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Regional Economic Integration in the SADC: The poor implementation of the RISDP

By

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ABSTRACT

Regional integration continues to be a source of inspiration due to the economic benefits associated with a country belonging to a regional organisation. The African continent is no exception with the Southern African Development Community (SADC) taking note of such cooperation with exceeding attention. Its predecessor, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), was formed in 1980 and one of its most important goals was to economically integrate the Southern African region in order to improve the economic situation of its Member States. The transformation of the SADCC to the SADC in 1992 led to a much stronger SADC which was complimented further by the ratification of the SADC Protocol on Trade in 2000 and most importantly by the establishment of the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) in 2001 through an Intergovernmental approach. The RISDP is seen as the most effective mechanism by the SADC to fully integrate the SADC effectively and is this study's unit of analysis, as part of this study's research strategy which is a case study methodology, under a qualitative research design which has been adopted for this study. However, this study notes that the RISDP is being poorly implemented by SADC Member States, as clearly stated in this study's aim, and key examples include missing set milestones such as the formation of the SADC Customs Union in 2010. The focus on a customs union is essential as it will increase intraregional trade as this study believes that it will be the catalyst in truly economically integrating the SADC region.

KEY TERMS

Customs Union, Intergovernmentalism, Intra-regional Trade, Protocol on Trade, Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP), Regional Integration, Southern African Development Community (SADC).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEC	African Economic Community
AfCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
BLNS	Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland
CETs	Common External Tariffs
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EU	European Union
FLS	Frontline States
FTA	Free Trade Area
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NSC	North-South Corridor
NTBs	Non-Tariff Barriers
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PPDF	Project Preparation and Development Facility
REC	Regional Economic Community
RENAMO	Mozambican National Resistance

RIAs	Regional Integration Arrangements
RIDMP	Regional Infrastructure Development Master Plan
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference
SPA	SADCC Program of Action
TNF	Trade Negotiation Forum
UN	United Nations
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Regional economic integration is defined as “*a state of affairs or a process involving the combination of separate economies into larger regions, and is built around market integration, progressing in a hierarchy from a free trade area at the bottom to an economic union*” (Nita et al 2017: 126). This has been built on Regional Integration Arrangements (RIAs) “which have mushroomed worldwide, both on intra-regional and extra-regional levels”, with states viewing regional integration as a ‘pathway’ to access larger markets in order to increase their levels of trade to grow their economies (Jordaan 2014: 515, 516). The Southern African Development Community (SADC) has been selected as the RIA of choice for this study as this Regional Economic Community (REC), which consists of 16 African countries, desires to expand the economies of the Member States of the SADC. The rationale for creating a regional bloc is to “eliminate tariff and non-tariff barriers”, amongst other things, and this is one of the main priorities of the SADC. This study has noted that the aim of the SADC to improve its economic position is by no means a small feat as Jordan (2014: 516) notes that not all countries are at the same level of economic development.

Hence, this study is arguing for the SADC to pursue macro-economic convergence as “it is imperative that the process of strengthening regional integration should include guidelines for the convergence of the macroeconomic and trade policies of the entire regional bloc” to strengthen the overall regional integration agenda of the SADC (Peters-Berries 2010: 129). The overall aim of macro-economic stability is to ensure that countries are in alignment economically, and this includes their inflation rates. By ensuring these conditions are met this leaves room for the industrial sector to grow and increase regional productivity (SADC 2015: 18). Furthermore, Peters-Berries (2010: 129) states that macro-economic convergence in a regional setting creates a conducive environment for a customs union to be established. For this economic policy to succeed this entails a comprehensive economic blueprint to enhance this broad agenda and the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) has met that criteria as the SADC’s economic blueprint which will be at the centre of this study. As the title of this study entails this economic blueprint has not been implemented up to the standard which is acceptable with one key point of contention being timelines for specific projects not being met, particularly the proposed “SADC Customs Union” which was scheduled to have

been launched in 2010 (Peters-Berries 2010: 91). In addition, the RISDP envisaged a Common Market by 2015; Monetary Union by 2016 and an Economic Union with a single currency by 2018, according to SADC (2015: 31), with all these targets not being met at the time of this study. The only target that has been noted has been the creation of a Free Trade Area (FTA) in 2008 which gives the impression that the SADC Member States have been neglecting this economic blueprint and this is an area that this study will investigate on.

In this chapter a background will be given of this study being undertaken with the core argument being to strengthen the implementation of the RISDP and this will be followed by the formulation and demarcation of the research problem. The research aim and objectives will be listed, and this will be preceded by a comprehensive rationale of the study being conducted. A chapter outline, which consists of all five chapters will be constructed in order to give a preview or snapshot of what will be discussed within this study in order to instil structure for this mini-dissertation. A literature overview will be included in order to show the type of literature that will be embraced as this study is a literature-based study. Lastly, the research methodology section, which forms an integral part of this study, will be discussed and will include the research question, research design, which will consist of the research strategy/ methodology, positionality of the researcher, data analysis, delimitations of the study and ethical considerations.

1.2. Background of the Study

The SADC Member States have endeavoured to be economically integrated since this institution was created in 1980 under its predecessor the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) with the aim of reducing the Southern African regions reliance on the economic hegemon of apartheid South Africa (Peters-Berries 2010: 56). Regional co-operation was initiated by the Frontline-States with the goal of political liberation of the Southern African region in the fight against colonialism and this created strong bonds of solidarity amongst the Frontline-States and this led to an agreement at the Arusha Conference in 1979 to launch the SADCC (Ndomo 2009: 27). The leaders of the majority-ruled states viewed economic development as one of the main sectors of development “through co-operation and integration as the next stage of their hard-won political independence” (SADC 2001: 1). The transformation of the SADCC to the SADC in 1992 aimed to deepen this economic cooperation and integration project which was previously promoted by the SADCC Programme of Action (SPA) in order to secure economic liberation (SADC 2001: 2). However,

difficulties arose including the regions lack of appropriate mechanisms to translate political commitments into concrete programmes and this entailed the creation of the RISDP in 2001 “in order to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of SADC policies and programmes” (SADC 2001: 3). The ultimate objective of the RISDP is “to deepen the integration of the SADC” by attaining economic goals, amongst other things within the context of the SADC Common Agenda in achieving integration milestones according to Tralac (2012: 1), however this study unequivocally notes that these timeframes for the integration milestones have not been met besides the FTA in 2008. The study will also explore the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) as a successful regional organisation that the SADC could emulate, particularly pertaining to its overall aim to create a customs union.

1.3. The Formulation and demarcation of the research problem

Although the RISDP was formed in 2001 to fully integrate the SADC region economically, unfortunately almost 20 years later the region is yet to achieve this goal with evidence suggesting it is yet to go beyond the FTA which it is still struggling to implement. A key concern related to the implementation of the RISDP are the currently very low levels of intra-SADC trade which Chidede (2017) mentions is at just 10% compared to the European Union (EU) where intra-EU trade amounts to 40%. This is due to Member States of the SADC trading more with external partners rather than prioritising the SADC region first, hence the poor performance of intra-SADC trade. This is not to say that the SADC should not trade with external partners, but it must find a fine balance between regional projects and perhaps bilateral relations with external partners. Lack of sufficient political will has been noted as governments appear to focus more on national projects as opposed to regional projects and this gives the impression that support for SADC programmes such as the RISDP appear to be limited to support on paper but not as authoritatively on the ground (Peters-Berries 2010: 162; Charamba 2016). This can be ascribed to ‘shooting oneself in the foot’ as the SADC consists of generally small economies and markets according to Chidede (2017) and as a result of this they cannot simply succeed on their own. The overall assumption here gives the impression that the SADC Member States are the custodians of this economic blueprint as it was initiated by the SADCs highest decision-making body, the Summit of the Heads of State (SADC 2001: 3).

1.4. The research aim and objectives

Research aim: To critically analyse the RISDP in order to understand why it is being poorly implemented by SADC Member States.

- Objective 1: To investigate the shortcomings of the SADC Member States in the implementation of the RISDP.
- Objective 2: To assess the strategies being put forward in this study that could lead to the successful implementation of the RISDP which the SADC Member States could take note of and adopt.
- Objective 3: To explore the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) as a successful model for regional integration which the SADC could replicate to overcome its current stalemate.

1.5. Rationale of the study

The fundamental reason for this study is that there have been major challenges by SADC Member States in successfully implementing this study's unit of analysis, the RISDP, hence the significance of this study to seek clarification on how to deepen regional integration in the SADC. This desire to deepen regional integration in the SADC is in line with current global trends towards regionalism which Fawcett & Gandois (2010: 621) argue originated in the 1990s with old regional organisations being revitalised by the broadening of institutional agendas with a new emphasis on the global economy, the SADC being a key example. The RISDP has been identified as the economic blueprint to initiate this ambitious economic programme and provides the SADC Secretariat and other SADC institutions with a clear view of SADC's approved economic priorities. It is crucial and necessary to understand the importance of the SADC to the RISDP as it is the main institution that the RISDP falls under as this broad economic blueprint is part of the Strategic Plans of the SADC as it is anchored on the SADC Vision, Mission and the objectives as enshrined in the SADC Treaty (SADC 2017: ii).

The reason why this study seeks to focus on the RISDP at its core is because of its importance to the successful economic integration of the SADC region. However, as will be noted throughout the literature this ambitious development plan is being neglected by Member States of the SADC and this has weakened the SADC as an effective regional organisation. This means that the SADC is failing to take advantage of the benefits that are associated with regionalism. This is what this study will seek to unearth, and this will be conducted using a thematic analysis from within the data regarding the RISDP. This is to find out what is predominant or what is predominantly being said in the data, including from outliers, to give a comprehensive understanding of the current position of the RISDP, why this research views it as being poorly implemented, and how this broad economic blueprint can be successfully

improved on and implemented. These themes will be generated and explained further in the discussion and synthesis chapter of this study.

1.6. Chapter outline

This mini-dissertation will consist of 5 chapters.

Chapter 1 will be the introductory chapter which will be based on this study and will outline the background of the study, formation and demarcation of the research problem, research aim and objectives and the purpose/rationale of the study. This chapter will also outline the structure of this study and the literature overview. Lastly this chapter will discuss the research methodology that will be adopted for this study. This will include an outline the research design which will be a qualitative research design and the type of qualitative design. In the research methodology section, a discussion of my positionality will be undertaken regarding why this specific study has been selected and the research question that has been generated for this study. This section will also discuss the data analysis section with a specific focus on a thematic analysis and in finality will include the delimitations of the study and ethical considerations.

Chapter 2 will discuss and introduce the literature review and the type of literature review that has specifically been selected for this study. This chapter will introduce and explain the concept of regional integration as a process and how it evolved over time in a global context and within an African context. This chapter will also introduce the conceptual framework and discuss the three concepts identified in order to explain the phenomenon of regional integration in the SADC region as these three concepts underpin the study.

Chapter 3 is the case study of the RISDP and will expand substantially on this comprehensive document in order to find solutions regarding the research problem which is the poor implementation of the RISDP. This chapter will begin by giving a comprehensive history of the SADC. This will be complemented by a discussion on the SADC Free Trade Area, while the section on the proposed SADC Customs Union will be given greater prioritisation. Lastly, this chapter will discuss transportation in the SADC, with a specific focus on transport corridors.

