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**Deepening Regional Integration in the Southern African Development
Community (SADC): Intra-Regional Migration as the building force.**

By

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A mini-dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree

Master of Diplomatic Studies (MDips)

In the Department of Political Sciences at the

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities

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October 2019

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Declaration

I, Rest Zororo Deda, declare that this mini-dissertation, I hereby submit is my own work and has never been submitted before by any institution or researcher. It is submitted for the degree Master of Diplomatic Studies at the University of Pretoria. All the information utilized in this research has been acknowledged.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank God, the Lord Almighty for being with me throughout this research. For without His mercy, Grace, and Glory, I would have not achieved all the goals that I had set. The Lord has been there for me since day one. It is not by my power that I am submitting this research, but it is by the Grace of God. Secondly, I would really like to honor Professor Siphamandla Zondi for all the support and mentorship. Without his support, I would have not made it this far.

Thirdly, I would like to appreciate my Supervisor, Dr. Mabutho Shangase, for being there to guide and supervise me through this journey. Fourthly, I would like to appreciate the love and support of my parents. They have been there for me since day one, providing me with the necessary financial and emotional support at every turn.

Abstract

Migration with reference to free movement of people within Africa has become an important agent of regional integration. This paper argues that free movement of people within the Southern African Development Community (SADC) is central to integration efforts and therefore cannot be separated from other parallel initiatives such as political and security cooperation and economic development. It is very difficult to imagine how the free movement of goods, capital and services within the region could be achieved whilst obstacles continue to hinder the free movement of people. This study employs a qualitative research design, case study methodology of the SADC Protocol, and secondary data in its analysis. Although the Protocol on Free Movement has been referred to as a stepping stone to SADC integration, stringent laws and lack of bureaucratic and technocratic will has limited the aspiration for a common future within the regional community. It therefore becomes imperative that people are enabled by policy instruments in order to move freely without any hindrances. Based on these premises, this paper asserts further that the freer movement of people in the region would undeniably benefit member states socially, economically and politically as the movement of people becomes more and more unhindered. In terms of contribution to practice and policy, the research could be of relevance and essence to SADC regional scholars, policy makers, governments and regional citizenry.

List of Abbreviations

AEC	African Economic Community
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
AU	African Union
BMIS	Border Management Information Systems
EAC	East African Community
EC	The European Commission
EU	European Union
LPA	Lagos Plan of Action
MIDSA	Migration Dialogue for Southern Africa
OAU	Organization of African Unity
REC	Regional Economic Community
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordinating Conference
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African State

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and background of the research

From its inception as Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) in 1980 and later transitioning to Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1992, the regional bloc has always cooperated on a number of issues among them education, tourism, trade and training, the end goal and desire being of improved social, political and economic cooperation and integration for SADC development (Williams, 2010, p. 63). The SADC regional integration agenda, as embodied in the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP 2015-2020), is a clear indication that the regional bloc is forging ahead with deeper integration (Saurombe, 2012, p. 92). While deeper regional integration seems to be difficult on a larger scale (continental level), it seems to be a desirable consideration at regional (supranational level) with intra-regional migration which is explained as the removal of restrictions to facilitate the free mobility as a preliminary step (Nshimbi, et al., 2018, p. 4). Around the world, the phenomenon of regional integration and migration especially the free movement of people, have been envisaged as components to the world development agenda.

It is rising from above that intra-regional migration has become vital as both a concept and a process. In order to deepen the integration process in SADC, the region member states, among other strategies committed themselves 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 states*” as cited in the SADC Treaty of 1992, article 5 (2) (d) (SADC Secretariat, 1992, p. 6). Member states realizing the importance of free movement for the development and integration of the regional bloc, convened in 1993, holding a SADC workshop on the free movement of people in Harare and following the SADC Ministerial meeting in Swaziland the subsequent year, a team was appointed to prepare a SADC Protocol on the Free Movement (Williams, 2010, p. 63). The team then devised the Drafted Protocol on the Free Movement of People, which proposed for a phased-in approach to a completely free movement of persons within the SADC border confinements (Mudungwe, 2015, p. 14). According to Muchabaiwa (2010, p. 1), this draft was met with stiff resistance especially from countries like Namibia, South Africa and Botswana at the time, and was to be revised coming back in 1997 as the Draft Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons. Nevertheless, having gone through numerous revisions and coming back in 2005 as directed by the SADC Secretariat with the 1997 name, progress towards free movement of persons

remain slow as member states have been unable to reach an agreement about adopting the latest version (Maunganidze & Formica, 2018, p. 4).

1.2 Demarcation of the Research Problem

According to Blaikie (2005: 16), a research problem is an intellectual puzzle that the researcher wants to explore, and in several cases, consists of paragraphs that present a concise description of the nature of the problem to be investigated. In the same vein, Ranjit (2009: 39) says that a research problem acts as an identification of a destination before undertaking the journey

The Protocol which aims to Facilitate the movement of persons has been applauded as the most important Protocol in the SADC (Saurombe, 2011, p. 250). The applaud has even led to it being referred to as the “mother” of all Protocols, but surprisingly the Protocol from 1995 being the Draft Protocol on Free Movement to now as the Draft Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of People has not yet received the required signatures for it to be a binding Protocol (Karuombe, 2008). While the implementation and ratification of the Drafted Protocol seem to be vital to SADC integration process, all indications are that the process of ratification and it becoming a reality is far from over (Saurombe, 2011, p. 251). This is as a result of several obstacles which continue to hinder the effectiveness of the Draft Protocol on the Facilitation of Peoples’ movement, as they have taken a bureaucratic and technocratic format. Among these obstacles there is lack of political will which is then stretched to formulate stringent domestic laws, absence of Border Management Information Systems (BMIS), the securitization and policing of free movement as a security issue, uneven level playfield in terms of political and economic development, much talk with little action in terms of migration framework and lack of SADC focal point on Migration (Muchabaiwa, 2010: 6; Maunganidze & Formica, 2018:8-11).

Additionally, the Draft Protocol for Facilitation of Movement of People must not be overstated. As a key agent and element of regional integration as articulated in the SADC Treaty objectives, such a framework has the potential to bridge and at the same time stimulate the deepening of the social, economic and political integration process of the region (Fagbayibo, 2015, p. 6). The freeing of citizens to move unencumbered from a developmental perspective has the benefits of increased socialization of SADC people, transfer of skills, more intra-SADC trade and contribute to the economic development of both sending and receiving country

(Muchabaiwa, 2010, p. 1). However, SADC governments fail to see these positive impacts, as they continue failing to transform colonial boundaries into lines that promote as opposed to frustrate development for the fruitful integration of the region (Karuombe, 2008). In line with the mentioned point, Mudungwe (2015, p. 14) argues, unless the regional citizenry is allowed to move freely within the region borders, regional integration is meaningless. On that same note, Saurombe (2011, p. 250) says, it is through the participation of regional citizenry that the social, political and economic facets of integration in SADC can be realized.

Through an analysis of current progress and challenges concerning the Draft Protocol which aim to Facilitates the Movement of People in SADC, the main aim of this study is to situate the freedom of person movement within the broader framework of Regional Integration. With reference to SADC, the study will further examine the impact of the Draft Protocol which aims to Facilitation the Movement of People. This will be achieved by examining several factors which continue to be the stumbling blocks to the ratification and implementation to the Drafted Protocol, notwithstanding the positive impact which comes with the freeing of peoples' movement. Accordingly, the research question to be addressed is expressed as: How can SADC improve on deepening its integration process given the numerous factors which continue to hinder the ratification of the Draft Protocol which aims to Facilitate the Movement of People?

Two decades after committing to the development of a regional migration framework in the form of the Draft Protocol on Free Movement, only a handful of [six] countries have ratified the Protocol (Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2014, p. 54). SADC documents based on Memorandum of Understanding, Joint Permanent Commissions (JPCs) and bilateral agreements indicate citizens can move freely for relatively a period of [ninety] days and without a visa (Maunganidze & Formica, 2018, p. 7). However, the reality at the borders' contrasts with the directives of these documents.

The research is premised on the foundation of Transactionalism theory. It is an integration theory which accounts for regional integration process together with its prerequisites, and among them there is the free mobility of regional citizens within the borders of the region, hence the researcher argues for the freeing of regional citizens whether skilled or unskilled as this element contributes to deepening of regional integration (Williams, 2010, p. 63). There exists a synergy between the free movement of people and regional integration, with the former being an integral part to the realization of the latter.

1.3 Rationale of the Study

The validity of this study stems from the SADC objectives and vision as outlined by the SADC Treaty. The treaty envisions, “*a common future, within a regional community that will ensure economic well-being, improvement of the standard and quality of life, freedom and social justice; peace and security for the peoples of Southern Africa*”, and this vision can be illuminated through following objectives as enshrined in Article 5 of the treaty. It is through these vision and objectives that several protocols ratified and to be ratified are formed, all aimed towards integrating the SADC regional bloc. Among the protocol, there is the Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons, which seeks to promote member states to, “*consolidate and strengthen the long historical, cultural affinities, social and link among the regional citizenry*” and proposes the achievement by, “*progressively eliminating obstacles to the free movement of capital and labour, goods and services, and of the people of the Region in general, among member states*”. It is from this enlightenment that free movement of people becomes key to regional integration.

Additionally, I belong to a family of migrants to South Africa and presumably, I am a migrant too. Having gone through the harsh realities which befall at the South Africa and Zimbabwe border I became fond of researching about how the issue of intra-regional migration can be dealt with. People are not only vulnerable to criminal networks of smugglers but are also subjected to exploitation and discrimination from immigration officers, who often request for a bribe. As such these factors among others have led me to develop a keen interest in the issue of free movement.

1.4 Thesis outline

The research paper contains seven chapters which flow in chronological sequence as follows:

Chapter 1

This chapter sets the scene by introducing the study. It contains the introduction, background, problem statement and elementary overview of the study.

Chapter 2

This chapter is the literature review. The Literature review segment will identify the concepts associated with the study and at the same time interrogates the widely misconstrued knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study. In this chapter, the thesis will be positioned in relation to both historical and present literature relative to the phenomenon under investigation. It is also in this part that the research gap will be highlighted.

Chapter 3

This chapter contains the research methodology and the limitations of the study.

Chapter 4

The theoretical framework segment will introduce transactionalism theory, which will be the evaluative and analytical framework which informs the study. This chapter will enlighten the theoretical concerns relating to regional integration and devise plausible factors and strategies which contribute to the deepening process of regional integration.

Chapter 5

This chapter enlightens the SADC case study which applies the topic and literature as discussed in chapter 2 of the study.

Chapter 6

This chapter presents and analyzes data reflecting on the research questions, the literature review, theoretical framework and the case study.

