



NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM

**THE ROLE OF NGOS AND MNCS IN
GLOBALISATION: A SADC PERSPECTIVE**

RODRICK CHISALE

MASTER'S THESIS

NICOSIA
2018

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2018

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF NGOS AND MNCS IN GLOBALISATION: A SADC PERSPECTIVE

This study provides a critical discussion of the globalisation process in the SADC region by assuming the dependency theory as the bases. The discussion is in relation to the role of the NGOs and MNCs in the globalisation of the region and their linkage between the developing and the developed world. It is put forward that despite their advocacy of development in the world, it is puzzling that their presence in the SADC region, especially in the last three decades, where calls of globalisation have been noisy than ever, not much headway has been realised in terms of development in the region. The thesis investigates what their role is in the development and consequently globalisation of the SADC region and their part in the continued dependency of the region on the developed world. In what ways are their activities in the region pushing toward the participation of SADC member countries in the international community or regressing it? With this question in mind, the thesis tries to understand if there are contributions being realised from their presence and overally, what challenges the SADC region encounters in realising the phenomenon of globalisation.

Keywords: SADC, Dependency Theory, Globalisation, Regional Integration, Multinational Corporations, Nongovernmental Organisation

OZ

SİVİL TOPLUM KURULUŞLARININ VE ÇOK ULUSLU ŞİRKETLERİN KÜRESELLEŞMEDEKİ ROLÜ: BİR GÜNEY AFRIKA KALKINMA TOPLULUĞU PERPEKTİFİ

Bu çalışma, bağımlılık kuramını temel alarak Güney Afrika Kalkınma Topluluğu (GAKT) bölge ülkelerinin küreselleşme sürecini eleştirel bir yaklaşımla irdelemektedir. Çalışma, sivil toplum kuruluşlarının ve çok uluslu şirketlerin bölgedeki rol ve faaliyetlerini, gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkeler arasındaki bağ çerçevesindeki niteliklerini tartışarak bölgedeki küreselleşme sürecini açıklamayı hedeflemektedir. Tez, bu aktörlerin, özellikle son otuz yıldır küresel kalkınmayı yüksek sesle ifade eden söylem ve savunularına rağmen bölgedeki faaliyet ve varlıklarının bölgenin kalkınmasına çok da fazla katkı koymadığını öne sürmektedir. Tez, belirtilen aktörlerin GAKT bölgesinin kalkınma ve dolayısıyla küreselleşme çabasındaki rollerini ve bölgenin gelişmiş merkeze olan bağımlılığının süregelen niteliğini ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır. Sivil toplum kuruluşlarının ve çok uluslu şirketlerin bölgedeki faaliyetleri GAKT üye ülkelerini uluslararası topluma katılımını ilerletmekte midir yoksa bu hedefte gerilemeye mi neden olmaktadır? Bu soru çerçevesinde tez çalışması, GAKT bölge ülkelerinin küreselleşme fenomeni karşısında sivil toplum kuruluşlarının ve çok uluslu şirketlerin bölgedeki varlığı sebebiyle ne gibi sorunlarla karşılaştığını ve ne gibi katkılar elde ettiğini anlamaya çalışacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: GAKT, Bağımlılık Teorisi, Küreselleşme, Bölgesel Entegrasyon, Çok Uluslu Şirketler, Sivil toplum Kuruluşları

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ABBREVIATIONS

AFDB	African Development Bank
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CCI	Comprehensive Community Initiative
COWSO	Community Owned Water Supply Organisation
CNGO	Council of Non-Governmental Organisations
COMESA	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
EAC	East African Community
ECLA	United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FLS	Frontline States
FTA	Free Trade Area
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GNI	Gross National Income
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDC	Least Developed Country
MNC	Multinational Corporation
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OUA	Organisation for African Unity
OVC	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PDL	Poverty Datum Line
PEPFAR	US President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
REEP	Regional Environmental Education Program
RENAMO	Mozambique National Resistance
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Coordination Conference
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program/Policy
SARDC	Southern African Research and Development Centre
SANAC	South African National Aids Council
WHO	World Health Organisation
WIR	World Investment Report
WESSA	Wildlife and Environmental Society of South Africa
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

INTRODUCTION

Mussa (2003:14) defines globalization as “the increasing interaction among and integration of activities, especially economic activities of human societies around the world”. In highlighting globalization, Ocampo (2010) stated that globalization stood upon three foundations as entailed by the United Nations namely peace and security, human rights and development. These are the foundations upon which international cooperation and integration can be achieved. Therefore, the achievement of globalization and global integration can only be realized if the tenet of peace and security of human beings and communities is guaranteed, and the rights of people are respected. Only then can development and progress thrive. The essential part of globalization is that not many companies or institutions can invest or commit any economic activity or developmental initiative in a region where the security of that venture is not guaranteed, or poor governance is rife. In Africa, in particular, the majority of countries are on record for their disregard of human rights as well as the peace and security of their people and provide an unsecure ground for foreign direct investments (FDI).

Despite dismal records of corruption and poor governance, gross abuse of human rights and stunted pace of development, nongovernmental organizations and multinational corporations have continued to pour their aid and investments in African countries. Lewis (2010: 2) noted that nongovernmental organizations “are now recognized as the key third sector actors on the landscapes of development, human rights, humanitarian action, environment and many areas of public action. From the post 2004 tsunami reconstruction in Indonesia, India, Thailand and Sri Lanka to the Make Poverty History campaign for aid and trade reform and developing country debt cancellation”.

In achieving this third sector actor in the discourse of global governance, Tandon (2008: 322) takes us down the historical path by stressing out that between the years 1970 and 1995, nongovernmental organizations gained “visibility in almost every

country in the world” as “their roles and contributions began to be noticed”. He further noted that as the NGOs were able to receive more and more resources from global institutions, they “began to be part of the UN system and of the Bretton Woods Institutions” and “gained access to the highest level of development decision making in the UN and multilateral system as well as the national policy making institutions”.

As a result of the acquired power and influence by the nongovernmental organizations, Petras (2007) illustrated that as of 2007, there exist at least 50,000 international NGOs in the Third World receiving over USD10 billion in funding from international financial institutions, European and Japanese government agencies and local governments. To note of importance is that despite poor accountability and misuse of these finances within the sectors into which the NGOs pour this aid money in, funding has continued unabated. Looking to Africa, who are one of the major recipients of this financial aid, NGO activity and intervention has continued with the full knowledge that bad governance of resources and corruption unless addressed will continue to hinder these nongovernmental developmental initiatives.

Just like nongovernmental organizations and despite unguaranteed peace and stability, multinational corporations have been active and present in Africa and they have continued to pour in FDI. The major question to this would be why these international multinational corporations continue to invest and pour in resources in Africa against the background of general economic tenets which stipulate that a positive investment can only succeed or yield results in an environment where there is peace and stability of national governments compounded with positive human rights development. In most African nations, where conflict is strife, the surge of multinational corporations into these nations has been high prompting the investigation into what role these multinationals are playing in globalizing these affected regions.

In his paper, “The Role of Multinational Corporations in the Democratic Republic of Congo”, Billy Batware (2011: 3) noted of the Western mining executive who salivated on a geographical map of the eastern Congo by exclaiming that it was all money and of planeloads of international business executives influxing to the country vying for the attention of the then rebel leader, Laurent Kabila. This insight into the activities of these western multinational executives makes one ponder on what role these

organizations play in the globalization of developing countries. Moreover, one thing that can be observed about multinational corporations in Africa is that their continuation of operations in most African countries has done minimum contributions to the global integration of these nation states into the international community, business and economic activities in particular. From the 1960s when most African countries began to attain independence from colonization to present day, not much headway has been realized in terms of globalizing African nations through the activities of multinationals on the continent.

With the turn of the millennium, the determined entrance of the Chinese multinationals in competition with American and European multinationals vying for African business, one tends to think that a broader international platform for African countries on the international stage is being created. However, this is not the case as evidence shows that a smash, grab, and loot exercise are the strategy of the majority of these multinationals. May (2017), views of this exercise of multinationals by illustrating that especially in Africa, there is insufficient global regulation of the conduct of multinational corporations generally and specifically around taxation, human rights and environmental impact. Therefore, it is easier for these global companies to exploit and oppress the people of the nations they operate in against the stipulations of the United Nations which insist on the upholding of human rights and no to exploitation of labour.

The curious case of this investigation which strives to bring out an analysis of the role nongovernmental organizations and multinational corporations in globalization will also look into the relationship that exist between these two groups of organizations. To the general eye, NGOs and MNCs are two different entities with different agendas. However, an inquisitive eye can establish that nongovernmental and multinational organizations work hand in glove and appraise each other on developments and activities in countries they venture in. Petras (1997) illustrated that NGOs and their leaders “can be conceived as a kind of neo-compradore group”, that does, “not produce any useful commodity but does function to produce services for donor countries mainly trading in domestic poverty for individual perks”. Hence, the activities of these two groups bring us to the question of what exactly their role in is globalizing the developing world. Or, are they agents of dependency perpetuating the syndrome on the continent?

The above assertions are supported by Sutphin (2010) who highlighted of Holmen as saying that the “current strategy for development in sub-Saharan Africa is that of inhibiting true economic progress” by stressing “that aid cancellation, debt forgiveness and opening western markets for African producers will create a more enabling environment for the development of domestic resources”. Therefore, how can Africa be integrated into the international community if the relationship is asymmetrical where one region benefits at the expense of the other. How is it possible that NGOs and MNCs can champion globalization in developing countries when their policies and strategies towards these countries virtually block all ways of engagement and integration and are aligned to the sustenance of dependency of the continent on the developed world?

This study however is geared on investigating the role of NGOs and MNCs in the globalization of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. The research will investigate programs and initiatives on the ground by the two groups of organizations to try and evaluate what is the main mission of these organizations in the SADC region. A previously highlighted scholar, Billy Batware (2011) wrote on the role of multinational corporations in SADC when he researched on his study, “The Role of Multinational Corporations in the Democratic Republic of Congo”. His paper, however concentrated specifically on the mineral exploitation of the Democratic Republic of Congo and how multinationals are perpetrating the continuation of conflict in the country for their profitable gain. He also noted of how interests of these corporations are more valuable to them than the life of human beings. Furthermore, he highlighted of a 2001 UN Commission Report which named 85 multinationals for having, “violated international standards of good corporate behaviour including the standards set out in the guidelines for the ethical behaviour of multinationals established by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)”.

In my research I will explore more beyond the role of multinationals in the issues of minerals and their excavation. I will look into what role multinationals are playing in either monopolizing or opening markets for SADC countries. Are they implementing or advocating policies favourable also to the regional producer to compete, engage and integrate on the international arena? What programs are put in place by these companies for the development of communities they operate in? I will investigate

these assertions amongst others in the broader context of SADC countries vis-à-vis multinationals and their role in globalizing the region with a critical outlook on globalization by taking the dependency approach as the basis of the argument, bearing in mind that the region is one of the most underdeveloped in the world.

Furthermore, a scholar, Jorn Kleinert wrote a paper in 2001 titled “The Role of Multinational Enterprises in Globalization: An Empirical View”. He investigated on how multinational corporations have been facilitating economic globalization and integration. Kleinert viewed in 2001 that over the last 15 years, the process of economic integration had accelerated and all the three main channels of economic globalization namely “trade, foreign direct investment (FDI) and international transfer of knowledge and technology”, had developed dynamically. In agreement with him and his view, I would also like to further explore how foreign direct investments, trade, transfer of knowledge and technology have impacted (this evidenced with how the region has made strides in development) on the SADC region. And how has SADC benefited from these three phenomena brought on by multinational corporations?

Furthermore, James Petras, in 1999, wrote an article in the Journal of Contemporary Asia in which he attacked nongovernmental organizations as a vehicle for upward mobility for the ambitions of the educated classes. He criticized NGOs as not ‘nongovernmental’ because he noted that “they receive funds from overseas governments, work as private sub-contractors of local governments and are subsidized by corporate funded private foundations”. Though I agree with him to an extent, it cannot be dismissed that NGOs have also contributed positively to the development of Africa in general. Sally Matthews, lecturer at Rhodes University wrote an article titled “The role of NGOs in Africa: are they a force of good”, in which she highlighted that nongovernmental operations “have become key actors in responding to poverty and related suffering”, and “in Africa NGOs play a leading role in providing health care”. In looking at the SADC region, being one of the major recipients of nongovernmental aid, I will also look at the role of NGOs in globalization beyond the critique of these organizations being in the service of neo-colonialists, fostering dependency and regressive to development. One thing of note to look into will be what SADC is benefiting from these NGOs.

Over and above, from my research, I have witnessed that NGOs and MNCs, though two different groups of organizations are intertwined when it comes to their role in world affairs. As witnessed by Petras (1997), the managers of the biggest NGOs manage million-dollar budgets with salaries and perks that are compatible with chief executive officers. He further that they attend international conferences, discuss with corporate and financial directors, and make policies that affect millions of people. Therefore, my interest in choosing to investigate both the nongovernmental and multinational organizations relationship and their role in SADC globalization, is at the background of this revelation that decisions taken with regards to trade, foreign direct investments, humanitarian initiatives, peace and security, is a collective decision agreed upon by both of these organizations. Thus, their role, whichever way it can be viewed, is intertwined as they work hand in glove especially in the developing world.

Moreover, in the SADC region, it will be folly not to recognize that there are numerous active regional NGOs and MNCs which are also in the midst of this globalization debacle. It will be interesting to find out also what role these regional organizations play in integrating the SADC community in the global community. Regional multinationals such as Impala Platinum Holdings Limited (IMPLATS) have managed to establish mining concessions throughout the region with present-day revenue of 26 billion South African Rand and employing over 50.000 people. NGOs such as the Centre for the Defence of Human Rights and Democracy which is an organization headquartered in South Africa, are active in the region advocating for the right to freedom, freedom of expression and human development. Amongst others, these regional organizations also play a major role in integrating the region into the global community and their contribution, either in the positive or negative, cannot be ignored.