Chapter 4 is the discussion and synthesis chapter and will discuss and reflect on the literature review and the findings chapter/case study which is chapter 3 by synthesising these sections with this study's conceptual framework which identified 3 concepts which are linked to the six themes generated from the literature review and case study in order to find common features

or patterns amongst them through the lens of the conceptual framework. This process has been undertaken for this chapter to address the research question and provide solutions to remedy this study's research problem.

Chapter 5 will conclude this study and will discuss the core argument of this study which notes throughout this mini-dissertation that the RISDP is not been fully prioritised by the SADC Member States and how this study seeks to resolve the research problem. This chapter will also discuss the recommendations and future areas of research with this study recommending that the SADC Member States taking their role as the most important actor in the SADC as a matter of urgency in line with the intergovernmental approach to regional integration in order for the RISDP to be fully implemented.

1.7. Literature Overview

The purpose of the literature overview is to substantiate the choices of books, journals and policy documents that will be used in this mini-dissertation. This proposed study is in favour of the SADC as a sub-regional bloc, hence a constructivist approach to regional integration will be sufficient, particularly the "new regionalism approach" argued by constructivist scholars Hettne & Söderbaum (2000) in their work; *Theorising the Rise of Regionness*. This is opposed to the old centralised paradigm to regional integration which is mentioned in Pugalis & Gray (2016): *New Regional Development Paradigms: an Exposition of Place-Based Modalities*. I will also refer to *Grand theories of integration and the challenges of comparative regionalism* by Börzel & Risse (2019) in order to understand the intergovernmental approach to regional integration which this study has considered. This study is not complete without being substantiated by *the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan* by the SADC (2001) which discusses the RISDP's processes, including those related to this study's two priority areas, and most importantly the SADC (2015) draft, the revised RISDP titled; *Revised Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan 2015-2020* which gives an update on the current process of the RISDP and its objectives that it wants to achieve for the future. Lastly, this study has also referred substantially to *Regional Integration in Southern Africa –A Guidebook* by Peters-Berries (2010) as it discusses the regional agenda of the SADC with magnificent clarity.

1.8. Research methodology

The aim of the research methodology section will be to outline and explain the type of procedures of inquiry which include the research design that has been selected for this study which will be a qualitative research design which will be explained. The study seeks to identify

and analyse this study's unit of analysis which will be the RISDP in order to understand why it has not been implemented fully which is related to this study's research problem. Hence, a critical evaluation of its implementation process which is the prerogative of SADC Member States. This section will begin by introducing the main research question in order to address the research problem followed by three sub-questions in response to the main question.

The section will further cover this study's research design and the type of research strategy which will be based on a case study methodology. A section will also be dedicated to my positionality as a researcher in order to display how my worldview and personal experiences inspired me to select this research study. This study will also discuss the data analysis section, before covering the delimitations of this study and ethical considerations.

1.8.1. Research question

The central research question that has been generated from this study which is based on the poor implementation of the RISDP is stated below;

Why has the RISDP been poorly implemented by SADC Member States, including missing the key milestones that were enshrined in the RISDP?

This research question was constructed through engaging the literature related to this study which Alvesson & Sandberg (2013: 17) argue can lead to the construction and formulation of a research question. The six themes that were generated for this study, through a thematic analysis of the literature, were predominant in the literature regarding the RISDP and this gives meaning as to why this broad economic blueprint of the SADC is being poorly implemented. The reason why this study has adopted a 'why' question as this study's main research question is because it seeks to explore the reasons for the existence of a phenomenon (Blaike 2010: 60). This phenomenon being the poor implementation of the RISDP, hence the aim of this research to understand through empirical examples as to why this document is being poorly implemented.

The following below are the three sub-questions which have been identified in the literature in order to address the main research question.

1. What role do the SADC Member States play in the implementation of the RISDP?
2. Which SADC Member States have lapsed on their commitments to this Plan due to economic, and or political problems?

3. How can the SADC Member States support the creation of a customs union?

1.8.2. Research Design

The research design that I have selected for this proposed study will be a qualitative research design. A qualitative design is a research strategy that is mainly expressed in words in the collection and analysis of data (Bryman 2012: 380). Furthermore Denzin & Lincoln (2005: 3) define it as “an activity that locates the observer in the world and consists of interpretive and material practices that make the world visible”. This is because this design seeks to explore and understand the meaning of a phenomenon through an “investigative process” (Creswell 2014: 110; Babbie 2014: 25). Qualitative research entails the use of literary texts as stated in Walliman (2011: 73), hence this proposed study will make use of secondary sources of data. Amongst these literary texts used will be documents, most prominently the RISDP as the unit of analysis, in order to generate data from such sources as qualitative research entails the collection and qualitative analysis of texts and documents (Bryman 2012: 383). The documents and texts under scrutiny will be used to address this study’s research problem.

This study involves relying on multiple literary texts and documents. In order to make sure that these sources are reliable and reputable this will require myself as the researcher to consult multiple sources of data relating to this study and this ‘fact-checking’ approach is known as “triangulation” (Bryman 2012: 392). The research design that I have selected will form the benchmark of the type of qualitative approach that will be employed for this study which will be the case study research strategy/methodology. As the researcher I have found that the study is consistent with the qualities of qualitative research as it seeks to attain an in-depth understanding of the RISDP.

This research will employ a case study methodology as this type of research strategy/methodology is a qualitative approach which Creswell (2007: 73) defines as the study of an issue explained through “one or more cases in a bounded system” or “setting”. Furthermore, a case study can be defined as “an intensive examination of the setting” (Bryman 2012: 67). For purposes of this study this “setting” will be the SADC and under this “setting” this study will specifically focus on the RISDP, which will be the unit of analysis under scrutiny. This will be explored through data collection involving documents and reports as secondary sources of data, according to Creswell (2007: 73), in order to understand why the RISDP document is being poorly implemented by the SADC. The main research question of this study is a ‘why’ question. The use of a ‘why’ question was selected as Yin (2003: 22) stated that the case study

strategy is appropriate for “why” questions. Hence, this is one of the reasons why this study has selected this research strategy.

Since this study has a specific focus on the RISDP this will entail that a single-case study will be conducted. The single-case study falls under the case study methodology and seeks to address the main research question (Yin 2003: 39). Hence, this study finds a single-case (holistic) design as noted in Yin (2003: 43), as this study will be focusing on one unit of analysis which is the RISDP. Thus, this study will look at how the single case (i.e. the RISDP) changes over time (Yin 2003: 42). This means that in order to explain the performance of the RISDP this will require looking at this document from its inception and formation to the present time (2001-2019). It is by engaging with the RISDP from this timeframe that answers will be able to be generated for the main research question.

1.8.3. Positionality

This study will also look at my positionality in order to understand how I arrived at this study. Foote & Bartell (2011: 46) define the term positionality as an individual’s worldview and as “an idea in which people are defined by their location within shifting networks”. The most appropriate way to explain how I arrived at this study is through the “insider-outsider” phenomenon. Positionality, in a broad sense, is very important to the research as the position adopted by a researcher affects every phase of the research process and includes how the main research question and problem is constructed (Rowe 2014: 628). The main motivation behind the selection of this study came about from my experience as an international student coming to study in South Africa. I am originally from Zimbabwe and as a SADC citizen I generally feel that despite the progress that has been made regarding regional integration this must be taken to another level as it would be difficult to achieve continental integration when regional integration is not been taken with enough urgency.

As a SADC citizen I feel that there should be better ease of travelling from one SADC nation to another as this would be the key to fulfilling effective regional economic integration in the region and this includes the free movement of SADC citizens in the region, as well as less strenuous visa formalities as this will reduce the barriers to entry and promote intraregional trade. The SADC Heads of State and Government must of course meet to promote such an initiative and find common ground in order to see if it is feasible with the help of experts. I am very aware that sovereignty must be respected and do support the preservation of boundaries in line with the gradualist approach to Pan-Africanism, however Member States must be

willing to let go of some aspects of their sovereignty as failure to do so will leave the SADC at its almost stagnant position. This is why I am in favour of Moravcsik's theory of liberal intergovernmentalism as it states in Hooghe & Marks (2019: 1115) that regional organisations (including the SADC) expresses the delegated authority of its member states which can be linked to the new regionalism theory/approach which advocates for multi-level governance which are important features of a successful regional bloc which appear to be lacking in the SADC, hence the poor implementation of regional projects such as the RISDP. That is why I have selected the RISDP as this study's unit of analysis as it contains the necessary information to promote such an ambitious initiative, hence my great support for the SADC to finally form a customs union. Hence, my theoretical perspective is based on a neoliberal and constructivist outlook to international relations.

1.8.4. Data Analysis

This proposed study will employ a thematic analysis in order to look for patterns that emerge from the data regarding the RISDP in order to understand why this economic blueprint has been poorly implemented. According to Bryman (2012: 717) a thematic analysis can be defined as "a term used in connection with the analysis of qualitative data to refer to the extraction of key themes in one's data". This is supported by Hawkins (2017: 1757) whereby a researcher uncovers reoccurring patterns (themes) occurring in the data. "Themes go beyond topical reporting to provide depth of understanding within a text that explain phenomena or point out areas which need improvement" (Hawkins 2017: 1758). These areas include this study's two priority areas which are; Trade and Economic Liberalisation, and Regional Infrastructure and Services Development for Regional Integration.

The reason why a thematic analysis is connected to qualitative data analysis is because it is expressed mostly in the form of words rather than numbers as mentioned by Walliman (2011: 130), and this research approach also complements the thematic analysis as it involves data collection which helps to give meaning to this study's concepts. It also suggests interpretations or answers to the research question based on the information gathered through a thematic analysis. According to Hawkins (2017: 1758) "a theme may contribute to explicit or implicit information and this means a theme may come from a deeper understanding that is implied". Hence, the inclusion of outliers that are not necessarily mentioned in the literature. This type of analysis supports this study's adoption of a case study methodology as this study is conducted by identifying themes within a case which is the RISDP. Six themes have been

generated for this study and will be discussed further in chapter 4 as part of the synthesis and discussion chapter.

1.8.5. Delimitations of the study

This study will be limited to the SADC and more specifically to this study's unit of analysis which is the RISDP. The study will focus on Trade and Economic Liberalisation, and Regional Infrastructure and Services Development for Regional Integration, which are part of the RISDP's priority areas of regional cooperation and integration as these two sections form the basis of this mini-dissertation. The main research question and the objectives of this study seek to address the poor implementation of the RISDP, and this study argues that one of the areas of contention is not meeting key milestones or targets, which were also one of the six themes generated in the synthesis and discussion chapter. Hence, this is why this study is advocating for the creation of a SADC Customs Union in line with the neoclassical five-stage economic model within the priority area of Trade and Economic Liberalisation. The creation of the customs union will be dependent on the SADC prioritising Regional Infrastructure.

