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POLITICAL DYNAMICS HINDERING AFRICA'S ECONOMIC INTEGRATION:

FOCUS ON THE SADC REGION

BY

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Declaration

I, Daniel Nyamaropa, declare that “**Political Dynamics Hindering Africa’s Economic Integration: Focus on the SADC Region**” is my own work and all sources that I have used have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete reference.

Daniel Nyamaropa

Date

Approval Form

Supervisor

I certify that I have supervised Daniel Nyamaropa for this research titled “**Political Dynamics Hindering Africa’s Economic Integration: Focus on the SADC Region**”, in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Masters of Science in International Relations and recommend that it proceeds.

Name.....Signature.....Date.....

Dedication

To Southern African Development Community (SADC), may this work be an encouragement to your economic integration agenda.

Acknowledgements

My unreserved gratitude goes to God Almighty whose mercy and grace gave me the strength, resilience, endurance and thoughtfulness to deliver this dissertation and to complete it to the satisfaction of the Bindura University of Science Education.

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Abstract

The African Union (AU) is persistently pursuing economic integration within the continent as evidenced by the signing of the Abuja Treaty in 1991. Southern African Development Community (SADC), as one of the regional economic communities (RECs) in Africa, signed the Trade Protocol in 1996 in order to increase the movement of goods, services and capital within the region, probably in response to the call from the AU. Regional economic initiatives are not without challenges in Africa. Thus, using the case of SADC, this study seeks to examine the political dynamics hindering Africa's economic integration. The research argues that political dynamics of southern African states are the main challenges to a successful regional economic integration. To this end purposive sampling design was used, employing 15 total sample sizes. Its composition was from individuals with the knowledge of the research study such as social science researchers, policy makers, former government officials and others to explore hindrances to SADC's integration. This study was conducted using in-depth interviews as the main data collection instrument. Rampant corruption, political instability, lack rule of law, colonial history and other many obstacles, were identified by the research as major internal issues derailing the region to fully implement its integration agenda. External factors such as SADC's International Cooperating Partners (ICPs) and neo-colonialism are also acting against regionalism in SADC. The research study also discovered the initiatives that the regional body is undertaking to promote intra-SADC trade, for example, UNIVISA - which promotes the free movement of people; proposed SADC Vision 2050 and the accompanying RISDP 2020-2030 blueprint and RETOSA which centralized regional tourism. It is posited that in the interest of a sustainable and effective economic integration, SADC should include the participation of the civil society and citizens in policy making, reduce dependency on foreign aid and encourage good governance on its member states.

Abbreviations

ACHPR	-	African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights
AU	-	African Union
CBA	-	Cost-Benefit Analysis
COMESA	-	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CU	-	Customs Union
DFID	-	Department for International Development
EAC	-	East African Community
EPA	-	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU	-	European Union
FDI	-	Foreign Direct Investment
FTA	-	Free Trade Area
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
ICP	-	International Cooperating Partners
ISI	-	Import-Substitution Industrialization
NAFTA	-	North American Free Trade Area
PPDF	-	Project Preparation Development Fund
PPP	-	Public-Private Partnerships

PTA	-	Preferential Trade Agreement
REC	-	Regional Economic Communities
REI	-	Regional Economic Integration
RIA	-	Regional Integration Arrangements
RETOSA	-	Regional Tourism Organization of Southern Africa
RISDP	-	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
RTA	-	Regional Trading Agreements
SACU	-	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	-	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	-	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SARDC	-	Southern Africa Research and Documentation Centre
SIRESS	-	SADC Integrated Regional Electronic Settlement System
UN	-	United Nations
UNSC	-	United Nations Security Council
WTO	-	World Trade Organizations
ZID	-	Zimbabwe Institute of Diplomacy

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0.Introduction

“The reality of our mandate as enshrined in the Treaty is that regional integration is not a choice or a probability: IT IS A MUST. It can be done. Let us pull together towards a common destination that is beneficial to SADC citizens”, Dr. Tax, SADC Executive Secretary, said during the Ministerial Committee of the Organ on Politics, Defense and Security Cooperation (SADC Newsletter, 2014). The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Trade Protocol of 1996 came into effect in 2000, contains the framework for the region’s trade regime and outlines the basis for regional integration, a key objective of economic freedom (Mushonga, 2013). The whole essence of this is that if SADC is to participate effectively in the global economy, the region has to undergo regulatory upgrading, in the context of international trade that is easier to access from a regulatory standpoint. Thus, regional cooperation and integration has become a common feature in the contemporary world. From a scholarly perspective, the process of integration will enable SADC and Africa as a whole to effectively manage common natural resources and address common environmental issues such as water and climate change; promote peace and security by avoiding conflicts from spilling over into other countries.

Regional Economic Integration (REI) will also foster economic activities: facilitating trade, pooling resources, promoting market integration or increasing market size; foster food security by connecting markets and producers; promote common norms, principles, ideologies; foster strategic coalitions and alliances to increase international leverage in arenas such as the United Nations (UN), the World Trade Organization (WTO) and among other various benefits. However, regional cooperation and integration are no ends in themselves, but can be means through which to help transform economies over time and promote sustainable development, Bilal and Vanheukelom, (2015) argues. While there is a solid economic case for regional integration, progress has been narrow as a result of limited political will to implement what has been agreed (Department for International Development Southern Africa, 2014). DFID Southern Africa (2014) goes on to note that national political leaders take policy decisions at Regional Economic Communities (RECs) without putting in place the institutional arrangements and accountability systems that are needed for follow through and implementation. This is due to

different social, economic and political hindrances such as lack of political will among the states, different levels of development among member states, internal conflicts and among other issues. Henceforth, this research seeks to expose the extent to which political dynamics within the SADC region has impeded the bloc in trying to achieve integration objectives.

1.1. Background to the Study

Africa is the richest continent on earth whether in human or natural resources and with its diverse cultures and ethnic groups, continental and regional integration becomes of paramount importance. However, it became evident that the SADC region and the African continent at large are engulfed with serious challenges that are hindering the quest for deeper integration, and often this is further compounded by internal economic challenges that members' states are faced with (Mlambo and Mlambo, 2018). These and other negative issues has made it impossible to achieve the dream of a 'United States of Africa' which will be a conduit for the continent's economic development agenda; correcting the ills created by colonialism and the Berlin Conference of 1984/5, and help achieve the dream of Pan-Africanism. African Union (AU) member states have responded to these challenges by adopting strategies that would strengthen the African unity. Nonetheless, their efforts have not yielded any fruitful results.

Today, the Southern African Development Community in particular, has become a conduit to achieve regional integration within African states. Many regional organizations in the developing world, including SADC, explicitly state that a large part of the regional integration project is towards a goal of attracting an increase in foreign direct investment (McNamee et al., 2015). The main argument has been that SADC and the whole of Africa is lagging behind in terms of economic influence in the international system. Regional integration is therefore, intended to reduce or eliminate trade barriers among states and promote trade within the region and continent at large. However, the disappointing record of human rights violations since the adoption of the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR) indicates the little regard attached to the consideration of democratic norms as an indispensable component of regional integration in Africa, Mlambo and Mlambo (2018) argued. Post-independence leaders in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo and others adopted arbitrary laws reminiscent of the colonial era, which they had previously criticized, in suppressing all forms of dissent and consolidating their new earned powers. The promise of show-casing how traditional African

values can influence good governance and economic development are gradually derailing the successful adoption of continental and regional integration.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the research is to reach a better understanding of SADC's efforts in promoting regional economic integration and the political hindrances it encounters.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

Article 3 (b) of the SADC Trade Protocol state that, all trade barriers should be removed within the time frame of eight years from the entry into force of the Protocol, with the committee of ministers to determine the phased elimination of tariffs and non-tariffs barriers (Protocol on Trade, 1996). However, despite the Protocol on Trade, trade within the region remains low because of "thick borders". SADC member states are prioritizing the issue of integration but despite their attention to the issue, progress remains slow. The cost of time and money of moving goods and services within the SADC region remains high. DFID Southern Africa (2014) notes "progress has been limited as a result of limited political will to implement what has been agreed...a problem is that regional integration is a collective good, whereas leaders and ruling elites tend to be driven by a desire to control what material benefits of state sovereignty they can muster to strengthen their political authority, as well as to benefit personally from policy initiatives". Thus this research seeks to investigate how the political dynamics of African states are hindering regional economic integration, with a bias towards Southern Africa.

1.4. Research Objectives

- i.** To establish what economic integration means in the context of SADC;
- ii.** To identify the challenges affecting integration in SADC region;
- iii.** To assess the initiatives by SADC towards regional economic integration; and
- iv.** To assess the advantages of regional integration to SADC and Africa at large.

1.5. Research Questions

- i.** What does integration mean to SADC?
- ii.** What are the challenges facing SADC integration project?
- iii.** What has SADC done to promote integration in the region?

- iv. What are the possible remedial actions to the challenges facing SADC in pursuit of integration within the region?

1.6. Assumptions of the Study

This research is based on the following assumptions:

- i. The case study, Southern Africa Development Community is the “fair” representation of the other regional bloc within Africa.
- ii. Political dynamics of African states are the main obstacles to the full attainment of regional integration.
- iii. If effectively implemented, regional economic integration will boost trade within the SADC region and Africa at large.

1.7. Significance of the Study

This study will mainly benefit two actors, that is, scholars and policy makers.

- i. To the scholars, the findings of this research will add value to the sources of information that are currently there as it will bring how political dynamics of SADC states impact regional integration and recommendations to promote regional integration within the SADC region. The study also serves as a contemporary research to the field of integration.
- ii. To the policy makers, they will be greatly assisted in many several ways. It will help the policy makers within SADC on how to formulate regional integration policies that will positively impact on the economic development of its member states and the citizens at large. The research will shed more light on the obstacles hindering regional integration within Africa and SADC. It will help to identify gaps and set strategy on how to adopt sound integration policies.

1.8. Delimitation of the Study

SADC region will be used as a sample in the understudy issue. Mostly, (former) government officials, private individuals and relevant institutions will be the sources of information in this research. SADC leaders have been accused of protecting each other at the expense of democratic values and uplifting the standard of living in their respective countries. There is, therefore, risk that government officials will give biased information which will affect the final findings of the

research. Nevertheless, quite a number of good pieces of information of this issue of study are being gathered and the issue will be dealt in-depth. Because the researcher is incapacitated, he will not be able to travel the whole region of SADC to carry out investigations or interviews, hence, resorting to interview individuals and relevant institutions in one or two countries and carry out an in-depth assessment of the states to represent the facts of the study at hand.

1.9. Limitation of the Study

The African continent is dominated by various groupings with different needs, religion, values, norms and interests. As this research is only limited to the Southern African Development Community, there is a probability that it might not reflect how political dynamics in East, North, Central and West Africa affect integration in their particular regions and the continent at most. It is in this regard that secondary sources of information like books, journals and relevant internet sources assist the researcher in coming up with a research paper that could generally reflect the conditions of other regional blocs.

1.10. Definition of key terms

- i.** Integration – there is no agreed definition of integration. Integration is where people from diverse backgrounds, with unique ways of thinking and differing personalities come together to work towards achieving a common goal. As the famous Shona saying goes “*Chara chimwe hachitswanyi inda,*” literally translated to mean “one finger cannot destroy a lice”, it means there is much benefit to be derived when people come together in pursuit of a common purpose. Regional integration is when a group of states come together and agree to open up their borders to enable the ease of doing business with each other.
- ii.** Democracy – is another concept that is highly contested when it comes to definitions. One could define democracy as power to the people. The citizens are given an opportunity to directly or indirectly influence the decisions of the government.
- iii.** Political dynamics – In lay man’s terms, it is the model of governance that different states adopt for the sake of promoting and protecting their national security and interests.
- iv.** Realism - is concerned with the world as it actually is rather than how it is ought to be as in the case of idealism. Realism is a paradigm that emphasizes on state power, state security and

national interests; and it focuses on the state as a primary unit of analysis in international relations/politics.