Chapter 7

This chapter will conclude and outline the recommendation to the study. The conclusion will summarize the entire study as well as draw together arguments made in the dissertation. More so, this chapter will provide recommendations to help address the challenges discussed in the research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The chapter looks at the literature which informs the study. The researcher will look at what other scholars who studied SADC have said on the phenomenon under study which is regional integration and intra-regional migration with reference to the Draft Protocol which Facilitate Movement of Person. The gist of the assessment is that intra-regional migration is an important key to deepening SADC integration but the whole process is constrained by challenges, and I find this a valid point and observation. This chapter will be partitioned into segments, the first being the introductory which explain what a literature review entails and its purpose in research. The other segments will present a range of literature on regional integration and intra-regional migration in the SADC region, with relevance being drawn from the African continent history of integration and intra-regional migration, and then narrow down to the process of SADC. Given that both concepts have been expounded by several scholars concerning SADC regional bloc, this chapter will look at various conclusion that scholars have devised in relation to the phenomenon. Quite several researchers work on the phenomenon have proffered varying views, with some praising the synergy whereas others have explained the phenomenon as divergent. A conclusion, which is the last part will summarize the chapter.

2.2 Literature review

According to Blaikie (2000, p. 71), a literature review stands as a customary component of any research. It also helps the researcher to identify knowledge gaps from earlier researches. You then see how you intend to stand on the shoulders of earlier researchers in your bid to advance the frontiers of knowledge in the area of research. More so, it speaks more to a survey of scholarly books, articles and many other sources which provide insight to a particular area of research. In this review, the researcher will acknowledge previous work of other researchers and in doing so, a gap which will be expressed in the form of a research problem will be identified to prove that the phenomenon under study has not been well-conceived. The basis of this literature is not to simply dismiss the views of others to quench the thirst of the researcher but rather formulate a comment designed to advance a dialogue by entering the conversation of integration and intra-regional migration from a critical and creative viewpoint. More so, Bloomberg & Volpe review (2019, p. 252) assert that the purpose of the review is to determine what has already been done which relate to the topic and by doing so the researcher is able to

unintentionally duplicate other people's work, hence afforded with insight and understanding needed to one to situate the topic within an existing framework. Given the above viewpoints and understanding, one can then attest to a review being a comprehensive summary which speaks to the works of other scholars, on a topic.

2.3 SADC regional integration

The first paper to be reviewed states that Africa is a continent with a prolonged history of integration. According to Ogunnowo (2014, p. 2), integration in Africa can be traced to the mid-20th century and it was then fast-tracked in the 21st century when the African Union was created in 2002. On the African continent, Regional Economic Communities (REC'S) are viewed as the building blocks for integration and among them: Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), East African Community (EAC), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and Southern African Development Community (SADC) which forms the case for this study. In light of the mentioned point Hartzenberg & Kalenga (2015, p. 1) alludes that regional integration is being pursued as an overarching continental development strategy by many African member states to the African Union (AU). They further say, it is however surprising that given the level of importance and multiplicity of regional integration arrangements in Africa, SADC included, concerted efforts to harmonize the various endeavours and initiatives of regional economic communities, the processes remain to be highly lagging and fragmented (Hartzenberg & Kalenga, 2015, p. 2).

Given that regional integration has manifested itself historically in America, Africa and Europe as a processual effort to expand capitalism and facilitate political unification, the establishment of regional blocs has been viewed by the world as a bargaining power on international issues, but also as an enabler for countries to collectively grapple with the region's economic and political progress (Mapuva & Muyengwa-Mapuva, 2014, p. 23). Subsequently, they assert that regional integration is not only a SADC phenomenon but has rather manifested to become a global one, which is being increasingly accepted as crucial in facilitating political and economic development. In the same vein, SADC regional organization is said to be deepening to an extent that the regional bloc is being tasked with greater responsibilities, however, the deepening is unlikely to ensue given that member states are promoting national agendas as opposed to the bloc's integration agenda (Saurombe, 2012, p. 92).

The history of African integration is incomplete without mentioning the story of migration (Carciotto & Agyeman, 2017, p. 7). This point of view clearly shows that in as much as there

can be integration initiatives, the migration of people is still key if we are to fully realize regional integration. Around the globe, the idea of integration has been identified as one of the steps that regional blocs and the African continent at large can fully achieve economic, social and political development. On the African continent and in SADC, regional integration has been broadly conceived as the cooperation among autonomous states that leads to the removal of restrictions of factors, free mobility included, has long been on the agenda of AU and SADC. In SADC, given its origin history, integration has been both an economic and political imperative (Oloruntoba, 2018). Consequently, the author reiterates citing Moyo and Nshimbi that integration in SADC was politically motivated but later manifested in economic terms (Oloruntoba, 2018, p. 14). Integration entails the process of increasing interdependence and interaction in the political and economic arena among a group of states (Hartzenberg & Kalenga, 2015, p. 2). The given point resonates with the definition proffered by transactionalism theory, which forms the basis of this study and vividly shows the clandestine nature of regional blocs of being politically and economically initiative.

Rising from the above, regional integration has been tritely explained as a process of increased interdependence, interaction, transaction and communication in the political and economic arena among groups of regional member states (Hartzenberg & Kalenga, 2015, p. 3). Through recognition of interactions, transactions and interdependence, deepening of integration is made ease as these activities strengthen and deepen ties across national borders of regional member states. The point of transactions, interdependence and interactions is also propounded by Ogunnowo (2014, p. 6) when he avers about regional integration in Africa as an effort involving processes by which states enhance their political, economic, cultural and social interactions. From the above, the researcher infers that regional integration is a process of efforts by states within the regional bloc, hence we have the Economic Commission of Africa (ECA) championing regional integration to promote economic and political development at the larger scale (Continental level).

Scholars such as Saurombe (2012), Draper et al (2006), Makochekwanwa & Maringwa (2009), Nshimbi & Fioramonti (2014), Tanyanyiwa & Hakuna (2014) and Hartzenberg & Kalenga (2015) aver that the deepening of SADC regional bloc is no secret and, in their numbers, approve that it is a key force for sustainable development. Commitment to the deepening of the regional bloc is also shown with the region's embodiment of the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) which SADC adopted in 2003 to provide a roadmap and strategic direction in the design and formulation of SADC programmes, activities and projects in order

to achieve economic development for the people of the region and support the socially disadvantaged, through regional integration (Draper, et al., 20006, p. 8) and (Saurombe, 2012, p. 92). Additionally, deepening integration requires on one hand willingness on the part of member states involved in the process (Draper, et al., 20006) and on the other flexibility given the gap in the political, social and economic development of regional member states (Saurombe, 2012). However, the absence of flexibility which is the capacity to adapt and being able to accommodate the diverse nature, and willingness on the part of regional member states among other factors to be mentioned in the procession of the research pose challenges to the integration of the SADC and coupling processes which are align to deeper integration (Saurombe, 2009, p. 103).

2.4 Intra-SADC migration

In Africa, the movement of people and especially in the subregions of the continent has been and still today part of everyday life, with causes for migration differing from region to region (Fioramonti & Nshimbi, 2016, p. 8). As already mentioned above the history of Africa integration cannot be explained without the story of migration. Migration has been explained a very intricate phenomenon, with its effect felt in every sphere and pillar of living thus the societal, political and economic spheres of many countries in subregions and the continent at large (Fioramonti & Nshimbi, 2016, p. 9). On the African continent, the African Union which stands as the beacon and promoter of social, political and economic development through the Abuja treaty of 1991, vows for regional economic communities to formulate policies which promote the free movement people (FMP) and the removal of any obstacles which continue to hinder the initiative for that matter (Gwatiwa & Sam, 2018). According to Crush et al (2005, p. 1), migration is important for it was probably the most important factor which tied together various colonies and subregion countries into a single labour market in the 20th century. In the same manner Fioramonti & Nshimbi (2016, p. 9), attest that the free movement of people stand as a founding principle of the African Economic Community (AEC), and it also constitutes a fundamental right which is enshrined in global human rights instruments such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Along with the above, migration with specific reference to intra-regional migration has been in existence for a very long time in Southern Africa and it dates to as early as the mid-19th century (Crush, et al., 2005, p. 1). In conjunction with the mentioned point Chipungu (2018, p. 111) avers to the phenomenon as old as humanity and by no means a new phenomenon in the Southern African region. He goes on to state that intra-migration has been an intrinsic

component to the developmental process of the regional bloc. In the book, *"Migration in South and Southern Africa"*, intra-SADC migration has a long history and ever since 1999, southern African states have embraced issues associated to intra-migration, in regional as well as respective nationals, through several activities. The book also states that seminars have been organized by the now International Migration Policy (IMP) initiatives, with the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the Southern Africa Migration Project (SAMP), the U.S Immigration and Naturalization Services (US-INS) and the Department of Home Affairs for South Africa (Oucho, 2006, pp. 46-47). It is from these initiatives that the Migration Dialogue in Southern Africa has been established (MIDSA), hence SADC among sub-Saharan African groups has been said to have evolved as it has a comprehensive approach to migration and development (Oucho, 2006, p. 48). Given the points above, it is very clear that intra-SADC migration has nevertheless remained a persistent feature in SADC development and integration processes, hence the need to free the movement.

Additionally, barriers to intra-regional migration remains numerous when we look at impediment such as cumbersome administrative procedures, quotas, lack of transparency regarding 'economic needs tests', political climate (with often inclusion and exclusion tendencies Nshimbi & Moyo (2017:4)) and high fees (Fioramonti, 2013). Collaborating with the mentioned standpoint, Peters-Berries (2007:122) attests, the free movement seem to be challenged by existing socio-economic and political disparities between member states. With numerous challenges to intra-regional migration stated above, Williams (2016:64) also attests to the process lingering to balance on economic and political interest of distinct state members, making the facilitation a relatively long-term project.

2.5 Intra-Regional Migration and Integration

The first point to note as already mentioned above is that the history of Africa's integration is incomplete without the story of migration. Crush & Williams (2005, p. 28) alludes that intra-regional migration is a cross-cutting edge phenomenon of many African states, with SADC as a regional bloc included, with its positive and negative consequences. In SADC and the rest of Africa, unrestricted mobility of persons has been a constant feature of regional integration efforts (Fagbayibo, 2015, pp. 4-5). The free movement of people within SADC can be traced from the Abuja treaty which project the phenomenon to be realized by 2023 , Agenda 2063-

the continental master plan for development in the 21st century , adopted by the African Union, to offer a new road map towards greater integration and continental aspiration such as the development of an African passport by 2018 and a free movement of persons' regime (Gwatiwa & Sam, 2018). The transition from a coordinating conference to a developmental community of SADC in 1992 coupled with the adoption of the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP), which is said to be the cornerstone for SADC'S regional integration agenda, encompassing the region's socio-political and economic policies and priorities clearly illustrate that the regional bloc's plan to deepening the integration agenda and process is in the pipeline (Kalaba, et al., 2012). However, challenges come in when we look at the older and renewed Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP). Although there is mentioning of the free movement of people, it is not explicitly identified as a key area of concern and intervention (Williams, 2016: 62). The RISDP, does not outline and highlight on migrated-related concerns and policy issues, hence probable evidence to exhibit that the Southern African Development Community does not recognize the urgency of the FMP in regional integration policy.

