REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: STRENGTHENING PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE IN SADC

Cape Town, South Africa

Date of publication: March 2018

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Introduction

The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town, South Africa, hosted a policy advisory group seminar at the Southern Sun Newlands Hotel in Cape Town, on 17 February 2018, on the theme “Regional Integration in Southern Africa: Strengthening Participatory Governance in the Southern African Development Community (SADC)”.

The meeting was the second in a series, hosted by CCR in collaboration with the Botswana-based Strengthening the National-Regional Linkages in SADC (SNRL) Programme – a partnership between SADC and the German government, funded by the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and implemented by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH. The first seminar, held on 15-16 May 2017 in Cape Town, sought to assess the challenges and prospects of regional integration in Southern Africa; and to identify strategies for strengthening the capacity of national actors to implement SADC protocols and policies. A major observation made at the meeting was that the active participation of diverse non-state and sub-state actors is vital for successful implementation of the SADC regional integration agenda.1 Bringing together about 30 critical role-players, including the SADC Secretariat, the February 2018 seminar thus sought to address in-depth the lack of participation in, and ownership of, the Community and regional integration processes among key stakeholders such as parliaments, civil society, tertiary and research institutions, the private sector, and the media. This policy brief is based on discussions at the meeting and the seminar concept paper.2

The principle of subsidiarity that underpins SADC regional integration processes places the burden of policy implementation on national institutions, with the SADC Secretariat bearing the main responsibility for policy development, harmonisation, and monitoring, as well as project management and coordination. However, implementation of SADC policies and strategies at the national level has often been piecemeal and uncoordinated, with only a few of the Community’s more than 30 protocols, policies, and declarations having been effectively implemented and integrated into national policies so far.3

To a significant degree, this implementation gap is a result of the weaknesses of regional and national institutions, and the weaknesses of linkages between them. For example, the SADC Secretariat lacks sufficient authority and capacity to carry out its mandate effectively. Though it is expected to put into effect the SADC Summit’s decisions, it does not have the authority to enforce compliance with regional processes, policies, and plans.4 The Secretariat also lacks adequate operational capacities and resources to support effectively the domestication of regional processes through national structures such as SADC National Committees (SNCs).

2 The concept paper was written by Dr Fritz Nganje, Lecturer in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa.
Compounding the implementation challenge is a weak culture of participatory governance in Southern Africa. Despite vibrant civil society and private sectors in many parts of the region, democratic participation in SADC processes has been lacking, particularly in the context of the generally weak and ineffective SNCs. This absence of broad-based participation has two major implications. First, there is little public awareness and understanding of SADC and its activities, or of the potential benefits of regional integration. The result is a lack of buy-in and ownership of the regional integration agenda among national stakeholders, leading in turn to a lack of interest in SADC. Second, the Community has not been able to benefit fully from the valuable resources and capacities of key non-state actors such as civil society organisations, think tanks and research institutions, the private sector, and the media.

1. Strengthening Participatory Regional Integration in SADC

The SADC Treaty of 1992 recognises non-state actors as important partners in the implementation of SADC programmes and projects. Over the years, the SADC Secretariat has sought to engage non-state actors in various ways, consulting with them on issues related to policy development, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. Memoranda of understanding (MoUs) have been signed with several apex organisations, such as the SADC Council of Non-Governmental Organisations (SADC-CNGO) and the Association of SADC Chambers of Commerce and Industry (ASCCI), for cooperation in pursuit of common regional goals. But this engagement with civil society and private sectors has been largely ad hoc in nature. There are no formal processes or spaces for systematic interaction between SADC and non-state actors, limiting the influence that the latter can have on regional policy processes.

The SADC Secretariat has sought to establish a new Mechanism for Engagement with Non-State Actors (including a draft policy and code of conduct), which is currently being refined and is expected to be approved in August 2018. In this context, it is vital for not only the Secretariat, but also civil society apex groups and stakeholders, to be attuned to the diversity of regional civil society; and to be mindful of identifying groups that can be considered genuinely representative of, and effective in representing, the sector. There is some concern too that a uniform, regional framework may not take adequate account of the specificities of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in terms of their wide range of capacities, structures, and missions. There may thus be a need to demarcate expertise among civil society groups, though any such endeavour must take into account the fact that many NGOs are not single-issue-based, but possess expertise across a wide range of areas.