1.11. Proposed Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: Introduction

It set out the background to the study, identifies the problem that the study intends to investigate, the adopted methodology and the limitations of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

It provides a conceptual framework of the study. It begins with presenting a historical background of SADC. It provides a theoretical discussion of regional integration and supra-nationalism. It further examines the theoretical dimensions of African integration, including how political dynamics will impact on the integration process.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

It provides the methodology chapter that is going to give sufficient detail about the data collection methods that the researcher will use. Sections in this chapter will include, but are not limited to, the following: participants, instruments, materials, procedure, and analysis. Tables will also be used to illustrate the data that will be collected during interviews.

Chapter 4: Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion of Findings

It will attempt to answer the research questions of this study by examining the feasibility of an integrated Africa or SADC in particular, with reference to chapter three. It further provides an analysis of SADC, especially concerning its non-interference policy and the question on whether it can be described as a supranational entity with the support of theories that will be mentioned in chapter two. It finally considers challenges to regionalization in SADC, initiatives that SADC is undertaking to fulfill its economic integration agenda and among other issues.

Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusions, Recommendations and Areas for Further Research

It builds on the points identified in chapter four by considering how they can be channeled into the institutional transformation of the SADC to achieve an integrated region. Finally, the chapter will summarize the main findings and discusses further recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0. Introduction

Regional economic integration has long been recognized as the utmost tool to Africa's economic problems. The hang-over of colonialism, lack of common vision among African leaders and policy short-comings have hindered the entire continent from assuming a global market share that is befitting its market size and the vast natural resources it endows. It is against this background that regional integration is gaining momentum within the regional blocs in Africa. Regional integration and cooperation have long been high on the agenda for African countries and regional blocs. There is strong evidence that regional cooperation is vital to tackle development challenges that cannot be solved at a national level. The interest in regional integration has seen many commitments, policies and strategies being formulated and some being implemented. In pursuit of the regional integration agenda, SADC member states have since 1992 signed 27 protocols and a number of declarations, charters and memoranda of understanding on various matters, ranging from trade, mining and finance and many more (SADC Newsletter, 2015). Out of the 27 protocols, 24 have come into force so far after being ratified by two-thirds of the signatory Member States. This entails that SADC is serious about regional integration though some actors and partners have frequently raised concerns over the lack of progress, DFID Southern Africa (2014) noted.

The signing of the Windhoek Treaty in 1992 by the former Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) now the Southern African Development Community was a critical step towards achieving regional integration. SADCC was a total failure; it had already served its purpose of attaining independence for its member states. This is why Tanyanyiwa and Hakuna (2014) argued that, SADC, unlike its predecessor, was (is) to have a more robust and specific vision of enhancing regional integration through stimulating intra-regional trade and socio-economic collaboration coupled together with political and security cooperation. However, with member states having different levels of development and economic policies; and national interests, the efforts of achieving regional economic integration have been and are still rendered useless. There are a few success stories in regard to this endeavor.

2.1. Historical Background: SADC in Brief

The establishment of the SADC in 1992 was underpinned by the idea that regional coordination and cooperation would undeniably lead to socio-economic development and faster integration among member states (Kararach and Besada, 2016). The SADC Vision, formulated in 1992 (SADC, 1992), is to build a region in which there will be a high degree of harmonization and rationalization, to enable the pooling of resources to achieve collective self-reliance in order to improve the living standards of the region's people. The vision is one of creating a common future with economic well-being, good standards of living, quality of life, freedom and social justice and peace and security, secured.

SADC is made up of sixteen member states. Before the formation of the SADC in 1992, the block was called Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) whose focus was on functional cooperation in key sectors. The main objective of SADCC was to reduce dependence on apartheid South Africa. This cooperation was dominated by the frontline states whose focus was political liberation of the region. SADCC's structure was oriented towards a cooperative and not integration approach (Penfold, 2016). The 1992 SADC Treaty redefined SADCC to SADC changing the organization from a loose association towards a legally binding arrangement.

The SADC's integration agenda was conceptualized under the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) in 2003. Institutional challenges nevertheless, remained; SADC, according to Saurombe (2009), is still rooted in a cooperative framework rather than rules based mechanism. This means that SADC's policy organs in form of the Summit and Council, assumed a role of both a player and referee in the integration game. The Secretariat was not adequately transformed to handle the new approach. The decision to leave the task of driving integration to national committees was not the best since national governments had failed to drive integration (Saurombe, 2009).

2.2. Theoretical Framework

Theories of regional integration are many; they include functionalism, relativism, dependency, and neo-classical theory. However this research is dwelling much on dependency theory because of the original ideas of SADC formation highlighted above. There are also other political science

theories like inter-governmentalism (idealism/liberalism) and supranationalism (realism) that will be included in the analyses of the findings.

2.2.1. Dependency Theory

Regional integration is considered a useful tool for loosening and gradually eliminating the historically economic and structural dependence of developing countries on the developed world. Dependency theorists argue that poverty in the periphery (poor countries) is not because they are not integrated into the world system, or not 'fully' integrated as is often argued by free market economists, but because of how they are integrated into the system. One of the founding proponents of the dependency theory Prebisch (1951) further implores that poor nations provide natural resources, cheap labour, a destination for obsolete technology, and markets to the wealthy nations, without which the latter could not have the standard of living they enjoy.

SADC is no exception in terms of dependency on donors for its programs and operations. Sources of funding in SADC are derived from the annual Member States contributions as well as funding support received from International Co-operating Partners (ICPs) including amongst others, the African Development Bank, European Union, the African Union and other individual western countries. Annual member states contribution distribution methods are calculated on the basis of GDP of the respective Member States (SADC, 2015). McLeod (2015) highlights that ownership of programmes by receivers of donor funds must be strong, if a donor forces its own ideas onto a partner, the programme is unlikely to succeed and it undermines the sustainability of the programme. And this has in most cases the problem, as realists argue 'who pays the piper determines the tune'. Donors determine how their monies will be spent. There is need to establish whether SADC is sustainable in the event that donors or international cooperating partners were to pull out, as the researchers are not wary of any research that has looked at this aspect. This study is to thus determine SADC's sustainability with regards to this facet and how donor aid has derailed the process of integration.

2.2.2. Political science theories of integration

- i. The political science theories of integration can be classified under two broad headings: inter-governmentalism and supra-nationalism. The supra-nationalist school of thought questions the logic of nation state, especially after the chaotic consequences of the two

world wars. At the core of supra-nationalist theory is the assignment of sovereign powers to a neutral, transnational entity, devoid of the weaknesses of nation states. SADC is thus an entity in this regard established to promote integration within the region thereby uplifting the standards of living of SADC's citizens. Thus, neo-liberal institutionalist, Keohane (1984) noted that institutions 'exert significant impact on the behaviour of governments'.

- ii. At the other end of the spectrum is the intergovernmental or state-centric school of thought. Advocates of this ideology posit that nation states remain the dominant players in global or regional affairs. Even when transnational entities are set up, inter-governmentalists point to the fact that the representatives of nation states are the primary decision makers and essentially drive the process. Commenting on the neoliberal institutionalists game theory paradigm of the prisoner's dilemma, Mearsheimer (2017) argues that neoliberal institutionalists are wrong to focus exclusively on absolute gains in an institution because institutions do not affect state behaviour in any meaningful way and also due to the concern of relative gains inhibits cooperation as well as the concern of cheating. This has made SADC to have an insurmountable task to influence its member states to adhere or ratify trade agreements that would create an environment conducive for doing business within the region and achieving the goals of integration sequentially. Thus Morgenthau argues that, 'politics is a struggle for power over man and whatever its ultimate aim may be, power and national interests are its immediate goals and the modes of acquiring, maintaining and demonstrating it determines the technique of political action.'

2.2.3. Conceptualizing Regional Integration

From a layman's perspective, just like a team, regional integration is where people from diverse backgrounds, with unique ways of thinking and differing personalities come together to work towards achieving a common goal. As the famous Shona saying goes "*Chara chimwe hachitswanyi inda,*" literally translated to mean "one finger cannot destroy a louse", it means there is much benefit to be derived when people come together in pursuit of a common purpose. There is power in numbers and unity. As Immanuel Kant (1795) points out, states may remain powerful and peaceful in a liberal system and this is because power can be better accrued if cooperation is realized only within the framework of international politics. The concept of

regional integration can be viewed in the same way; hence regional integration can be defined as the coming together of nations to attain a common goal (Tanyanyiwa and Hakuna, 2014). Just as it is in a team, regional integration comes with its pros and cons which shall be illustrated later in this discussion. There is neither a clear definition of integration nor consensus on its substantive content and form, let alone agreement on paradigms that should inform (Chingono and Nakana, 2014).

The lack of clarity and consensus on the guiding theory for regional integration and how to achieve it remains one of the key explanatory factors for limited progress in some Regional Integration Arrangements (RIAs). Vanheukelom and Bertelsmann-Scottthat (2016) asserts that regional economic integration, or more crudely “regionalism” is any policy designed to reduce trade barriers between a subset of countries regardless of whether those countries are actually contiguous or even close to each other. One of the most striking features of international economic integration is that the great majority of RIAs involve neighboring countries (hence the term “regional”). However, Mlambo (2018) argues that, this amount of interaction lies upon the eagerness and assurance of sovereign states to share their sovereignty not only for their own development but also for other regional members.

2.3. SADC and Economic Integration

The SADC regional integration project includes the establishment of the Free Trade Area (FTA) by 2008, a Customs Union by 2010, a Common Market by 2015 and later a monetary union and a single currency in 2018, Mlambo and Mlambo (2018) noted. In 1996 the Southern African Development Community (SADC) initiated the process of promoting regional economic integration by coming up with the Protocol on Trade. Basically, intra-regional trade within southern Africa has been on a steady increase since the formation of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). Kaphuka (2015) pointed out that intra-SADC trade in 1996 was valued at US\$9 million, a US\$2.9 million from the last year before the formation on the Protocol on Trade. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that trade within the region remains very low as compared to other regional blocs. For instance, according to Tralac (2017), statistics show that regional trade is dismally low, roughly 15-17 percent. In concurrence with Tralac (2017), Chidede (2017) opines that SADC intra-regional trade is only 10 percent which is very low compared to 24 percent in Asia and 60-70 percent in the European Union. This entails

that SADC trades 90 percent with external countries. And trade in the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) stood at 61 percent. The low volumes of intra-SADC trade attest that regional leaders are not deepening and prioritizing integration.

The main objectives of the Protocol are but not limited to, establishing a Free Trade Area in the SADC Region; to further liberalize intra-regional trade in goods and services on the basis of fair, mutually equitable and beneficial trade arrangements, complemented by Protocols in other areas (Protocol on Trade, Article 2). With the end of the Apartheid system in South Africa, the entire region was “liberated” and the dawn of independence motivated SADC states to focus on regional integration which is (was) the next step towards improving the region’s social and economic growth prospects. As observed by Prebisch and his colleagues in their dependency theory work; were troubled by the fact that economic growth in the advanced industrialized countries did not necessarily lead to growth in the poorer countries. Indeed, their studies suggested that economic activity in the richer countries often led to serious economic problems in the poorer countries. Such a possibility was not predicted by neoclassical theory, which had assumed that economic growth was beneficial to all even if the benefits were not always equally shared (Subho, 2016). The Apartheid regime was accruing a lot of profits at the expense of other southern African states. Thus dependency theorist, Singer and Prebisch (1951) maintained that Import-substitution industrialization (ISI), not a trade-and-export orientation, was the best strategy for underdeveloped countries. The transformation of SADCC to SADC was a slap in the face to the Apartheid regime as it aimed to cut the umbilical cord and integrate SADC economies.

However, SADC started to experience some growth in cross-border trade. South Africa of course, continues to dominate intra-regional trade since it is the only industrialized nation in the region; its economic prowess comes from manufacturing. This cements the position of institutionalists who have always maintained that institutions can have a significant impact on the behavior of the states because states are interested in maximizing their absolute gains. However, the performance of the rest of SADC member states so far remains unattractive, inefficient and ineffective. This is because they are concerned more with their political survival and hard sovereignty. Thus neo-realists argue that states are too occupied in achieving relative gains to allow institutions to determine their behavior in the anarchical system.