Adding on from above, migration has become a source of concern at the international level and intra-regional migration on the regional level becoming an important source of interest (Nieuwkerk, 2012, p. 34) and (Crush & Williams, 2005, p. 28). The sentiments of intra-SADC migration are felt, given that the Protocol to free the movement of people has been revised for the third time from its inception after a workshop was held in Harare in 1993, thus from the first Draft Protocol on the Free Movement of People fashioned in the format of the European Union Schengen plan but rejected by South Africa, Namibia and Botswana, to the Draft Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of people which was drafted by South Africa which was also rejected by the Secretariat and currently as the Draft Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of People designed by SADC Secretariat (Crush & Williams, 2005, p. 28). In relation to the mentioned point, Williams (2016, p. 63) argues that having undergone several amendments, member states have been unable to reach an agreement of adopting the latest version of the Draft Protocol. Additionally, the issue of free mobility of regional citizens between SADC units remains unresolved.

The phenomenon of free movement has been on high as evidenced by the increase in the movement in SADC and around the globe. The draft Protocol of Free Movement in SADC is considered an integral component to the institutionalization of a single regional socio-economic space in which regional citizenry can enjoy opportunities in respective member states (Adeniran, 2018, p. 86). More so, the regional bloc has managed to integrate in a number of

areas which include education and training, tourism, trade and many more but that of integration through free mobility of people has not made many strides and this poses a challenge to the regional development and integration agenda (Carciotto & Agyeman, 2017, p. 5). As the regional bloc is forging ahead and making enormous strides towards free trade it is then important to note that the free movement of capital and goods and ultimately economic integration, the issue of migration and to be exact of unrestricted intra-regional migration, again comes to be relatively important (Williams, 2016, p. 64). Furthermore, Williams (2016, p. 64) reiterated to the utterance of then Minister in the Office of the President of South Africa, Essop Pahad, of the unrestricted of the regional citizenry in SADC as being predictable and foreseeable given the closer economic ties and increasingly interdependent of regional member states. Accordingly, regionalists also says, the SADC predicament to FMP can be illustrated in a recent SADC report which spelt that, “the regional bloc, has actively resisted the free movement, diluting a protocol initially aimed to free the movement and eventually delaying the ratification process, paving the ways for the proliferation of bilateral agreements” (SEF, 2016:16).

Intra-regional migration is linked to regional integration in that, in SADC and elsewhere on the continent where deeper integration has not materialized member states have proved to be the drawbacks on migration and integration and as such regional blocs must revisit the conceptualization of regional bloc from being of "states" to be of "the people", where the people become the focus of regional integration rather than the states (Adeniran, 2018, p. 87). In the same vein, Fagbayibo (2015, p. 4) argues that a corollary of deeper regional integration is the ability of the regional inhabitants to move unrestrictedly within the border confinements of the regional bloc. The free movement of people has been described as key if deeper integration is to be desired in SADC and this point has been given a stronger stance given that the Draft Protocol to Free Movement has been applauded as the most important Protocol, so much so that has been referred as the "mother" of all Protocols but astoundingly from its inception till to this day has not manage to receive the much needed two-third for the Draft to be ratified (Saurombe, 2011, p. 251). This, together with other mentioned points in this paragraph has led scholars such as Hartzenberg & Kalenga to argue for an alternative approach to the integration process and agenda in Africa and SADC in particular, so that national policies and regulation can align to regional integration process hence vow for a bottom-up approach which places regional citizenry as the referent object of the integration process (Hartzenberg & Kalenga,

2015, p. 3). Given such a point of view, it becomes probable to assert that the Free Movement of People is vital to the deepening of the SADC integration process.

2.6 Summary

From above, the chapter began by giving an understanding of a literature review and its use. The chapter went further to provide a discussion on the reviews of integration and intra-regional migration in Africa and SADC. Among scholars, a striking point to note which then formulate the research gap of the study is that the two regional integration and intra-regional migration remain important areas and at the same time are explained as divergent concepts or ideas. This then led the researcher to do a study on the relationship between the two as there is a synergy between the two concepts. Several scholars acknowledge the efficacy of intra-regional migration with reference to the Draft Protocol of Free Movement of People to the integration process of SADC, but a few have tried to prove and provide an analysis on the symbiotic relationship hence the research advocate for the free movement of people, whether skilled or unskilled individuals as vital to deepening SADC integration process. Given the explanations on integration evidence shows that successful deeper regional integration is contingent to the processes and contextualization of concepts, intra-regional migration included. The chapter has, therefore, in essence, introduced intra-regional migration with reference to the Draft Protocol which aims to Facilitate Movement of Persons, put in place by the SADC Secretariat as an imperative factor to SADC integration process. Furthermore, most scholars mention the phenomenon in passing, the need to facilitate intra-regional migration to achieve deepened integration, but do not vehemently propose and elaborate an alternative to combat the challenges that continue to exist in facilitating the free movement of people with the aim of successfully integrating SADC. Against the backdrop of an insufficiently researched issue, the researcher offers transactionalism theory as a guiding and challenge resolution theory to intra-regional migration and integration in the SADC region.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The study is anchored in a descriptive qualitative research methodology. It is a method which presents a picture of the specific details of a social setting, a situation, or relationship between concepts or ideas (Neuman, 2014, p. 38). In line to the mentioned point, the research method is associated with study of social phenomenon in their natural setting and analysis which rely on understanding, with an emphasis on meaning, bringing about transformation, with practical outcome and intervention (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 231), hence the study is social in nature trying to bring about meaning and enforce change on the Protocol which aims to facilitate intra-regional migration and integration of the Southern African organization (SADC). The logic behind the use of descriptive qualitative methodology is to arrive analytically at, stimulate qualitative justification on, the “how” and “what” question the research seeks to answer. Descriptive qualitative methodology is essential in this regard as it allows the researcher to use most of the data-gathering techniques, hence the research will make use of surveys and content analysis which will be explained in the paragraphs to follow in the research. In conjunction with the mentioned point, the use of a qualitative method is premised on that it allows and place emphasis on the interpretation of qualitative data from several sources (Creswell, 2009, p. 32).

Along with the above reasons, qualitative methodology emphasis on interviews, observation, and analysis of documents, which range from primary to secondary sources. As the thesis is purely desktop, no interviews will be conducted. The main sources of consultation are primary and secondary. Furthermore, as the study seeks to gain a deeper understanding of the region’s integration process through an exploration of one of its components, intra-regional migration with reference to the draft Protocol which aims to facilitate the free movement of people, qualitative research is fit as it provides an inquiry which provides a more detailed understanding of a phenomenon under study (Kumar, 2009, p. 12).

3.2 Design of the study

The present study is an evaluative case study as it is concerned with the levels of integration in SADC and ways of deepening that process. More so, the selected case study allows the researcher to use a mixture of data collections method from historical data to current data; tracing and studying of relevant documents which include primary and secondary data. Blaikie

(2005: 215) says that a case study design is a way of organizing social data. He also speaks to the design as an approach which views a social entity in its entirety hence, SADC is also referred to as a social entity in the study. Yin (1994, p. 286) reiterates that it is an approach which includes the development of that unit through a set of relationship or processed, keeping together those characteristics which are relevant to the study being investigated. This design is also useful in this study for it provides conceptual validity and allows the researcher to inference to a conclusion through an analysis of various data (Yin, 2003, p. 5).

3.3 Data sources

Basing on the fact that the study focuses on SADC as a regional organization and that there is a need to gain an in-depth understanding of regional integration and intra-regional migration process and idea, qualitative data will be collected and studied. Qualitative content analysis will be used as a data collection method, for both primary and secondary sources. It is a method of data collection which allow the searching and understanding of the underlying truth of the phenomenon being investigated. More so, it is a systematic method which gives meaning and description of qualitative data (Schreier, 2013, p. 170). As it is inherently flexible, primary and secondary sources, both documented and undocumented, comprising of articles, journals, reports, newsletters, relevant protocols and publications regarding the phenomenon dealt with will be utilized (Hseih & Shannon, 2005). As the research is trying to establish a synergy between intra-regional migration and regional integration, qualitative content analysis is of essence for it allows the generation of data, specifying to the researcher to focus on selected aspects of meaning, namely those that relate to the overall research question (Schreier, 2013, p. 172). As data gets to be analyzed, the chosen analysis model allows the researcher to interpret the content of text data, hence the extraction of useful information to establish themes and concepts. Through the generation of data, a reason as to the contribution of intra-regional migration on the integration of SADC will then be provided. The selected data to be examined which is empirical, published by others will, on one hand, abate the subjectivity of the author and on the other determine by providing an account as to how intra-regional migration with reference to the Draft Protocol impact on SADC regional integration.

The supposition surrounding the study is that intra-regional migration with reference to the Draft Protocol which aims to facilitate the free movement of persons has been given little

attention, hence its minimal relevance to the SADC integration process. Through the proposed data collection method from both primary and secondary sources, there will be the extraction of evidence for the supposition in order to favour or disprove it (Given, 2008). The concept of Intra-regional migration together with regional integration have been documented, and for that reason, there is reason for the researcher to have a deeper understanding of the Draft Protocol which aims to facilitate the movement of people's effectiveness and push to SADC integration so as to ascertain the intended goal of the study, thus the improving regional citizenry free movement.

The researcher makes use of qualitative content analysis as it enables the drawing of themes and patterns of the data being analyzed, which then provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study (Hseih & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). As collected data gets to be reviewed, there is proper acknowledgement of sources through referencing and at the same able to highlight the projected outcomes as expressed in the regional bloc documents such as the Draft Protocol which aim to free the movement of people. It is the belief of the researcher that the contents of the source's validity depend on the credibility of the original document, hence the data should not be taken as the ultimate truth nor a presentation of reality.

3.4 Non – Probability Purposive Sampling

The study employed a purposive sampling technique. As the definition of the term is characterized by inconsistencies and ambiguities, the researcher defines the technique in the same way as Gentles et al, have defined as, the selection of specific data sources from which data are collected to address the research objective (Gentles et al; 2015: 1775). The purposive technique is very flexible and allows samples to be selected based on the characteristic of concepts, pattern or themes chosen for a study. Furthermore, it can be viewed as a subset of measurement drawn from concepts or themes in which the study is interested in (Strydom, 2011:223-224). As the researcher has a predisposed purpose in mind, the referred technique allows the predisposition hence making it a suitable sampling technique (Trochim;2006) and (Harvey;2015:45).

3.5 Data Analysis

According to Yin (2003: 108-9) and Blanche et al (2006, p. 322), data analysis entails how qualitative data is classified, grouped, examined, tested and how such data (primary and secondary) will be used to understand the reality of the phenomenon under study, and at the same time address the supposition of the study under investigation. To add on, Neuman (2014, p. 478) says data analysis is where reasoning, judgment, and conclusion based on evidence from the data collected will be inferred. This study will make use of thematic analysis. It is an analysis model which allows the researcher to organize data into categories based on recurring themes and concepts, with such data extracted from various sources (Given, 2008, p. 463). It is through this analysis that recurring patterns, concepts, and themes then assists in understanding the explanation and contexts for the phenomenon under study. Thematic analysis is of the essence in this study for it enables the researcher to understand how the Draft Protocol which aims to facilitate the free movement of people in SADC contribute to the deepening integration process of other regional blocs such as the European Union and ECOWAS.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

As the research was purely desktop, no interviews were conducted. In that regard, both primary and secondary data sources both published and unpublished used will be acknowledged to avoid plagiarism. The researcher will not falsify or misinterpret the data that writers intended to communicate. The research will be conducted in line with the rules and regulation of the university. More so, the research will be impartial, as data collected will not be misrepresented and misconstrued to suit the research assumptions. The research activities, recommendations, and findings will be conducted and presented in a professional and academic manner.