1.8.6. Ethical Considerations

This mini-dissertation will be conducted in line with the regulations and guidelines that have been set out by the University of Pretoria regarding the conduct of a master's degree. This study is a literature-based study based on the qualitative research approach, and although no field work will be conducted for this proposal, the use of secondary sources of data will entail an acknowledgement of the sources of other authors that will be used in the formulation of this mini-dissertation. These sources will be carefully in-text referenced and will be listed in the bibliography (using the Harvard-format) and will only include the sources actually referenced in this research proposal. This is to avoid committing plagiarism in order for this proposal to remain ethical. All the proposed sources that will be used will be accessible in the public domain and the study will also seek to maintain a level of impartiality.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW & CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to define and discuss the literature review that this study will employ, followed by the conceptual framework that has been adopted for this study. Firstly, in terms of the literature review, this will be done in order to give a comprehensive understanding of this study by engaging critically with issues and debates that form part of the global and regional literature on regional integration. Following the discussion of the literature review this chapter will apply a systematic approach by firstly discussing regional integration as a concept, followed by regional integration in Africa. In this chapter the conceptual framework will also be introduced along with the three main concepts of this study and how these particular concepts connect to one another.

This will be presented in a written format under a qualitative research design. Thus, the conceptual framework will serve as a “map” in order to investigate the challenges of implementing this study’s unit of analysis, the RISDP and will be linked to this study’s research problem identified in chapter 1. The decision to select a conceptual framework for this study came about as a single theory or concept was deemed insufficient to explain regional integration in the SADC region in line with this study, hence the selection of a conceptual framework. This is because this study requires several theories or concepts to effectively explain how regional integration is being conducted in the SADC. This chapter will conclude by introspecting on what was discussed in the literature review and emphasising the SADC’s continental commitments, while also reiterating the importance of the three concepts identified in the conceptual framework and how they are the key ingredients to the successful implementation of the RISDP.

2.2. Literature review

A literature review can be defined and explained as a critical analysis of information that has been published on a particular topic (Cronin, Ryan & Coughlan 2008: 38). It is a desktop research method as the researcher will be describing what has already been said about a topic using secondary sources (Jesson, Matheson & Lacey 2011: 74). Hence, this literature review will discuss and build on previous work related to the SADC and how this REC came into existence by firstly looking at the broader concept of regional integration and why it has

become an attractive and appealing perspective in the 21st century. This review will look at how regional integration developed over time globally and on the African continent, leading to the eventual creation of the SADCC in 1980 and its successor the SADC in 1992 and how this evolution inspired the SADC to create a comprehensive economic blueprint, the RISDP, which however its Member States have failed to implement appropriately (which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 3). Thus, this research will be a literature-based study and will employ a traditional/narrative literature review.

2.2.1. Traditional/narrative literature review

A traditional/narrative literature review can be defined as a critical approach that explores issues, develops ideas and identifies gaps in the literature (Jesson, Matheson & Lacey 2011: 76). Thus, this review, with the assistance of the conceptual framework, will explain how the RISDP is being implemented by SADC Member States which has not been as effective and will seek to find solutions to address these gaps that have been identified in the literature in order to confront the research problem with the help of the three concepts identified in the conceptual framework. In order to get a comprehensive understanding of the SADC as a regional organisation it will be of great importance to explore the concept of regional integration and how it has developed over time.

2.3. The evolution of Regional Integration

Regional integration, or regionalism as it is also termed “refers to the process by which states within a certain region increase their level of interaction with regard to economic, security and political issues” (Thonke & Spliid 2012: 45). This process is very broad and goes beyond economic, political and security cooperation and seeks to examine state building amongst other things, and similarly to democratisation, regionalism has a ‘contagion’ effect (Farrell, Hettne & Van Langenhove 2005: 21). In order to understand this concept, which some scholars consider to be subjected to multiple interpretations, it will be necessary to understand its historical underpinnings.

The concept of regionalism has always existed with various empires and civilisations being considered as some form of regionalism. However, in a more modern sense this concept emerged in the international system following the aftermath of the First World War with the League of Nations providing an arena for regional groups to prevent the occurrence of another war but was however replaced by the United Nations (UN) due to its shortcomings in preventing the Second World War (Farrell, Hettne & Van Langenhove 2005: 27). The UN

recognises the role of regional organisations in a more formal set-up as mentioned in the UN Charter (1945: 11) under Chapter VIII, Article 52. Regionalisation can also be seen as the interaction of activities related to trade, people, even conflict (the liberation struggle in the case of Africa) leading to the emergence of regional organisations (Farrell, Hettne & Langenhove 2005: 25). The end of the Cold War witnessed an upsurge in regional organisations, with the SADC being one such regional actor which will be discussed.

2.3.1. Regional Integration in Africa

Regional integration has been a dominant process in Africa which can trace its origins on the continent to as far back as 1910 during the colonial times to the establishment of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) which was the first attempt towards regional integration in Africa (Peters-Berries 2010: 42). The regional integration process in Africa should be analysed in the context of pan-Africanist ideas and the fight against colonial rule emanating from the various liberation struggles that took place on the continent. Pan-Africanism is a movement based on the struggle ‘for social and political equality and freedom from economic exploitation and racial discrimination’ (Murithi 2007: 1). Pan-Africanism was first institutionalised in the 19th century under the ideas of Jamaican-American activist Marcus Garvey who inspired activists such as African-American thinker and writer W.E.B du Bois who hosted five Pan-African congresses, most notably the Pan-Africanist congress in Manchester, England in 1945 which included future leaders, such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, which called for an end to colonialism in Africa (Murithi 2013: 24). This led to the decolonisation process taking place in Africa with many African states becoming independent in the late 1950’s and 1960s, as a result of the Pan-Africanist movement which became the cornerstone in the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 (Murithi 2007: 2). This Pan-Africanist ideal was mentioned in Article II (1) of the OAU Charter (OAU 1963: 3).

According to Khadiagala (2013: 375) to understand regional integration in Africa with more clarity, this will entail looking at it from two phases with the first phase of regional integration beginning in the 1960’s and the second phase of regional integration occurring from the 1990’s. This is to highlight the construction of continental and sub-regional institutions. Since the first step towards unity in Africa, regionalism has expanded exponentially on the continent as African countries invoked the importance of forging close economic cooperation and overcoming political fragmentation (Jordaan 2014: 515). The two Pan-Africanist schools of

thought dominated the early stages of the first phase of regional integration. The radical approach which supported continental integration and the gradualist approach which favoured economic integration first originating from a sub-regional level before progressing towards greater continental integration (Khadiagala 2013: 377). The formation of the OAU was the result of African states adopting continental institutions based on respect for sovereignty coexisting with sub-regional groups (Khadiagala 2013: 377). The principle of sovereignty adopted by African leaders is a legacy of colonialism as it can be traced back to the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which birthed the concept the ‘nation-state’ and defined a state as having set boundaries (Farmer 2012: 94).

The second phase of regional integration began with the Lagos Plan of Action (1980) under the UN-institution, the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) as the first pan-African concept for economic integration (Peters-Berries 2010: 48). This phase also culminated with the Abuja Treaty (1991) which created the African Economic Community (AEC), with RECs being the building blocks (AU 2018: 17). The OAU was replaced by the African Union (AU) in 2002 when it was launched in Durban, South Africa following a decision to do so by the OAU to create a new continental organisation in 1999 (AU 2018: 13). The SADCC was established under this phase in 1980, followed by its successor the SADC in 1992. This need to economically strengthen the SADC further, in addition to its Member States membership to various economic blocs such as the AEC, led to the creation of the RISDP in 2001 and will be further discussed in chapter 3 in detail. The next section will discuss the conceptual framework and how the three concepts that have been identified explain the current state of the SADC and its economic blueprint, the RISDP, in order to understand why this blueprint has been poorly implemented and how best it can be remedied.

2.4. Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework can be defined as a “visual or written product”, one that “explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied, the key concepts” according to Maxwell (2013: 39) and how they will connect to this study’s unit of analysis. The three concepts that will be discussed are intergovernmentalism, continentalism and ‘new regionalism theory/approach’.

2.4.1. Intergovernmentalism

The intergovernmental approach to regional integration is a theory of integration which has put the state at the centre of the study. It can be described as a ‘state-centric theory’ and member

states are seen as the most important actors (Börzel & Risse 2019: 1234). It can be viewed as national states searching for mutually advantageous bargains and it also explains the outcomes of cooperation and competition among national governments (Hooghe & Marks 2019: 1115). This can be connected to the institutional framework of the SADC whereby “the Summit of the Heads of State is the highest body” as it is the highest decision-making body of the SADC (Peters-Berries 2010: 74). Hooghe & Marks (2019: 1116) supports this statement as they argue that liberal intergovernmentalism explains cooperation as the exclusive product of national leaders. The RISDP itself was also formed by the Heads of State and Government Summit, hence supporting this narrative.

In Africa regional integration has adopted this approach and the REC’s of the AU, including the SADC, are seen as intergovernmental organisations which were created by a group of countries to foster economic cooperation (Thonke & Spliid 2012: 62). This theory of integration can be seen to be taking shape in the SADC as this REC is heavily dependent on SADC Member States for its survival. Thus, this study disagrees with Caporasso (1998: 12) who calls the assertion that ‘the real power in regional organisations rests with states as they have the ultimate right to decide’ as irrelevant. This is because the SADC is the ‘personal project’ of its member states. Moravcsik’s theory of liberal intergovernmentalism, which Hooghe & Marks (2019: 1115) see as a more recent stream of intergovernmentalism, argues that such organisations embody the delegated authority of its member states, allowing them to instruct, police and monitor such institutions (Caporasso 1998: 12). The important role of member states in such institutions or regional organisations is emphasised in the SADC Treaty (1998: 7) in Article 6: General Undertakings.

The reason for the SADC not deepening regional economic integration to the level of the EU which is now a supranational entity is because they will have to give up some important aspects of their sovereignty. This was alluded to by former Tanzanian President Jakaya Kikwete due to the legacy of colonialism, hence the member states of the SADC supporting a more intergovernmentalist approach as it ensures that their national sovereignty is protected (Thonke & Spliid 2012: 46). Lastly, the SADC can be connected to ‘third world regionalism’, which is a strand of intergovernmentalism, as mentioned by Fawcett & Gandois (2010: 618) as the SADC comprises of states that share common characteristics. According to Fawcett & Gandois (2010: 618) the states included under this perspective are highly unequal, fragile democracies with struggling economies, which however speaks to the true reality of the SADC. Hence, this is why it is crucial that the SADC’s economic blueprint, the RISDP which is the centre of this

study, is fully implemented with all member states being fully compliant so as to improve the economic standing of all SADC Member States so as to move away from its current economic standing and stalemate.

2.4.2. Continentalism

Continentalism is a concept that can be associated with continental integration. The origins of this concept in Africa can be traced to the fight against colonial rule leading up to the formation of the OAU as part of the Pan-Africanist vision to unite the continent (Khadiagala 2013: 377). Continental integration had been the major goal of the two Pan-Africanist schools of thought. The first school of thought was the Casablanca group or radical approach which was led by Ghana's first President Kwame Nkrumah which favoured total continental integration through the removal of colonial drawn borders to form a United States of Africa (Farmer 2012: 96). The Monrovia group or gradualist approach on the other hand supported the preservation of sovereignty and encouraged cooperation amongst states in the form of regional organisations or sub-regional groups (Farmer 2012: 97; Khadiagala 2013: 377).