And overallly, a critical outlook to the dispensation of globalisation by NGOs and MNCs in the SADC region will be evaluated in this paper. As pointed out earlier that globalisation can only be realised if the tenets of peace/security, upholdment of human rights and human development is respected, the role of NGOs and MNCs in the globalisation of the of the SADC region will be investigated in light of these organisations' quest to continue the perpetuation of dependency of the region on the developed world, through their conspicuous bias towards the advocacy of the stated characteristics in the SADC community. Particularly, international MNCs operations

in the region, a study of how their trade and investment have largely hindered the growth and development of the region will be stressed out. Also, how the asymmetrical relationship in business conduct has enabled these organisations to foster the phenomenon of dependency in the SADC region largely through the incapacitation of strides towards development of the region's general populace. Hence, a critical analysis of how dependency has evolved through the use of these organisations that inhibit the development and consequently the globalisation of the region is the cornerstone of this study.

This study took a critical position on globalization in the SADC region by assuming a dependency approach questioning how these international organisations have played a role in the sustenance of dependency. The interest in the inquest by this study is a result of the concern to understand and explain how the region's development has remained in a stunted form despite the activities of these organisations in the region. Boasting of rich mineral deposits and tracts of good agricultural lands and other various indicators that can influence development, the operations of MNCs, who have the resources to spearhead developmental initiatives and NGOs which provide a humanitarian aspect to issues of development, have largely not driven the quest of globalisation and its promises on development for all in the region. Infrastructural or human development has largely remained a pipedream and poverty continues to ravage in the region. Thus, the study has taken a critical look into the continuation of the scourge of dependency in the SADC community, where development is stifled, by questioning how the international organisations have played a part in it.

i. Statement of the Problem

Globalization is argued to be one of the most important aspects in facilitating development and international integration of Third World countries. It is considered vital in the way that international integration brings about knowledge, technology, human development and above all better standards of living in the poverty torn developing countries. Hence, SADC embraced and accommodated international nongovernmental and multinational corporations with the view that they can champion the integration of the region in the international community.

However, situation on the ground and the proliferation of these organizations in the region is cause for concern. In terms of development, be it human or infrastructure,

SADC is still many years behind, poverty and disease continue to ravage and the standards of living for the general populace is a sorry state. Basically, the majority of SADC citizens are out of touch with the world with SADC (2013: 2) highlighting that over 40 percent of the population still live in abject poverty with an estimated sustained growth of 6 percent per annum and very limited or no access to knowledge and technology.

What needs to be done is to prioritize these critical situations, gather correct, unbiased information and implement correct development initiatives. And above all, with poor records of managing public funds in most SADC countries, NGOs and MNCs must strive to establish programs and projects wholly independent of government institutions with the high probability of misusing funds. Investigations into which proper institutions must spearhead these development initiatives should be a priority. But questions also arise querying if truly it is the role of development that these organizations are playing. And what are their policies and strategies towards the region or is global integration favourable to their ambitions? What benefits are they getting by their continued activities in the region?

ii. Objective of the Study

The foremost objective of the study is to highlight the impact of NGOs and MNCs in the SADC region in relation to their role in globalization. The main objective of the research is to find out mainly the following;

1. If NGOs and MNCs are truly champions/advocates of globalization in the region and if there are contributions and ways in which they are facilitating this discourse
2. Are NGOs and MNCs champions of globalization or agents of dependency in the globalization of the region advancing the ambitions/interests of the developed nations?
3. Challenges that hinder international integration of the region and what dependency entails to the globalization of the SADC region.

iii. Significance of the Study

Globalization, especially from the turn of the millennium has been at the forefront of regional and international relations. Countries worldwide realize the advantages of global integration and the benefits which can be accrued from such interaction. However, the discourse of globalization has hugely been studied on a general basis of looking at international integration at a broader spectrum. Minimum attention has been given to the study of globalization, in particular at regional level and how organizations such as NGOs and MNCs impact this phenomenon. Moreover, limited literature is available in exposing the role of NGOs and MNCs in SADC globalization and their role in perpetuation of the dependency syndrome in the developing world. This investigation strives to contribute immensely to the study of SADC and globalization vis-à-vis NGOs and MNCs and critical analysis of their role in the phenomenon of globalization by assuming a dependency approach. Furthermore, this research will help in bringing to light how relations between these organizations and SADC entail, what benefits are being realized or none, and above all, what can be done to or by both parties to realize the integration of the region into the international community.

iv. Justification of the Study

The intended outcome of this investigation is to bring out what these international as well as the regional organizations are doing to integrate the SADC region in the world community. The study aims to illustrate either the positives or the negatives of the presence of these organizations in the region. At the same time, it will also expose what SADC itself is doing to embrace globalization initiatives. Articles and papers have been published on country specific studies, however, this research aim to focus on the region as a whole and give insight which will be helpful in future studies. Above all, the investigation will be hugely based on journals, articles and books which have expressed an overview of the study at hand. This study has been driven by the curious need to find out the interest of these organizations in the SADC region.

v. Scope of the Study

This investigation focuses on the part being played by these organizations in the development and globalisation of the SADC community. The entrance of NGOs and MNCs in SADC can be largely timeline to the attainment of independence by most SADC countries starting from the 1970s onwards. Though, it can be argued that organizations such as MNCs were already present in SADC, from the 1980s and 1990s, with new independent nations providing a profitable investment sense, their presence and activities increased greatly coupled with the influx of NGOs in SADC especially from 1995 to present day. The purpose of this research is to highlight, especially from 1995 onwards, the role these organizations have played in the globalization of SADC. Though limited, material in the form of books, booklets, journals, and articles have been studied and evaluated in advancing the scope of the investigation into the study at hand. As a result of travel and money constraints, meeting minutes and published reports have also been used to the fullest in the quest for answers.

vi. Research Methodology

The research into this investigation was hugely carried out using secondary sources. Journals, general articles, newspaper articles, books and a variety of internet sources were used in the quest to find answers to the study at hand. Scholarly dissertations and thesis findings were also crucial in bringing scope and sense to arguments which were discussed in the paper. Also, qualitative data was used in providing evidence to the investigation with reports from the regional SADC organisation as well as from various international organisations such as the World Bank and UNCTAD. This proved to be of vital importance in guiding to factual and accurate statistical evidence and its qualitative interpretation which strengthened the issues discussed in the text.

vii. Structure of the Study

The study focuses on the analysis of NGOs and MNCs in the discourse of globalisation of the region paying attention to issues of dependency on the developed world. The opening first chapter highlights through the literature review how previous scholars have approached this investigation and in what ways they have tried to address the question. This chapter also provides an analysis of the dependency theory which is the cornerstone of this study. The dependency theory is vital in

understanding the role of the NGOs and MNCs in the globalisation of the region and how they sustain the asymmetrical relationship. The second chapter details the main activities of the NGOs and MNCs and highlights how the activities of these international organisations influence the continuation of dependency by the region and how the relationship and political influence also play a key role in this dispensation. Detailed analysis and examples are brought out and examined. The third chapter characterises the critical outlook to regional integration and the modernisation of dependency and how it is being facilitated through the institutions and general populace of the SADC community. And consequently, the conclusions give closing analysis of investigation.

CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

SADC (2012) highlights that the Southern African Development Community is a regional organization consisting of 15 member states; namely, Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. SADC was established in 1992 with the aims of achieving regional integration and eradication of poverty within Southern Africa through economic development, peace and security. Primary institutions coordinate the work of SADC and have offices located in Gaborone, Botswana and Windhoek, Namibia. Predecessor to SADC was the Southern Africa Coordination Conference (SADCC), which Masemola (2009: 12) noted, “was founded in 1980 to facilitate socio economic development of member states by combining their economic potential, curbing economic dependence of member states on the apartheid South Africa, instituting a balanced flow of commodities through commercial activities and the creation of free trade zones”. The overall objective being the need to gain economic independence from South Africa and responding to the new wave of globalization which was gaining momentum in the international political economy. However, combining challenges led to the failure of SADCC in realizing its objectives leading to the formation of SADC in 1992.

With the formation of SADC, member states eager to participate in the global economy, saw with it fervent calls for integration and cooperation as tools which would drive the region towards development and recognition on the international stage. The role of NGOs and MNCs in the globalization of the SADC region can be highlighted in the context of the drive by the regional bloc to develop the community in achieving international recognition mainly in trade and economics. Literature has been written on the issue of the presence of MNCs and NGOs in Africa in general

and SADC in particular. Scholars including Batware (2011), Mthombeni (2006), May (2017), Kaluba (2016), Matthews (2017) have all written literature in trying to bring out aspects of the contentious presence of these organizations in the SADC region. These publications though, have been on country specific and largely general overview of African relations with NGOs and MNCs and their role on the continent. Batware (2011) focused on the role of multinationals in the Democratic Republic of Congo where he exposed on the shenanigans of the international MNCs and how they perpetuated the civil war in the 1990s in the country. He further elaborated on how mining MNCs abuse human rights and the general environment in the Congo. Kaluba (2016) wrote on the regressive effects of accommodating NGOs in Zambia and exposed of how they act as an extension of foreign policy tool of the Western world. May (2017) also quipped in on exposing the issue of global regulation of the MNCs in issues of taxation, human rights, environmental impact and its effects on host countries. Matthews (2017) also wrote on the role of NGOs in Africa as a whole and how they have played a key role in providing education and health care in the continent. More papers and publications have been put forward to try and explain the presence of these organizations in SADC and Africa.

Moreover, other publications have been written in trying to explain the phenomenon of regional integration and cooperation of SADC and how its failures have led to the slow process of development and consequently further dependency on the Western world that largely uses its institutions to further perpetuate this status quo. Scholars including Matunhu (2011), Nyirabu (2004), Rakner and Tungodden (2002), have all come forward in explaining the shortcomings of integration and cooperation and its adverse effects on the globalization of the region. Notably, Nyirabu (2004) has stressed challenges including institutional weaknesses, excessive external dependency, underdeveloped economies to mention but a few of the debilitating factors to the region's globalization process and participation in the international economy.

Petras (1999) in his work, "NGOs: In the service of Imperialism", attempts to explain the role of NGOs in regressing the globalization of the developing world. He illustrated of the effects of structural adjustment policies on the people in developing world and how, "NGOs come into the picture to mystify and deflect that discontent away from direct attacks on the corporate power structure and", profit, "toward local

micro projects and apolitical”, grassroots, “self-exploitation and popular education”. This view is tilted to the notion that these international organizations are in the developing world to perpetuate dependency and foster neo-colonization of these underdeveloped nations. On this, Petras stressed that as of 1999, there were at least an average of 50.000 NGOs present in the Third World countries receiving over 10 billion in funding from international financial institutions, European and Japanese governmental agencies. This view has further been probed by this investigation on how NGOs have tried to influence neo-colonization in SADC. Kaluba (2016) wrote that NGOs act like the clergy during the colonization of Zambia, who pretended to sympathize with the local populace whilst they were advancing the interests of the West.

Rakner and Tungodden (2002:4) were of the view that the challenges of the regionalization process in the SADC community were in the bloc’s “failure to enforce various democratic codes of conduct in its member states”, which underscored the notion that SADC has continued to, “serve as an interest group for persistently autocratic leaders”. Also, they noted of the unwillingness of the region to comply with, or amend, “rules and obligations for further development of a free trade area and economic harmonization”. Jordaan (2001: 5) is also of the view that SADC, “countries are unattractive to global investors on account of their political instability, lack of accountable government, poor infrastructure and a massive brain drain”, in which he noted that for SADC to attain globalization, investor confidence must be restored, and the general perception be shifted towards the region.

Furthermore, scholars have written on how the challenges of integration in the SADC region have led member states failing to break away from the state of dependency. Ndulu (2004), Thompson (2003), Tonstenson (1982), Dos Santos (1971) and many more, wrote on the issue of dependency of the developing world. Dos Santos (1971) highlights that dependency is a historical condition that favours other countries at the detriment of others and limits development possibilities of subordinate economies. Also, Ndulu (2004) is of the view that the brain drain of SADC professionals is a major hindrance to the development of the region. However, these scholars do not point out to the role of MNCs and NGOs in perpetuating this dependency discourse. Statistics and binding arguments are brought out in these publications but the

important role NGOs and MNCs, either positive or negative in SADC is up for discussion in this paper.

Literature on the phenomenon of globalization of SADC has been published which has managed to shed light on what the region is doing and implementing to advance itself so as to achieve international status in the global economy. Publications however, have barely touched on the role of MNCs and NGOs and how they influence the discourse of the globalization process in the SADC region. Barton (2016) noted, in his reference to MNCs in global trade, that the “pace of business is accelerating, as technology opens up new possibilities and emerging markets provide new growth”, opportunities. This paper will look into how this growth in business is influencing the globalization process of SADC, progressively or regressively. Krut (1997) also wrote that NGOs are now finding ways to influence international decision-making process that has to do with developmental issues. In relation to SADC, one cannot ignore the presence of MNCs and NGOs in the region and it will be folly to turn a blind eye to the state of backwardness in the region. Hence the role of these organizations in the globalization of the SADC region needs to be investigated and find out what their activities are in the region and how are they impacting the social, political and economic institutions of the region.

1.1 Theoretical Framework

The Dependency Theory will be the cornerstone of this investigation. It was developed by scholars/academics including Raul Prebisch and Andre Gunder Frank in the 1950s and 1960s. This theory tried to explain the relationship that existed between the developed world and periphery countries and the reason of the third world inability to develop and consequently provide solutions. With the end of colonization, starting from the 1960s onwards, especially in African countries, dependency took on a new approach with the use of the developed world's international financial institutions, MNCs and NGOs, which various scholars argue, proliferated on the African continent to try and perpetuate the dependency of the African continent, especially economically, on the Western developed world. Programs such as the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), imposed on the African countries by the Bretton Woods institutions (IMF and World Bank) in the 1980s and 1990s serve as evidence of how the developed world have evolved

dependency where the yoke of debt; a result of financial loans to these African nations will always be a hindrance to any form of economic independence from the developed world.

