation of Africa in the globalisation process
- To promote the role of women in all activities”

(NEPAD 2001:15)

This objective should be achieved through the implementation of the following goals:

- “To achieve and sustain an average gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate of over 7 per cent per annum for the next 15 years.
- To ensure that the continent achieves the agreed International Development Goals (IDGs), which are:
 - i. To reduce the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by half between 1990 and 2015
 - ii. To enrol all children of school age in primary schools by 2015;
 - iii. To make progress towards gender equality and empowering women by eliminating gender disparities in the enrolment in primary and secondary education by 2005;
 - iv. To reduce infant and child mortality ratios by two-thirds between 1990 and 2015;
 - v. To reduce maternal mortality ratios by three-quarters between 1990 and 2015;
 - vi. To provide access for all who need reproductive health services by 2015;
 - vii. To implement national strategies for sustainable development by 2005, so as to reverse the loss of environmental resources by 2015”

- (NEPAD 2001: 15)

The above IDG’s are an international cooperative effort formed in 2000 between states to address global needs over a 15 year period. Aware of the enormity of the IDGS, African leaders put in place an action programme and strategy for sustainable development for the continent as a means to assisting in achieving the aforementioned IDG goals. The action programme is divided into 3 key themes of action:

(a) The conditions for sustainable development

NEPAD includes that the successful implementation of the aforementioned goals is dependent upon certain conditions these being peace, security, democracy, good governance, human rights and a well-managed economy on a country, sub-regional and continental level (NEPAD 2001: 16). This necessity saw the proposal for the development of the ‘Peace and Security

Initiative’, ‘Democracy and Governance Initiative’ as well as ‘Economic and Cooperative Governance Initiative’ as part of NEPAD. The focus of each initiative can be summarised as follows:

- The Peace and Security Initiative- conflict prevention, management and resolution.
- The Democracy and Political Governance Initiative- democracy, transparency, accountability, integrity, respect, human rights and promotion of rule of law
- Economic and Cooperative Governance Initiative- promotion of economic growth, development and capacity building as a means to bridging the gap between Africa and developed countries. (NEPAD 2001: 16-20).

(b) Sectoral priorities

NEPAD has further identified priority sectors for development in the region. These are: infrastructure, ICT, energy, transport, water and sanitation, agriculture, environmental protection, culture, science and technology and lastly human resources development (poverty reduction, bridging the education gap, health and reversing the brain drain” (NEPAD 2001: 21-35). All above sectoral priorities include an outlined set of objectives and actions to go about improving them.

(c) Mobilising resources

The NEPAD has outlined two key areas to better mobilise resources in the region to their full potential and capacity. The first key area is through **capital flows initiatives** which involves encouraging a greater flow of capital into the region through: domestic savings, external foreign donors, debt reduction/relief, overseas development assistance (ODA), international development assistance (IDA), private capital flows and organisation for economic co-operation and development (OECD) (NEPAD 2000: 36-39). The second key area involves encouraging **market access initiatives** to be formed on an African and international level through the: diversification of production, mining, manufacturing, tourism, services, the promotion of the private sector and African exports and the removal of non-tariff barriers. One can grasp a clearer understanding of NEPAD’s development framework through the following diagram:



[Figure 2: Diagram showing the hierarchy of the NEPAD development framework- data collected from NEPAD, created by author N, Ndawonde]

Based on the diagram above it is clear that NEPAD's development framework is broad and holistic in its approach in reducing poverty reduction in SSA and promoting sustainable growth, development and global integration. Despite this blanket approach, it is clear, based on the goals and objectives of the initiative as well as its action programme that there are a few issues that are focused upon more decisively. Broadly the initiative seeks to re-structure and re-direct the development landscape of the region for sustainable development, however, more specifically the initiative places greater emphasis on the issues of economic growth, gender disparities, environmental protection, education and health. These themes appear dominantly in all three hierarchies of the NEPAD development framework and thus will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

Having briefly outlined the key tenets of NEPAD's document, it is clear what the initiative seeks to focus on improving. Observing now from a theoretical framework view, how does the above NEPAD development framework fare? Are capability based policy principles articulated and instrumental freedoms addressed? Most importantly is the quality of life and well-being of sub-Saharan Africans considered in the discourse through the expansion of freedoms? Are the instrumental freedoms of economic facilities, political freedoms, transparency guarantees, protective security and social opportunities evident? It will become clearer in the discussion to follow whether the freedom of the individual is seen as the means or end of development.

3.2.2 Freedoms & Capabilities?

According to the aforementioned NEPAD goals, the overarching intention behind the establishment of this African led initiative is to reduce poverty and encourage sustainable development and growth by fostering greater local and international partnership. NEPAD identifies poverty as a principle un-freedom within its text as highlighted within its long-term objective, IDG goals and African action programme. Sen (1999) describes poverty as capability deprivation and not just income poverty, this view considers broadly how many un-freedoms have deprived one the capability to live a comfortable life (87). Like Sen, NEPAD's goals highlight that the pressing issues in SSA are as a result of the deprivation of many freedoms such as the above mentioned health and education challenges, gender disparities and a lack of environmental protection. This view is beneficial as it ensures that a multitude of un-freedoms are intended to be addressed by African states and thus a multitude of freedoms will be expanded upon. This is of great importance for the capabilities approach as it recognizes the

importance of every individual's needs being met, by addressing many needs one is more likely to assist many people instead of focusing purely on one matter, such as liberal democracy or neo-classical economic development theory

As mentioned above NEPAD defines development as the empowerment and self-reliance of the individual being responsible for their prosperity, this definition places a key focus on the independence of the individual. This correlates well to the capability approach which places a great emphasis on development as expanding the freedom and of the individual and improving their overall well-being in order for them to be independent and self-sustaining. NEPAD's means to achieving this development is articulated within the discourse as being through five key dominant measures namely economic growth and integration, women empowerment, education, environmental protection and health. Do these address any of the 5 instrumental freedoms? Furthermore, do these expand the freedoms and capabilities of sub-Saharan Africans?

3.2.2.1 Economic Growth and Integration

The matter of economic growth and integration appears predominantly in NEPAD's development framework namely in the long-term objectives, IDG goals as well as in all three branches of the African action programme. One could argue that economic development is the principle goal within the body as the capital generated from it and through it will be utilized to address its other goals such as gender disparities, environmental protection, education and health. The first IDG goal reads: "To achieve and sustain an average gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate of over 7 per cent per annum for the next 15 years". This goal is linked to the Economic and Corporate Governance Initiative as well as the Capital flows and Market access projects in the African action programme branches.

NEPAD seeks to reverse the economic trend in SSA and focus on economic development through capacity building, by creating the required environment to benefit from the opportunities of a global network by attracting external foreign donors, FDI, ODA, IDA, trade, which are articulated in the section on mobilising resources through capital flows initiative as seen in Figure 1. It is argued that NEPAD's call for the increased integration of Africa into the global capitalist economy should foster economic development, and in turn provide the necessary capital needed to improve sectors for development. It should be noted that there are many virtues of the free market, Sen (1999) discusses the importance and virtues of free

markets in creating free opportunities for employment in order to minimise issues of labour bondage; child labour and women unemployment apparent in many Asian and African countries (113-114). This economic liberalization strategy is seen as imperative, as international capital should offer the African continent more potential for industrial development than its neighbouring African counterparts.

Aside from the small size of most African economies, low continental intra-trade is aggravated by poor infrastructural development, bad road availability and unavailability of train transportation as well as political factors like corruption and xenophobia. Therefore the value of inter- African trade “remains modest in comparison to trade with other regions” (Lundsgaarde 2012: 37), hence the neo-liberal framework of NEPAD in a bid to create greater opportunity for African markets to penetrate foreign markets. It is clear therefore that there are virtues of the free market and neo-classical economic development scheme, Sen (1999) further asserts that:

“the virtues of the market mechanism are now standardly assumed to be so pervasive that qualifications seem unimportant. Any pointer to the defects of the market mechanism appears to be, in the present mood, strangely old-fashioned and contrary to contemporary culture (like playing an old 78 rpm with music from the 1920s)...We have to avoid resurrecting yesterday’s follies that refused to see the merits of –indeed even the inescapable need for–markets. We have to scrutinize and decide what parts make sense in the respective perspectives” (111-112).

What needs to be assessed however is whether these markets are creating “opportunities” to expand the freedoms of people? Does NEPAD’s objective towards economic integration and development create opportunities to protect against child labour and improve employment opportunities for women? Does it improve the instrumental freedom of economic facilities of SSA?

There is a clear emphasis that at the centre of NEPAD’s economic development and integration efforts is to improve GDP, a measure that is not a clear indicator for human development. Maintaining a high GDP in a country does not guarantee that those within that country will benefit from the improved GDP. GDP only measures income growth but does not measure equality and well-being within society. Furthermore the increase of capital does not ensure that people have the freedom to use this capital in the way they would like due to a lack of adequate functioning’s such as health, security and education. According to World Atlas (2015) the SSA countries of Congo, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast and Chad are amongst the top 10 countries in the world with the highest growth of GDP. The countries of Tanzania, Rwanda, Kenya, Zambia and Djibouti are also included in the list among the top twenty (Dillinger, 2017). These figures

although showing promise in SSA are misleading as the lack of the substantive freedoms of protective security, political freedoms and social opportunities remain real issues within some of these countries. It is this criticism of GDP measures that the capability approach and UN Human Development Index (HDI) is partly inspired by, both agree that the expansion of instrumental freedoms and capability is a clearer measure of human development and well-being than GDP. Furthermore social conversion factors such as public policies, power relations and governance structures can slow or derail economic progress. The success of economic growth in SSA will rely heavily upon states harmonising their laws and procedures in line with NEPAD in order to easy implementation of its efforts.

However as a merit, NEPAD does make provision to improving market access initiatives in SSA through infrastructure, tourism, mining and the promotion of African exports as seen in Figure 1- this should be commended. Mining and tourism are lucrative business in SSA, improving these sectors could create further opportunities for economic development and improving unemployment. Despite these efforts however, most capital is expected from external bodies through Official Development Assistance (ODA) and International Development Association (IDA). As NEPAD is an African led initiative it remains unclear why its drafters have placed a great authority on foreign donors and loans within the initiative. This dependence on foreign aid creates a relationship of dependency between African states and foreign states, a relationship which reduces the freedom of Africans as they are required to meet certain conditions set in place in order to be eligible for financial assistance- this is a matter that has been criticised at length by scholars as discussed in Chapter 2. Scholars have addressed the issue of debt dependency for African states, however the implication of this dependency on individuals is not addressed. Such requirements have a direct effect on individuals as financial resources that are spent by a state settling debts is unavailable to improving areas in society that require development.

This study does not discount the expansion of markets as a means to freedom however the income generated from these means must be assessable and relished by the whole society and not just the few. Furthermore, the principle focus of these free markets should be improving opportunities for unemployed women and reducing child labour, not just income generation. A greater focus in NEPAD's objective could have been articulated in the need to improve wages and labour conditions. Furthermore NEPAD does not consider the issue of *income-earning* ability and *income-using* ability, one can earn an income but may be unable to

effectively use this income due to constraints related to disease and disability need to be considered.

3.2.2.2 Environmental protection

The agriculture sector is one of the largest and leading sectors in SSA, and most African's live in rural areas (70% of the poor), thus it is an essential sector for development, in particularly in reducing poverty in the region. IDG Goal vii seeks "to implement national strategies for sustainable development by 2005, so as to reverse the loss of environmental resources by 2015". Furthermore, agriculture is mentioned as a sectoral priority for NEPAD (as seen in Figure 1) in order to improve matters of food security, of Environmental protection is also a key solution in targeting poverty reduction in the SSA region in the development of food crops for consumption as well as for wholesale. Investing in this sector creates a culture of self-reliance and self-actualisation of the individual to sustain themselves. This is an essential attribute of the capability approach; one must have the ability to make life better for themselves and not rely heavily on another to fulfill this role for them. This is most specifically important for women farmers from rural areas in SSA. These women are often unemployed and uneducated; by having the means and skills to farm and plant crops it gives them the opportunity to empower themselves as well as their families. Environmental protection thus is an essential part of economic development and thus could create an opportunity for the improvement of economic facilities, in particular that of women. Environmental conversion factors do however pose a great risk to the goal on environmental protection as climate changes and natural disasters are unpredictable and difficult to mitigate; however despite this necessary means can be taken to prevent harm. As a means to combatting these insecurities NEPAD articulates could articulate the development of some security guarantees that could provide a security net against unexpected environmental changes that could affect human well-being as well as economies. These security nets are irrigation equipment, the development of the institutional environment ("research centres and institutes, the provision of extension and support services, and agricultural trade fairs"), as well as the need to improve rural infrastructure e.g. roads and electricity (NEPAD 2001: 32)

3.2.2.3 Women Empowerment and Education

Gender inequality is another key objective discussed in NEPAD's text. IDG goal iii seeks to "make progress towards gender equality and empowering women by eliminating gender disparities in the enrolment in primary and secondary education by 2015. Education is a fundamentally important functioning that women and youth have been systematically denied in SSA. Through efforts to improve women's and youth education (under the ages of 25 years), one provides them with the opportunity and freedom to improve their lives, e.g. seeking employment. The improvement of women's agency is most important as it is this agency that empowers them to address the inequalities that depress them. Sen (2001) emphasises the need for women to have the opportunity to acquire an independent income:

"women's work at home can be backbreaking, but it is rarely honoured or even recognised (and certainly remunerated), and the denial of the right to work outside the home is a rather momentous violation of women's liberty" (Sen 1999:115).

NEPAD's development programme for women empowerment is not addressed in detail within its text; it only appears within the initial goals and later within the section of poverty reduction in the sectoral priorities branch of the African action programme tier. The poverty reduction section makes mention of "the reduction of poverty among women" and the need to "establish a gender task team to ensure that the specific issues faced by poor women are addressed in the poverty reduction strategies" (NEPAD 2001: 28). There is no further discussion in detail of how this goal will be achieved and that which is mentioned is vague.

Education is a fundamental functioning that should be available to all people in society; this should include men as well as the improvement of education post- senior and primary school. NEPAD does make mention of reducing the education gap through skills development in the ICT and science and technology sectors. The issue of education is not the only issue that needs to be addressed when speaking of women empowerment and gender equality, however it is an important starting point. The inclusion of factors such as the improvement of women's ownership rights; income independence and employability opportunities as well as women representation in the political and social sphere could prove progressive. These included factors essentially place more authority in the hands of women and gives them the capacity to make important decisions themselves. This will thus in turn address issues of health, in particular reproductive health as well as infant and maternal health as women will have the financial means to improve their conditions for child bearing and the political platform to rally for issues affecting women. Broadly it is evident how NEPAD efforts towards women empowerment can improve the instrumental freedom of social opportunities through education, however (as

mentioned above) there are other aspects that can be considered when expanding women's social opportunities.

3.2.2.4 Health

The issue of reproductive health is strongly emphasised in NEPAD's goals, including issues such as maternal and child mortality. IDG goals iv-vi mentions the need to:

- iv. To reduce infant and child mortality ratios by two-thirds between 1990 and 2015;
- v. To reduce maternal mortality ratios by three-quarters between 1990 and 2015;
- vi. To provide access for all who need reproductive health services by 2015;

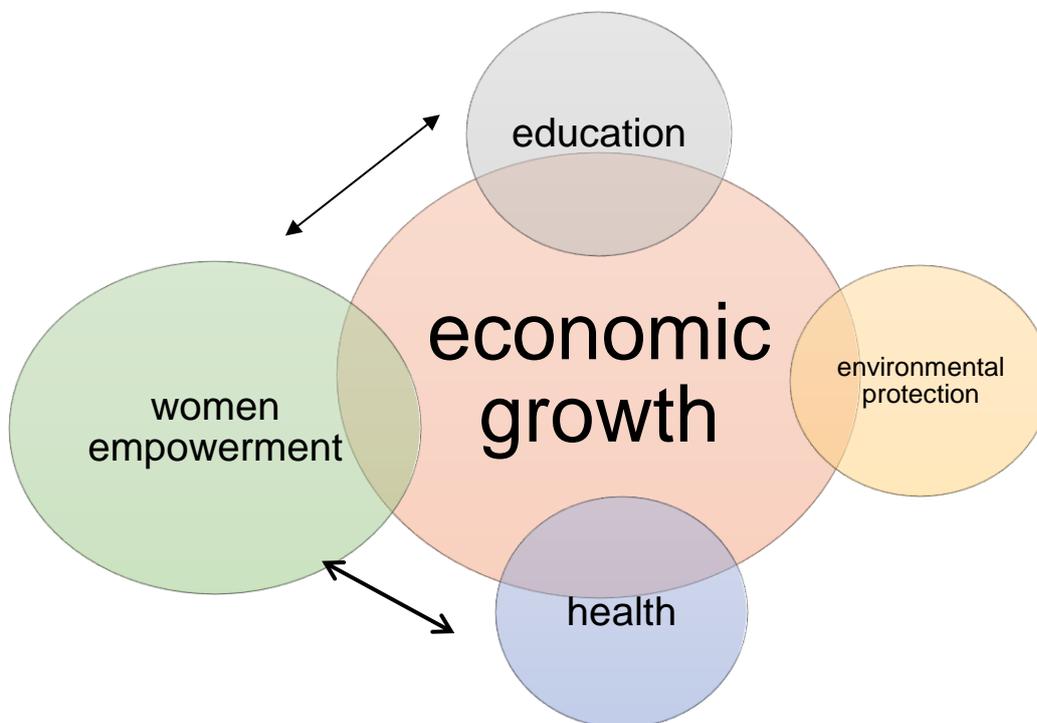
Like education, reproductive health is an instrumental freedom that falls under social opportunities within the capabilities approach. Addressing the reproductive health issues of the region is important as this has a direct and indirect effect on many spheres of society. Health like education is a basic fundamental functioning, by addressing this un-freedom, it provides women and children the opportunity to be healthier, to live for longer as well as be instrumental members of society. Woman who have good health have a better capability to make and income (economic facilities), pursue and complete education prospects (social opportunities) as well as be active participants in politics by voting or lobbying (political freedoms). By addressing the issue of reproductive health services there should be an improvement on the challenges of infant and maternal mortality. Although the IDG goals are focused primarily on reproductive health services the African action programme does address the issue of health on a broader scale.

NEPAD's development framework makes mention of addressing matters of health literacy, health care delivery services and disease control (HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, Malaria) (NEPAD 2001: 30). Much like the matter of woman empowerment, the matter of health has sought assistance from foreign bodies such as the World Health Organisation (WHO) as well as enlisting the assistance of international pharmaceutical companies (NEPAD 2001: 31). The initiative recognises that there are health related issues that need to be addressed in order to combat illness and disease hence a focus on improving living conditions and nutrition- these issues are further addressed in the sectoral priorities of the African action programme's "water and sanitation", "infrastructure" and "agriculture" sectors. The initiative does however neglect to articulate health issues that are related to men in the region. The health issues of women and children are placed above those of men, although it is necessary to improve reproductive health, the health needs of men are just as important. These aforementioned issues could have been

included as these too have a major impact on overall individual capability. Addressing the health needs of all groups in society is important in the expansion of freedom of all individuals. This further affects the economic sphere of society, as a healthy population is a more productive one and a more effective population can contribute to the growth of the economy.

3.2.3 Summary

The discussion above gives a clear illustration of the interdependent nature of NEPAD's key goals within its development framework. The diagram below summarises NEPAD's key goals and highlights which goals (based on the above discussion) carry a heavier weight than others based on the text:



[Figure 3: Diagram showing the interdependent relationship between the key objectives of the NEPAD development framework, data collected from NEPAD, 2000- created by author N, Ndawonde]

As seen above economic growth and women empowerment were articulated in NEPAD's text as essential goals, it should be noted that education and health were also closely related to women and children. The development framework of NEPAD recognises the interdependence of its key goals and the necessity for these goals to overlap in order for them to be more effective. This is essential to the capabilities approach which recognises the interdependence of the instrumental freedoms in the expansion of individual liberty. NEPAD's development framework has addressed the instrumental freedoms of economic facilities and social

opportunities in great detail in its efforts for economic growth, health, education, women empowerment and environmental protection. The instrumental freedoms of political freedoms, transparency guarantees and protective security however are not focused upon decisively within these goals. The development framework does discuss the need for peace, security, democracy and good governance as conditions for sustainable development and has put measures in place to improve them; however these matters are not mentioned as key goals within the initiatives long-term objectives and IDG goals despite the real need for them in SSA. Considering the imperative role that security, peace and good governance provides to a society in development, it is unclear why such issues would not be more potently addressed in the development framework. The lack of peace, security and good governance is cause of a lot of instability in the region and deprives those who are affected the right to safety and a peaceful living environment. Despite the importance of these matters the NEPAD recognises these issues as key “principles” and not key “goals” that need to be achieved.

The issue herein lies in the NEPADS’s collaboration with the IDGS. The IDG’s were formed to address poverty on an international scale, thus are not specifically and directly aligned to SSA needs. Because poverty has a different face all over the world it is difficult to prescribe a blanket strategy that should be effective in all regions, contexts, countries and communities. Granted the NEPAD prescribed the African action programme, however this programme is designed as a means to achieving the IDG goals: “realising that unless something new and radical is done, Africa will not achieve the IDGs and the 7 per cent annual GDP growth rate, the African Heads of State propose the programme described below” (NEPAD 2001:15).

The IDG goals do apply to the needs of SSA however the NEPAD initiative could have contributed goals that are specific to SSA and the needs of the people within this continent e.g. conflict resolution, disease. If this strategy was utilised issues such as political freedoms and security guarantees would have been more apparent as they are pressing issues in the continent. This further relates back to Easterly’s view of planners vs. searchers, the former seeking to provide a blue-print strategy to those in need and the latter customising strategies to fit the specific needs of the people.

SECTION B: AGOA Textual Analysis

3.3 AGOA development framework: freedoms and capabilities

Section 101 of the US Trade and Development Act of 2000 cites AGOA development framework. It is a trade policy designed to foster economic growth and development in SSA through a mutual relationship between the USA and SSA countries based on trade and investment. Unlike NEPAD, the mechanism that the AGOA employs is linear in its clear focus on economics. For the purposes of this section, the discussion of AGOA's development framework will focus on outlining "who" or "what" is being developed and "how" they are to be developed. Despite AGOA being a trade policy that it intended to benefit both the USA and SSA and its peoples it will be interesting to uncover whether the development framework does as Sen (2010) would describe provide SSA Africans with "free and sustainable agency"? (11)

3.3.1 Key Goals and Eligibility Requirements

"It is the sense of the Congress that sustained economic growth in sub-Saharan Africa depends in large measure upon the development of a receptive environment for trade and investment"
(AGOA, 114 STAT 272)

The AGOA trade policy is an extension of the US Trade Act of 1974 and the US General System of Preferences (GSP); AGOA however focuses primarily on fostering economic growth in SSA through trade and investment relations between the USA and SSA countries. As the above quotation states, AGOA seeks to be an engine for economic growth in SSA through a mutually beneficial relationship between USA and SSA countries. The founders of AGOA were able to identify that despite the vast natural resources and vast potential for economic growth in SSA, the average annual per capita income of most of the countries in the region is a disappointing \$500. As a means to harnessing these opportunities in the region (natural and human resources), a focus on trade and investment strategies is outlined as a sure way to encourage capital flow in the region as well as "to promote stable and sustainable economic growth and development in sub-Saharan Africa... [and] offer individual African citizens the freedom to expand their economic opportunities and provide for their families" (US Trade and Development Act, 114 STAT. 253). AGOA has since been renewed in the year 2015 and thus also amended. For the purposes of this study, the original policy document of 2001 will be utilised in the discussion of the development framework.

The policy can be divided into three main sections: The Trade Policy, The Trade Benefits, and the Economic Development related issues. Let's begin with the statement of policy.