The SADC Protocol on Trade (2005), as amended, foresaw the establishment of a Free Trade Area in the SADC region by 2008. This was meant to address the trade imbalances. Article 3 of the Protocol pin-points the trade barriers to regional trade. In achieving the set forth objectives, according to Kaphuka (2015), the Protocol aims to eliminate tariff barriers to intra-SADC trade specifically import and export duties and eliminate non-tariff barriers such as quantitative restrictions on exports and imports. Eliminating tariff barriers and freeing trade in the region is for the benefit of all actors involved. It will create larger market; create employment for the growing unemployed youths who are posing a security threat to the region and increases access cheaper inputs and exports. Thus Mlambo (2018) opines that, for SADC, pursuing regional integration is not an option but rather a political consensus. This is because intra-SADC trade presents opportunities to influence and extend comparative benefits in way not easily reachable or attainable through national programs. It was for this reason that economic liberalist, Eric Gartzke opines that ‘economic freedom is fifty times effective than democracy in creating peace and development, therefore, globalization and international institutions can be seen as an important economic development.

Southern African Development Community is an economic and developmental organization with the goal of regional integration and poverty reduction, Penfold (2016) notes. In its vision and mission, SADC additionally considers itself as a “regional community that will ensure economic well-being, improvement of the standards of living and quality of life, freedom and social justice and peace and security for the people of Southern Africa” and a community that “promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and socio-economic development through efficient productive systems, deeper co-operation and integration, good governance, and durable peace and security” (SADC, 2014). As argued by John Locke (1689), human beings should be treated as ends rather than means and this is what SADC vision is all about. Thus liberalists emphasises ethical principles over the pursuit of power and views institutions as forces that shape international relations. However, it has become an uphill task for SADC to commit to its vision and mission statement because SADC heads of states do not want to create a supra-national institution like the EU or UN Security Council (UNSC). Currently, the Trade Protocol is mainly focusing on goods and not services also. Hence, Saurombe (2009) observes that member states are not willing to lose sovereignty over trade policy.

2.4. Rationale for Regional Economic Integration in SADC

The essence of regional economic integration in Africa is very important because of the contemporary political and economic weaknesses. Africa is endowed with a vast of resources, both natural and human, unfortunately, the continent is the poorest on planet earth. There is abject poverty, low share of world trade, poor infrastructure, to mention a few. It is because of these and other many reasons that Africa prioritizes regional integration, as it will enhance economic development and growth. Far back as 1965, Kwame Nkrumah observed that “it is only when the artificial boundaries that divide her are broken down so as to provide for viable economic units and ultimately single African unit that Africa will be able to develop industrially, for her own sake, and ultimately for the sake of healthy economy” (Mlambo and Mlambo, 2018: 5).

SADC countries except South Africa are poor and they cannot survive on their own because of the high costs associated with the day to day running of the business of government. Thus Mlambo (2018) argues that the rationale behind SADC’s integration is quite obvious; on their own most southern African states are destined to remain vulnerable, marginalized and beggar nations. Henceforth, economic integration does not just act as a strengthening force towards economic unity but as a palliative tool for likely economic losses and immunity against economic exploitation (Ansah, 2013). Mbeakani (2013) in Mlambo (2018) cements that regional integration offers the region the platform to overcome their detriments of being minor by merging their small economies with those that are relatively developed and robust such as South Africa and Namibia. In SADC, as noted earlier, the overall contribution of economic activities to GDP is dominated by South Africa’s economic structure, which highly invested in manufacturing. As observed by Mashayekhi et’al (2015) in SADC as a whole, agriculture contributes 9%, industry (including mining) 36% and services 55%.With the exception of South Africa and Mauritius, it can generally be stated that the degree of industrialization is relatively low in SADC countries. Thus ensuring that regional integration succeeded in SADC is critical because it helps to build the infrastructure that many poor countries are unable to develop on their own trade corridors, including transport networks, telecommunications materials and energy development.

There are generally agreed benefits for regional integration. These benefits include but not limited to, lower risk as associated with investment, ease of doing business, pooling of regional

resources and more efficient allocation of resources (Madyo, 2008). Regional integration is also important not because of its economic growth opportunity it brings with it but also as a result of other states having a firmer voice in regional, continental and global politics; and at the same time furthering their security, development prospects and in general, their vital interests. SADC and the whole of African leaders thus consider it an important path to broad-based development and a continental economic community, in accordance with the treaty establishing the African Economic Community (1991) and the Constitutive Act of the African Union (2000).

The concept of regional integration was originated from the trade theory, which assumes competition and whose concern was the location of resources of different kinds of goods (Madyo, 2008). Thus the urgency of intra-SADC trade is being influenced by both internal and external forces. Globalization, for instance, and the risk for further marginalization in the contemporary world which is dominated by trading blocs in North America, China, South-East Asia and Europe, have posed a significant challenge to SADC's integration project. These blocs also create a dependency syndrome for SADC and other developing countries at large. Dependency theory, as Subho (2016) argues, is the concept that resources flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped states to a "core" of wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. China has created a debt burden in Zimbabwe and Zambia and this has made these countries to not entirely focus on economic regional integration. Each developing country is focusing on its survival and ignores the big picture of uniting with other regional countries and has one voice in the international economic system.

The challenge to implement SADC Protocol on Trade is therefore upon SADC leaders to ensure that it succeeded in all fronts, Madyo (2008) maintained. As argued before, regional integration will enhance economic independence of the region and more importantly of individual poor countries. This will only be possible by making sure that the importance of intra-SADC trade is spelt out and understood by all actors involve (DFID Southern Africa, 2014). Hence, when one observes the positive rates development that regional blocs have brought to other countries in the world, it becomes evident that regional organizations are in fact a pathway to growth and development as they encourage cooperation between member states and surely contribute significantly to regional stability and security. The effort of SADC in combating Islamic fundamentalism in Northern Mozambique is a case in point.

2.5. SADC's Achievements in regard to Regional Economic Integration

There is wide evidence that regional economic integration is the best way out of poverty and marginalization in the international political economy system. The initial positive step taken by SADC in promoting regional integration was the transformation of the organization from SADCC to SADC (Saurombe, 2009). SADCC's main objective was the total liberation of the southern African region and to reduce dependence from the Apartheid's regime in South Africa. With South Africa attaining its freedom from the Apartheid regime in the early 1990's the organization lost relevance or become less potent. SADC Treaty stipulates that, to achieve a progressive elimination of obstacles to the free movement of goods, services, capital, and labour, and of the people of the region generally, member states have entered into a contractual relationship to harmonize their political and economic policies, and plans (The SADC Treaty of 1992). Thus Peter-Berries (2010) in Mlambo (2018) notes that regional integration could assist southern Africa to overcome the economic balkanization in the region, hence, it forms a robust mechanism in uniting regional states together for an array of opportunities and to be a catalyst for equitable and beneficial growth and development both economically and politically.

The SADC Treaty provides for member states to conclude protocols as may be necessary in each area of co-operation, to achieve the SADC Treaty objectives (Kalenga, 2015). She goes on to further argue that, most protocols call for the harmonization of national policies in their respective sectors, and as such, they are regarded as important instruments towards policy convergence or harmonization among member states. This therefore, entails that regional integration was a priority for the SADC organization from the onset.

The adoption of the Trade Protocol on 2000 was an achievement for the bloc. Currently the protocol is focusing on trade in goods with the draft Protocol on trade in services still to be negotiated (Saurombe, 2009). Intra-SADC trade in goods though it is still low but it has remarkably increased than it was before the ratification of the Trade Protocol. It is a commendable effort since the Protocol binds those who have ratified it. Another milestone is the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP), which was adopted in 2003. It articulates a 15-year roadmap as the blueprint for regional integration in SADC. Mlambo and Mlambo (2018) notes that RISDP envisages a sequential (linear) process of deeper economic integration, starting with the establishment of a free trade area by 2008; a customs union by 2010; a common market by 2015; a monetary union by 2016; and an economic union, with a

single currency by 2018. One could argue that this is being too idealistic and as the evidence supports, their targets were (are) not practical. However, it is believed, as in the case of the European Union, that reaching these milestones gradually will lead to the free flow of goods, services, capital, labour, and people across the region (Saurombe, 2009).

It was greatly debated and agreed that to increase trade between members countries, customs duties had to be reduced as they were a huge barrier, hence the development of the Preferential Trade Agreement (Khandelwal, 2004) in Mlambo and Mlambo (2018). Furthermore, eliminating tariffs and tariff quotas was also imperative in enabling SADC states to increase trade regionally. As argued by trade liberalist, Adam Smith, trade liberalization is a catalyst for economic development and employment creation; hence SADC encouraged its member states to align their national policies with those of the bloc. Implementation of the SADC Free Trade Areas began in 2000 following the signing of the SADC Trade Protocol in 1996. Among the member States, the liberalization of tariffs has taken place at different rates, Saurombe (2009) observes. In general, the more developed countries have reduced tariffs at a faster rate. South Africa, Botswana and Namibia removed most tariffs between 2000 and 2005. Other countries such as Mauritius have gradually reduced their tariffs each year between 2000 and 2008 (Vanheukelom and Bertelsmann-Scott, 2016). For less developed countries such as Mozambique and Zambia, tariff reductions were generally introduced during 2008-09. This entails that the SADC countries are “sincere” in their aim of promoting free trade and stimulate economic growth.

Modern trade liberalists, for instance Massot (2017) and Acharya (2014), in support of the tariff reduction measures, argue that higher tariffs imposed by states are an impediment to trade hence undermining economic development. However, since states, according to realists Morgenthau, Hobbes and Mearsheimer, seek to maximize their gains and dominate others, reducing these trade tariffs have proved to be difficult for other countries in the region and derailing the achievement of a SADC FTA and in general, undermining regional economic integration efforts.

2.6. Challenges to SADC’s Economic Integration Project

The current efforts of economic integration in Africa and SADC in particular, are progressing slowly and have failed to meet the realities on the ground. The evidence on the ground entails that regional economic trade in SADC is still far from being attained. The countries have low

growth domestic product (GDP) growth rates, different political dynamics, high unemployment rate; no access to means of production, social injustice, capital inflows and per capita income. And this is in spite of the number of integration policies that have been formulated and some implemented by the regional body.

2.6.1. Political Challenges

Colonialism: Regional integration, according to Mlambo (2018) is spearheaded by factors such as political will, dedication, political stability and regional peace as success drivers and these elements often require huge concessions from member states. In SADC region, the challenges to regional integration are many and are often triggered by a number of factors. Chief among them is the historical effects of colonialism that left many countries in need of resources for their own development and economic growth, Mlambo (2018) argued. This has made southern African countries to commit less to SADC's resolutions on FTA. Zimbabwe, for instance, faced a condemnation from its neighbours, especially South Africa, in 2016 after it imposed a ban on imports of basic goods from its neighbours. Institutionalists are of the view that properly designed institutions can help egoists to cooperate in a peaceful way. The behavior of Zimbabwe was a violation of SADC's Protocol on Trade and not surprisingly, SADC did not say anything. Thus realists, Salmon and Imber, and Mearsheimer (2017) goes on to maintain that international relations practitioners must not lose focus or sight of the fact that "states are their own judges; states are their own juries and states are their own hangman and they resort to "force" to secure or achieve their interests".

Internal Political Instability: The introduction of political dynamics in the analysis of regional economic integration of any regional body is very useful and it is supported by a number of arguments. For example, a stable political climate environment, offers healthier security of markets (Financial Times, 2019). Additionally, no country can be completely self-sufficient or afford to ignore political events outside her borders thus economic unity will be effective if accompanied by political unity (Kwame Nkrumah, 1963). As such one can therefore, argue that some of the challenges and prospects of regional integration in Africa have emanated from political undertones. For over the years, regional countries such as Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) have witnessed an array of internal political instability and conflicts. Such political instability, according to Sejanamane (2017),

brings with it the short and long effects with regard acquiring the much needed economic development and not only for these countries but also for the Southern Africa as a whole.