In this view, the level of underdevelopment in SADC, as will be brought out in this paper, can largely be attributed to the continued fostering of the dependency syndrome by the Western world. Particularly, the international MNCs present in the SADC region which to a greater extent do nothing but extract raw materials and dominate markets selling overpriced products and delivering obsolete technologies. This is so in the way that the SADC region provides an easy ground for raw materials and a hungry market for Western produced goods. Therefore, the development of such a region and its participation in the global economy is detrimental to the economic gains and further development of the developed world. Moreover, as will also be discussed in the paper, NGOs, various scholars have put it, are advancing the dependency of the SADC region on the Western developed world by acting as agents of neo-colonization where their humanitarian activities are but a fraction of their various objectives of their activities in the region. Hence, all activities deemed as processes of globalization boils down to the activities of these organizations largely playing a front for the perpetuation of the dependency syndrome in the region. Herath (2008) noted that as a result of various factors, the dependency theories lost their prominence and are now considered old fashioned and ill-suited to analyzing development and underdevelopment of the south. However, as will be discussed in the next section, the dependency phenomenon has evolved to become institutionalized in the organs of the developing world, in this case, the SADC region which is investigated in this paper.

1.2 The Dependency Theory

Ferraro (2008) posited that the dependency theory emerged in the late 1950s, trying to explain the concerns of the gap between the rich and poor countries and also that the economic growth in advanced industrialized countries did not lead to growth in poor countries. Namkoong (1999) in defining dependency theory highlighted that, “despite intellectual disagreements among dependency theorists, there remain some basic agreements among them, namely the view that the world is divided into two parts, the centre industrialized countries and the periphery/underdeveloped

countries". One thing therefore that defines dependency theory is the existence of an asymmetrical relationship between world countries, demarcated into developed and underdeveloped/developing. Agbebi and Virtanen (2017: 3) illustrates that dependency theorists are of the position that trade between the centre and the periphery is characterized by unequal exchange that has resulted in the underdevelopment of the periphery and that underdevelopment in the, "third world countries can be linked to the expansion of the world capitalist system". Herath (2008) concurs by illustrating that the dependency school of thought can be considered as a development of two intellectual traditions namely neo Marxism and ECLA, abbreviation for United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, an organization which Raul Prebisch was part of in the 1950s, whose writers, as Herath put it, favoured reforms in the international economic system for the underdeveloped to rise. Hence, the dependency school strove to explain the continued underdevelopment of the third world countries and suggested solutions to move beyond underdevelopment. Thus Namkoong (1999) noted that dependency theory became an important tool to analyze development and underdevelopment in the international political economy.

In his book, "Dependent Accumulation and Underdevelopment", Frank highlights the institutionalization aspects of dependency and how the developed world foster this in the developing world. Frank (1978: 159) exposed that the institutional instruments which the metropolitan powers use to facilitate the further transformation of the African society in the interests of the metropolitan development varies in accordance with the local possibilities. He supported his argument by giving evidence through a case study of how the British instituted their indirect rule of Africans through Africans. This was a way in which the British used African chiefs as stooges who bent to their wills and interests to guarantee the security and benefits that came with the job. Fast forward to post independence Africa, we see Europeans using the same modus operandi to foster dependency. For example, the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in favour of Mobutu Sese Seko in the 1960s in DRC, who was largely a servant of the developed world, and helped the foreign, developed companies to exploit the resources of the DRC, in particular mineral raw materials. Therefore, dependency has been institutionalized and modernized in accordance with the interests of the West.

Frank (1969: 5) also views that the dependency of the underdeveloped world is as a result of the, “structure and development of the capitalist system as a whole”. He illustrated that “the expansion of the capitalist system over the past centuries has effectively and entirely penetrated the most isolated sectors of the underdeveloped world and as a result, the economic, political, social and cultural institutions and relations we now observe are the products of the historical development of the capitalist system no less than are seemingly more modern or capitalist features of the national metropolis of the underdeveloped countries”. This, therefore, entails that dependency for the underdeveloped countries, is engrained in their day to day aspects of life. Dependency can be regarded as the continuation of the old order using modern economic tactics. Furthermore, Frank is of the view that the relationship of the developed and underdeveloped is an essential part of the capitalist system on a world scale as a whole, thus its continued perpetuation serves as a function to sustain capitalism even in present day global economics.

Haq (1976) also quipped in to explain why the dependency phenomenon continues to be relevant in the present day global capitalist system and how it will also continue despite modernization. He illustrated that the roots of unequal relationship between the developed and the developing countries lies in their historical past and that, “the era of colonialism exacerbated the disparities between the rich and the poor countries by placing the rich countries of the north in the centre of the world and poor countries of the south at the periphery”. Therefore, according to Haq, these exploitative links evident in economic dependency and intellectual slavery continue to exist despite decolonization. The dependency phenomenon is a culture that has been nurtured by the rich countries of the Western world over time to make sure that their favoured system of capital accumulation continues to exist in the future. The capitalist system can only succeed if the relationship between partners is asymmetrical. Moreover, if there is no exploitation of the weaker by the stronger, capitalism will fail. Present day relationship between the developing countries and the developed countries is evidence of how historical dependency has supported the capitalism system of the developed world. Hence, Agbebi and Virtanen (2017: 4) concurred by writing that the exploitation in, “North-South economic engagement has its foundation in historical inequality”.

In explaining the dependency theory, Raul Prebisch, the then director of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) in the 1950s, was of the view that industrialization of the Western world was the defining moment that cemented the exploitative relationship between the developed and the developing world. Prebisch (1968) suggested that the rapid industrialization, "...of the North as well as export competitiveness created a divide between the global North and South, resulting in declining terms of trade for the South and eventually dependency of the South on the North". From this, it can be deduced that industrialization is pivotal to the development of the South and move away from the dependency syndrome. Unless the developing world fully embraces industrialization, dependency will continue to fester as a result of the inability to produce finished products and to determine the regulation of trade.

On the above statement, Prebisch (1968) agreed by noting that the solution to the problem of dependency is through acceleration of industrialization by third world countries through the adoption of import substitution. Import substitution can loosely be explained as replacing foreign imports with domestic production. Hence, Prebisch further suggested that import substitution, "would only be effective if the South have developed the capacity not only to substitute imports but also to add value to natural resources, which can then be exported in the form of processed goods". However, the developing third world countries have not reached this stage hence they continue to be exploited by the dependency scourge.

Ferraro (2008) also argued that the dependency theory repudiates the central distributive mechanism of the neoclassical model, that is trickledown economics and that the neo classical, "model of economic growth pays relatively little attention to the question of distribution of wealth". Ferraro further explains by highlighting that the primary concern of the neo-classical model is on the efficiency of production and assumes that the market will allocate the rewards of efficient production in a rational manner. However, he views that this assumption can be valid in "a well-integrated, economically fluid economy where people can quickly adjust to economic changes and", above all, "where consumption patterns are not distorted by non-economic forces", which conditions do not exist in developing countries. Conservative societies of the developing world are yet to embrace the impact of globalization hence the models of economics in the developing world are not dynamic to the pace of

adjustment in economic activities such that the structuredness of these economies exposes them to further exploitation by the developed world.

Sen (2008: 4) in highlighting the relevance of dependency theory in the present day international political economy, quoted Immanuel Wallerstein, an American sociologist, who noted that the period after WW2 brought about mere cosmetic changes in the world order as the dominance of the North continues over the South till this day. Sen further quoted Wallerstein who in 1999 said, "Never in modern history has the gap between what we call North and South been so great. The gap is economic, social and demographic. We see greatly increased polarization within the states of the North". The capitalist mode of economics in present day global business has further widened the rich and poor gap and has sunk the developing world more into abyss. Sen views the same by illustrating, "that international capitalism is the motive force behind dependency relationships and that the capitalist system has enforced a rigid international division of labour which is responsible for the underdevelopment of many areas of the world".

In essence, Sen (2008: 4) noted that in present day developing world, external forces present in developing countries are pivotal in perpetuating the dependency syndrome. He writes that external forces including, "...multinational corporations, Bretton Woods Institutions, foreign aid agencies, media and communications and other means by which the advanced industrialized countries represent their economic interests...", in these developing nations see to it that the capitalist system prevails, and they continue to make profit at the expense of these dependant states. Dependency, therefore, is alive and still thriving in the developing countries. Though it is taking different forms and shapes, it is evident that for the developed world to continue accumulating profits and surplus, it is vital that they continue to control the economics of the developing world through the international capitalist system which stifle the rise of the developing countries. It is now, the activities of the NGOs and MNCs in the SADC region that this study turns to, to understand and explain how the dependency is reproduced in the region.

CHAPTER 2

ACTIVITIES OF NGOs AND MNCs IN THE SADC REGION

2.1 Main activities of NGOs in SADC

It is important to point out that NGOs in SADC, regional and international, differ largely in the sectors that they venture in. As Matthews (2017) noted, “NGOs have become key actors in responding to poverty and related suffering”, and they have come to, “play a leading role in providing health care and education”. A vital aspect of note is that international organisations have led the drive for addressing issues related to health care, education, poverty and other related life-threatening scourges. They have been involved in these sectors because of their better access and ability to mobilise resources to alleviate critical conditions in these sectors. Various international NGOs have also partnered with regional and local NGOs in trying to address deficiencies in the health and educational sectors. Also, regional NGOs have strove to influence the development of the region mainly through involvement, or trying to get involved in issues of democracy, policy making and professional development of the region’s populace.

A major highlight of the African continent is that it is blighted by poverty. Whether manmade or through natural environmental impact, poverty has engrained itself in the African nations to become a way of life for the people. African Hunger Facts (2016) noted, based on FAO estimations that around 233 million people of sub Saharan Africa would be living in hunger between 2014 and 2016. For the majority of the African populace, it can be realized that they have accepted poverty as part and parcel of their lives. Poverty largely hinders three main aspects namely capacity building, service delivery and policy making. If the people are not empowered in these mentioned aspects, they can do little to improve their way of life and emancipate themselves. Against this background of deprivation in African states, saw the NGOs embarking on a ‘mission’ of trying to address these scourges for the betterment of livelihoods for the African people. Though the NGOs were present as

early as the 1950s and the 1960s, Mathews (2017) noted that it was in the 1980s that they were increasingly recognized as important institutions in the broader development initiatives. Coupled with this also is the fact that aid actors in Africa as well as elsewhere are now undeniably powerful actors with access to large swathes of donor money and with a prominent voice in continental and international discussions about development, economic growth, human rights and other issues related to justice.

The SADC region is one of the most poverty hit regions in the world in which the general populace depends hugely on aid in terms of food and other needs from the NGOs. People in countries including Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe have normalized largely the receiving of subsistence donor aid in their lives that the majority of them no longer feel or see the need to develop their livelihoods or embark on projects that can sustain them without waiting for handouts which Mahonye and Zengeni (2015: 5) has wrote particularly about Zimbabwe that this aid has trapped the country into welfare dependency syndrome. Rather, people wait for handouts from international organizations such as USAID, FAO and WHO which on a frequent basis provide these communities with food and second-hand clothes. Mahonye and Zengeni (2015: 3) observe that subsistence aid, just like humanitarian aid, is largely extended to countries that fail to provide basic social services to its citizens due to constrained source of resources. However, a number of NGOs have identified this weakness in some of the communities they distribute aid to and have been involved in trying to address it. As highlighted above, the three main aspects of capacity building, service delivery and policy making have been a major stumbling block to the development of the community; however numerous NGOs have been highly active in trying to empower the SADC community to be involved in these activities. Both regional SADC NGOs and international NGOs have been vocal and assisting in implementing projects and programs to make sure the SADC community is empowered in these aspects so as to seize and determine their future and destiny. Hence, the main activities of NGOs in SADC can be looked at within the context of capacity building, service delivery and policy making.

Firstly, looking at capacity building, Western Australian Department for Community Development (2006) noted of capacity building by highlighting that it “is about promoting the ‘capacity’ of local communities to develop, implement and sustain their

own solutions to problems in a way that helps them shape and exercise control over” their “physical social, economic and cultural environments”. Verity (2007) further stresses of capacity building as a continuous process required to encourage pride and appropriate local leadership that allows communities, through their members, to take responsibilities for their own development. Therefore, it is about forming structures from grassroots with a defined goal of development. Capacity building of a community cannot be realized by a foreigner; it is unique to a community willing and with identified sections of their society which they feel need to address so as to upgrade their livelihoods. NGOs are also capable of identifying what a community wants to progress, but it also needs the willingness and cooperation of the locals for the projects or programs to succeed. Eade (2007) also points out that, “Capacity building is about enabling those out on the margins to represent and defend their interests more effectively, not within their own immediate contexts but also globally”. Therefore, capacity building can be loosely termed development by the locals in their own communities.

SADC countries, which generally have over 50 percent of their communities still living under rural setups, have seen the proliferation of regional as well as international NGOs trying to implement capacity building initiatives so as to develop and empower these communities. Taking the case study of an international education development program, this was done in Malawi, between Malawian nongovernmental educational organizations and the United States University literacy facility which was funded by USAID. Coryell et al (2006) highlighted that the Read Malawi program was, “a holistic intervention aimed at resourcing schools with complementary reading materials, training for the teachers and school leadership and a community...” mobilization component. Coryell et al illustrated that the Malawian government had a one textbook per student policy, but reality on the ground indicated that it was 2 to 3 students per textbook. Above all, they noted of the 2012 Central Intelligence Report which stated that only 70 percent of the adult population in Malawi, that is 15years and older, is considered literate. Therefore, the program Read Malawi strove to capacitate the people of Malawi with sufficient literacy skills to enable them to read, write and understand things involving their communities and their country at large. Illiteracy had hindered the development of Malawi which can be evidenced through the majority of

over 14 million of its people living on an average of less than two United States dollars a day.

Another case of note in the activities of NGOs in SADC through capacity building is the establishment of Natuye: Institute for the Environment. Jones (2006) noted that Natuye, which in English is translated 'let's move ahead together', is a Namibia based NGO whose goal is to support professional development in SADC's environmental and development sector. She further illustrates that the main goal of this NGO is to make significant contributions to sustainable development and environmental management in southern Africa by supporting the care of the region's environment and advancement of its professional capacity. It is important to illustrate that in southern Africa the use of the environment through sustainable means is one of the biggest problems facing the region and it needs professional people to educate the communities on the need for environmental sustainability. Massive deforestation as well as eroding farming practices has damaged the environment of the region to alarming levels. In Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Malawi as a result of limited power sources, deforestation of trees for firewood has exposed these countries to land degradation which is detrimental to development. Hence, the mission of Natuye, a regional NGO, to empower professionals with adequate knowledge and skills to educate and develop ways to preserve the environment is a positive activity of development in the region.