3.3.1.1 Trade Policy

Section 103 of AGOA provides an outline of the Trade Policy, within is the statement of policy. This section states how the United States Congress intends to support SSA countries through AGOA. The statement of policy in essence outlines the objectives of AGOA in SSA:

“Congress supports—

- (1) encouraging increased trade and investment between the United States and sub-Saharan Africa;
- (2) reducing tariff and nontariff barriers and other obstacles to sub-Saharan African and United States trade;
- (3) expanding United States assistance to sub-Saharan Africa's regional integration efforts;
- (4) negotiating reciprocal and mutually beneficial trade agreements, including the possibility of establishing free trade areas that serve the interests of both the United States and the countries of sub-Saharan Africa;
- (5) focusing on countries committed to the rule of law, economic reform, and the eradication of poverty;
- (6) strengthening and expanding the private sector in sub-Saharan Africa, especially enterprises owned by women and small businesses;
- (7) facilitating the development of civil societies and political freedom in sub-Saharan Africa;
- (8) establishing a United States-Sub-Saharan Africa Trade and Economic Cooperation Forum; and
- (9) the accession of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions”

Based on the above objectives, trade, investment, private sector growth and economic integration are clearly the key basis for the relationship between the USA and SSA countries. The end goal being to create a mutually beneficial economic relationship between both parties as well as to encourage sustainable economic development in SSA which will provide the means to addressing the issue of a low GDP in the region. The policy objectives further acknowledges that SSA countries who are dedicated to addressing matters of poverty, rule of law, economic reform and civil societies and political freedoms are granted greater focus.

The key objective of AGOA is to offer its member countries what the policy describes as duty free and preferential treatment on certain articles provided that these goods meet the eligibility requirements of the policy. Section 104 of the Trade Policy section also includes the “eligibility requirements” set out by the United States president which outlines what rules potential SSA beneficiary countries must abide by in order to be granted admissibility to benefit from the

trade benefits of AGOA. The United States President is the key and principal authority in AGOA. As the final decision maker the US president is responsible for approving all beneficiary SSA member states as the eligibility requirements state:

—The President is authorized to designate a sub-Saharan African country as an eligible sub-Saharan African country if the President determines that the country— (1) has established, or is making continual progress toward establishing:

—(A) a market-based economy that protects private property rights, incorporates an open rules-based trading system, and minimizes government interference in the economy through measures such as price controls, subsidies, and government ownership of economic assets; (B) the rule of law, political pluralism, and the right to due process, a fair trial, and equal protection under the law; (C) the elimination of barriers to United States trade and investment, including by—(i) the provision of national treatment and measures to create an environment conducive to domestic and foreign investment; (ii) the protection of intellectual property; and (iii) the resolution of bilateral trade and investment disputes; (D) Economic policies to reduce poverty, increase the availability of health care and educational opportunities, expand physical infrastructure, promote the development of private enterprise, and encourage the formation of capital markets through micro-credit or other programs (E) a system to combat corruption and bribery, such as signing and implementing the Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions; and (F) protection of internationally recognized worker rights, including the right of association, the right to organize and bargain collectively, a prohibition on the use of any form of forced or compulsory labour, a minimum age for the employment of children, and acceptable conditions of work with respect to minimum wages, hours of work, and occupational safety and health; (2) does not engage in activities that undermine United States national security or foreign policy interests; and (3) does not engage in gross violations of internationally recognized human rights or provide support for acts of international terrorism and cooperates in international efforts to eliminate human rights violations and terrorist activities

(US Trade and Development Act 2000, 114 STAT. 254)

The above eligibility requirements are used by the US President to determine which SSA countries will benefit from the trade policy, and which will not; as well as those SSA countries who will later be excluded from benefitting from the policy if they no longer comply with the requirements. These requirements also clearly illustrate the ideals that the US government promotes and regards as important, most specifically neo-liberal ideals, much like NEPAD

3.3.1.2 Trade Benefits

Section 111 of the policy outlines the trade benefits that all approved beneficiary SSA countries are entitled to subject to approval by the US President. The largest trade benefit under AGOA is preferential and duty free treatment of certain apparel and textile items as well as the opportunity for free trade. The articles that are granted duty-free treatment in the US market are required to have been produced, manufactured or grown within a sub-Saharan African

country, the eligible goods are listed in section 503(b)(1)(B) – (G) of the Trade Act of 1974 in Chapter V- Generalized System of Preferences (114 STAT 257). The rule of origin clause places certain restrictions on goods that will benefit under AGOA’s preferential treatment based on the origin of the material goods and location of where goods are assembled.

The rule of origin is outlined in section 503(a) (2) of the US Trade and Development Act 2000, highlights that goods must be produced, grown or manufactured in sub-Saharan Africa, this rule is exempted unless:

“(A) if the cost or value of materials produced in the customs territory of the United States is included with respect to that article, an amount not to exceed 15 percent of the appraised value of the article at the time it is entered that is attributed to such United States cost or value may be applied toward determining the percentage referred to in subparagraph (A) of section 503(a) (2); and

“(B) the cost or value of the materials included with respect to that article that are produced in one or more beneficiary sub-Saharan African countries shall be applied in determining such percentage

(US Trade and Development Act 2000, 114 STAT. 258)

These conditions put restrictions on goods that can be exported into the USA market, this is unlike the European Union Cotonou Agreement where materials can be sourced from any part of the world (Mattoet. al 2013: 837) (114 STAT 258). According to the WB, countries categorised as “lesser” developed are those countries that in the year 1998 had a per capita gross national product of less than \$1500, these countries have been granted special provisions regarding preferential treatment (114 STAT 260).

Certain apparel and textile articles have been granted duty free and limitations free access into the US market provided that these items are assembled or cut in a beneficiary sub-Saharan African country with fabrics or yarns wholly formed and cut in the USA². This preferential treatment will not be limited as long as the import of these goods does not exceed 3.5% from the period of Oct 1, 2000- Oct 1, 2007 and a surge of imports does not occur that could seriously damage a domestic industry in the USA. Requirements are also placed on sweaters that have been knit from cashmere or merino wool as well as “hand loomed, handmade, and folklore articles” (114 STAT 260). Special rules are placed on the origin of the findings and trimmings of textile and apparel article- if these items are of foreign origin, their cost must not be more than 25% of the article it’s being assembled onto. Furthermore, stringent laws (e.g. valid visas) are placed on the export of apparel and textile items to protect them from transshipment, heavy penalties, such as 5 year ban, can be placed on those who fail to follow procedure. The policy

² See the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States in, US Trade and Development Act 2000 (heading 5602-5603)

also makes allowances for the formation of free trade agreements between the USA and SSA countries.

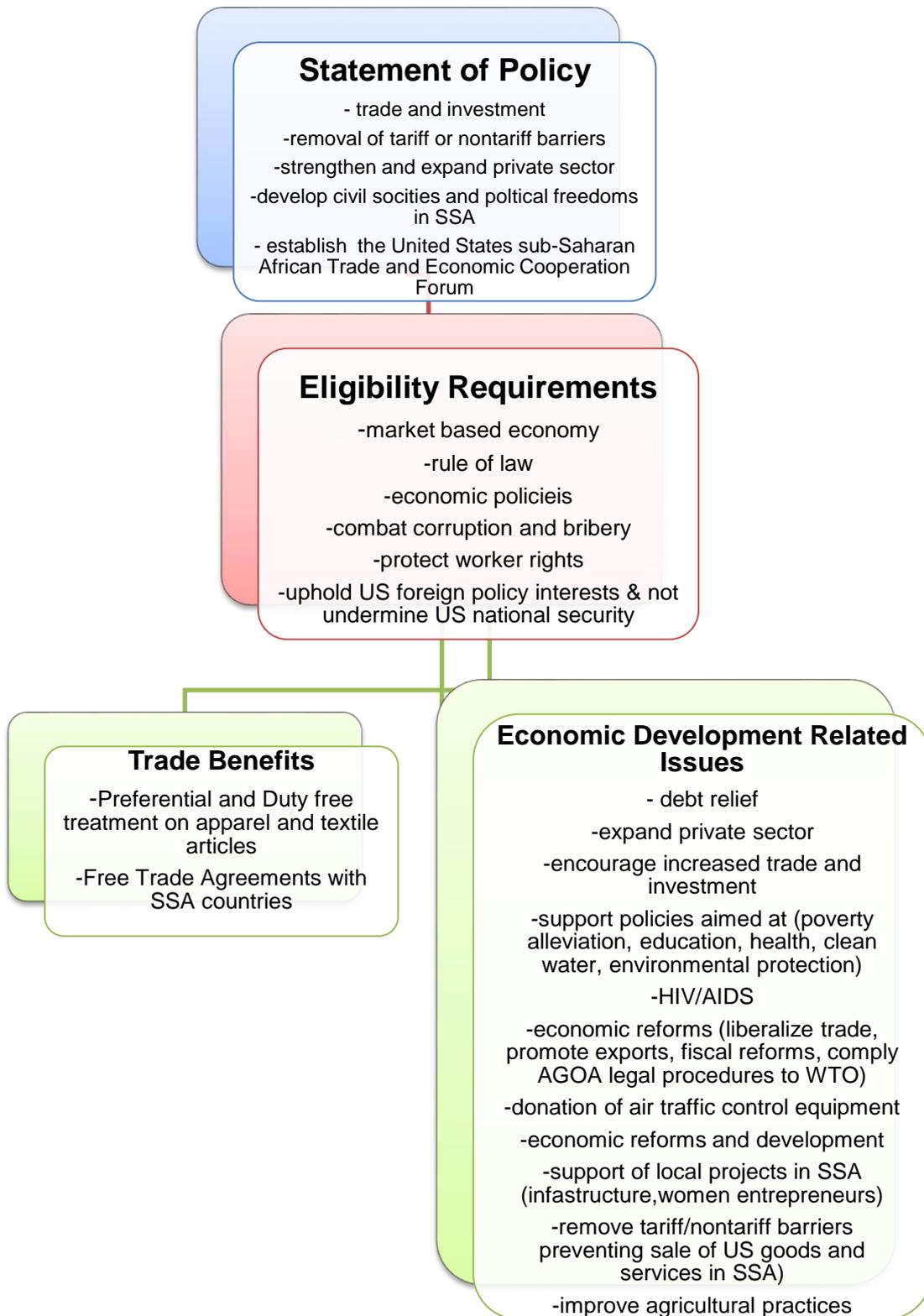
3.3.1.3 Economic Development Related Issues

The final section of AGOA speaks to “Economic Development Related Issues”. This section highlights the initiatives taken by the US government to improving issues that are hindering economic development in the region, and by virtue trade and investment efforts. The US government was able to identify the following matters as most pressing to the regions: external debt burden, economic reforms and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. As such the US government has proposed a number of initiatives to remedy this situation, some of which are:

- Supporting the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC) for further the reduction of debt of poor countries
- Develop the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to support SSA projects (e.g. infrastructure, women empowerment),
- Form a sub-Saharan Africa Advisory Committee (SAAC) to support the WB
- Expanding the United States and Foreign Commercial Service in sub-Saharan Africa
- Donation of Air Traffic Control Equipment to eligible sub-Saharan African countries
- The US Agency for International Development has been drafted to support agriculture growth in the region to improve food security
- The Development fund for Africa has been drafted to support in facilitating the trade and investment relations between the USA and SSA countries

The remaining sections of the policy document do not to apply to SSA countries, thus will not be discussed. It is no surprise that the policy would highlight these key areas of development as needing attention. However despite these other key areas of interest it is apparent that trade and investment are the principle matters of interest within AGOA’s development framework. Much like NEPAD’s development framework, the development framework of AGOA is interrelated and co-dependent. The principal section is section one (eligibility requirements), as without meeting these eligibility requirements one cannot benefit from the economic development initiatives in section 3 or the trade benefits in section 2.

The above development framework can be summarised through the following diagram:



[Figure 4: Diagram showing the hierarchy of the AGOA development framework, data collected from US Trade and Development Act 2000 - created by author N, Ndawonde]

Having outlined the AGOA development framework, it is clear what the focus of the policy is and why the trade policy was developed considering the state of the economy of SSA countries. AGOA's development framework clearly highlights the expansion of trade and investment as the key principle mechanisms in encouraging economic development in the SSA region and by extension the lives of everyday African citizens and their families. This is to be expected as the AGOA is a trade policy, however it now becomes important to discuss this development framework through a capabilities lens in order to determine whether these goals are addressing the un-freedoms inhibiting economic development in SSA. Are the 5 instrumental freedoms evident in AGOA's text? Is the opportunity for the expansion of freedoms and capabilities evident?

3.3.2 Freedoms and Capabilities?

As AGOA is a trade policy, the emphasis on trade and investment will be prominent within its development framework. Using the capabilities approach for analysis one could assume that the AGOA policy is flawed due to its overt focus on economics and trade, despite this AGOA's development framework does address all of the 5 instrumental freedoms, however to what degree they are emphasised and whether there is an opportunity for the expansion of freedoms will become clearer.

3.3.2.1 Statement of Policy & Eligibility Requirements

The development framework of the statement of policy, in particular numbers (1), (2), (4) and (8) focus on trade and investment with emphasis on: reducing tariff and non-tariff barriers; negotiating nonreciprocal and mutually beneficial trade agreements and establishing the US sub-Saharan Africa Trade and Economic Cooperation Forum. Furthermore eligibility requirements (A) and (C) have a clear focus on the economic aspect of the policy, mainly encouraging the ideal of a capitalist system of a limited government and a market-based economy. These ideals are typical for neo-classical growth, they fall under the instrumental freedom of 'economic facilities', one however must be critical in assessing whether these efforts are truly assisting in the expansion of freedoms- as what is essential to economic facilities is the expansion of opportunities (women employment) and contraction of exploitative working practices (child labour). Sen (1999) discusses the importance of the market in aiding in the expansion of human freedoms and argues that it is important for one to

make the distinction between income inequality and economic inequality. Income inequality addresses income at the individual level, for example larger incomes for the disabled, whereas economic inequality addresses income at the structural level, for example policies, much like AGOA (108). AGOA addresses the economic inequality in SSA by seeking to alter the structural dimension of African markets for trade and investment. As mentioned above this market liberalization may not translate into human capabilities but it does provide the possibility for this to occur by allowing sub-Saharan Africans the option to interact with markets. What is however overlooked is the impact of this deep market liberalization on the stability of African markets in the region as well as the income inequality between individuals within these SSA states. Furthermore, despite the aforementioned trade allowances that are granted to beneficiary states, it is essential to note that there are social conversion factors that may hinder this trade, in particular national trade policies of SSA countries and national laws on tariffs.

Eligibility requirement (B) highlights the importance of “the rule of law, political pluralism, and the right to due process, a fair trial, and equal protection under the law”. Numbers (5) and (7) in the statement of policy also emphasise the importance of facilitating political freedoms and focusing on SSA countries committed to the rule of law. These political efforts fall under the category of the instrumental freedom of ‘political freedoms’ and are essential for human freedom as they give people the opportunity to lobby their interests and needs to those in authority. The matter of freedom of expression could have been included within the above list. These above political freedoms promote important democratic ideals, whether democracy is feasible in SSA is still heavily debated by scholars.

Eligibility requirement (D) addresses a wide scope of some principal functioning’s such as health and education, both of which are key to the instrumental freedom of social opportunities. Unlike the NEPAD whose focus on education and health is directed specifically to young girls and women, AGOA addresses these matters broadly. Despite this however there is a lack of specificity in addressing these opportunities, what kind of health? What form of education? The policy does however in its “economic development initiatives” section highlight the establishment of The Development Fund for Africa which will provide support in primary and vocational education systems (middle-level technical; modern private, college level). This type of assistance is important in the capacity building of Africans to be self-sustaining and independent. Eligibility requirement (E) and (F) addresses the issues of transparency guarantees and protective security that are important for human freedom such as corruption

and bribery, terrorism and worker rights. It is also clearly illustrated within the discourse that any activities by SSA states that undermine US national security or FP interests will not be tolerated.

3.3.2.2 Trade Benefits

The trade benefits development framework also requires discussion. The policy argues that preferential and duty free treatment shall be granted on certain apparel and textile articles provided that these items are produced, manufactured or grown in a SSA country and certain fabrics or yarns wholly formed or cut in the USA. From a capabilities viewpoint one can argue that such a clause seeks to empower SSA local production systems and encourage employment opportunities in the region thus empowering Africans and providing them the ability to be independent and self-sustaining which is essential to the theory. The rules of origin clause can also however prove to be detrimental; by prohibiting the external sourcing of items could prove to be costly for SSA countries who import these items for less from other countries.

The policy makes provision to prevent the excessive import of SSA goods into the US market that could prove harmful to certain markets, however no such provisions are set for SSA markets. US exports into SSA market are unlimited thus SSA markets remain unprotected to over-importation which can prove detrimental for SSA sectors. As stated in Section 112.

Treatment of certain textile and apparel 3(c) Surge Mechanism:

pursuant to a written request made by an interested party, that there has been a surge in imports of an article described in this paragraph from a beneficiary sub-Saharan African country, the Secretary shall determine whether such article from such country is being imported in such increased quantities as to cause serious damage, or threat thereof, to the domestic industry producing a like or directly competitive article. If the Secretary's determination is affirmative, the President shall suspend the duty-free treatment provided for such article under this paragraph. If the inquiry is initiated at the request of an interested party, the Secretary shall make the determination within 60 days after the date of the request –

(114 STAT. 260)

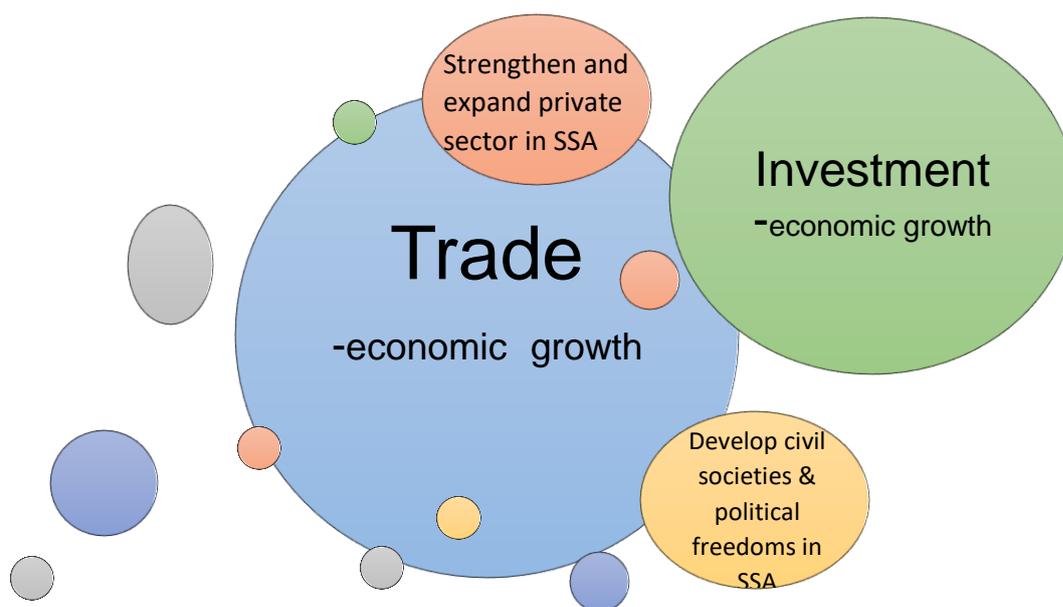
The trade benefits further make provision for the expansion of trade between SSA states and the US which may affect interregional trade in SSA which is already strained. The policy makes mention of the protection against the transshipment of textile and apparel articles from the SSA into the US markets. The US Customs Service is granted authority to investigate any transshipment allegations against beneficiary SSA beneficiary countries and grant penalties of up to 5 year bans for all perpetrators; no such authority is placed over US goods being imported into the SSA market. There is a gap in the checks and balances of US goods entering African

markets under AGOA which can open a window for great exploitation and harm to African domestic markets. These trade benefits appear to be benefitting the US more than they benefit SSA states which is worrisome as the policy is said to be a mutual relationship between the US and SSA countries.

3.3.2.3 Economic Development Related Issues

The economic development related issues proposed by the policy address a vast array of matters in SSA such as debt relief, education, health, food security and disease. The policy proposes a number of initiatives to address the aforementioned issues as well as opportunity for collaboration between US led initiatives and African led initiatives. Some of the listed initiatives are the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (of which the US is a member), The Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the Export-Import Bank Initiatives in collaboration with the sub-Saharan Africa Advisory Committee, The US Agency for International Development and the Development Fund for Africa. All of the above listed initiatives are predominantly US led and US funded, there are minimal collaborative bodies between SSA states and the US body that are proposed. The rhetoric of the policy places a large amount of authority in the hands of the US government and the US President. From a capabilities approach this

The above discussion of AGOA’s development framework can be illustrated through the following diagram which depicts the key focus of AGOA:



[Figure 5: Diagram showing the interdependent relationship between the key objectives of the AGOA

3.3.3 Summary

Based on the above discussion of AGOA's development framework it is clear that some key instrumental freedoms are addressed and some key functioning's regarded. Alongside trade and investment, the policy addresses some pressing issues in the region such as health, education, unemployment and corruption. By addressing these functioning's one creates an environment for the opportunity for the expansion of human capabilities. Despite this however the issue of concern is that these aforementioned matters are mentioned within the eligibility requirements of the policy and not in the statement of the policy (objectives). It is uncertain why these issues would not be placed under the statement of policy as many SSA states require assistance in these areas. The eligibility requirements are conditions put in place that African states are required to have met or be in the process of meeting, by placing these issues under the eligibility requirements it is assumed that in order for SSA states to benefit from the policy they should already meet these set requirements, in reality many states struggle in these areas. Granted however the policy outlines development initiatives to assist these tasks.

Assessing the above objectives and eligibility requirements of AGOA it is clear that the policy addresses both USA and African needs, however the needs of the US are being addressed more. The role of the United States (US) is very apparent in the policy development framework e.g. eligibility requirement (F) places a restriction on SSA beneficiary states to "not engage in activities that undermine United States national security or foreign policy interests". This is to be expected considering that AGOA is a US led project, however for a policy named the "Africa Growth and Opportunity Act", whose growth and opportunity is most important? Although the discourse seeks to expand the instrumental freedoms of the Africans as discussed above, one need consider the intention underlying this expansion? Are these freedoms truly increasing those of Africans? Or the freedoms of the USA in the region? Further, whose capabilities are being expanded? Those of Africans? Or of those of the USA in the region?

To assess these questions this study observes the US foreign policy interests in Africa at the time; these interests should bring more insight on whether the policy is a means to further US foreign policy interest expansion in the region much like the SAP's did or whether the policy was designed to address growth and opportunity needs of the SSA region as its name refers.

Much like all state foreign policies, the USA foreign policy seeks to address the national needs of the USA and of its people. The administration of former US President Bill Clinton is responsible for the signing of AGOA into establishment; however it is an initiative developed by former US president George W. Bush. During the Bush administration the African continent was of strategic importance to the US:

Bush left a lasting legacy in Africa on three main fronts: security, with the establishment of the US Africa Command (AFRICOM); aid and assistance, through the implementation of important health programs such as the unprecedented President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR, a \$15 billion initiative) and the President's Malaria Initiative, as well as the establishment of the Millennium Challenge Corporation, a US government aid agency; and diplomacy, with the push for a peace settlement to end the civil war in Sudan"

(Tarragona 2005:26)

Notwithstanding the above legacy of the Bush administration on an economic perspective one could argue that the establishment of AGOA was driven by the US competition with China. AGOA was able to create a greater link between the US and SSA markets which was necessary because the growing Chinese competition in the region as well as the energy reserves in SSA which remain a major attraction for the USA. The AGOA trade policy will undoubtedly create greater access for the US to penetrate these energy markets and the eligibility requirements in some way expose SSA states to the authority of the USA.