3.7 Limitations

As the research is purely desktop basing its finding on primary and secondary sources, the quality of data gets to be compromised without the input of insiders such as policymakers and the regional citizenry, who would have been contacted through interviews. Further to the above, as the research heavily depend on the researcher's expertise in terms of data collection, analysis and finding, there is a high chance that it is more influenced by the researcher's personal biases. However, the researcher tried to overcome these limitations by making use of

official sources and credible sources to improve the quality, analysis, and reliability of the data used.

3.8 Summary

In this chapter, the researcher has laid out the setting and background of the study whose gist is on regional integration and intra-regional migration. The foundation of the study has been given, indicating the qualitative nature of the study as shown by the methodology used. The design has been provided, coupled with data method collection and analysis. The research as indicated in the ethics section is aware of ethical consideration. Having introduced this preliminary chapter, which sets the context and tone of the whole study, the researcher will proceed to present the theoretical framework supporting the study in the chapter to follow.

CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

As mentioned at the end of the literature chapter, the objective of this chapter is to review the theory which influences this study, and this will be done through giving a discussion as to what relevance it holds to the synergy of regional integration and intra-regional migration. The researcher will divide this section into parts, the first giving a brief of what a theoretical framework entails and its purpose in research. Thereafter, the researcher will introduce and discuss in-depth the instructive analytical and evaluative framework of transactionalism theory. The subsequent section provides an overview of the importance and analytical worth of the chosen theory to the study. The last part will conclude by giving a summary of the entire chapter.

4.2 Theoretical Framework

The word theoretical framework is made up of the word "theory" and "framework". According to Swanson (2013), a theory is defined as a set of interrelated definitions, constructs, and propositions that present a phenomenon by specifying relations among variables, themes and concepts with a reason to explain and predict a phenomena" and, a framework is said to be, "a set of ideas one uses when forming a decision and thereafter the judgment. Given such a view, the researcher alludes a theoretical framework as a map which guides the study. In the same manner, Punch (2000, p. 37) defines a theoretical framework as a collection of interrelated concepts that can be used to direct research to predict and explain the results of the research. The purpose of this framework is to structure, hold and support the chosen theory of transactionalism which forms the basis for this study. It is through the employment of the transactionalism that the researcher has managed to explain the research problem and connect the study to existing literature. More so, the chosen theoretical frame is used to limit the scope of the relevant data by focusing on concepts which are regional integration and intra-regional migration, in relation to the data gathered (Blaikie, 2000, p. 142).

4.3 Transactionalism theory

Transactionalism is a political integration theory with the objective to explain the regional integration process and measuring the efforts by the increasing transactions and

communications of region member states. It is a theory which is aligned to the works of Karl Deutsch, who is said to have contributed immensely to a landmark publication of transactionalism theory (Deutsch, et al., 1957, p. 129). Transactionalism theory relevance resonates from that it is a theory which came about drawing reason from several bodies of historical evidence as opposed from a single antique occurrence and experience (Monnet, 2005, p. 9).

Transactionalism theory explains integration, "as the attainment within a region, a sense of community and of institutions and practices strong enough and widespread to assure for prolonged time dependable expectations of a peaceful transformation among the regional citizenry" (Deutsch, et al., 1957, p. 6). For Deutsch, transactionalims theory distinguishes two types of regions, which are amalgamated and the pluralistic. The former is explained as a region with a progressive fusion of regional states, and it is the process which forms the basis of this study. In the amalgamated integration process member states merge into a single larger unit, with a common government at the centre after amalgamation (Monnet, 2005, p. 56). The later which is pluralistic integration, explains the integration process with regional member states retaining their sovereignty.

An amalgamated regional community is very complex because there is a need for member states to merge with a higher authority, thus losing their sovereign power. More so, an amalgamated integration process requires more of transaction and communication of member states. This kind of integration process as according to Deutsch et al pointed out, there are essential requirements which accumulate to twelve in total and the most important five are: "1) expectations of stronger economic ties and gains; 2) mutual compatibility of main values; 3)unbroken links and social communications in geographical terms between territories and sociologically between different social strata (social communication between integrating member states; 4) intra-regional citizen movement (the free mobility of persons between participating units); 5) considerable mutual predictability of behavior" (Deutsch, et al., 1957, p. 138). It is important to note that there is an emphasis of communication and transactions between regional member states, hence intra-regional migration which is expressed as the free mobility of regional citizenry within the border confinements of the regional bloc becomes of essence as far as the integration process is concerned.

4.4 Transactionalism Analytical Framework

This part details on the usefulness and relevance of the analytic conception of transactionalism in understanding the force in intra-regional migration which is explained as the free mobility to the integration process of SADC regional organization. It is important to note that transactionalism as an analytical concept to regional integration remains crucial, but it has received criticism in relation to its inability to specify whether the increase in transaction necessitates more of integration or whether more integration leads to the increase in the transaction (Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 2006). More so, there is a problem with operationalizing Deutsch's model (Monnet, 2005, p. 58). Nonetheless given the inadequacy and given the focus of the study, the researcher supports the analytical framework of transactionalism (Deutsch, et al., 1957, p. 138). The first reason is, from the beginning the theory make it clear that integration is a long term and gradual process and secondly, that functional transactions and communications are essential requirements to the integration project. More so, it captures the integration process as well as the actors involved in the process. There is also recognition of plurality in the process and that the process transcends state centrism. An important point to note with regards to the theory is that it brings the social perspective stating that since regions are socially constructed, it is through interactions and intersubjective understanding that regional integration dynamics and interest can be achieved thereby deepening the process. Now that transactionalism theory is unpacked and its relevance is given, the researcher then provides a summary of the chapter in the proceeding section.

4.5 Summary

The chapter explored the theoretical concept of transactionalism. The researcher looked at how such a concept relates to the study, particularly on how the analytics will be used in analysing the research findings. More so, the inadequacies and weaknesses in relation to the theory have been explored and these have been drawn from existing critiques in the literature of regional integration. As already mentioned above, the chosen theory helps in providing evaluative analytics on the force of intra-regional migration to SADC integration process. The section to follow presents the case of SADC.

CHAPTER 5: FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION: SADC PROTOCOL CASE

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a working definition of regional integration and intra-regional migration. Thereafter an analysis which is interpretative in nature will delineate the two concepts which inform this study, and at the same time conceptualize the two concepts as advanced by the European Union, African Union and as outlined in the SADC draft Protocol which aims to Facilitate the Free Movement of Persons, this is so because the two regional blocs acquire the same ideational features to SADC in terms of the Free Movement of Person initiatives . The chapter also examines the varied perceptions and reactions of both SADC citizens and their respective governments concerning the Free Movement of People in the region. It is these perceptions and reactions that pose as a challenge to the full realization of the importance of the Free Movement of People as an element to the deepening of the SADC bloc integration process. In the final part of this chapter, the researcher then provides a summary of the entire chapter.

5.2 Regional integration and intra-African migration: the case of the African Union

Regional integration initiatives have been existence on the African continent way before African countries acquired their sovereign rights of self-rule, with the South African Customs Union (SACU) being the oldest, established in 1910 followed by the East African Community (EAC) of 1919 (Jiboku, 2016, p. 18). The initiative gained prominence as time progresses becoming an important subject with more African countries obtaining their independence from the early 1960s. Realizing the power in numbers and uniting as a collective force to free African countries from colonial rule, creation of a common forum for African states to interact themselves, seek African solution to problem arising and self-determination, the Organization of African Union (OAU) was established in 1963 (Thom-Otuya, 2014, p. 356). Now that challenges facing Africa were narrowing to intra African-issues, there was a need to re-strategize hence the transformation of the OAU to what it is today the African Union (AU) in 2002. The reconceptualization of the African organization mandate to end colonial rule and the

effects of Africa's balkanization was transformed into integration and development efforts, the African Union as the touch bearer.

The transformation of the OAU to AU was considered imperative in order to further the political, social and economic objectives in the continent (Jiboku, 2016, p. 19), making the continental integration process a complex miscellany of both the political and socio-economics effort. In the same vein, the transformation warranted initial hopes that the continent was set for deepening the integration process (Tavaresa & Tang, 2011, p. 217). The continental organization now the AU from its inceptions has embarked and initiated a number of development and integration schemes such as the Lagos Plan of Action described as the blueprint, the Minimum Integration Programme, the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP), the Programme for Infrastructural Development in Africa (PIDA), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the Abuja Treaty which facilitated and necessitated the formation of the African Economic Community (AEC), and regional and national plans and programmes (Okunade, 2019, p. 83). The Lagos Plan of Action is described as the blueprint for Africa's development agenda. This Action Plan is given impetus by the Abuja Treaty which initiated the African Economic Community. It is through these two prints that Regional Economic Communities (REC's) have been awarded prominence and realization as pillars to the full realization of Africa integration and development agenda (Qobo, 2007, p. 6). There is evidence of regional organizations being used as agents and building blocks to continental integration (Jiboku, 2016, p. 22), Africa's economic integration agenda resonates with the precepts of transactionalism theory and bottom-up blueprint. However it is noteworthy that the idea of REC's being used as agents to the development and integration of the African continent provide a complex miscellany of approval and disapproval, with on one hand the use of REC's as agents being unrealistic as they pursue narrow aims which do not project the collective of all African (Oyejide, 2005), whilst on the other hand they are viewed as the building blocks for the greater good of the region as a whole (Qobo, 2007, p. 6).

With respect to the Free Movement of People, the African Union through its different instrument and initiatives has vowed for the pursuance of an obstacle-free Africa when it comes to the movement of African citizens (Nita, et al., 2017, p. xv). Given on one hand the complexity and animosity, and on the other the cross-cutting edge of the phenomenon of Free Movement, given its role in achieving African Union's broader integration, trade and development goals, the African Union chasing after its Agenda 2063, coupled with objectives

from past instruments and Action Plans acknowledges the FMP as not an aspiration but also a tool with which other integration and development aspiration can be fully realized. It is through this realization that scholars and the African Union envisage the Free Movement initiative as something which must have its roots from regional block which makes up the African Union, hence the idea of while free movement of people may be difficult to achieve at the supranational level (AU) level, it may be more realistic and desirable to consider at the regional level as a preliminary step comes to light (Nita, et al., 2017, p. xiv). Subsequently, the African Union pursuing the Agenda 2063 and objectives of an integrated and developed Africa as envisioned by the many binding documents such as the protocol to the treaty establishing the African Economic Community and the latest adopted new protocol on Free Movement yet to be ratified, with Rwanda as the only country which has ratified it, declares that the free movement of people is key if Africa as a whole is to be stable, secure and economically robust. In this posture, there is clear evidence that people are the key carriers, drivers, agents and the end consumer of development, integration and growth of Africa (Wachira, 2018, p. 11). Furthermore, the author alludes, if the Free Movement of African citizens is implemented incrementally along appropriate procedures and system, it can be a positive force for the development and integration of the continent, and although there are some hurdles to the initiative, respective REC's to the AU are making strides in the direction of a free movement with ECOWAS and EAC having made much progress (Wachira, 2018, p. 12).