The OAU was formed in 1963 as a result of a compromise between these two schools of thought which led to the creation of continental institutions based on the respect for sovereignty co-existing with sub-regional institutions (Khadiagala 2013: 377). The second phase of regional integration led to several treaties being formed such as the Abuja Treaty of 1991 which made RECs such as the SADC the building blocks for the AEC (Khadiagala 2013: 380). According to the AU (2018: 138) the AEC is part of the plan to promote further African integration by facilitating regional and eventually continental integration. Hence, the AEC can complement the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) in working towards the full continental integration of Africa. The role of the RISDP is important here as it plays "a pivotal role" in the AU's REC of the SADC as this economic blueprint seeks to promote the free movement of people and goods which it has recognised as one of its priority areas in SADC (2015: 60) which ultimately can be linked to greater continental integration as other REC's on the continent also promote such policies. This can be linked to the European integration project as it is a successful example of continental integration (Peters-Berries 2010: 22).

2.4.3. 'New Regionalism Theory/Approach'

In order to appropriately implement the RISDP I suggest focusing on the constructivist strand of the "new regionalism approach". The "new regionalism approach" refers to the current ideology of regionalism, i.e. the urge for a regionalist order, in a geographical area and is part

of the second wave of regionalism (Hettne & Söderbaum 2000: 457). The SADC was established under this approach; hence this “new regionalist approach” is also directly connected to the auspices that were set by the Abuja Treaty which takes into consideration sub-regional groups being strengthened as part of promoting African integration (Khadiagala 2013: 380). The creation of the AfCFTA has occurred under the auspices of this theory as it seeks to create a continent-wide free trade area which incorporates all AU Member States in the African region (Tralac 2018: 1).

This is opposed to the old approach according to Hettne & Söderbaum (2000: 457) which is part of the first phase of regional integration. According to Pugalis & Gray (2016: 186) this old approach to regionalism, which is also known as the ‘old paradigm’ of regional development, takes a centralised approach to regionalism under the auspices of a central government. I find the ‘old paradigm’ unfeasible and unworkable as it opposes a system of multi-level governance which is more appropriate and is in line with the “new regionalism approach” to regionalism. This system of multi-level governance is fitting to the SADC as it would mean greater prioritisation of regional economic projects such as the RISDP and enable all Member States of the SADC to participate in and have their say in the economic agenda of this REC.

2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter the literature review was discussed and the type of review this study selected was the traditional/narrative review as it appeared to be the most appropriate for this study. The literature review that has been constructed for this mini-dissertation has discussed in as much detail as possible to justify why I have made the RISDP the centre of this study. The goal of the RISDP is to strengthen regional economic integration in the SADC with the RISDP facilitating this as the SADC’s economic blueprint. The review discussed the evolution of regional integration which this chapter notes can trace its roots to the end of the First World War when the League of Nations was formed.

This chapter also discussed the three concepts of Intergovernmentalism, Continentalism and New Regionalism Theory/Approach which this study has recognised as part of the conceptual framework. These three concepts bring out a more nuanced understanding of the regional integration agenda taking place in the SADC in a unique and often unlooked perspective and this supports the narrative for the use of a conceptual framework as the SADC region is a broad spectrum with a rich history that warrants different concepts to explain the development of regional integration in this regional bloc. It is clear from this standpoint that the RISDP is at

the centre of this study, hence it is incomplete for this economic blueprint to fit into a 'neatly packed' single theoretical perspective as it will not give it justice unlike through a variety of concepts as this chapter seeks to achieve.

CHAPTER 3

THE CASE STUDY OF THE RISDP

3.1. Introduction

The aim and scope of this chapter will be to discuss in detail the RISDP as a case study and expand on this economic blueprint of the SADC by seeking to find solutions to strengthen it to overcome some of the drawbacks that have been noted pertaining to this study's research problem. Hence, this is why the case study methodology design is the most appropriate qualitative design for this particular study. It is for this precise reason why I have made this economic blueprint the centre of this study, as the RISDP plays a central; if not the most important role in making the SADC a truly functioning regional bloc. The RISDP was introduced in this study's literature review and will be discussed in greater detail. This document has been revised in its last phase of implementation which is; 2015-2020 according to SADC (2015: 7) in order to provide a clearer perspective of the SADC's economic priorities which is the focus of this study. The current SADC chairperson is Tanzanian President John Magufuli, who assumed the annual rotating chairmanship in 2019 (Said 2019). Magufuli has been nicknamed "the bulldozer" as he has become known 'for not wasting time to get things done' according to Pilling & Aglionby (2016) and perhaps 'there could be no better Leader' to lead this last phase of the revised RISDP to implement the revised RISDP with such robustness.

A critical analysis of the origins and institutional evolution of the SADC will be discussed, before discussing the RISDP as the organisation's socio-economic blueprint for regional integration and development. The SADC FTA will also be discussed in the order of the neoclassical five-stage economic model. It is clear at this juncture that the SADC Member States have been unable to successfully implement the RISDP effectively due to several reasons and this includes not fully prioritising the SADC FTA and reneging on targets, most prominently a customs union which this study believes should be pursued without hesitation due to its economic benefits. Hence, this chapter seeks to explore the possibility of gradually adding other SADC countries overtime into the SACU as a point of departure due to the success of this regional organisation by aligning the SACU with the proposed SADC Customs Union's frameworks. This is to test the waters to experiment to see whether this concept could work. This chapter will further investigate whether the SACU could be the building block of the envisaged SADC Customs Union.

As part of this study's second priority area of regional integration that was chosen, which is the Regional Infrastructure and Services Development for Regional Integration, the Regional Infrastructure Development Master Plan (RIDMP) will be given greater emphasis, particularly regarding transport corridors and air transportation which this study believes will have the potential to effectively integrate the SADC region economically. This is to fulfil Article 5 of the SADC Treaty (1998: 6), Section 2d) which states "*to develop policies aimed at the progressive elimination of obstacles to the free movement of capital and labour, goods and services, and of the people of the Region generally among member state's*". In conclusion this chapter will discuss what has been said about the RISDP and how this case study has addressed the research problem and provided solutions to the research question in order to remedy the poor implementation of this economic blueprint. The first section of this chapter will give a more comprehensive introduction of the SADC and how its economic blueprint, the RISDP, came into existence.

3.2. History and evolution of the SADC

3.2.1. From the SADCC to the SADC

The SADCC was formed on 1 April 1980 in Lusaka, Zambia following an outcome to launch the SADCC at the Arusha conference in Tanzania in July 1979 (Ndomo 2009: 27, 28). The establishment of the SADCC occurred on the premise of breaking the economic power that apartheid South Africa had over the region in the 1970's which also witnessed on-going liberation struggles in several countries in the region by the Frontline States (FLS) which originally consisted of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia (Peters-Berries 2010: 56; SADC 2001: 1). The main initiative of the FLS was initially towards political liberation as they supported national liberation movements in Southern Africa but later saw the need to promote economic development, hence the creation of the SADCC following the liberation of Zimbabwe (SADC 2001: 1). The nine countries that were its original members were "Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe" (SADC 2012). All these countries paid a political and economic price as they became victims of apartheid South Africa's destabilisation policy which the apartheid regime initiated to prevent neighbouring countries from aiding liberation movements, such as the African National Congress (ANC) in the country or hosting them to launch attacks into the country (Peters-Berries 2010: 58, 60).

The original list of the Member States of the SADCC was particularly interesting with Tanzania possibly becoming a member due to the failure of the East African Community (EAC) in 1977 and Malawi as it did not want to be seen as unsupportive of the liberation struggles, despite its leader Kamuzu Banda having cordial relations with South Africa (Peters-Berries 2010: 57). The SADCC was formed with four principal objectives and they included its Member States reducing their dependence on apartheid South Africa, forging links to create equitable regional integration, mobilising resources in order to strengthen national, interstate, and regional policies, and lastly to come up with an effective strategy for economic liberation (SADC 2012). The 'coalition' of FLS saw the need for a strategic economic policy in order for this regional organisation to succeed by focusing on a number of initiatives such as transport links to reduce reliance on South African ports (Peters-Berries 2010: 57). However, rebel movements in Angola and Mozambique which were supported by the apartheid regime, such as UNITA and RENAMO, interrupted these links and in Mozambique the 'Beira corridor' was able to stay operational due to support provided by the Zimbabwean army which provided a 'life-line' to the sea (Peters-Berries 2010: 57).

However, the SADCC did encounter a number of problems such as overreliance on donor aid which paralysed its efforts to be self-reliant, weak intraregional trade due to poor production and trade structures and "national sovereignty prevailing over regional cooperation" (Peters-Berries 2010: 58). Major global political developments in the late 1980's such as the end of the Cold War saw the wave of democracy sweeping the globe which eventually reached the shores of Southern Africa and made the SADCC Member States realise the need to transform the regional bloc into an effective REC (Mushelenga & van Wyk 2017: 60). Namibia's independence in 1990 made it evident that majority-rule was inevitable in South Africa and with this anticipation, which occurred under what is considered the second wave of regionalism, the SADCC members met in Windhoek, Namibia in 1992 to address these new realities (Mushelenga & van Wyk 2017: 60).

The theme document of this meeting was "SADCC: Towards Economic Integration", and it argued that the region had reached a point where regional integration in Southern Africa needed to be strengthened further (SADC Treaty 1998: i). The Member States of the SADCC adopted and signed the SADC Treaty in August 1992 which transformed the SADCC "from a coordination conference into the SADC", a community which was a legally binding agreement (SADC 2001: 3). According to the SADC Treaty (1998: 9) greater commitment will be given to economic cooperation and integration and will recognise the roles of Member States to

economically develop the region as noted in Article 5: Objectives, section 1 a) of the SADC Treaty. The purpose of the SADC is to assist Member States who have small markets as their inadequate socioeconomic infrastructure and low-income base makes it difficult for such countries to operate individually (SADC 2001: 3). Today the SADC consists of 16 Member States and they include; “*Angola, Botswana, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland (now called Eswatini), United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe*” (SADC 2017: 1). The SADC consists of a variety of mechanisms to promote regional integration; thus, this study will specifically focus on Article 5, section 2(b) of the SADC Treaty (1998: 6) as it connects to the two priority areas of regional cooperation and integration which will fall under the RISDP which will be this study’s unit of analysis.

3.3. The RISDP

The RISDP is the SADC’s economic blueprint and was launched in March 2001 in Windhoek, Namibia by the SADC Heads of State and Government in order to “increase the efficiency and effectiveness of SADC policies and programmes” (Tralac 2012: 1). In August 2003 the RISDP was adopted at the Dar es Salaam summit in Tanzania by the Council of Ministers of the SADC and “*it aims at operationalizing SADC’s Common Agenda over a period of 15 years, subdivided into three-year sections*” (Tralac 2012: 1; Peters-Berries 2010: 82). The original plan of the RISDP began being implemented from 2005 onwards, giving an implementation time-frame of 2005-2020 (SADC 2015: 1). The RISDP is part of the Strategic Plans of the SADC and can be further explained as “*a comprehensive development and implementation framework guiding the regional integration agenda of the SADC*” (SADC 2012). This aspiration for greater regional integration is also in line with the sectoral and cluster ministerial committees of the SADC (SADC Treaty 2014: 12).