3.4 Conclusion

The discussion above of NEPAD and AGOA discourses for development has provided an account on the importance of addressing wider un-freedoms in society as this affects the overall capability of communities and individuals. Instrumental freedoms are interlinked and interdependent upon one another. Depending on the gender, location, age and social roles of an individual, some functioning's may be more important in the conversion of these into capabilities (freedoms). If one of these freedoms is undermined it affects the whole capability nucleus of the individual. Furthermore this discussion was able to clearly illuminate the important role of the development framework of an initiative and its overall effects on development. Sen (2000) articulates this idea more clearly by discussing how:

"development analysis must...be concerned with objectives and aims that make these instrumental freedoms consequentially important, it must also take note of the empirical linkages that tie the distinct types of freedom together, strengthening their joint importance" (10).

The key issue of the NEPAD development framework is the broad framing of its goals with the IDG's. This criticism in the framework can be related to the lack of public consultation

when the body was created; those that the initiative sought to assist had no involvement in its establishment. Had a bottom-up approach been taken in the drafting of the document that involved the everyday individual perhaps a greater human approach may have been more visible within NEPAD goals. The main observation in the discussion of NEPAD is that all 5 instrumental freedoms were in some degree were addressed however not always in a way that would facilitate the expansion of agency and capability. This is due in part to the lack of consideration of the interconnectedness of these 5 instrumental freedoms, as working together and affecting each other. The development framework within these goals highlights the challenges within the region but does not address the root problems that have caused these challenges. They address un-freedoms on the surface and as a result of this could prove weak in strengthening overall human capabilities. This discussion on NEPAD solidifies what African scholar Claude Ake's (1987) commentary that "the development of Africa will not start in earnest until the struggle over the development agenda is determined" (41).

AGOA has a clearly linear development strategy which focuses on trade and investment in addressing the most challenging un-freedoms in the region. The policies eligibility requirements were able to articulate many important functioning's necessary for development more effectively than the African led NEPAD. A key criticism of AGOA's discourse for development is the key correlation of the discourse to USA foreign policy objective. To some measure one may argue that the discourse of development was not crafted to address the needs of the African but to fulfil the US principles of global economic and democracy expansion. Africa's natural resources place the region in a strategic economic position for the USA. Furthermore the rise of terrorist activity, some of which has occurred in SSA has placed the region in a security strategic position. Despite the focus on US foreign policy needs in the AGOA a human development approach was apparent within the policy however the needs were focused significantly on the USA and not the recipients or benefactors of AGOA. Both NEPAD and AGOA recognised instrumental freedoms within their discourses however did not adequately highlight the important linkages between these freedoms and their overall effect on agency.

Considering these findings of NEPAD and AGOA's text, what can be expected on a practical level? One can expect that both initiatives will make practical efforts and implement programmes that will correlate with their outlined goals

Has this been the case?

CHAPTER 4

NEPAD & AGOA Development framework:

A practical analysis

“It should be clear that we have tended to judge development by the expansion of substantive human freedoms- not just by economic growth (for example, of the gross national product), or technical progress, or social modernization. This is not to deny, in any way, that advances in the latter fields can be very important, depending on circumstances, as “instruments” for the enhancement of human freedom. But they have to be appraised precisely in that light- in terms of their actual effectiveness in enriching the lives and liberties of people- rather than taking them to be valuable in themselves”

- Dreze and Sen (2002)

4.1 Introduction

NEPAD and AGOA emerged in SSA at a time when the region was experiencing economic stagnancy and high levels of poverty and destitution. The initiatives offered promises for growth and progress to SSA leaders and citizens alike as well as proposing strategies which would see Africa Rising. The preceding chapter has provided insight into the challenges of the development framework of these initiatives in principle by assessing their texts. This chapter is dedicated to the discussion of NEPAD and AGOA's development framework on a practical level, in seeking to uncover what efforts both initiatives have made to implement their development frameworks in SSA.

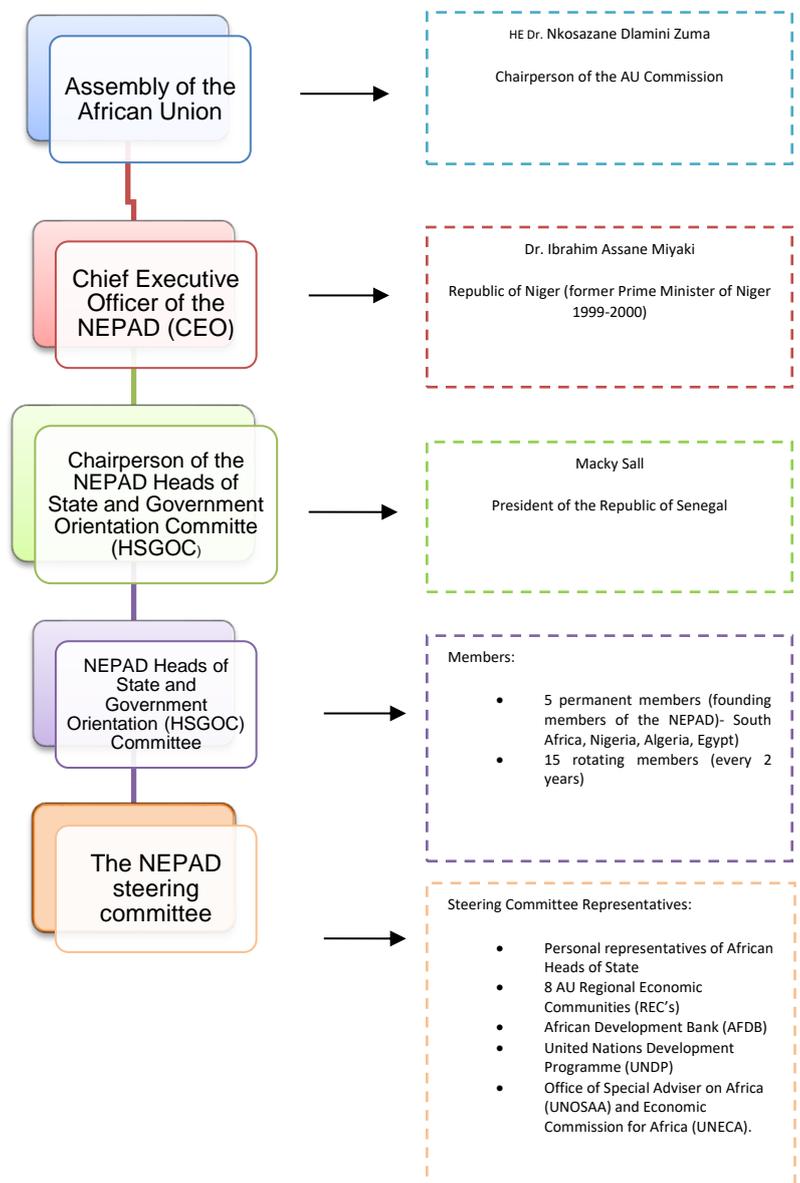
The discussion will involve a complete breakdown of NEPAD and AGOA operations by assessing the internal leadership structures which have been implemented in each initiative as well as a main projects, programmes and agreements implemented under each initiative. The discussion on AGOA will assess the trade relations between the USA and SSA countries as well as the key sectors of trade; investments and policy amendments that have been made since its establishments. The discussion on NEPAD will assess the key projects and programmes that have been developed and implemented by the initiative.

It will be interesting to assess whether NEPAD and AGOA's efforts articulate any of the 5 instrumental freedoms (political freedoms; economic facilities; social opportunities; transparency guarantees and protective security) essential to human development and whether or not they have created opportunities for the expansion of human freedoms and capabilities of sub-Saharan Africans in practice. Furthermore, considering that both initiatives have had challenges in articulating human development in their texts could the same be seen on a practical level?

SECTION A: NEPAD Practical Analysis

The preceding discussion of NEPAD’s text outlined that the overarching long-term objective of the body is to eradicate poverty and promote sustainable growth in the SSA region. As outlined in the preceding chapter the improvement of **economic growth and integration, women empowerment, environmental protection, gender and health** are outlined as the most essential goals in the initiatives mandate. It is now important to assess how these essential goals have been addressed practically.

NEPAD has various country offices and a secretariat around SSA, namely in Johannesburg- South Africa, Ouagadougou- Burkina Faso, Kampala- Uganda as well as in New York- USA. NEPAD’s Presidency offices are located in Lagos- Nigeria and the secretariat in Nairobi- Kenya. Its governance structures can be summarised as follows:



[Figure 6: Diagram showing a summary of NEPAD governance structures- data collected from Nepad.org, 2017- created by author N. Ndawonde]

Based on Figure 1 above it is clear that there is a varied representation of African officials from the SSA region in the leadership of NEPAD as well as supporting in development structures. This varied representation is critical as it should provide the opportunity for varied opinions and perspectives from around the different parts of the SSA region to be brought forward during discussions of development e.g. at annual meetings.

NEPAD has focused on the development of 4 practical areas of work to address its key goals which are economic growth and integration, women empowerment, environmental protection, gender and health. These 4 main areas of work are: “Human Capital Development”; “Industrial, Science Technology and Innovation”; “Regional Integration, Infrastructure and Trade” and lastly “Natural resources, Governance and Food Security”.

These 4 practical areas of work have been implemented on a continental, regional and sub-regional level in the Africa continent, although NEPAD operates more predominantly in the sub-Saharan African region. On a sub-regional level NEPAD operates in the following Regional Economic Communities (REC’s) in SSA: the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CENSAD), the Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA); the Eastern African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

In the assessment of the practical efforts of NEPAD the study will discuss in greater detail the key projects and the key supporting bodies developed within NEPAD on a continental, regional and sub-regional level. The discussion of the above listed 4 practical areas of work will highlight how NEPAD has attempted to address its key goals in practice. Furthermore, discussion will illuminate on whether the 5 instrumental freedoms (political freedoms; economic facilities; social opportunities; transparency guarantees and protective security) have been articulated and whether there has been opportunity for the expansion the freedoms and capabilities of sub-Saharan Africans and overall human development in the region.

4.2 NEPAD's 4 practical areas of work

4.2.1 Human Capital Development

The first practical area of work highlighted by NEPAD is Human Capital Development, this area of development is focused primarily on addressing matters of youth underdevelopment in the SSA region (in particular within rural communities) by focusing on skills development, job creation as well as woman and youth empowerment. The Human Capital Development area of work has launched 5 major projects namely Agriculture Technical Vocational Education and Training (ATVET); Capacity Development, Rural Futures, Gender and Nursing (Nepad.org, 2017) as a means to addressing these issues. This project is a conversion factor as it focuses on using its resources to transform and counteract the negative trend of youth underdevelopment.

The “Agriculture Technical Vocational Education and Training” (ATVET) project was developed to assist universities in SSA to improve their Tertiary Agriculture Education (TAE) on a country, regional and continental level in the SSA region. This project was developed to create food security and reduce poverty in SSA, in particular within rural communities. The ATVET project addresses NEPAD's goal on improving education (primary and secondary education) as well as the instrumental freedom of social opportunity as education is essential for expanding ones capabilities (Nepad.org, 2017). These capabilities could convert into allowing one to pursue higher education prospects as well as seeking employment opportunities that require certain qualifications. A training programme such as TAE and the knowledge learnt can convert into the ability for SSA students who have had the opportunity to pursue studies at tertiary institutions to have better knowledge on agriculture, in particular on how to sustain themselves and others through farming (e.g. food crops). Furthermore such a project is able to better equip these university students to potentially play instrumental roles to improve agriculture practices within their communities, for example by drafting and establishing better agriculture policies and programmes. However what about those students who have not had the opportunity to pursue tertiary education? It should be considered whether such a programme would also be beneficial at a primary and secondary school level. Considering that agriculture is a sector that impacts societies and rural communities within most SSA countries it could be useful to begin training students at lower school levels as these students and their families are also affected by poverty. Developing the agriculture skills of students from an

early age could potentially improve their capability to sustain themselves and their families through the farming of food crops.

The second project under the Human Capacity Development area of work is the “Capacity Development project” which seeks to improve the capacity of SSA states. Research has demonstrated that the weakened capacity of SSA countries negatively impacts the successful implementation of development projects in particular those pertaining efforts aimed at African institutions and transformative public policy design. The Capacity Development Project seeks to address this weakened capacity of SSA countries by focusing on 6 areas that they deem essential which are: transformative leadership, citizen empowerment, utilising African potential skills and resources, evidence based knowledge and innovation, improving the capacity of capacity developers and incorporating integrated planning and implementation for results” (Nepad.org, 2017). According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), “capacity development” can be understood as “the process through which individuals, organizations and societies obtain, strengthen and maintain the capabilities to set and achieve their own development objectives over time”(Undp.org, 2017). The idea of capacity development places emphasis on the utility of one (individuals, organizations and societies) on themselves. This is essential for capability expansion as it important for one to have the freedom and onus over their lives and themselves. There is however limited detail that expounds on how the aforementioned 6 key areas are to be practically pursued, it is unclear how citizen empowerment will be pursued or leadership is to be transformed thus it is unclear what specific NEPAD goals such a project could address.

The third project under this area of work is “Rural Futures”. Much like the aforementioned ATVET project, the Rural Futures project seeks to address issues facing rural communities in SSA namely issues of unemployment and low household income by focusing on improving and transforming these rural areas (Nepad.org, 2017). The Cotonou Declaration on Rural Futures is a document that was designed to be a guide to SSA countries seeking to establish development strategies within their rural areas. The declaration provides a framework and guideline to countries on how to transform and grow their rural areas. Such a project is essential for the region as most SSA countries have large underdeveloped rural communities and as previously iterated, agriculture is one of the largest sectors within the SSA region and thus needs to be focused upon as a great source for addressing issues of social development and economic growth in the region. Such a programme directly targets NEPAD’s goals on improving environmental security, poverty reduction and economic growth as the

improvement and transformation of agriculture can be beneficial for export trade of goods as well as crops for consumption. It should be noted however that environmental conversion factors such as climate change (e.g. drought, flooding) still pose a risk and insecurity to the agriculture sector and thus have a negative impact on the development of these rural communities. It is unclear whether security guarantees have been proposed for the agriculture sector that will provide a safety net for possible unforeseen climate changes and challenges.

The fourth project under the Human Capital Development area of work is the “Gender”. The Gender project developed the NEPAD Spanish Fund for African Women Empowerment programme. This programme is a collaboration between NEPAD and the Spanish government which is aimed at addressing matters of gender inequality through declarations as well as legal frameworks. The programme recognises that gender inequality has an impact on “health, education, access to land and modern technologies” (Nepad.org, 2017). The programme has committed to assisting in the provision of jobs for women, the creation of women-headed cooperatives and lastly providing Euro funds to facilitate the job and cooperative creation. The fund speaks to NEPAD’s key goals on woman empowerment, furthermore such an effort addresses the instrumental freedom of social opportunities in advocating for gender equality.

The creation of women-headed cooperatives and job creation under the NEPAD Spanish Fund for African Women Empowerment programme can be converted into the ability for SSA women to be financially independent and thus expands the freedom they have to improve their ability other areas of their lives such as better education and health care. This improved freedom has an impact on these women as well as their dependants. It is unclear however what kind of jobs have been created for these women and whether these jobs are able to provide these women with an adequate income to meet their daily needs. The creation of jobs is important and potentially expands the capability of an individual through income however the working conditions and wages of these jobs are essential as they could hinder this capability- it is this information on the jobs that is unclear. It should also be noted that the terms and agreements of the Euro grants are unclear. Although they are considered non-refundable in monetary terms it is unclear whether an alternative form of repayment may be expected through alternative means. The possible implications of this could be negative in creating greater dependency between SSA and European countries.

The last project under this area of work is the “Nursing” project which directly addresses NEPAD’s goal on improving health with a focus on reducing child and maternal mortality as

well as disease prevention (Nepad.org, 2017). NEPAD's programme on Nursing and Midwifery Education in Africa was developed to assist in improving the training of nurses and midwives in the region in order to better the health standards and practices in SSA clinics, hospitals and medical centres and thus reduce health related deaths, in particular those deaths related to women and children (Nepad.org, 2017). Such a programme further impacts NEPAD's goal of woman empowerment and education as women and children are directly affected by midwifery education. The improvement of maternal health converts into improvement of the life expectancy of women and children in the SSA region and this also has a direct impact on poverty reduction and economic growth in the region. It is uncertain how the health standards and practices in SSA clinics are to be improved, however along with the training of health professionals, the improvement of health facilities and equipment should be considered.

4.2.1.1 Summary

Out of all the projects under Human Capital Development, there are some projects that received more participation than others from SSA countries. The list below will provided insight into which projects and programmes were implemented the most by SSA countries and which were implemented the least are: Capacity Development – 42 SSA countries, Gender- 30 SSA countries, Rural Futures- 12 SSA countries, Nursing- 9 SSA countries and ATVET- 8 SSA countries. It is clear that the Capacity Development project and Gender project were implemented most by SSA countries, one can deduce therefore that there is a more decisive focus on women empowerment and capacity development under Human Capacity Development by SSA countries. Can it be said that those SSA countries who implemented those programmes focused on woman empowerment improved in the areas of capacity development and gender inequality as opposed to those countries that did not?- How does this affect overall human development in the region?

4.2.2 Industrialisation, Science, Technology and Innovation

The Industrialisation, Science, Technology and Innovation area of work is a conversion factor as it seeks to transform resources to enhance the capacities of science, technology, innovation and entrepreneurship in the SSA region as a means to improving the areas of health and environmental security (Nepad.org, 2017). The programmes developed within this area of work

are the African Biosafety Network of Expertise (ABNE), the African Institute for Mathematical Science (AIMS), the African Medicines Regulatory Harmonisation (AMRH), African Science and Technology Innovation Indicators (ASTII), the Alliance for Accelerating Excellence in Science and Africa (AESA), Biosciences eastern and central Africa Network (BecANET), Bio-Innovate, the NEPAD Waters Centres of Excellence and the Southern African Network of Biosciences (SANBio) (Nepad.org, 2017).

The above listed programmes have similar mandates and objectives in the SSA region as they all have a very clear focus on innovation in the sciences. The “African Biosafety Network of Expertise” (ABNE) is a programme which focuses on using biotechnology to foster agriculture development in SSA communities by providing training in biotechnology agriculture e.g. bio crops (Nepad.org, 2017). Similarly the “Biosciences eastern and central Africa Network” (BecANET) and “Bio-Innovate” are programmes dedicated to using science to improve agriculture development as a means to improving food and nutritional security in the SSA region. BecaNET focuses on biosciences and Bio-Innovate focuses on developing safer agriculture innovations e.g. bio-enhanced seeds, disease and drought resistant seeds. Another related programme is the “Southern African Network of Biosciences” (SANBio) whose focus is also on research, development and innovation in agriculture, health, nutrition and livestock. The “NEPAD Waters Centres of Excellence” further addresses NEPAD’s goal on addressing health issues as it seeks to improve the quality, quantity and conservation of water and sanitation through technology and innovation. The centres have partnered with tertiary institutions from the countries of South Africa, Malawi, Zambia, Botswana and Namibia to assist in propelling its water and sanitation related efforts. (Nepad.org, 2017). These aforementioned programmes directly address NEPAD’s goals of environmental protection, as well as the instrumental freedom of social opportunities & economic integration as agriculture focused programs have the potential convert into directly impacting health (nutrition) and the economy (export trade). In particular the BecaNet project addresses an important instrumental freedom which is security guarantees, through agriculture innovations such as disease and drought resistant seeds, there is a necessary safety net for countries that are prone to harsh weather that makes agriculture production difficult.

The remaining programme under the Industrialisation, Science, Technology and Innovation area of work are the African Institute for Mathematical Science (AIMS) centre and the African Medicines Regulatory Harmonisation (AMRH). The AIMS centre is focused on developing and awarding excellence in the subject area of mathematics to African students excelling in

this subject. The centre selects exceptional students and trains them in mathematics, computer techniques and technology (Nepad.org, 2017). Such a programme is excellent in developing the math, computer and technology skills of learners at a young age, these resources convert into the opportunity for the expansion of their capabilities to pursue further education prospects. This programme directly addresses NEPAD's goal on education, in empowering the youth through education. The previously discussed ATVET university programme could learn from the AIMS centre approach in early skills development. The AMRH strives to improve medicine practices in SSA by challenging legal frameworks and partnering with the AU Commission and the World Health Organisation (WHO) to address the pricing, safety and quality of medicine in the region (Nepad.org, 2017). Such a programme could prove helpful in assisting the aforementioned Nursing and Midwifery Education project in the region as health practitioners require a good source of medicine to perform their duties well and provide a good service to patients. These programmes further directly address NEPAD's goals on improving health.

4.2.2.1 Summary

It is clear based on the above discussion that the focus of the Industrialisation, Science, Technology and Innovation area of work was development through training and education. This approach to development empowers sub-Saharan Africans through knowledge thus equipping them with tools that give them the freedom and capabilities to be self-sustaining citizens. The projects that have been implemented the most and the least by countries under this area of work are (from most to least): AMRH- 40 SSA countries, ASTII- SSA 27 countries, ADNE- 13 SSA countries, BecaNET- SSA 12 countries, SanBion- 6 SSA countries, NEPAD Waters Excellence- SSA 4 countries, Bio-Innovate- SSA 3 countries and AESA- 1 SSA country. It is clear that the AMRH and ASTII project are the leading implemented programmes in the region, thus meaning that many SSA countries are concerned with improving medicine regulations and monitoring the development of science and technology in the SSA region- how does this affect overall human development in the region?

4.2.3 Regional Integration, Infrastructure (Energy, Water, ICT, Transport) and Trade

This area of work is a conversion factor as it is geared towards the improvement of regional infrastructure as well as ensuring that national and regional policies aimed at infrastructure, market development and trade are in harmony with each other (Nepad.org, 2017). The programmes implemented within this programme are the Continental Business Network (CBN), Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA), the Presidential Infrastructure Champion Initiative (PICI), the Africa Power Vision, the Sustainable Energy for All (SE4ALL), Infrastructure for Skills Development (IS4D) and the E- Africa Programme. (Nepad.org, 2017).

The above programmes are largely focused on creating a space for capital expansion in the SSA region and thus directly impacts NEPAD's objective of economic growth and perhaps the instrumental opportunity for economic facilities dependant of the capabilities of sub-Saharan Africans to spend, produce and exchange money.

The Continental Business Network (CBN) programme is focused on private sector investment in SSA through regional integration and inter-African trade. The programme illuminates the important role of African leaders of state to exercise the influence of their leadership roles in foreign policy. Similarly the Presidential Infrastructure Champion Initiative (PICI) emphasises the importance of African leadership in accelerating regional infrastructure development initiatives in the area of transport, energy, and ICT and trans boundary water (Nepad.org, 2017). It is essential for SSA countries to have leaders that are involved in the development agenda of the country as these leaders are involved in the delegation of funds and can assist in acquiring loans or grants for projects. Issues of corruption and the misuse of funds remain prevailing issues in the region, and are a real threat to programmes such as the CBN and PICI. Quasi-states, unconsolidated democracies and totalitarian leadership are still evident in certain SSA countries making political freedoms such as freedom of expression and voting rights as well as transparency guarantees such as government checks and balances disabled, weakened or non-existent. In these instances it is difficult for citizens to challenge poor leadership and elect more suitable candidates. It should further be noted that ordinary Africans are being excluded from the rhetoric both in the development framework and in practice. It is only practical that those which the initiative is intended to affect are included within the initiative business itself, how then are real unfreedoms of the people heard and understood if they are

not consulted? This ensures that efforts towards capability expansion remains slow and minimal.