Furthermore, the implementation of the Comprehensive Community Initiative (CCI) in the Mhakwe area of Chimanimani, Zimbabwe which was funded by the WK Kellogg Foundation is also a case of how NGOs actively support capacity building in SADC. According to Tirivanhu et al (2015), Comprehensive Community Initiatives aim at improving capacity for self-development within marginalized communities. They note that CCIs were implemented between the years 2004-10, "as a community empowerment paradigm aimed at building community capacity for self-drive through building a number of competencies within the community". They also stressed on the WK Kellogg Foundation Africa Program 2005 report which noted of the program as advancing capacities to analyze one's own situation, articulate desired changes, develop lifelong learning and act and self-correct. To note of importance is that this was not an aid and handout program; rather it was an initiative to educate the community on what they needed to do and equip themselves with to empower and

develop themselves. This is a total opposite of what most communities are used to where the word NGO means aid handouts. However, initiatives like these in most cases encounter resistance from communities as a result of people unwilling to learn and develop skills to sustain themselves as they are already used to being just given handouts without working for it.

The main activities of NGOs in SADC can also be viewed through the context of service delivery in the SADC community. NGO service delivery in southern African is mainly concentrated in delivering clean water to communities as well as access to health care facilities and medication by the communities. SADC region has one of the highest prevalence rate of disease, especially cholera, malaria and HIV/AIDS in the world. And a major problem being that majority of SADC communities have little or no access to clean and safe water as well as proper medication. In these phenomena, NGOs have tried to address these critical situations through projects and programs aiming to alleviate the suffering of the region's population. In Tanzania, the country recognizes that access to water is a basic human right by law in line with the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights decision to formally recognized access to water as a basic human right in 2002. However, Tanzania's majority population is rural based and access to clean and sufficient water is limited. Gacia-Valinas and Miquel-Florensa (2013) stressed that service delivery of clean and sufficient water in Tanzania has been spearheaded by local organizations, community owned nongovernmental organizations known as Community Owned Water Supply Organizations (COWSO). These are funded by various donors including Korea Partner Countries to see to it that distribution and use of supplied water in these rural areas is done amicably without conflict. An important aspect to note is that this initiative is being entrusted in the hands of the local organizations that are familiar with the situation as they are part of the problem and therefore can execute the program better.

Advancing on the case of Tanzania, NGOs though sometimes they cannot be involved directly in the implementation of projects, their activities can be seen indirectly through their funding of local and regional nongovernmental organizations to deliver services to affected people and communities. Writing on the impact of global economic crisis and HIV/AIDS programs in Zambia, Njelesani et al (2015) highlighted that the delivery of HIV and AIDS related services was facilitated by a

wide range of organizations in Zambia, particularly domestic public-sector organizations and domestic civil society organizations. According to UNAIDS (2018), 1.2 million people are living with HIV in Zambia by 2016 with approximately 67 percent of adults and 52 percent of children on antiretroviral treatment. They also stress that these initiatives were coordinated by the National AIDS Council and USAID-OVC Forum and funded by the Global Fund. So, funding of these service delivery projects and programs can be seen in the light of an activity which plays pivotal role in alleviating the suffering of local communities. It also squashes the notion that international NGOs do not believe in the capabilities of local and regional NGOs in successfully implementing and carrying out projects and programs.

Moving on, the activities of NGOs in SADC is also in trying to advocate for the democratization of the policy making process by the regional governments. Nongovernmental organizations, international and regional, have been concerned with the poor governance that has been experienced in southern African countries and have sought to engage respective governments in trying to influence the adoption of policies that are favourable to the general populace, not their interests only and overall the attainment of democracy. Peter (2011) wrote that in many SADC states “there have been fostered a regional political culture of authoritarian rule and dominance of personal rulers is strong”. Godsater (2015) also noted that in various governments in the region, including Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Namibia, have the distrust of the civil society and downplays its ability to play a meaningful role in democracy and development. Most civil society organizations in the region are funded by international organizations to inform the people about the need to be involved in policy making to determine their future. However, governments in SADC countries have greatly resisted the inclusion of NGOs and civil society in discussing frameworks of policy making citing their relationship with international funders as a ploy to influence policies in favour of the Western world.

As a citizen of Zimbabwe and SADC in general, I have also witnessed how governments in the region vehemently resist the inclusion of NGOs and the civil society in programs of mapping the structures of nations’ policies. Godsater (2015) evidenced this by writing that SADC is hugely driven by power politics and does not compromise on that for the benefit of civil society organizations. Furthermore, he illustrated that the civil society is deliberately marginalized in SADC led regionalism

and consultation with the civil society is minimal. Because of the nature of the governments in SADC, most under authoritarian rule and revolutionary political parties which are skeptical of NGOs and the civil society in general, which they deem as agents of western countries bent on re-colonizing the region, NGO participation has been largely cut off from contributing to policy making. Coupled with the fact that these authoritarian governments direct policies which favour their interests and continued sustenance in power, any outside voice is not tolerated and, in most cases, have been quashed with police and military might. An example being in Zimbabwe and how former President, Robert Mugabe used every available means to make sure that the civil society does not succeed in influencing policy. The civic movement in 2015 known as Tajamuka in Zimbabwe, which was funded by the international donors, was met with violence from police and the military when people marched against policies which were sinking the nation further into poverty.

It is also interesting to mention the Council of Non-Governmental Organizations (CNGO) commonly abbreviated SADC-CNGO. It was formed as an organ of the SADC to facilitate engagement of the SADC civil society and SADC institutions in matters of framing policy. Godsater (2015) brought out that SADC presented CNGO, “as a key civil society partner representing NGOs in the region”, consolidated by a memorandum of understanding. However, the catch, according to Godsater, is on that it only exists in theory and has never been put in practice as, “there is no formal consultative process between SADC and CNGO and the space for real policy influence is narrow”. Therefore, this highlights again the nature of the structure of governments and institutions in the SADC region which are authoritarian and does not tolerate reform and respect democracy. And up to present day, minimum headway has been made in practically engaging NGOs and the general civil society in issues of policy making.

Soderbaum (2017) also noted that the SADC countries and the SADC organization in particular officially try to involve the NGOs and the, “civil society in policy development and implementation in the field of HIV/AIDS”. This also can be witnessed in South Africa that when it comes to HIV/AIDS the civil society organizations are included. UNAIDS (2018), highlights that 7.1 million people are living with HIV in South Africa coupled with 110,000 AIDS related death and 270,000 new infections, 56 and 55 percent of adults and children respectively being on

antiretroviral treatment as of 2016. Soderbaum illustrates that the most important AIDS policy framework in South Africa, the National Strategic Plan on HIV, STI and TB (NSP) was coordinated by the South African National AIDS Council (SANAC) which represents all nongovernmental sectors. Why the NGOs and civil society is allowed to shape HIV/AIDS policies is because the governments of SADC in general cannot contain and finance the costs of drug supplies and any activity that has to do with HIV/AIDS. HIV/AIDS is a pandemic in southern Africa and without the help of nongovernmental organizations and the international community, the population of the region will be decimated considering that the highest number of people living with HIV/AIDS is in the SADC region. According to WHO (2016), year ending 2015, 36.7 million people were living with HIV and SADC region accounted for 40 percent of those people; that is 14.68 million people living with HIV in the SADC region as of 2015.

It may well be put forward that without the help of the international community the frailties of the SADC structures towards policy making that benefit the people will be greatly exposed. Hence, they cover this up by allowing the civil society to seek aid and contain the spread of the disease through allowing them to control the policy. Thus, Soderbaum (2017) highlighted that because of implications of HIV/AIDS, international actors including the Global Fund and the US President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) have been allowed to be, "involved in shaping a collaborative environment in which non-state actors participate in HIV/AIDS policy making and project implementation throughout the region".

2.2 Main activities of MNCs in SADC

Multinational corporations have been present in Africa and in SADC from the time of colonization and in the post-colonial era. The post-colonial era is notable in the way that with the birth of new nation states came with it the promise of big business and further attractive economic activities. Therefore, investment in SADC communities by multinationals steadily grew, also owing to the fact that the terms and laws of doing business in the region were and in some countries are still quite relaxed, hence it means big profits. Investment sectors in which these MNCs are involved in include the mining, finance and banking, manufacturing and food processing which they are largely dominant in, in the region. UNCTAD (2002: 6) highlights that in Tanzania, the

largest sector for FDI is mining and the largest single industry is gold. The report also notes that services contribute 22 percent and manufacturing 16 percent of FDI inflow in the country. Olukunle (1998), views that the analysis of the Namibian economy evidence that the mining, finance and banking and food processing sectors are the dominant recipients of FDI. Olukunle highlights that mining is the mainstay of the Namibian economy contributing to 50 percent of export earnings year ending 1994. Also, in 1993 in Namibia, the two sectors of mining and manufacturing accounted for over 90percent of the foreign exchange component of investment. UNCTAD (2012: 28) stresses that the economy of Mozambique is fast growing as a result of the exploitation of coal and gas reserves as well as an increase in tourism and manufacturing.

The activities of the MNCs in the region, though to a certain extent are bringing development, they also need to be viewed in light of how they are benefitting from SADC communities who in turn are benefitting little than what is being exploited by these corporations. Therefore, the main activities of the MNCs can be understood in terms of exploitation of raw materials and use of the region as a dumping site of finished goods which the World Investment Report (2014) highlighted that, “historically, FDI in many poor developing countries has relied heavily on extractive industries”. Also, the activities of the MNCs in the region attest to the notion of how they are perpetuating the dependency syndrome in the region, a case highlighted by the trade and investment trends particularly of international MNCs in the region.

Moreover, the activities of MNCs need to be demarcated into activities of international MNCs and regional MNCs. Regional MNCs policies and approach to business in the region is different from that of international MNCs. Mathew and Adewale (2016) noted that the pressures of globalization and the lure for increased profitability has continued to encourage South African multinationals to invest across international borders particularly in SADC. Moreover, “he illustrated that the deliberate policy to integrate the region has necessitated most of the governments of SADC to encourage their largest companies to invest within the region in order to tap from improved incentives created by regional economic integration agreements”. What is brought out by this notion is the fact that though profit is a major lure just like in any other business venture, regional MNCs carry out their activities in the region also with the goal of globalizing and integrating the region across international

borders. The regional MNCs are largely geared towards contributing to regional economic development and investment in the SADC region.

Very few countries in the region however have managed to set up notable MNCs which are contributing in the development of the region. This has been due to high rate of corruption, bad governance and generally dismal economies. Most MNCs in the region are exclusively into the exportation of products whose returns are largely stolen by those in power such that not much is realized in terms of foreign currency for development initiatives. Generally, these MNCs are controlled by the authoritarian governments therefore nothing trickles down to the general population. In contrast to this is South Africa, the economic powerhouse of the region which stands out as the SADC country which has impacted the region in a progressive way through its multinational companies. Miller et al (2008: 2) highlights that towards the end of the 1990s, South Africa had emerged as the dominant source of SADC's FDI overtaking established leaders like Germany, USA, UK and Japan. Notable developments throughout the region including infrastructure can be attributed to the contribution of South African MNCs. Whitfield et al (2015) highlighted that South African corporations conceptualized the largest ever FDI in Mozambique, that was used to build MOZAL aluminium smelter in Maputo. Mathew (2016) stressed that this investment has aided the ongoing economic reconstruction in Mozambique as the capitalization of MOZAL was in the range of 1.3billion US dollars, almost half of the Mozambican gross domestic product (GDP). Furthermore, South African MNCs have also driven development in Mauritius. SADC (2012) illustrates that in 2006 there was a surge in South Africa's outward FDI to Mauritius cumulating to 33 percent of the total FDI to Mauritius in that year.

Similarly, Mathew and Adewale (2016) also brought out that included in the activities of South African MNCs in the region is that they fill the gap between targeted government tax revenues and locally raised taxes, thus by taxing these MNC profits member states governments are able to mobilize public financial resources for development projects. Moreover, these MNCs also supply needed resources that include, "management experience, entrepreneurial abilities and technological skills", and these are transferred to local firms through training programs and learn by doing strategies. This whole exercises by South African MNCs point to the fact that regional integration, development and globalization is one of the main tasks that they wish to

accomplish. The strategies they implement regionally though intended to make profit also enhance the development of the region thereby pushing towards global inclusion.

Oviado (2012) also wrote of the Angolan multinationals and how they are putting the region on the international stage. He noted of Sonangol, Angola's state multinational company responsible for the majority of the country's oil business and overseas petroleum and natural gas production. Sonangol is now one of the most successful national oil companies in the world and provide the USA and China, amongst other countries, with crude oil. Oviado notes that benefit for the average Angolan has been very little, as national reconstruction projects funded by the petroleum revenues which started after the civil war, has been moving at a snail's pace. However, one cannot ignore the fact that Sonangol is playing a major role in putting the SADC region on the map through its influential activities on the world petroleum international market.

Turning to international MNCs and how they conduct their activities in SADC. As a region rich in raw materials especially mineral raw materials and its inability to produce processed finished products, international MNCs have seen these weaknesses and have moved in and exploited the SADC region to greatest proportions as well as using the region as a dumping site for their finished products; very little development has been accrued from association with these MNCs. May (2017) accredits this by highlighting that there is insufficient global regulation on the conduct of multinational corporations generally and specifically around taxation, human rights and environmental impact. In SADC, with rampant corrupt governments which only cater for their own interests, international MNCs have looted and plundered at will with no checks and balances to their conduct. According to Batware (2011) one of the ways in which the international MNCs have actively done in looting and exploiting the SADC region is perpetuating conflict. He pointed out to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) where he noted that the role of MNCs in perpetuating the civil war was apparent as witnessed by the chief executive officers of large international MNCs who flocked to the Congo and supported rebel leaders for the continuation of the war. Therefore, their gains were in the instability of the country with no rule of law where they easily plundered without the limits of regulations, if there were any before.