Although this study has already given background information on the formation of the RISDP it will be appropriate to give a more nuanced critical analysis of the chain of events that led to the eventual institutional creation of this plan. The epistemic foundations that led to the formation of this economic blueprint can be traced as far back as the establishment of the Frontline States, which were newly independent Southern African states in the 1970’s, where by these states, which became part of the SADCC and later the SADC, saw the need to promote economic development (SADC 2001: 1). This was first strengthened at the 1980 SADCC Summit in Lusaka, Zambia where policies aimed at economic liberation following political

independence took centre stage (Ndomo 2009: 28). The Summit adopted the “Lusaka Declaration” which was designated; ‘Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation’ and a “Programme of Action” covering sectors such as Transport and Industry; key sectors that became central to the RISDP (SADC 2012; SADC 2001: 1).

A decentralised structure was adopted by the Member States of the then SADCC with different sectors allocated to each Member State and is a structure that continues to be in operation under the SADC (Kaunda 2008: 72). This decentralised structure can be linked to the Intergovernmental approach to regional integration, one of this study’s three concepts, as this structure displays the central role of the state. This concept could further explain why the RISDP is being poorly implemented as the Member States of the SADC are responsible for this economic blueprint’s implementation but have not given it full prioritisation. This gives an answer to this study’s research question; **Why has the RISDP been poorly implemented by SADC Member States, including missing the key milestones that were enshrined in the RISDP?** The decentralised structure can also be linked to the “new regionalism theory” as this approach supports a system of multi-level governance.

An Extra-ordinary Summit was held in Windhoek, Namibia by the SADC Heads of State and Government in 2001 to restructure SADC institutions in order to facilitate the implementation of SADC projects more efficiently in the long-term and was approved at the 2003 Summit in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (Tralac 2012: 1: 3; Peters-Berries 2010: 82).

The RISDP has provided the SADC with an effective comprehensive framework for regional integration and development and through its integration enablers, such as economic and corporate governance which Peters-Berries (2010: 83) argues is key to the successful implementation of the SADC FTA before advancing to a SADC Customs Union. The RISDP in its development consulted not only government but also the private sector as part of its other “integration and development enablers” to facilitate deeper regional integration, in addition to trade liberalisation and development as part of this study’s two selected priority areas (Peters-Berries 2010: 83).

For the purposes of this mini-dissertation I will focus on the following priority areas of regional cooperation and integration:

- Trade and Economic Liberalisation
- Regional Infrastructure and Services Development for Regional Integration

The reason why I have selected these two priority areas is due to their huge contribution to the RISDP as a review conducted allocated 50% of resources to these two priority areas, according to SADC (2015: 14), as these two priority areas are crucial to the economic development of the SADC region. These two priority areas fit well with my research as they are the key to unlocking the economic potential of the SADC region should they be appropriately implemented. These two priority areas will be explained further below.

3.3.1. Trade and Economic Liberalisation

This priority area falls under the Trade, Industry, Finance and Investment Sector and seeks to facilitate trade and financial liberalisation and integration, as well as the attainment of macroeconomic stability and convergence (SADC 2015: 31). It also seeks for “diversified industrial development and increased investment in the SADC region” (SADC 2015: 31). The reason for implementing this priority is because it will be key to the economic growth of the SADC region (SADC 2015: 31). This priority area seeks to follow the neoclassical Five-Stage Economic model of regional integration; however, the integration agenda of the SADC has not yet progressed beyond the SADC Free Trade Area (FTA), which was envisaged by the RISDP (Peters-Berries 2010: 30; SADC 2015: 31). The neoclassical Five-Stage Economic model can be explained as an economic model consisting of five stages that a country needs to go through in order to fulfil full integration and they include a Free Trade Area, Customs Union, Common Market, Economic Union and Political or Supranational Union (Peters-Berries 2010: 30). This model is based on the work of the American economist Jacob Viner. These are the stages envisaged by the RISDP with the Free Trade Area being the only stage achieved at present (SADC 2015: 31). However, there have been key achievements made since its inception and they include; the development and operationalisation of policy, legal, institutional and regulatory frameworks, addressing barriers to trade and investment, and macroeconomic stability and convergence (SADC 2015: 31).

The RISDP seeks “to facilitate convergence on stability oriented economic policies implemented through a sound institutional structure and framework” (SADC 2015: 37). “Comprehensive reviews of the SADC Macroeconomic Convergence programme that were undertaken between 2008 and 2012 to assess Member States’ performance” noted that three countries achieved single digit inflation; all member states achieved a budget deficit of less than 5% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2008 (SADC 2015: 38). In 2012 only three member states achieved their inflation targets (SADC 2015: 38). Macroeconomic convergence

is important to the SADC as it determines whether the member states are in alignment economically, thus the Macroeconomic Convergence programme is very important to the success of the RISDP.

3.3.2. Regional Infrastructure and Services Development for Regional Integration

This priority area covers energy, water, transport, tourism, communication and meteorology, however for the purposes of this study this will be limited to the transport sector. The overall objective of this priority “is to ensure the availability and universal access to sufficient, integrated, efficient, and cost-effective infrastructure systems as well as the provision of sustainable services” (SADC 2015: 39). The development of regional infrastructure networks “is critical for promoting and sustaining regional economic development and trade facilitation” (SADC 2015: 39). This is because it will be difficult to realise the RISDP if the blueprint on infrastructure is not implemented, hence infrastructure has to come first before trade. One of the main achievements of this priority has been the establishment of regional institutions and this includes corridor management which this study will focus on, more specifically on transport corridors.

The focus on transport corridors is crucial to the smooth flow of both goods and people effectively which will also contribute towards the increase in intra-SADC trade which is currently very low. One successful transport corridor is the North-South Corridor (NSC) which carries over 60% of regional trade (SADC 2015: 42). The desire by the SADC to integrate the region also appears under one of the RISDP’s original targets which is “*to remove avoidable hindrances and impediments to the cross-border movement of persons, goods and services*” (SADC 2015: 42). This can be linked to the EU which has established free trade within the EU through the creation of a customs union and the free movement of people without restrictions and border controls (a goal the SADC is yet to implement) (Peters-Berries 2010: 24). According to SADC (2015: 43) there have been efforts to liberalise air transport as aviation has become a supporting part of any transport system as it has become essential for the import and export of goods which will drive the economic development of the SADC region. This sector on transportation will be explained further later in this chapter which falls under the SADC RIDMP which will be explained below.

The RIDMP is “*an integrated planning and coordination tool developed to improve the efficiency of this priority area in meeting its goals and targets under the RISDP*” and was adopted in August 2012 (SADC 2015: 40). The RIDMP is “the SADC’s blueprint and strategy

for the development of integrated regional infrastructure to meet projected demand by 2027” (SADC 2015: 40). It is also part of the proposed tripartite cooperation and the continental infrastructure framework and this means that it can complement the AfCFTA which was established in Kigali, Rwanda in 2018 (Tralac 2018: 2). The RIDMP also aligns with the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) which is “*a vision and strategic programme of action intended to support Africa’s development*” (SADC 2012). The NEPAD was adopted in 2002 in Durban, South Africa as an organ of the AU, and is seen as a regional integration programme from one aspect and has its headquarters in Midrand, South Africa (Peters-Berries 2010: 51).

Thus, the RISDP compliments the NEPAD as its regional equivalent as it seeks to strengthen intra-SADC trade as part of the greater goal of integrating the SADC economy into the global economy, along with the rest of Africa (SADC 2012; le Pere & Tjønneland 2008: 114). This can be linked to the African Union Agenda 2063 as part of the continental integration of Africa based on RECs “to deepen and enlarge regional markets and address industrial and infrastructural development challenges” which is also advocated for under the SADC Vision 2050 (SADC 2015: 21).

It is evident that the RISDP is a key supporter of industrialisation which is complemented by the RIDMP hence this explains why it was under the theme of the 37th SADC Summit which was chaired by South Africa in 2017 in Pretoria. The theme was: “*Partnering with the Private Sector in developing industry and regional value-chains*” (SADC 2017: 2). This Summit urged the process of operationalising the SADC Regional Development Fund to be hastened to support the Industrialisation agenda (SADC 2017: 9). The Chairperson of the 37th SADC Summit President Jacob Zuma of South Africa pledged to promote the process of Industrialisation by promoting a “member state driven initiative” through the industrial development forum in facilitating cross-border projects that will develop the region (SADC 2017: 2). President Zuma further reiterated at this summit that infrastructure is the key driver of industrialisation, hence SADC countries must come together to ensure infrastructure development (Tsotetsi 2017). He stated in his speech at the summit that this cooperation “will allow small economies to overcome the challenge of small, fragmented economies, and create a larger market”, but he however noted the lack of funding to develop bankable projects by both the public and private sector (Republic of South Africa 2017).

“According to the then Acting Director for the Directorate for Infrastructure and Services at the SADC Secretariat in 2017 Mr. Phera Ramoeli Infrastructure development is instrumental in facilitating industrialisation, intra-regional trade as espoused in the SADC Revised RISDP 2015-2020” (SADC 2017: 13). This can only be sufficiently possible through the inclusion of the private sector as noted in the theme of this Summit which needs to be encouraged as I have noted throughout the literature that there is weak involvement of the private sector which has been identified as one of the six themes generated in Chapter 4. Thus, this clearly emphasises the SADC’s commitment to the RISDP as it recognises industrialisation as a key to attaining greater intra-regional trade and greater regional cooperation. The next section of this chapter will discuss the creation of the SADC FTA before discussing the next stage of this economic model which is the much-anticipated SADC Customs Union which will be discussed broadly.

3.4. The SADC Free Trade Area (FTA)

The SADC FTA was launched in August 2008 as a result of a phased programme of tariff reductions that had commenced in 2001 and led to a situation which made the attainment of the FTA ‘feasible’ (Sandrey 2013: 2). This is because minimum conditions were met for the FTA “with 85% of tariffs on goods zero rated by almost all FTA participating countries”, with maximum tariff liberalisation being attained in 2012 with the tariff phase down process on sensitive products being met (Tralac 2012: 5). The targeted milestone of 2008 was in line with the set target by the RISDP’s priority intervention area of Trade, Economic Liberalisation and Development according to SADC (2001: 66), which is the first target of this priority area and the attainment of this target is commendable. The SADC FTA was envisaged by the SADC Protocol on Trade (which was signed in 1996 and ratified in 2000) and substantial negotiations went into this protocol to make the FTA a reality (Peters-Berries 2010: 89). The aim of the FTA is in line with the Protocol on Trade in which Member States agree to remove tariffs against each other and set their own levies on external tariffs from non-member states, which includes the approval of a common rules of origin (Tralac 2012: 5). The FTA seeks to “meet the needs of the private sector and other regional stakeholders” and these include; higher regional imports and exports and the creation of regional value chains (Bronauer & Yoon 2018: 34). This will be achieved by liberalising intra-regional trade in goods and services, and by opening up the SADC region to trade this creates a larger market (Tralac 2012: 4).