Programmes such as the Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA) and the Infrastructure Skills for Development (IS4D) programme work alongside the PICI and CBN in targeting areas that are impeding inter-regional trade, economic exchange and cross border collaboration in SSA. PIDA focuses on improving infrastructure inefficiencies in the region with the assistance of the African Development Bank (AfDB), the United National Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and the aforementioned REC's. Inter-African trade and regional integration is essential to strengthening regional and sub-regional bodies in SSA as well as creating and retaining wealth in the region. These programmes have the ability to convert into the expansion of the capabilities of SSA countries to be more competitive on the global market and to address NEPAD's goals on economic growth and integration. It should be noted that in past years inter-African trade has proved less fruitful as compared to trade within other regions e.g. European Union. This was due to challenges in infrastructure e.g. roads, that hindered this progress. By addressing matters of infrastructure, there is a greater opportunity to improve trade amongst African countries and thus improving Regional Economic Communities (REC's). The IS4D programme focuses on investing in the public sector as well as project management skills in partnership with the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs (Nepad.org, 2017). According to IS4D investment in the public sector and improvement of project management skills will be achieved by improving the capacity of professionals in the public sector and implementing a peer review network in order to improve the design, packaging and delivery of cross border goods (Nepad.org, 2017), it will be interesting to see whether this has occurred.

The remaining programmes under the "Regional Integration, Infrastructure (Energy, Water, ICT, Transport) and Trade" area of work are the Africa Power Vision, Sustainable Energy for All (SE4ALL) and the E-Africa programme, these programmes support the above discussed PIDA, IS4D, PICI and CBN. The Africa Power Vision and SE4ALL programme are focused on improving access to reliable and effective energy for private residents and industries by improving challenges to regional infrastructure and market development. The E-Africa programme seeks to improve broadband access in Africa by investing in its ICT sector as a means to tapping into Africa's internet economy (Nepad.org, 2017). The improvement of energy and internet sources for households, businesses and industries should convert into the improvement of efforts towards better African economic integration and overall economic

growth in SSA. Such efforts by SE4ALL and E-Africa are pertinent to human development as energy has a direct impact on many important social opportunities such as education and health which are key for the overall well-being of people.

4.2.3.1 Summary

The number of SSA countries that participated in each project are as follows” PICI- 44 SSA countries, PIDA- 41 SSA countries, SE4ALL- 36 SSA countries, IS4D- 7 SSA countries, E-Africa Programme- 0 SSA countries and CBN- 0 SSA countries

Based on the list above, it is evident that PICI, PIDA and SE4ALL are the projects that most interested SSA countries in this area of work, and IS4D, E-Africa Programme and CBN are the projects that interested SSA countries the least. SSA countries have chosen to focus decisively on African leadership, economic infrastructures and energy within their countries, how does this affect overall human development in the region.

4.2.4 Natural resources, Governance and Food Security

The “Natural resources, Governance and Food Security” area of work is broad in its mandate in seeking to strengthen, improve and promote, food and nutrition security, agriculture, environmental governance and sustainable mining on a national, regional and continental level in Africa. This area of work has developed the following programmes, namely Agriculture and Food Insecurity Risk Management (AFIRM), Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), the Climate Change Fund, Fish Governance and Trade, Gender Climate Change Agriculture Support, Nutrition and TerrAfrica (Nepad.org, 2017). This area of work much like the Human Capital Development area of work is focused upon improving the agriculture development landscape in the SSA region as a means to improving issues of food security, nutrition, poverty and hunger. This area of work directly targets NEPAD’s goals on ensuring environmental protection and reducing poverty.

The “Agriculture and Food Insecurity Risk Management” (AFIRM) programme seeks to address and counteract development challenges related to agriculture productivity, investment and financial services that are affected by unpredictable markets and policies as well as natural hazards and markets. By counteracting these challenges the project aspires to improve food security and agriculture development in the SSA region (Nepad.org, 2017). This is a key instrumental freedom of security guarantees as the project provides a safety net of protection on agriculture and the economy- this directly protects the people within these countries and its sectors. It was previously noted that the “Rural Futures” and “ATVET” programs under the

Human Capital Development area of work were programmes that had not made provision for environmental conversion factors that could derail efforts at agriculture development. The AFIRM programme may hopefully assist in this regard.

“The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP)” is one of the most established NEPAD projects, it was implemented in the year 2003 as means to restoring agriculture development in the SSA region. The CAADP is supported by AFIRM as it focuses on improving agriculture practices and improving investment and technology in the region and thus improving nutrition and food security as well as creating greater economic growth through wealth creation. The main objective of the programme is for SSA countries to dedicate 10% of their national budgets to their agriculture sectors. The “Nutrition” programme is committed to nutrition as a means to addressing issues of poverty and hunger. The programme builds upon the AFIRM and CAADP by recognising that improvements in agriculture production and productivity does not automatically result in improved nutritional outcomes. The Nutrition project focuses more decisively upon developing programmes aimed at dietary diversity, food fortification and bio-fortification which involves “the addition of key vitamin and minerals (e.g. iron, folic acid, iodine, vitamin A, and zinc) to staple foods to improve their nutritional content and address a nutritional gap in a population... [And]...foods that have been engineered to have greater amounts of nutrients” (Project Health Children, 2017). A healthy society is a productive society, investing in this area of society will convert into a ripple effect into areas of economic growth, health and poverty reduction; all these are essential for expanding instrumental freedom of economic facilities and social opportunities.

The “Climate Change Fund” is a programme which was engineered to address the threats of climate change on development in SSA, in particular issues related to ecosystems and biodiversity which ultimately affects economic growth (Nepad.org, 2017). Climate change is a major issue that is a threat to the economic, environmental and social stability of states. Despite efforts that can be taken to counteract its negative effects, it is an unpredictable environmental conversion factor that is difficult to prevent but important to prepare for. Despite this however it is positive that the Climate Change Fund is dedicated to placing security guarantees to counteract any climate changes, security nets such as these protect communities and prevent extreme losses to life, infrastructure and state funds. The “Gender Climate Change Agriculture Support” programme takes the Climate Change Fund efforts a step further by focusing on improving the role of women in agriculture by integrating women smallholder farmers into the mainstream economy. In so doing, the programme empowers women

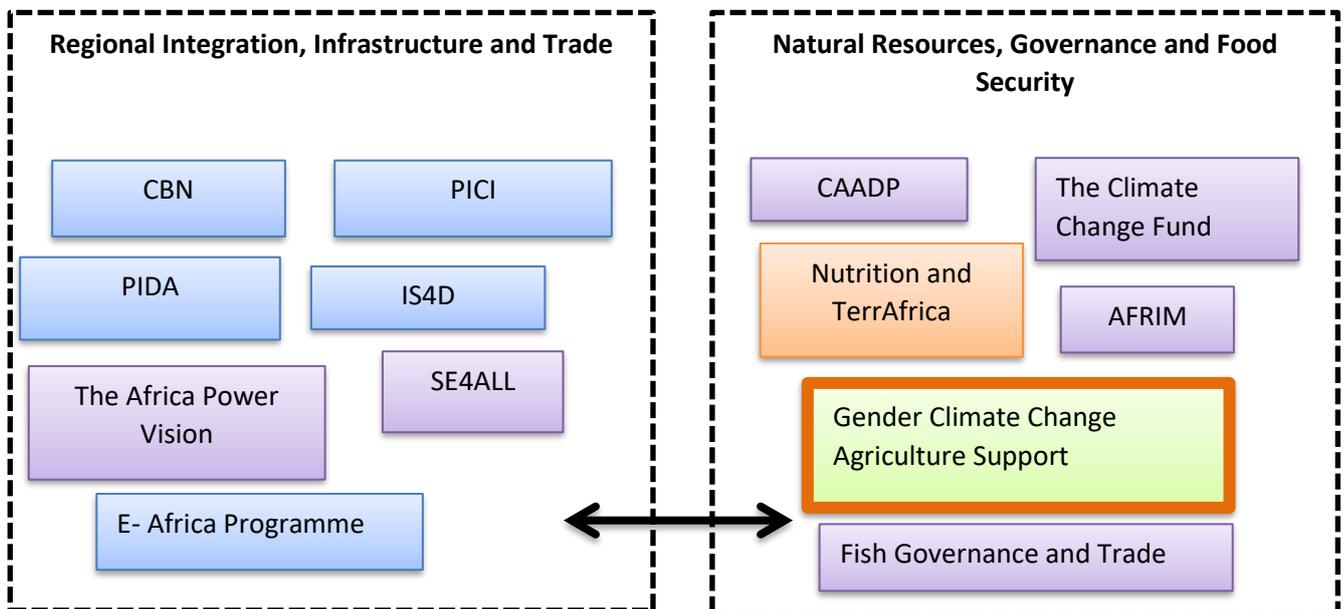
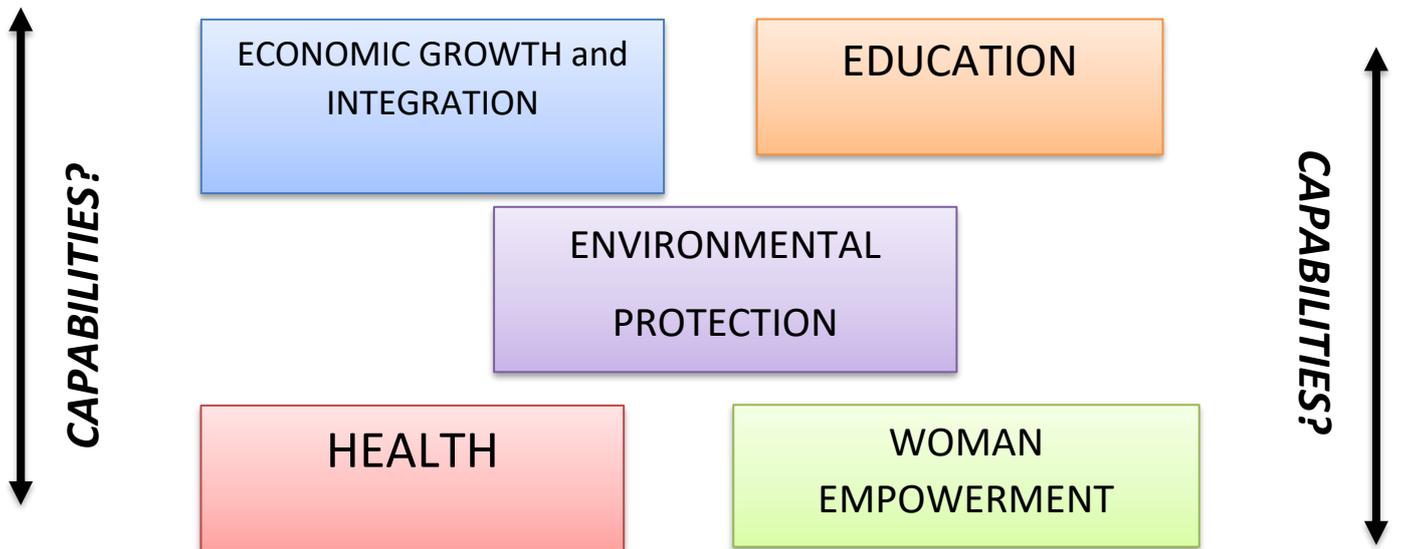
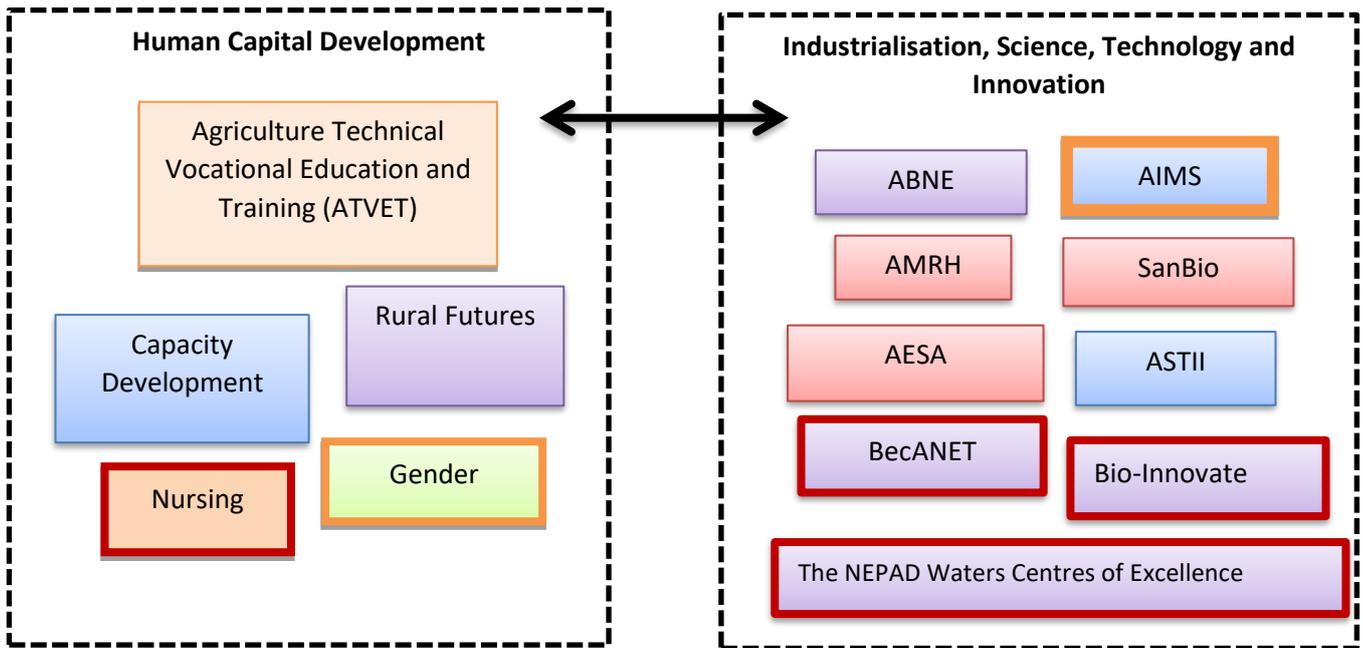
financially and gives them the opportunity to empower their dependants and themselves e.g. paying for education and health facilities. Furthermore, the fund grants women the capability to contribute to their state economies and thus further assist in economic growth. Lastly, the Fish, Governance and Trade programme supports coastal SSA nations from the degradation and exploitation of their coastal and marine assets. Alongside agriculture, fish is one of the leading exports in SSA and thus needs to be well preserved for future generations as a good source of capital for states. The Climate Change Fund and Fish, Governance and Trade efforts directly address NEPAD's goal on environmental security and economic growth.

4.2.4.1 Summary

The projects and programmes that were implemented the most and the least in this area of work are: CAADP- 38 SSA countries, Climate Change Fund- 24 SSA countries, Nutrition- 14 SSA countries, AFRIM- 5 SSA countries and Fish, Governance and Trade- 0 SSA countries. It is clear that CAADP and the Climate Change Fund are the most established projects by SSA countries, thus agriculture remains a pertinent focus of SSA leaders. It is interesting that although fishing is one of the largest sectors in SSA, there has been minimal efforts to establish any projects towards its conservation and safeguarding- how does this impact overall human development in the region?

4.3 Key projects and goals

It is evident based on the above discussion of NEPAD's programs that the organisation has implemented quite a number of projects in a bid to address some of the region's most pressing issues. It is also clear which programmes have been implemented the most and which have been implemented the least within each of NEPAD's four areas of work. The most implemented programmes are: Capacity Development, Gender, Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), Climate Change Fund, African Science and Technology Innovation Indicators (ASTII), Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA), Presidential Infrastructure Champion Initiative (PIDA) and Sustainable Energy for All (SE4ALL). These programmes are centred on improving agriculture, economic infrastructures, energy, health as well as science and technology. Now that it is clear which practical efforts have been made by NEPAD through its four areas of work and the programmes developed within them, the diagram below will give us a summary into which NEPAD goals were most focused upon within these programme



[Figure 7: Diagram showing how the NEPAD programmes address its key goals- data collected from Nepad.org, 2017- created by Author N. Ndawonde]

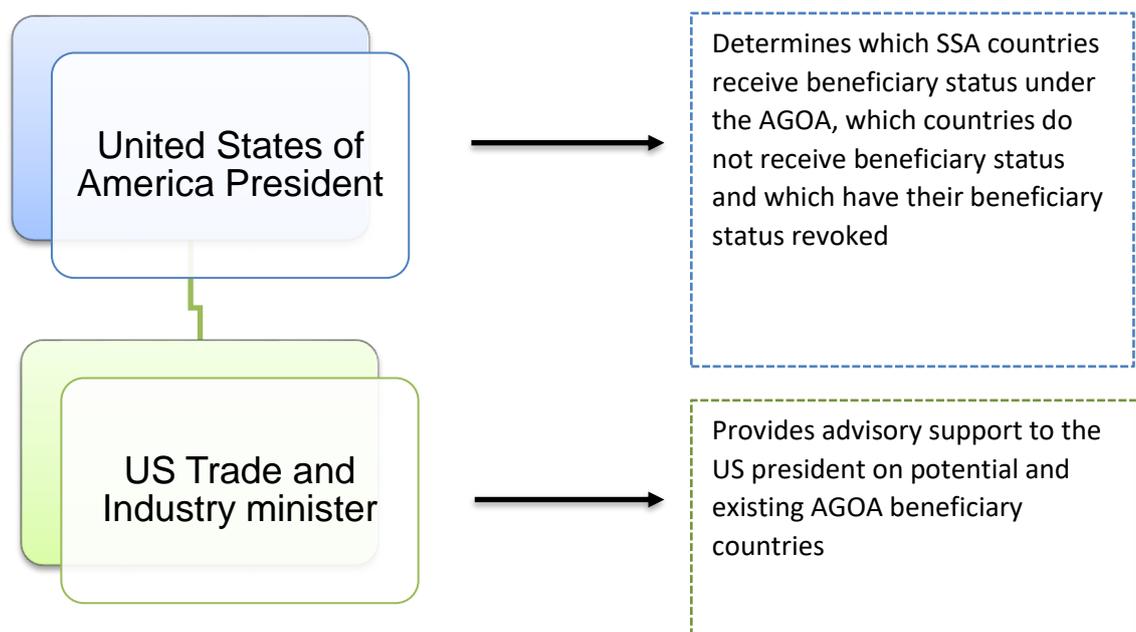
The colours of the key 5 NEPAD goals (economic growth and integration, education, environmental protection, health and women empowerment) match with the programmes that focus on the specific goal-. Some of the goals are overlapping as is highlighted with two different colours. Based on the Figure 2 it is clear that economic growth and environmental protection are the goals that are being focused upon the most, we know this because the colours blue and purple appear most prominently in the diagram. If one were to rank the above key 5 NEPAD goals from most important to least important based on the diagram above it would read as follows: economic growth; environmental security, health, poverty reduction and woman empowerment. This ranking is expected for the SSA region as economic growth is necessary for propelling the development of various sectors. Furthermore, the agriculture sector is one of the largest in the SSA region and directly affects many countries as most have rural underdeveloped communities that require a lot of assistance. It is however interesting that the goals of economic growth and environmental protection carry a heavier weight in importance in comparison to the goals of women empowerment, health and education. In Chapter 3 these goals were highlighted as being equally important and necessary for true sustainable development in SSA however in practice this is not the case. It will be interesting to assess how this difference in weighting has affected the efficacy of NEPAD in improving these goals on overall human development. Despite these criticisms it should be commended that there are some clear attempts that have been made by NEPAD to address their key goals and objectives.

Despite a wide array of projects and programmes that have been implemented by NEPAD in the above four areas of work there are some key areas that have not been adequately and sufficiently addressed, most specifically peace and security efforts as well as democracy and political governance efforts. These areas are essential for promoting the instrumental freedoms of transparency guarantees and political freedoms.

SECTION B: AGOA Practical Analysis

The purpose of AGOA legislation is to foster economic growth in SSA. In a bid to ensure this the AGOA policy has established trade relations in SSA since its inception. As highlighted in chapter 3, AGOA's key goals are economic growth in SSA through the **expansion of trade and investment, strengthening and expanding the private sector in SSA** and lastly **developing civil societies and political freedoms in SSA**. As discussed in Chapter 3 it is clear how AGOA marries US national interests in Africa and Africa's own interests for itself, what challenges and prospects emerge from that cocktail of divergent interests intersecting on a practical level?

As the AGOA is a piece of legislation, it has no formal headquarters like the NEPAD. There is a clear hierarchy of authority that can be summarised as follows:



[Figure 8: Diagram showing a summary of AGOA governance structures- data collected from Agoa.info, 2017: created by author N. Ndawonde]

In comparison to NEPAD's hierarchy, AGOA's hierarchy is extremely short. The US president is the supreme voice of AGOA, they dictate which countries can and cannot benefit from trade. Considering that the policy seeks to benefit both the USA and SSA countries, it is uncertain why there are no SSA representatives in the leadership of this policy? How could this possibly effect the transparency of this policy and the ability for AGOA beneficiary countries to

communicate with the US on concerns and suggestions? Perhaps there are bodies that have been put in place to facilitate this communication? It should be noted that AGOA is a US government foreign policy instrument. Thus it should be understood that the interests of the US will be prioritised. The US does engage its trade partners although negotiations are lopsided.

AGOA has put in place three key practical areas of work to address their key goals, these are: “Trade Lines, “Investment lines”, “Policy amendments” and “Trade Capacity Building Programmes”.

In the assessment of the practical efforts of AGOA the study will discuss in greater detail the key projects and the key supporting bodies developed within AGOA for SSA. The discussion of the above listed 4 practical areas of work will highlight how AGOA has attempted to address its key goals in practice. Furthermore, discussion will illuminate on whether the 5 instrumental freedoms (political freedoms; economic facilities; social opportunities; transparency guarantees and protective security) have been articulated and whether there has been opportunity for the expansion of the freedoms and capabilities of sub-Saharan Africans and overall human development in the region.

4.4 AGOA’s 3 areas of work

4.4.1 Trade Sectors, Trade lines and Investment lines

4.4.1.1 Trade Sectors

The first area of work that AGOA is focused upon developing is expanding the sectors of trade that goods are exported and imported between SSA and the USA. This is expected as the expansion of trade lines between the USA and SSA countries is a principle objective of this trade act. AGOA has provided 6, 500 tariff lines for duty-free or quota-free trade for SSA beneficiary countries under the act. The leading exporting good from SSA countries to the USA under AGOA is crude oil. Petroleum accounted for 80 percent of US imports from AGOA during 2001-2013 (US Government Accountability Office, 2014:1) The key non-oil sectors for trade are agriculture; forestry; chemicals and related; textiles and apparel; footwear; minerals

and metals; machinery; transportation equipment; electronic products and miscellaneous manufacturers (AGOA.org, 2016).

This expansion and growth in sectors can be great towards improving the AGOA goals on fostering economic growth and integration as well as strengthening and expanding the private sector in SSA. More trade should create capital influx as well as create an environment of competition as well as demand and supply which should allow for the development of more businesses.

4.4.1.2 Foreign Direct Investment

The foreign direct investment (FDI) flowing into the SSA market under AGOA has been contingent upon “dependable and open regulatory regimes, adequate infrastructure, productive human capital, and political and economic stability” in the SSA region (United States Trade Representative, 2005:20). The countries that have engaged in bilateral investment treaties (BIT’s) are Cameroon, Congo, DRC and Rwanda. The BIT program was initiated by the USA government with the purpose to:

“protect investment abroad in countries where investor rights are not already protected through existing agreements (such as modern treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation, or free trade agreements); to encourage the adoption of market-oriented domestic policies that treat private investment in an open, transparent, and non-discriminatory way; and to support the development of international law standards consistent with these objectives”.

(Ustr.gov, 2017)

These objectives are aligned to AGOA’s objectives as there is a focus on macroeconomics as a means to development and thus this should make an impact on economic growth and integration.