Given the absence of a formal role for civil society in SADC processes, the SADC Secretariat serves as a gatekeeper in terms of channelling NGO contributions into the regional organisation’s deliberations and activities, and has

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been perceived by some as impeding such access. Notwithstanding the Secretariat’s efforts to establish clearer lines of communication and influence for non-state actors, non-state groups, including civil society and the private sector, must continue with their own independent ways of seeking to influence the regional body.

Moreover, civil society, in its rawest form, comprises the millions of decisions being taken daily by Southern Africa’s 281 million citizens. Protocols and policies may facilitate or frustrate those decisions, but they do not, in and of themselves, necessarily create new realities on the ground. This only serves further to highlight the need for greater awareness among SADC citizens of the ways in which regional frameworks shape – in actuality and potential – their daily lives. In this regard, the specificities of member states’ material conditions and realities also need to be recognised in terms of the difficulties of promoting SADC and implementing its protocols at the national level.

SADC National Committees are intended to play a critical role in mobilising national support for, and facilitating the implementation of, regional initiatives. But many member states have been either unwilling or unable to maintain functional SNCs, resulting in major implementation challenges. These include weak alignment between national development plans and the regional development framework; low levels of domestication of regional policies and protocols; and weakness of member-state compliance with regional commitments.7 It is thus vital for SNCs to be made fully functional. Key tasks that they should be performing include coordinating national-level stakeholder inputs into SADC’s strategic planning, including the post-2020 Regional Integration Agenda; initiating projects and issuing papers in support of the SADC common agenda; facilitating communication between member states and the Secretariat, and promoting SADC’s work; and submitting regular reports to the Secretariat. There are ongoing efforts by the Secretariat to strengthen its ability to coordinate and support national implementation structures, but the process has been painfully slow.

2. The Role of the SADC Parliamentary Forum, National Parliaments, and Civil Society

Established in 1997, the SADC Parliamentary Forum (SADC-PF) aims to bring together national parliaments and parliamentarians, with a view to supporting regional integration processes in Southern Africa. But it is an inter-parliamentary institution with only deliberative and consultative powers, rather than a fully functioning regional parliament. Regional blocs in Eastern and West Africa have evolved differently, as is evident in the existence of the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Parliament; and have been more effective in their regional integration efforts. For some, this is attributable, in part, to the role played by their regional parliaments. The lack of a SADC parliament is also an anomaly in the context of the Pan-African Parliament (PAP). There is a contrary view, though, that with the exception of the EALA, regional parliamentary bodies in Africa have not played a meaningful role in regional integration, mainly because they are devoid of any legislative or oversight powers.8

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7 SADC, Revised Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan 2015-2020, ch. 5.
Notwithstanding its weaknesses, the Namibia-based SADC-PF has made contributions to regional integration in Southern Africa in a wide range of areas, including democratic governance; elections and electoral reforms; gender equality; and conflict resolution, as well as in strengthening the capacity of SADC by involving parliamentarians in its affairs. However, the SADC-PF could achieve more if it were transformed into a full-fledged regional legislature. To this end, it has lobbied widely at the national and regional levels. The work of the Forum and the establishment of a regional parliament are crucial to addressing issues of competition among Southern African domestic interests and regional agendas. Periodic elections for a SADC governing body may also create a more accountable organisation. However, these efforts face deep-seated systemic impediments, including a lack of political will on the part of Southern African heads of state and government.

Against this backdrop, national parliaments need to play a stronger role in driving the regional integration agenda. Protocols and agreements are at times drafted and agreed by Southern African leaders without full cognisance of their contents by either populations or the relevant stakeholders. As a result, many of these instruments end up not being domesticated or implemented. Parliamentary oversight is thus crucial to ensuring accountability for the formulation and implementation of various SADC instruments and protocols.

Based on the principle of subsidiarity, civil society organisations also can support SADC National Committees by seeking regional impact through their national and local operations; and intercede in overlapping national and regional spaces for greater impact on the direction of regional integration. However, civil society groups are under-capacitated in the area of policy development. It can also be difficult for them to create effective umbrella groups. The Botswana Council of NGOs, for example, has thus focused on capacity-building among its members. In addition, civil society should consider adopting an issue-based approach to producing national recommendations that can feed into SADC’s decision-making, rather than a structure-based approach (given the disparate structures within the sector, ranging from formal organisations with sophisticated internal mechanisms to loose networks). The work of the Botswana Council of NGOs in relation to SADC, for instance, has focused on the implementation and domestication of international and regional protocols – such as on gender – and the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