The Independent Newspaper of 19 March 2010, which is a Zimbabwean weekly, ran a story titled, "Diamond Companies making a killing". This was an expose on how international MNCs under the guise of locally formed companies looted and exploited the diamond fields of Marange area in Manicaland Zimbabwe. It has been revealed that MNCs which did not want to be publicly on the forefront of the plunder of the "blood diamonds" that were being excavated in that area formed guise companies including Canadile Miners, African Consolidated Resources, among other small companies formed; to loot the diamond mines in the area. To present day, the Marange area has been destructed environmentally, homes and families have been displaced with little or no compensation and above all, the average Zimbabwean has benefitted nothing from the diamond mining. The Marange community is still as backward as it was before, no infrastructure or anything of note has been constructed there. What is evident is that no development was brought by this diamond mining but further strife as evidenced through continued need for donor assistance in the area.

The investigation into the activities and how international MNCs have fostered the dependency of the SADC region on the developed world is also highlighted in the trade and investment patterns of these organisations in the region. Muradzikwa (2002: 9) highlighted that SADC during the turn of the millennium received USD 4 billion out of USD 11 billion of FDI that flowed into Africa, accounting to an average of 36 percent of the total African FDI and the trend is gradually declining with the World Investment Report (2018: 42) noting that FDI to SADC has declined by 66 percent. The majority of FDI being directed to Angola and South Africa as major recipients. The trend of investment in SADC is defined by the attractiveness or profitability of resources in the host countries. Example being South Africa and Angola who are endowed with mining raw material reserve and oil reserves respectively. Hence, Muradzikwa noted that of the USD 4 billion FDI directed to SADC, Angola accounted for 45 percent and South Africa 22 percent year ending 2000. On this, the WIR (2018: 42) also highlights that the flow of FDI to these countries has negatively shifted with Angola receiving -2.6 billion from USD 4 billion year ending 2016 and South Africa realised a negative setback of 41 percent. Kalenga (2000) further illustrated that sectors determine the flow of FDI putting forward that between 1998 and 2000; tourism, telecommunications and the petroleum sectors received more

than 35 percent each of the FDI inflows to SADC with South Africa emerging as the largest contributor of FDI in the region accounting to around 43 percent of FDI regionally. Muradzikwa (2002) also notes that those countries which have made strides in privatisation have attracted more FDI; the cases of Zambia and Mozambique who have enjoyed favourable a spell since 2000.

FDI that is coming into SADC is doing little to develop the region as stressed by Muradzikwa (2002: 12) that these investments are not playing a role in infrastructural development. He notes of the Zambia case where investments in the retail sector are just using buildings that belonged to state enterprises. Hence, they see no need to develop new infrastructure in the country despite the increased inflow of FDI in the country over the years as illustrated by WIR (2018: 42) that year ending 2016 FDI to Zambia increased by 65 percent boosted by investments in copper. Examples include corporations such as Checkers and Shoprite of South Africa who are hugely using these state buildings at the expense of development in Zambia. Hence, the country remains constricted by limited opportunities of development leading to stunted growth of GDP, employment and general human development. Particularly on GDP which the SADC Economic Indicator noted that in virtually all member countries between the years 2003-2013 no country realised a GDP growth exceeding 8 percent.

2.3 NGO and MNC alliance and their relationship with SADC

The alliance of NGOs and MNCs can be viewed in light of a relationship hinged on mutual benefits for both sets of organizations. Chen et al (2004) noted of Ottaway (2007) who illustrated that, “NGOs are facing the economic reality of cutbacks in funding”. Chen further stressed that for many of them, the only potential survival is the, “creation of new types of strategic alliance and collaboration with MNCs and other sectors of...” the society. In turn, they also posited that MNCs do not align with NGOs largely with the mind of economic gain, but “take into account non market advantages of partnering with NGOs such as the social capital and institutional linkages of NGOs”. Bartunek et al. (2007) gave an example of Ford Motor Company’s partnership with local and international NGOs to deal with the HIV/AIDS pandemic in South Africa. By taking the route of social corporate responsibility, MNCs are put in good stead with the host countries making it easier for them to freely operate and in

turn NGOs benefit from continued funding from these MNCs enabling them to continue with their activities.

Another factor which cements the alliance of NGOs and MNCs tends to do with the interdependent relationship which is influenced by economic globalization. Chen et al. (2004) wrote; “NGOs do not exist in isolation from society and its institutions; for most part the continued existence of an NGO is dependent on the continuation of...” consistency for it and its operations in the society. The competency of MNCs in making themselves felt “at home in that society is dependent on being able to reach a Modus Vivendi with the NGOs that are valued. Among the approaches that are open is that of forming some sort of working relationship or explicit cooperation”. From this quotation, MNCs also use NGOs as a tool for marketing in places and communities where they have little or no access; NGOs will fill that gap for them. And in turn NGOs will continue to reap the benefits of these relationships through continued financial support from the MNCs thereby continuing with their activities.

Above all, the NGO-MNC alliance can be judged as that of advancing the interests of the developing world. Kaluba (2016) highlighted that many NGOs are radicalized and “serve a function similar to that of the clergy during the colonial era” and also that the, “NGOs are being designed and used as extensions of the normal foreign policy instruments of Western” developed countries. Similarly, Adusei (2009) stressed that the Western developed countries use MNCs to continue strengthening their grip on the African continent and its resources. The major incentive of this continued control being the need to exploit the resources and extraction of raw materials. He also noted that these corporations encourage and finance civil wars, pollute rivers, wells and soils through their oil and mineral activities, falsify profit documents and undervalue their goods, smuggle and bribe public officials. As Kaluba illustrated, these activities of the NGOs have failed to address what they preach in Zambia as seen through their inability to step up to issues of child abuse, disease among others. Adusei also noted of how corporate funded civil wars have further underdeveloped the DRC and how cities like Brussels have been built on the suffering of the people of DRC. Therefore, as they are both 2 groups of international organizations, hugely influenced with the same principals in the Western world, their relationship with and towards SADC is largely hinged on the foreign policies of the Western world governments.

Godsater and Soderbaum (2011:154) are of the view that these organizations relationship with SADC is purely good intentioned and strives to develop the region. They note of the Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa (WESSA) which is a South African environmental NGO dealing with both education and advocacy. Godsater stresses that WESSA, as of 2010, “is the implementing agency of the SADC Regional Environmental Education Program”, (SADC REEP), coordinated by the SADC Secretariat aiming “to enable environmental education practitioners in the SADC region to stimulate environmental education in their home countries”. As noted in the previous sections, environmental sustainability in SADC is one of the main goals in the quest for development of the region. SADC communities, the majority of them, are oblivious to the effects of environmental degradation as seen through massive deforestation in countries like Malawi and bad farming methods practiced in Zimbabwe which cause soil erosion. Hence, NGOs such as WESSA and Natuye are involved actively in training professionals around SADC for them to educate their fellow countrymen on the need for environmental preservation.

Godsater et al (2011: 155) also highlights of the Southern African Research and Development Centre (SARDC), a non-profit making organization dealing with the issues of policy that affect the SADC region. Godsater notes that SARDC is a resource centre situated in Zimbabwe, with offices in Mozambique also, which aims at producing and disseminating information concerning the development processes in the SADC region. Also, “through lobbying and research, the SARDC tries to influence SADC policy making in areas such as informal trade and the monitoring of SADC’s” development programs. SARDC is one of the most important organizations in the SADC region in the way that issues of policy making by SADC should be geared towards the development of the region and not individual gain. With them maintaining a watchdog stance to policy formulation to that effect, the possibility of the regional bloc in implementing policy favourable to the populace of the region is high for fear of reprisal once SARDC publishes their reports. On this, Godsater noted that SARDC and SADC formalized their relationship by signing “a Memorandum of Understanding entitling the SARDC to have a seat in various SADC fora”.

Overally, it can be viewed that the alliance of NGOs and MNCs and their relationship with the SADC region can also be demarcated into regional and international sets of organizations. From previously given case studies in the last sections, regional NGOs

and MNCs engage the SADC organization and the region in general in more progressive and practical ways as compared to international organizations whose motive is largely to amass profits for themselves as well as ensuring the continued flow of funding in the execution of their humanitarian activities. Particularly international MNCs and to a greater extent those active in the mineral sector, it can be argued that their sole motive in the SADC region is to extract raw materials without regard for the benefits of development of hosting communities. The United Nations labelled majority of SADC member states as the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) in the world, yet the region hosts one of the biggest number of international NGOs and MNCs for the developing communities, which in their numbers should have driven forward the globalization process of the region. However, the onus has been largely concentrated in the hand of regional NGOs and MNCs whose resources are quite limited and therefore cannot do much to improve the status of the region.

2.4 Political influence of the NGOs and MNCs in the region

The influence of NGOs in the political arena of SADC and SADC countries is a complex issue in the way that the majority of SADC countries do not embrace the contribution of NGOs and the rest of the civil society in political matters. In SADC countries, laws and rights of the NGOs and civil society are stipulated in the constitutions of these nations, however situation on the ground tells a different story. Any practical involvement of NGOs and the civil society in the politics of a nation is widely seen as a Western world sponsored strategy to destabilize incumbent governments. This is cemented by the fact that the majority of NGOs and the civil society active in SADC, whether regional or international, are hugely funded by the Western donors. In some SADC countries, laws have been passed which cut off the NGOs and restricted them from influentially participating in political matters of a country. Zimbabwe Electoral Support Network (2004) noted of the NGO Bill which was passed by the government of Zimbabwe, which heavily restricted the activities of the NGOs and brought them under the control of the government through establishing an NGO Council headed by a minister of the government. Therefore, backed by the law, the government can legally thwart an activity they deem not favourable to their interests and overall act as a watchdog over the NGOs.

In turn, the case of NGOs and the civil society in Mozambique is a peculiar one. Kleibl (2017) noted that the role of NGOs in Mozambique has been expanded to that of a watchdog of the nation. To note is that Mozambique has been ravaged by the civil war. Now and then conflicts between the ruling government and the rebel group RENAMO party continue to blight the country. Hence, the country is more dependent on NGOs and the civil society for service delivery, humanitarian as well as developmental activities. This gives the power to the NGOs and the rest of the civil society to influence the political environment of the country. Kleibl is of the view that the environment provides the NGOs with the opportunity for political engagement and offers arenas for community participation in every sector of their lives. However, they illustrated that the NGOs and the civil society in Mozambique, only a few are using this influence to bring people's concerns forward. The majority are remaining in the 'comfort zone of their diplomatic world'. Therefore, it can be argued that in Mozambique, the influence of NGOs and the rest of the civil society are regressive to the cause of the people considering that they have an open door to influence the political landscape in more engaging and developmental ways.

As highlighted earlier in the paper, the only time SADC and SADC governments allow the participation of NGOs and the civil society is when it concerns largely HIV/AIDS. That is the only political influence they can affect on respective governments in the region. However, it is also a case that the status quo in SADC nations promotes the relevance of these NGOs and civil society. This is so in the way that funding continues to be poured in the name of implementing projects that advocate for inclusion of NGOs and civil society in the functions of the government, be it policy making or electoral reforms. Petras (1997) highlighted of this when he wrote that the "NGOs emphasize projects not movements, they mobilize people at the margins not to struggle to control the basic means of production and wealth, they focus on the technical financial assistance aspects of projects and not structural conditions that shape the everyday lives of people". From this notion, the NGOs and the civil society, it can be witnessed, are unwilling to directly engage and confront the situation so that they influence the political environment in a more developmental manner. Rather, their influence in this scenario is that of perpetuating strife for the SADC communities whilst they continue to receive funding from the international donors.

Petras (1997) also wrote that the NGOs and their “leaders can be conceived as a kind of neo compradore group that doesn’t produce any useful commodity but does function to produce services for donor countries and mainly trading in domestic poverty for individual perks”. Therefore, if domestic poverty is the one that keeps these NGOs in business and for them to be able to function, it is no wonder that they do little or nothing at all to engage the governments in SADC nations on issues relating to political environments and its development which will be a move towards emancipation from poverty by these stricken communities. Indirectly, they perpetuate the worsening political landscape in SADC by remaining in the comfort zones where they protest in theory but do nothing practical to influence the direction of governance in the region. Hence, Petras further stated that the leaders of these NGOs attend top level meetings that formulate policies that adversely affect millions of people. In this case, the proliferations of NGOs in SADC especially post 1995 period where over 100.000 of them have been active in the SADC communities; have actually done little in addressing the political environment of the SADC community in progressive ways. However, their influence has largely been in the regressive as evidenced by the unchanged political environment in the region. Revolutionary governments have permanently wielded power in SADC countries and no meaningful change towards engagement of the populace in formulating the shape of the nations has been realized. Yet, numerous NGOs, regional and international, advocating for democracy and engagement has been present in the region for more than two decades.

As noted earlier, the issue of distrust of the NGOs and the rest of the civil society has incapacitated them to fully provide a meaningful contribution to the politics of SADC states. However, NGOs are finding ways to slowly wedge and claw into the political arena through various means. Godsater (2015) highlighted that, “NGOs buy into mainstream problem solving” agendas existing in the prevailing global neoliberal ideology, in which development problems, such as lack of services and the malfunction of certain political structures and markets, are to be solved by the state-NGO partnership. He further noted that the dynamics of the neoliberal social order has, “also created critical NGOs and social movements that challenge government policy”; for example, in Zimbabwe and South Africa, in “terms of the privatization of water and market based land reform”. These and movements funded by NGOs to demand better public service delivery are generally some of the ways which NGOs

are encouraging people to participate in so as to force the political leaders into changing policies that develop human lives. Hence, Opoku-Mensah (2007) illustrated that NGOs have been effective “on meeting immediate social needs than on having political functions in terms of influencing the overall policy environment on a deeper structural level”.