5.3 Regional integration and intra-regional migration: the case of European Union

The idea of an integrated Europe goes way before the aftermath of World War 2. It is an idea that was within Europe for a long time given the history of a Pan European Union, which could not materialize henceforth its idea pushed afar from the agendas of Europe (Touzenis, 2012, pp. 17-18). Realizing the problems befalling in Europe, German and France took the initiative of integrating the region of Europe. As the two countries, France and Germany were at loggerheads, the integration of Europe has deemed a viable way to put the squabbles at rest. Additionally, integration came to ensure the economic competitiveness of the region in the world of growing interdependence. Eventually, in 1951, six countries which are Germany, France, Italy and the Benelux countries established the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) (Monnet, 2005, p. 98). With relative success from the Union process, the six countries were willing to deepen the integration process and as a result, they signed the Treaty of Rome

in 1957, which gave birth to the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) and the European Economic Community (EEC). The ECSC together with the EURATOM and EEC formed the European Community (EC) (Monnet & Schuman, 2008). At this point, the integration process was moving in the right direction with European countries able to change the pattern of regional relations. They were seemingly following the logic of transactionalism by continuously deepening the integration process. This was done with countries ignoring national interests aside as the theory of transactionalism predict, thus to say handing over part of their sovereignty to the supranational organ. With many upside and downs in the process, the Cold War coming to an end, the regional bloc strengthened its integration by signing the Maastricht Treaty. As many countries join, responsibilities also grew in response to the new world challenges, the regional bloc shifted from cooperation to integration hence the agreement for a new Constitution for the European Union coupled with the signing of the Treaty on European Union in 1957 (Erdoğan, 2015, p. 130).

Realizing the complexities of the world, there was a need to deepen the regional integration process to form a European Community which speak with one voice. The movement of regional citizens was at first restricted, allowing only workers to move across borders, thus individuals as employees and service providers. This raised a lot question in many European meeting, with the initiative later being said to demean citizens to be commodities. After much debate, the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, introduced the notion of EU citizenship to be enjoyed automatically by every national belonging to the European Union (ACP Migration, 2000). In the same vein, Nshimbi and Fioramonti (2014, p. 54), reiterate to the gradual evolvement of free movement of people from being that of workers to that of all European Union citizenry in general. The Schengen agreement, the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, the Lisbon Treaty of 2007 and the Treaty on European Union of 1957, all speak to the free movement of persons as on one hand a key principle and on the other a cornerstone of European Integration (Schmidta, et al., 2018, p. 1391) and (Talving & Vasilopoulou, 2019, p. 805). Given such a point of view, one can aver that there is a synergy between the free movement of people and regional integration.

However, one need not give a blind eye to intra-regional migration and integration process of the European, given that till date the Union still faces challenges (Solomon, 1997, p. 3). In light

to the view, Saurombe (2011, p. 238) concur by attesting, encompassing every citizen of member state takes time to materialize hence the region took more than 4 decades for the initiative to take a stand.

5.4 Definitions of intra-regional migration and regional integration

The world today works in a web of connection and networking of countries that tend to integrate politics and economies in pursuit of, among other things regional integration and intra-regional migration for stability, active growth and efficiency (Oucho, 2007:3). Galtung (1968:337), explain integration as a process in which two or more states come together to form one big actor and when the process becomes whole, the involved actors and in this case are Southern African states, are said to be integrated. On that note, as referenced by Nshimbi and Moyo (2017, p. 7), regional integration is a process of overcoming barriers that divide neighbouring states, by common accord, and jointly managing shared resources and assets, hence a process and means, and not an end in itself.

This researcher defines “integration” in the same way as of Deutsch and associates, “as a process of attaining, within a territory, a sense of community and institution and practices strong enough and widespread to assure, for a long time dependable expectations of peaceful change among its population, thereby creating a regional citizenry” (Deutsch, et al, 1957:5). This is so, because, the definition provides a complex miscellany understanding of the integration process as an inclusive of the society, politics and economy of a region. As the independent states amalgamate thus integration, there is a need for the free mobility of people between participating member states or units (Deutsch, et al., 1957:6).

It is from the utilization of transactionalism theory definition of integration which makes Intra-regional migration prominent, as an important element to the process as already explained above. Mudungwe (2015, p. 53), explain intra-regional migration as a process of creating a territory without internal borders which give the right of living and moving freely within a regional bloc to all member states citizens. With so many facets of intra-regional migration, the researcher main thrust is on the Draft Protocol which aims to facilitate the free movement of people within the Southern Africa regional bloc. The Draft Protocol explains intra-SADC migration as the elimination of obstacles to the free movement of persons of the SADC region generally into and within the territories of State Parties (SADC Secretariate, 2005, p. 3). It is from this explanation that Dodson and Crush (2015, p. 6) attests to the idea that as the region

is forging towards the free movement of goods and capital, free trade and ultimately economic integration, the issue of migration and, more precisely, the free movement of persons within the region constantly comes to prominence (Dodson & Crush, 2015:6).

5.5 Regional integration and intra-regional migration (Draft Protocol on the Free Movement of People): SADC case

This section seeks to give an account for regional integration and intra-SADC migration with reference to the Draft Protocol which aims to facilitate the free movement of people in the SADC region. In particular, the process of SADC integration and Free Movement of Persons thus to say the synergy, prospects and challenges. A brief overview as to how the SADC regional block has engaged the two concepts will be provided. In so doing, the researcher will look at policy documents which have been used as a means to improve on the two such as the RISDP of 2015-2020, as it provides a roadmap to the integration process of the region, as well as look at reports which have been provided by different organizations on the issue of intra-SADC migration to help smoothen the ratification of the Draft Protocol of Free Movement.

5.6 Overview of SADC

The idea and process of regional integration have manifested itself historically around the world, African included, as a bureaucratic effort at political unification and capital expansion (Chingono & Nakana, 2009, p. 396). In the southern part of African, it took the institutional form of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) which was formed in 1992, with its predecessor being the Southern African Development Cooperation Conference (SADCC) of 1980. Prior to 1992, SADCC focused more on the functional cooperation of the region in key sectors. It is also during this time that the cooperation was dominated by Frontline states whose motive was to politically liberate the regional bloc (Saurombe, 2009, p. 100). Formed against a background of economic retrograde and poverty, in 1992 the regional block took a turn around and transformed to promote economic, political and societal development through integration and cooperation. It was also during this time that it transformed from a cooperative to an integrative approach (Saurombe, 2009, p. 101). The SADC Treaty redefined the regional bloc from SADCC to SADC, thereby transforming the organization from being a loose association towards a legally binding arrangement. In light of the view, Chigono and Nakana (2009, p. 398) avers, the transformation of the regional bloc from SADCC to SADC saw a move from being a coordinating conference to a development committee, thus depart

from a vaguely conceived objective of co-operation to a region which envisages a broader context of interaction for the betterment of the social, political and economic integration process.

The regional bloc consists of 15 countries which are Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Swaziland, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Countryeconomy, 2018). From its beginning, the regional bloc has initiated, ratified and signed numerous protocols such as in Trade, Transport, Tourism, Education and Training and many others, the desire being for deeper integration and development (Williams, 2016, p. 63). It is from this context of development and furthering of integration, the regional block has accepted that migration and to be specific Free Movement of People is a key issue hence the idea of SADC drafting a protocol to Free the Movement of People. More so, the regional bloc has realized that the issue of intra-regional migration is growing in the prominence given a proportional increase from 3.4 per cent to 3.7 per cent increase in Southern Africa total population (Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2014, p. 52). Williams (Williams, 2016, p. 64) says, given the complexity of migration, SADC countries cannot adequately tackle in their individual capacity hence the need to develop appropriate legislation, policies and mechanism which can then be of the whole regional bloc.

Figure 1: SADC member states



ww.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/Comoros in not member

5.7 Integration in SADC

The integration of Southern Africa into SADC today was largely influenced by the process of integration in Latin America, Western Europe, and elsewhere in Africa. Initially, the integration process was politically oriented as evidenced by the presence of a political governance model which calls for a buy-in of a member states part to the regional bloc, before a decision is enforced (Peters-Berries, 2007, p. 71). The transition from SADCC to SADC in 1992 changed the outlook of the regional bloc as it becomes both a political and economic initiative. In corroboration to this view Peters-Berries (2007, p. 72) says, the new SADC guided by the “Windhoek Treaty” became an anticipation of political change in the region as well as of the economic opportunities opening up. Realizing the shortcomings of their individual capacity, SADC member states, in mitigating both internal and external factors such as poverty, illegal migration, transnational criminality, globalization and many more envisioned a plan with which will help achieve sustainable development and reduce poverty, by initiating a 15-years road map called the Regional Indicative Strategic Development plan (Kalaba, et al., 2012, p. 2). Furthermore, there is ample evidence of the impact of Free Movement to integration and development in SADC, hence the region in its treaty makes it explicit firstly in its preamble, “mindful of the need to involve the people of the Region centrally in the process of development and integration.....” and article 5 (2)b, “to the development of 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 states” (SADC Secretariate, 1992, pp. 2,6)

5.8 Background to Regional integration and intra-SADC migration

Crush et al (2005, p. 1) aver to intra-regional migration as a not a unique phenomenon in the history of Southern Africa, rather it was through the movement of people that tied together with the sub-region into a single regional labour market. In contemporary world there has been a growth in acknowledging intra-migration as an element and agent to regional integration together with evidence from the increase in the movement of persons between borders in pairs of legal and illegal as well as skilled and unskilled, a continuum of SADC immigration and emigration circulation coupled with achieving the SADC Treaty objectives and inadequacy for individual states to manage and regulate the movement of persons, the regional bloc in 1993

proposed for a workshop to the Free Movement of Persons which was held in Harare (Adepujo, 2006, p. 42). It was this workshop which after a ministerial meeting in Swaziland the following year of 2014, a team of consultants got to be appointed to prepare a Draft Protocol on the free movement.

The creation of a regional economy and freeing the mobility of regional citizens has been at the heart of the regional bloc from the beginning of its creation. Even before SADC establishment, Southern Africa is said to have witnessed the crisscrossing of both skilled and unskilled labour (Oucho, 2006, p. 47). It is from this point of view that I concur with Williams (2016, p. 63) who assert that migration and to be specific intra-regional migration is fundamentally about individuals, whether skilled or unskilled, who migrate in search for different opportunities. The regional bloc is taking enormous strides in terms of development and integration, and this is evidenced by member states part to the regional bloc ratifying different Protocol in terms of trade, energy, water, shared Watercourse System, capital flow, transport. On that note Williams (2016, p. 64) says as the region is heading towards free trade in terms of goods, services and capital and ultimately SADC economic amalgamation, migration and more broadly, the unrestricted movement of people, once again becomes important. An important point to take note of is that the phenomenon of integration has emerged in a period of global history in which the global system is branded by increased connection and interaction among nations. It is this increased interdependence of the international system that has pushed states to forge ahead deeper integration to address some of the obstacles member states have been and continue to face today (Baggio, 2014, p. 16).