For its part, SADC could consider providing support for the development of regulatory and financial frameworks for civil society in its member states. Furthermore, the Community, through its Secretariat, has tended to prioritise widely recognised and established organisations when coordinating with civil society, but needs to make greater efforts to engage with the more diffuse social movements and networks that are becoming increasingly important voices in expressing the interests and demands of citizens. There is a need as well to ease access to information about regional priorities and activities, and foster greater responsiveness and accountability among SADC officials about key decisions.
Finally, it is worth noting that perceptions of SADC’s commitment to human rights have suffered, particularly since it disbanded its Tribunal in 2012, before re-forming it in 2013 in denial of the right of access to courts by individual citizens. There is a sense that SADC prioritises unity over room for disagreement, which is perceived by some as impeding its mission to support human rights. Also, the regional body’s position on protest and freedom of expression in its member states has often appeared ambivalent. In this regard, it is important to note that SADC is a creation of its member states and, as such, reflects their respective levels of commitment to cede sovereignty and offer policy space. Some SADC instruments are rules-based, but many are little more than best-effort arrangements.

3. Towards More People-Centred and Inclusive Implementation of Regional Integration

The Private Sector

As both a driver and a beneficiary of regional economic integration, the private sector has a crucial role to play not only in mobilising resources and expertise for priority initiatives, but also in identifying barriers and bottlenecks that undermine regional economic growth. At the national level, businesses have been willing to drive the integration agenda in the self-interested pursuit of economic profits. However, the private sector can also be an obstacle to achieving the goals of developmental regionalism when strong business lobby groups, for example, choose to prioritise particular policy outcomes based on narrow profit motives over those that promote the common regional good.

At the regional level, the sector’s interaction with the SADC Secretariat has historically been somewhat of an afterthought, though there are successful examples of large companies and industry associations that have engaged with, and exerted influence on, SADC policy processes. This includes the role played, for example, by the SADC Banking Association in the creation of the SADC Integrated Regional Electronic Settlement System (SIRESS). It is important, however, to distinguish between “big business” and small-to-medium enterprises (SMEs). Large companies have tended not to be overly concerned with regional integration issues, except when operations are affected, such as by border delays for the transport of goods and non-compliance of products with quality standards. Business associations, on the other hand, have been more involved, and their capacity needs to be built as key enablers of economic development. The extent of private sector engagement in regional integration further depends on member-state governments viewing business as an important and equal partner in a shared endeavour.

The SADC Secretariat has recently commissioned the Southern Africa Trust to conduct a study to inform the development of a SADC Mechanism for Engagement with the Private Sector. This is important as SADC’s Industrialisation Strategy and Roadmap 2015–2063 underscores the critical role of the private sector as a key driver of industrialisation in the region. There is, however, some scepticism within the private sector about the initiative.

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Civil Society and Tertiary Institutions

Several regional civil society groups such as the SADC Council of NGOs and the Southern African People’s Solidarity Network (SAPSN) have engaged the SADC Secretariat and attempted to influence SADC policies and regional integration, albeit with mixed results. In particular, the absence of a framework for structured engagement and a failure proactively to provide civil society organisations with relevant information and feedback on regional integration initiatives have undermined the sector’s influence. The proposed SADC Mechanism for Engagement with Non-State Actors is a belated, but important, step in the right direction. Even so, some civil society organisations are sceptical of the initiative, which they believe is a product of a closed, elitist consultative process that has excluded grassroots civil society. However, spaces and opportunities exist for civil society groups to undertake strategic policy monitoring and advocacy activities that can help effect institutional change and promote more inclusive governance.

Civil society organisations could collaborate more among themselves, with a view to coordinating citizen action across local, national, and regional levels to increase awareness of regional integration and to promote more transparent, participatory, and accountable regional integration in Southern Africa.

The Southern African region boasts many reputable academic and research institutions, with expertise on wide-ranging issues relevant to the SADC regional integration agenda, including trade; industrialisation; governance; and peace and security. The SADC Secretariat engages with, and makes use of the services of, many of these think tanks and research centres, albeit on an individual, ad hoc basis. There are currently no formal mechanisms through which these institutions can engage with, and influence, SADC policy development processes. In 2011, the Secretariat initiated the SADC Policy Analysis and Dialogue Programme. An inaugural SADC Think Tank Conference on Regional Integration was held in 2012. More recently, in 2017, the Secretariat convened universities, research institutions, and think tanks from all member states as part of the process of formulating the post-2020 SADC Regional Integration Agenda. But the actual impact of these engagements on SADC policy processes remains unclear, as does the commitment of SADC member states to accord research institutions a key role in regional integration processes.