Alongside the BIT’s are Trade and Investment Framework Agreements (TIFA’s). The TIFA’s are aimed at creating a platform which will “provide strategic frameworks and principles for dialogue on trade and investment issues” (Agoa.org, 2017). The USA has engaged in TIFA’s with the countries of Angola, Ghana, Mauritius, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa and Mozambique. The TIFA’s are brief documents that outline the agreement between the USA and said SSA country concerning the development of trade and investment relations between each other. The agreements are fairly similar apart from the few differences, most agreements outline a desire to expand and diversify trade as well as promoting an attractive investment environment. In conjunction to this most agreements agree on the establishment of a ‘United

States- SSA Council' (e.g. United States-Ghana) with representatives from both sides, aimed at having consultations on trade and investment relations between parties.

In addition, the US has developed further developed Trade and Investment Framework Agreements (TIFA's) with 3 sub-regional blocs in SSA, namely the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Eastern African Community (EAC) and West African Economic Monetary Union (WAEMU). These TIFA's have been established with the intention of creating greater trade and development opportunities in these sub-regions. All three sub-regions have very similar, if not identical, TIFA's. The development framework of these agreements highlight the importance for greater cooperation between the USA and beneficiary SSA countries with the objective being to; encourage greater trade and investment and create a conducive environment to ensure "long-term investment development and diversification of trade" . Furthermore the agreements highlight the importance of growing a market economy, private sector, private investment and FDI as a means to job creation and technology improvement. Lastly the agreements emphasise the need to eliminate non-tariff barriers and protect the intellectual property of good and services whilst ensuring the promotion of environmental protection policies (COMESA-US 2001, EAC-US 2008, WAEMU-US n.d).

Much like AGOA's text, the TIFA's have framed their goals and objectives by focusing on trade and investment as the primary means in achieving the most essential end of economic growth and capital formation. Furthermore, there is opportunity for the improvement of AGOA's goal on expanding the private sector of SSA as these TIFA's should strengthen markets of these countries. This is to be expected from an agreement focused on trade and investment however there is no mention of the possible challenges to achieving these objectives, which are most likely obstructions to human development and freedoms. Although the agreements do make mention that they recognize "the need for a stable and transparent environment for international trade and investment" (COMESA-US 2001, EAC-US 2008, WAEMU-US n.d), they have however not made specific mention to what issues impede the creation of a stable and transparent environment for trade and investment and by virtue human development e.g. civil war, disease, corruption and mismanagement of funds. An important social conversion factor that has not been considered are the sub-regional trade policies of the EAC, COMESA and WAEMU. All three sub-regions are economic community's with their own established economic and trade agreements aimed and economic integration. It must be questioned as to whether there could be any possible clashes between the trade agreements

created by SSA sub-regional bodies and the TIFA's created under the AGOA, what are the possible implications for this?

4.4.1.3 Trade lines

According to AGOA, there has been a significant increase in trade relations between the USA and SSA countries since its inception in the year 2001, however in recent years this growth has steadily decreased. The USA has engaged in bilateral trade as well as trade and Investment Agreements (TIFA's) in SSA on a country and sub-regional level.

On a country level, the USA has engaged in bilateral trade with a wide array of SSA countries. There are a total of 38 AGOA beneficiary countries: Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sao Tome, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Tanzania, Togo and Uganda. The countries of Burundi, DRC, Gambia, Seychelles, South Sudan and Swaziland have since lost their beneficiary status. From the aforementioned list of SSA countries, it has been identified that the dominant actors in the trade lines are Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya and Congo. This is expected as aforementioned, petroleum, transport and machinery equipment are the largest exported goods in SSA with Nigeria and South Africa being the largest contributors.

Based on this, one should consider whether AGOA is truly beneficial to the SSA region, or rather just a few select number of SSA countries. This lack of diversity may be due in part to the particular kind of resources that certain SSA countries have to offer and the demand for them from the US market, the quality of these resources and the size of the industry and market which they originate from. One needs to consider then how does this lack of diversity impede AGOA's policy objectives for the region, in particular those objectives that address matters of economic growth through trade and investment. Such objectives require the concerted effort of the region as a whole but as seen there are only a few dominant players.

4.4.1.4 Summary

The expansion of sectors, trade lines and investment lines has the potential of improving the instrumental freedom of economic facilities as it will allow for greater spending, producing and exchanging of goods in the markets. What hasn't been considered however are protective securities that will provide safety nets to protect businesses from changes in the market as well

as protect certain sectors from oversaturation as a result of imports? AGOA policy does create security guarantees but these apply to the USA markets and not SSA markets. As mentioned in chapter 3, AGOA has put in place importing mechanisms that protect the USA market from the excessive import of SSA goods in the US market which could prove harmful to certain US sectors and markets. There are however no such provisions made to protect SSA markets and sectors, US exports into SSA market are unlimited thus SSA markets remain unprotected to over-importation which can prove detrimental for SSA sectors.

Of all 5 instrumental freedoms, this aspect of AGOA's practical efforts has only created the opportunity for the improvement of economic facilities. There has been no mention of the improvement of political freedoms (civil liberties) although it is a key AGOA goal, as well as no mention of social opportunities, transparency guarantees or very crucial protective securities. As the AGOA policy requires beneficiary SSA countries to liberalize their markets, there should be practical efforts in the form of legislation and policies that will protect SSA country markets from possible risks that are related to market liberalization. The trade and investment lines provide the potential for income influx however it is cannot be measured who is truly benefitting from this capital and whether sub-Saharan Africans are truly impacted by this income. Although GDP measures may improve and thus indicate "economic growth", it is not clear who this economic growth impacts and how they are impacted? How is trade capital utilised?

4.4.2 Trade Capacity Building Programmes

A number of trade capacity building ³ (TCB) programmes have been established by the USA in SSA to encourage the growth in trade and development in SSA. These have been spear headed by the following US agencies.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) established trade hubs in Accra, Ghana; Pretoria, South Africa and Nairobi, Kenya each aimed at specific areas created to strengthen inter-African trade amongst SSA countries. The US Department of Commercial

³ According to the United States Trade Representative (2016) trade and capacity building (TCB) is "any program or initiative that increases the amount of goods that a country can trade, improves the quality of these goods, or increases market access for the people in that country. Most TCB programs focus on building human capital and infrastructure. For example such projects can include the construction of roads and bridges, eliminating food insecurity through agricultural investment and improving the business climate through training programs that help eliminate bureaucratic red tape" (64)

Law has developed the Department of Commerce's Commercial Law Development Program (CLDP) to assist SSA countries with their legal frameworks on business trade. The CLDP targets government offices, local businesses, research institutions and NGO's and has since developed a practical handbook to provide knowledge on this area of work, in particular on purchasing power. These efforts by USAID and CLDP should prove helpful to improving AGOA's goals on expanding trade and investment lines and in turn the SSA private sector. The US Department of Agriculture (USDA) also developed the USDA Foreign Agriculture Service (FAS) aimed at providing training, technical assistance and research programs in the agriculture sector. Lastly the US Department of Labour (DOL) has committed itself to assisting in matters relating to labour in SSA, in particular "strengthening industrial relations, promoting workforce development, strengthening social safety nets, improving workplace safety and health, assisting dislocated workers, and combating exploitive child labour in various sectors" (United States Trade Representative 2016: 72). The US DOL should prove to be an important institution that will assist in addressing the AGOA goal on strengthening the SSA private sector

4.4.3 Policy Amendments

The AGOA act has made three main technical amendments as well as extensions to its apparel provisions. These are: " AGOA V: Extension of third country fabric preferences to 2015", "AGOA IV- as Title VI of the Tax Relief and Health Care Act of 2006)" and "AGOA III – AGOA Acceleration Act of 2004".

The AGOA V: Extension of third country fabric preferences to 2015 is a fabric preference was due to expire in September 2012 but has however been extended for a further 3 years to the year 2018. This extension provides provision to lesser-developed AGOA beneficiary countries allowing them to have "duty-free access for their apparel goods that are manufactured domestically with yarn and fabric imported from abroad" (Agoa.org, 2017). A further contribution to this preference was the AGOA IV: as Title of the Tax Relief and Health Care Act of 2006, which provides a 3 year extension to apparel articles preference that was due to expire in the year 2012 The amendment provides lesser-developed AGOA countries with: "

duty-free treatment to imported apparel articles wholly assembled or knit-to-shape and wholly assembled, or both, in one or more lesser developed beneficiary sub-Saharan African countries (regardless of the country of origin of the fabric or the yarn used to make such articles) in an amount not to exceed a certain percentage of all apparel articles imported into the United States in the preceding 12 month period" (Agoa.org, 2017)

The last amendment is the “AGOA III- AGOA Acceleration Act of 2004” which provides additional preference to lesser developed SSA countries the “use of third country fabrics, i.e. fabrics produced in countries not falling under AGOA” (Agoa.org, 2017). This amendment provides a safety net to these lesser developed countries who may be disadvantaged from trading due to shortages and challenges related to sourcing fabrics.

These amendments improve the potential for these lesser-developed SSA countries to benefit from AGOA trade line provisions thus continuing the influx of capital- this directly addresses the AGOA goals on economic growth. Furthermore such an amendment potentially addresses AGOA’s goal on improving the private sectors of SSA countries as an extension of these fabric preferences continues the demand and supply of apparel and thus strengthening markets. Furthermore, these amendments provide additional support to lesser developed SSA countries who require additional support in order to participate in AGOA trade benefits, thus preventing them being excluded

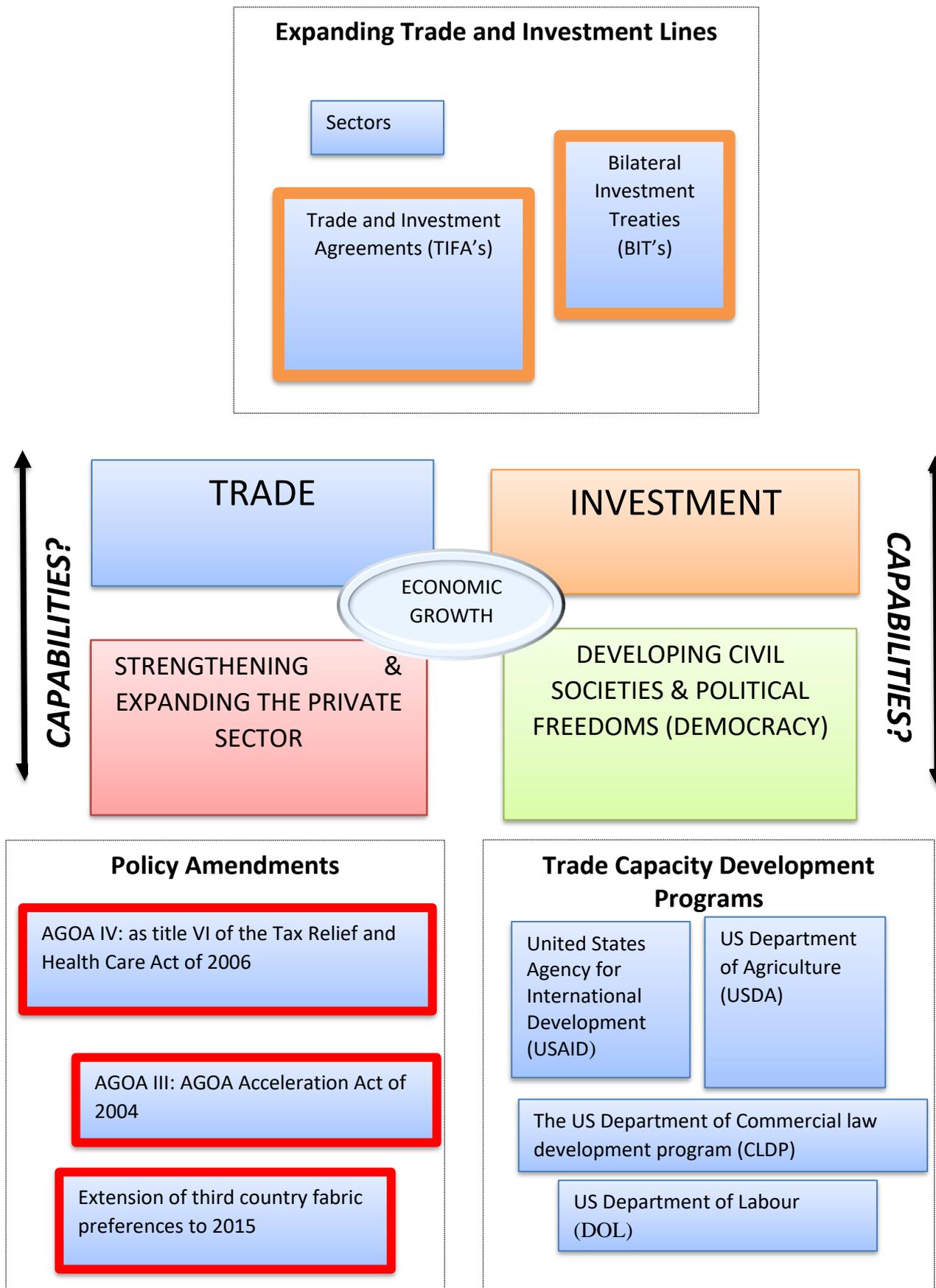
4.4.4 Summary

It is clear how the aforementioned key implemented efforts (trade and investment lines, policy amendments and trade capacity building programmes) correlate with the aforementioned AGOA goals. As discussed in the preceding chapter the key goals and objectives of AGOA ‘s development framework are to principally create economic growth in SSA through the creation of opportunities for SSA business to penetrate the US market through trade and investment by granting preferential and duty free treatment on apparel and textile goods imported into the US market. Furthermore AGOA’s development framework outlined its desire to assist in addressing the issues of debt relief and assisting policies aimed at poverty alleviation, education, health and environmental protection, amongst many others as these issues will be contributing factors to the success of AGOA (US Trade and Development Act 2000, 114 STAT. 254). One can see how the key goals and objectives of the policy document have been considered in the implementation of some of the key initiatives in practice. The trade lines (bilateral and regional) and investment opportunities under AGOA were able to target the objectives for expanding trade and investment in SSA as a means to facilitating economic growth and development in the SSA region. Furthermore trade capacity building institutions namely, USAID and CLDP provide assistance in trade and investment efforts through trade hubs and legal frameworks on business trade. Trade and investment efforts should have

Despite this however the key AGOA goals are weak in their human development approach as they address only two key instrumental freedoms which are economic facilities and political freedoms. Although the Trade and Capacity Building programmes do touch upon social opportunities, the expansion of this freedom is not the key focus of the policy.

4.5 Key projects and goals

It is evident based on the above discussion of AGOA's programs that efforts have been made in a bid to address the key goals of the act in sub-Saharan Africa through the expansion of trade sectors and trade lines, policy amendments and developing programmes. These practical efforts were implemented to address AGOA's goals which are trade, investment, strengthening and expanding the private sector in SSA and lastly developing civil societies and political freedoms in SSA. Now that it is clear which practical efforts have been made by AGOA, the diagram below will give us a summary into which AGOA's goals were most focused upon within these programmes.



[Figure 10: Diagram showing how AGOA's goals address its key goals, data collected from Agoa.org, 2017- created by author N. Ndawonde]

The colours of the key 4 AGOA goals (expanding trade, expanding investment, strengthening and expanding private sector and lastly developing civil societies and political freedoms in SSA) match with the programmes that focus on the specific goal- some of the goals are overlapping as is highlighted with two different colours. Based on the Figure 5 it is clear that trade is the goals that is being focused upon the most, we know this because the colour blue appears most prominently in the diagram. If one were to rank the above key 4 AGOA goals from most important to least important based on the diagram above it would read as follows: trade, investment, strengthening and expanding the private sector and lastly developing civil societies and political freedoms (democracy). This is expected as AGOA is a trade policy and it is created for the purpose of targeting the area of trade in SSA. However, it was articulated in Chapter 3 that developing civil societies and political freedoms (democracy) is an essential eligibility requirement for SSA beneficiary countries under the AGOA, thus it is uncertain why there are minimal practical effort towards supporting this goals. One could say that the civil society and political freedoms (democracy) of SSA has been directly improves as this is an essential eligibility requirement for SSA countries to receive AGOA membership. Despite this however there are no direct efforts that have been implemented to target this specific AGOA goal.

4.6 Conclusion

NEPAD and AGOA made tangible efforts to implement practical efforts that will assist in improving their key goals. NEPAD's practical approach has been broad and widespread, a number of projects have been proposed and implemented. This is an essential attribute in the capabilities approach as it is recognised that all individuals have different needs, thus the greater the scope the higher the chances for greater impact. This evident with NEPAD's programmes, the scope of issues has a vast range. There was a clear correlation between NEPAD's goals and its practical efforts, these goals were considered when the programmes were proposed. All NEPAD's goals were addressed in a practical way, although some were more dominant than others, most specifically economic growth and environmental protection. This key focus on implemented programmes that are focused on environmental protection is expected as agriculture is a large sector in the SSA region. It was also evident that NEPAD's practical efforts created a number of un-freedoms to be addressed e.g. health and further created the opportunity for capability expansion. Most of the implemented programmes address the 5 instrumental freedoms that are essential for expanding one's freedoms; thus that should be some positive results from these programmes.

AGOA's practical approach has been quite limited and linear in its approach, the key were a few key have have been proposed and implemented. There is clear correlation between AGOA's goals as discussed in chapter 3 and its practical effort, despite this there were however goals that were neglected on a practical level. As a trade act it was expected that trade efforts would be most dominant on a practical level, despite this however AGOA's goals articulated other goals that should be addressed which were not evident in the implemented efforts. It was evident that trade and investment were the most dominant on a practical level, all policy amendments and trade capacity programs were implemented to support trade and investment. It appeared that were no practical efforts put in place to address AGOA's goals on developing civil societies and the political freedoms of sub-Saharan Africans. The only instrumental freedom that was addressed is that of economic facilities, AGOA was able to create the opportunity for SSA beneficiary countries to increase their trade, generate a greater income and strengthen their private sector thus creating the opportunity for the expansion of their capabilities in this area. Despite this however the instrumental freedoms of social opportunities, protective security, transparency guarantees and political freedoms were not evident.

One could argue that NEPAD has been effective in articulating a human approach in a practical manner thus creating the opportunity for capability expansion. AGOA however has been unable to effectively address all of its goals in a practical manner. Although it was evident within its policy document that issues of health, education, unemployment and corruption as key matters to be addressed and impediments to trade and investment, this has not been evident on a practical level. This calls us back to question whether AGOA is merely a strategy to expand USA markets as opposed to really creating "growth" and "opportunity" for Africans as it names says? Can it be said that NEPAD has been more effective as it is an African led initiative and thus its leaders are more aware of the needs of this regions as opposed to AGOA, a foreign led policy with perhaps a limited focus on the true needs of the SSA region. Based on the discussion one can expect that NEPAD should make an impact on poverty reduction in SSA through improvements in the areas of economic growth, health, education, women empowerment and environmental protection. Furthermore that through AGOA, economic growth will be generated in the SSA and thus expand the instrumental freedoms of economic facilities of SSA beneficiary countries.

Has this been the case?

CHAPTER 5

The efficacy of NEPAD and AGOA in SSA

“Human development, as an approach, is concerned with advancing what I take to be the basic development idea; namely, advancing the richness of human life, rather than the richness of the economy in which human beings live, which is only a part of it”

- Amartya Sen (1999)

5.1 Introduction

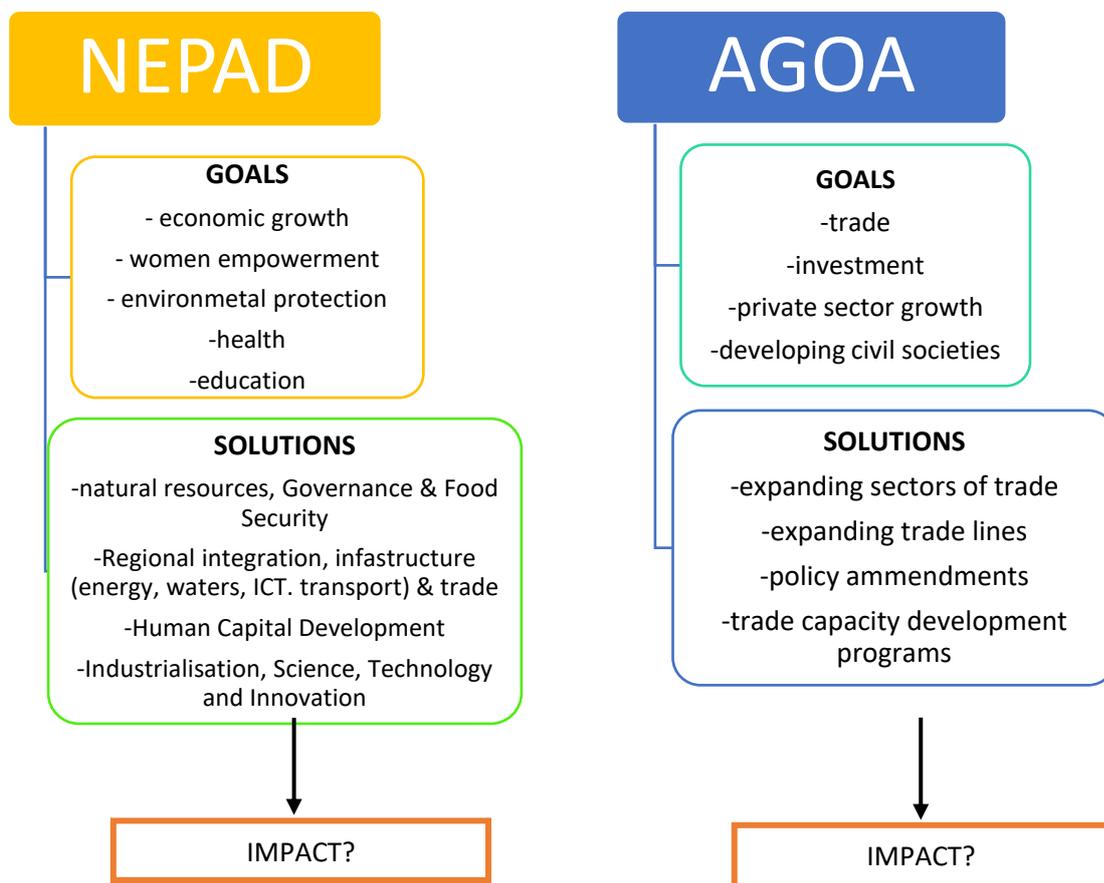
NEPAD and AGOA have articulated in both their development frameworks and implemented initiatives their desire to see growth in SSA despite their alternate strategies in achieving this objective. Based on the theoretical frameworks employed in this study it is understood that the true growth and progress of a society is to be measured by the development of the citizens who live in it, their quality of life and the freedom and capabilities they possess. The preceding chapters have highlighted the potential impact of the texts and practical efforts of NEPAD and AGOA in SSA, this chapter however will be dedicated to assessing the true efficacy of NEPAD and AGOA in SSA, most importantly on human development in SSA.

The chapter will assess the efficacy of NEPAD and AGOA in addressing their main goals and practical efforts, it will be interesting to assess whether any form of impact and improvement has been created from these efforts and whether the opportunity for further human development in the SSA region has been created. The chapter will measure this impact and improvement in NEPAD and AGOA's goals and practical efforts by making use of a baseline technique to ascertain whether there has been change in SSA post NEPAD and AGOA intervention.

This discussion will provide insight on what impact NEPAD and AGOA have made on the lives of sub-Saharan Africans, most specifically the opportunity for the expansion of the 5 instrumental freedoms of economic facilities, political freedoms, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security. It will be interesting to observe whether these initiatives have created the opportunity for sub-Saharan Africans to have greater freedom, capability and the agency to make them more responsible for their own prosperity and better able to lead the lives they have reason to value.