5.8 The SADC Treaty and the Draft Protocol on the Facilitation of Free Movement of Persons

SADC came into existence in 1992 following the transition from its predecessor SADCC, established in 1980 (Dodson & Crush, 2015, p. 6). Upon this transition SADC adopted the SADC Treaty which is the cornerstone and blueprint which gives direction to the promotion and protection of SADC initiatives in terms of its politics and socio-economics welfare, and a clear view in terms of economic development and integration (Mudungwe, 2015, p. 13). In solidarity with the idea of African renaissance, Agenda 2063 and African Union objectives of creating a borderless Africa as enshrined in the Abuja Treaty of 1991, chapter 6, which promote

African Union member states to take measures which will enable the progressive free movement of persons to ensure the right of residence and right of establishment (Organization of African Union, 1991, p. 40). The SADC Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of People is anchored in the vision and objectives of SADC Treaty which states, “ common future, within a regional community that will ensure economic well-being, improvement of the standard of living and quality of life, freedom and social justice; peace and security for the peoples of Southern Africa” and the objective which states, “ develop policies aimed at the progressive elimination of obstacles to the free movement capital and labour, goods and services, and the people of the Region generally, among member states” (SADC Secretariate, 1992). It is through such vision and objectives that SADC dreams and goal can be achieved. In the same manner, Mudungwe (2015, p. 14) says, the visions and objectives of regional blocs form the basis of the numerous protocols in which regional bodies then ratify and in the SADC region one such protocol is the Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of People.

The Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement like its precursor the Protocol on the Free Movement of Peoples objectifies to the elimination of obstacles to the movement of persons of the Region into and within the territories of SADC member states (Mudungwe, 2015, p. 18). The protocol has short and long terms objectives and at the same time though without a time frame on the implementation of the phases, also states the achievement of the FMP to be achieved through the following phases:

- a. Visa-free entry for SADC citizens to all SADC states part
- b. The right to residence
- c. The right of establishment and control

In the context of short-term objectives which include: the entry, for a lawful purpose and without a visa, into the territory of another SADC member states for a period of three months at a time; residence in the territory of another in accordance with the rules and laws of the member state you concern to reside in its territory and establishment of oneself and working in the territory of another state member, that is, permission or authority for: access to economic activities, and establishment and managing a profession, trade and business; practicing one’s profession, trade, business or calling and providing the services related thereto- participating in all human activities as citizens of the hosting country (SADC Secretariate, 2005). The protocol in relation to these short-terms champion the implementation as immediate objectives which must be set out in three phases in their order and manner of their description

(Muchabaiwa, 2010, p. 2) and (Mudungwe, 2015, pp. 18-19). These objectives were agreed to be achieved over a period of three years from the day the Protocol becomes a binding document.

On the issue of long-term objectives, the regional bloc envisaged them to be implemented 10 years after, with which the date must be determined by the Summit (Mudungwe, 2015, p. 19). These objectives would then be accounted as phase 4 and among them there is: minimising control at national borders thus member states have to take steps in the direction of minimizing their control on the movement of regional citizenry, meaning they can cross any internal border of SADC member states without subjected to checks and control, although member countries shall be free within their borders to exercise policing, immigration or other security powers in terms of its law to need persons in its boundaries to hold, carry and produce permits and documents as directive to its laws, and transfer of control to external borders, thus to admit into territory member citizen of a third state who wish to enter on visit on the basis of he/she being a bona fide visitor and meets the immigration criteria (SADC Secretariate, 2005).

Rising from the above, there are also short-term and long-term measures which stood as a prerequisite to the implementation of the drafted Protocol. These measures speak to member states part to the SADC regional organizations to promote administrative, legal and other measures necessary for cooperation in the implementation and achievement of the Protocol objectives (Maunganidze & Formica, 2018, p. 9). Concurring to the mentioned point, Mudungwe (2015, p. 20) says following short-terms measure of harmonization of current immigration practices and medium to long-term measures of harmonization of state laws, establishment and maintenance of registered population, mutual cooperation and assistance and travel facilities stand as the foundation to the implementation of the Protocol.

5.9 Reflection and conclusion of the Draft Protocol

The current Draft Protocol which aims to facilitate the free movement is, on one hand, a good step directly towards the Free Movement of People and on the other a drawback to the actual realization of Free Movement. Although taking time to be enacted as a binding document, the constant visitation of SADC member states and the gradual increase in the number of ratifies to six member states, falling short of the nine which is required for the Protocol to enter into force, with other countries such as Zimbabwe and DRC signing to it but not yet ratified clearly shows the importance of Free Movement (Muchabaiwa, 2010, p. 4). More so, there is evidence

of the regional bloc pursuing regional integration objectives in terms of Education and Training, Employment and Labour, Trade and many other areas and in all these other Protocols there is advocacy for the relaxation and elimination of immigration formalities in order to facilitate the free movement of human resources and capital for development, hence making the initiatives of movement of people remain a constant feature (Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2013, p. 85) and (Baggio, 2014, p. 138). According to Fagbayibo (2015, p. 5), the constant featuring of Free Movement clearly shows that regional integration as a process requires conditions which can enable it. However, the meaning and scope of movement, particularly FMP continue to be a subject of debate and causes of concern (Crush, et al., 2005, p. 26). Although the Protocol to Facilitate Free Movement has the same connotations with its predecessor the Protocol which aimed to Free the Movement, the change from, “Free” to “Facilitation” is a cause of concern in that these two words mean different meanings with the former implying a complete removal of any restrictions with the latter speaking to making it easier or possible within a confined framework with restrictions (Muchabaiwa, 2010, p. 2). Overall the case of the Draft Protocol in the SADC regional bloc although having setbacks due to a number of reasons to be discussed later, vividly shows that FMP is an element to SADC integration and it is through the passing of this initiative as a binding Protocol that regional integration becomes meaningful (Mudungwe, 2015, p. 14).

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PROTOCOL ON THE FREE MOVEMENT OF PERSONS

6.1 Introduction

As shown from above, the existence of the Protocol although not yet legally binding clearly shows the acknowledgement among SADC member states of the drafted Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of People being a document which guides the SADC regional legal framework on the movement of people (Baggio, 2014, p. 139). In a similar vein, Nshimbi & Fioramonti (2013, p. 75), attest the draft protocol is a further step towards achieving a regional migration agenda and a more concrete SADC integration of migration. The SADC Protocol on Facilitation of Movement of Persons having gone through many revisions, coming as a less ambitious objective fashioned in a gradual, incrementalist approach compared to its predecessor formulated with a characterization of a “big bang” approach, has not been ratified and enforced as a binding Protocol. However, although viewed as a positive light to address migration, the Protocol has been informed by security point of view, shaped as a concept which poses threat and a symptom of the crisis, and oriented towards increasing control and exclusion (Landau, et al., 2018, p. v). This chapter seeks to discuss and examine some of the economic, social and political conditions in addition to those mentioned in the earlier point, which pose as a challenge to the ratification and enforcement of the drafted Protocol on Free Movement of People and regional integration more broadly. Furthermore, a reveal on the effectiveness of Free Movement will be provided. It is from this discussion that recommendations will be envisaged and purported in the concluding chapter, as to how the region can improve on intra-SADC migration and broadly regional integration.

6.2 Challenges to the Draft Protocol to Facilitate Movement of People

6.2.1 The othering of other SADC citizens

The Protocol makes it clear that the idea of Free Movement infers the right of residence and establishment (Wachira, 2018). With such change, social challenges are bound to occur, and in the SADC region, these have already given member states causes of hesitation and concern, especially receiving countries such as South Africa, Botswana and Namibia. Statistics in many

SADC countries point to disconcerting unemployment levels. And as such, there is fear of competition for jobs among the citizens themselves. Now given the idea of the Free Movement of People, there is fear that migrants will increase the strain. It is this view that has led to many “Xenophobic” attacks in South Africa, with some labelling it “Afrophobia” as the hostilities are mostly levelled against foreigners from within Africa. Moyo et al (2018, p. 94) speaks to the issues of othering and avers that migrants are viewed as the “threatening other”, being blamed as the problem is, for example, South Africa, because of anti-migrant imagery and tropes which exists in the country. From this, migrants are then seen to be causing political, economic and societal hardships for the citizens and the country at large hence the need to be excluded and eliminated with many being injured and murdered (Moyo, et al., 2018, p. 95). Given such a point of view, one can attest to the idea of a binary divide or distinction of “us” and “them”, a divide which goes against the SADC vision and that of African Union at large of creating for the former a regional citizenry.

More so, this negative perception of migrants as the ‘threatening other’ is not only being done by citizens alone, but it is also finding expression in Government officials. In several cases, you would find that Government officials are the spark plug to the occurrence of foreign nationals’ attack, an example is when in 2012 during a State Province address, the Gauteng Premier declared to migrants to be overburdening Gauteng hospitals (Nshimbi & Inocent, 2017). Likewise, Moyo et al (2018, p. 98) say the Premier of Western Cape labelled migrants from other provinces to be flooding the Western Cape, giving them a refugee connotation, and as such are considered to be negatively impacting the provinces and country at large.

Apart from officials triggering the mistreat and exclusion of migrants, the SADC and Africa Union are made up of States which contains tribal groups (Maathai, 1995). There are fissures of disunity between tribes in the region, thus to say citizens with their respective countries are fragmented to “other” each other. Citizens are not a monolithic unit but rather are divided along racial, cultural, religion and mostly language lines (Chauzal & Van Damme, 2015). It is from this context that SADC population display characteristics of subtle and overt “othering”, which complicate the arrivals of other migrants from SADC and Africa as a whole (Moyo, et al., 2018, p. 98).

6.2.2 Lack of Political Will

Saurombe (2011, p. 15) speaks to the idea of regional organization as political in nature regardless of their purpose of existence. With that in mind, one is left at liberty to attest that politics stand high ground above anything else. It is through government willingness that the Drafted Protocol and more broadly deeper regional integration can be achieved. Although many factors are hindering the ratification and enforcement of the Drafted Protocol, politics and its willingness from member states hinders most. The idea of Free Movement is not one prominent given its absence on the political agendas of the states in the region (Maunganidze & Formica, 2018, p. 10). This point is furthered by Muchabaiwa (2010, p. 10) who attest to FMP is currently located in the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, where there is no one coordinating the ratification and implementation of the Protocol, with responsible persons having other responsibilities, not relating to the issue of FMP. There is a need for the SADC Secretariat to consider a dedicated focal point, which can assure the harmonization of migrant policies. More so, current migration discussions within the regional bloc are geared towards short-term which are rather populist and anti-migration rhetoric as opposed to medium to long-term which are for the potential development of a legal migration framework (Wachira, 2018). On that same note, Adepoju (2006, p. 43) avers to the vacillate hesitant and political support which continue to hinder the deepening integration and referred to the slow ratification process of the Draft Protocol of Free Movement in SADC as an example. The absence of a regional protocol on migration is ascribed to a lack of political will, which is probably caused by a high degree of vagueness and ambiguity on the potential impact of the Free Movement of Persons.