However, intra-SADC trade continues to be low and according to Sandrey (2013: 1) only one country dominates the overall SADC and intra-SADC trade which is South Africa with 68.1%

of intra-SADC exports emanating from South Africa alone in 2010. According to Branauer & Yoon (2018: 11) South Africa has the highest share of the SADC nominal Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which was 51%. South Africa's dominance in the SADC can be attributed to several factors. Some of these include the country being able to have experienced negotiators who are well resourced which makes them better positioned to safeguard their interests as has been witnessed at a Trade Negotiation Forum (TNF) where various stakeholders from the SADC region bargained intensively over how to operationalise the SADC Protocol on Trade (Peters-Berries 2010: 90). However, smaller SADC countries have lacked bargaining power due to their small economies, in addition to their negotiators not been as experienced in trade negotiations.

Amongst the reasons for the SADC FTA not been appropriately implemented include some SADC Member States not yet signing the Protocol on Trade and these include the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Angola (Peters-Berries 2010: 91). However, Angola has recently shown interest in joining the FTA in 2019 (Koigi 2018). According to Sandrey (2013: 1) intra-regional trade would be greatly strengthened should Angola and the DRC join the FTA due to their relatively large markets as Bronauer & Yoon (2018: 11) estimate that these two countries alone are responsible for 24% of SADC Nominal GDP with Angola accounting for the second largest share by country (18%) after South Africa (51%).

Non-Tariff Barriers (NTBs) have also contributed to the low levels of intra-SADC trade according to Bronauer & Yoon (2018: 17) with Member States often invoking Article 21 of the SADC Protocol on Trade which allows them to 'suspend certain obligations of the Protocol on Trade' (Bronauer & Yoon 2018: 25). NTBs are informal barriers to trade that differ from tariffs as they are not easily detected and deter cross-border trade even if tariffs are reduced to zero and examples include; vehicle certification standards, corruption and arbitrary import restrictions (often imposed by member states to protect their domestic/local industries) (Bronauer & Yoon 2018: 12). Hence, the need for the SADC to eliminate NTBs as stated in Article 6 of the SADC Protocol on Trade (1996: 9) to boost intra-SADC trade.

3.5. The envisaged SADC Customs Union

This study is following the neoclassical model in its precise order and has discussed in detail the SADC FTA which was established in 2008. The next phase of this economic model is a Customs Union which is established once an FTA has been set-up which the SADC has managed to achieve, albeit minimally (Kalenga 2012: 6). This study believes that the creation

of a SADC Customs Union should be the current main goal of the SADC, in light of the establishment of the SADC FTA, as a customs union will be greatly beneficial to regional trade. A customs union is a trade agreement which requires member states to agree to Common External Tariffs (CETs) and a common external policy and is seen as a deeper form of integration than an FTA (Kalenga 2012: 14). However, the SADC's proposed target for a customs union by 2010 has not yet been realised.

This led to the development of a report on the SADC Customs Union by the Ministerial Task Force on Regional Economic Integration in November 2011 which was endorsed at the SADC Summit in August 2012 (SADC 2015: 35). At this summit several issues were noted that had to be addressed in order to make the Customs Union a reality. The first and most prominent one involved the consolidation of the SADC FTA such as completing tariff phase downs and removal of NTBs (SADC 2015: 35). This is because some SADC Member States continue to introduce such barriers (le Pere & Tjønneland 2008: 106). The issue of multiple/overlapping membership also needed to be addressed as it has become a 'poisoned chalice' to the SADC, which the SADC (2001: 65) called 'a matter of urgency that has to be resolved' and was also noted at the 2012 SADC Summit. The SADC Customs Union has also failed to materialise due to political challenges and this includes the various conflicts and economic malpractices in the DRC and Zimbabwe that have hampered efforts for a customs union to be set-up as it will be very difficult to monitor (Thonke & Spliid 2012: 47).

The hegemonic role of South Africa in both the SACU and the SADC cannot be ignored as the country accounts for 51% of SADC's nominal GDP according to Branauer & Yoon (2018: 11) and 92% of the total share of real GDP of the SACU according to Ginindza et al (2017: 9). This means that the future of a SADC Customs Union is in actual fact determined by South Africa due to its privileged economic position in the SADC region, and some analysts claim that the SACU in its current form is holding back the establishment of the SADC Customs Union. Hence, this study seeks to explore whether the SACU could become the building block of the future SADC Customs Union in order to gauge how the SADC Customs Union could be implemented.

3.6. The SADC and the SACU

The SACU is the most successful model of regional integration in Southern Africa and will be used as an example that the SADC could emulate and replicate. The success of the RISDP is dependent on all SADC Member States, particularly South Africa, hence it is futile to discuss

the progression of the RISDP in isolation of the SACU. This is because the SACU accounts for approximately 71% of SADC's GDP (Tsheko & McDonald 2015: 6). In brief the SACU was established in 1910 between the Union of South Africa, Bechuanaland (now Botswana), Basutoland (now Lesotho) and Swaziland (now Eswatini) and is considered the world's oldest customs union (Bertelsmann-Scott 2010: 5). Following the independence of Namibia in 1990 this organisation now consists of five members known previously as Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland (BLNS) states (Peters-Berries 2010: 42; Bertelsmann-Scott 2010: 6). All the SACU Member States are also Member States of the SADC.

The reason behind the formation of the SACU was to deepen regional integration, particularly after the 2002 SACU agreement which made the organisation more democratic to reduce the hegemonic role of South Africa which used this organisation to gain political compliance during apartheid to fight the growing tide of the anti-apartheid struggle by offering a distribution formula for the income from the customs union as the BLS states had weak revenue bases (Bertelsmann-Scott 2010: 5; Peters-Berries 2010: 42) Thus, the revenue received from this organisation was a welcomed source of revenue for these member states but at a political cost (Peters-Berries 2010: 42).

The smaller four countries depend on South Africa as it has a much more developed and larger economy and although the SACU has undergone significant reform the trade policy instruments have not changed much, such as the formula for the distribution of SACU-revenue (Peters-Berries 2010: 42, 43). This formula has three components, namely the Customs Component, Excise Component and the Development Component (SACU 2013). The Customs share 'is allocated on the basis of each country's share of intra-SACU trade', the Excise Component 'is allocated on the basis of each country's share of GDP' and the Development Component 'is a fixed percentage of 15% of total excise revenue' which is distributed according to the inverse of each country's GDP per capita (SACU 2013). One of the arguments emanating from this study is the inconsistency of the SADC to meet targets such as the creation of the SADC Customs union. Hence, what this study is arguing here is that perhaps the SACU could be a point of departure of adding other SADC Member States gradually over time to experiment and see if this concept will succeed, and should this experiment succeed this could form the baseline of the proposed SADC Customs Union. This will be interrogated in more detail in the next section.

3.6.1. The SACU as the proposed building block of the envisaged SADC Customs Union

To give a recap on the SACU, this organisation came into existence in 1910 and was revamped in 2002 and consists of five countries, which are also Member States of the SADC, and they include Botswana, Eswatini, Lesotho, Namibia and South Africa (Erasmus 2018). All these countries share a CET applied to imports from non-members and no import tariffs on trade amongst member states, and any trade deal negotiated outside the bloc must be done with the participation of all member states as a single unit (Bertelsmann-Scott 2010: 5, 8).

Thus, this scenario seeks to investigate whether it is feasible to add new member states into the SACU overtime to experiment whether such a concept could function. According to Soko (2008: 62) the idea behind this is not new and was mooted by the apartheid regime to broaden South Africa's hegemony, but nowadays is seen as a more positive instrument of bringing in different countries to form a single customs union that would benefit all member states. This is because this institution was democratised in 2002 to allow other member states to be involved in policy making (Gibb & Treasure 2014: 829). Hence, instead of waiting for the right economic environment to launch the SADC Customs Union, perhaps integrating the SACU into the SADC and allowing it to become the bedrock of the future customs union could be a much faster process since the SACU already has a successful customs union mechanism in place.

The RISDP as SADC's economic blueprint could facilitate the absorption of the SACU into the SADC as the envisaged customs union by aligning its vision for a customs union with that of the RISDP as mentioned in SADC (2015: 34, 35) through a possible TNF. The SADC Protocol on trade which seeks to reduce customs duties amongst SADC Member States also applies to SACU Member States due to their SADC membership such as the rules of origin and one of these agreements currently in force is the Sugar Agreement which allows SADC Member States with sugar surpluses to export an agreed portion to the SACU (SADC 2012). This gives empirical evidence of the SADC and SACU working together.

However, the expansion of the SACU would entail overhauling the revenue-sharing formula which could take many years, bearing in mind that it took eight years for the 2002 SACU Agreement to be established (Bertelsmann-Scott 2010: 12). The revenue-sharing formula comes from revenue generated from customs, excise and other duties that are shared amongst the SACU Member States (Ginindza et al 2017: 18). Should the SACU allow new member states to join from the SADC this could significantly increase the common revenue pool and

perhaps this could regulate the SACU and allow the distribution of revenue to be fairer as more countries are added. This is what South Africa is advocating for in the SACU as it feels that the distribution has not been fair (Bertelsmann-Scott 2010: 19). This is because at present South Africa contributes about 97% of the customs revenue pool yet only receives 17% of this amount (Greve 2017).

One main reason why the SACU has been successful has been its ability to provide economic stability in the region according to Greve (2017), which the SADC has clearly not been able to in its entirety in light of the various political and economic situation taking place in several SADC Member States, with one aspect possibly being what some analysts say is attributed to a 'democratic deficit' in some SADC countries. According to Soko (2008: 56) the formally known BLNS countries will not be able to function well without 'big brother' South Africa's support, with 50% of Swaziland's (now Eswatini) government revenue being funded from this union (Greve 2017). Hence, South Africa understands the importance of the SACU organisation so that it does not have failed states at its doorstep. Thus, this study will focus on Zimbabwe as a case study, to analyse whether its ascension in to the SACU would be beneficial to both their domestic economy and the SACU as a foretaste of the envisaged SADC Customs Union.

Zimbabwe has shown keen interest in joining the SACU, although it is yet to officially communicate its intention to do so (Kaira 2018). According to Kuyedzwa (2018) this will allow the country to benefit from favourable trade agreements that are currently enjoyed by SACU Member States and efficient low-cost trade, particularly with South Africa. This is because South Africa is Zimbabwe's largest trading partner, with South Africa accounting for 84.6% of products exported from Zimbabwe (Workman 2019). However, adding a new member to the SACU would require the revenue-sharing formula to be changed, which will be a very complex and lengthy process, and would require the country to change its tariffs to align with the SACU's CET (Bertelsmann-Scott 2010: 12). SACU is said to be an insurance against instability according to Bertelsmann-Scott (2010: 19), hence it could be in Zimbabwe's best interest to join such a union as it could be the right *modus operandi* that could ultimately end the country's two decades long economic and political crisis. Although, as is the case with a customs union, the country may have to give up some aspects of its sovereignty which this study personally finds very difficult for the country to fathom at present.