Another issue of importance of how NGOs influence the political discourses in SADC states tends to do with the sector in which they are involved in and what ways they can force governments into capitulating to the demands of the people. Duffy (2006) stressed that “environmental NGOs have had an increasing impact on global regimes through pressure group politics and their ability to disseminate environmental information through the media and campaigning activity has been used to embarrass governments” and automatically forcing them to change policy. Duffy noted that in Madagascar, “NGOs and donors have been directly involved in running state owned national parks” organizing debt for future swaps, provide “funding for conservation projects and lobbying the Malagasy government to implement their vision of best conservation practice”. Why that influence of NGOs on Madagascar, is the fact that the country “has become a key site for global environmental governance because it contains very high levels of bio diversity”. Hence, international political power from institutions such as the World Bank which fund international NGOs; such as Conservation International, active in Madagascar, has forced the government of Malagasy to bow fearing retribution from these financial institutions which they hugely depend on in terms of financial loans and overall economic activities.

Reviewing the political influence of multinational corporations in the SADC region, MNCs wield a lot of political influence on SADC countries with other international organizations such as the Bretton Woods Institutions (World Bank and IMF). Strange (1996) wrote “that where states were once the masters of markets, now it is the markets which on crucial issues are the masters over the government of states”. Moreover, Mthombeni (2006) stated that, “states had the political power and economic resources to structure the international trade system regarding the flow of goods, the introduction of protective barriers and international payments”. He further noted that globalization changed this and one of the major factors for this change lies in the increase of power and influence of MNCs. This shift especially in SADC countries can be hugely attributed to the implementation of Structural Adjustment

Policies (SAPs) of the 1980s which “included reducing public sector debt, economic diversification and development, reducing government spending and devaluation of currencies”. Of importance to note is that these policies were hugely a failure and led to the rise of political conditionality. This political conditionality meant that for a country to receive investments or any amount of foreign direct investments it should meet certain criteria of structured conditions and these were generally political reform conditions. Hence Strange further illustrated that despite the fact that MNCs influence foreign policies of states, they are themselves political institutions having political relationships with the civil society.

In the SADC region, regional political influence of the MNCs is also largely attributed to the advent of Structural Adjustment Policies of the 1980s and 1990s. With loans hanging over the heads of SADC governments, MNCs have become more involved in the day to day affairs of nations. Schneidman (2007) viewed that corporations are becoming too “involved in education, community development or environmental programs in host countries” and “they are taking on functions that African governments ought to be performing”. This argument however counter attacks notions that point to the fact that MNCs only exploit from communities which they operate in and forgo any development initiatives. However, in case of SADC states, majority lack the capacity to implement broad based development programs. In the case of Democratic Republic of Congo, the country is endowed with some of the richest mineral deposits in the world but lack the capability to use them for developmental purposes. MNCs have stampeded to the Congo, influencing the political environment of the country making it easy for them to easily exploit the resources. Batware (2011), as earlier illustrated, noted of how multinationals played an important role in perpetuating conflict in the Congo for their economic gain. As profit making organizations, it is safe to say their political influence in SADC countries is a way to ensure that they continue to make profits, whether that influence is good or bad to the host country, priority is amassing of profit.

Moreover, another issue is that SADC countries as a result of the desperate need for foreign direct investments, submit to the wills of MNCs to relax their policies pertaining to the activities of the MNCs in host countries thereby opening borders to onslaughts from these corporations. Of note is Zimbabwe and Zambia, who opened their borders and relaxed their policies towards Chinese multinationals. They have

had to agree to changes not in the least beneficial to the future welfare of the people. In Zambia in particular, Chinese MNCs have destroyed the environment and also exploited the local citizens. Human Rights Watch (2011) illustrated of a report titled, "You'll Be Fired If You Refuse: Labour Abuses in Zambia's Chinese State-owned Copper Mines", which detailed the "persistent abuse in Chinese run mines, poor health and safety conditions, 12 and 18-hour shifts involving arduous labour and violation of Zambia's national laws and international labour standards". The government to present day has failed to step up to protect its citizens as a result of agreements they signed and are still binding. That's the effect of policy change that is detrimental to the general populace and profiting themselves.

CHAPTER 3

THE DEPENDENCY THEORY AND SADC GLOBALIZATION

Before explaining the dependency theory and its implications on the globalization of SADC, it is important to highlight the aspects of globalization by the region itself in its quest for inclusion and participation in the global economy and the global world in general. One aspect has defined SADC and Africa's goal towards globalization, that is, regional integration and cooperation. Haas (1971) views regional integration as, "a process of combining separate economies into larger political communities, to the extent that political and economic forces are intertwined" and any discussion of integration must include both economic and political variables. Adeyemi and Ayodele (2007: 3) stresses that regional integration "is a process of peacefully creating a larger coherent political system out of previously separate units, each of which voluntarily cedes some parts of its sovereignty to a central authority and renounces the use of force for resolving conflict between members". With the pressures of globalization, regional integration and cooperation has been hugely aligned with economic cooperation with the view that economic development is a major driving force for development. Nyirabu (2004) illustrated that "since achieving political independence, African countries have been involved in policies of regional cooperation and integration. And African leaders see regional integration as a way to harness resources collectively, to penetrate global markets and to attract foreign direct investment". Adeyemi and Ayodele (2007) also wrote that the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 was a response to the quest for economic cooperation as the basis for economic and political transformation of Africa and moreover to the emerging global order.

SADC can be viewed in light of it as an offspring of Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) formed in 1980 as a 'defensive mechanism' by the Frontline States (FLS) to the South African government (then apartheid government) and its "main objective was to reduce economic dependence and

vulnerability to South Africa through building economic and infrastructural security in the region”, (Schoeman 2002: 2). As independent SADC countries became more established, South African apartheid power waned and above all its own failures, a more economic approach rather than defensive became more attractive leading to the establishment of SADC in 1992. Rakner and Tungodden (2001) view that SADC is considered as one of the most promising and high profiled regional establishment of the continent as it includes “the strongest African economy, receives a substantial portion of foreign direct investment and aid to Africa”. Also, he notes that SADC has “established a regional transport and communication system unequalled by any other regional integration body”. Though, in essence, several factors have hindered the globalization of SADC region, member states of the organization have failed and are still failing to realize mostly economic independence from the developed world whose international organizations (including NGOs and MNCs) are playing a major role in further sinking the region into a position of dependence and want. Therefore, a remarkable number of these organizations further establish the western prominence on the flow of and control of resources and markets in the region. Inhibiting, both internal and external forces have made it hard work for the region to realize the globalization process though one or two notable achievement have been realized through the quest for integration.

One of the most notable approaches and achievements towards integration and the globalization process by SADC as Thompson (2000: 8) puts it “was the successful attraction of investment to the Beira Corridor, of port, rail, and oil pipeline development for landlocked” neighbours. She writes that this initiative was formulated by SADC and was “directed by the Beira Corridor Authority of Mozambique” and “the ten-year plan attracted 22 countries offering grants and/or loans and 111 corporations providing investments”. Thompson also noted that “a regional agreement to form the Beira Development Corridor was signed by heads of state in early 1997 to encourage businesses to” be built “along the road-rail line for easy access to the port”. The Beira Corridor to date is one of the most significant initiatives by SADC towards the globalization of the region. Landlocked member states including Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Botswana have greatly benefitted from the operations of the corridor and it has become a vital tool in the sustenance of the economies of these countries. As Thompson viewed, “From 1982 to 1990, as many

as 15,000 members of the Zimbabwe army protected the Beira Corridor from South African raids in the Mozambican territory as it was the lifeline for the whole landlocked economy". To date the protection of the Feruka fuel pipeline from Mozambique into Zimbabwe is a matter of national security and the army protects the pipeline 24 hours a day. To note is that South Africa only got its independence from the apartheid regime in 1994; hence, it was admitted into SADC 1994 once it was under black majority rule. Therefore, the pre-1990 South African policy and activity in the region was aimed at thwarting integration and cooperation of the region and influence instability.

Jordaan (2001) highlighted that globalization posits the widely accepted ideas that we are living in a borderless world. Moreover, Veseth (1998) illustrated that, "notice is no longer taken of distance or national policy and national governments must accommodate what global markets dictate". Also, on the political map, the borders between countries must be very clear, but on the competitive maps that show the flow of financial and industrial activity, such boundaries must disappear. However, this is one of the factors that are inhibiting integration and globalization process of the region. Nyirabu (2004) suggested that the SADC region is characterized by acute imbalance and inequalities. That is "not only are the size and level of development of economies of various countries very different, but the historical pattern of interaction in the regional economy has been uneven". For example, South Africa has long been the main centre of accumulation whilst other regional countries have only been provider of migrant labour. Hence, some of the regional countries are reluctant to wholly open their borders to other regional countries because of the uneven nature of economies for fear of exploitation by fellow regional counterparts. Mondliwa (2017) noted of Zambia's ban on sugar imports from other neighbouring countries.

In 1993, the African Development Bank (AFDB) carried a research in Southern Africa on economic integration. Nyirabu (2004) highlighted that the bank identified 3 positives that could be gained from SADC regionalism namely substantial cost saving resulting from coordinated "investments in physical, social and institutional infrastructure, externalities which increase competition generating greater product range and diversity and improved production techniques leading to lower costs and more attractive opportunities for foreign investment in the region". However, Nyirabu argues that this cannot be realized because the SADC region lacks grassroots

support, excessive external/foreign dependency, and weak institutions, multiplicity of organizations, politics, underdeveloped economies, the international economic structure and the distribution of the benefits of integration. A point to note is that the huge indebtedness of SADC countries to international organizations is a decisive factor in their inability to set up proper structures that can enhance the process of integration and globalization of the region. Little can be done when the small profits these member states realize are used to service debts from international financial institutions and organizations.

Internal challenges within the SADC region have greatly hindered the integration and globalization process of the community. Saurombe (2009: 101) noted of the SADC Free Trade Area (FTA) which was scheduled to be launched in August of 2008. He illustrates that the FTA was an integration of goods and markets only with and with the entreaties of globalization, it therefore meant that the FTA had to “comply with Article XXIV of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)”, which would intrude on national policies of member states who were not willing to cede to these terms. Moreover, Saurombe highlighted of the lack of preparedness by some member states including Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zimbabwe whose national policies on economics and trade would put them in a precarious position. Of note is that owing to political differences and outlook towards trade policies, most SADC countries are highly protective of infringement on their policies which they deem will put them in a vulnerable position. Hence, according to Saurombe, trade protocol for some member states is not attractive as they prefer bilateral trade agreements.

Furthermore, Saurombe (2009: 103) is of the view that the challenge of multiple memberships is a major concern as conflicting interests and varied commitments stall the regional integration process. According to him, members of SADC belong “to one or more of the regional trade areas”, including the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA), Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and East African Community (EAC). Therefore, he illustrates the point that SACU is already a Customs Union (CU) and SADC strives to achieve the same status raises questions of legality since WTO rules allows that a member state can only subscribe to one CU at a time. Therefore, the confusion and legal binding with these other regional bodies makes it impossible to implement a wholesome integration initiative. The best

possible and progressive way for the region to realize the globalization process as Saurombe suggested is to sort out the duplication memberships by the SADC community before the realization of regional integration objectives.

It stands out that the dependency theory to an extent can be highlighted in the inability of the SADC region's failure to unyoke itself free from economic dependency on the Western world. Hence, it is important to first bring forward some aspects of the concept of dependency. Economics Online illustrates that Raul Prebisch was important in the emergence of dependency theory in the 1960s by convincingly arguing that "increases in wealth of richer nations appeared to be at the expense of the poorer ones". Based on a Marxist view of the world, the dependency approach perceives globalization "in terms of the spread of market capitalism and the exploitation of cheap labour and resources in return for obsolete technologies of the West". In other words, dependency theory brings about the view that the perpetuation of rich and poor countries is the core aim of the developed Western world. The strength of the approach hinges on an understanding of continued exploitation of the developing or periphery countries which can be presented through sustained underdevelopment. Ferraro (2008) stressed that "dependency theory developed in the late 1950s under the guidance of the director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, Raul Prebisch", which was of the view that "economic growth in the advanced industrialized countries did not necessarily lead to growth in poorer countries". Ferraro notes that Prebisch explanation for this phenomenon was that poor countries exported primary commodities to rich countries which then manufacture products out of those commodities and sell them back to the poor countries. This, one can argue, is still the case for the countries in the SADC region based on patterns of investment and trade elaborated above.

Dependency theory strove to give a solution to this scourge by suggesting that poor countries should begin on programs of import substitution so that they need not to purchase the manufactured products from the richer countries. However, Dos Santos (1971) argues this notion by writing "that dependency is a historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favours some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economies". Also, he further highlighted that it is "a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of

another economy to which their own is subjected". Matunhu (2011) is of the view "that the basic message of the dependency school is that the development of the metropolis was a result of active underdevelopment of the non-metropolis communities". Moreover, he notes that the metropolis is dependent for its development on the underdevelopment of its satellites. This hugely highlights the position in which the SADC region finds itself in. Evident is the fact that mineral as well as human resources and markets of the region are the foundation upon which the developed Western world relies on for their own development.

In this vein, it is essential to look at how international organizations, in particular, international developed world organizations have capitalized on the shortcomings of the SADC region in the globalization process to further sink the SADC community in a state of dependency. Rakner and Tungodden (2001) stressed that between SADC member countries; there is minimal intra SADC trade and very slow or no economic growth at all. Mondliwa (2017) also noted that in 2014, intra SADC trade was 19 percent of total trade as was compared to other regional organizations such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) which had 70 percent. Zengeni (2017) furthers by noting that trade between countries is dominated by low value products from agricultural and mineral sectors meaning that a lot of value added products which can be produced in the region such as mineral fuel, are imported. Another example is the case of South Africa and Zambia, who are large exporters of sugar, yet the region imports most confectionery products from the developed world. This situation gives international organizations such as MNCs the ability to further exploit the region's resources as well as the markets through under-pricing as well as overpricing of raw materials and processed goods respectively; a position which has perpetuated in the region and will to continue for the foreseeable future.