Lack of Political will: SADC envisioned a Common Market by 2015 but this has failed to materialize. A Common Market is a Customs Union, according to Saurombe (2009), with harmonized regulation and policies on free movement of factors of production. The regional leaders continue to drag their feet in signing the SADC Protocol on the Movement of persons and it remains a thorny issue for member states. As such, one can safely argue that the Trade Protocol has done little to promote intra-SADC trade and assist in the regional integration project. There is a deficiency of a SADC collective standing on labour mobility. Kaphuka (2015) argues that the lack of coherence on this issue means that SADC lacks a global, outward looking approach in regional integration which is essential if any meaningful and tangible outcomes are to be realized. The Protocol on the movement of persons has not been subjected to intense regional discussion by SADC members Heads of States for some time now. Thus Kaphuka (2015) notes that there is great doubt whether there is the political will to push the process. Unfortunately, just like most of the international organizations, SADC Secretariat in Gaborone does not have the legal basis to ensure accountability, compliance and enforcement of decisions. The regional body is a “white elephant”, a “toothless bull-dog”. This has already posed a serious challenge on SADC achieving its goal of a Common Market by 2015. For liberal thinkers, the only effective way of surviving in an anarchic world is through international institutions.

The dismal failure of SADC however, is evidence to the fact that international institutions are misguided and unrealistic in their efforts to control or influence the behaviour of states. States, as noted by Mearsheimer (2017) are driven by selfish interests. They do not support regional/international organizations decisions when their interests are threatened. The effects of brain drain within and outside the region is being felt, with minimal or no effort at all to address the problems (Kaphuka, 2015). Ironically, South Africa which exercises economic and “political” muscle within the region is the main beneficiary of brain drain in the region.

Poor governance systems: ‘African leadership suffers from a lack of urgency and understanding about just how much the governance system will have to improve if they are to respond to the competitive pressures of the global economy, Ramphela (2014) argues. Regional integration is a complex process; it’s a combination of interstate formal processes with myriad in-country

measures relating to formal trade agreements, formal and informal trade practices, regulatory mechanisms, macroeconomic policies, industrial and agricultural policies, and many more infrastructure and other projects and processes with cross-border implications (Byiers and Vanheukelom, 2015). For instance, a mid-term review of the RISDP was to be scheduled for 2012. A desk assessment was conducted by the Secretariat in 2011 and an independent mid-term review was done by a consultancy firm in 2013. Hartzenberg and Kalenga (2015) observed that preliminary indications are that most member states have not adequately mainstreamed the RISDP in their national development policy and regulatory frameworks.

In addition, progressing towards other deeper integration milestones in SADC, which requires reduction in national policy flexibility, appears to be problematic to some member states. Instead, a new discourse on ‘development integration’ with emphasis on infrastructure and industrial development is gaining prominence in the region, (Hartzenberg and Kalenga, 2015). This suggests the problem in SADC as well the continent is that national parliamentarians are not much involved in regional economic integration agenda. The national leaders are the ones, oftentimes, who sign Trade Protocols without the consultation of the national assembly. Decisions are top-bottom instead of vice-versa. In circumstances where the agreement has to go through parliament, it is only rubber-stamped and sail through without due process, not adequately analyzed. Most of the times, the ruling party is the one that also enjoys majority in parliament. There is need for African leaders to strengthen their democratic and governance system as it will enhance trade liberalization. According to DFID Southern Africa (2014) national political leaders take policy decisions at Regional Economic Communities (RECs) without putting in place the institutional arrangements and accountability systems that are needed for follow through and implementation. Too often REC-level commitments and goals are empty statements. Henceforth, political elites need to support implementation of regional policies for regional integration efforts to progress.

Sovereignty and selfish interests: SADC leaders avoided by all means to create a supra-national body so as to safeguard their sovereignty and personal interests. Undeniably, looking at African regional agreements , in general, from a legal point of view, Gathii (2014) argues that African Regional Trading Agreements (RTAs) are explicitly designed to be ‘flexible’ cooperative agreements ‘establishing flexible regimes of cooperation as opposed to containing

rules requiring scrupulous and rigorous adherence. SADC leaders only tend to support policies that do not negatively impact on their stay in power. Thus DFID Southern Africa (2015) opines that regional economic integration initiatives need to be properly understood in terms of the motives that drive political elites and the domestic political and institutional support that exists. This is in concurrence with the realists who argue that international politics is a result of human nature. The drive for power and the will to dominate are held to be fundamental aspects of human nature. According to one of the founders of realism, Hobbes (1651), the behaviour of the state as a self-seeking egoist is understood to be merely a reflection of the characteristics of the people that comprise the state. It is human nature that explains why international politics is necessarily power politics. DFID Southern Africa (2014) observes that landlocked Zambia, for example, set priorities for investments that prioritized tarring rural roads over investing in the regional transport flagship of the Tripartite initiative, the North-South Corridor (NSC). Despite the fact that this corridor is essential for unlocking Zambian transport and reducing transport costs, the government in a pre-electoral context prioritized rural road development, reflecting strong incentives for political elites to engage in short-run electoral harvesting by spreading out investments spatially rather than for prioritizing the longer-term return from investing in the regional corridor

The SADC tribunal is also a case in point a decision by the tribunal that Zimbabwe was in breach of the SADC's Protocol on the Tribunal, Zimbabwe expressed its dissatisfaction with the decision, and as a result, the SADC Tribunal was suspended during the SADC Summit in 2010. This was after Tribunal held that Zimbabwe government had violated the organization's treaty by denying access to the courts and engaging in racial discrimination against white farmers whose lands had been confiscated under the controversial land reform programme in the *Mike Campbell et al v. Republic of Zimbabwe Case No. SADC (T) 2/20007* and also in *Cimexpan v. Republic of Tanzania, Case No. SADC (T) 01/2009* in which the Tribunal considered claims of torture in connection applicant's (Cimexpan) deportation, the International Justice Resource Centre notes. The decision by the Tribunal to hear human rights complaints was the main reason for its downfall or suspension. This is the evidence that entails that there is a lack of shared beliefs among SADC member states about normative obligations. Thus a problem is that regional integration is a collective good, whereas leaders and ruling elites tend to be driven by a desire to control what material benefits of state sovereignty they can muster to strengthen their political

authority, as well as to benefit personally from policy initiatives (DFID Southern Africa, 2014). However, oftentimes regional integration projects may not do so, resulting in a failure to implement or to sustain implementation.

Corruption: It is so rampant in southern Africa and Africa at large; it is spreading like cancer. According to Mekonnen (2015) Africa is considered to be a very corrupt continent, where leaders are continuously accused of syphoning public funds for self-enrichment at the detriment of the ordinary African citizens. In South Africa during former President Zuma reign, there were reports of state capture and now in Zimbabwe too, the same thing is happening, with a few politicians and business elites, Tagwirei an ally of President Mnangagwa and a fuel mogul, benefiting from state's resources at the expense of the general populace (Newsday, 2020). This is some of the evidence that points out those political leaders have indeed amassed millions of dollars in personal wealth. Hence their corrupt ways have contributed in the way in which the international community views Africa, as a corrupt continent (Mlambo and Mlambo, 2018). The Protocol against Corruption established by the SADC was a response to the growing rates of corruption in the region. A report by Transparency International stated that corruption was on the constant increase in the region and urged governments to enact tougher national laws that would aim at combatting corruption. Furthermore, as argued by Mlambo (2018), from a regional perspective, the region needs to invest more in regional policies that would aid in eradicating corruption as it is slowing the attaining of regional integration objectives. Thus corruption hinders everything, from regional integration to human and state security.

“Restricted” participation of civil society in governance: The civil society is undoubtedly an important element in promoting good governance, stabilizing democracy, contributing to policy development and holding the government to account, Mlambo and Mlambo (2018) noted. Civil society plays a key role in pushing for new laws, programmes, policies or strategies on promoting good governance and growth; they have the power to hold governments to account on their commitments and promises. And the slow progress towards the achievement of a FTA in SADC is attributed to the less participation the civil society in regional economic integration policies. Many governments in SADC, unfortunately, are yet to fully understand and accept the role of civil society in governance and development. They are viewed as agency of neo-colonialism. Thus countries like Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi restrict the

holistic operation of civil society organizations especially those that are concerned with governance and human rights issues (Teferi, 2010) in Mlambo and Mlambo (2018).

SADC governments, not all though, have welcomed the establishment of local civil society organizations, some SADC member states are skeptical of civil society, especially Zimbabwe under the late President, Robert Mugabe. However, globally, the role of civil society in governance has been welcomed and surely governments in southern Africa will going forward understand the importance of civil society on governance and policy development, Mlambo (2018) observed. One, however, would not blame the SADC countries for their partial acceptance of the civil society. There is wide evidence that these CSOs are influenced and controlled by western countries to further their interests in African states. They come to Africa with hidden agendas and that's why they are always at logger-heads with the receiving governments.

Economic growth: Politics and economics are intertwined concepts. The differing level of development between SADC countries has posed a great challenge on the integration project. Southern Africa is to yet reduce or perhaps eliminate policies that hinder the attraction of foreign direct investment. Mapuva & Muyengwa-Mapuva (2014) state that the region has drastically failed to increase inter-regional trade in order to promote economic growth, more especially considering that the region itself is characterized by huge unequal rates of development. Deeper levels of integration require an environment that is characterized by economic growth, and unfortunately, many countries in the region are currently experiencing sluggish rates of economic growth, therefore debatable, one may argue that the region's quest to rapidly integrate may not be feasible in the current economic climate (De Bruyn, 2012) in Mlambo and Mlambo (2018). Economic growth ensures countries are able to increase investments in fundamental sectors such as education, health and infrastructure, however with the region struggling economically, Mapuva & Muyengwa-Mapuv (2014) are of the idea that the goal of the SADC to achieve equal rates of economic growth in the region would be extremely difficult going forward, unless policies to attract investment, harmonize trade and allow free labor movement are implemented. After all, as argued by John Locke, absolute gain can be achieved only through cooperation and interdependency thus peace and development can be acquired, which the region is in dire need of.

2.7. Chapter Summary

This chapter looked at the theoretical framework and empirical study on economic integration project in SADC region, the initiatives that were done and/or being done to achieve a FTA, the positives that the regional bloc has so far attained in its integration agenda; how SADC countries are to benefit from regional economic integration and challenges that the bloc is encountering in fulfilling its regional integration agenda as presented by different writers and researchers. The next chapter is research methodology which focuses on how the research is being carried out and how information is to be collected, analysed and presented. It describes the instruments which were used in the data collection and data analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

To attain a successful research work, it is essential to preserve the reliability, clarity and completeness of the data gathered. This makes it very important to use appropriate tools and methods to achieve the stated objectives of the study. This chapter, the methodology, therefore, is part of the research that introduces the procedures that were utilized for the research study. It is the philosophy of the research process. This chapter will explain detailed and comprehensive procedures that were taken in gathering data for the study. Qualitative research method was the researcher's design because it allowed these issues to be examined in depth and in detail. The main focus will be on research design used, targeted population, sample unit, technique and size. It will also include instruments used and how data was collected.

The methodology that was adopted by this study also included desk and library research because they provided the researcher with broader issues and materials regarding the understudy topic. Chapter four included both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources that the researcher consulted comprised of individuals with relevant information regarding the topic under-study. Secondary sources that were relied upon were SADC trade treaties, case laws, books, journals, newspaper articles, conference papers, working papers and relevant internet sources because it allowed the researcher to find contemporary issues on SADC's integration "project" and fill the gap that was left by the respondents.

3.1. Research Design

This is mainly a general plan of how the research questions are going to be answered, research objectives are going to be attained and also cater for the constraints that could be encountered. In this study the researcher used descriptive research to gain a deeper understanding on the different political dynamics that are affecting regional integration in SADC and the African continent. The investigator also used descriptive research design because it allowed the researcher to use interviews to collect data.

The main objective of the research design was to guarantee that data collected would be convincing to attain the aim and objectives of the study. Thus Robson (2007) as cited in Mushonga (2013) noted that a good research design will make the research process manageable by breaking the tasks into smaller but more manageable tasks. This was the case with this study as the unit of analysis, which is the ‘political dynamics hindering economic integration in SADC,’ was broken down into sub-categories of units of analysis to achieve the objectives of the research. The objectives were to find but not limited to, the main obstacles to integration in SADC, the efforts being done by the regional body to achieve economic integration and the viability of the integration project within SADC.