Hence, the reason why this study finds this scenario ‘appropriate’ is due to the Objectives of the 2002 SACU Agreement. One of the objectives states; “*to facilitate the cross-border movement of goods between the territories of the member states*” (Mathis 2005: 5). This can be linked to the RISDP’s target for the transport sector which includes; “*the removal of avoidable hindrances and impediments to the cross-border movement of persons, goods and services*” (SADC 2015: 42). The SACU has also taken a keen interest in industrialisation which is also a key theme of the Trade, Economic Liberalisation and Development priority area as stated in SADC (2015: 31) and this emphasises the SACU’s compatibility to the SADC’s economic vision. Lastly, The SACU has been in an agreement with the SADC Protocol on Trade, which was launched in 2008 as part of the SADC FTA, on the backdrop that the Member States of the SACU are also members of the SADC (Erasmus 2018). This cooperation, which involves joint tariff offers amongst all SADC members, including SACU Member States, could be utilised as an example that supports the possibility of the SACU being the building block for the SADC Customs Union.

3.7. Transportation in the SADC

This section will discuss transport corridors and air transport which are indeed important sectors in appropriately linking the SADC region, through effective and well managed transport networks. The RIDMP will facilitate this process as the SADC (2015: 40) describes it as “*the SADC’s blueprint and strategy for the development of integrated regional infrastructure*”.

3.7.1. Transport corridors

Transport corridors can be defined as the backbone of transportation networks that link areas of industry with areas of trade through modes of transport, which include highways and railways, to major sea ports (Hagerman 2012: 24). In the SADC region the Regional Transport Development Strategy was adopted in 2008 and this led to the creation of the successful North-South Corridor (NSC) which serves 8 countries and interconnects 8 east-west regional transport corridors, such as the Walvis Bay Corridor and the Maputo corridor (SADC 2015: 42). This section will give priority to the NSC due to its greater influence over the SADC region. The NSC, which Wiggill (2016) calls ‘arguably Africa’s most important trade route’ originates in Durban, South Africa and covers a distance of over 4000km all the way to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. One could also argue that this corridor also seeks to change the restricted transport dynamics hindering landlocked countries and to rather make them ‘land-linked’ countries.

This corridor carries 60% of regional trade, hence its exceeding importance to intraregional trade which is facilitated by the RIDMP. However, this corridor is hampered by several factors, and these include NTBs such as the Multilateral Cross-Border Road Agreement which the SADC Member States have to sign to enable and facilitate greater intraregional trade (Bronnauer & Yoon 2018: 30). NTBs such as the one listed pose significant obstacles to the regional transport network and act as barriers to cross-border trade, and these obstacles are present at border posts along the NSC (Bronnauer & Yoon 2018: 29). In order to decrease transit time, it is pertinent for the SADC to increase the establishment of one-stop border posts (OSBPs), with the Chirundu OSBP between Zambia and Zimbabwe being a clear example of a successful OSBP (Hagerman 2012: 13).

Zimbabwe is located at a strategic geographical position in the SADC as it is the crucial link between landlocked countries such as Zambia and Malawi, as well as Central Mozambique and the mineral-rich Katanga region of the DRC (Peters-Berries 2010: 113). Although the Zimbabwean government has been making efforts to rehabilitate its ageing road network this has been deemed insufficient due to poor planning, corruption and red-tape measures (Bhoroma 2019). Therefore, the Zimbabwean government must come up with long-term measures to rehabilitate its road network as a matter of urgency.

In order to mitigate these drawbacks pertaining to the NSC the SADC launched the Project Preparation and Development Facility (PPDF) in 2012 with the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) which aims to facilitate the RIDMP by providing support for project preparations, specifically on transport networks (Bronnauer & Yoon 2018: 33). According to Bhoroma (2019) the Zimbabwean government should reengage the DBSA to help speed up the implementation of the country's crumbling road network. In finality this greatly emphasises the important role transport corridors play in facilitating trade integration, with the NSC being used in this study as a case in its quest to connect the SADC region with effective transport links. Thus, the successful implementation of transport corridors, such as the NSC, are critical to the successful implementation of a customs union.

3.7.2. Air Transportation

In the aviation sector the SADC is well connected with most SADC capital cities connected to each other and all capital cities can be accessed via the central hub which is Oliver Reginald (OR) Tambo International Airport in Johannesburg, South Africa (Peters-Berries 2010: 113). However, due to the protectionist policies by national governments towards their national air

carriers this has made air connectivity in the region expensive. For example; it is estimated on the South African Airways website (October 6, 2019) that a return-Economy class ticket special fare between Johannesburg, South Africa and Lilongwe, Malawi will cost R6540 as opposed to Johannesburg to Lagos, Nigeria which was going for R5340 despite the fact that not only is Nigeria not a member of the SADC, it is also located much further away than Malawi.

Hence, the need for the Member States of the SADC to support the liberalisation of air transportation which has already been implemented by some members or is in the process of taking place. This is because these strict regulatory protectionist practices to sustain national air carriers have inflated airfares (Schlumberger 2010). Thus, SADC members must comply with the Yamoussoukro Decision which called for the liberalisation of air transport in Africa in 1999 which many countries on the continent adopted, including SADC countries, hence the need for them to ratify it to enable affordable and competitive prices to prevail (Schlumberger 2010). This could be complemented by the recently proposed Single African Air Transport Market (SAATM) as part of the AU's Agenda 2063 which seeks to drive down airfares and promote the faster transportation of goods and grant fifth Freedom traffic rights to boost intra-Africa trade (AU 2017: 3). This is the overall goal under aviation in the SADC that the RISDP wants to achieve as one of its intervention areas (SADC 2015: 112).

3.8. Conclusion

In this chapter the history and evolution of the SADC was substantially discussed and critiqued and the SADC's economic blueprint, the RISDP, was discussed in incredible detail as it was the main referent object of this study. This chapter brought out the comprehensive nature of this economic blueprint which is very broad, hence this study only selecting two priority areas of regional integration. The RISDP plays a key role in the facilitation of the main target areas of the SADC and these include the creation of the SADC FTA which was achieved in 2008 and the proposed SADC Customs Union which is yet to materialise due to a number of factors which this chapter has alluded to in great detail, one of which not being able to fully prioritise the SADC FTA. This study finds the creation of a customs union of great benefit to the SADC but also took stock of the fact that it has elapsed its proposed implementation which was 2010 according to SADC (2001: 66) as its second target area.

Considering this delay in its implementation this study looked at a scenario which could be explored to give impetus to finally establish this customs union. This scenario highlights the complexity of creating a customs union and gives an empirical example that the SADC has a

long way to go until this customs union becomes a reality. Lastly, this chapter paid particular attention to the transport sector in the SADC and greatly focused on the NSC as an important transport corridor which indeed has the capacity to increase intra-SADC trade should it be fully utilised and play a pivotal role in the implementation of the envisaged SADC Customs Union. The aviation sector was also discussed as this study finds that it is not being given the attention and prioritisation it deserves and supports.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION AND SYNTHESIS

4.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss and reflect on this study pertaining to the literature review and case study/findings. This study was constructed using secondary sources of data and adopted a qualitative research design (as mentioned in chapter 1) in order to understand the meaning of a “phenomenon”. This was stated by Creswell (2014: 110) in order to understand the phenomenon under review in this study which is related to the poor implementation of the RISDP and falls under the single (holistic) design which is part of this study’s methodology approach; the case study methodology as stated in chapter 1, which is directly proportional to this study’s research problem. Hence, this study has sought to answer this study’s research question; Why has the RISDP been poorly implemented by SADC Member States, including missing the key milestones that were enshrined in the RISDP? This question was under great scrutiny in chapter 3, which is this study’s case study, as it discussed the RISDP in detail as it is the centre of this study.

In order to make sense of the data that has been gathered for this study a synthesis will be conducted using the conceptual framework, which will be the lens of interpreting this study and will reconcile the literature review and this study’s case study to make sense of the data extracted in order to find patterns/common features amongst these sections through a thematic analysis. This is to generate themes from the study as supported by Bryman (2012: 717), based on the three concepts identified in this study’s conceptual framework which are; Intergovernmentalism, Continentalism and the New Regionalism Theory/Approach. This can be viewed as an analysis of this study as this chapter will attempt to give evidence to back this research topic. The core argument will be highlighted in this chapter which is; the poor implementation of the RISDP and what are the solutions to mitigate this phenomenon. This chapter will conclude on an introspection of this chapter and how it aims to address the research problem.

4.2. Synthesis of the Literature Review and Case Study to the Conceptual Framework

The synthesis that will be conducted seeks to combine these sections in a logical organisation that reflects their commonalities in line with this study’s research aim and objectives. This will be done through the use of a thematic analysis (which was introduced in chapter 1) through a

process called data coding. This process involves analysing and interpreting information gathered according to Walliman (2011: 133) in order to generate themes which this study seeks to conduct in order to extract greater meaning of the unit of analysis that has been selected in order to understand why it has not been successfully implemented. This will be related to the concepts identified from the conceptual framework and the first one that will be discussed will be the intergovernmental approach. To begin with, this study's unit of analysis, the RISDP, has not been implemented as effectively and this is noted as the SADC has missed milestones, key among them being the customs union. The RISDP was formed in 2001 in Windhoek, Namibia by the SADC Heads of State and Government (Tralac 2012: 1).

This emphasises the important role of the SADC Heads of State and Government who have had the final say on the direction of the SADC since its formation under its predecessor the SADCC in 1980. This can be linked to the intergovernmental approach to regional integration which is a 'state-centric theory' which supports the narrative that national leaders set the agenda for cooperation (Hooghe & Marks 2019: 1116). This means that the RISDP will not be able to proceed without all SADC member states, particularly its highest decision-making body which consist of the Heads of State and Government, coming to an agreement in the implementation of key decisions. Hence a theme that has been generated out of this synthesis is the delay in implementing projects, most notably the envisioned SADC Customs Union which was scheduled to have been established in 2010. The SADC Heads of State and government can be seen here as not been as forthcoming in spearheading projects that the SADC has been committed to and this illustrates why this economic blueprint has missed important milestones and is poorly implemented. The second theme generated from the data pertaining to the poor implementation of the RISDP can be attributed to the legacy of colonialism as there appears to be a resistance from Member States to give up some aspects of their national sovereignty, according to (Farmer 2012: 94), and this will defeat the purpose of such a regional community if they continue to behave in such a manner as it will make it very difficult to meet any milestones, let alone advance the SADC FTA. This can be linked to the concept of Continentalism, particularly on the strand related to the gradualist approach which argued in favour of keeping colonial drawn borders (Khadiagala 2013: 377).

Another theme generated has been the inadequate economic and physical infrastructure in some SADC states that has made the successful implementation of the RISDP significantly difficult to achieve (SADC 2001: 3). This could be attributed to lack of cohesion amongst SADC Member States in line with a strand of the intergovernmental approach known as 'third world

regionalism' which Fawcett & Gandois (2010: 618) state consists of 'fragile democracies with struggling economies', hence the reason why the SADC Member States struggle to implement the RISDP.

It has also been noted that there continues to be weak involvement of the private sector, and this is why the theme of the 37th SADC Summit involved strengthening this sector to promote development in the SADC region (SADC 2017: 3). This entails a system of multilevel governance in line with the "new regionalism approach" as stated by Hettne & Söderbaum (2000: 457) which would involve all SADC Member States working together to spearhead this initiative that was proposed at the 37th SADC Summit. This again emphasises the role of the state which is a common feature throughout this study, and this can be linked to the development integration theory which Lee (2003: 19,24) states was 'theoretically' adopted by the SADC in 1992 as this theory supports political cooperation as the SADC was also formed as a political institution. Hence, the implementation of the RISDP is based on the SADC Member States willingness to work together. This is to enable states to have a say within the regionalist bloc, as supported by (Hettne & Söderbaum 2000: 457), and this approach will be beneficial to the SADC as it encourages the participation of its members states in regional projects, such as the implementation of the RISDP and this could enhance regional value chains in the SADC region which are currently underdeveloped.