In addition to the above, there is evidence that uncontrolled movement of people and that of borders affects the territorial borders of States, hence the greatest challenge identified to be overcome becomes political will or lack thereof (Wachira, 2018, p. 56). It is from this idea that Government are putting pressure on their national borders to control the flow and influx thereof of migrants. Instead of governments to fashion the idea of Free Movement of Persons to promote a regional identity and image, they are making decisions to promote the country's image and identity, hence citizens of country together with their leaders hold on to their country's identity and oppose the absorption of them into a wider regional pool (Makochekanwa & Maringwa, 2009, p. 36). Some governments as they retain votes from semi-and-unskilled citizens, and given the combative nature of trade unions in countries like Botswana and South Africa (the most preferred destination for SADC citizens), they treat any deal which is likely to be detrimental to these group of electorates with cautious, hence the stiff

resistance to adoption of the Drafted Protocol in SADC. To further strengthen this stiff resistance, they formulate national legislative instruments, mechanisms and institution which are designed to manage and control the movement of people, which are inevitably fashioned in protective and isolationist language, an example being the creation of an electric fence on the Zimbabwe-Botswana border in 2003 (Rodrigurs & Tomas, 2012: 19 & Williams, 2016: 63).

6.2.3 Policing and Securitization

From the advent of Free Movement, the issue is administered by the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security. It can be argued that from such take that the issue of Free Movement is viewed to be a security and political issue (Muchabaiwa, 2010, p. 10). In the same vein, Mauganidze & Formica (2018, p. 8) attests, SADC governments are increasingly leaning towards a security-based approach as far as handling and dealing with the issue of Free Movement is concerned. The two further the point by saying, this inclination and leaning towards is stemming from two things, one being migrants viewed as threat and burden to economic and social welfare schemes thus a threat to national security and the economy and the other being that governments do not want to lose their grip of Nationalism and self-rule (Maunganidze & Formica, 2018). It is from this view that one can allude that national security and public order are often key as far as the challenges of adhering to the Free Movement of Person is concerned. The opening of borders is viewed to influence the already existing problems of adequately maintaining security in towns and cities and exert pressure on one's country social services, hence migrants are viewed as criminal as opposed to see the brighter side of their movement which contributes to economic development of the receiving as well as the sending country. A good example is that of South Africa where most government hospitals offer free medical services for children and offer subsidized health care to grown persons, this means migrants will flock into South African to obtain such services and in turn, this will overstretch the services (Makochekanwa & Maringwa, 2009, p. 38). In countries like Namibia, South African and Botswana member states have resorted to abhorrent reinforcement of borders to control and limit the flow of migrants and at the same time induced policies such as "detain and deport" to remove "aliens and undesirables" from their borders (Rodrigues & Tomas, 2012). However, this take in real terms is costly and at the same time deeply ineffective and inefficient given that after being deported those undocumented foreigners quickly do a U-turn and come back.

6.2.4 Absence of Border Management Information Systems (BMIS)

According to Wachira (2018, p. 62), borders stand to be the elephant in the room when the Free Movement of Person discussions are held. It is through border BMIS that the movement of people can be recorded and be used to assist in the formulation of strategic and tactical intelligence which will proactively inform migration policies, among others. However, this has been surprising given that borders instead of curbing illicit moving of people, goods and services, they are exacerbating these flows (Muchabaiwa, 2010, p. 8). Quoting from Herald Newspaper, the author alluded that the Beitbridge border post (Bordering Zimbabwe and South Africa) and many other such as Chirundu, Kasumbalesa and Nyamapanda have become a haven for criminal activities, despite the areas being declared a security zone. It is at these borders where there are unprecedented levels of chaos, misdemeanour and corruption, but this can be changed through effective BMIS, as borders can be turned into zones of stability, security and development. More so Nation-States have coded border laws to deter the free movement of people, they fail to take into account the voluminous increase of people moving with those laws in place or not (Gwakwa, et al., 2016, p. 339). In the absence of such a mechanism of reading, recording and checking data on migrants, there will be no progress in travel facilitation or security for that matter, and this contributes to misconceptions about migration. The lack of BMIS is also attributed to the chickening out of governments to financially contribute and lack of strong communication infrastructure which is often equally weak. From such a point of view, one can say, SADC countries are fearing shared responsibility to implement BMIS and in turn this pose as a challenge to the idea of Free Movement.

6.2.5 The effect of bilateral agreements

Whilst bilateral agreements are viewed as a gradual step to the full and actual realization to the importance of Free Movement as they are reality-based on the mutual political resolve of respective government, there are also viewed as a step back (Wachira, 2018, p. 25). According to Nshimbi and Fioramonti (2014, p. 56), as governments retain the authority to decide, they continue signing bilateral agreements which continue to dampen the prospect of ratifying the Protocol of Free Movement. Bilateral agreements are viewed as a scapegoat of countries from shared responsibility and parting some powers to a supranational organization. In the same manner, Carciotto and Agyeman (2017, p. 24) argue that it is through the proliferation of bilateral agreements that countries have swiftly resisted the free movement thereby diluting a protocol which is perfectly crafted to free the movement of people. Countries through bilateral agreements continue to have more say regarding migration management to and from their

countries (Carciotto & Agyeman, 2017, p. 23). Concurring to the mentioned idea Nita et al (2017, p. xv) argues that bilateral agreements give the bargaining power of sending countries to be weak as the receiving countries mostly dictate the condition under which migration will fallout. Nita (2017, p. 17) also argues that bilateral agreements are not exclusive and do not provide formal commitments to Free Movement, as they often deal with issues of management in areas of residence condition, entry, remittances and social security rights, and at times may even substitute regional endeavours. Given such a point of view, one is left at liberty to attest to bilateral agreements as not envisaging free movement but rather aim at controlling by limiting and promoting certain movement flows.

6.2.6 More talking and less action

Given the voluminous increase of migrants with an average of 3 percent from 2010 to 2017 and the participation of member states in a number of migrants talks at both regional, continental and international level, there is no doubt that there is growing awareness among SADC member states (Maunganidze & Formica, 2018, p. 11). The regional bloc has taken part in the adoption of the AU Protocol on Free Movement, UN Global Compact on Migration, the COMESA-EAC-SADC and in MIDSAs, and in all these initiative migration and to be specific the Free Movement of People has taken precedence, hence moving the agenda back on the table for discussion (Wachira, 2018, p. 46). It is however very important that such negotiations and dialogues continue to prevail so as to ensure and push SADC regional bloc towards adopting the common position on migration which is the unrestrictive movement of the regional citizenry. The SADC through its initial Protocol of Free Movement was viewed by many and within the region to have formulated one of the best protocol so much that it was referred to as the “mother” of all Protocols, but surprisingly having gone many revisions and coming back as watered in 2005, as the Draft Protocol to Facilitate the Movement of Persons has only been signed by six countries (Saurombe, 2011, p. 251).

6.3 Obstacles to the Deepening of Regional Integration in SADC

In this part, the researcher discusses the obstacles which stand as stumbling blocks to the deepening of the SADC region. Regional integration in Africa and SADC to be specific is said to have come a long way, that the region has long since been cooperating in areas of monetary integration schemes and trade (Aniche, 2009, p. 1). On that same note Saurombe (2012, p. 92) argues that the transition from SADCC to SADC a move that based on the finding that the

former was based on cooperation which alone cannot adequately give room for deeper integration, envisaging the RISDP, a 15 years road plan which give directives to development and integration, holding of many Special Summit meeting which prioritize deepening the process of SADC integration and ratification of many Protocols, which all address deeper integration clearly shows the regional bloc is forging ahead deeper integration. It is also important to note that the motive behind the region integration although taking a straw to promote economic development, it is also because of promoting social cohesion for SADC citizens and attain coherent political cooperation (Sakyi & Opoku, 2014, p. 15). However, despite having all these initiatives and decades of cooperation, coordination and integration, scholars have noted that numerous obstacles continue to prevail, making it difficult for the regional bloc to achieve successful deeper regional integration. Among the challenges, there is socio-economic disparity, sovereignty, multi-memberships, the restriction on the mobility of factors, migrants included and many others but only to state a few (Sakyi & Opoku, 2014, p. 15).

6.3.1 Restricted mobility of factors

There exists a long history of bureaucracy, which is characterized by corruption, lack of willingness and bribery, in the moving of goods and services, capital and people in general in the region. SADC as a region has a drafted Protocol on Free Movement of People, however from its inception as an idea in 1993 till date, the protocol has not been ratified (Williams, 2016, p. 63). Migration with reference to intra-SADC migration has been described as a cross-cutting phenomenon and also the steps taken by national elites to relax, or completely eliminate, rigid visa and border requirements bears testimony to the importance of creating not only a transnational community of citizens but also of other factors (Fagbayibo, 2015, p. 5). Adepajo (2001, p. 52) argues that the absence of a convertibility scheme for currency in the region, hinder financial settlement and harmonization of macro-economic procedures and policies. An effectively implemented framework in areas which affect the free mobility of factors has been identified as a key indicator to show the depth of regional integration efforts and process. But as a result of restrictive measures in the movement of goods and services, the deepening of the region in terms of its integration process is then greatly affected (Sakyi & Opoku, 2014, p. 16).

6.3.2 Multi-membership of regional member states

In addition to the above, another challenge to the deepening of SADC integration is the participation and belonging to more than one organization. At times these multi-memberships have conflicting and overlapping objectives and mostly this leads to duplication of programmes and procedures (Sakyi & Opoku, 2014, p. 16). Concurring to the mentioned point (Qobo, 2007, p. 4), argues that the slow process in the integration process of SADC is attributed to the complexities caused by multiple regional integration schemes and overlapping membership, as they not only create confusion, duplication and competition but also constitute a burden to SADC taxpayers. According to Tanyanyiwa and Hakuna (2014, p. 111), multiple memberships has become a disease which has negative connotations towards the feasibility of an integrated SADC. An example is the case of Swaziland which belongs to 3 regional blocs thus COMESA, SACU and SADC, Tanzania is belonging to EAC and SADC, eight SADC members also belong to COMESA. With such multiple memberships, problems of divided loyalty and economic orientation are faced, and this needs to be cleared so as to have an intensive integration process (Peters-Berries, 2007, p. 65). In the same vein Adepoju (2001, p. 51) attests that there is little doubt that institutional arrangement and overlapping membership have constrained integration efforts. The authors further on saying in Africa members of SADC, COMESA AND ECOWAS belong to more than one organization, and often have complex aims, ideologies and purposes, and as at times are dominated by the politics and economies of a single dominant country for example in SADC there is South Africa and Botswana which dominate in decision making. However, although the overlapping of membership is said to cause a “spaghetti bowl”, it is nonetheless, welcomes especially given the considerable overlap in membership, function, activities, aims and objectives (Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2013, p. 44).