3.2. Population and Sample

Population is the totality of all potential interviewees which survey results are to be generalised. It can be defined as a set of all respondents about which a study intends to make inferences. SADC, the regional body, prominent individuals relevant to the study, political analysts and policy makers were the primary target population of the researcher. In this case the researcher interviewed fifteen (15) individuals. Respondents that were interviewed were targeted based on their knowledge and experience of the research or topic under study.

3.3. Sampling Procedure and Techniques

The choice of a sampling technique is influenced by a number of factors which include, cost, expectancy of a detailed study; area of research and accuracy requirements. In this research the researcher used purposive sampling also known as ‘judgment sampling’ method. Accordingly, the researcher purposively selected certain people which to his judgment were the best representatives of the universe; in this case the sample comprised respondents from the SADC subsidiary organ, Southern Africa Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC), Zimbabwe Institute of Diplomacy (ZID), policy maker(s), private individual relevant to the study like politicians and researchers (social scientists). It ensured proper representation of the universe and prevented unnecessary and irrelevant items entering into the sample per chance.

3.4. Data Collection Instruments

To get first-hand information the researcher used key informant interviews. An interview is a purposive discussion between two or more people. They can be formally structured with a set of questions or may be formally conducted as a usual conversation.

3.4.1. Interviews

The researcher used in-depth interviews to collect data from people who have real experience and knowledge about the issue under study, that is, SADC's economic integration agenda and political obstacles it is facing. In-depth interviews were used on all of the fifteen respondents.

3.5. Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability is one of the main concerns with research. Any research can be affected by different kinds of factors which, while extraneous to the concerns of the research, can invalidate the findings, (Cooper and Schinder, 2003). Controlling all possible factors that threaten the research's validity is a primary responsibility for the project's success. The findings that were gathered by the researcher showed that the results are external invalid because they cannot be extended or applied to contexts outside the African continent at large because of diverse political dynamics that exist between AU with its regional groupings and other continental groups. In this research, the instruments that were used by the researcher were reliable as the information obtained was from experienced and reliable sources.

3.6. Ethical Considerations

The researcher ensured that all research was in accordance with the moral weight of the three basic ethical principles: respect for persons, beneficence, and justice. Confidentiality was also of paramount importance unless when the interviewee gives the consent to release his/her name in the research.

3.7. Summary

The Chapter looked at the research process as conducted by the researcher. The chapter also critically looked at the research methodology and the corresponding justification of the methodology used. It adopted a positivist approach with the questionnaire as the collection tool. The next Chapter will present and discuss the respective research findings

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0. Introduction

This chapter is the gist of this research. Henceforth, the main purpose of this chapter is to critically analyze and present the results of the data gathered during the interviews thereby addressing the research questions and objectives of the study. Because of the historical and social nature of the research topic, the researcher took a qualitative form of research methodology. Secondary data sources like books, internet articles and journals were also used to support the evidence gathered. Mainly the chapter will discuss, analyze and explain the impact of political dynamics on economic integration in SADC, outline SADC's initiatives for integration and will also analyze how SADC's dependency on foreign aid is influencing its functionality or performance. Mainly tables are going to be used to present the findings. In the study, people with specialized knowledge on SADC's economic integration and political dynamics of SADC's countries were identified, contacted and interviewed – these were the primary sources of data.

4.1. Demographic Data

The research obtained fifteen (15) responses from: four (4) interviews were conducted with key informants, that is, individuals from the Southern Africa Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC), Zimbabwe Institute of Diplomacy (ZID) and Hanns Seidel Foundation. Eleven (11) interviews were held with other individuals from various professions relevant to the study. The information gathered was then analyzed and put together to produce a meaningful and sound research that reflect to political dynamics and how they are affecting regional economic integration within SADC.

Fig 4.1 Distribution of respondents by profession

Profession	Number	Percentage
Education Sector	2	13.3%
Policy Maker	1	6.6%
Human Rights/Democracy Advocates	6	40%

Researchers and Programs Officers	5	33.3%
Political Analyst	1	6.6%
Total	15	99.8

The above diagram shows the interviews conducted with individual from different professions or background to give a balanced outcome or findings.

4.2. Interviews response rate

An overwhelming response rate on interviews was obtained from every participant and the response rate was almost 100%.

Fig 4.2 Shows Interview response rate

Sample	Targeted Sample	Achieved Sample	Response Rate
Education Sector	2	2	100%
Policy Maker	1	1	90%
Human Rights/Democracy Advocates	6	6	85%
Researchers and Programs Officers	5	5	92%
Political Analyst	1	1	100%

The above table shows that in some instances, interviewees were not able to give responses to some of the questions on the questionnaire as they had no knowledge of the question(s). As a panacea to this shortfall, the researcher resorted to the use of secondary sources of information to find the answers and at the same time keeping the integrity of the research.

4.3. SADC and Economic Integration

The respondents were of the view that economic integration to SADC entails maximum cooperation on investment that makes it easier to invest across borders and makes the region more attractive for foreign direct investment, as well as, the improvement of people's living standards. Mr. Chitsa, former Research and Programs Assistant at the Southern Africa Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC) pointed out that SADC's economic integration "is purely based on cooperation among member states so as to achieve a win-win situation. On paper SADC would want to have a monetary union and use a single currency however, this dream has remained elusive", he argues. Mr. Chikanda, the Chairperson of the Zimbabwe Institute of Diplomacy (ZID) as well as former Director of Protocol in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Zimbabwe's diplomat to UN, Moscow and Vienna articulated that 'SADC has formulated policies and strategies for regional integration in support of economic growth and development. The economic benefits expected from this project, as shown elsewhere around the world, include increased market size, improved intra-regional trade and investment flows, and increased transfer of technology and experience'. Thus this research has supported the notion that regional economic integration is critical to SADC's technological, economic, political development and growth.

Economic integration to SADC, according to one respondent, "is a collective responsibility where all the Member States have a contribution to pay. SADC Member states each play a niche in forging linkages that create genuine and firm foundations for regional integration. Furthermore, SADC views regional integration as an immediate, short and long term goal and is a priority of the community whose direction and content is determined by the citizens of the region". This cements the point that AU regional economic groupings are hugely invested in the success of integration in their respective regions. However, for SADC, the irony of the matter is economic integration which is meant to benefit citizens, hardly gets any input from the citizens. Policy formulation is top-down instead of bottom-up.

In the Field Interviews, ninety-nine percent (99%) of the interviewees concurs with realist school of thought that it is an uphill task for SADC to convince its member states to cede power to the regional board 'as by nature states are selfish and are power maximizers', Mearsheimer (2017) argued. Respondent, Mr Muvoti, a senior Researcher at the Zimbabwe Institute of Diplomacy noted that "states are naturally conservative when it comes to ceding power and SADC countries

are no exception. Contemporary events have shown that they are not yet ready to cede power towards regional integration, and they are still self-centered”. This is a major blow to economic integration in SADC as total integration requires that states cede some of their powers to the regional body and adopt ‘soft sovereignty’ as opposed ‘hard sovereignty’. One interviewee maintained that, “In general, I would say Member States are not yet ready to cede their sovereignty and power to the regional body a case in point is that it is taking long to establish the SADC Parliament, currently there is a parliamentary forum which has no power to make and enforce decisions. Another example is the case of SADC Tribunal which at some point was disbanded after Zimbabwe complained over its judgment. This alone shows the commitment to SADC Member States or lack of it to cede power to the regional mother body”.

Member States are neither ready nor committed to cede their power and sovereignty to the regional body as the question of sovereignty is a real un-ignorable conundrum, one interviewee argued. The interviewee goes on to state that, citizens of most member states still do not identify strongly with the regional body and find more sense of belonging to the national rather than the regional. Therefore there is lack of understanding, appreciation and awareness of the benefits of belonging to a regional community in SADC citizens. As a result the SADC states are not ready to cede their power. Furthermore as SADC lacks a “Leviathan” like status it does not have any enforcing powers which hypothetically speaking makes this scenario impossible to unfold even in the presence of will to do so. Evidently, this explains the lag between the SADC level protocols signed and the low rate of ratification and enforcement of these many protocols at national level.

The success of regional integration in the European Union (EU) through a linear integration inspired SADC to follow the same approach. However, the EU’s success could be largely explained by the existence of an effective legal and institutional framework that ensured that member states complied with their obligations. “This is opposite in SADC as the current debate seems to signal that institutional integration which entails a reduction in national sovereignty remains a highly contested matter” (Kalenga, 2012:4) in (Mushonga (2013). Thus, another respondent argued that it is difficult to entail if SADC states are ready to surrender their powers to the regional body as one should understand that SADC is made of 16 member states with different leadership styles, philosophies and indeed at different stages of economic and political

development, hence, it is against this background that one can conclude that Member States are the main obstacles to total economic integration.

On SADC's principle non-interference and how it has affected the performance of SADC, interviewees observed that the principle of non-interference and respect for national sovereignty have enabled the continuation of human rights violations by some governments, implementation of bad economic policies (for example, Zimbabwe) and consequently this has hampered all the efforts towards the integration. It is therefore, safe for one to argue that SADC like its continental body, the African Union (AU) has been reduced to a toothless bulldog because it cannot intervene in affairs of its member states. Mr Chitsa, from SARDC, also contended that "it (non-interference) has really affected the body since sometimes it is compromised to make decisions. The reason why a lot of citizens are disgruntled over SADC is that they do not understand how it works. SADC does not make decisions on behalf of Member States as it strictly observes the principle of non-interference. Sad it is this is the reality unless the institution is reformed". It is the notion of this research that there is need to give the organization some teeth for economic and political integration to be attained.

"The two (non-interference and respect of national sovereignty) affect SADC's performance by contributing to reactions in the wider citizenry which appear to stand by the leadership of the 16 member states as opposed to the wider citizenry. This non-interference stance by SADC creates an overall perception of solidarity with leadership at the expense of the citizens thereby, contributing to a negative perception where SADC is viewed as a toothless bulldog. In addition the observance of respect of national sovereignty by SADC creates a rift wherein Member States can be ethnocentric in their approach towards aspects of regional integration and freely pass legislation at national level which negatively affects the other 15 member states. Thus the spirit of solidarity which is essential for regional integration to thrive is reduced. For example, the statutory instruments passed by Zimbabwe which severely restricted the importation of goods can be interpreted as counter-intra-regional trade. However, another interpretation could be that Zimbabwe was only protecting its domestic industry," the interviewee argued.

4.3.1. SADC's Preferential Trade Agreement

Madyo (2008) pointed out that the first step in economic integration is a preferential trading agreement (PTA), even though it is limited in its scope. Thus a PTA is generally referred to as the lowest level or form of integration. According to Hodgson and Herander (1983) in Madyo (2008) describe a PTA as an agreement in which members apply for lower tariffs produced by other members than to imports produced by non-members. The SADC Free Trade Area (FTA) was launched on 1 January 2008 following implementation of agreed tariff phase-down commitments between 2000 and 2007. From 2008, producers and consumers no longer paid import duty on an estimated 85% of all trade on goods between participating Member States, which are Botswana, Eswatini, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Two countries, Angola and Democratic Republic of Congo, have said they will join the FTA later.

Respondents were in concurrence that a PTA and Common Market Place are very much possible to be achieved in SADC and a PTA itself has already been implemented in the year 2008, Mr Muzingwani, former Programs Officer at Hanns Seidel Foundation, Namibia, noted. Another interviewee concurred with Mr Muzingwani that “the SADC FTA was achieved in August 2008, when a phased programme of tariff reductions, which had commenced in 2001, resulted in the attainment of the minimum conditions for the FTA – 85% of intra-regional trade amongst the partner states attained zero duty. While the minimum conditions were met, maximum tariff liberalization was only attained by January 2012 when the tariff phase down process for sensitive products was completed. As a result, intra-SADC trade has substantially increased by more than 20% since launch of the FTA”, the interviewee claimed. One can therefore argue that the major benefit of the SADC FTA is that it has allowed citizens in the region to get better products at lower prices due to increased production, while producers are benefiting from tariff-free trade for most goods originating within the region, except some that are protected.