The Media

SADC has since its inception recognised the need to communicate its objectives, achievements, and plans to the regional public in an effective and coherent manner. However, there are important gaps that call for innovation and improvement in the Community’s communication strategies and tools, with a view to increasing awareness of its activities and creating a more positive image of SADC and its regional integration agenda in the minds of the regional public and other stakeholders.

The SADC website is a crucial means for stakeholders to have access to correct and relevant information on the Community, yet the information on it is neither comprehensive nor always up-to-date. Although SADC meetings are held in all three working languages of the Community – English, French, and Portuguese – the website and the SADC Secretariat newsletter are unavailable in Portuguese and French. Furthermore, available information about SADC, its nature, and its functions is often couched in inaccessible legalese or highly technical language. These are

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key issues that need to be addressed to help counter negative perceptions of SADC as a regional organisation with an undemocratic lack of concern for its citizens and wariness of sharing information to promote greater public accountability.

Equally important is the need for SADC to show the relevance of its initiatives, such as the beneficial impacts of one-stop border posts. Promotion of SADC in this manner is a key task of the Secretariat at the regional level and SADC National Media Coordinators at the country level, though they exercise this responsibility with varying degrees of commitment. In addition, the chair of the SADC National Media Coordinators changes with the rotation of the SADC chair, generating a relative lack of continuity that could be viewed as impeding the implementation of a coherent, multi-year communications strategy at the highest level within the organisation.

Positive initiatives include the publication of monthly SADC newsletters and the SADC Media Awards, covering print, radio, television, and photojournalism, with winners announced at the annual SADC Summit of Heads of State and Government. There is an outstanding need, though, to foster a stronger understanding of the Community and its regional integration agenda among the media; and support the development of a regional network of journalists specialising on SADC.

Another key initiative is the provision of a television channel in each member state for the broadcast of SADC news, with a view to creating greater popular intra-regional awareness of key socio-economic issues among SADC countries. Notably, in Zambia, a governance communications programme has been established, under which listener groups congregate around radios distributed by the government every Thursday, with someone taking notes and reporting back on the issues raised – a potential model of interest to other countries seeking to promote greater public awareness of the regional integration agenda. Mention has to be made, though, of a fundamental disrespect for governance and transparency among some national governments, making it vital for civil society groups – including the media – also to coordinate regionally in campaigns to promote freedom-of-information legislation and its implementation.

4. Popularising SADC

The Revised SADC Communications and Promotional Strategy 2016–2020 aims to improve the way SADC communicates its agenda and to make its achievements more visible. To that end, it seeks to foster strong and meaningful collaboration between the Secretariat’s Communication and Public Relations Unit, and SADC National Media Coordinators; and to focus implementation efforts in eight key result areas. These include dissemination of SADC information; education on SADC; strengthening of SADC Secretariat relationships with the media; improving the capacity of the media to report on SADC; enhancing the image of the SADC brand; fostering partnerships with the corporate world in the profiling of SADC and its projects; mobilising resources to communicate SADC programmes; and increasing SADC’s online and social media presence.

Effective implementation in these areas depends, however, on the vigour, resources, and political will of Southern African governments. South Africa’s Government Communication and Information System (GCIS), for example, actively distributes the Community’s monthly newsletters and SADC Success Stories to relevant stakeholders and at all SADC events. The latter publication serves as a tool to counter the negative narrative around SADC, while increasing the visibility of its activities and informing SADC citizens on the achievements and benefits of regional integration.

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SADC citizens on the achievements and benefits of regional integration. The GCIS also maintains a database of SADC information and regularly distributes material to media representatives to promote well-informed and incisive reporting on regional integration issues. It has further sought to play an important role in popularising the work of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence, and Security Cooperation, and helped communicate information about the SADC facilitation process in Lesotho as well as the regional body’s stance on the transition in Zimbabwe. Meanwhile, the South African Department of Education has integrated a SADC study curriculum into its history syllabus and has promoted a SADC essay competition in schools and through the media.