SECTION A: The efficacy of NEPAD in achieving its principle goals

NEPAD and AGOA initiatives, established in 2000/2001 have both outlined their desire to foster growth and sustainable development in SSA. As discussed in chapter 3, NEPAD highlighted its key goals as poverty reduction in SSA through economic growth and integration, environmental protection, health and education. AGOA highlighted its key goals as economic growth through trade, investment, private sector growth and developing civil societies and political freedoms (democracy) in SSA. Each initiative has goals that it focuses upon more decisively than others. In chapter 4 we discussed the number of efforts that had been made by NEPAD and AGOA in a bid to improve and grow these areas of development in SSA. These efforts can be summarized using the diagram below:



[Figure 10: Diagram showing a summary of NEPAD and AGOA's efforts- created by author N. Ndawonde]

The discussion in chapter 3 and 4 was able to give us good insight into the goals of each initiative and the solutions that have been put in place to achieving these goals. Have these initiatives been successful in making an impact and improvement in SSA.

5.2 Efficacy of NEPAD's goals in SSA

According to NEPAD, the initiative has been highly progressive in SSA and has made great strides in improving some of the regions key issues, in particular poverty.

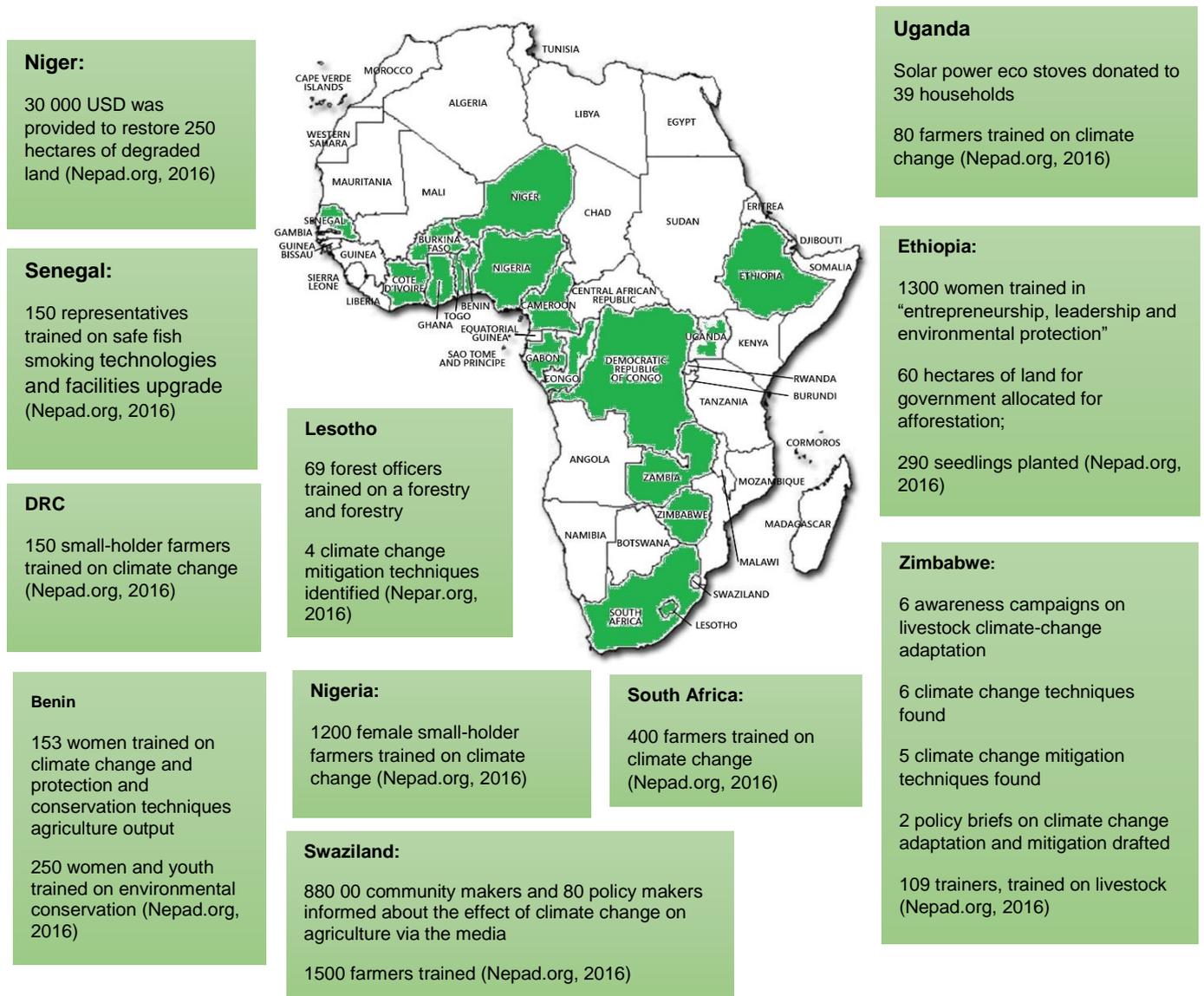
The NEPAD Agency invested in four key areas of work to improve their goals in SSA, these areas of work are: “Natural Resources, Governance and Food Security”; “Human Capital Development”; “Industrialization, Science, Technology and Innovation” and “Regional Integration, Infrastructure (energy, water, ICT, transport) and Trade”. It will be interesting to access what real impact these four areas of work have made in the SSA region and their impact on the lives of sub-Saharan Africans.

5.2.1 Natural Resources, Governance and Food Security

Within the Natural Resources, Governance and Food Security area of work, there are 6 projects that have been developed as discussed in chapter 4. These projects are the Agriculture and Food Insecurity Risk Management (AFIRM), Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), the Climate Change Fund, Fish Governance and Trade, Gender Climate Change Agriculture Support, Nutrition and TerrAfrica (Nepad.org, 2017). Of these 6 developed projects it was highlighted that the Climate Change Fund and CAADP were most implemented by SSA countries, thus making agriculture the key focus.

According to research, climate change poses a major risk to agriculture in SSA and is predicted to worsen in future years. According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) “[b]y 2020, in some countries, yields from rain-fed agriculture could be reduced by up to 50%. Agriculture production, including access to food, in many African countries is projected to be severely compromised. This would further adversely affect food security and exacerbate malnutrition” (Müller et al, 2011: 4314). The agriculture sector can have a direct impact on overall economic development most specifically: “(i) food for domestic consumption, (ii) a source of migrant labour for industrial employment, (iii) a market for industrial output, (iv) a source of domestic savings, and (v) a source of foreign exchange” (Rezek et al, 2011:358). According to Jama and Pizarro (2008) poverty, food aid dependency and food insecurity in the SSA region can be related to the stagnancy in agricultural productivity in the African region over the last 40 years (218), despite these predictions and statements on stagnancy, there has however been

a degree of impact. When analyzing the results of this area of work more specifically, these were the main outcomes for some countries in SSA:

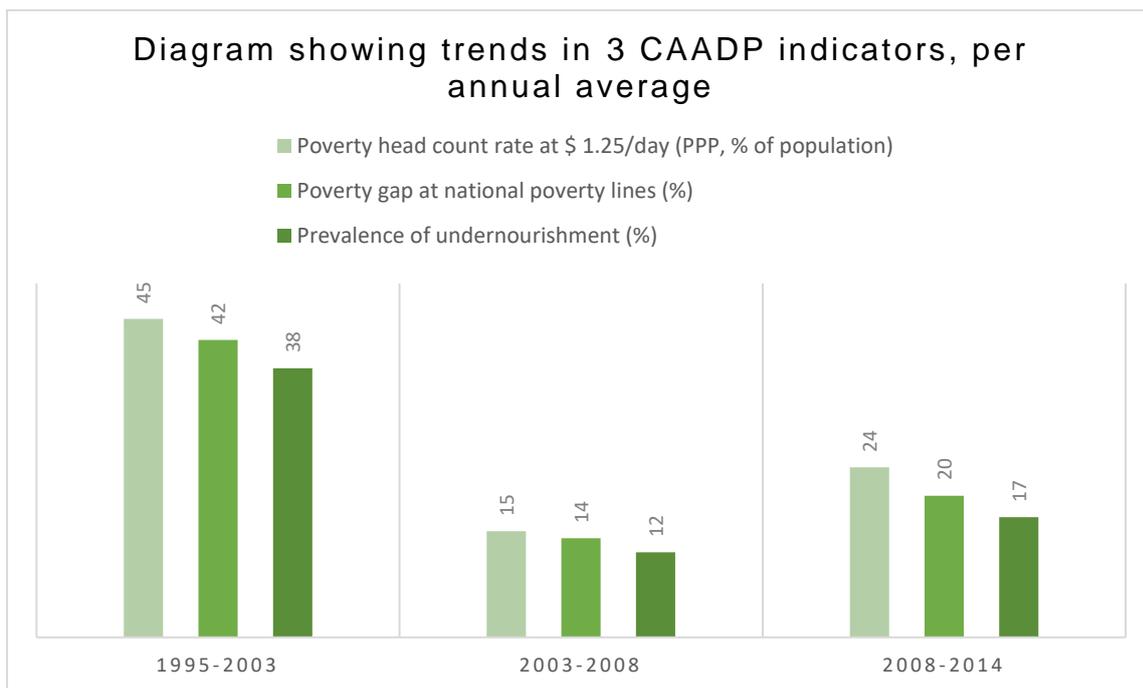


[Figure 11: Diagram showing the impact of NEPAD on SSA countries in the Natural Resources, Governance and Food Security area of work- data collected from Nepad.org, 2016- created by author N. Ndawonde

Based on Figure it can be said that there has been widespread intervention in the area of natural resources, governance and food security in the SSA region. This area of intervention seeks to counteract threats to the environment as well as improving hunger and food security, thus addressing NEPAD’s goals of environmental protection and poverty reduction.

The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) is the most established project in the NEPAD Agency and an essential project under the Natural Resources, Governance and Food Security area of work. To date 45 countries are signed to the CAADP.

Of these 45 countries; 28 countries have CAADP investment plans; 13 countries have allocated 5-10% of their national budget to agriculture and 12 countries have allocated more than the proposed 10% of national budget on agriculture (Nepad.org, 2016). Furthermore, agriculture education and training knowledge hubs were developed in 10 SSA countries, namely Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon, Kenya, Malawi, Niger, Togo, South Africa and Zambia. It is reported that as a result of CAADP technical support a total of 1800 “agripreneurs” have been trained, 600 of which are female (Nepad.org, 2016). Below are some selected annual trends in CAADP indicators:



[Figure 12: Diagram showing trends in 3 CAADP indicators per annual average, data sourced from Africa Agriculture Status Report 2015- created by N Ndawonde]

Based on the above diagram, there has been steady reduction in poverty lines due to CAADP intervention, albeit slow.

Despite being highlighted as one of the least implemented projects in chapter 4, the Fishing, Governance and Trade project has made an impact in the SSA region. Through the Fishing, Governance and Trade project, 9.6 million tonnes of fish were reported in the year 2013, with a total value of US \$19.7 billion. A total of 6.1 million jobs were created, a sum total of 59% of these jobs were granted to women (Nepad.org, 2016). As seen in Figure, the Climate Change Fund programme has made an impact in the region, for example in Zimbabwe climate change mitigation techniques were found, in Benin 153 women were trained on climate change and in Nigeria 1200 female small-holder farmers were trained on climate change. The efforts of these

projects has been broad across the SSA region and creates the opportunity to make an impact on poverty reduction, women empowerment, economic growth and environmental protection. However has there been true improvement?

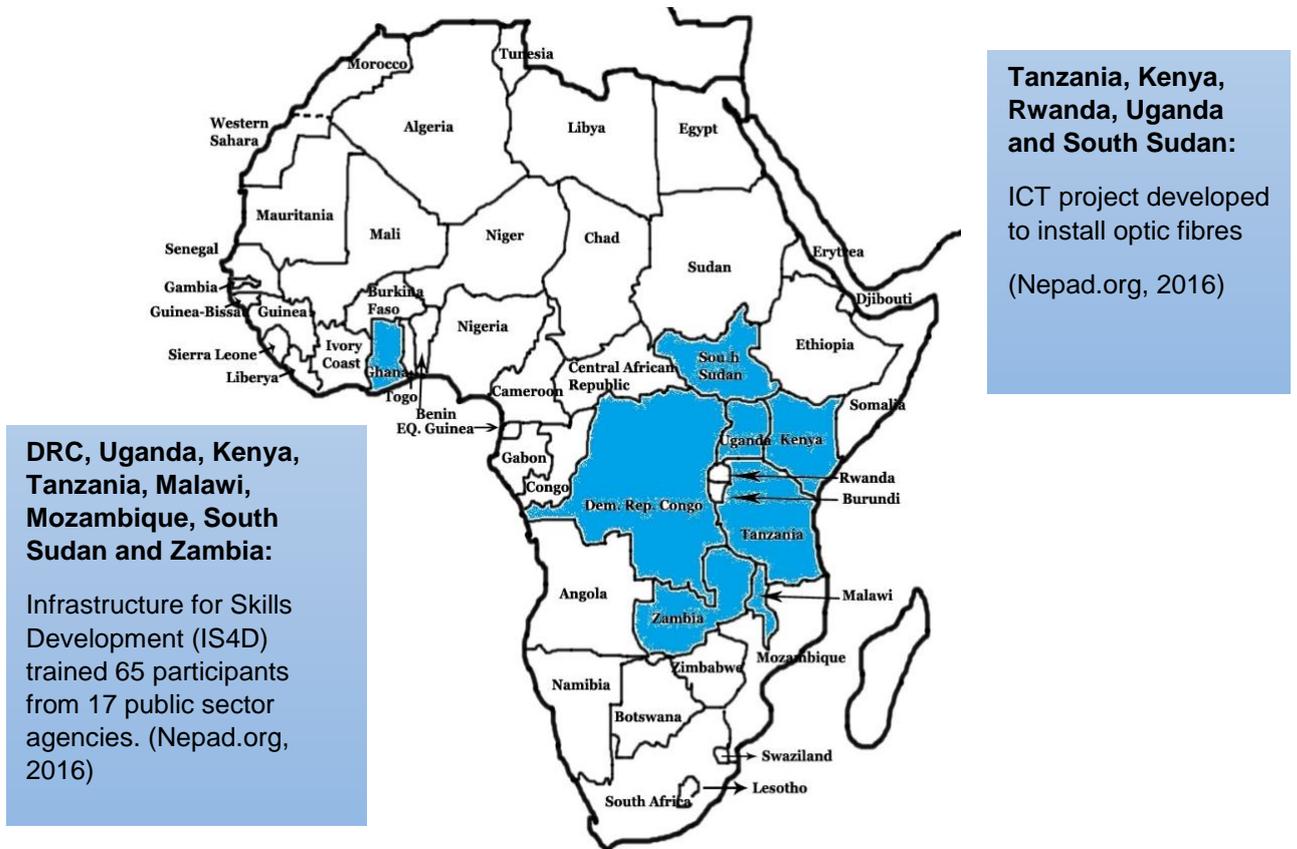
One could argue that there has been an improvement as African agriculture production has increased by 160% over the past 30 years (Nepad, 2013). In the year 1980 a total of \$78 billion was contributed by African countries for food production; by the year 2010 this production increased to \$196 billion (Nepad, 2013:20). Total African food crop production was measured at 211 million tons in the year 1980, by the year 2010 it was measured at 562 million tons (Nepad, 2013:22). Despite improvements in the area of agriculture, food production and crop production, the issue of poverty and hunger do however remain a prevailing un-freedom in Africa. The total number of undernourished people in Africa was measured at 180 million in the year 1990; in the year 2010 this has increased to 230 million people (Nepad, 2013:32). This un-freedom has a direct impact on instrumental freedoms, most specifically social opportunities such as health and education as well as economic facilities.

5.2.2 Regional Integration, Infrastructure and Trade

Within the Regional Integration, Infrastructure and Trade area of work there are 5 projects that were developed by NEPAD namely the Continental Business Network (CBN), Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA), the Presidential Infrastructure Champion Initiative (PICI), the Africa Power Vision, the Sustainable Energy for All (SE4ALL), Infrastructure for Skills Development (IS4D) and the E- Africa Programme (Nepad.org, 2016). It was uncovered that the programmes that were implemented the most by SSA are, PIDA and PICI, these projects address the NEPAD goal of cross border collaboration and the role of African leadership in accelerating regional infrastructure.

The lack of regional infrastructure has been a significant impediment to development and integration in the SSA region. According to UNCTAD 2009 and UNECA 2010, 80% of African exports are to the EU and the USA and only 12% African exports are inter-regional in SSA (Bankole F O et al, 2015:12). According to Chirisa et al. (2016), the development of infrastructure is necessary but most importantly the development of resilient infrastructure is needed with the ability to “withstand structural shocks brought about by climate change. Resilience seeks to maximise the continued functioning of large-scale infrastructure even when some elements of the infrastructure cannot withstand the severity of the shocks” (116)

Some of the results of this area of work are as follows:



[Figure 13: Diagram showing the impact of NEPAD on SSA countries in the Regional Integration, Infrastructure and Trade area of work- data collected from Nepad.org, 2016- created by author N. Ndawonde]

Figure depicts the state of regional integration, infrastructure and trade in SSA, as is seen there are minimal tangible results from this area of work, and most projects are on-going and are within the planning or implementation stage. The Africa Power Vision, The Presidential Infrastructure Champion Initiative (PICI) and the Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA) are the three projects which have on-going projects (Nepad.org, 2016).

Under the Africa Power Vision programme there are seven projects that have been developed, four of these projects have been planned and drafted and the remaining three are in the process of being implemented and are not yet completed. A major proposed project is The Hydro-Batoka Gorge Hydropower project in the Zambezi river basin between Zimbabwe and Zambia aimed to generate export electricity between the two countries (Nepad.org, 2016). Under The Presidential Infrastructure Champion Initiative (PICI) there are five programmes that have been developed, one of them has been completed and the remaining four have been drafted and

planned and are not yet completed. A key project under planning is the Dakar- N'djamena-Djibouti Road/ Rail Project between the countries Senegal, Chad and Djibouti aimed to encourage more trade at lower costs between the countries (Nepad.org, 201 (Nepad.org, 2016). The Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA) has the most on-going projects, there are twenty projects that have been developed, 17 of these projects have been drafted and planned, three are in the process of implementation, and as such none have been completed. A significant project developed under the PIDA is the Ethiopian Renaissance Dam developed to assist in providing electricity for the exporting of goods as well as strengthening the domestic market for Eastern African Power Pool (EAPP) countries, namely Burundi, DRC, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania, Libya and Uganda (Nepad.org, 2016). In addition, the North-South Power Transmission Corridor is another significant proposed project under the PIDA. The corridor will travel from Egypt, Sudan, South-Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa (8, 000km) to improve trade between Northern and Southern African countries (Nepad.org, 2016)

There are a sum total of 32 projects developed between the Africa Power Vision, PICI and PIDA, only 1 project has been completed, 6 are in the process of being implemented and 28 are in the drafting and planning stage. The one project that has been completed is the ICT project that was implemented in Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and South Sudan where optic fibers were installed improving the broadband within between these countries (Nepad.org, 2016). It is not discussed how any sub-Saharan or communities have directly benefitted from this project as data is presented on a country level, thus it is difficult to assess its impact. Furthermore this project is targeting countries in central-eastern Africa, countries in the western and southern part of the region have received no intervention with real results in regional integration, infrastructure and trade. Despite this however training was conducted for 65 participants from 17 public sector agencies in DRC, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique, South Sudan and Zambia.

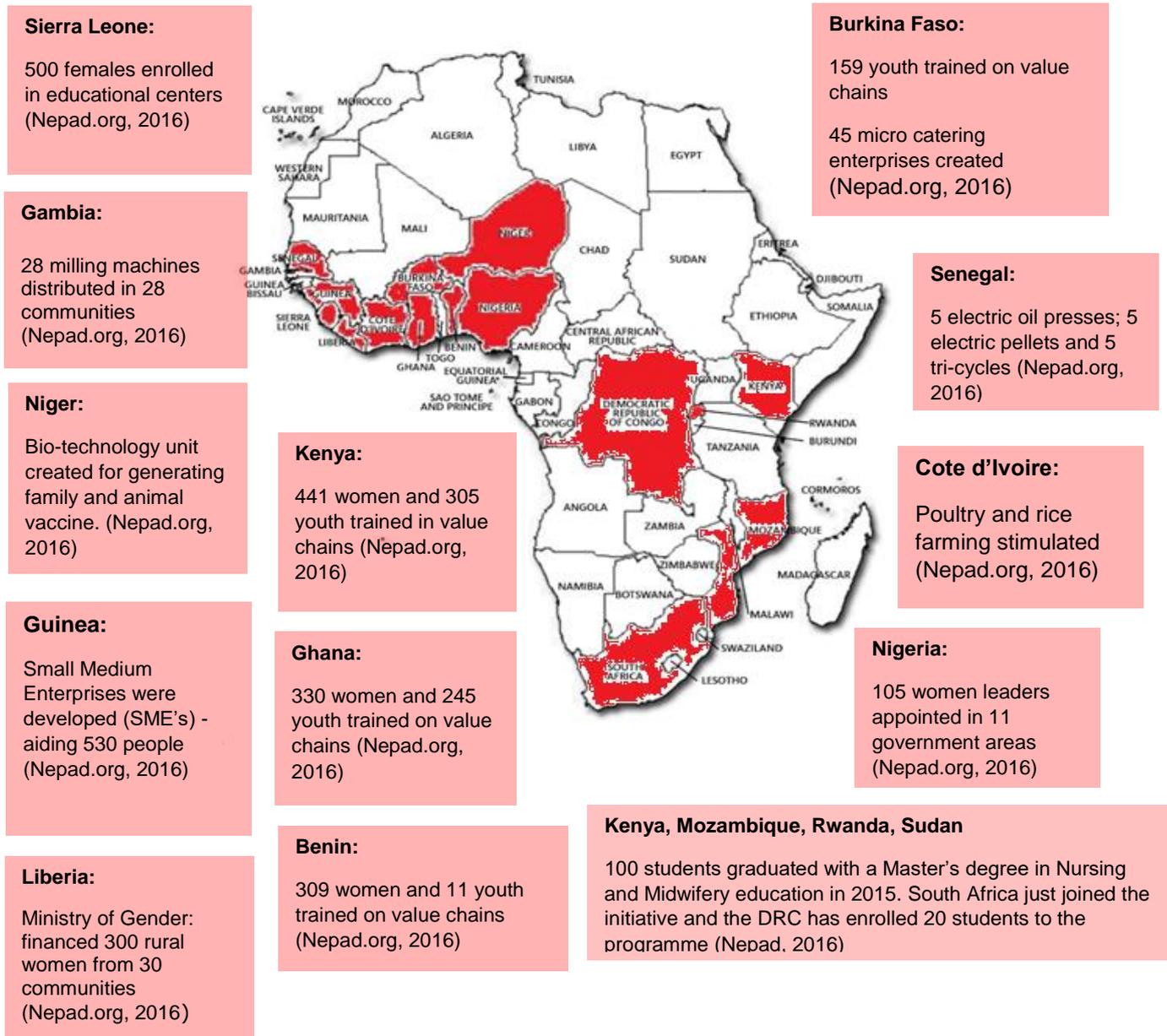
It is clear that within this area of work there are very high expected results as opposed to real tangible results. The proposed projects have great potential to make a significant impact in regional integration; trade and infrastructure and thus made an impact on NEPADS goals of economic growth. Despite this however projects that are in the planning and implementation phase are not yielding any real results. Furthermore, another aspect that needs to be considered is the potential impact of these projects on the environment and communities. These projects can have the potential of displacing communities; disturb natural habitats and incur high costs.