However, the respondents seem to differ slightly on single currency within SADC. One respondent argued that “yes, it is very possible for SADC to achieve a single currency but this will take long. And others maintained that SADC has missed these targets of establishing a single currency because of lack of unity among member states and it is not possible that the region will have a single currency in the foreseeable future. Mr Chikanda also cemented the argument by enunciating that “a Free Trade Area and a Common Market Place are possible, but

however, a single currency will take time to become a possibility due to the unstable macro-economic environment in the whole region. The bid to stop South Africa to be the “big brother” of the bloc and the “Rand” to become the regional currency will also stall progress”. One can therefore, argue that by reducing restrictions on trade between themselves, SADC states, while maintain a higher level of restrictions on goods imported from nations outside the agreement has led to the increased trade volumes between SADC member states though more still need to be done.

4.3.2. Multiple memberships to various Customs Unions

Membership to multiple blocs or organization has negatively impacted on SADC’s economic integration agenda. Interviewees were of the idea that there is conflict of interest due to membership in multiple blocs and lessened commitment due to prioritization of state interests. Saurombe (2009) also pointed out that the challenge of multiple memberships is a major cause for concern as conflicting interests and varied commitments are stalling the regional integration process. A number of SADC countries belong to one or more of the following regional trade areas: the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and the East African Community (EAC) (Mlambo, 2018). Henceforth, no meaningful developmental agenda has been possible with SADC member states. The fact that SACU is already a Customs Union (CU) and SADC wants to archive the same status raises question of legality since according to World Trade Organization (WTO) rules (GATT Article XXIV) a member state can only belong to one Customs Union at a time (Saurombe, 2009). Interviewee, Mr Chitsa also raised the same concerns as raised by Mlambo and Saurombe when he expressed that “indeed, this is a major issue as states have multiple commitments and divided attention. According to the World Trade Organization a country should not belong to more than one customs union”.

It is evident that multiple membership impacts regionalist by creating stronger alliances with some Regional Economic Communities (RECs) over others. Therefore, according to a respondent, “priorities across the various RECs a country is a member to become stratified and some issues become subservient to others. Resultantly, the level of effort and investment in agenda items is very varied and introduces more variables to consider in forging the foreign policy plan of a nation. Lastly, the lobbying effect diversifies the platforms for which a member

state can smuggle vibes from one REC to another which might not necessarily be the best way to progress into the future”.

The table below, therefore, shows which customs unions are SADC Member State affiliated with:

Fig 4.3 Extent of multiple memberships is illustrated below:

Country	COMESA	COMESA FTA	SACU	ESA-EPA Configuration	SADC	SADC-EPA Configuration	EAC	WTO
Angola	✓				✓	✓		✓
Botswana			✓		✓	✓		✓
DRC	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓
Lesotho			✓		✓	✓		✓
Madagascar	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓
Malawi	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓
Mauritius	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓
Mozambique				✓	✓			✓
Namibia			✓		✓	✓		✓
South Africa			✓		✓	✓		✓
Tanzania					✓	✓	✓	✓
Eswatini			✓		✓			✓
Zambia	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓
Zimbabwe	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓

The above table show one of the obstacles to SADC’s integration, membership to multiple economic groupings. The regional body is facing the challenge of overlap of membership and programmes of action. There is duplication of procedures which then create business uncertainties and confusion in some cases because at times the agendas and work of these organizations are different. There is need for SADC to clean up this mess for her to achieve economic integration and increased intra-SADC trade. Thus Ansah (2013) argued that ‘a key

hindrance to integration in Africa, however, has been the multiplicity of regional economic communities with overlapping memberships’.

4.4. Challenges affecting Regional Economic Integration in SADC

According to the respondents, the challenges to SADC’s economic integration go beyond mere economic issues; the main challenge to integration in the region is political dynamics of southern African states. Some respondents identified imperialism and neo-colonialism as one of the obstacles to economic integration. Pre-colonial Africa had its fair share of troubles, the era of colonization brought about more complications (Mathonsi, 2014). The scramble for Africa legalized imperialism and allowed the Europeans to have control of their colonies. Their reign brought with it even deeper disruptions within the African societies. To strengthen their take over, the West European powers promoted the idea of individualism which primarily focuses on an individual self and encouraged the abandonment of the principle of “Ubuntu” which is about humanism and centers on the human race as interrelated” (April and Peters, 2001:6) in Mathonsi (2014). This principle of “individualism” has become so instilled in the cultures of African people that well into independence; they are still unable to resist it (April & Peters, 2001:6) in Mathonsi (2014). It is therefore, judicious to note that Africa’s colonial history still contributes enormously to what happens in the post-colonial era. The evidence is in Zimbabwe, where Vice President Kembo Mohadi, addressing a ZANU PF gathering blamed former colonizers for not teaching the locals how to run the economy and the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Governor, Dr. Mangudya blamed ‘demons’ for Zimbabwe’s economic woes.

Aid also is now being used to control or to promote western agendas in African countries, world systems theory argues. SADC itself relies on donor funding. As noted by Mr Chitsa “SADC faces other challenges such lack of financial capacity to implement its projects. SADC relies too much on the donor community for project implementation”. The donors have an influence on how SADC should operate and this affect its integration project.

Lack of enforcement, sovereignty issues, multiple memberships, lack of SADC Parliament, political instability, corruption, undemocratic rule, to mention a few, were some of the political factors that were identified as the major obstacle to total economic integration in SADC by the interviewees. Africa’s democratic system of governance has its disadvantages which have a

negative effect on the politics of the southern Africa countries, as well as the African continent as a whole. ‘African Democracy is characterized by a neo-patrimonial concept of power which reflects the formation of far-sighted political elites motivated by self-enrichment, and the existence of political parties reflecting horizontal divisions (Bassiouni et al, 1998) in Mathonsi (2014). There are allegations and there is also wide spread evidence that many public officials hold on to power to serve their own interests. President of Malawi, Chakwera appointed a cabinet full of his relatives. US\$63 million in Zimbabwe was stolen through brief case companies called Jaji and Drax International which were meant to provide Covid-19 materials and there are allegations that the first family, the Mnangagwas, is involved in the scandal (ZimEye, 2020). Even though SADC has a Protocol on anti-Corruption, corruption and nepotism have become so rampant in African politics. This entails that Africa has a leadership vacuum and lacks servant leaders.

Additionally, Field Interviews conducted showed that SADC states are the main culprits derailing integration as they fail to address these political obstacles. Interviewees opined that these challenges to economic integration are mainly being caused by internal issues not external forces. Mr Chikanda of the Zimbabwe Institute of Diplomacy had this to say: “foreign policy is a reflection of domestic policies. Zimbabwe because of its economic challenges had to ban certain imports from other SADC countries which violated the spirit of the Trade Protocol of 1996 and defeat the whole purpose of a Free Trade Area.” Other interviewees opined that the need for political survival and to remain in power as well as pleasing the citizens has contributed to lack of progress on integration. However, they were others that believed that the challenges are a result of external actors. Ms Pillay Shanaid from the Young Diplomats asserted that “it is external factors because SADC and African states as a whole still rely on western states for funding for their organizations. The organization blue-prints are designed from western blue-prints”. The researcher would concur with Ms Shanaid assertion because both the African Union and SADC are motivated by the European Union model of economic integration. And Saurombe (2004) in Mlambo and Mlambo (2018) noted that ‘the market integration model broadly informed the SADC integration agenda, as well as the process of EU integration whose model SADC aspires to’. Ironically, the EU is the biggest donor to SADC projects. Hence, feel the “pressure” and the need to please the international community and donors. This undermines their integration project.

There are renowned scholars that share the same sentiments as the interviewees; Wauna (2009) in Mlambo (2018), for instance, argues that, the disappointing record of human rights violations since the adoption of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR) indicates the little regard attached to the consideration of democratic norms as an indispensable component of regional integration in Africa. The inability of African states to adopt good governance and democratic norms has hindered the efforts of regional and continental integration. The Zimbabwe Lives Matter movement on social media has put the country in a bad spot. The ruling party, ZANU (Pf) has been castigated for human rights abuses, shrinking the democratic space and infringing on independence of the judiciary. The UN, AU, USA, EU, Britain, the ruling party African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa and various local and international human rights organizations condemned the Zimbabwean government for these alleged abuses. One would safely say, the re-engagement agenda of the "new dispensation" has been flushed down the drain because of these allegations. Oddly, the Zimbabwean government when called to order by other actors, it hides under sovereignty and calls for non-interference in its internal affairs. This attests that SADC's vision of a fully economically integrated region will remain elusive.

4.4.1. Effect of different levels of development on Integration

The different levels of economic growth and development between SADC states are a cause of concern; it will derail the attainment of total economic integration. Show (2015) argues that 'a country or region should be at a competitive level before it can compete in the global economy, for example being able to produce products that can compete on the international market. The absence of technological advances in Africa and the SADC region in particular makes it difficult to benefit from globalization or regionalism. Respondents also articulated that marginalisation in economic development of states leads to differences in prioritization in committing to regional bloc policies; states may conduct Cost-benefit analysis (CBA) of possible benefits\cost in committing to SADC policies. "Some countries are legging back in terms of economic development and while they seek to catch up with others, it has become a barrier to integration" Mr Movoti added. And one respondent observed that some countries could actually benefit from the economic collapse of other countries, notably South Africa, which has benefited immensely from Zimbabwe's economic and political distresses. One could argue that Zimbabwe is actually

a warehouse of South African products. Disparity in development has made the region very vulnerable and “isolated” in the world economy in general.

4.4.2. Terrorism and SADC’s integration

Terrorism knows no boundaries and the rise of terrorist attacks in Mozambique will frustrate or hinder SADC’s integration efforts. Mr Movoti had this to say about terrorism: “definitely, yes, terrorism will affect negatively SADC’s integration project! Mozambique is a regional member and its problems are the region’s problems, thus member countries will have to fight in solidarity with Mozambique therefore, stalling integration especially in economic terms”. Huntington (1993) in his ‘Clash of Civilization’ hypothesis connotes that people’s culture and religious identity will be the primary source of conflict in the post-cold war. Differences among civilizations are not only real but they are basic. He goes on to argue that people of different civilizations have different views on the relations between men and God, the individual and the group, the citizen and the state, parents and children, husband and wife and among other issues. The insurgency in northern Mozambique now claims that they want to establish ‘a Caliphate’ an Islamic State. This is a regional challenge as it will make neighbouring countries to close their borders. Some respondents maintained that “counter-terrorism is going to frustrate SADC’s integration efforts because it will require more of SADC’s resource base to be channelled toward its Organ to Peace, Security and Defense”. Henceforth, other interviewees maintained that “all states are affected by terrorism somehow especially neighbouring states, for example, Zimbabwe; therefore integration may only be possible through unity and practising collective security”. After all, peace and stability are a prerequisite for sustainable development.

4.4.3. Impact of Covid-19 on SADC’s Integration

“Africa has so far been relatively resilient with regard to infections, but the opposite is true for economic effect” (Institute of Security Studies, 2020). The wide spread of the deadly infection named covid-19 has caused panic and pandemonium throughout the world. In response to the disease, countries closed their borders and South African businesses, especially in Musina, which relies on Zimbabweans, suffered a lot and the ‘rand’ itself was hard hit. One respondent opines that “South Africa’s economic fallout is likely to be severe and long-lasting”. Other interviewees generally asserted that ‘borders are closed, there is partial movement of goods and

services, and in the “aftermath” of the Covid-19 pandemic, states are likely to be more focussed on national economic issues and putting their houses in order before engaging and reengaging into regional issues’. Thus another interviewee argued that “Intraregional trade is going to slump significantly due to reduced movement of goods, services and people. This is the sad reality of the situation”. Hence, covid-19 presents a setback in progress made so far by SADC – borders are likely going to continue being partially opened thereby, curtailing the free movement of people and goods. As long Africans, in general, continue to respect the border lines that were put by its former colonies, it is very ideal to think of a total economically integrated SADC. Mr Mzingwani goes on to argue that “covid-19 is slowing down the implementation for set targets. In addition, it has restricted free movement of people, services and goods which is the whole essence of regional integration”.