6.3.4 Sovereignty, poor economic and political governance

Given the history of SADC formation, the regional bloc was built on the idea of state sovereignty and upholding its member states national interest. Sovereignty has been described as the most important stumbling block, viewed as the sacrosanct by national elites, holding back integration in SADC (Kanhutu, 2013, p. 27). Citing Souare, Malindisa (2017, p. 35) argues that the use of regional institutions and regional integration are essentially about regional states relinquishing part of their independence to a supranational body. However, in the case of SADC and the rest of the world national elites find it challenging to cede some of their authority to supranational bodies who at the end will be giving directive and order. According to Qobo (2007, p. 8), it is through the convergence of power that integration

principles can gather pace. In so doing the author deliberate that the departure from the current negative paradigm of sovereignty which is state-centric, to a more willing positive expression of sovereignty which is people-centred among other things will promote and permeate integration and development (Qobo, 2007, p. 8). Integration, as entailed by the RISDP, the SADC Treaty and the theory which formulate this study entails that SADC member states are directed to relinquish their power as some political and economic decision process, must be made by a supranational body. This process is not new, given that the criteria used as a yardstick to measure SADC integration process is that of the European integration, member states of the EU gave in some of their power to the EU hence it is described as the most advanced on in terms of its integration in contemporary world (Tanyanyiwa & Hakuna, 2014, p. 111). This is something SADC member states are not yet eager to do given unwillingness to share the burden of intra-SADC migration, and this present as a challenge to the integration process of SADC (Maunganidze & Formica, 2018, p. 9).

Rising from above, the regional bloc continues to face difficulties caused by poor political and economic governance. Given much of its talk, with little action in terms of its overall objective of growth, economic development through integration and cooperation, and poverty eradication, the regional bloc has dismally failed (Chingono & Nakana, 2009, p. 405). The region's respective member states continue to suffer from political unrest and economic downturn which is attributed to high levels corruption and mismanagement of state resources by government top official. The effects are then felt as poverty and unemployment skyrocket especially in countries like DRC and Zimbabwe. According to Wachira (2018), the irregularities in terms of SADC member states economies and levels of political and social advancement pose a threat to the hasty of SADC integration. Economically developed states such as Botswana, Namibia and South Africa are fearful of "free riders" and as such in many respects end up putting stringent laws to protect their borders and at times pursue national interest as opposed going for the common goal of shared effort and commitment. An example is when South African signed a deal with the EU called the TDCA, without confirming with other member states (Saurombe, 2011, p. 178).

6.4 Conclusion- Reflection

The most crucial point from this chapter is that both intra-regional migration and regional integration process are forging ahead to the deepening of the regional bloc but are met will numerous and very potent challenges. Amongst them, all sovereignty and political will stand to embrace all else as the region foundation is based on political independence (Kanhutu, 2013,

p. 30). These challenges as mentioned elsewhere should inform SADC member states policymakers on how intra-SADC free movement and integration can be elaborated and facilitated. The SADC region as a bloc should enforce countries to formulate and amend national policies to be in line with the overall common goal of creating an integrated SADC which is people-centred as opposed to the current which is elite centred (Kalaba, et al., 2012, p. 122). It is also from the challenges that SADC should priorities its objectives as they continue to rise instead of diminishing, hence the continuance misery of its people. Campaigns must be done which speaks to progress being the presupposition of improvement in political, social and economic governance, and assure the benefits with which the two concepts can contribute in the whole regional bloc (Chingono & Nakana, 2009, p. 407). The following chapter concludes the study.

Chapter 7: Conclusion of the Study

7.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter managed to outline the challenges to both regional integration and intra-regional migration with focus on the Drafted protocol of FMP. In this final chapter of the research paper a summation and analysis of the findings and recommendations will be presented. Principally, it seeks to address the whole study on the topic: Deepening Regional Integration in the Southern African Development Community (SADC): Intra-Regional Migration as the building force. The purpose of this chapter is to reflect on the research's findings against the main research question coupled with its ancillary questions, and objectives and the theoretical framework. Thereafter, this chapter will also account on the methodological approach espoused in conducting the research. A summary of the findings will be presented followed by a few recommendations to SADC on how the region can better the regional integration process and the free movement of people.

7.2 Reflection on the Theory, Method, Objectives and Research Questions

The primary **goal** is to position intra-regional migration (with reference to the Draft Protocol which aims to Facilitate the movement of people) within SADC regional integration.

The study was guided by the **question**:

“How can SADC improve on deepening its integration process given the numerous factors which continue to hinder the ratification of the Draft Protocol which aims to Facilitate the Movement of People?”

For the question to be answered, the researcher made use of qualitative data, analyzed through desktop research method. Various sources of both primary and secondary sources which include reports, journal articles and many more have been utilized in the process of conducting this research.

The **theory** of transactionalism has been used as an instructive analytical and evaluative framework to demonstrate a synergy between integration and the free movement of people in the region. The theory also helped in explaining the process of integration and it is from this

process that the challenges to integration, which include the unrestricted movement of persons among others were outlined.

7.3 Summary of research findings

The study established that the specificity within SADC is the consistent opposition by SADC member states to the idea of free movement. Countries have openly opposed the principle of “free movement” given the time of its existence as an idea to now being in paper writing as the Draft Protocol, it has failed to suffice as a binding Protocol which manages the movement of people. And amongst the challenges to both free migration and integration, sovereignty and lack of political will stand above high as key challenges among others. Countries in the SADC region are very sceptical to the idea given the level of priority assigned to migration in the region and also because there is no trust between them (Segatti, 2017, p. 62). It is through the mutual political resolve of respective governments that free movement can become a reality and more broadly deeper regional integration.

The free movement of people is a cross-cutting phenomenon, and this is evidenced by it mentioned in several SADC protocol as they speak to the idea of relaxing laws which hinder the free movement of persons. The free movement of people in that respect can be described as the driver, agent, carrier and end consumer for regional development, growth and integration (Wachira, 2018, p. 11). Given the continuity of hardships in the areas of economy and politics in SADC countries, the movement of people whether legal or illegal and skilled or unskilled through legal or illegal means will continue, hence the need for the region to ratify and enforce the Protocol which aims to Facilitation Movement of People.

Given the involvement of SADC in regional, continental and global initiatives on migration, free movement stands a chance for life. More so, the region realizing properly, the free movement of people will help boost the SADC identity, promote and protect political, social, economic, cultural and material rights of people and deepen social integration. It is also the free movement of people, that the aspirations of AU Agenda 2063 of an integrated Africa, can become a reality.

The challenges identified in the research are something not new, they have been there and continue to prevail today. This clearly shows that regional bloc National elites who hold the power to transform them are still pursuing a “top-down approach” as opposed to a “bottom-up approach” which is people-centred to score political gains as indicated in the research (Hartzenberg & Kalenga, 2015). It is a good thing that the same challenges are still the one

which continues to hinder free movement and integration, policymakers must make use of the challenges, to be pointers to correct them.

By adopting transactionalism as a yardstick for regional integration effort, the free movement of people will not impose multinational sovereignty over any State for the level control will be ceded voluntarily and mutually agreed, and able to be rescinded by any participating States. Although the SADC is a bloc party to several continental and global instruments a lot of advocacy must be done. The region has fallen short in translating regional prerogatives of common and collective interest to be adapted and domesticated into member states domestic laws, hence it has become difficult for the region to have a migration binding framework and deeper integrated region.

7.4 Futures areas of Scholarly inquiry

Further investigation into the phenomenon of free movement and broadly regional integration continue to be necessary for the growth, development and integration of SADC (Fagbayibo, 2015). There is a significant gap that exists within scholarly studies and research to express the synergy between free movement and regional integration (Mudungwe, 2015). Gathering from my review of literature on regional integration and free movement, there seem to be disjointed researches on the subject matter. This is reflective in the body of literature, which appears to have been conducted from diverse methodological and scholarly perspectives. The majority streams of literature approach migration and integration from an economist or rather labour migration lens (Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2014), whilst some approach the phenomenon from a political and social lens (Peters-Berries, 2007). As a result, the existing literature fails to adopt a holistic approach to examine how these themes intersect. Further research which combines these two cognate concepts is needed to better ascertain that there is a synergy between intra-regional migration (with reference to the free movement of people) and regional integration.

With regional integration described as a means and not an end process in itself, with a lot of elements and requisite such as common passport, free mobility of regional citizens, transactions, commutations and many other, it is imperative for researcher to investigate appropriate migration and integration policies within the context of SADC and Africa as a whole (Hartzenberg & Kalenga, 2015).

Further investigation is needed in relation to how free movement and more broadly regional integration is conceptualized in SADC (Segatti, 2017, p. 64). SADC as a region conceptualizes integration and free movement in the manner of the European Union and Schengen framework.

However they fail to see that the concepts are distinct in that the EU and Schengen plan speaks more to economic development and the latter being more of a foreign migration tool, yet in SADC the cooperation a venture of politics and economics and the free movement being an agreement solely for the unrestrictive movement of regional citizens (Wachira, 2018, p. 26). In this regard research must be conducted to point out this distinctness so that the SADC region can formulate a framework on free movement which relates region, taking into cognisance the difference in political, societal and economic development which then translate to differences in the use and implementation of free movement and regional integration.

7.5 Conclusion and Recommendations

Although participating in migration initiatives, the region without a coordinated, continuity and coherent migration framework, is still far from being an integrated region (Fagbayibo, 2015, p. 18). In terms of free movement and integration as expressed in SADC statements, the region is failing to match its theoretical efforts to become practical efforts to attain the desired level of regional integration. The slow ratification process of the Draft Protocol FMP is indicative of the lack of political will and the region national elites clinging to power in the name of sovereignty. This also continues to militate against the realization of an effective migration framework among other factors as outlined in the study.

The study also concluded that the governance of migration and free movement of people in SADC is largely informed by a security perspective, which is shaped by the concepts of free mobility as a threat and a symptom of crisis, and oriented towards increasing control and exclusion (Landau, et al., 2018, pp. v-vi). This explains why migration at the State level has remained ad hoc and not formalized in a specific policy framework. In such context, it is therefore comprehensible as to why Southern African Development Community has not yet succeeded in setting up a regional system of free movement because the favoured mode of interaction between nationals on migration issues remains to be of bilateral agreements, with all the power imbalances and constraints that this implies to effectively protect migrants while promoting regional integration.

An important point to note is that regional integration and the free movement of people must be projected in the format of a team, by so doing those economic, political and social impairs can be used as pointers to challenge the obstacles rather being used as a point of weaknesses. Migration laws and policies should be much more than fighting irregular flows and tightening of border controls but rather be fashioned as a means of identifying long-term interests based

on the recognition of mutual benefits to both sending and receiving countries (Ngandwe, 2013, p. 435). It is through the adoption of a people-centred approach that the free movement and deepening regional integration process can become a reality. This can be done by domestic laws and policies incorporating the SADC common and collective objective as stated in article 5 of the SADC Treaty (Mudungwe, 2015, pp. 13-14). Once domestic laws are in harmony with the objectives, vision and aims of the SADC Treaty together with those of the Drafted Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement, the central question of this study will automatically fall away, as there will be synergy in policy and legislation at the national level and regional level.

Overall, based on the research presentation, the researcher argues for the free movement of persons in the SADC region, and indeed member states should ratify the Drafted Protocol for the benefit of the region. The research provides an advocacy strategy for policymakers and civil society groups in different SADC countries to urge their authorities to ratify the SADC protocol on the Facilitation of Free Movement of People especially those countries which have not yet ratified.

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