The fifth theme generated is the much talked about phenomenon of multiple/overlapping membership which continues to be an obstacle to the SADC (Hess & Hess 2008). This can be attributed to the concept of Continentalism which supports continental projects and these can include the AfCFTA which could conflict with some of the SADC regions own regional projects which includes the formation of a customs union. The last theme that has been generated from this study is an outlier that has been noted in the literature whereby some SADC government officials involved in trade negotiations lack negotiating skills, and this may explain why the RISDP has been poorly implementation (Peters-Berries 2010: 90). This could be linked to the Intergovernmental approach whereby some of the Member States who come together at SADC Summits in order to cooperate with one another fail to find mutually advantageous bargains as they are not producing skilled trade negotiators and as a result fail to secure their own nations economic interests.

4.3. Conclusion

An introspection of this study was conducted in this chapter which attempted to unearth the central themes behind the poor implementation of the SADC's economic blueprint, with six themes being generated from the literature review and case study through the lens of this study's conceptual framework. One major aspect standing out being the important role of the state in the decision-making process of this broad institution which the intergovernmental approach has alluded to and greatly emphasised on. An analysis and synthesis of the said sections, which was conducted in this chapter through a thematic analysis, has led to the construction of some answers which could be appropriate for this study's research question and this includes SADC Members States working together as this would entail greater intraregional trade which is greatly needed to economically strengthen this REC. It has also been noted that the SADC plays a larger role as part of being a key player in the continental integration project of the AU as stipulated in the Abuja Treaty (1991), and through a gradual approach to Continentalism the AEC could appropriately be achieved with the AfCFTA playing a central role in effectively promoting intra-Africa trade. This could effectively remedy the issue of overlapping membership, while regionally the RISDP will continue to play its role in the SADC region to increase intra-SADC trade.

The creation of a customs union is necessary for the SADC to effectively become a regional organisation of repute and could be the strategy that could lead to the successful implementation of the RISDP as mentioned in objective 3 of this study. The much-anticipated SADC Customs Union is yet to be implemented, therefore, the SACU could play a key role in fulfilling this key target of the RISDP regarding the formation of the SADC Customs Union. The role of South Africa in implementing this customs union cannot be ignored as this country is the economic powerhouse of not only the SACU and the SADC but in the entire African continent. The country plays a central role in the success of the SACU which this study argues should be replicated in the SADC in setting up a customs union with the SACU becoming the building block towards this proposed economic model. This can be aligned to Moravcik's theory of liberal intergovernmentalism as stated in Hooghe & Marks (2019: 1115) as it argues that organisations embody delegated authority from its Member States. Hence, it is imperative for all SADC Member States to work with South Africa to come up with a mutually satisfactory agreement. However, this institution must allow the private sector to play a greater role as too much state intervention may lead to political interference which could have a negative effect in the SADC's economic integration project.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

Regional economic integration can be referred to as the process by which states in a regional bloc interact and cooperate with one another (Thonke & Spliid 2012: 45). As the centre of this study the RISDP has been given this responsibility to initiate the process for the SADC region to be economically integrated effectively and sufficiently. Here lies the core argument as this study has argued throughout this mini-dissertation that this economic blueprint has not been effectively implemented by the Member States of the SADC. Hence, the low levels of intra-SADC trade which has been alluded to in this study with the most accurate estimate according to Chidede (2017) being around only 10%. The research problem of this study, which is introduced in chapter 1 comes into the forefront here as the low levels of intraregional trade would entail that the SADC Member States are prioritising external partners rather than those in their own ‘neighbourhood’, and this has led to the RISDP having a limited scope in the SADC region. This would entail that the SADC Member States are not playing their crucial role in implementing the RISDP appropriately, which is this study’s unit of analysis as part of the case study methodology design adopted specifically for this study.

A thematic analysis was conducted, and this study identified six themes generated, and should the SADC Member States tackle them effectively this could resolve the research problem. This chapter will give an outline of this study and will take note of chapter 3, which is this study’s findings chapter and case study, as it finds the creation of a SADC Customs Union to be the most effective economic model to integrate the SADC region in a much more effective manner and increase intraregional trade.

5.2. Overview of the study

The discussion of this study has covered a broad spectrum in order to make the background to this study, as discussed in chapter 1, as clear as possible in order to articulate the research problem and address the research question. This study has reiterated that the success of the SADC lies in the full implementation of the RISDP, specifically the two priority areas of regional cooperation and integration that were selected for this study and include; Trade and Economic Liberalisation, and Regional Infrastructure and Service Development for Regional Integration. It is under these two priority areas that the research problem can be addressed and

resolved pertaining to the poor implementation of the RISDP as they contain important goals that the SADC hopes to achieve, and these include the establishment of a SADC Customs Union which was discussed in detail in chapter 3. The reason for this greater focus on this chapter is because the RISDP is the centre of this study as it plays a critical role in the strategic plans of the SADC (SADC 2012). This is because without the RISDP the SADC would not become the REC it aspires to achieve. The idea behind the RISDP goes all the way back to the setup of the SADC's predecessor the SADCC, hence the importance of discussing the evolution of regional integration as emphasised in the literature review in chapter 2. The RISDP can best be placed in the case study methodology design as it is seen as the "case" under scrutiny, according to Yin (2003: 43), as the RISDP is not been appropriately implemented, hence the reason why it is being scrutinised. The adoption of the qualitative design is appropriate for this type of study as it enables a deeper understanding of phenomena (Babbie 2014: 25).

The conceptual framework really brought into perspective how the poor implementation of the RISDP can be addressed and three concepts were selected to investigate how this could be resolved and they include; intergovernmentalism, continentalism and the new regionalism theory. This study found the intergovernmental approach to regional integration to be the most important aspect in addressing this phenomenon as it speaks to the SADC region as Member States are the most important actors (Börzel & Risse 2019: 1234). This means that it is the prerogative of the SADC Member States to come together and challenge one another to meet the targets and milestones set by the SADC to strengthen intraregional integration in the region as a way of addressing the research question.

In order to achieve this ambitious goal, the SADC needs leaders that have the region at heart and are not intertwined by other commitments to different regional blocs that they are members of, hence the reason why this study recognises multiple membership as one of the themes generated that are contributing to the obstruction of intra-SADC trade. The SADC FTA was discussed in detail and this study noted that it needs to be fully prioritised to enable greater intraregional trade and for all SADC Member States to comply with the SADC Protocol on trade. The SACU has been discussed considerably due to its positive standing in Southern Africa. Despite some of the drawbacks associated with its revenue-sharing formula as alluded to in Bertelsmann-Scott (2010: 19), this study supports the narrative that its successes should be implemented in the SADC and believes that this institution can act as the bedrock of the future SADC Customs Union which would allow free movement of goods and services and people in the SADC region, which this study vehemently supports (SADC 2015: 14). Lastly,

chapter 3 also discussed the transport sector in the SADC and focused specifically on transport corridors due to its huge impact on the region, particularly the North-South Corridor (NSC) which straddles many SADC states and links the landlocked member states to the sea ports of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Durban, South Africa (Wiggill 2016). Air transport was also discussed with one central theme coming out being the support for SADC members to liberalise this sector to make the cost of travelling by air in the region much more affordable and competitive and allow goods to be transported at a faster pace. The sixth chapter attempted to synthesise the conceptual framework with the literature review and findings chapter and came to a conclusive agreement through this interplay that the SADC Member States play the most important role in the implementation of the RISDP as the SADC is a state-centric model.

5.3. Recommendations and future areas of research

The establishment of the SADC FTA in 2008 in line with the SADC Protocol on trade is an achievement as this milestone met the target set by the RISDP in SADC (2001: 66) and this is commendable. The ability of the SADC Member States, excluding Angola, the Comoros (not yet a member of the SADC at the time) and the DRC, to meet this goal is an empirical example of what the SADC can achieve when they work together in the determination to make sure regional economic integration in the region is progressing. However, the shortcomings in the setting up of a customs union has opened a rupture as it has exposed the SADC's unwillingness to not move at a more acceptable pace as this study has noted that it appears to be lacking behind other RECs such as the EAC.

Hence, this study recommends that the SADC Member States, specifically its highest decision-making body, come up with bold ideas to spearhead the economic integration of the SADC in line with the RISDP, including the establishment of the anticipated SADC Customs Union which was targeted to have been established in 2010. This study has noted that the SADC has adopted a state-centric approach and perhaps the SADC Member States should take bold steps to strengthen the SADC and allow this institution to acquire some political and economic power to make this REC as effective as other global regional blocs such as the EU. However, the Brexit example has shown how dangerous it is to delegate too much power to a central organisation and this case should serve as an example to the SADC on how it should be led without turning it into a bureaucracy as some claim the EU has become (Asmelash & Henke 2016: 2). The SADC Member States should not be afraid to call another fellow Member State out should they feel that they are not positively contributing to the regional integration project

to enable all Member States to be in alignment in the implementation of the RISDP effectively. This could be considered true 'ubuntu' as it would enable Member States to be held accountable to one another "for the greater good of the SADC region".

5.4. Conclusion

The SADC will not be able to meet its ambitious targets without the SADC Member States taking full responsibility of this REC's economic agenda which lies in the full implementation of the RISDP. This study has emphasised that the RISDP plays a critical role in the promotion of intra-SADC trade and Member States of this institution need to work more closely with one another as this will create effective regional value chains which are essential in economically integrating the SADC region. The SADC Protocol on Trade entails the creation of an FTA and this was achieved in 2008, however more needs to be done for this free trade area to succeed and this includes Member States reducing protectionist policies and NTBs which continue to hamper intraregional trade. It is by challenging such policies that the SADC Customs Union could become a reality. The envisaged customs union is key to the success of the SADC as noted in this study, and incorporating the SACU is seen as the most effective way to achieve this economic model which is long overdue.

This study has also taken an interest in industrialisation and argues that the SADC region needs to prioritise this sector particularly on infrastructure development as without these structures in place the implementation of the RISDP will be very difficult to achieve. Hence, the need for the SADC region to be connected by effective transport networks, with the NSC playing a key role to initiate this process. The revised RISDP 2015-2020 is coming to an end and this entails that a long-term strategy should be in place, according to SADC (2015: 22) with the SADC Vision 2050 informing its successor. This vision is linked to continental integration as the SADC is one of the building blocks of the AEC. The newly created AfCFTA could facilitate this integration process and this could increase intra-Africa trade as well as intra-SADC trade as the goal of the AEC is to economically integrate the African continent in line with the AU's Agenda 2063 vision which the SADC plays a critical role in. Lastly, this study calls on the SADC Member States to be innovative and be willing to adopt new models and approaches to economic development so that the SADC can become a strong, efficient and successful institution that can compete strongly on the global market.

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