4.5. SADC’s Economic Integration Initiatives

The restructuring process for SADC institutions started in 2001 through a slow process. “21 sectors, according to SADC Secretariat Monthly Newsletter (2019), were grouped into clusters under 4 directorates at the Secretariat. The integration agenda was conceptualized under the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) in 2003”. SADC Newsletter (2019) goes on to state that ‘the RISDP and the Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ (SIPO) remain the guiding frameworks for SADC Regional Integration, providing SADC Member States, SADC Secretariat and other SADC Institutions with consistent and comprehensive programmes of long-term economic and social policies’. Some respondents noted ‘the establishment of a SADC Integrated Regional Electronic Settlement System (SIRESS) and Real Time Gross Settlement System (Real Time Gross Settlement System [RTGS]) which is expected to promote a multi-currency platform; establishment of the Project Preparation Development Fund (PPDF) Facility; proposed SADC Vision 2050; UNIVISA – promoting the free movement of people; increased trans-boundary cooperation in water and other natural resources; operationalization of the Regional Development Fund, SADC Regional University on Transformation and Innovation - created to enhance the regional human skills resource base, pursuing more partnerships with Private Sector, more Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) in regional value chains and the Regional Tourism Organization of Southern Africa (RETOSA)’ – which seeks to promote tourism in the region as some of the tangible initiatives that SADC has embarked on. These

initiatives, from a scholarly perspective, have set key principles and values that guide the SADC's regional economic integration agenda.

However, Erasmus (2013) in Mushonga (2013) advised that trade agreements do not create more trade; they only offer opportunities. These opportunities can only materialize if tradable goods are produced and transported competitively and if the applicable rules and requirements are complied with. SADC is a broader community in which the members have adopted protocols on about 26 different areas; ranging from gender issues and water utilization to political co-operation. SADC's Protocol on Trade is the instrument which deals with the SADC FTA. The table below lists some of the protocols, detailing their current implementation status.

Fig 4.4 Status on protocols and declarations in SADC as at July 2014

No.	Legal Instrument	Date tabled for signature	Date of entry into force	Total number of countries which have:			
				Ratified	Ceded	Signed	Adopted
1	Treaty of SADC	17/08/1992	30/09/1993	10	0	0	4
2	SADC Protocol on Immunities and Privileges	17/8/1992	30/9/1993	10	0	0	4
3	SADC Protocol on Shared Watercourse Systems (Replaced by Revised Protocol)	28/8/1995	28/9/1998	9	0	0	4
4	SADC Protocol on Energy	24/8/1996	17/4/1998	12	0	0	0
5	SADC Protocol on Transport,	24/8/1996	6/7/1998	12	0	0	0

	Communications and Meteorology						
6	SADC Protocol on Trade	24/8/1996	25/1/2000	11	0	0	2
7	SADC Protocol on Tribunal and Rules of Procedure	7/8/2000	14/8/2001	5	0	0	1
8	SADC Protocol on Legal Affairs	7/8/2000	9/1/2006	9	0	3	0
9	SADC Amendment Protocol on Trade	7/8/2000	07/08/2000	6	0	0	8
10	SADC Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation	14/8/2001	2/3/2004	11	1	1	0
11	SADC Protocol on Extradition	3/10/2002	9/1/2006	11	0	1	0

Source: SADC website

The SADC Protocol on Trade of 1996 sets out the basis for regional trade integration, a key objective of economic liberation. The purpose of adopting the Protocol was to promote deeper economic cooperation and integration to help address production, infrastructure and efficiency barriers to growth and development (Mushonga (2013) noted. This ‘development integration’ approach was formalized in 2003 as the RISDP which articulates a clear approach for SADC integration through the establishment of a free trade area by 2008, a customs union in 2010, a common market in 2015, a monetary union in 2016, and an economic union with single currency

in 2018 (Mlambo and Mlambo, 2018). It was obvious that some of these targets were over ambitious and unrealistic as the custom union is yet to be attained and the timeframes set for other integration stages have been missed already as well.

Compared with other regional economic communities in Africa, the share of intra-SADC trade at 11% of the region's total trade is relatively high (Mashayekhi et'al, 2015). SADC should be commended for such progress. RISDP aims, in the words of the SADC mission statement, "to promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and socioeconomic development through efficient production systems, deeper cooperation and integration, good governance, and durable peace and security, so that the region emerges as a competitive and effective player in international relations and the world economy". The objectives also include a desire of reaching a level of intra-regional unrestricted flow of goods, services and investment. It is therefore, upon SADC member states to ensure that that they implement the RISDP if they are to enjoy the fruits of integration. The implementation of the FTA is not the means to an end, there are subsequent targets needs to be achieved, which are, the Customs Union, Common Market and the Monetary Union (Nagar, 2012: 147) in Duma (2017). Southern African countries have engaged in quite a number of initiatives that seek to liberalize trade. Further to that, for the FTA to prosper in SADC, Duma (2017) underscored the importance of the high level of commitment by all participants. The creation of larger markets and trading with each other through FTAs within regions like southern Africa it is an excellent way to tackle the development challenges facing member states, Mumford (2017) argued.

4.5.1. Implementation Challenges

The shortfall of these initiatives, according to Mr Chitsa from SARDC, are attributed to lack of support from the private sector as well as the governments themselves and lack of funding. Saurombe (2009) argued that member states are not at the same level of preparedness - Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zimbabwe are not up to date. Non-Southern African Custom Union (SACU) members back loaded their tariff preferences offers and they are facing possible tariff revenue declines (Ibid, 2014). Outside of SACU, most intra-SADC trade takes place either under Common Market for East and Southern Africa or bilateral trade agreements. These are the "consequences" for allowing member states to have multiple memberships in various economic groupings. In the aftermath of the SADC Trade Protocol, some member states renewed dormant

bilateral trade agreements or formed new ones (Bilal and Vanheukelom, 2015). This shows that the trade protocol is not “eye-catching”. It is, therefore, noteworthy that if these initiatives are fully implemented and adhered to, there will be massive employment creation, increased production and infrastructural development within the region.

4.6. Advantages of Regional Integration

It is crucial to identify a number of benefits that accrue as a result of successful economic integration in southern Africa. Interviewees, identified them which include but not limited to, ‘economic growth, infrastructural development, poverty alleviation, having a building block for global integration, improved market access, sharing the cost of public goods and large infrastructure projects and reaping other non-economic benefits such as collective peace and security. Regional economic integration has proven to be a successful tool for poverty reduction. However, this has to be done right in order for it to work. According to Chidede (2017) the central attention for regional integration must be the human being, the living standards of the people and their social cohesion. Interestingly, the vision of SADC speaks of a common future, economic well-being, improvement in standards of living and quality of life, freedom and social justice and peace and security for the people of southern Africa. The subject will not, however, primarily be the citizen of a particular nation, but the people of the whole region (Ibid, 2017). Once formed, the regional economic community (REC) can be thought of as an entity participating in international trade just like individual countries constitute such a collective with diverse strengths harnessed together. This will indeed help SADC to have a one voice in the international arena.

Saurombe (2009) adds that ‘from an international trade theory it follows that the best trade policy for this larger entity towards the rest of the world is free trade. Thus, it is in the REC's interests to pursue multilateral trade liberalization’. Another tangible benefit of free trade is that goods and services become available to consumers at lower prices since there will be no charges added to the cost of the products. As a result, if trade is enhanced, it produces higher levels of economic growth and material welfare. Countries participating in RECs often seek to secure access to large markets, such as the EU and the United States of America. The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), for instance, is the greatest and certainly the most immediate opportunity facing Southern Africa. In Southern Africa, according to DFID Southern Africa

(2014), ‘AGOA has been instrumental in poverty reduction when one considers the beneficiaries like Lesotho, who have their textile products enter the US market duty free. South African small enterprises have also benefited hugely from the same market access, for example their traditional attire and crafts are exported to the US market duty free’.

Regional economic integration could result in increased foreign direct investments (FDI) for poorer countries, which the majority of Southern Africa states are, with the exception of South Africa. South Africa, of course, has managed to keep the entire region attractive to global market as seen in 1996 when it hosted the Rugby World Cup and in 2010, the FIFA World Cup. There is no doubt that raising the levels of FDI or domestic investment requires making a country more attractive than other countries. Madyo (2008) asserts that increasing market size helps in this regard, as one way of achieving this is by ensuring market access to a major market by entering into a regional agreement. Related to this, in Saurombe (2009) words, ‘in an increasingly integrated world, there is also a gradual realization among African states that sub-regional and regional groupings provide higher visibility to global investors, promote cross-border trade and investment and reduce production and marketing costs’. This is evidence that support that there is more to gain than to lose when countries come together. SADC should be motivated to integrate as soon as possible.

4.6.1. Achievements

Following the interviews with the respondents, the researcher managed to identify a number of achievements that SADC has so far attained in its quest for regional integration. Among them include, a Free Trade Area, sound policies in place and free movement of people, services and goods, scrapping of VISA requirements, establishment of a SADC “Standby Force”, establishment of the Southern African Power Pool, increased intra-SADC trade and establishment of SADC Integrated Regional Electronic Settlement System (SIRESS). Hence, SADC should continue to embrace economic integration policies that are suited for southern African states for them to economically develop. Thus Mutharika (1972) in Madyo, (2008) argues that economic integration has a very positive impact on developing states than it has on developed countries. He goes on to further outlining that for SADC countries to benefit from economic integration, they must design integration agreements suited to their needs and capabilities. Regional economic integration works and is beneficial to all involved.

4.7. SADC and International Cooperating Partners (ICPs)

SADC's donors or ICPs disrupt the attainment of regional integration by enabling a dependency syndrome of the member states on them when they provide them with the resources to use. This, from a scholarly perspective, is not sustainable at all in the medium-to-long term as it cripples the ability to service or maintain the gains already attained in the quest to have an economically integrated southern Africa.

4.7.1. Impact of donors on SADC's Integration Project

External development finance and foreign donor agencies have played a critical role in the development of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Foreign donors provide nearly 80% of SADC's budget, Subho (2016) noted. A number of problems have emerged, however, because of external funding. The regional body is increasingly relying on donors – donor dependency and it has been criticized for lack of strategic focus (Tjonneland, 2015). Respondents stipulated that “he who pays the piper calls the tune”, thus those who provide money for projects also have the right to determine how it should be used. Consequently, these donors have an upper hand in the integration processes and which projects should be prioritized”. This just entails that donors usually come with their projects and targets which may be different with the targets set by SADC and this has left SADC compromised.

SADC Executive Secretary Dr. Stergomona Lawrence Tax even raised concern about donors as well, urging Member States to reduce dependence on donor funding for regional integration and development programmes. Speaking at the Ministerial Committee of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation, Dr Tax stated that it was worrisome that currently the ration of the funds allocation is 21% from Member States and 79% from International Cooperating Partners (SADC Newsletter, 2018). Hence, one can safely say that, as long donors are the major funders of SADC's projects, it will remain difficult for the organization to realize its set objectives without pandering to the whims of donors. Hogg (2017) notes that Southern Africa has the potential to mobilise more than US\$1.2 billion from alternative and innovative sources as part of efforts to reduce reliance on donor support. There is just need for political will among Member States.

However, while SADC states should immediately do something about external funding, justice would not have been done if one does not appreciate the developments and projects that these

“partners” support. They sponsor activities of anti-corruption, peace-building, elections, to mention a few. Whilst Dambisa Moyo in her book ‘Dead Aid’ claim that aid is wasted and should not be given to African countries, this has not been entirely true. She is being academically insincere in her notion that aid creates incentives so that recipient countries remain dependent on aid and never make the transition to private capital financing. This is not really the case most of the times. According to Tjonneland (2015) many donors in SADC are giving high priority to good governance and/or security issues and are also providing significant funding to a range of regional activities in this area. The major SADC recipient of external donor funds is the Windhoek-based SADC Parliamentary Forum, even though it is a ‘defacto’ subsidiarity organization it has been able to monitor elections within the region, promoting “free and fair” elections as well (Ibid, 2015). The International Cooperating Partners have also supported SADC’s peace-building activities in the DRC.