Taking the case of human resources, Rodney (1972), in his famous book entitled "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa", explicitly stated "that during the pre-colonial era, from the mid fifteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century, Africa was cornered into the selling of human beings in exchange for rubbish such as overpriced alcohol". Matunhu (2011) backed this by stating that the "extraction of human resources out of Africa did not end with slavery", but up to present day the brainchild of SADC human resources in the name of expatriate employment is inhibiting the development and potential move towards the globalization of the region. Ndulu

(2004) wrote that “since 1994, about 1.6 million South African people in skilled, professional and managerial occupations have emigrated” and the country has lost 25 percent of its graduates to the USA alone and accounts for an average of 9.7 percent of all international medical graduates practicing in Canada. Taking into account that the South African economy is one of the most stable and strong economies in SADC and Africa in general, the brain drain of human resources can also serve to show the threat of a well-equipped region in terms of skilled and professional human capital which can spearhead sound developmental measures to achieve globalization.

Thompson (2000:3) also illustrated of how dependency has been largely institutionalized in the SADC region and Africa in general. She notes of debt as a debilitating factor to Africa and African countries have failed to unyoke themselves from this scourge which has put them at the mercy of the developed world and its financial institutions. An example being Mozambique which according to data available on Trading Economics website, the government debt to GDP in the country averaged at 75.25 percent between the period 1999 to 2017. Thompson writes that the “reasons for the debt burden of Africa are many, from corruption of military and civilian leaders, drought, failed projects”, and many of these are directed by Western technology. She posits that for South Africa, the overwhelming reason for debt is destabilization by apartheid and moreover, SADC had to finance its own security as compared to other regions in the world such as the Asian Tigers whose security was financed by the USA. An example of Zimbabwe’s debt at the signing of its 1991 Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) which was equivalent to its defence costs during the 1980s. Therefore, one can notice a structured and institutionalized strategy of making sure SADC cannot rise from an underdeveloped position and participate in the global economy.

Another aspect in which the international community has structured its policies to perpetuate the dependency of the SADC region is through the marginalization of the community and Africa as a whole from the wider global community. Thompson (2000:2) illustrated that in the globalization process, the African continent is the most marginalized as evidenced by the fact that year ending 1997, trade to Africa counted for less than 2 percent of world trade. Also, she notes that Africa is always vulnerable to primary commodity price fluctuations and declining prices cost Africa more than

double what it received in aid during the 1986-90 period. Behar and Edwards (2011: 2) also highlighted that as of 2011, SADC continued to experience a decline in its share of world trade. This witnessed by its world share declining from 1.3 percent to 0.95 percent between the period 1990 to 2008. This vulnerability status has put manufacturing MNCs of the developed world into a position of power and control of the consumer market systems of Africa as a whole. The failure of the African countries to produce and process finished goods has rendered them easily exploitable. This is again brought out by Thompson who wrote that the, "African Development Bank estimates that Africa's share of foreign direct investment in developing countries declined from 16 percent in the 1970s to 5 percent by the mid-1990s". Yet, FDI that did enter Africa had higher profit ratios of up to 25 percent than anywhere else. Moreover, of note is that foreign investments remain largely focused on the extraction of raw materials and Thompson is of the view that Southern Africa has known the export of profits from such investment for over 100 years, yet no tangible development has taken place. Therefore, the activities of MNCs who extract these raw materials barely leave anything for the host countries who continue to wallow in debts from international financial institutions serves to bring out the perpetuation of dependency well-orchestrated by the developed world.

An important point of note on the dependency theory and SADC globalization which also ropes in traits of neo colonialism was highlighted by Matunhu (2011:6) who brought out that "the end of colonialism has not deterred the imperialists from dominating the African continent". Matunhu illustrates on the case of Zimbabwe where he wrote that the independence negotiated by Zimbabwe in 1979 at the Lancaster House Agreement extended the survival of the exploitative order. Samir et al (1987) also highlights that the Lancaster House Agreement left the previous economic system practically unchanged in both the rural areas (as no agrarian reforms were implemented) and in the industrial arena. Further, Matunhu is of the view that some states in Africa were used to destabilize African economies as seen through South Africa which was tasked to destabilize Zimbabwe in the 1980s through military aggression. Above all, Matunhu maintains that the West always crafted strategies to perpetuate exploitation by stressing that the formation of SADCC was not an initiative of the Frontline States (FLS). Tonstenson (1982) argues that the SADCC project was seen by the Western countries as a program, "of reconstruction

as a kind of Marshall Plan for the region". Matunhu notes the case study of the Arusha Meeting of SADCC in the early 1980s where foreign nationals were allowed to dictate to it the areas of regional cooperation which they adopted. Therefore, from the arguments stated, one has to ponder and wonder if at all the organizations in SADC that advocate for the integration, cooperation and globalization of the region are indeed advancing the cause of the SADC community or they are fronts of the Western world whose leaders are on the payroll of international institutions. With the way development has been stagnant in the SADC communities, it can be argued that the dependency syndrome is institutionalized in the structures of the SADC region.

One school of thought has tried to pin the blame solely on the internal political environment of the SADC region for its failure to develop and continued state of poverty and dependence on the Western world. Matshediso and Cawood (2005) noted that political stability/peace is the most important challenge for improving the flow of mineral-sector investment in the SADC region. Of note is that MNC investments in the SADC region are mainly towards the mineral sector and extraction of raw materials. Matshediso and Cawood further notes that the "reason why SADC has not developed commensurately with its mineral potential can best be explained by the fact that the region cannot sustain political stability for sufficiently long periods of time". Though true to an extent, this was counter argued by Batware (2011:3) mentioned in earlier sections, who highlights that in the Democratic Republic of Congo multinational corporations have played a pivotal role in the fuelling and continuation of conflict which has killed an estimated 5.4 million people since 1996. Therefore, conflict automatically entails that there cannot be development and without development a country is bound to depend on the international community for help; either healthcare related or general sustenance of the economy. Hence, a nation is forever bound in the clutches of the developed world dictation.

Forwarding on the above argument, it is important to highlight that NGOs and MNCs to an extent should be regarded as agents who play a pivotal role in perpetuating the dependency of the SADC region on the developed Western world and its institutions and also try to establish neo colonialist tendencies in the region. Adusei (2009) stressed that today's ongoing exploitation of African resources is being done "within an established tradition of external interference" with multinational corporations avoiding to pay taxes and keeping dictators indifferent to their citizens plight in their

pocket. Adusei further writes that the deplorable condition in African countries in the 1980s and 1990s forced the governments to turn to the Bretton Woods Institutions (IMF and World Bank) for financial loans whose conditions made sure that the developed world would never lose grip on the control of the resources in Africa. In SADC, in particular, countries such as Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe are still reeling from the choke of debt to the IMF and the World Bank which they are failing to service. Therefore, they remain at the mercy of these institutions that use MNCs to further exploit the region of its resources, especially mineral resources. Adusei noted of the demise of Patrice Lumumba of DRC in the 1960s who wanted to go against the wishes of the developed world and was killed to be replaced by Mobutu Sese Seko who was a stooge of the West. Hence, the region could not and cannot disengage itself from dependence as Adusei stressed that Africans thought that “independence would give them respite to develop, but this was never to be as colonial masters used their corporations and intelligence services”, NGOs included, “to deliver vengeance on the African people”.

Also exposing NGOs as agents of dependency and neo-colonialism, Kaluba (2016) noted of a criticism of NGOs which displayed that NGOs “are being designed and used as extensions of the normal foreign policy instruments of certain Western countries” and group of countries where there is little difference between the intrusion of foreign envoys and NGO facilitators. Adusei highlights that NGOs are like intelligence services whose main task is to pass on vital information to their principals in the Western world which is put to use and incorporated in policies formulated towards Africa in general. Hence, the skepticism of African governments in engaging NGOs and the civil society in issues related to national policy.

And above all, the issue of human development in the SADC region has also continued to foster the phenomenon of dependency in the region. From the 1990s to present day, trends of human development growth in the region show that the presence and activities of NGOs and MNCs is affecting minimal influence to the development of the population of SADC. Human development basically comprises, but not limited to, long and healthy life, decent standard of living and access to knowledge. Statistical trends evidences that in most countries development in this sector has been virtually stagnant showing little development for the people of the

region, a smokescreen development to divert attention to the acute exploitation of the region.

It is possible to gather information from United Nations Human Development Reports which present the trend of development mostly for the post-1990 period during which issues of integration and globalisation were mostly adopted in most SADC countries. An analysis of the trends of human development in the SADC regional countries gives a clear picture of how the region has fared since the 1990s. The Human Development Report (2016) illustrating on the Democratic Republic of Congo shows that the HDI value of the country was 0.356 in 1990 and during a 25-year period up to 2015 grew to 0.435 meaning that the value of human development in the DRC during this period grew by a measly 0.079. The Human Development Index consists of life expectancy, education and GNI combined together, therefore the same situation in which the people of Congo were in 1990 and 25 years later is virtually the same. The report also notes of the Lesotho HDI between the same period of 1990 and 2015. Lesotho's HDI value in 1990 was pegged at 0.493 and by 2015 it was 0.497. No development in terms of human advancement has also been realised in the country of Lesotho. Countries such as Botswana and South Africa, who are touted as the most stable economies in the region, have not progressed in terms of upgrading the lives of its citizens. According to this 2016 report in the 25-year period up to 2016, human development in these countries has also remained stagnant with growth of not more than 1 percent and puts the majority of the SADC countries in the category of low human development. Countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, Swaziland and the rest of the regional bloc have not realised any changes in human development despite the inflows of FDI and humanitarian assistance from NGOs and MNCs in the region. Zimbabwe since 1990 has realised a growth of 0.017, Swaziland -0.007, Zambia 0.181, Tanzania 0.161, and Seychelles 0.068 to mention but a few according to the calculated HDI value over a 25-year period.

The World Bank Africa Poverty Report (Beegle et. al. 2016) noted that according to the World Bank estimations that the number of people living on two dollars a day or below in Africa decreased from 57 percent in 1990 to 43 percent by 2012. However, the number of poor people increased by 100 million from 288 million to 389 million during the same period. SADC (2012) reported that approximately half of the region's population lives on less than a dollar a day, data gathered from the International

Social Welfare. Also, on the issue of unemployment, SADC highlighted that this is linked with social and human development challenges. The report expresses that youth unemployment rate in sub Saharan Africa was at 11.5 percent in 2011 and that employment is mostly characterised by low earnings and difficult conditions of work that undermine worker rights.

These human development trends highlight the plight of the SADC community and how the region is exploited with minimum benefits being accrued largely from the investments and trade by international multinational corporations. It stands out that economic prosperity brings with it human development in terms of knowledge, better living conditions, standard and longevity of life as a result of better access to health facilities and medication. Aid alone mostly by international NGOs is not enough to promote human development if there is no economic prosperity which can sustain the structures of development. This then perpetuates the dependency of the region on the benevolence of the developed world as these corporations continue to foster the asymmetrical relationship where their activities only profit them at the expense of the development of the region; a ploy designed to assure the continued plunder of the region's resources through the underdevelopment of the people's ability to prosper. Though, as will be highlighted in the next section that in terms of humanitarian assistance, it will be folly not to recognise that NGOs have helped, and SADC has benefited from the aid which has been given to the region, particularly in the sector of health.

3.1 Benefits of SADC from the presence of NGOs and MNCs in the region

An important aspect that cannot be discarded completely is the fact that to a certain extent, SADC communities benefit from the NGOs projects and programs. Though their proliferation in the region against the activities they practically engage in is a matter of debate, it is paramount to acknowledge the advantages brought about by the presence of the NGOs in the region. As highlighted in the last chapter, the main activities of the NGOs in SADC are highlighted in the context of capacity building, service delivery and policy making. Benefits to the region have been realized especially in projects and programs related to health care and education; particularly in education, where the literacy rate of SADC is one of the highest in Africa registering an average at least 60 percent for both men and women. SADC region

has greatly been assisted in these areas and lives have been saved. Also, the literacy rate of most communities in the region has improved significantly especially from the late 1990s onwards.

A case of the benefit of the presence of NGOs in the region is illustrated through the country of Malawi. Storeng et al (2018) noted that in 2011, the UK Department for International Development (DFID) funded two international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) to implement a program designed to minimise maternal mortality from unwanted pregnancies in 14 countries in Africa and Asia. Ipas, an INGO, was tasked with the mission of overseeing the program in Malawi. Storeng et al put forward that Ipas “became an important participant in a process to reform the country’s restrictive abortion law” through working with the Ministry of Health’s Reproductive Health Unit. The major benefit for the Malawian Ministry of Health from this program was that they managed to receive funding from DFID which came through the channels of Ipas and enabled consultations and workshops to be conducted leading to the successful launch of the bill in 2015 on the reformation of the abortion law.

Exposure of the plight of the ordinary citizens in the SADC region is another important role played by these NGOs which help the people greatly. NGOs provide platforms for the needy as well as the oppressed in the region on the international limelight which is a positive contribution towards addressing the problems facing the general populace in the SADC community. Matthews (2017) wrote of Tshepo Madlingozi, an advocacy advisor with the Khulumani Support Group (KSP) in South Africa. She highlights of Tshepo as stressing that stressed that “NGOs and social movements fighting for radical change have been able to use courts to gain small victories”. He further illustrated that though court victories can be hollow; these struggles draw to attention the plight of the ordinary people, thereby helping support the struggle for emancipation of freedoms. An indirect way of confronting the plight of the needy and oppressed, NGOs in the region have generally employed this strategy to call to attention the international community to get involved and help. This is a highly effective method in SADC, considering that a large number of nations are under authoritarian rule, which stifle any opposing voice locally.

Moreover, the development of a solid professional base in the SADC region, to a certain extent can be attributed to NGO's. This can be emphasised with reference to Jones (2006) who noted of an NGO, Natuye: Institute for the Environment, elaborated in the previous chapter, which aims to support the professional development in SADC's environment and development sector. The capacity for professional development in the region by governments is limited due to constriction of funding and other resources required for such initiatives. NGOs such as Natuye have stepped forward in trying to help the training and development of the whole region to meet international standards of professional development. Moreover, the organization has been effective in raising awareness on the issue of sustenance of the environment and development taking into account that a sustainable environment plays a crucial role in the development of the region.