This area of work is critical in addressing NEPAD's goal on economic growth and integration in SSA, considering these results it can be concluded that this area of work has made minimal impact and improvement in addressing NEPAD's goal on economic growth and integration. Further it minimizes the opportunity for SSA countries to have greater trading capabilities with other SSA countries and thus strengthening the Sub-Saharan as a regional power.

Overall, inter-regional SSA trade has developed slowly, according to UNCTAD (2009) African regional trade in 1960 was measured at 5.58 % and in 2006 it was measured at 8.68 %- this is a 55.43% growth in 46 years which is quite low (Bankole et. al 2015:15) .

5.2.3 Human Capital Development

The Human Capital Development area of work established five projects as a means to addressing issues of youth unemployment and encouraging youth development in SSA. The established programmes are Nursing, ATVET, Capacity Development, Gender and Rural Futures. It was uncovered that the projects that were implemented the most by states are Capacity Development and Gender, thus most SSA countries are interested in women empowerment and capacity development. The results of this intervention are as follows:



[Figure 14: Diagram showing the impact of NEPAD on SSA countries in the area of Human Capital Development, data collected from Nepad.org, 2016- created by author N. Ndawonde]

Based on the above diagram it is clear that there has been some real tangible impact from the implemented programmes. A significant amount of training for women and youth has occurred, albeit in small numbers for certain countries. Despite this however, educating women is essential for improving their capacities and thus addressing NEPAD's goal on gender, health and economic growth, more than 64% of SSA women work in the agriculture sector According to the (International Labour Organisation 2009). As aforementioned in chapter 3, matters of education, health and income are interconnected.

A notable project that was developed under the Gender project is the Spanish Fund, which has “supported 76 projects in 37 countries, directly benefiting over half a million African women in areas such as business skills and vocational training, agriculture, nutrition and value chain, and ICT” (Nepad.org, 2016). Furthermore, 23 projects were implemented under the project which further impacted women as follows:

(1) a combined total of 10, 769 women from Angola, Cameroon, Guinea, Mozambique, South Sudan, Sierra Leone and Rwanda received agriculture support and training for crops that are sold and those that are consumed. This improved their food and nutrition security;

(2) 8, 000 women with small to medium sized enterprises were granted low interest loans;

(3) 3, 087 women and men from Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone and South Africa were trained on small business management practice

(Nepad.org, 2016)

Furthermore, through the Nursing and Midwifery Education project, 100 students from Kenya, Mozambique, Rwanda and Sudan graduated with a Master’s degree in Nursing and Midwifery education in the year 2015. The countries of South Africa, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Gabon have recently joined the project; the DRC most notably enrolled 20 students into the programme (Nepad.org, 2016).

Based on these observations, one can say that this area of work has made an impact on addressing NEPAD’s goals on women empowerment and education in SSA. Most efforts however seem to be concentrated on the western part of SSA region, eastern, central and southern Africa have minimal intervention. Despite this however an impact has been made, however has there been true improvement?

Despite notable impact in women and youth development, whether there has been an improvement is uncertain. The number of working women has decreased and the working conditions of women have not improved. Most specifically, there were 64.1% of working women in the year 1997; in the year 2007 this dropped to 62.6% (Nepad, 2013: 62). According to Beaujeau R. et al (2011)

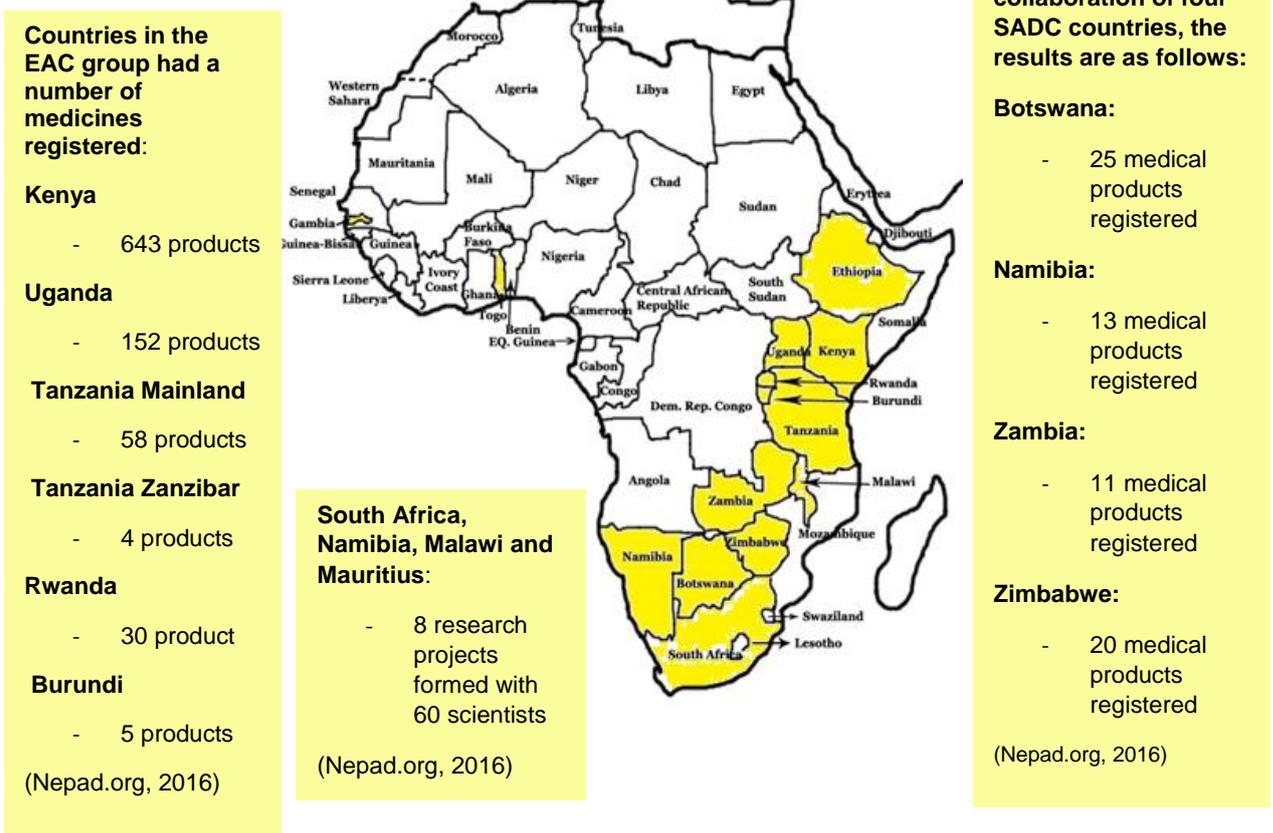
“of the 64% of women employed in the agricultural sector, 80% were subsistence farmers. (...). Not only are they discriminated against in the labor market, (...), their access to land is limited (according to FAO, they possess less than 1% of land and of lower quality than men) and they are often ignored in rural development projects which tend to target male-dominated activities”

It is evident thus there has been an impact on women empowerment and youth development however there has been minimal improvement in this area. This has a direct impact on the lack of capability expansion for SSA women.

5.2.4 Industrialization, Science, Technology and Innovation

Within the Industrialization, Science, Technology and Innovation area of work there were nine programmes that were developed by the NEPAD Agency, namely the African Biosafety Network of Expertise (ABNE), the African Institute for Mathematical Science (AIMS), the African Medicines Regulatory Harmonisation (AMRH), African Science and Technology Innovation Indicators (ASTII), the Alliance for Accelerating Excellence in Science and Africa (AESA), Biosciences eastern and central Africa Network (BecANET), Bio-Innovate, the NEPAD Waters Centres of Excellence and the Southern African Network of Biosciences (SANBio). It was uncovered that the most implemented programmes were the AMRH and ASTII programmes, these programmes are focused on improving medicine regulations in SSA as well as improving the development of science and technology in SSA.

The results are as follows:



[Figure15: Diagram showing the impact of NEPAD on SSA countries in the area of Industrialization, Science, Technology and Innovation- data collected from Nepad.org, 2016- created by author N. Ndawonde]

The above results were sourced under the SanBio programme and African Medicines Regulatory Harmonization (AMRH) programme. The SanBio project received an amount of 60million Euros from the European Union as funding for the project. It is uncertain what the terms of the funding are and whether it is a loan or a grant and the potential implications for SSA debt and dependency. The AMRH programme has made a significant impact in the SSA region in the area of health, some of the registered and authorized medicines and drugs are to treat malaria, diseases and reproductive health which are pressing issues in SSA.

Alongside the above results presented in Figure 5, there have been further improvements in the SSA region. An AMRH Model Law on Medical Products was developed and established to improve the system of medical products to ensure that they become safer, of a better quality and well regulated and distributed. To date, the AU Model Law has been used by 5 SSA countries, namely Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Seychelles, Swaziland and the United Republic of Tanzania (Nepad.org, 2016). The AMRH has played a crucial role in the Ebola Crisis by deploying a task force to aid in the Ebola virus crisis by assisting in vaccine trials. Furthermore, Regional Centers of Excellence have been initiated in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda responsible for improving the medical capacity of these countries. Lastly the West Africa AMRH project was launched which formed 7 technical working groups with support from the World Health Organisation (WHO) which will assist in improving medical activities in the region, e.g. registration of medicines (Nepad.org, 2016). The intervention of the AMRH is widespread across many SSA countries and sub-regions thus impacting a wide array of sub-Saharan Africans. This intervention is sure to assist in addressing the NEPAD goal on health, in a bid to reduce maternal and infant mortality rates as well as disease related illnesses.

Another notable programme under this area of work is The NEPAD Waters Centres of Excellence programme which developed the Sustainable Land and Water Management (SLWM) project to support countries to improve their land waste management in a bid to foster better sanitation and drinking water. Since its inception 27 African countries have implemented the project, the progress in some of these countries is as follows. The countries of Gambia; Togo, Ethiopia and Kenya have dedicated hectares of land to the SLWM project and land users from their countries have adopted SLWM practices: Gambia: 1700 hectares of land- (1300 forest and 400 cropland): 96, 000 land users; Togo: 550, 000 hectares of land: 60, 000 land users; Kenya: 932 hectares of land: 9500 land users and Ethiopia: 186, 500 hectares of land. Furthermore, 10 bursaries have been granted for post-graduate studies (180 000 ZAR per

institution, 30 000ZAR conference grant) (Nepad.org, 2016). Educating students in this area is important in empowering them and increasing their capacities to be self-sufficient.

This area of work has made an impact on addressing NEPAD's goal on health, through the registering of a number of medical products, and thus potentially lowering maternal and infant mortality in SSA. However most intervention occurred in the southern-eastern part of SSA, in west and central Africa there was no reported intervention.

Despite the impact in the area of health, there has been minimal impact of NEPAD intervention in ICT which is essential to overall socio-economic development, in particular regional integration and trade. There is a large market for ICT in the SSA region, in the year 2013, it was reported that 65 % of the sub-Saharan Africans are telephone subscribers, this is growth from 32% in the year 2008; despite this however South Africa and Nigeria account for 43% of total telephone subscribers. With regards to broadband internet connection has significantly increased from 0 users in the year 2000 to 19million users in the year 2010; despite this however South African and Nigeria account for 80% of internet connection (Bankole F O et. al, 2015: 12-13). The dominance of South Africa and Nigeria excludes other SSA countries and thus implicates the expansion of freedoms and capabilities of sub-Saharan Africans.

5.2.5 Summary

The discussion above gives a clear illustration of the projects implemented under each area of work and the real results that have been yielded from this intervention. The Natural Resources, Governance and Food Security area of work was quite effective in addressing the NEPAD goals of environmental protection, intervention was broad across most SSA countries. The Regional Integration, Infrastructure and Trade area of work attempted to address the NEPAD goal of economic growth and integration, however was unsuccessful in doing so, the minimal intervention that occurred was mainly concentrated in central SSA. The Human Capital Development area of work was successful in addressing the NEPAD goal on improving gender and education; however intervention was mainly focused on the western part of SSA. Lastly, the Industrialization, Science, Technology and Innovations area of work was quite successfully in addressing NEPAD's goal on health; however intervention was concentrated on south-east Africa. Most recorded intervention within these regions has affected a limited size groups in society thus far.

It is clear thus that NEPAD goals have been impacted in varying degrees through the implementation of some projects, with each goal targeted in a certain sub-region in SSA. However, the effectiveness of these projects in successfully addressing these goals is questionable. How then does this impact human development in SSA and overall instrumental freedoms of sub-Saharan Africans. Will certain instrumental freedoms of certain sub-Saharans be better than that of other sub-Saharan Africans based on what region they are from? For example will sub-Saharan Africans from south-east Africa have a higher life expectancy because more health intervention projects were implemented there? Or will sub-Saharan women in West Africa have better capabilities because more gender-focused projects were implemented there?

5.3 Efficacy of AGOA goals in SSA

According to AGOA there have been significant successes in the SSA region through AGOA's policy intervention. AGOA has focused on 3 main areas of intervention as discussed in chapter 4 which are: trade and investment lines; policy amendments and trade capacity building initiatives. These areas of work were developed in a bid to improve its 4 key goals, which are economic growth through trade, investment, private sector growth and developing civil societies and political freedoms. It will be interesting to assess how successful AGOA has been in addressing these goals through the 3 areas of work, have they been able to make an impact on sub-Saharan Africans? And has there been an overall improvement to beneficiary SSA countries post AGOA intervention.

5.3.1 Trade Sectors, Trade lines and Investment lines

5.3.1.1. Sectors

The key industry sectors that have been expanded and grown through AGOA intervention are apparel manufacturing, cashew, coffee, foodstuff and textile articles (Agoa.org, 2017)

The exporting of textile and apparel goods has not been formally accepted under the AGOA act, however provision has been made for certain SSA countries to export textile and apparel duty-free to the USA (pursuant to apparel and textile provisions) these countries are: Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, Cote d' Ivoire, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger,

Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda and lastly Zambia- of leading exporters of this group are Lesotho, Kenya and Mauritius. The total textile and apparel annual quota for total USA imports from SSA was initially measured at 1.5% with a 3.5% increase per year, it is now set at 7% (Agoa.org, 2017). One should consider what kind of impact this provision could have on the trade sector of countries that have been accepted eligibility as opposed to those that have been denied eligibility. The policy amendments made by AGOA have ensured that less developed countries (LCD's) in SSA can also benefit under the sector of textile and apparel.

The industry sector of foodstuff falls under the agriculture sector and is a significant aspect of USA-SSA trade relations as agriculture is one of the largest sectors in SSA. Agriculture production in SSA is either for local consumption, subsistence based or global exports, the most exported goods are "citrus products, grains, nuts, fish, tobacco, cocoa, coffee, beverages, sugar, vegetables, fruit" (Agoa.org, 2017). The largest SSA exporters of agriculture goods are: Cote d'Ivoire, South Africa, Ghana, Madagascar, Ethiopia and Kenya- the cashew and coffee sectors are the largest within agriculture production. With regards to cashews, SSA countries are some of the largest producers in the globe, with 40% of cashew coming from the region. The largest exporters of cashews to the USA are the countries of Mozambique, Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya. Coffee is a large industry sector in SSA, the largest exporters are the countries of Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda (Agoa.org, 2016)

The SSA automotive equipment sector has been dominated by the country of South Africa with support from Botswana. This sector is said to have increased significantly since the enactment of AGOA due to the duty-free access provided by the USA (Agoa.org, 2017). The country of South Africa also dominates the metals and articles sectors, which consists of "iron and steel, copper nickel, aluminium, lead, zinc and tin" (Agoa.org, 2017). Despite South Africa's dominance the countries of Mozambique, Gabon, Mauritius, Zambia, Ghana, Ethiopia and Nigeria make small contributions to the sector.

It is clear that the growth in SSA sectors has been broad. Crude oil is the largest exported good from SSA with the country of Nigeria being the principal benefactor of this trade relations and Angola being the second contributor, there is a major lake of trade distribution in the crude oil export sector. There is however greater distribution in other sectors most notably, textile and apparel as well as agriculture. When assessing the country distribution of these trade lines (petroleum, machinery and transportation and textile and apparel products) these are the

findings from the year 2013. Petroleum imports from SSA during the year 2013 were distributed as follows: Nigeria 51%, Angola 28%, Chad 11% and the rest of SSA at 10% (US Government Accountability Office, 2014:4). The country distribution of textile and apparel imports from SSA during the year 2013 is as follows: Kenya 34%, Lesotho 37%, Mauritius 21% and the rest of SSA at 8%. (US Government Accountability Office, 2014:4). Lastly, the machinery and transportation imports from SSA during the year 2013 were divided as follows: South Africa 90% and the rest of SSA at 10%. (US Government Accountability Office, 2014:4).

Although the sectors of trade directly impact the increase of trade between the USA and SSA countries, it is uncertain how this expansion of trade sectors between SSA countries and the USA impacts SSA countries individually and their peoples. One could identify an “impact pathway” from the expansion of trade sectors as being the improvement of private sector growth in SSA. The greater the demand for food stuff, automotive equipment, crude oil and textile and apparel the greater the growth in supply, and thus more businesses. This expansion of trade sectors addresses AGOA’s goals on the expansion of trade and investment lines and the expansion of private sector growth and thus expands the instrumental freedom of economic facilities.

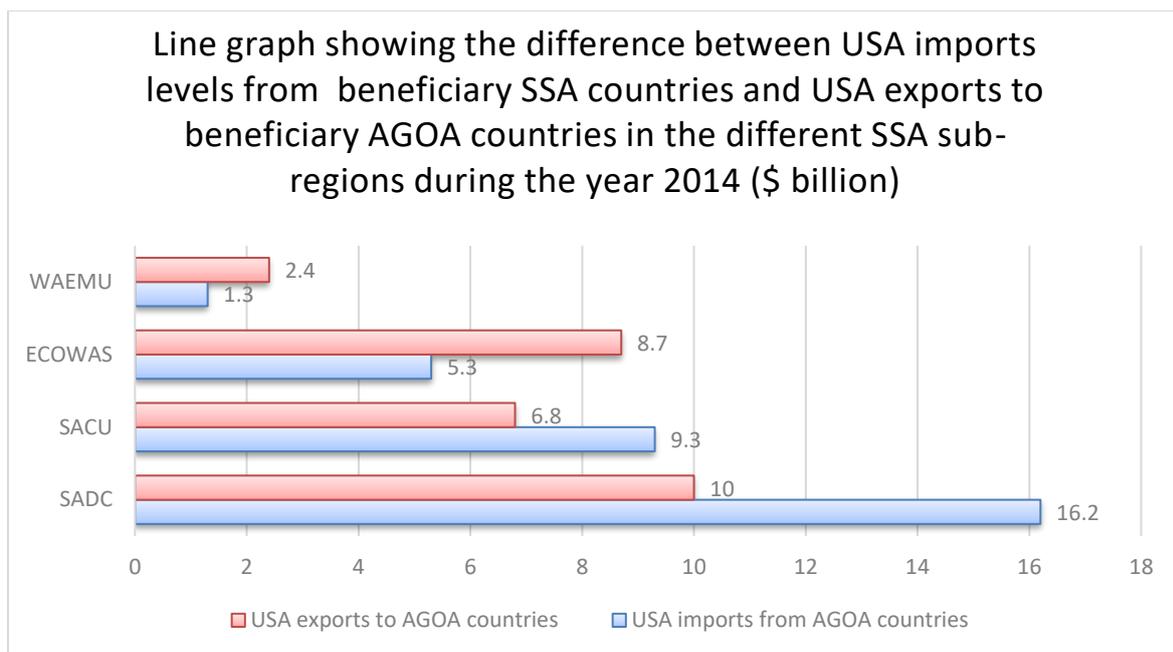
5.3.1.2 Trade lines

When assessing the SSA region as a whole USA and SSA trade has fluctuated over the period of 2000-2014. From the years 2001-2008 the total US import of goods (from AGOA countries and other countries) increased 300 percent, from \$20 billion to \$82 billion. This growth in imports has however steadily declined from the year 2008 with US imports (specifically from AGOA countries) decreasing from \$56 billion to \$25 billion, a total 53% decline (US Government Accountability Office, 2014:1). In the year 2014, U.S. imports from SSA decreased by 32 percent, falling to \$26.7 billion and representing only 1.1 percent of total U.S. imports from the world. This is not much different from the year 2003 where SSA trade accounted for a low 1.5% of total world trade. This decrease in the year 2014 was mostly due to a 51 percent decrease in U.S. mineral fuel and oil imports from SSA. (US Trade and Development Act, 114 STAT. 253).

Despite the gradual decrease in US imports from SSA, US exports into the SSA market has continued to grow. There has been a reported 202% increase from the year 2000 to 2015 with a total of \$17.8 billion (United States Trade Representative 2016:15). Despite this however, it is maintained that there are more African goods being exported out of SSA than US goods being imported into SSA. This may be true, however there are many SSA markets and only one US market. All reported capital that the USA makes from trade is injected into one country, the US. However all reported capital that is made through trade from SSA countries is injected into multiple countries, this distribution is uneven in particular considering that the main US export markets are the countries of South Africa, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Angola and Kenya (United States Trade Representative 2016:5).

This lack of diversity has been continues since the establishment of AGOA and is not just a recent trend, this includes both imports and exports. In the year 2003, Nigeria and South Africa combined accounted for 43.7% and 53.5% of SSA total imports and exports respectively (United States Trade Representative, 2005:16). Furthermore, this lack of diversity affects the overall capability expansion of SSA countries that are not benefitting from trade. Despite the decline in trade levels and imbalance in trade benefits between SSA countries and the US there has been an expansion in trade lines for certain beneficiary countries and thus the expansion of capabilities related to the instrumental freedom of economic facilities.

On a sub-regional level the total US exports from the SADC, SACU, ECOWAS and WAEMU regions in the year 2014 was measured as follows:

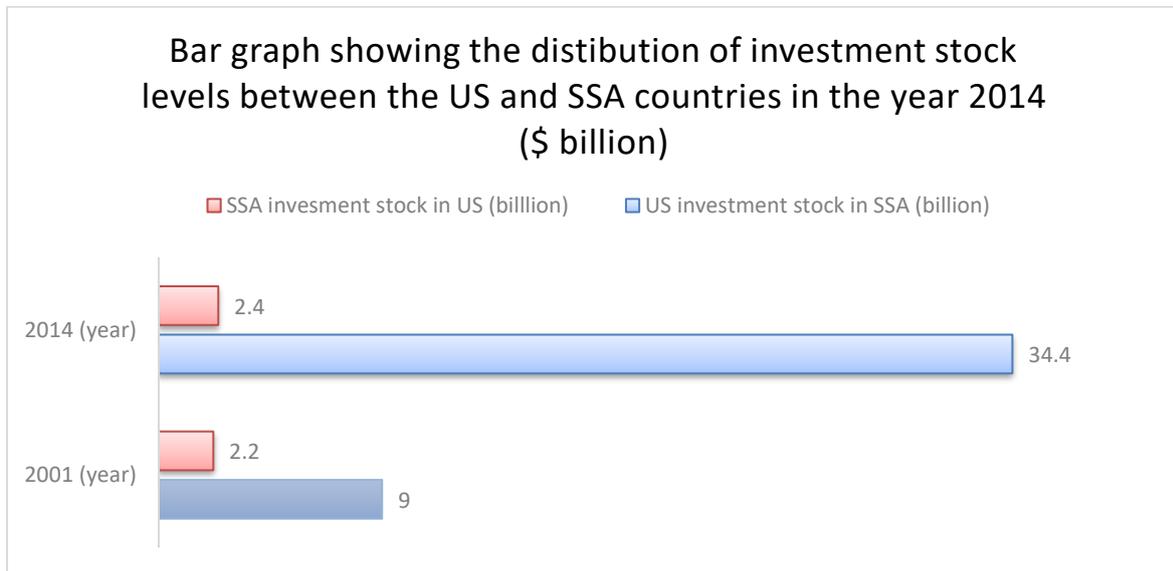


[Figure17: Diagram showing the difference between USA import levels from beneficiary SSA countries and USA exports to beneficiary AGOA countries in the different SSA sub-regions during the year 2014- data collected from U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census 2014- created by author N. Ndawonde]

U.S. exports to SSA sub-regions were measured \$10 billion in SADC, \$6.8 billion in SACU, \$8.7 billion in ECOWAS and \$2.4 billion in WAEMU (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census 2014). This is different in comparison to U.S. imports which were measured at 16.2 billion in SADC, 9.3 billion in SACU, 5.3 billion in ECOWAS and 1.3 billion in WAEMU (U.S Department of Commerce International Trade Administration 2012). Based on the above figures it is evident that sub-regional level import-export trade relations have oscillated in certain sub-regions with some importing or exporting more goods than others. In the SADC region there is high USA imports this can be expected as South Africa is the dominant exporter in the sub-region through metals. The same can be said for SACU and ECOWAS as the country of Angola and Nigeria are the largest exporters of crude oil within their sub-regions.