4.7.2. SADC and the European Union

The European Union (EU) is one of the major donors to SADC and it is ironic that it has put SADC countries into four different Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs). As interviewees confirmed, this totally undermines integration efforts of SADC. Another stated that, “this creates a dynamic of competition within the bloc much similar to that of African states in FOCAC. Naturally, where there is a strong spirit of competition and individualism rather than lobbying for collective gains, the subservient goals are more attractive to pursue than the greater goals. One may say it is a case of racing for the bigger slice of cake if one could - which is indicative of a nature of lacking confidence in strength in numbers and relying on oneself more as the best tactic”. Ansah (2013) also argued that ‘a common political challenge confronting almost all the sub-regional blocs is the absence of taking common decisions in the face of common economic perils associated with certain economic policies. One of such policies is the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA)’. The intense political pressure, manipulation and threats of African countries by the EU are dire. SADC countries need to be able to stand against this bully. It shows lack of unity among them. As one respondent said, “African leaders are not proactive and lack one voice and the willingness to develop strategies on a regional basis”. And as pointed out by Kruger (2016), with respect to SADC, the fear of EU goods flooding the regional market has been realized. Once EU goods have entered the South African Market, controlling their

movement into SADC and SACU is clearly impossible.’ This has undermined the agricultural and industrial sectors within the region.

4.8. Summary

The findings gathered by the researcher attested that there is no doubt that economic integration in SADC is very much possible and is the best way to respond to the ever changing international political economy system, national economic challenges and other vast amount of benefits associated with it as discussed and analysed in this chapter. Field Interviews also confirmed that regional economic integration is one of the wider strategies to uplift poor countries, the standards of living of every citizen in the region and in general promote growth and development in SADC. Furthermore, SADC like any other organization faces many political challenges to realize its objectives. Chief among them is political instability in its Member States, neo-colonialism, corruption, lack of civil society participation, lack of political will and non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States. In addition, the researcher also found out that various initiatives such as Industrialization Agenda and Roadmap, RISDP and SIPO have been put in place by SADC to achieve economic integration which is stipulated in the Trade Protocol as a ‘must’ not a choice or a probability. The following chapter, chapter five, will cover the conclusion, summary and recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.0. Introduction

This chapter will summarize the whole dissertation, make conclusion statements of the study and final recommendations will be made on the political dynamics hindering Africa's integration.

Areas of further research will also be suggested.

5.1. Summary

5.1.1. Chapter One Summary

In the Introduction chapter the researcher covered background of the study, statement of the problem, aim, objectives, research questions, assumptions, justification and importance of the study and definition of terms. The chapter also looked at feasibility, possible limitations, and delimitations of the study.

5.1.2. Chapter Two Summary

The Literature Review and Conceptual Framework chapter looked at both the theoretical framework and empirical study on the obstacles to SADC's economic integration, advantages of integration to SADC region, the initiatives that SADC is doing to promote its integration agenda, how foreign aid or dependency is slowing down economic integration and the achievements that SADC has so far attained in its quest for a politically and economically integrated SADC as presented by different writers and researchers.

5.1.3. Chapter Three Summary

The Research Design and Methodology chapter looked at the research process conducted by the researcher. The chapter also critically looked at the research methodology and the corresponding justification of the methodology used. It adopted a positivist approach with the questionnaire as the collection tool.

5.1.4. Chapter Four Summary

The Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion chapter found that corruption, political instability, Africa's colonial history, neo-colonialism, absence of clear and single voice about particular economic issues instigated by political sovereignty across the region, dependency, slow decision making and non-interference in the internal affairs of member states are among the challenges to the project of economic integration in SADC and Africa as a whole. The researcher also found out that the political environments suitable for sustainable and effective economic integration hardly exist in the region because states are ego-centric. Therefore, the hopeful quest to uplift the living conditions for the SADC and African citizens which Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere and others envisioned at the beginning of Africa's political independence will remain an illusion in perpetuity. Political conditions play critical role in driving African countries, the research discovered.

However, the research also noted that SADC is in the right direction towards the achievement of its integration objectives as it has already launched a Free Trade Area in 2008 and initiatives such as SADC Regional University on Transformation and Innovation created to enhance the regional human skills resource base, UNIVISA, SADC Integrated Regional Electronic Settlement System (SIRESS) and Real Time Gross Settlement System (RTGS) multi-currency platform and Regional Tourism Organization of Southern Africa (RETOSA) which centralized regional tourism are efforts that entails that SADC is serious about an economically integration southern Africa.

5.2. Conclusions

The research study has sought to examine the political dynamics which work to affect the prospects of regional economic integration in SADC. The need for an integrated Africa starting with regionalization cannot be disputed. Evidence has proved that economic integration is one of the main ways of achieving sustainable development and peace.

In line with the main objective, the effects of Africa's colonial past, is one of the main obstacles to consider when looking at the reasons why economic integration in Africa is moving at a slow pace and why the continent is still "backward" in terms of infrastructural development, political maturity and divided, the research exposed.

Secondly, the different economic levels of SADC countries have impacted negatively on the region's integration agenda. Member States that are faring better than others are not genuinely invested and willing to sacrifice their wellness for the sake of the regional. Therefore those doing better are not willing to commit wholeheartedly and sacrifice limbs to benefit the rest. This is just the tip of the iceberg. The level of disunity among African states is worrisome. The result of lack of unity is unstable economies for member states which therefore, negatively influences the politics of the region. Factors that contribute to unstable economy are but not limited to, poverty, greed, corruption, political instability and hegemonic practices and they assist in fostering disunity within the SADC region.

The research also finds that states are not willing to cede power to the regional body which is one of the requirements for effective economic integration. The realists explain that this becomes a challenge to Africa's unity and integration because states are influenced by the importance of survival and attaining power. States are competing for dominance to maximize their security and in this scenario; it is therefore, an uphill task to unite countries that are competing for power, which makes the integration agenda doomed.

SADC's donors or International Cooperating Partners derail the achievement of regional integration by enabling a dependency syndrome of the member states by giving them resources to operate. This is not sustainable at all in the medium-to-long-term as it cripples the ability to service/maintain the gains already attained.

There are advantages to economic integration. Chief among them is increased market access. It is well known that some SADC and African states are reluctant to fully liberalize their markets or economies as they are concerned about the fiscal consequences of liberalizing their economies. However, the research attested that for integration to work there is need for countries to open up their markets as this will result in economic growth and development. Moreover, effective economic integration opens avenues for stronger collective voice in multilateral and international forum. African states have been criticized for not speaking with one voice at international bodies due to their different needs and interests and a total integrated SADC region will ensure that the region is united.

The researcher also discovered that there a quite number of policies that SADC has adopted to achieve its integration agenda. For example, UNIVISA which promotes the free movement of people; SADC SIRESS and Real Time Gross Settlement System (RTGS) – a multi-currency platform; RETOSA which centralized regional tourism; operationalization of the Regional Development Fund; establishment of the Project Preparation Development Fund (PPDF) Facility; proposed SADC Vision 2050 and the accompanying RISDP 2020-2030 blueprint; frontloading of industrialisation in the regional economic integration agenda; increased trans-boundary cooperation in water and other natural resources; promotion of gender equality and equity; and pursuing more partnerships with Private Sector, more Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) in regional value chains.

5.3. Recommendations

The study recommends that membership to SADC should be selective. Since SADC seeks to emulate the European Union's model of economic integration, it should also copy how EU spells out the criteria that countries need to meet before becoming members. These are non-negotiable. The situation is different from SADC and the African Union, where no criteria can be forced upon them for implementation. There should be some conditions that a potential member state should accomplish before becoming a member state to the regional or continental body. It will be the duty of the REC to assist countries who do not meet the criteria to move towards achieving this. This will ensure that low-performing countries do not affect the performance of the region as a whole.

There is need for increased inclusivity. SADC citizens need to be directly involved in the decision making process. Integration is meant to benefit the people and there is nothing for the people without their active participation. This could be done through referendums in which citizens could vote on regional policies. SADC and the AU should stop making decision for the people but rather make decisions with the people. Instead of treating citizens as recipients of policies or products, they should be treated as stakeholders in decision making. And this is what Nyerere emphasized in his concept of Ujamaa. There is need for a country or region to recognize the input of its citizens.

SADC also need to find viable ways in which it can support its programmes, thereby reducing dependency on foreign aid. In 2017, SADC came up with six alternative financing mechanisms and these include: seriously pursuing alternative funding options such as an export and import tax; a tourism levy; a financial transaction tax; a regional lottery system; philanthropy; and income from the hosting of regional events. This will be able to sustain the body in performing its duties and these should be implemented.

SADC needs to be united in every prospect. Unity will ensure economic development among member states. As a result, SADC and Africa would have economic viability. Southern Africa cannot achieve economic viability if any parts of the region continue to attempt to develop independently. Sound economic integration will ensure SADC's and Africa's ability to pool together their natural resources and use them to explore their already existing capacity for development. Development will combat the devastating challenge of poverty within the SADC region and will result in infrastructural development and among other things. Economic stability means further development of the region, continent and its people and also stronger and better relations.

Finally, there is need for SADC states to shift their focus from the traditional concept of security which focuses on military and state security to a more integrated approach of security, that is, human security. SADC member states should not only be united by their political background, history or "despotic" leaders but by values such as democracy, human rights, social justice, peace, corrupt free government and rule of law. In order to achieve this, there is need for SADC countries to surrender some of their sovereignty to the regional body not only in theory but in practice. Many SADC citizens are suffering at the hands of their selfish leadership and the shift of security will ensure that the regional body has some teeth to protect the rights of the citizens from evil governments.

5.4. Areas of Further Research

After the findings and analyses the researcher would like to recommend the following areas for further research:

- i.** A critical analysis of SADC's Trade Protocol;

- ii.** The role of South Africa, as an economic powerhouse in the region, in SADC's integration;
- iii.** Economic obstacles to SADC's unity;
- iv.** The role of SADC's international cooperating partners (IPCs) in regionalism;
- v.** Impact of regionalism on employment

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Appendix

Interview Guide for Key Informants

REF: My name is Daniel Nyamaropa, a **Masters of Science in International Relations** student at **Bindura University of Science Education**. I am currently carrying out a research study on the role of ‘Political dynamics hindering Africa’s economic integration: focus on the SADC region’. I am kindly asking for your co-operation and help to carry out this study. The findings will be purely for academic purposes and your name will not appear in my dissertation without your consent.

1. SADC and Economic Integration

- i. How does SADC view economic integration?
- ii. Are SADC states ready or committed to cede their power and sovereignty to the regional body? *Briefly explain your answer*
- iii. Non-interference and respect of national sovereignty, how has it affected the performance of the regional bloc, SADC and integration in general?
- iv. The SADC’s 1996 Protocol on Trade will it delivers a Free Trade Area (FTA), Common Market place and a single currency within SADC? How?
- v. Many southern African states are members to multiple regional blocs; how has this impacted regionalism within SADC?

2. Challenges affecting regional economic integration in SADC

- i. What are the main political challenges affecting regional integration in SADC?
- ii. Are these challenges motivated by internal or external factors? How?
- iii. How has the varying levels of economic growth and development of SADC member states impacted on their commitments to regional integration policies?
- iv. Terrorism knows no borders and with the rise of terrorist attacks in Mozambique, will it frustrate or hinder SADC’s integration efforts? Please explain
- v. How will Covid-19 affect or reverse the gains made so far on regional economic integration in southern Africa?

3. SADC's Economic Integration Initiatives

- i. What is SADC currently doing to promote regional integration within the region?
- ii. What are the strengths and weaknesses of those initiatives?
- iii. What is the employment effect of the initiatives to the general SADC citizens?

4. Advantages of Regional Integration

- i. What are the benefits of regional integration to SADC states?
- ii. What are the achievements that SADC has so far achieved in regard to regional integration?
- iii. Is 'freedom of movement of people' a component of regional integration? If so, why, if not, why not?

5. SADC and Dependency

- i. How have SADC's donors or International Co-operating Partners hinder or derail the achievement of regional integration?
- ii. Two-thirds of SADC's budget comes from donors; is SADC not compromised by relying on external funding? How? And what influence do these "co-operating partners" have on SADC's integration project?
- iii. SADC states are split in four different Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) groups by the European Union; does this not affect SADC's regional integration efforts? And what does it say about southern African states?

6. Recommendations

- i. What should SADC do to achieve its regional integration objectives?
- ii. How can the regional bloc ensure its member states implement protocols and agreements on regional integration?
- iii. What should SADC do to fully sponsor itself?

- iv. What are your other recommendations, if they are any?

The End