Civic education organisations, too, have a crucial role to play in broadening understanding of, and participation in, SADC’s regional integration efforts. For example, the Malawi-based National Initiative for Civic Education (NICE) has incorporated regional issues in its national civic education programme, forging partnerships with the media to bring greater visibility to SADC at the local level. NICE’s success in this area owes a great deal to its grassroots outreach, as well as efforts to improve its own understanding and knowledge of the regional integration agenda. NICE has built alliances with a variety of stakeholders, including community service organisations, advocacy groups, local government officials, artists and musicians, and community radio stations, to raise national awareness about SADC and the potential socio-economic benefits of regional integration. This has enabled Malawian citizens to demand greater accountability and transparency from their government about the adoption and implementation of SADC protocols and policies. As a result, the Malawian government has identified a need to train civil servants to improve its delivery on SADC commitments.

Policy Recommendations

The following 15 key policy recommendations emerged from the Cape Town seminar:

Private Sector

1. The private sector should be more involved in the development of key regional policies and programmes, such as the SADC Industrialisation Strategy and Roadmap 2015–2063, from the outset. More practical, relevant information also needs to be made available on SADC’s plans and activities, to enable the effective participation of business in regional economic integration.

2. It is vital that SADC member states and other stakeholders provide sustainable funding for the regional organisation, so that critical initiatives – such as the use of technology that can facilitate more effective collection of data on membership fees – can be sustained after donor support ends.

3. SADC should adopt best practices from other regional private sector engagement forums, such as the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) Business Council and the East African Business Council, and establish a similar SADC business council.

4. National platforms for public-private dialogue, including SADC National Committees, need to be encouraged and supported to enable more effective engagement by businesses and industry associations on regional integration issues.

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Civil Society

5. Civil society apex organisations sceptical of the proposed SADC Mechanism for Engagement with Non-State Actors should request time and opportunity for more consultation in the revision process with a wider group of stakeholders.

6. Civil society should consider adopting an issue-based approach to producing recommendations at the national level first that can then feed into regional decision-making. For its part, SADC needs to make greater efforts to engage with the more diffuse social movements and networks of interest that are becoming increasingly important voices in expressing the interests and demands of citizens.

7. Civil society should push for the domestication of SADC Day, so that it is more meaningfully celebrated annually on 17 August in member states, and promote use of the SADC anthem to enhance awareness of the Community. Civic education organisations should further strive to enhance their own understanding of the SADC regional integration agenda, mainstream it into their daily work, and collaborate with the media to widen public awareness of this agenda.

Tertiary and Research Institutions

8. Leading Southern African research institutions should establish a SADC Universities and Research Forum to serve as a formal mechanism for channelling their contribution to regional integration and development, particularly through research that supports evidence-based regional decision-making and advocacy-based activism.

9. Southern African universities should establish physical or virtual Regional Integration Centres of Excellence in key performance areas such as research and knowledge production; education and training; information brokerage; networking; and the provision of services, in support of the SADC regional integration agenda.

10. Southern African universities should craft and implement student and faculty exchange programmes to drive the people-to-people dimension of regional integration.

11. Southern African researchers could make a vital contribution to closing the implementation gap of the SADC regional integration agenda by developing and supporting systems to track the signing, ratification, and implementation of the Community’s numerous protocols.
Media

12. It is important for the SADC Secretariat and SADC National Media Coordinators to communicate information about the regional organisation’s functions and operations, as well as the case for regional integration, in more accessible ways including through the use of local languages and popular local formats such as community radio programmes. Furthermore, relevant, correct, and up-to-date information on SADC in all three working languages of the Community – English but also French and Portuguese – should be made available on a continuously updated website.

13. Greater and sounder understanding of SADC and its regional integration agenda needs to be fostered in the media, for wider, more informed, and balanced reporting of the Community’s initiatives. Towards that end, SADC must consider building on existing initiatives, such as its media awards, and scale up the training of journalists, for example through strengthening the capacity of regional and national training institutions for media practitioners to incorporate regional integration issues into their training curricula; and through formats for journalists to share expertise and encourage networking.

Parliaments

14. National parliaments in Southern Africa should coordinate their efforts to transform the SADC Parliamentary Forum into a fully functioning regional parliament.

15. There is a need for greater engagement between national parliaments and civil society, as well as private sector actors, in support of more effective, developmental regionalism and strengthened participatory governance in SADC. Civil society organisations, in particular, should actively engage parliamentary portfolio committees, with a view to ensuring the domestication of SADC protocols and the accountability of executives for implementation of the regional integration agenda, including through effective, functioning SADC National Committees.