Impact of Sub Regional and Plurilateral Air Services Agreement Initiatives

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#### Theme

The role of sub regional and plurilateral agreements- what they can achieve, what the impediments to them are, and how they can be implemented



# **Specific Issues**

- What options are there?
- Why regional/plurilateral agreements?
- What has been the experience with them?
- What are the individual country interests and impediments?
- What pressures for them are there?
- What other aspects are relevant?
- How can they be facilitated?



# Options



# Liberalisation Options

#### • Unilateral liberalisation

- Bilateral- basis for most regulation, and liberalisation, so far
- Sub Regional- groups of close countries agreeing to liberalise
- Plurilateral- groups of like minded countries, not necessarily close, agreeing to liberalise
- Multilateral- large numbers of countries agreeing to liberalise, perhaps through the WTO: Limited progress so far
- Focus here on sub regional and plurilateral



# Regional Agreements: Could Include:

- Agreement to achieve a set of liberal bilaterals and no more
- Could add 5<sup>th</sup> freedom
- Open access to all regional airlines to internal regional international (and domestic?) routesopen internal market
- Access to all regional airlines to external routes
- Regionalisation of ownership restrictions



#### Rationales



#### The Rationale for Regional Agreements

- More comprehensive pattern of liberal bilaterals leads to less distorted passenger/freight flows in region
- More open market enables airlines to develop their preferred networks- networks can be designed to serve demands for travel, not around country borders
- More flexible network structures facilitate travel around the region
- Open arrangements facilitate competition on routes
- More open arrangements enable airlines best suited to markets to serve them



#### **Rationale for Plurilateral Agreements**

- Individual countries can have liberal bilateral arrangements
- Going beyond bilaterals enables more network options
- Open market enables more competition and service by the best suited carrier, regardless of its origin
- For regionally dispersed countries, the gains will be limited
- Agreements between like minded countries are easier to conclude than regional agreements, though the gains may be smaller



#### Experiences



#### Agreements- Asia Pacific

- CLMV (Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Myanmar)
- ASEAN Open Sky
- PIASA (Pacific Islands Air Services Agreement)
- MALIAT (Multilateral Agreement on the Liberalization of International Air Transport) -Brunei, Singapore, NZ, US, Samoa, Chile, Peru (for a period)



#### **Other Regional Agreements**

- Fortaleza- Latin America
- CARICOM- Caribbean
- ANDEAN- regional South America
- Yamoussoukro-Africa
- Europe
- And others
- Easy to sign, difficult to implement
- Only Europe has been substantially implemented



#### **European Liberalisation**

- Most extensive example of regional liberalisation, by far
- Single internal aviation market, with few restrictions
- Eg, and Irish owned airline substantially based in the UK can fly from Germany to Italy
- Some countries occasionally seek to restrict Italy recently



#### **European Outcomes**

- Generally regarded as very successful
- Costs and fares falling, even before the Low Cost Carrier (LCC) boom
- LCC boom- partly enabled by regional liberalisation, and partly a factor in its success
- Legacy carriers have had some difficulties in adapting, but most are succeeding
- Initially strong carriers not necessarily the big winners



# Implementation of European Liberalisation

- Was not the result of countries agreeing to liberalise air transport
- Was imposed by courts- as a requirement of being a member of EU
- Not anticipated?
- Aviation region correlates, though imperfectly, with a political/economic union (some non-EC countries like Switzerland are members)
- Europe already strongly integrated economically



#### **Country Interests and Impediments**



#### Individual Country Interests

- Very likely that regional liberalisation brings net benefits to the region as a whole
- But, as with bilateral liberalisation, a particular country could lose out
- Whether it does depends on the balance between effects on home country travellers, airline profits and jobs, tourism gains and losses
- Possible loser: a country which has large airline share in traffic, but few home travellers
- Majority of countries likely to gain, but a few could lose, making agreement difficult



#### Impediments

- Producer interests may be strong and favour the status quo
- Countries concerned about their participation in the air transport industry
- Fear of dominance by successful carriers
- Tourism industry may not be well informed about its prospects or articulate
- Concerns that some routes will not be servedless cross subsidisation
- Infrastructure limitations



#### **Pressures for Change**



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# **Pressures for Change**

- Established airlines seeking to develop regional networks
- LCCs seeking opportunities for expansion
- Consumer interests seeking lower fares
- Tourism industries seeking more business
- General pressure within a group of countries for closer economic integration



#### **Other Factors**



# **Broader Factors Affecting Change**

- Countries in a region may have widely differing incomes, labour skills and managerial expertise
- Financial stability of carriers in smaller, poorer countries
- Access to capital differs amongst countries
- Extent of regional economic integration differs between regions
- Some routes have low densities (South Pacific)
- The existence or otherwise of competition policy



# Ownership

- Liberal arrangements at the route/operational level and the ownership level- substitutes or complements?
- Ownership restrictions can be constraints on the development of regional competition
- Substantially owned and controlled rule is restrictive
- Principal place of business opens up opportunities for more cooperation
- Regional ownership model- opens up competition within the region
- Ownership rules are still relevant for external bilaterals
- Share profits of a successful airline, or fund all of the losses of an unsuccessful one?



# **Competition Policy**

- Effectiveness of regional aviation liberalisation depends on competition policy
- Who polices anti competitive practices, such as predation?
- Can airlines form a cartel and fix prices?
- Are mergers between large and dominant airlines to be permitted?
- Airline competition works well in North America and Europe partly because there is a strong foundation of competition policy



#### Relations Beyond the Region

- Internal liberalisation consistent with a range of differing external arrangements
- Restrictive external agreements will distort the patterns of traffic, making the region too inward looking
- Opening up opportunities on external routes to within-region carriers will tilt the competitive balance towards them, vis a vis non-region carriers
- Within region rights for non-region carriers? Will be an issue



#### **Other Issues**

- Carrier viability and subsidies- financial support makes competition more difficult to achieve
- Preference for home country carriers in use of infrastructure



# Facilitating Liberalisation



# Achieving Regional Liberalisation

- Even comprehensive regional bilateral liberalisation often difficult given country interests
- Gradual approaches possible
- Open up bilaterals- capacity, designation, gateways
- Liberalise ownership restrictions
- Need to go beyond regional bilateral liberalisation- move towards the region as a single market



# Facilitating Change

- Groups of countries which have political, economic or trade links can move faster
- Aviation can be seen as part of a broader package
- All countries will gain something, even when they lose at the aviation level
- Economic or political unions create ongoing pressure for something to happen
- What would have happened to aviation in Europe without the EU?



# Informing Aviation Policy

- Country perceptions of the costs of liberalisation are not all well informed
- Can assess the economic and other costs and benefits of change much more rigorously than is often done
- If there are costs to a country, how big are they, and can they be overcome?
- Just how big are tourism benefits?- not often documented
- Several countries are now assessing benefits and costs of policy changes as a guide to negotiations
- Better knowledge of the consequences can facilitate agreements



#### Conclusions



#### Conclusions

- Regional and plurilateral agreements in aviation have the potential to bring significant benefits
- Enable air transport services designed to serve demand for travel, not constrained by country borders
- Countries can lose from regional liberalisation, though some winners will perceive they lose
- Easy to sign an agreement, but difficult to implement
- Many factors will impact on the success of regional liberalisation
- Gradual approaches are probably the most feasible
- Some factors (eg trade integration) make regional liberalisation easier to achieve



#### Thank You!

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