Tvedt (1998) illustrated of the advantages of NGOs in any developing nation by noting that the advantages included "achieving the correct relationship between development processes and outcomes, reaching the poor, targeting their assistance on chosen groups, obtaining true meaningful participation of the intended beneficiaries, working with people and then choosing the correct form of assistance for them" working and strengthening local institutions among other advantages of NGOs. Mpabanaga (2007) in agreement with these advantages was of the view that in Botswana, NGOs were emerging against a background of a country on the path to good socio-economic development and management, but the NGOs and civil society, in general, "has emerged in order to supplement the state efforts in providing sustainable development, social services and programs to its people". Therefore, in this period, Botswana was stretched to the fullest and the NGOs were there to help with the much-needed assistance including professional guidance and mobilization of resources.

As I have mentioned before, the beneficial nature of NGOs to the SADC region is a debatable issue. Austin Kaluba wrote an article in the Catch the Flavour Magazine titled, "Zambia: Are NGOs relevant in Zambia?" in 2016, which he scribed crucial points. He noted that in Zambia, there is a range of local and foreign NGOs and a number of them are irrelevant and just worsen the problems they are supposed to address, keeping aside a few that contributed to the society. Kaluba argued that most NGOs, especially those dealing with governance and culturally related issues, should

be banned or reorganized to invest in research before they could be allowed to operate. Shivji (2007) also illustrated that many NGOs have lamentably failed to address the issues they claim to combat. He further stressed that the sudden rise of NGOs is a part of neoliberal paradigm rather than pure humane motivations, a notion which Kaluba cemented by writing that NGOs as a result of not understanding the world, have failed to offer solutions to issues like child labour, gender inequality, human rights and governance in Zambia.

On a similar setting, the role of MNCs presence in the region is an arguable subject on its own. One thing that is evident is that not much has been gained by the region through hosting these corporations. MNCs have looted and exploited business opportunities in SADC communities that has crippled domestic companies and, in most cases, drove them out of operation.

With regards to MNCs and what benefits SADC region get by hosting the corporations, as pointed out in the last chapter, the differentiation of regional and international MNCs paints a clear picture of their impact on the region respectively. Regional MNCs, in particular South African, whose corporations are dominant in the region, responding to the pressures of globalization, have greatly invested in developmental initiatives throughout SADC. In Zimbabwe, for example, there is widespread establishment of Pick N Pay Supermarkets, South African chain of supermarkets franchising with local groups of supermarkets offering customers wide range of services and freedom of choice and selection. Also, MNCs like Tongaat Hullets, a largely sugar processing company which has managed to develop communities in Mozambique, Swaziland, Zimbabwe through establishing viable holdings in these nations by providing people a new lease of life. Overall, regional MNCs have been instrumental in pushing the cause of globalization in the SADC region. Also, FDI has trickled steadily in the region from international corporations though it is a contentious issue on how it is benefitting the SADC region.

SADC (2012) illustrated that the region highly benefits from FDI brought by the international MNCs. The ability to attract FDI to a country comes with it progressive development. South Africa and Angola, notably the most powerful and the fastest growing economy respectively, according to SADC, have historically higher levels of FDI largely owing to high per capita income and trade openness. Furthermore, SADC

noted that as of 2010, Democratic Republic of Congo increased its FDI to USD 3 Billion, the same with Seychelles which increased its FDI as a percentage of gross domestic products (GDP) to an average of 40 percent. Moreover, attraction of FDI in the regional infrastructure has seen support for important roads, railways and ports along the Maputo Corridor and around the region. Though, these development initiatives need to be viewed in the context of development in areas where interests of these MNCs are centred and possibility of accumulation of further profit overlooking the general development of the host country.

Bhila (2018) in her article, "International companies' policies on Africa need to be challenged", stressed that in sub-Saharan, USD 134 billion flows into the continent each year mainly in the form of loans, aid and FDI. In turn, USD 192 billion is taken out, mainly in profits made by foreign companies and tax dodging and the result being that Africa suffers a net loss of an average of USD 58 billion every year. She further noted that British mining companies contribute largely to this drainage as they dominate Tanzania's gold, Zambia's copper South Africa's platinum and Botswana's diamonds all of which these corporations are London listed companies. Yet, with the riches they are exploiting from these SADC countries, very little has trickled down to support development initiatives in these host countries. Though to an extent some of SADC corrupt governments have contributed to the exploitation and underdevelopment of their nations, from the onset, the asymmetry of the relationship has already been in the form of exploiter and exploited. Coupled with the scourge of the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) in the late 1980s going into the early 1990s, the relationship had been structured into a situation where the region had to submit to the wills of these international organizations and perpetuate the model of dependency on the developed world and its international organizations.

Curtis (2016) also addressed the beneficial nature of the MNCs presence in Africa and SADC, in particular. He is of the view that international bodies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Bretton Woods) have told African governments to cut their tax rates to attract foreign investments. Bhila (2018) also wrote that corporation tax payments are minimal due to low tax rate while governments often provide companies with generous incentives such as corporation tax holidays. Curtis added that the result of this policy, which is in line with the international neoliberal context, is that Africa gives away amounts of badly needed

revenues to foreign corporations in tax incentives resulting in massive drainage of resources sinking Africa further into poverty. He gave an example of Tanzania which continues to offer numerous incentives to foreign corporations in the Special Economic Zones (SECs) and to oil and gas companies such as BG Group. Therefore, from the previously stated notion of the flow FDI in the SADC region, it can be witnessed that it is a case of giving with one hand and taking more with the other. It is the continuation of fostering of the asymmetrical relationship where the region cannot be independent from these international organizations.

The issue of limited or non-benefit to the SADC region whilst hosting MNCs which the communities hope would be instrumental in tackling developmental issues is not unique to this region only. The whole of Africa, no region can testify to the goodness of hosting MNCs in their countries. Adusei (2009) summed this up by quoting Franklin D. Roosevelt, then US President when he came to Gambia in 1943; "for every dollar that the British have put into Gambia, they have taken out ten". He further noted that Ghana, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, DRC, Namibia, South Africa, Congo, Angola amongst other African nations, have all suffered the same colonial exploitation and underinvestment. Adusei also concurs with the view that SAPs further sunk SADC and Africa in general as the colonial masters dictated to the IMF and the World Bank to pressure African states to open their economies to allow European corporations to enter. This was to make sure that Europeans never lose grip on the resources in the African nations. Some of the conditions of these open market economies included secret memorandums of agreement, subsidies to foreign corporations and massive tax concessions. The design of the relationship therefore has always been that of developed periphery where MNCs ensured that no major development takes place in African countries. Rather, they must remain in a status of need, debt and dependence making it easy for them to easily exploit. Zengeni et al (2017) illustrated of South Africa and Zambia who are big exporters of sugar in the SADC region, yet the SADC community continues to import confectionary products such as biscuits and sweets. This can be attributed to the nemesis of dependency bestowed on the region by the international organizations through incapacitation of the ability of African nations to produce for themselves.

CONCLUSIONS

The paper discussed the role of international organisations, NGOs and MNCs, in the globalisation of the SADC region by critically looking at how the dependency syndrome is being sustained in the region through the activities of these entities. The first chapter provided a literature review and outlined theoretical framework to give a clear picture of the intended framework on how these organisations have conducted their activities in Africa in general. The dependency theory is given a detailed analysis to give precedence to the argument at hand and how relevant it is to the investigation. The dependency theory has been in existence since the 1950s and has helped in explaining the asymmetrical relationships that exist between the developed countries and the developing and least developing countries. It, therefore, stands out that the relationship that exist between the international organisations of the developed world and the SADC region in terms of business relationship or majority of activities, the unequal relationship continues to be fostered. Hence, the theoretical framework in chapter one gives a clear picture of what dependency theory is and how it has evolved and being used in modern day political economy.

The following chapter gave a detailed analysis of how globalisation of the region has been hindered by these international organisations through the perpetuation of dependency in the SADC community. Through the analysis of the activities of NGOs and MNCs as well as their relationship and political influence in the region, a critical outlook to the issue of dependency is highlighted through the mode of doing business and activities of these international organisations. What is evident from the evaluation is that they are in the region largely because of the benefits they realise. For MNCs largely because of huge profits from small investments, and for NGOs, continuous funding for unending projects and cosmetic humanitarian initiatives. These activities in the region by these international organisations directly and indirectly perpetuate the dependency of the region on the developed world seeing that no

underdevelopment will be persisting in the host countries. Also, the chapter highlights how the alliance of these organisations and political influence help in the poverty and underdevelopment of the region which gives them advantage to sustain dependency for the benefit of the developed world. Examples of how they have funded civil wars and polluted water evidence these suggestions. Also, acknowledgment is given to regional organisations and the effort rendered in trying to develop the region. Examples of South African MNCs and regional NGOs were given to validate the importance of these organisations.

Chapter three discussed the issues of regional integration and dependency in broader detail. Aspects on the failures of integration and how self-sabotage in realising intra trade and economic cooperation, politics and general differences and how this has given advantage to the phenomenon of dependency was highlighted. Regional integration has been one of the major stumbling blocks to the economic development of the region in which the developed world has fully utilised on these shortcomings to further put the SADC community into a position of submission. Also, the chapter argued on the relevance of dependency theory and its applicability in present day by illustrating through examples and analysis of how these international organisations affect this phenomenon through bribes to government officials, general underhand deals and uncouth trade and business practices. Modern day dependency of the SADC region on the developed world is analysed in this chapter and how the international organisations play a role in facilitating it.

Overall, there is a lot of presence of these organisations in the region, which as a result of their activities in the SADC community; development should have been on an advanced course. However, despite their presence, development of the region has been largely stagnant and in some areas further underdevelopment can be evidenced. Also, the investigation looked at the process of integration and cooperation and how this has influenced the globalisation of the SADC region, positively or negatively. Above all, through the phenomenon of dependency, the study strived to see how the developed world has managed to perpetuate this syndrome in the SADC region, from de-colonisation up to present day and also through what ways is the region kept into a position of submission by the developed world. The main focus of the thesis being to expose what exactly is the part being

played by the NGOs and MNCs in the development and globalisation of the SADC region.

In summing up, the role of NGOs and MNCs and their part in the globalisation of the SADC region is a complex one. As highlighted in the thesis, evidence of regressive activities these organisations play in the development of the region is overwhelming. In particular, MNCs, what is clear is that their activities in the region are largely to exploit the resources and markets in the SADC community. They are bent on making profit for themselves and the continued development of their mother countries regardless of the abject poverty, underdevelopment and destruction they leave in the host countries of the SADC community. Cases of how mining MNCs have wantonly destroyed the DRC, environmentally and abuse of human rights, serve to show that if the region is to move on the path of globalisation, regional organisations (NGOs and MNCs) have to spearhead the process and determine the policies of doing business and protection of human rights in the region. Likewise, as illustrated previously that NGOs act as the clergy of the colonial era who pretended to sympathise with the local folk, at the same time advancing the interests of the developed world. To a greater extent, NGOs have done little to advance the cause of development in the SADC community. Though, they can be commended for alleviating the suffering of the people especially in health care related issues.

Also, in as much as these international organisations have largely failed to drive the cause of the region to participate in the global economy, the SADC Community has also hindered itself. Challenges of integration and cooperation by SADC member countries have inhibited the process of engagement and unity to achieve the targeted goal. Integration and cooperation is the cornerstone of development in any region of the world, the European Union being a good example. Coupled with the perpetuation of the dependency syndrome by the developed world which thrive on the division and disunity of the region, the participation of the SADC bloc in the global economy and the development of the region unless strenuous measures are taken, it can only be a pipe dream.

If SADC is to develop and participate in the global international economy, the region needs to have one unity of purpose. If the region can fully be integrated and guided

by policies of cooperation especially in trade and economics, development can be realised. The region is endowed with a variety of resources, be it mineral resources or arable land for agricultural activities, unless the member states take full control of these resources and spearhead their own development process, then the vision of globalisation can be talked about. What is needed by the SADC community is to unyoke itself from the dominance by the developed world and implement policies that are favourable to the development of the region. Moreover, the unity of purpose by the SADC community can largely be realised if member states do away with the issue of multiplicity, whereby they are bound by other legalities to other organisations which hinder their full cooperation with the SADC statutes.

Furthermore, stern measures of SADC member states themselves are needed in dealing with corrupt leaders and public officials. Majority of SADC countries are riddled with corrupt leaders and public officials who only care about lining their own pockets with no regard for the detrimental effects of their actions to the development of the region. In fact, corruption has played a major role in inhibiting the ability of the region to develop. Especially in countries such as Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique, DRC among other SADC member states, corruption by leaders and government officials who take bribes from international organisations for them to operate without law regulations, has crippled the region's chances of development. With the new generation of young and educated minds dotted around the region, it is important that as they take on the mantle of leadership, corruption should be severely dealt with if the region is to achieve development.

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PLAGIARISM REPORT

ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL



BİLİMSEL ARAŞTIRMALAR ETİK KURULU

16.07.2018

Sayın Rodrick Chisale,

Bilimsel Araştırmalar Etik Kurulu'na yapmış olduğunuz **“The Role of NGOs and MNCs in Globalization. A SADC Perspective”** başlıklı proje önerisi, sadece ikincil kaynak kullanıldığı için Etik Kuruluna girmesine gerek yoktur. Bu yazı ile birlikte sadece ikincil kaynak kullanmak şartıyla araştırmaya başlayabilirsiniz.

Doçent Doktor Direnç Kanol

Bilimsel Araştırmalar Etik Kurulu Raportörü

Not: Eğer bir kuruma resmi bir kabul yazısı sunmak istiyorsanız, Yakın Doğu Üniversitesi Bilimsel Araştırmalar Etik Kurulu'na bu yazı ile başvurup, kurulun başkanının imzasını taşıyan resmi bir yazı temin edebilirsiniz.



BİLİMSEL ARAŞTIRMALAR ETİK KURULU

16.07.2018

Dear Rodrick Chisale,

Your project "The Role of NGOs and MNCs in Globalization. A SADC Perspective" has been evaluated. Since only secondary data will be used the project it does not need to go through the ethics committee. You can start your research on the condition that you will use only secondary data.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Direnç Kanol

Rapporteur of the Scientific Research Ethics Committee

Note: If you need to provide an official letter to an institution with the signature of the Head of NEU Scientific Research Ethics Committee, please apply to the secretariat of the ethics committee by showing this document.