5.3.1.3 Investment Lines

The USA-SSA investment lines can be summarized as follows



[Figure 18: Diagram showing the distribution of investment stock levels between the USA and SSA countries in the year 2014- created by author N Ndawonde]

As seen above there has been greater US investment stock in SSA than SSA investment stock in the USA. In the year 2001 US investment stock levels in SSA were measured at \$ 9 billion, in the year 2014 these levels increased and are now measured at 34.4 billion. SSA investment stock in the US market has however only improved minimal, from 2.2 billion in the year 2001 to 2.4 billion in the year 2014. Much like aforementioned trade-balance, investment balances between the US-SSA countries is uneven, with the USA seemingly benefitting most than SSA countries. The 34.4 billion US investment stock in SSA directly benefits the US market; however the 2.4 billion SSA investment stock in SSA is to be divided amongst various countries. This has a direct impact on the expansion of capabilities of SSA countries

The countries of Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mauritius, Namibia and Tanzania have all been beneficiaries of investment under the AGOA in the apparel and textile industry, which has resulted in the creation of many jobs, e.g. 70,000 in Malawi, 45,000 in Kenya and 8,000 in Namibia (Agoa.org. 2016). These numbers can be seen to be quite impressive however the conditions of these jobs are unclear, for example some questions such as; what kinds of jobs that have been created?, the working conditions of these jobs?, the wages of these jobs? And the ratio between men and woman employability for these jobs. These questions are essential as they have an impact on overall freedoms and capabilities of the individual. Thus it is evident that an impact has been made however whether there has been an improvement is unclear.

5.3.1.4 Summary

The discussion on trade sectors, trade line and investment lines has clearly illuminated how AGOA has addressed its goals on expanding trade and investment lines in SSA and how this can impact private sector growth in SSA countries, thus in turn creating the opportunity for the expansion of the instrumental freedom of economic facilities. However how does the expansion of trade sectors, trade lines and investment lines possibly affect AGOA's goals on the development of civil societies and political freedoms (democracy) in SSA? Alongside its goals for trade and investment the AGOA also articulated its desire to develop civil societies in SSA, improve the political freedoms of SSA countries and promote and expand democracy in SSA. As highlighted in the policies document a key eligibility requirement of the AGOA is that beneficiary countries must uphold the rule of law.

The eligibility requirements necessitate that beneficiary countries should be progressing in the areas of politics and rule of law in order to benefit from the policy, one could assume that AGOA beneficiary countries uphold the standards of rule of law in order to maintain membership under AGOA, is this the case? According to discussion above, the principle beneficiary SSA countries under trade sectors, trade line and investment lines are the countries of Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, Mauritius, Lesotho, Ethiopia, Botswana, Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, Madagascar, Rwanda, Uganda and Mozambique- how do these countries fare according to civil and political freedoms? Can it be said that AGOA upholds its eligibility requirements on rule of law? Further has AGOA intervention has been beneficial in making an impact and improving of rule of law for its beneficiary countries in particular these main beneficiaries?

Freedom House Index (FDI) is an organisation focused on being on advocate for freedom, democratic change and civil liberties with a spotlight on human rights, civil society, and freedom of expression, internet freedom, the rule of law, elections, and religious freedom and LGBTI rights. The organisation rates countries based on three categories, "free", "partly free" and "not free" based on the status of their political rights and civil freedoms. The political rights and civil freedoms are measured from a 1-7 scale, 1 being best and 7 being the worst, the two scales are then combined and an average number is calculated. For countries to score well in the political rights category they need to have high level of free and fair elections, high autonomy and citizen self-determination and low level of civil war, heavy military involvement, violence and political corruption. For countries to score well in the civil liberties category they need to have a high level of freedom of expression and a good system of rule of

law and a low level of censorship, political terror and government indifference (Freedom House Index, 2017). The results of these countries for the year 2017 is as follows:

Country	Freedom Status Free = F Partly Free =PF Not Free = NT	Civil Liberties 1= most free 7= least free	Political Liberties 1= most free 7= least free	Total Score 0= least free 100= most free
Nigeria	PF	5	3	50
South Africa	F	2	2	7
Kenya	PF	4	4	51
Mauritius	F	2	7	89
Lesotho	PF	3	3	64
Ethiopia	NF	7	6	12
Botswana	F	3	2	72
Ghana	F	2	1	83
Cote d'Ivoire	PF	4	4	52
Madagascar	PF	4	3	56
Rwanda	NF	6	6	24
Uganda	NF	5	6	35
Mozambique	PF	4	4	53

[Figure 19: Diagram showing the levels of civil and political liberties in the SSA countries- data collected from Freedom House Index.org, created by author N. Ndawonde]

Of the total 13 main beneficiary SSA countries there are 4 SSA countries that are free, 6 countries that are partially free and 3 countries that are not free. These figures provide one with insight into the validity of AGOA's eligibility requirements. The basis for the termination of AGOA membership for countries is the lack of compliance to the AGOA policy eligibility requirements. A number of countries have been denied membership, had their revoked membership or been suspended from the AGOA by failing to meet this requirements, yet there are countries that are labelled as not free.

It is unclear if AGOA requirements on the rule of law have assisted in expanding the political freedoms of SSA countries and the transparency guarantees of citizens within these countries. Furthermore, it is unclear whether AGOA eligibility requirements have been an effective way to ensure that SSA countries improve their political freedoms as there is an incentive to do so because of the benefits of the AGOA policy e.g. trade and investment. One could argue that this approach is more effective than the NEPAD APRM voluntary scheme, where there is no

significant incentive for SSA countries to improve the matters of politics and better governance. However, based on the fact that there are 6 main beneficiary countries that are partly free and 3 main beneficiary countries that are not free calls into question the validity of AGOA's eligibility requirements. One should consider to what degree AGOA eligibility requirements are impacting SSA countries and whether they are not primarily serving the US needs to penetrate SSA markets.

5.3.2 Trade Capacity Building Programs

The AGOA articulated within its texts the necessity to commit to ensuring the success of the AGOA policy in the region, thus they implemented key efforts to assist in encouraging the growth in trade and development in SSA. These programs can be compared to NEPAD's version on "conditions for development". The results of these are as follows:

A total of 181million was devoted to trade capacity building programs by the United States (United States Trade Representative, 2005:2). Under USAID trade hubs were developed in Ghana, Kenya and South Africa. These hubs have provided technical assistance in "export development, trade policy, regional road transportation, customs reform and application of sanitary and phyto-sanitary standards" and developed 13 AGOA resource centres in Western Africa in countries such as, Cameroon, Chad, Mauritania and Niger (United States Trade Representative, 2005:12- 13). More specifically the East Africa Trade and Investment Hub (EASTIH) in Nairobi, Kenya has been instrumental in encouraging growth and the expansion of markets beyond natural resources in East Africa., Furthermore, it was recorded that in the year 2015 EASITH made \$26.2 million in deals and one of its projects the East Africa Farmers Federation was able to organize business-to-business meetings to promote regional trade, resulting in signed trade commitments for over 10,000 metric tons of beans, maize, and rice(United States Trade Representative 2016: 66) . The West Africa Trade and Investment Hub (WATIH) in Accra, Ghana is geared towards expanding the trade and investment chain in SSA on a regional and global level. The WAITH has also provided assistance to mango farmers in Burkina Faso, Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire and Senegal through training and technical assistance (producing, storing and harvesting mangoes) which has expanded the market for these farmers and resulted in \$9 million in sales (The United States Trade Representative 2016, 68). Lastly, the Southern Africa Trade Hub (SATH) in Pretoria, South Africa has been responsible for providing technical assistance to governments, the private sector and civil society groups in

Southern Africa. To date SATH has provided training to; store managers of a peanut processor and woman groundnut and small holder farmers in Zambia (United States Trade Representative, 2016).

Under the US Department of Labour the “Better Work Program” in Lesotho was developed. The program has facilitated a platform for social dialogue between workers and employers on labour standards. There are currently 40 percent of Lesotho apparel factories participating in these dialogues. The Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) focuses on developing trade related infrastructure, such as roads and electricity. Under the program the seaports of Benin and Cape Verde were expanded and the international airport of Mali was expanded (United States Trade Representative 2016: 73). The US Department of Agriculture developed a number of research programs, one of which is Cochran Fellowship Program which has provided training to SSA professionals in mid-senior level positions in the areas of “agricultural trade, marketing, management, policy, food safety, and technology transfer” as a means to increase food production and address matters of food security. To date 1660 SSA professionals have been trained in SSA (United States Trade Representative 2016: 69-70).

These TCB programmes have been helpful in creating conducive conditions for the success of the AGOA policy in SSA in trade and investment in SSA, most specifically The USAID trade hubs that were developed in Ghana, South Africa and Kenya have served these countries well. These three countries are the highest beneficiaries of investment under the AGOA

5.3.3 Summary

AGOA has been successful in making an impact on increasing trade and investment levels in SSA, however not effective as the trade and investment has been limited to a few SSA countries; many AGOA countries are not truly benefitting from the policy. Furthermore, it is clear there is an imbalance between growth in SSA trade and investment and US trade and investment levels under AGOA; the US has larger growth than SSA countries. As this was a policy that was to create African growth and opportunity it is uncertain why the USA is the larger beneficiary. Overall, AGOA intervention was able to make an impact on improving its principal goal on the expansion of trade and investment lines for SSA countries, although this was limited to a select few SSA countries. This in turn has addressed the instrumental freedom of economic facilities of SSA countries and private sector growth. Despite this however, there is minimal impact on the creation of development of civil societies and political freedoms of

SSA countries. Although a direct correlation could not be drawn between Freedom House Index and AGOA intervention, it was clear that some of the main SSA beneficiary countries have low political freedom and civil society levels. The trade capacity building programs have created the opportunity for the expansion of the instrumental freedom of social opportunities in particular education through the agriculture training initiatives,

5.4 Conclusion

Based on the discussion above it is evident that NEPAD and AGOA have made varying degrees of impact in SSA in scope. NEPAD was able to make a wide-spread impact in the different regions in SSA and address its key goals in particular agriculture. Despite the fact that the impact made was in small numbers, this impact has a direct effect on expanding the key instrumental freedoms as well as the capabilities of sub-Saharan Africans. There wasn't however a great amount of improvement that could have been measured thus far however there is room for growth as many projects are newly established or in the implementation stage. Under AGOA there was limited impact in scope. The impact that was made seemed to benefit the USA more than SSA countries. Although there was a certain degree of improvement in trade, investment and trade sectors this growth has slowly decreased overtime, there remains minimal room for growth and improvement. The impact on capability expansion of SSA countries will remain stagnant in this area of work. Based on this analysis one could say that NEPAD has been most effective in addressing human development in SSA. Despite challenges in articulating a clear human development approach to progress within its text, NEPAD was able to articulate these needs in its practical efforts and thus able to make tangible impact in the lives of sub-Saharan Africans. Perhaps this success can be accredited to the fact that NEPAD is an African led initiative and thus it was better equipped to understand and identify the needs of the SSA region. The impact of NEPAD further illuminates the untapped strength of regional and sub—regional initiatives in SSA. These initiatives have the potential to enunciate a progressive human development framework in emancipating the region from inequitable ties that have compelled the region through coercive means. Thus instead of relying upon foreign led initiatives for assistance, which often leads to unequal gains, sub-Saharan Africans be self-reliant in changing the development landscape of their region. Human progress is the necessary key in propelling the sub-Sahara into an era where its people are self-reliant, self-sufficient and no longer subject to the dynamics of the international arena

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Findings, Recommendations and Summary

“The success of a society is to be evaluated primarily by the freedom that members of the society enjoy”

Amartya Sen (1999)

6.1 Introduction

The study has sought to assess the impact of regional development initiatives on human development in the SSA region, most specifically NEPAD and AGOA. The study has successfully addressed its key problems and objectives namely:

- An examination of the past development initiatives implemented in SSA prior to NEPAD and AGOA
- An exploration of the development framework of NEPAD and AGOA texts
- A survey of the initiatives implemented by NEPAD and AGOA in practice
- An evaluation of the effectiveness of NEPAD and AGOA's development framework on human progress in SSA

The study used the capabilities approach, most specifically its 5 instrumental freedoms, as a framework of analysis in the discussion of its key problems and objectives. The 5 instrumental freedoms (economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, protective security and political freedoms) were used as a measure for assessing the opportunity for capability expansion of sub-Saharan Africans and thus overall human development.

What can we deduce from these discussions, furthermore how does this relate to the broader issue to be investigated in the study? This chapter will be the concluding chapter of the research and will be dedicated to highlighting the main points of interest, summarizing all major arguments and findings discussed in the research, and offering future recommendations.

This chapter will divide into three short sections. Section A of this chapter will discuss the findings of this study and how they have answered the research problems, fulfilled the research objectives and considered the broader issues to be investigated. Section B will provide recommendations on these finding. Finally, Section C will be the concluding section of the study with a summary of the completed work.

6.2 Section A: NEPAD and AGOA: Findings

The main point of interest of the study has been to assess the effectiveness of NEPAD and AGOA on impacting those that the initiatives were created to impact which are sub-Saharan Africans- thus the focus on human development. The study asked whether the development framework of NEPAD and AGOA were able to create the opportunity for sub-Saharan Africans to expand their capabilities in order for them to ultimately live the lives they have reason to value. Using the capabilities approach as a framework for analysis, the study has focused on a critical discussion of the development framework of both initiatives of NEPAD on AGOA. The key focus was assessing their texts, most specifically the goals of each initiative (*de jure*), as well as their practical efforts, most specifically key projects and efforts that have been implemented in practice (*de facto*). Finally, the study assessed the impact of NEPAD and AGOA in sub-Saharan Africa and the possible implications of this on human development in the SSA region.

Both NEPAD and AGOA were established with the aim of improving the lives of sub-Saharan Africans. Although one is African led (NEPAD) and the other foreign led (AGOA) both initiatives have articulated similar mandates in seeking to make a positive impact in the SSA region. Both initiatives recognize the need for improvement in the area of sustainable development of the SSA landscape.

Chapter 3 provided an examination of the development frameworks of NEPAD and AGOA texts. The discussion was able to illuminate which key goals NEPAD and AGOA were focused on addressing and its possible implications on human development in SSA. It became clear that NEPAD's key objective is poverty reduction and the greater integration of SSA countries in the world economy through 5 key goals: economic growth and integration, women empowerment, health, education and environmental protection- of these 5 goals, economic growth and women empowerment were discovered as most dominant. Similarly, AGOA's key objective was fostering economic growth in the SSA region through 3 main goals which are expanding trade and investment lines for SSA countries in the USA market, improving the private sectors in SSA and lastly improve the civil societies and political freedoms in SSA countries- of these 3 goals trade and investment were discovered as the most dominant.

The findings that was revealed through this discussion is that NEPAD's development framework is broad and quite generalized as they are inspired by the Millennium Development Goals (previously the IDG's). Thus instead of focusing on shaping goals that are specific to the

needs of SSA region , the goals are generalized for the needs of developing regions around the world- despite this however, the goals are still relevant for SSA. NEPAD adopts a holistic approach to its goals by addressing a wide range of matters as the initiative recognizes how certain issues are interconnected e.g. health, economics, and thus for one area to improve, the other must also improve- hence the range of goals. AGOA development framework is linear in its approach, there is a very clear focus on economics, unlike the broader NEPAD goals. One could argue that AGOA's focus on economic is expected as it is a trade policy, however despite this there are impediments to economic growth and trade and these have not been highlighted in the AGOA text. AGOA's text does recognize that issues related to health, education, unemployment and corruption do have a negative effect on economic growth- whether this was articulated through practical means is unclear. It became apparent that AGOA's goals are closely related to USA foreign policy objectives, which calls into question whether the policy is truly established to foster African growth and opportunity as its name states.

Chapter 4 provided an assessment of the development frameworks of NEPAD and AGOA in practice, the discussion focuses on surveying initiatives implemented by NEPAD and AGOA in practice. The discussion was able to illuminate which key practical efforts NEPAD and AGOA implemented as a means to addressing their previously mentioned goals. NEPAD implemented 4 key areas of work which are: "Human Capital Development"; "Industrial, Science Technology and Innovation"; "Regional Integration, Infrastructure and Trade" and lastly "Natural resources, Governance and Food Security". Each area of work is focused on a specific agenda. The main agendas of these 4 areas of work are: youth underdevelopment; women empowerment; enhance capacities of science, technology and innovation, improve regional infrastructure and lastly strengthen, improve and promote food and nutrition security, agriculture, environmental governance and sustainable mining. Under each area of work a number of programmes were developed. The discussion was able to uncover which projects were most implemented by SSA countries as well as which of the 5 NEPAD goals were most addressed by these implemented programmes. Discussions illuminated that the projects that were most implemented by SSA countries in each area of work are those that were focused on agriculture, regional infrastructure, women empowerment, health and science and technology. Based on the popularity of these projects it was concluded that the most leading NEPAD goals in practice based on the implemented projects are economic growth and integration and environmental protection. AGOA has focused on 3 key areas in a bid to address its aforementioned goals which are "trade and investment lines", "policy amendments" and "trade

capacity development programs”. Discussions illuminated that the most dominant of these projects were those focused on trade lines and investment lines. Based on this it was concluded that the most leading AGOA goals are those seeking to expand trade and investment lines. As previously mentioned this is expected as AGOA is a trade policy and is focused on economic growth, despite this however there are key impediments to economic growth and integration that AGOA could have highlighted with greater emphasis in order to ensure “sustainable development”. It became clear that NEPAD had a more wide-spread to its projects whereas AGOA’s scope is limited and narrow in its focus on trade. The conclusion was that NEPAD has been effective in articulating a human approach in a practical manner thus creating the opportunity for capability expansion, almost all 5 instrumental freedoms were highlighted. AGOA however was only able to highlight just one instrumental, namely economic facilities. The broadness of NEPAD’s scope is an essential attribute in the capabilities approach as it is recognised that all 5 instrumental freedoms are interdependent and that all individuals have different needs, thus the broader the scope the higher the chances for greater overall impact.

Chapter 5 was dedicated to the discussion of the efficacy of NEPAD and AGOA in SSA. The chapter assessed the impact that NEPAD and AGOA have made in SSA and their overall ability to create improvement and create the opportunity for expanding the capabilities of sub-Saharan Africans and overall human development. The discussion outlined the impact of the practical efforts implemented by NEPAD and AGOA as discussed in Chapter 4. Discussions relating to NEPAD illuminated that wide spread impact has been made in SSA. This impact was closely related to NEPAD’s key goals as outlined in chapter 3 and 4, most specifically agriculture (environmental protection), medicines (health) and women empowerment (gender) - this impact however was made in small numbers per country. Despite this however, the opportunity for the expansion of capabilities and freedoms was evident. With regards to improvement, it was clear that there was some although limited improvement. Most projects were in the implementation stage and thus were unable to yield results yet, however there is large potential impact than real life impact. Discussions related to AGOA illuminated that impact much like its practical efforts was quite linear. The impact was closely related to AGOA’s goals as outlined in chapter 3 and 4, most specifically trade and investment. The impact however was only felt by a few select beneficiary SSA countries who were the main contributors of trade and investment with AGOA. Despite this, there were measured improvements from prior AGOA intervention to post AGOA intervention. These improvements and growth have slowly declined, furthermore it became apparent that the USA was benefitting more than SSA

countries. It was concluded that NEPAD was most effective in addressing human development in SSA. Through the success of NEPAD, the potential of regional and sub-regional development initiatives in SSA was illuminated. It is clear that there is great strength in African led initiatives and their ability to create the opportunity for human development in SSA as well as create a culture of self-sufficiency and self-reliance that will deter foreign led development initiatives which are often exploitative.

6.3 SECTION B: NEPAD and AGOA Recommendations

Based on the above findings a number of recommendations can be proffered.

Both NEPAD and AGOA have attempted to make positive strides towards fostering development in SSA. Despite this however, the overall impact of these initiatives in improving the overall human development of sub-Saharan Africans and expanding their overall freedoms and capabilities remains challenged. Both initiatives lacked in articulating true development as human development.

As a means to assist in improving further development initiatives the study proposes the following recommendations:

6.3.1 Greater human development rhetoric

Efforts aimed towards development need to consider the individual. True development is the freedom of the individual to exist within a society that grants them the opportunity and capability to do and be what they want. The issue that NEPAD and AGOA had was articulating the means for development as the ends of development. Goals such as trade and investment, economic growth, health, gender, education and environmental protection are very essential *means* to development; however should not be the *end* of development for policy makers and countries alike. True and sustainable development cannot be measured by the wealth of a country and resources but by the wealth of its citizens, this wealth being capability and freedom. Economic growth, poverty reduction, health, education and environmental security are helpful and essential for progress in a society however these very matters require citizens to propel their progress, without the freedom and opportunity to do this there is no true development.

6.3.2 More research on host environment:

Efforts that are developed with the environment in which they are to be implemented in mind are more likely to be more effective than those that do not. In-depth research is necessary before the establishment of large scale initiatives and policy. Both NEPAD and AGOA could have better identified the needs of SSA which are specific to sub-Saharan people.

6.3.3 Stronger regional and sub-regional development initiatives in SSA

There is great opportunity for growth in the regional and sub-regional development initiatives in SSA. Much like NEPAD, bodies such as SADC, ECOWAS and COMESA can be instrumental in improving human development in SSA. These bodies have the potential to make SSA states become more represented and more equipped with greater bargaining power on a global scale with Western powers and emerging Southern powers. The study suggests the development of an “inside out” approach to development in SSA where its existing regional and sub-regional initiatives are strengthened in order to reduce reliance of an “outside and in” approach that has oversaturated the SSA market where foreign led initiatives continually intervene with assistance.

6.4 SECTION C: NEPAD and AGOA Summary

The dissertation is an investigation into the effectiveness of NEPAD and AGOA on human development in SSA. The study uses the capability approach and its 5 instrumental freedoms (economic facilities, political freedoms, social opportunities, protective freedoms as a framework for analysis. The study investigated this using a three tier approach by assessing NEPAD and AGOA development frameworks according to: Text, Practical Efforts and lastly Impact. There was a clear relationship and interdependence between each tier of NEPAD and AGOA. NEPAD, an African led initiative in SSA was better able to address the wide-spread needs of SSA within its texts as well as practical efforts. The impact of NEPAD was minimal however effective in expanding the freedoms and capabilities of those it is intended for. AGOA, a USA led initiative in SSA was only able to address a narrow view of the needs of SSA within its texts and practical efforts. Despite this however, AGOA was able to make an impact although this impact soon declined and was thought to benefit the USA more than SSA African countries. The paper concluded by suggesting that NEPAD was most effective in addressing human development in SSA

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